

American Scene



Oklahoma Issue

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma is more than just another state. It is a lens in which the long rays of time are focused into the brightest light. In its magnifying clarity, dim facets of the American character stand more clearly revealed. For in Oklahoma all the experiences that went into the making of the nation have been speeded up. Here all the American traits have been intensified. The one who can interpret Oklahoma can grasp the meaning of America in the modern world.

Angie Debo



American Scene

THE HISTORY MAGAZINE WITH A PURPOSE

VOLUME IV

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This issue of the *American Scene* is about Oklahoma, written primarily by Oklahomans, primarily for Oklahomans . . . and Western History and Art enthusiasts everywhere. The magazine is dedicated to the memory of three distinguished Oklahomans: Maud Lorton Myers, Lucia Ferguson and Thomas Gilcrease. All three, now deceased, were active on Gilcrease Institute's superb Board of Directors.

The building construction program, the zest with which projects are approached and this magazine—all express the new interpretations being given the Gilcrease Image.

COVER: Charles Banks Wilson of Miami, Oklahoma, is noted for his paintings of contemporary Indian life in Oklahoma. In *Oklahoma Melody*, a painting from the Gilcrease Collection, Wilson illustrates a scene of modern Indians beating a pow wow drum. Pow wows are held frequently throughout the state and afford the Indian an opportunity to perform their native dances. BACK COVER: Reproduction of an Indian painting on elk hide from the original in the Gilcrease collection. CENTER SPREAD: *Custer's Demand*, a painting by Charles Schreyvogel, depicts an incident which occurred in western Oklahoma when the federal government was attempting to place the Kiowa and Comanche tribes on reservations. In the picture General Custer and aides are conferring with the Indian chieftains led by Santanta, the noted Kiowa leader. THE ANGIE DEBO quotation which appears on the opposite page is taken from her book *Oklahoma, Footloose and Fancy Free*, published by the University of Oklahoma Press in 1949 and is used by permission.

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Pencil sketch by Charles Banks Wilson.

Thomas Gilcrease passed away May 6, 1962. He founded the Institute that bears his name. Mr. Gilcrease was an oil man of Creek descent and was one of the Southwest's greatest cultural forces.

Thomas Gilcrease

1890 - 1962

THOMAS GILCREASE understood property. Had he not understood it, he could never have amassed the vast, diverse and supernally rich collection housed in the institute that bears his name. Also, had he not understood values beyond property, he could not have made this collection.

Slight of frame, his sensitive features were lighted by intelligence and marked by association with unworldly thoughts and images. The longer I knew him, the more he gave me the impression of having made not only long voyages to lone places on this earth but of longer voyages into deep and lone places within himself. He was one of the islands of humanity. His liberated mind was also a disciplined mind. He was a realist in the best sense of the word, free from delusions and superstitious absurdities often called mysteries. Yet I've hardly known another human being who had the mysteries and beyonds deep inside himself that Tom Gilcrease had. He may have seemed enigmatic to some. What is more enigmatic than sincere simplicity?

I never forget his telling me of the allotment of land brought to the family when he was a boy by his half-Creek mother. It was on a stream-engraced prairie near where the city of Tulsa was to grow. The prairie chickens were so thick that when a fence post was put down two or three would try to light on it. When he plowed in the spring, terns would follow his plow, lighting on the handles when he stopped to rest the horses. This land, the birds, the bushes, and the trees on grounds around his home hard by the Institute entered into him. When he went to beautiful medieval Avignon in France to spend a day and remained a month, another world became a part of him. Many of the books, most of the pictures and bronzes and carvings and artifacts of his collection became a part of him. He valued the beautiful. The values of art are also the values of humanity. Now humanity has the meanings that life had for him.

He was my generous friend. I remember him with affection, with respect, and with admiration. I salute his prolonged shadow.

J. Frank Dobie.

Heritage

OF THE LAND

By Mrs. Walter Ferguson

THE HISTORY OF OKLAHOMA is rich in romantic lore, dramatic events and dizzying changes. Yet statistics, like individuals, are the products of their heredity. And ours is an inheritance of sorrow, injustice, persecution, betrayal and homesickness. Our soil has been watered by the tears of thousands of displaced persons driven from their homes at the point of a bayonet. Our government has a black record here. It made refugees out of many Indian tribes. It confiscated their lands, and gave their homes to covetous white men. It forced families to leave dear familiar haunts and move into uncultivated far-away places.

Most out-of-state people and many Oklahomans know very little about Oklahoma, its origins and its history. Geographically and historically Oklahoma suffers from a split-personality.

If you will draw an imaginary line straight up and down through the middle of the state, you have on the west Old Oklahoma Territory, a vast expanse of plains country, which had been given as a reservation to certain blanket Indian tribes. They lived there much as they ever had, in teepees, but with their nomadic wanderings subscribed to a more limited area.

On the east side you have the Old Indian Territory, an expanse of rolling verdant hills. Here lived the advanced Indian tribes who had migrated from the South and still maintained their old customs and settled way of life. Thus these two sections of what is now one state are different — topography, vegetation and racial tradition.

The west side was a grassy plain that rose and eventually became the foothills of the Rockies — a long, treeless stretch which was called the short grass country, and where great herds of cattle once grazed on the drives from Texas to the markets in Kansas. The eastern half offered more varied scenes — forests, hills, lush vegetation and mineral wealth. As different as the natural features of these two areas were the types of people who settled them.

Most Americans think of Oklahoma as having its beginning at the time of the first Run in 1889; they do not realize that the Indian Territory side had an established culture for some fifty years before the Run. The natives of the eastern half are always a bit nettled to meet so many who are entirely unacquainted with their interesting history.

Again draw an imaginary line across the state. It will follow almost exactly the Old Mason and Dixon line, which

See page 8

Trail of Tears.

Tempera by Brummett Echobawk.

OKLAHOMA

Free Homes For OLD SOLDIERS And Their Widows.

Accept your last chance or forever hold your peace. The Kiowa, Comanche, Apache and Wichita Reservations are soon be opened for settlement.

FOR A FEW DAYS WE WILL BE IN

Where it will be a pleasure to explain to Ex-Union Soldiers of 1861—1865 war, our method of procuring for them 160 acres of as good land as the sun shines on.

Do not Miss this Opportunity of Securing a Home in this Great Country.

No section of the United States offers the inducements for investment that Oklahoma does to-day. The winters are mild, crops are sure, the water good, Corn, Wheat, Oats, Rye, Barley, Flax, Alfalfa, Timothy, Clover, Broom Corn, Irish Potatoes, Sweet Potatoes and Fruit of all kinds grow here to perfection. This is the farmers' paradise. We have never had a failure of crops here.

The Homestead Laws of the United States provide that you may file through an attorney, avoid making "the run," have six (6) months' time to get on the land after it has been declared open, and "prove up" in five years LESS THE TIME OF ACTUAL SERVICE IN THE ARMY.

We court an investigation on the part of interested parties, and first come, first served. We will file all Clark county claims adjoining so far as good land will permit. Come early—time limited. Bring discharge or certificate of service.

You are not going to be skinned. You are not going to be beat or robbed. No fraud. You will get a square, honorable, honest FAIR DEAL in every respect. Investigate this matter thoroughly and you will find that we give you only facts and the truth.

B. V. CUMMINS,

Old Soldiers Declaratory Statement Filing Agent, Okla.

ASSISTANT FOR

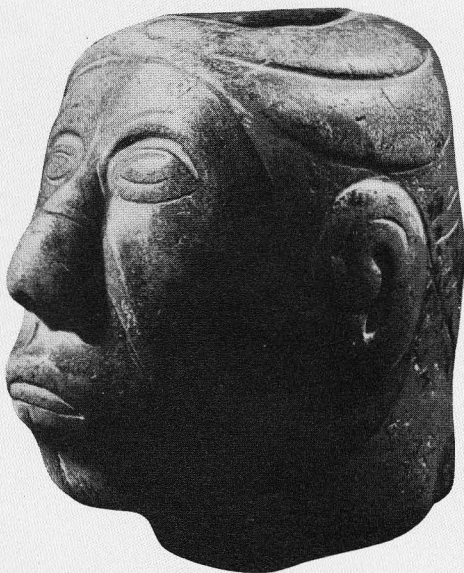
As the hour for the land opening drew near, the lines formed to be ready to make the historic Run.





Photo by Mrs. Lee Good.

Murrell House at Park Hill as it appears today. Built about 1846 by a merchant from Louisiana, it is representative of the Southern tradition in eastern Oklahoma.



separated the North and the South before the Civil War. Here the divergencies are also pronounced. The northwest section was settled largely by Unionists, whose grandfathers had fought with the Northern armies. They were descended from Abolitionists and were proud of it. I went to live in that area immediately after my marriage, and having left a locality that was essentially Southern to its very bones, I felt I had been transplanted into an alien land.

By contrast, the southeastern part of Oklahoma was imbued with the customs and traditions of the deep South. Even today it is known as Little Dixie. The Arch Angel Gabriel could not be elected dog catcher there if he ran on the Republican ticket.

I emphasize these differences in order to stress the fact that it has taken and will take a great deal of effort to weld these various groups — North and South, Indian and White — into a unified whole, a single culture.

I think you will get a clearer picture of conditions as they existed in an earlier time if I give you a few incidents in the life of the Fergusons, my husband's family, and the Loomises, my family. Although we were separated in childhood by only the width of a few hundred miles yet we were reared in alien traditions. Bear in mind that my husband was brought up in Oklahoma Territory and I in the Indian Territory.

As you know, Captain David Payne made several successful forays into Old Oklahoma. His men were called Boomers, and were forcibly ejected by federal troops who guarded the reservation. However, land hungry veterans back from the war were clamoring for homes, and the government finally decided to open up a part of the Indian reservations for homesteading.

Actually there were three Oklahoma runs. The most famous was that of 1889, when the guns boomed at noon along the border, and masses of men and women made a sprint for claims. The second run was in 1891 into the Sac and Fox, the Potawatomi, and the Shawnee reservations. The third occurred in 1893 which opened up the Cherokee Strip for settlement. Later (I suppose everybody was tired of runs) we had the El Paso land drawing, where the holder of a lucky number got an acreage.

My father-in-law, Thomas Benton Ferguson, who later became the sixth territorial governor, surely loved to run — he made all three of them. The family lived previously at Sedan, Kansas. In 1889, Mr. Ferguson got himself a fast

Choctaw Pipe smoked by signers of the Dancing Rabbit Creek Treaty of 1830. Of pre-Columbian design, it may well have been in possession of the Choctaws for some 500 years.

horse, loaded his wife and son into a covered wagon, and headed for the border. With other men he made the dash into the new country on horseback. Mrs. Ferguson, like so many other women, drove the wagon and joined her husband after his strenuous searchings. He had staked a claim near the present site of Oklahoma City.

Later his claim was sold. In 1892 the Fergusons again mounted their wagon, this time with two children and their Washington Hand Press, which had seen good use in their Sedan newspaper office. They started overland for Kingfisher, Oklahoma, one of the many new boom towns. I have never determined why they decided to move on thirty miles beyond Kingfisher to a newly established outpost called Watonga, for that place was then a bleak and barren spot.

The first days in Watonga were spent by the Fergusons in their covered wagon, next in a tent, and finally in a new frame building which housed the newspaper in front and dwelling quarters in the rear. There was little money in circulation. There was little or no fruit but game was plentiful. People lived mostly on canned tomatoes, jerked beef, flour gravy and sour dough bread.

Oklahoma in those days was a land of youth. There were

almost no old people. Only those with a sense of adventure and the strength and courage to tackle the wild West dared risk life on the frontier.

I should like to stress the part women played in the making of the West. It's a pity our school history books have so ignored their part. Text-book history is dull as dishwater, because there are no women in it. One must go to fiction or biography to get a true picture of what makes America great. Without women, there would be no civilization, for where they refuse to go, men will not stay. Our wonderful West today is a monument to the spirited wives who dared to follow their adventurous men into places of deadly danger.

My own family lived at Boggy Depot, the site of the old Confederate fort on the freight route between Texas and Arkansas. This place where I was born had been given outright to the Choctaws by the Dancing Rabbit Treaty. It states that "so long as the grass grows and waters flow," the land shall belong to the Choctaw tribe. And it goes on to explain that if white men ever attempt to settle there, the Indians are given permission to drive them away with weapons of war. When I was a child no white man did own land there; today, few Indians do. For

The Western character of the Oklahoma Plains country is indicated by this typical home of an early settler.



the white man has a slick way of finding loopholes in his treaties. In this case he simply married the Choctaw girls and thus acquired not only their possessions but the right to manage them to suit himself, for Indian women were also reared to be submissive to their men.

Ours was a southern community, peopled by men and women who were one hundred per cent Democrats. If my father had not been everybody's beloved doctor, I feel sure he would have been ridden out of town on a rail many a time. He was the lone Republican within a radius of a hundred miles and a very vocal one.

All homes in the area were built in the architecture of the deep South. The most expensive had tall white pillars and green shuttered French windows. The poorer ones were made of two sections, usually of logs, connected by an open passageway. It's interesting to see that this style has come back. Real estate men now call them breezeways. We called them dog trots. Here the family took its meals in summer, and the hounds dozed and yelped or trotted through night and day.

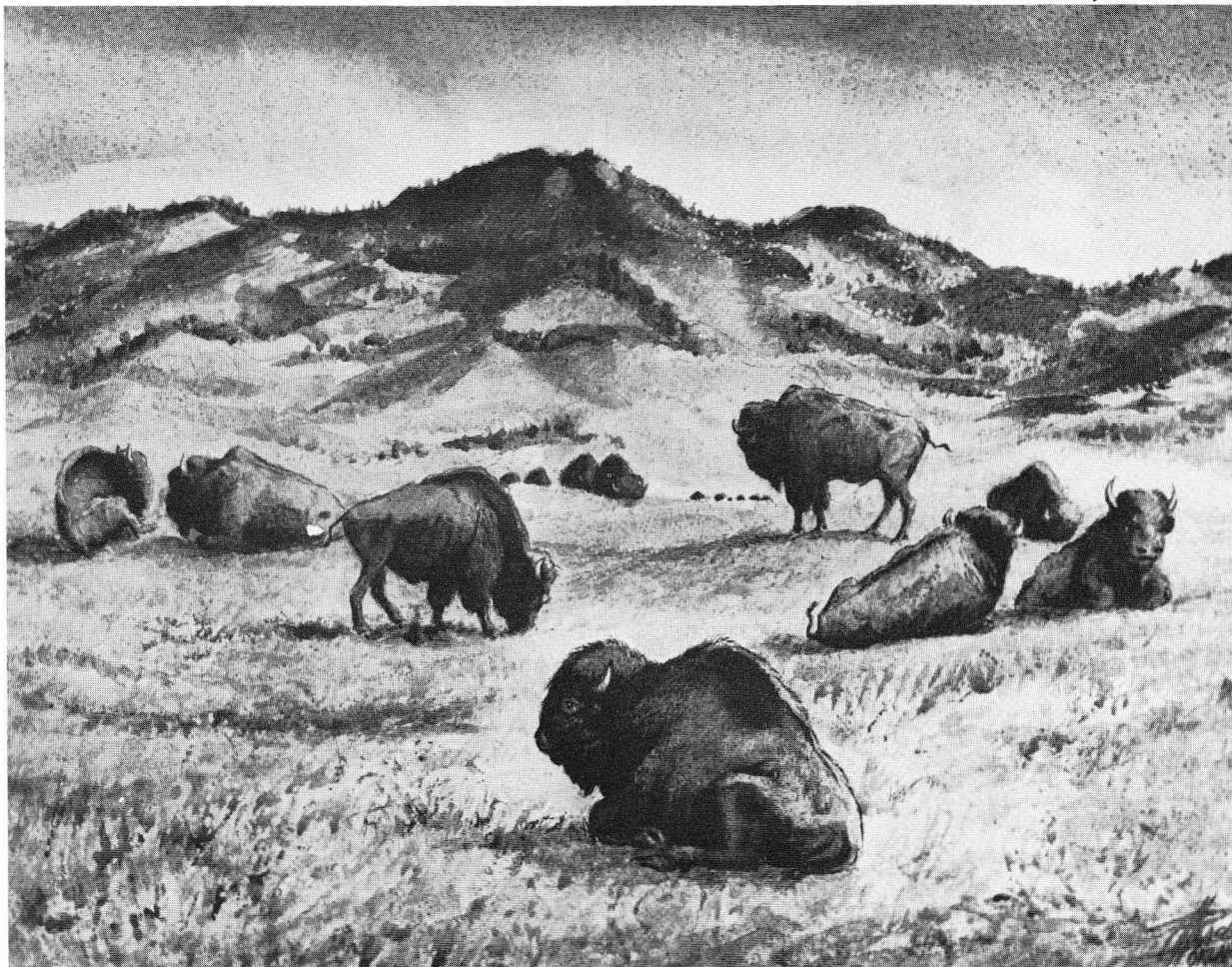
Our little town had three stores, a blacksmith shop, a cotton gin and one small white church, where everybody worshipped. My first memory of home is of a whitewashed house set in a wide yard heavy with lilac fragrance in the spring with tall cedars around the door. We had a barn with haymow, a chicken house and a large orchard. Much of my time as a small girl was spent in a tree reading a book and munching apples.

Ours was a simple, serene life. I am thankful every day that I was privileged to spend my childhood in that sweet secluded spot. We have progressed in many directions and yet I feel sometimes that we have also lost something precious that was ours down in the old Boggy Depot: the belief that thrift and industry are virtues, that a person should stand on his own feet, that a man's word should be as good as his bond, and that it is better to give love than to receive it. I often think we could do without some of the wonderful gadgets in our homes if we could substitute for them more of the old fashioned grit and gumption that characterized the Oklahoma pioneer. ●

This article is an adaptation of a talk delivered by Mrs. Ferguson to the Chicago Westerners and published by them in The Westerners Brand Book. It is reproduced through the courtesy of Don Russell, editor.

In the Wichitas.

Watercolor by C. L. Packer.



Courtesy Fourth National Bank, Tulsa

Will Rogers.

By Paula Love

WILL ROGERS is Oklahoma's most famous son and beloved citizen. The story of Oklahoma cannot be told without reference to the Rogers family which first came to the region with the Cherokee migration from the South. Will did not have to struggle to make a name for the family because his father, Clem Van Rogers, had played an important role in the affairs of Indian Territory and of early Oklahoma statehood. Will merely added another laurel to the Rogers family fame.

Will's father, Clem, was a successful rancher, farmer, politician and banker of Cherokee Indian descent. He served five terms as a senator of the Cherokee National Council and was a member of the last one to convene. He also served as judge of the Cooweescoowee District which was the largest in the Cherokee Nation and comprised present Nowata and Washington counties as well as parts of Craig, Mayes, Tulsa and Rogers county. In 1893 President Cleveland appointed him a member of the Dawes Commission and in 1906 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention which met at Guthrie to lay down the legal framework for Oklahoma statehood. To the early settlers of Claremore he was affectionately known as "Uncle Will" who could not refuse a loan at the First National Bank and who enjoyed taking his friends driving in his runabout drawn by his high stepping favorite horse Roger K.

Will Rogers could have settled on the place his father gave him near Oologah, to become a rancher as many of his friends had done. But there was within Will a restless urge to strike out for himself. The result was that by the age of twenty-five his love of adventure had taken him around the world. He worked his way as a roper and a cowboy in western shows and was billed in a circus as "The Cherokee Kid." When he returned to the United States two years later he joined the Zack Mulhall Wild West Show and when it closed at Madison Square Garden he remained in New York and got some bookings in vaudeville with his now famous rope act.

It was when he began making comments to explain his fancy rope catches that Will started on the road to success and fame. He discovered that his audiences preferred to





Photos on pages 11, 12 courtesy Will Rogers Memorial

hear what he had to say to watching him perform the intricate tricks which required so much time to perfect. This led him into the realm of a public speaker where his ready wit, clever repartee and shrewd observations on topics of the day placed him in great demand. In the East he soon became known as "the Cowboy Philosopher."

Will began to write a syndicated column in the newspapers and to give radio and lecture talks. These were so well received he became known as the unofficial spokesman for the American people. In his droll, good-natured manner he had the ability to make the "little man" feel important and the "big man" somewhat humble without causing rancor.

This was during the early days of the aviation industry and Will became its most avid booster which increased confidence in this industry at a time when it was most needed. His travels all over the world, by air whenever possible, now earned for him the title "Ambassador of Good Will."

Will Rogers had come a long way since leaving his ranch in the Claremore country. The development of "talkies" in the movie industry proved a boon to him for here was a natural medium for Will to be himself and speak as he wished regardless of the script.

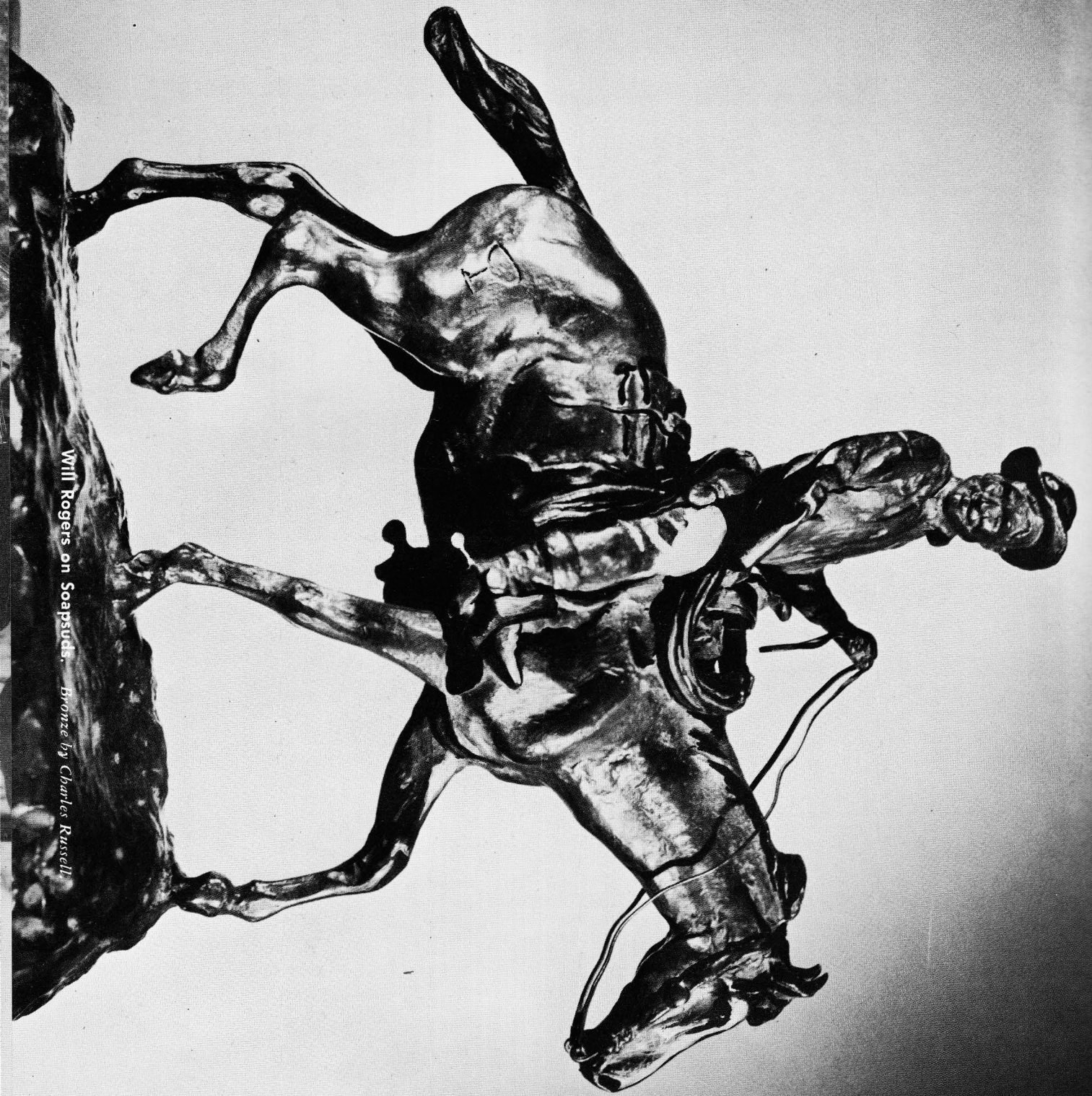
Will's great heart was moved by the sufferings and misfortunes of people and he gave much in time and money to help the needy. Honors came to him from every source but he remained the simple self-effacing cowboy who was completely unaware of the place he held in the hearts of the people. Wherever his travels took him he always signed himself: "Will Rogers, Claremore, Oklahoma."

Indeed today the Claremore country of Northeastern Oklahoma is popularly known as the Will Rogers Country. It first received this appropriate designation when Noel Kaho gave his eloquent book on the region that title.

Here many things bear the Rogers name but the most outstanding is the impressive Memorial in Claremore built in 1938 by the State of Oklahoma to perpetuate the spirit of its most famous son. Each year thousands of visitors come to catch the Rogers spirit and to be inspired by his character. Here each year also come many requests for material about Will and many of these letters express the need for such a man in our life today.

Will's former director, Bob Wagner, summed it up very well when he wrote: "There never will nor can be another Will Rogers. They may find one to fill his *space* but they'll never find one to fill his *place*. He was unique in Time and Circumstance." ●

From top: Clem Rogers, Will's Father; Will's birthplace at Oologah; Will Rogers in 1917 on mule used in his vaudeville acts.

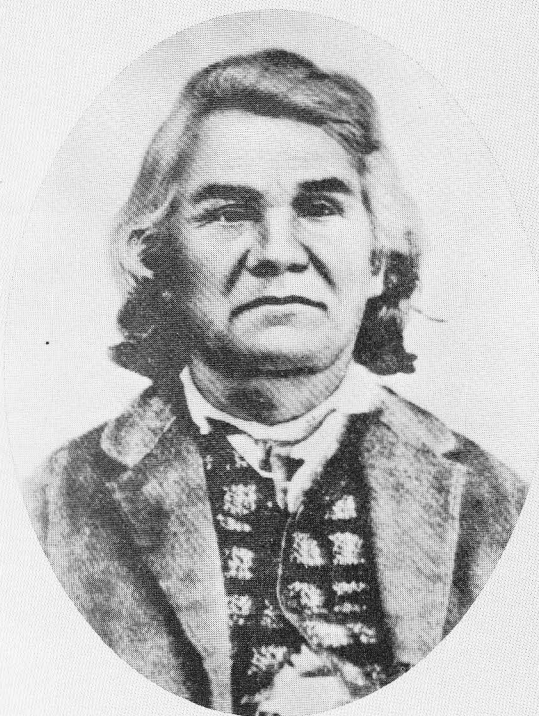


Will Rogers on Soapstone. Bronze by Charles Russell

CIVIL WAR

IN INDIAN TERRITORY

BY HENRY BASS



Stand Watie.

THE PART PLAYED BY OKLAHOMA, then known as "The Indian Territory," in the Civil War, is not regarded of great importance by many students. And the battles and campaigns involved were minor as compared to those in the East. As a result, the story of its participation is a most neglected field. But the war was as tragic, and even more so, to the dwellers in the "Territory" as it was to people in other parts of the country.

In all the annals of warfare, it is questionable if a more senseless happening has ever been recorded than the participation of the Five Civilized Indian Tribes in the American Civil War. To all intents and purposes they were independent nations with nothing at stake in the White Man's embroilments. They had been uprooted from their ancestral homelands and transplanted in the wilderness by Southern people. Certainly, no allegiance was owed to the South. In what is now Eastern Oklahoma they had built a civilization which was virtually destroyed by the holocaust of a war that was not of their making. In the preceding quarter of a century they had risen to a plane in education and economy which was comparable to much of the culture of the effete East and South.

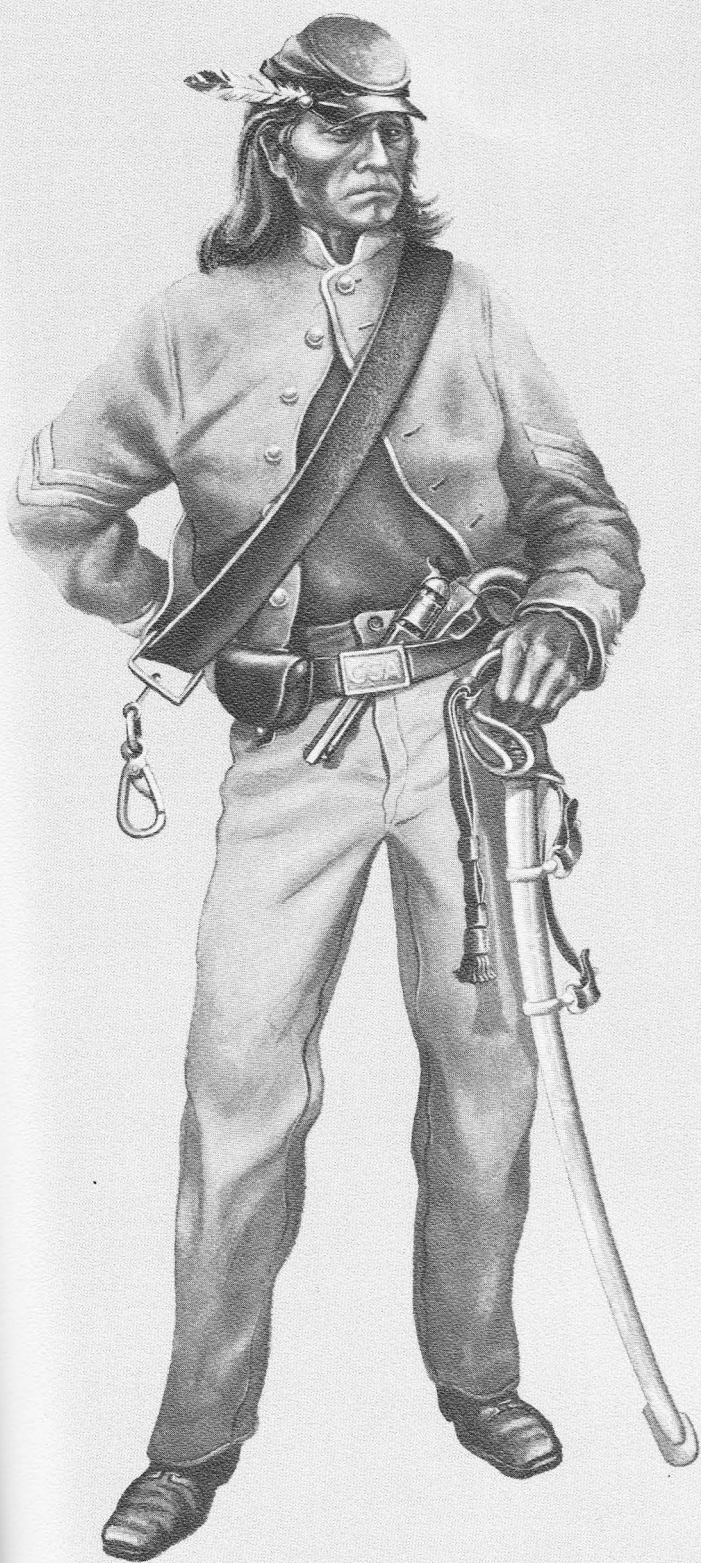
Unfortunately for the Indians, most of their ties were with the South and Southern people. They had come from that area, many had intermarried with white people of the South, and a considerable number of them owned Negro slaves. In addition, the agents representing the Federal Government in the Territory at the war's beginning were, in the main, from the South with strong sympathies for the Secession movement.

The decision of most of the members of the Five Civilized Tribes to go with the South had one definite and very important effect on the overall war situation. The Indians, aided by a few Texans, were able to keep Federal troops from reaching the Red River until the end of hostilities. With her Northern border thus protected, Texas was enabled to send most of her troops and supplies to aid Confederate armies in the East.

News of the gradual withdrawal of the Southern states from the Union penetrated the Indian country bringing about much discussion and unrest. But not until the firing on Fort Sumter was the Territory galvanized into action. Federal garrisons were located at Fort Smith just across the border in Arkansas, at Forts Washita and Arbuckle in the Territory and at Fort Cobb in the country of the Plains Indians. Washington authorities realized Confederate troops from Arkansas and Texas would soon occupy these posts and capture garrisons and supplies if they were not speedily evacuated.

Lt. William W. Averell was sent from Washington in a hurry-up mission to warn Colonel W. H. Emory, commander of the border posts, to make his way with all troops under his command to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, as best

See page 18



Indian Cavalryman, CSA.

Watercolor by Paul Rossi.

Union Officers in Indian Territory.



he could. The young officer reached Fort Smith just in time to inform Captain Samuel D. Sturgis, commanding this post, of his peril and then hurried on to search out Emory in the wilderness.

Within hours after Averell left Fort Smith, Captain Sturgis followed with his command, even as a steamboat loaded with Confederate troops was making its appearance. After a thrilling four day and night journey through hostile country, Averell reached the vicinity of Fort Washita. The approach of Texas troops had caused Emory to abandon this post and proceed toward Fort Arbuckle. On the march Averell and, shortly after, Sturgis' command overtook the Union troops.

They arrived too late at Fort Arbuckle. It had already fallen and the garrison had been captured. The same day members of the garrison who were paroled, joined Emory to hurry northwestward toward Fort Cobb, which Emory had also ordered abandoned. Thirty miles northeast of Fort Cobb the final junction of Union forces in the Indian country was effected. But what was to be done? Few had ever traveled northward over this area which since the days of Coronado had been regarded as "the Great American Desert."

The service of the renowned scout, Black Beaver, was now enlisted. This valiant warrior had settled into a prosperous agricultural life on the frontier. But he agreed to guide the troops to Leavenworth. The pursuing Confederates destroyed his farmstead and drove off his livestock. An unappreciative government never reimbursed the loyal Indian for the great sacrifice he made.

Jesse Chisholm, a half-Cherokee trader who remained loyal to the Union, accompanied the retreating troops. At what is now Wichita, Kansas, he dropped out of the caravan to remain during the war years, while Black Beaver and Emory's command continued on to Fort Leavenworth. The evacuation of the Indian Territory and the arduous

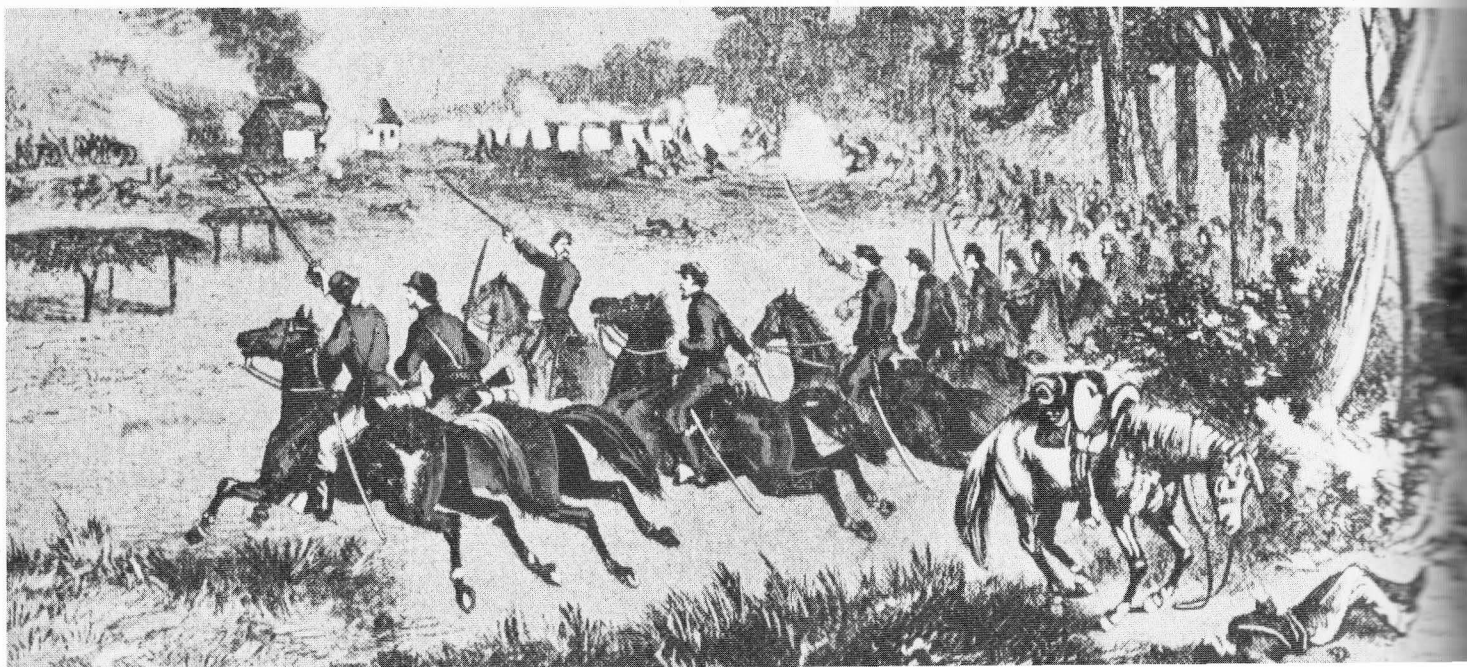
trip over supposedly arid plains was accomplished without the loss of a man.

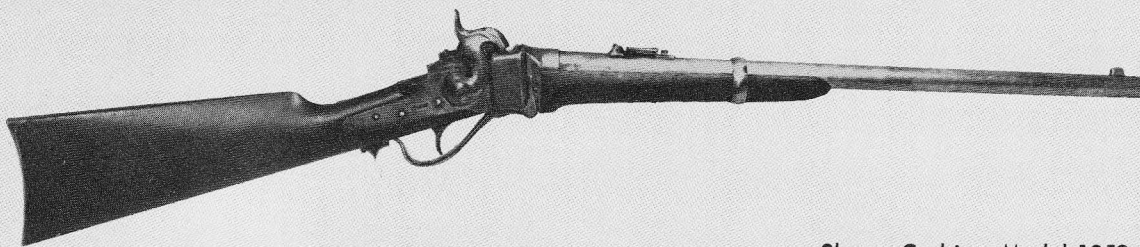
The Wichitas and some smaller allied tribes of the Plains were in a fair way to adopting the White Man's way at the time war struck. But the wild tribesmen of the Southwestern Plains, Comanche, Kiowa, Arapaho, Cheyenne and Apache, interpreted the abandonment of Fort Cobb and Fort Arbuckle and the Texas posts as a sign of weakness and with redoubled fury continued raids on White settlements and civilized Indians alike. The loyal Wichita fled to Kansas where they joined Jesse Chisholm for the duration, leaving a permanent recording of their Kansas sojourn by giving their name to Kansas' largest city. And, as a result of his flight with the troops over the route up which Texans were later to drive millions of cattle, Jesse Chisholm's name has been indelibly written into fame and story in the "Chisholm Trail."

Into the peaceful environment of the land of the Five Civilized Tribes in 1861 came a Yankee lawyer who was to render more harm to these Indians than have the machinations of all other White men before and since. Albert Pike was born in Boston. Possessing a wanderlust he wandered over much of the frontier before settling at Little Rock, Arkansas. Upon the outbreak of the war, Jefferson Davis sent him as an emissary of the new Confederate government to the Five Civilized Tribes. Through judicious use of whiskey, flattery, threats, cajolery and rumored bribery, he persuaded nearly all the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles, most of the Cherokees and many of the Creeks to side with the South. The end result of the Yankee lawyer's activities were four years of robbery, arson and murder in the Territory.

But he met his match in one Indian. Aging Creek chieftain Opothleyahola had fought against the removal of his tribe from their ancestral lands in Alabama. He remembered who had brought so much misery to his peo-

Battle of Honey Springs from engraving in *Leslie's Weekly*.





Sharps Carbine, Model 1859. A favorite cavalry weapon of the Civil War.

ple. It was not Northerners but the same Southerners who were now endeavoring to destroy the Union he had come to respect. He would have no part of Albert Pike's blandishments. He strove desperately to maintain his tribe in a position of neutrality as did Chief John Ross of the Cherokees.

The defeat of General Nathaniel Lyons' Union Army at Wilson Creek in Missouri in August, 1861, and the capture of Lexington and a Union Army by General Sterling Price in the next month, brought about a collapse of the Indian's neutralist efforts. John Ross threw in the sponge and went with the Confederates. But not Opothleyahola. He remained loyal to the Union but, at the same time, realized the position of the loyal Creeks was rapidly becoming untenable. Preparations were made to go into exile in Kansas.

Colonel Douglas H. Cooper, who commanded Fort Washita for the Confederates throughout the war, determined to prevent this exodus. Upon the approach of his command of Texans, augmented by Indian troops under command of Colonel Daniel McIntosh and Lt. Colonel Chilly McIntosh, the Creeks hurriedly left their homes and started for Kansas. They were overtaken and a sanguinary battle fought at Round Mountain. The Creeks possessed enough ammunition to put up a real battle. Cooper's command withdrew after inflicting heavy losses on the Creeks but without accomplishing his purpose.

At Caving Banks, near Tulsey Town, the forerunner of modern Tulsa, Cooper again attacked Opothleyahola. Defection of a considerable number of his Cherokee Indian units caused Cooper to again withdraw from the battle. But a few days later, in the Battle of Chustenahlah, he pretty well accomplished his mission. The exhausted Creeks, with their ammunition depleted, could offer little resistance. After more heavy losses the survivors fled in wild disorder, abandoning their earthly possessions, and arriving in Montgomery County, Kansas, completely destitute.

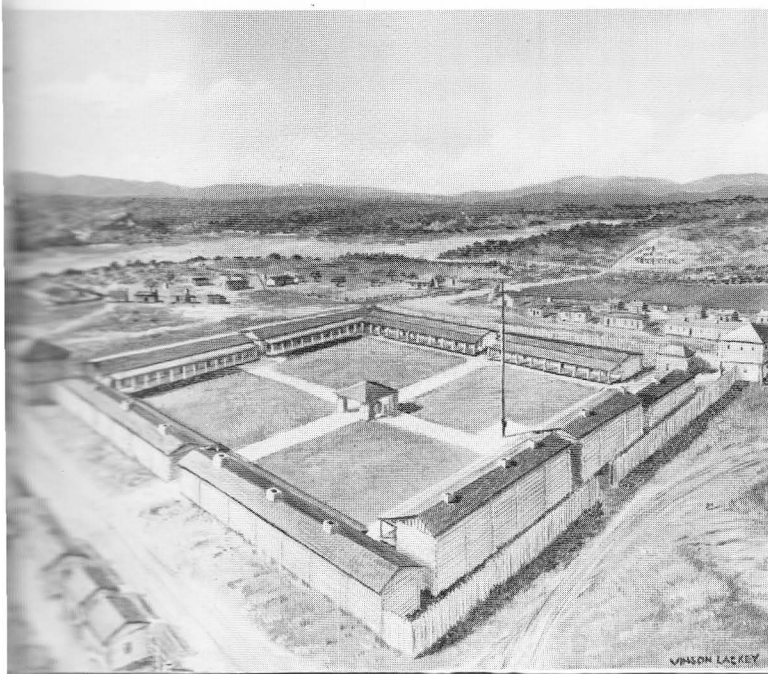
Here they passed the remainder of the war in utter poverty and here their heroic chieftain died. Opothleyahola proved himself to be one of the noblest of the Redmen. His name has never been given the recognition to which it is entitled.

The rest of the fighting during the Civil War by organized forces revolved around efforts of the Union troops to fight their way to the Red River. Because of the great distance from sources of supply, the North was never able to rally sufficient forces to push to Texas' northern border. Even worse, the constant bickering between Union commanders prevented any concerted and continuous campaign.

The first invasion was undertaken by Generals James H. Lane, James W. Denver, and Colonel Charles Doubleday on June 1, 1862. They attacked the Confederates in the Battles of Cowskin Prairie and Locust Grove. As was true of most of the battles in the Indian country, the Union command was left in possession of the field. Nearly every engagement followed the same pattern. The Confederates fought well until ammunition and other supplies were depleted and then retired, but generally after inflicting such losses on the invaders that they were never able to follow up the victory gained. The first expedition was abandoned after marching to within fifteen miles of Fort Gibson, apparently because of differences arising between the crusty leaders.

The second Federal invasion was undertaken by General James C. Blount in October. At Fort Wayne he attacked Cooper's forces and drove them from the field. At the same time, loyal Indians attacked Fort Cobb. They destroyed the Fort and its garrison and massacred most of the Tonkawa tribe which had sought refuge nearby.

(Please turn to page 66)



Ft. Gibson. Oil by Vinson Lackey.



Enter the Law.

Oil by E. C. Ford

Nebraska, Arkansas and Texas before he was finally sentenced to death for the slaying of Patrick O'Brien in Napa County, California, in 1864.

The most famous early desperado east of the Mississippi was John A. Murrell, the Great Western Land Pirate, whose crime syndicate covered twenty states. Horsethief, man-thief, swindler, counterfeiter, bandit and murderer *par excellence*, his organization of cut-throats, at the peak of his career, were said to number in the thousands, known to each other and bound together by mystic signs and rituals comparable to the Mafia of modern times. And there were the Harpes, Samuel Mason, and many other lusty characters of Cave-in-Rock and the Natchez Trace, all of them murderers, robbers and highwaymen.

Indiana had the Reno brothers, who invented the popular western pastime of train robbing in 1866. Their depredations spread into Iowa and Illinois before John Reno was arrested by Pinkerton detectives and sentenced to twenty-five years in prison and the other brothers were captured and hanged by a mob.

The James-Younger gang of Missouri perfected the Reno brothers' technique in its first train holdup on July 21, 1873. The fad spread like wildfire. By 1878, Sam Bass and Company had introduced it to Nebraska and Texas.

The discovery of western gold in 1849, and the building of the transcontinental railroads following the War Between the States, gave impetus to all forms of crimes. The rapid spread of population from the Missouri to the Pacific and the Gulf to the Canadian border had stripped the cumbersome machinery of legislation and administration of law. Bandits and rough characters were so thick they killed and robbed each other. In California, Washington Territory and Montana, vigilante committees were necessary to dispose of the great organizations of criminals or run them out. Many of these outlaws had drifted into Oklahoma and the Southwest. Adept at robbing banks, stagecoaches and mining shipments, they easily turned to the more dangerous, more profitable activity of stopping the snorting iron horse of commerce, plundering express and mail cars and robbing the terrified passengers who stood shivering and helpless under the menacing muzzles of their cocked rifles and revolvers.

During the ten years closing the century there were over 250 train robberies in the West. Hundreds of persons were killed in these daring exploits, and as many more wounded. The railroads began constructing their express cars of heavier steel and carrying their precious cargoes in massive built-in safes equipped with time locks or combinations.

not made known to the express messengers and could not be opened until the end of the run. Strict vigilance at terminals, more guards in the express cars, and other safety factors operated to make train robbery more difficult and less common. But by this time, the Oklahoma and Indian territories had suffered their baptism of fire.

Of all sections of the West after the War Between the States, the 74,000 square miles now called Oklahoma was the worst hotbed of lawlessness. Wild and unsettled except for the Indian Nations, it was a hideout for criminals from every part of the country. For more than twenty years the only law was a handful of scattered deputy United States marshals working out of Judge Isaac C. Parker's court in Fort Smith, Arkansas. Even then, they had no authority in the strip of country forming the panhandle of Oklahoma today. Known then as "No Man's Land," it lay immune from federal or state law for half a century. When the marshals grew hot on their trail, the outlaws fled here to safety. But more often than not they ended up in the federal prison or on the Fort Smith gallows.

Parker chose for his marshals straight-shooting, hard-riding, courageous men who knew the seriousness of their responsibility. They ranged the trackless country on horseback and in wagons, fording the streams, camping under the stars and eating with their Winchesters between their knees—the cream of intrepid fighters seeking the cream of frontier badmen. They brought in the outlaws singly, in pairs and by the dozen. Not without danger to themselves,

Temple Houston, Woodward lawyer and son of Sam Houston, was noted for his colorful court trials as an attorney for Oklahoma outlaws.



The Sheriff.

Watercolor by Olaf Seltzer.

however. Sixty-five of these officers were killed in the line of duty, while their rifles and six-shooters tattooed the word "order" across the plains.

The Fort Smith court became the most famous, and its judge the most relentless jurist in America. In his twenty-one years on the bench, he docketed 13,490 cases, sentenced 160 men to death and hanged 79 of them. To the law-abiding citizens he was civilization's "rock of security," but to the brigands of the border he was "Bloody Parker," "Butcher Parker," and "The Hanging Judge."

Famous, too, became his tall, long-whiskered hangman, George Maledon. Maledon took great pride in his work. His ropes were hand-woven from special hemp fiber in St. Louis. He jerked the lever on sixty of the 79 men Parker ordered to die, and was always careful to break his victim's neck. Newspapermen called him "The Prince of Hangmen," and the scaffold on which he performed his duties "The Gates of Hell."



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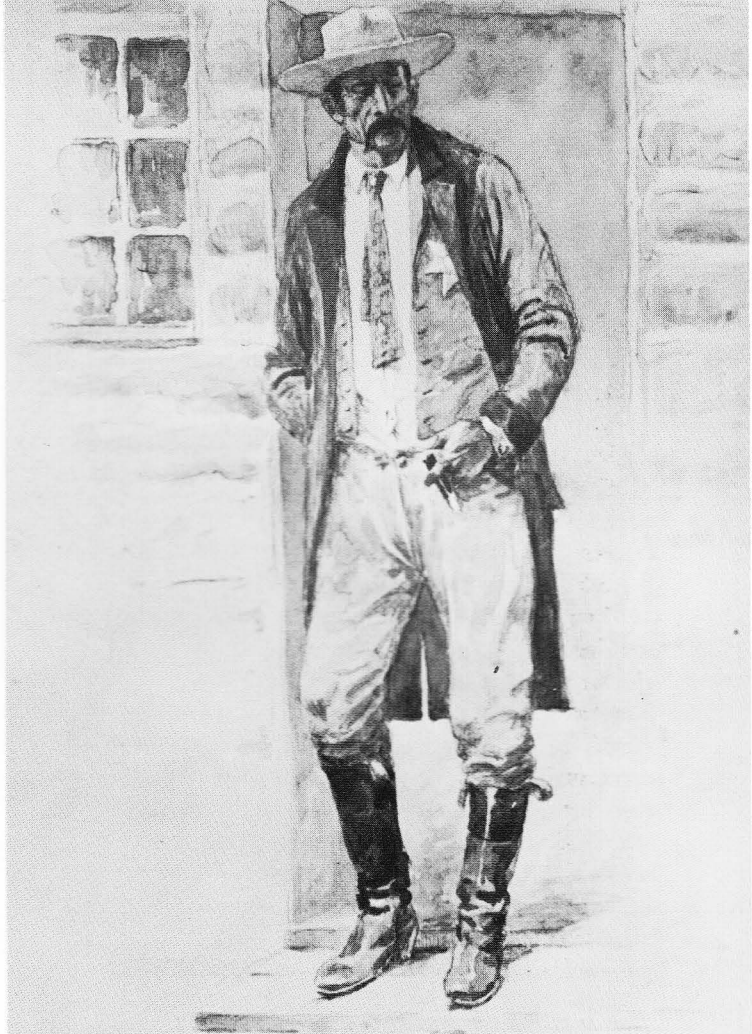
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When Congress stripped the great court of its jurisdiction over Indian Territory in the autumn of 1896, Judge Parker's white beard sank on his chest. Two months and two weeks later, he was dead. His mission was ended. He had rid the country of thousands of renegades and looters and many of its notorious lights like Cherokee Bill, Ned Christie, the Bob Rogers and Bill Cook gangs, the Rufus Buck outlaws, and the woman bandit known as Belle Starr.

But lawlessness in Oklahoma had not been eradicated. In the western half of the state, most of which had been settled by numerous land openings from 1889 through 1893, the white settlers lived under the furious reign of new, and even more vicious, gangs than they had ever known. Trains, stores, banks and postoffices were robbed; peaceful citizens were shot down in cold blood, and the land was overrun with horse and cattle thieves and whiskey peddlers until the question was whether the outlaws or the honest settlers owned it.

Again the federal government met the appeal of the people for help. The territory was organized into judicial districts, judges were appointed, and laws provided making many ordinarily state offenses federal crimes. Evett Dumas Nix, a Guthrie business man, was appointed United States Marshal. Nix selected a score or more of field deputies on the basis of character and record alone, and told them to put an end to this reign of terror. These men of the six-gun and silver star moved out across the prairies. Within

a few years they had practically cleared the country of its thieves and robber bands.

Fabulous names appear in this saga, names of both good men and bad. Among those on the side of law and order were Nix, Ed Short, John Hale, John Hixon, Dick Speed, Lafe Shadley, Tom Houston, Frank M. Canton, Charles Colcord, Frank Cochrane, Bill Fossett, and experienced gunmen of the border like Bill Tilghman, Heck Thomas and Chris Madsen, who became known as the "Three Guardsmen." Opposing the forward march of civilization were the Dalton and Doolin gangs, the Caseys, Christians, Jennings, and Wyatt and Black outlaws, with such picturesque names as Black-Faced Charley Bryánt, Arkansas Tom Jones, Red Buck Waightman, Dynamite Dick Clifton, Tulsa Jack Blake, Bitter Creek Newcomb, Little Bill Raidler, Little Dick West, Cattle Annie and Little Breeches.

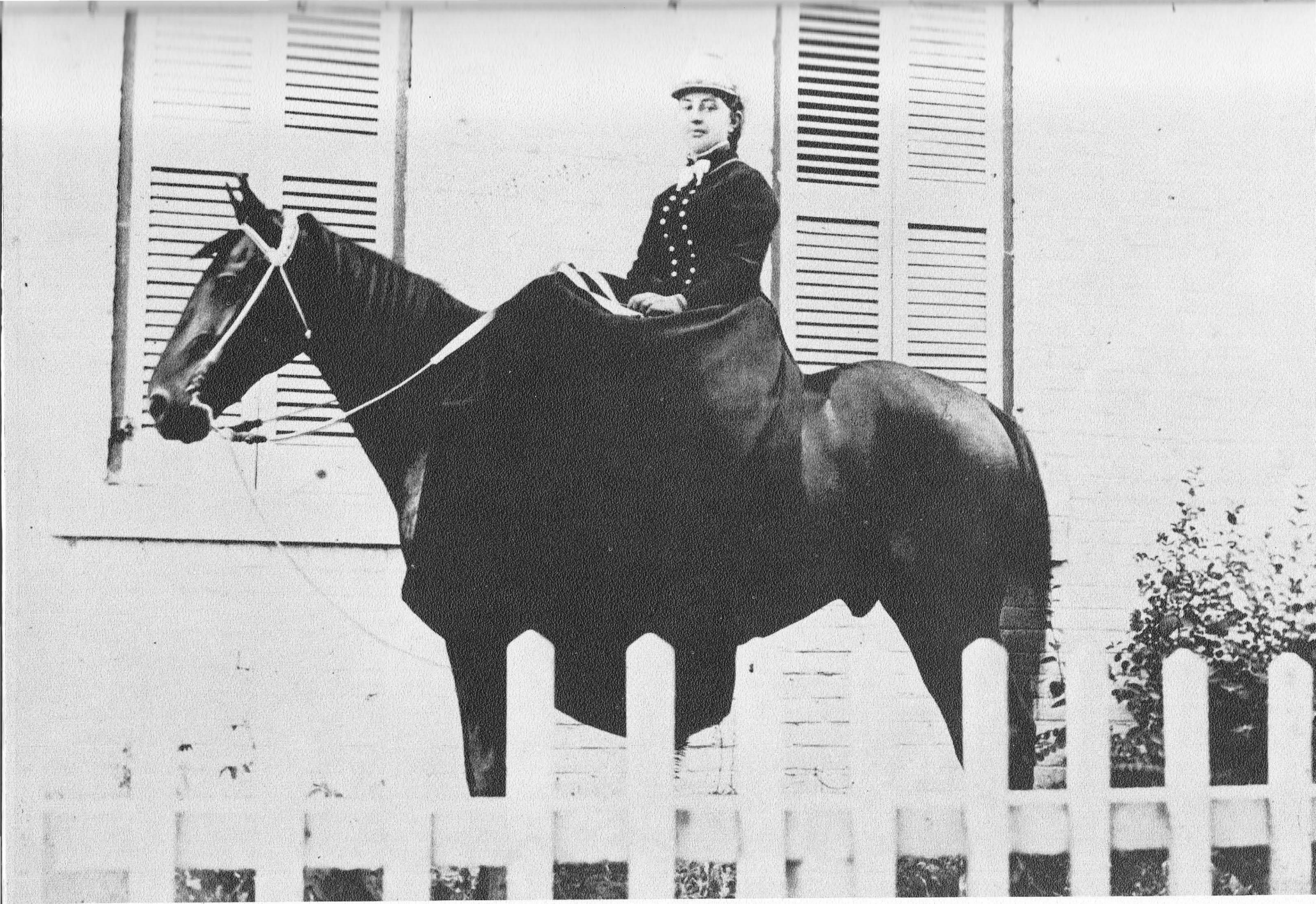
It is needless here to go into a long discussion about what caused the outlaw to be an outlaw. I do not agree with the explanation, however, that the outlaws who rode in Oklahoma were products of conditions; that as former cowboys with little or no education, forced out of work and driven from the freedom of the range by its division into farms, they could not adjust themselves to agricultural pursuits. There was still plenty of work for cowboys on the ranges of West Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and areas to the north, had they wanted to continue as honest, law-abiding citizens.

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The Stage Holdup.

Oil by Robert Lindneux.





Tom King. The only known photograph of this Oklahoma woman outlaw. She was a stunning dresser and was often seen riding a fine horse of doubtful ownership. Her maiden name was Flora Quick.

On to Oklahoma!

An opportunity is now offered to every person desirous of securing a home upon Government Lands, to gratify their wishes a colony has been organized and is still forming for the purpose of occupying that famous country south of Kansas known as Oklahoma Territory. The colony will start for that locality on or about June 25, 1883, and every poor man can now be enabled to provide himself with a home upon Government Lands at a mere nominal cost—the entry or pre-emption fee.

Capt. D. L. Payne, who has long been agitating the question of the settlement of this country will lecture upon that subject in this city, and will describe the country, the previous efforts made to colonize it, and the present condition and status of the colony. No person who desires to obtain a good home and farm should fail to hear the lecture. This will probably be the last chance ever offered to secure a cheap home upon Government Lands.

The **Homesteaders** **LAST FRONTIER**

By A. M. GIBSON

OKLAHOMA, regarded as one of the youngest states, actually is one of the nation's oldest in terms of culture, institutional development, and geographical form. Oklahoma's genesis runs as far back in history as 1820, when the United States Government carved out a domain which eventually ran west from Arkansas to the 100th meridian and south from the 37th parallel (present southern boundary of Kansas) to Red River, designated this region the Indian Territory, and divided it among the remarkably advanced Five Civilized Tribes.

These Indian immigrants, the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles, had been forced from their ancestral homes in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida by encroaching settlers, unfriendly state governments, and extortionate treaties imposed upon them by the United States. Once the anguish of the "trail of tears" had been overcome, these courageous people adjusted to the new land, opened farms, plantations, and ranches, established towns, churches, and schools, linked the Indian nations together with a well-developed system of trade and communications, and generally continued their progress along the road to a highly civilized life.

During the Civil War, Oklahoma's five Indian republics supported the Confederacy. As punishment for this liaison, the victorious Union Government reconstructed the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole nations

much as it did the other components of the late Confederate States of America. Among other penalties, each of the Five Civilized Tribes was forced to surrender a substantial portion of its domain in the Indian Territory to the Federal Government as a sort of bounty or reparations of war. Upon this surrendered territory, comprising the western half of Oklahoma, the United States in the period 1865 to 1880 settled thirty additional tribes from peripheral states and territories.

Assured of permanent protection of their lands and way of life by treaties with the United States, the Five Civilized Tribes in eastern Oklahoma turned to the task of rebuilding their war-ravaged nations, while the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and other newcomers on the reservations in western Oklahoma reluctantly adopted the new life prescribed for them by their agents. And it appeared for awhile that Oklahoma, checker-boarded with tribal nations and reservations, would remain a permanent Indian community.

This was a futile hope, however, for by the late 1870's most of the arable, well-watered land in the trans-Mississippi West had been homesteaded, and land-hungry settlers began to cast covetous glances at the Indian Territory. By tribal treaties and federal law Indian Territory, except in rare cases, was off-limits to the Anglos. The chronicle of how these barriers were removed and the Indian nations

Oklahoma Boomer family in camp.





Waiting at the Oklahoma line April 21, 1889.

opened to the homesteader makes the western railroad promotions, mining prospectuses, and beef bonanza schemes seem tame by comparison.

Prominent in the movement to open Indian Territory to settlement were the railroads. The Katy, Frisco, Rock Island, and Santa Fe lines had crossed Indian Territory in linking the Missouri and Kansas trade centers with the greater Southwest. That the sparsely settled Indian nations made only small use of these lines was noted by a Katy official who complained that his company was the first railroad in history to construct a line "two hundred and fifty miles through a tunnel." Of course, the railroad companies were hopeful that soon Indian Territory would be settled with a farmer on every quarter-section, thriving towns, and other revenue producing sources.

Equally interested in opening Oklahoma to settlement were officials of banking and mercantile firms in St. Louis, Kansas City, Topeka, and Wichita who saw the Indian Territory as a new source for investments and markets. Because railroads, bankers, and large business combinations were generally unpopular with the general public in these times, a direct campaign by these interests to open Indian Territory to settlement would very likely have aroused suspicions rather than promoted the cause. The homeseeker, more closely connected with the image of the American Democracy, was regarded as a likely stalking horse for the big interests; and once the territory was opened, all, including the homeseeker would benefit.

To organize the homeseekers, a class of professional promoters called Boomers emerged from the strategy sessions. Four Boomer leaders were conspicuous in the noisy, colorful campaign to remove the Indian Territory settlement barriers. First on the scene was Charles C. Carpenter, an adventurer of the Buffalo Bill Cody-type complete with flowing locks, velvet vest, and beaver hat, and ex-

perienced in opening Indian lands to the homesteader, already having led a caravan of settlers into the forbidden Black Hills country of the deadly Sioux in Dakota Territory. During 1879, Carpenter's Oklahoma Colony gathered at Independence and Coffeyville, Kansas, in preparation for a thrust into the rich farming lands of Indian Territory. His enthusiastic followers captured the attention of the press, newspaper stories of Carpenter's scheme reached the Governments of the Five Civilized Tribes, the principal chiefs protested, and the United States Government stationed troops at strategic crossings into the "Promised Land." Carpenter was officially warned, and his following faded.

On the heels of Carpenter's fiasco, the "Big Three" in the Boomer Movement, Elias C. Boudinot, David L. Payne, and William L. Couch launched their campaign to open the Indian Territory to the homesteader. Boudinot, a Cherokee mixed-blood, had served as an officer on the staff of Cherokee General Stand Watie during the Civil War, and represented the Confederate Cherokee Government at Richmond. An able attorney, Boudinot established a lucrative practice in Washington after the war, held minor government posts, and became a leading spokesman for railroad interests in the Southwest. The fluent, persuasive Boudinot, to the disdain of his tribesmen in Indian Territory, popularized the issue of opening the Indian nations and reservations to settlement by speaking to interested groups over the country and publishing articles in widely-circulated newspapers. While never actually leading a Boomer colony into the new Canaan, Boudinot became the chief spokesman for the movement and the wide circulation of his writings on the subject did much to promote the idea of the right of homesteaders to stake claims in Indian Territory.

Inspired and encouraged by the writings and speeches

of Boudinot, a steadily increasing stream of homeseekers from all points of the compass began arriving in the south Kansas towns during 1879. Captain David L. Payne was the Boomer leader who organized them into a well-disciplined Oklahoma colony and eventually gained for each the right to a homestead in Indian Territory. Payne, Indiana-born, came to Kansas Territory in 1858, and as a frontier guide and scout became acquainted with much of the Southwest, served in the Union Army, was elected to several terms in the Kansas Legislature, and held minor political posts in Washington. When, during 1879, Boudinot's writings and speeches were fanning the hopes of homeseekers, Payne turned up in the south Kansas towns as the organizer for these people. In no time at all Payne had established a string of tidy Boomer camps on the environs of Arkansas City, Caldwell, Hunnewell, and other border towns. Collectively these were called Payne's Okla-

homa Colony. The camps were tied together with regular visits and speeches from Payne, and a newspaper he published called the *Oklahoma War Chief*.

The regimen of Boomer camp life had heavy religious overtones. The eloquent Payne kept his followers fired up for years by words alone. His favorite text was "and the Lord commanded unto Moses, 'Go forth and possess the Promised Land,'" and the marching song for the homeseekers was "On to Beulah Land." Payne sold memberships in his colony for two dollars each; each membership certificate guaranteed the right to a quarter-section in Oklahoma. Town lots in the cities he planned to establish sold for twenty-five dollars each.

Between 1879 and 1884, Payne led several Boomer raids into Indian Territory, the most impressive one occurring during the Spring of 1880 when 150 homeseekers marched south to the North Canadian in central Oklahoma and

THE SIGNAL

People having Certificates to enter the Strip will please line up by 11 o'clock tomorrow morning, Saturday, September 16th., 1893, in a space Two Miles East of the City Limits, and One Mile West of same. The Signal to enter Strip will be Fired Precisely at 12 M., tomorrow  Santa Fe Time, by Capt. Hardie 3rd Cavalry, from a point opposite the Registration Booths. This Signal will be repeated along the line by soldiers. Those desiring to go by the Railroad will please have their Certificates in their hands.

F. H. HARDIE,
Captain 3d Cavalry Commanding



Street scene, Oklahoma City a year after the Run.

established a colony on the present site of Oklahoma City. Payne's colonists erected a stockade, platted their city, and began opening fields for planting. Government scouts discovered their location, United States cavalry from nearby Fort Reno arrived, arrested Payne and the colonists, and escorted them to Kansas. Captain Payne was aware of the publicity value of his Boomer raids, always taking along newspapermen and photographers. When the Boomer chief died mysteriously in a Wellington, Kansas, hotel room in November, 1884, his lieutenant, Captain William L. Couch, succeeded to the leadership of the Oklahoma Colony and continued the Boomer raids. While in each case the colonists were ejected as trespassers, their tenacity attracted national publicity and eventually produced the desired result.

During 1885, Congress began seriously considering opening various portions of Indian Territory to the homesteader. Four years later, and over the protests of the Indian nations, it was decided to open a 1,887,796 acre rectangle in the very heart of Indian Territory. This tract had been taken from the Creeks and Seminoles by the devastating Civil War treaties, and since no immigrant tribes had been settled on it as originally planned, the area was called the Unassigned Lands.

Congress authorized the transfer of the Unassigned Lands to the Public Domain in March, 1889, and it was during this same month that President Benjamin Harrison issued the original Oklahoma proclamation which declared that on April 22, 1889, the Unassigned Lands would be opened to the homesteader. Up to this time, in populating the Public Domain of the American West, there had been such an abundance of desirable land available for homeseekers that the settlement rate had been steady but slow. By 1889,

most of the good land had been taken up and the number of homeseekers far exceeded the homesteads available.

Because the eventual opening of Indian Territory had been popularized by the Boomers, and since the Unassigned Lands represented such a small settlement area, government planners responsible for the opening realized that there would be many more homeseekers than claims available, and, to equalize opportunity, it was decided to settle the area by a novel procedure—the land run. The rule against trespassing on Indian Territory lands was lifted three days previous to the run to allow homeseekers time to gather on the four borders of the Unassigned Lands, and in a few hours homesteader camps crowded to the northern boundary in the Cherokee Outlet, or east in the Sac and Fox country, south along the Canadian in the Chickasaw Nation, and west in the Cheyenne-Arapaho country.

Monday, April 22, 1889, dawned clear and bright. Fifty thousand modern Israelites thronged the borders of Captain Payne's New Canaan, awaiting the starting signal. Then from the detachment of United States cavalry assigned for the day to supervise the race for homesteads there emerged a booted trooper:

Riding to a high point of ground, where he could be seen for miles each way, with a flag in one hand and a bugle in the other, the signal officer took his position. At precisely 12 o'clock he raised the bugle to his lips and gave the signal blast, long and loud, waving and dropping the flag at the same moment. Then began the race for homes—a race beyond the power of pen to adequately describe. It was a race free to all. None was barred. Neither sex, age, nor circumstances were imposed as conditions. The Government was the starter, and the American people were the racers. Cheers and shouts from [fifty thousand] souls, a refrain to the bugle notes, sent their echoes o'er hill and plain, arousing into life the solitude of the enchanting surroundings. The race began. The fleet racer and plow horse are given free rein, and plied with whip and spur. The long railway trains, too, with ear-piercing shrieks from their engine whistles, joined in the race.



The First Furrow.

Oil by Olaf Seltzer.

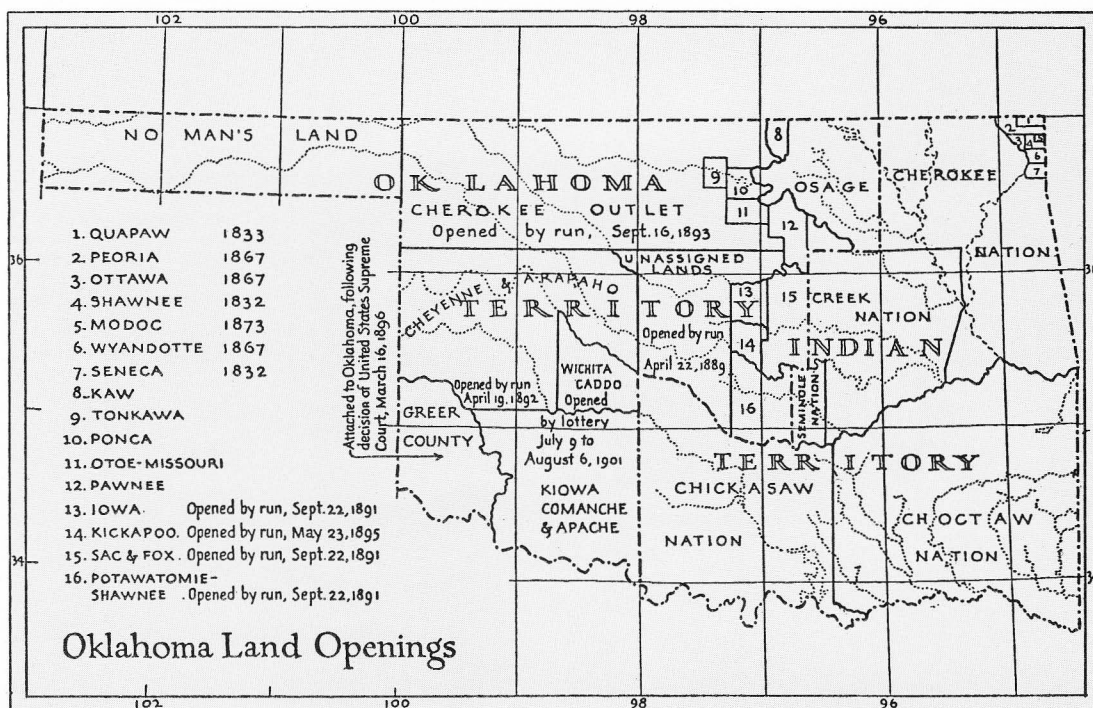
From the windows of every coach came shouts of cheer and the waving of flags and handkerchiefs to those that were racing to the south on either side of the fast-flying trains. The ranks of the racers are diminishing on every side; they are seen to leap from their horse; a happy shout, a waving of their hat, the setting of a flag or stake. They have taken a homestead. Oklahoma was the home of the white man. (Marion T. Rock. *Illustrated History of Oklahoma*)

By evening, every homestead and town lot in the settlement zone had been staked. Tents, wagon boxes, dugouts, and crude cabins sheltered the original settlers of Oklahoma Territory. Congress was slow in providing territorial government, and, for well over a year grass-roots democracy and vigilante action provided the essential rudiments of order for this raw frontier community. Finally in May,

1890, the Oklahoma Organic Act was adopted. This measure provided authority and structure for regular territorial government and attached No-Man's Land (Oklahoma's Panhandle) to Oklahoma Territory. One of the most significant sections of the Organic Act was the provision that all lands in western Indian Territory, when opened to settlement, were automatically annexed to Oklahoma Territory.

Like the proverbial camel who, on being allowed to shelter only his head, in no time had completely taken over the tent, the new but small Oklahoma Territory prepared to appropriate the reservations and nations of western Indian Territory. New Boomer leaders emerged, fresh Oklahoma colonies were formed, and between 1891 and

(Please turn to Page 68)



By Muriel Wright

OKLAHOMA is the last home land of many American Indian tribes. The ancestors of some of these lived in the valleys of the Arkansas and the Red Rivers in remote pre-Columbian times but the ancestors of others lived in other parts of America. Years before Oklahoma became a state in 1907, sixty-five tribes and parts of tribes were assigned lands within the borders of this old Indian Territory. Today, after nearly seventy-five years since the first organized white settlement of 1889 in this region, Oklahoma is unique in the history of America, for the tolerance of those early days has developed into understanding and even affection between the two races. Oklahoma Indians are found in all walks of life among the citizens of this State. They have attended its schools and colleges, and some are among its leaders in the fields of art, education, business and the professions.

United States Indian agencies still list twenty-nine tribes within the borders of this state whose former tribal land interests are administered or are being terminated under government policy. These Indian agencies were first established when the Indians living east of the Mississippi were brought here by the government, to make new homes and establish their own governments. The actual removal was carried on for approximately ten years by United States officers and agents, under provisions of the Congressional Act of May, 1830. The first tribal groups came from the Southeastern States, and in the order of their removal west were: Choctaw, Creek (Muskogee), Seminole, Chickasaw and Cherokee. A small group known as the Senecas of Sandusky together with bands of Shawnee and Mohawk were also removed from Ohio in 1832 and settled near the Quapaw reserve in what is now Ottawa County, east of the Neosho, now known as the Grand River. These settled tracts in the northeastern corner of present Oklahoma added to the large land area of millions of acres owned by one or another of the Five Tribes under patent from the United States, comprised the region called the Indian Territory. This vast region was never organized under one territorial government by act of Congress although many tribes and parts of tribes were moved from nearly every part of the United States and settled here up to 1894. By this time the western half of what is now Oklahoma had been organized as Oklahoma Territory and the eastern half remained as the last "Indian Territory."

After the time of the great Indian removal and settlement in Indian Territory, each of the Five Tribes established its own national government and schools under a

See page 36



Secrets of the Night.

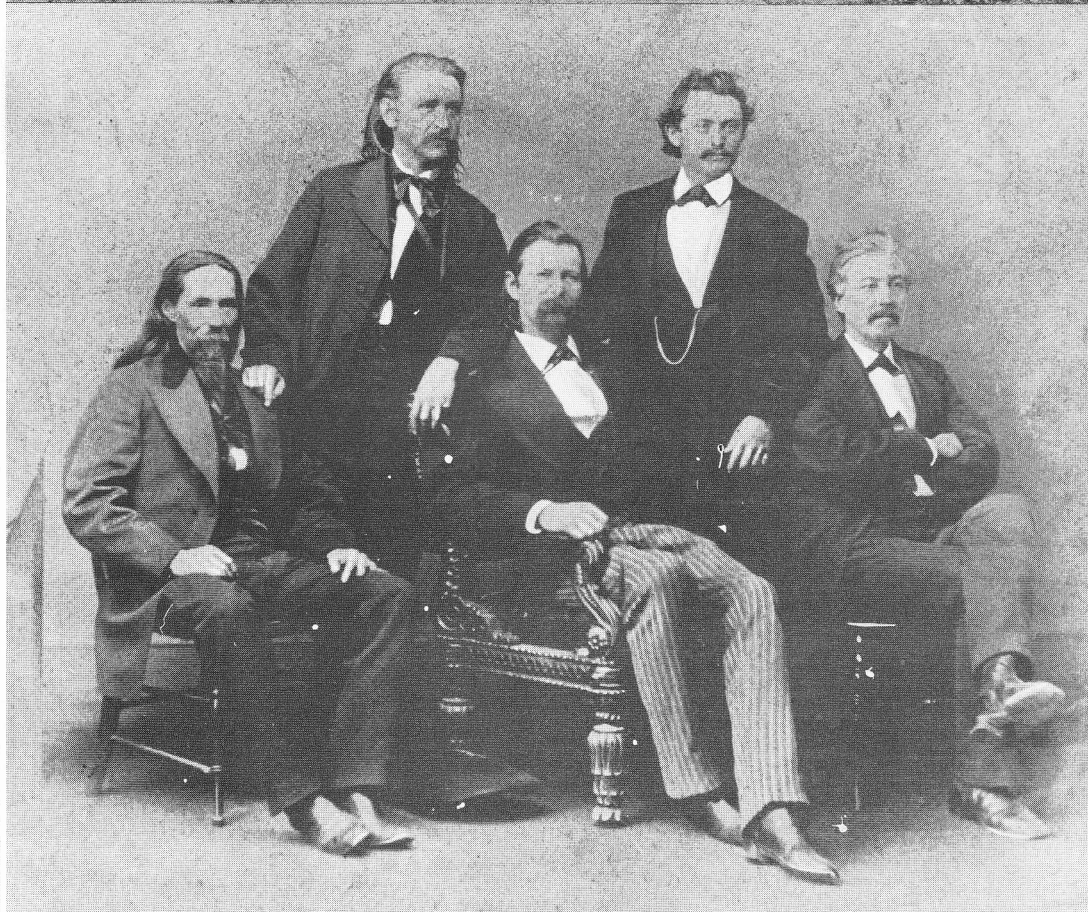
Bronze by Charles Russell.

OKLAHOMA INDIANS

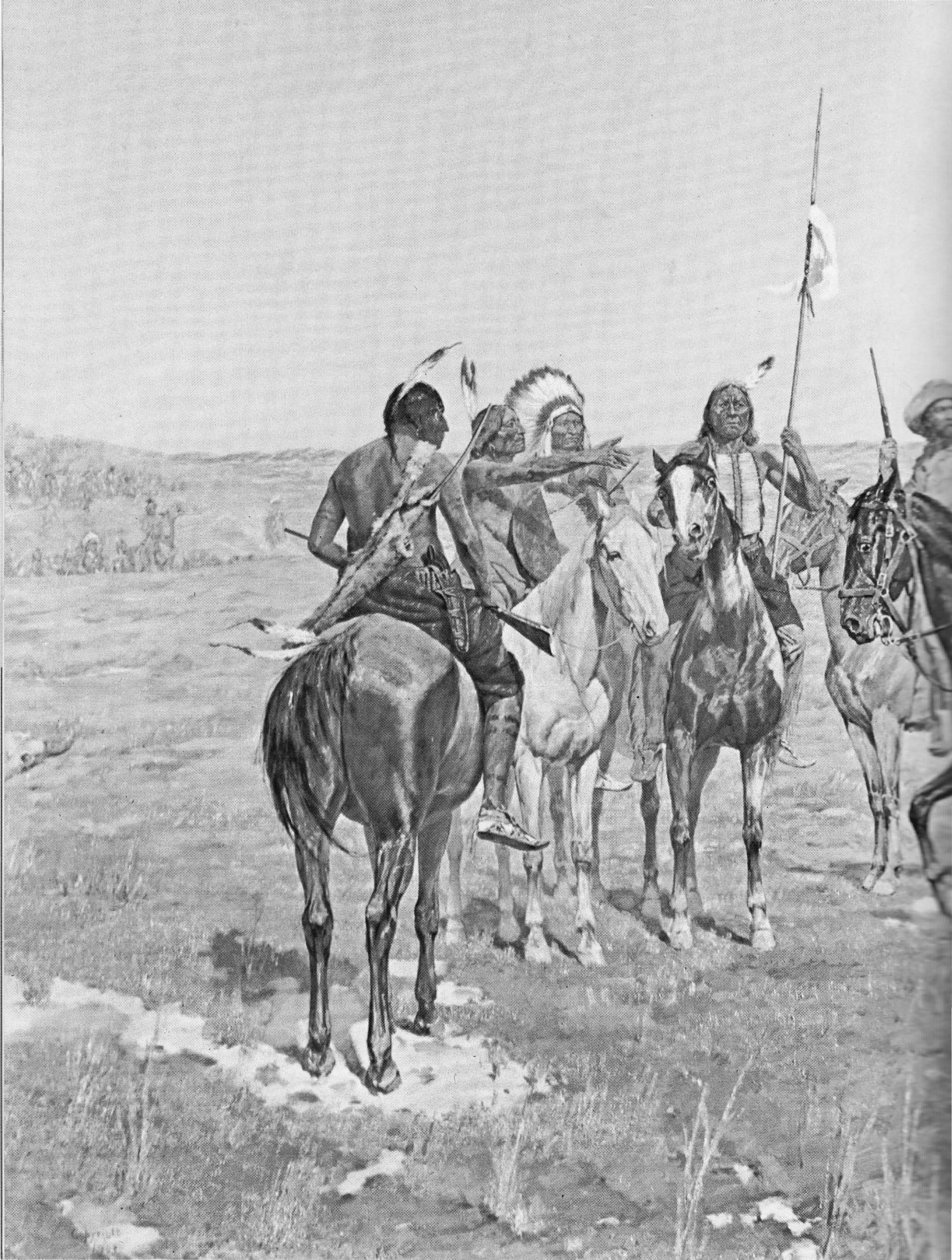
Comanche Camp in western Oklahoma.



Courtesy Dode McIntosh.



Delegation of Indians from eastern Oklahoma taken in Washington by Brady in 1867.





Chas. Schreyvogel A.



Cherokee Indians in the West.

by Sanchez y Tapia about 1830.

Chief George Lowrey was an important Cherokee leader both in the South and after the removal to Indian Territory.

Oil by George Catlin.



written constitution and laws and elected officials. Christian churches and missions established in the Territory among the Indian people were a spiritual force that both witnessed and sustained the cultural development and fine progress made in the Indian nations before the Civil War. The Five Civilized Tribes had truly traveled a "Trail of Tears" in the 1830's in carrying out the government's plan of enforced removal west. That they faced deprivation and disease and death in their ranks on the roads west, then overcame the wilderness on the frontier to make a large measure of success as civilized nations is much to their credit and honor in history.

At the outbreak of the American Civil War, each of the Indian nations as well as other tribal groups in the Indian Territory were induced to sign treaties of alliance with the Confederate States, and Indian troops served in the Confederate Army throughout the War. A large part of the Cherokee, the Seminole and the Creek people remained with the Union, their men serving in the Indian Home Guard regiments of the Federal Army. At the close of the War new treaties were demanded by the Federal government, in which the five Indian nations were to give up their lands in western Indian Territory to the United States and these lands were to be settled by other tribes. These treaties were signed at Washington in 1866, and a new era in the history of the Territory began.

The five Indian nations continued under their own governments in reduced land tracts in eastern Indian Territory. In 1890 the five Indian capitals were Tushkahoma in the Choctaw Nation; Okmulgee in the Creek Nation; Wewoka in the Seminole Nation; Tishomingo in the Chickasaw Nation; and Tahlequah in the Cherokee Nation. These capitals are now found among the old towns in Eastern Oklahoma.

By 1890 the government had settled many other tribes on reservation tracts in western Indian Territory under the supervision of U. S. Indian agencies established throughout the area including the Osage Agency at Pawhuska; Ponca Agency at White Eagle (near present Ponca City); Pawnee Agency at Pawnee; Oto Agency at Red Rock; Sac and Fox Agency about five miles south of present Stroud; Shawnee Agency near Tecumseh; Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency at Darlington (about two miles north of present El Reno); and Wichita Agency at Anadarko. The Union Agency for the Five Civilized Tribes continued at Muskogee, and the Quapaw Agency continued to serve the remnants of many tribes settled in the region of present Miami after the Civil War.

The Indian tribal names still listed in the U. S. Indian agencies in Oklahoma for the settlement of Indian business



Creek Women making Sofka.

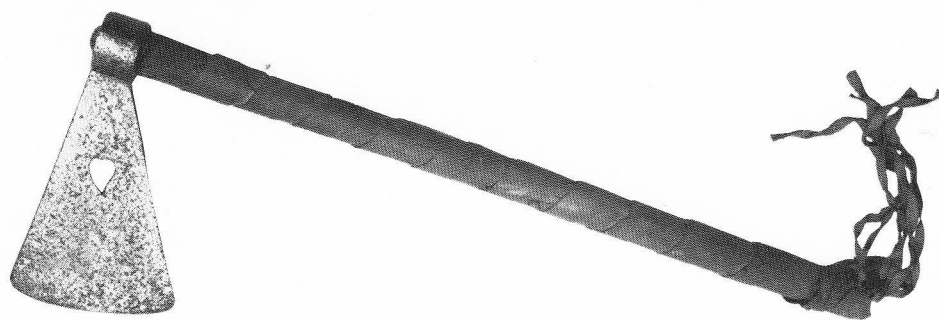
Tempera by Acee Blue Eagle.

affairs and land interests include the Five Civilized Tribes; the Osage at Pawhuska; the Quapaw, Eastern Shawnee, Seneca, Ottawa, Wyandot and remnants of the Wea, Piankashaw, Peoria and Cayuga in the Ottawa County area; the Pawnee, Kaw, Oto, Ponca and Tonkawa in the region of Pawnee; the Shawnee, Iowa, Kickapoo, Potawatomi, Sac and Fox in the vicinity of Shawnee; the Cheyenne and the Arapaho in Western Oklahoma, with their agency interests at Concho; the Great Plains tribes of the Kiowa, Comanche and Kiowa-Apache besides the Caddo, Wichita and bands of Delaware and Keechi, in the Anadarko region of Southwestern Oklahoma. The descendants of the last, large tribal group of the ancient Delaware are found in the region of Bartlesville and Nowata. This Delaware group and a Shawnee band had purchased land rights among the Cherokee after the Civil War.

Based on census counts of full-bloods to persons of one-

half degree Indian by blood, it is estimated that one-third of the Indians of the United States live in Oklahoma today. However, the total population of the state includes a strikingly large percentage of persons of Indian descent, counting those of mixed blood including some of whom are only 1/64th Indian. Family kinship ties make for deep interest and high spirit among the Indians of Oklahoma.

Members of every Indian nation and tribe — each man, woman and child — were enrolled and deeded individual allotments on the different tribal land tracts by 1906, through the work of the U. S. Indian agencies. The surplus lands after Indian allotment were opened to white settlement during the same period, through the U. S. Land Office. Statehood in 1907 saw the close of the governments of the Five Civilized Tribes and of the western reservations when the last Indian Territory (east) and Oklahoma Territory (west) were joined and entered the Union as Oklahoma. ●



French trade ax used by the Osage.



The Roundup.

End of the OPEN RANGE

BY EDWARD EVERETT DALE





Etching by Edward Borein.



UNTIL THE LATE NINETIES the range cattle industry flourished in Oklahoma. Then a series of adversities created conditions that wrought a sudden transition and western Oklahoma changed rapidly from a ranching to an agricultural country.

Western Oklahoma was at this time a very peculiar country. The general impression, even in the West, seems to be that Oklahoma Territory was settled in almost a day. Strictly speaking this is not true, and the stories of the great "rushes" are in some cases misleading. The newspapers of the time told of great crowds gathered along the border, of how when the gun was fired at high noon on the day appointed for the opening, these people dashed across the line and staked their claims two or three men sometimes locating upon the same tract of land, so the casual reader is likely to get the impression that the entire country was taken up this way.

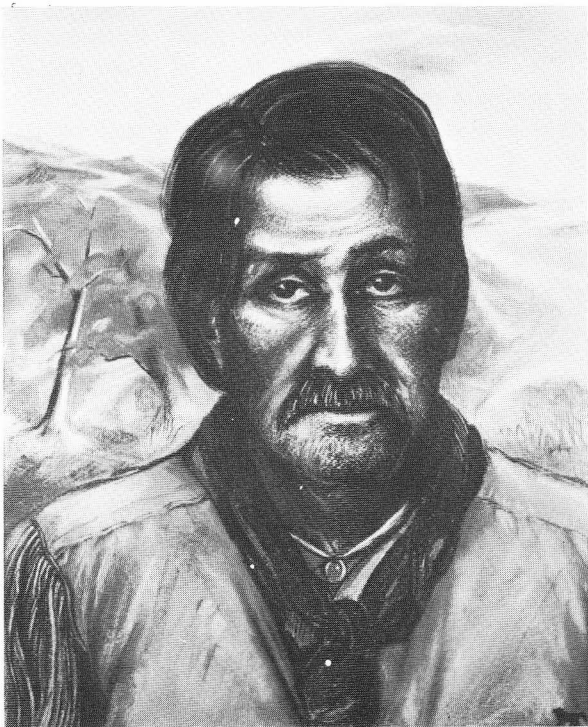
This is quite erroneous. While it is true, that the lands near the towns and the more fertile plains and valleys, especially in the eastern part of the Territory was settled in this manner, it is also true that there were hundreds of acres of fertile agricultural land not settled until years after the opening. This was particularly true of the western part of the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation opened in 1892 and of the Cherokee outlet opened in 1893. In 1898 the author rode across this part of the country on horseback and while there were settlements along the streams and in some cases on the level uplands plains, it was possible to travel miles without seeing a house through all this land was subject to homestead entry.

The greater part of this region was grazed over by the herds of the cattlemen. In the southwestern portion of Oklahoma lay the large Kiowa-Comanche Indian reservation of about three million acres. Nearly all of this was leased to cowmen and fenced in large pastures. Many of these men were Texans who also owned ranches elsewhere and handled cattle on a very large scale. They were the real "cattle kings." Among them was W. G. Waggoner, who had one pasture of 650,000 acres on this reservation besides several smaller ones, and probably kept at times more than 100,000 head. Others were Burnett, Herring, Silverstine, Ikard and Kell, besides many cattle companies, such as the "Lone Star" and the "Mule Shoe" cattle companies.

The ranges were well fenced so that the cattle were simply turned into these pastures and allowed to grow and fatten in peace. "Line camps" were built at convenient places and in each of these little "dugouts" lived one or two men who rode the fences in order to keep them in good repair. These men rode about over the range as much



Chuck time on the open range.



Jesse Chisholm. The noted cattle trail was named for him.

Mixed Medium by Lone Wolf.

as possible visiting water holes and dragging out any cow or steer that happened to be mired down in the mud. They killed a wolf at every opportunity, watched for prairie fires, kept a sharp lookout for cattle thieves and especially watched the Indians who were very fond of beef.

Under favorable circumstances the profits in the cattle industry were enormous. But circumstances were often not favorable, and this was especially true about 1898 when settlers began to flock to this region in large numbers. They came from every direction, though by far the greater number came from the states of the Middle West, such as Iowa, Illinois, Nebraska, and Kansas or from the Southern states of Texas and Arkansas. Nearly all the settlers from the latter two states came individually while many of those from the Middle West came in colonies and established little settlements or communities. The bond of union was sometimes a common religious faith, a common nationality or only the tie of a former acquaintance. Thus there were the "Mennonite settlements," the "Lutheran settlements," and the "Missouri settlement" or the "Iowa Colony."

Almost without exception these settlers, regardless of where their former homes had been were very poor. Nearly all of them had been renters or common farm hands. Their

worldly goods usually consisted of a poor team of horses, an old wagon, and a few household goods and farming implements. Each settled the best quarter-section of land he could find, built a rude sod-house or "dugout" in which to live, broke out a tract of land and planted a crop.

Naturally there was but little sympathy between these people. Their ideas were totally different, their viewpoints were as unlike as could be. Doubtless each class had some just cause to complain of the other. When the cowman said that the region was not and never would be an agricultural one he was only voicing the belief of nearly every man in the east and north who was fortunate enough to own a tract of land. The rancher said that when a man plowed up the grass of these prairies he plowed up the best crop the land would ever produce. Of course such statements as this did not please the settler who was staking his all upon a homestead.

As more settlers came into the cattle country they selected the best lands which were the valleys, the bottom lands and the level prairies of fertile soil. Each man broke out a field and fenced as much as he was able. The damage which this did to the cattle range was not at first apparent. But it became evident after one or two severe winters. The winter of 1898-99 was one of the worst ever known in the Southwest and cattle died by thousands. The next winter was very wet. Heavy rains early in autumn washed all the strength out of the grass causing a loss almost as great in some localities as the cold had done the winter before. The losses were largely due to the fact that the cattle must now depend on the coarser upland grass for food. Ranchmen began to realize the importance of these bottom lands and fertile valleys that had been fenced by settlers, and they discovered that cattle must now be fed a little each winter or many of them would die.

Range troubles were not the only ones to plague the ranchers. Nearly all of the cattlemen in Oklahoma at this later period carried on the business largely on borrowed capital. Chicago, Kansas City and other cattle markets had scores of livestock commission merchants to which shipments of cattle were assigned. These firms also loaned money. They began perhaps by making loans to feeders; then the business was later extended to include men engaged in the range cattle industry, and soon practically every cowman was handling more or less of this "commission money."

It was easy to obtain. The commission men tempted by large profits were eager to make loans to any man who had a fair location, reasonable ability as a cowman and very little collateral, provided his reputation for honesty was fairly well established. The ease with which money could be obtained tempted many a cowman to enlarge his business at the very time when conditions of the cattle country demanded entrenchment. Often a man with a good range and ten or fifteen thousand dollars worth of cattle would decide that it was a great pity not to have sufficient cattle to stock that range and would hasten to Kansas City to



The Wrangler.

Watercolor by Olaf Seltzer.

borrow money. If his reputation was good he would soon find himself in possession of \$100,000 worth of cattle. If everything went well, his profits were great. But at this time things were not going well and a cold winter or a fall in prices could mean ruin.

The business of the commission firm became terribly inflated. A forerunner of the trouble ahead came with isolated failures of single individuals. Then came the severe winters already mentioned. Thirty per cent loss was common and sometimes it was as high as sixty. Men saw all of their original capital and much of their borrowed capital lying scattered about on the frozen prairie, food for the wolves.

The lax business methods, the scarcity of grass, the hemming in of the settlers and the severe winter all combined to bring disaster to the range cattle industry in Oklahoma. As settlers continued to pour in, the second bad winter, the rainy one, came and cattle died in almost as great numbers as the preceeding one and when spring came many men, weary of the struggle against such overwhelming odds decided to give it up and let the creditors take their cattle. The money lenders took the cattle but knew not what to do with them. They were not cattlemen; and even if they had been, they could hardly hope to succeed

where the ranchman had failed. Nor was there any better range to be found elsewhere. All they could do was throw the cattle upon the Kansas City or Chicago market. Poor and thin as they were they seldom brought anything like enough to pay the notes for which they were collateral.

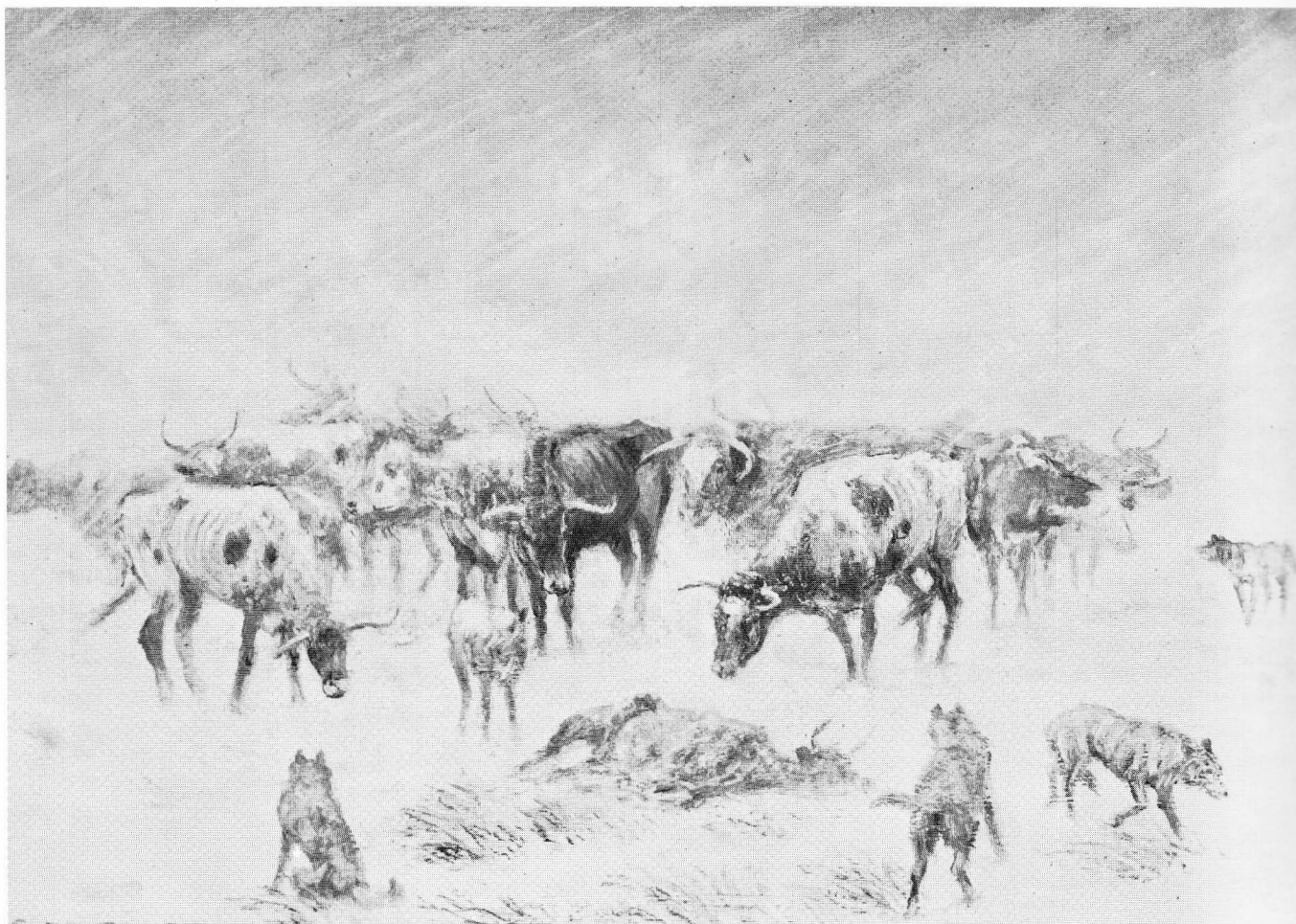
It was the beginning of the end. A hurried scuffle ensued to get to market. Trainload after trainload of cattle, mostly unfit, came pouring into Chicago, Kansas City and St. Louis. The market sagged, broke, and at last went to smash altogether. The tremendous slump in prices still further frightened the holders of cattle paper. They became clamorous in their demands for money and to supply it the men who had owned thousands of head gave up even the last milk cow. Saddle horses, mules, chuck wagon, pet ponies belonging to the children, household goods, everything went and the ranchman who had been for years a wealthy and industrious citizen now faced the world with only his two hands with which to earn a living.

It was a new world which he faced. Like Rip Van Winkle, he awoke to find all changed. The cattle had disappeared as if by magic, and farmers armed with hoe and spade had sprung up on all sides. The day of the cowman was over and western Oklahoma had become farming country. ●

This article has been adapted from one which originally appeared in The Cattleman magazine and is used through the permission of Henry Biederman, editor.

Severe winters took a great toll on the open range.

Oil by Olaf Seltzer.





THE STAMPEDE

Bronze by Frederic Remington.



500 Native or Yearling Horses
10 Short-Horn Bulls & Short-Horn Goats

Notice is hereby given that the Government has decided to purchase 500 native or yearling horses and 10 short-horn bulls and 10 short-horn goats for the use of the Indian Service at Fort Worth, Texas. Bids for these animals will be received by the Indian Agent at Fort Worth, Texas, on or before July 1st, 1900, and will be opened on Thursday, May 1st, 1900, at 12 M. The Agency on or before July 1st, 1900.

The Native horses to be purchased shall be of the following description: Native horses, not less than eight months old, and to have no approved pedigree. The Short-Horn bulls to be purchased shall be of the following description: Short-Horn bulls, not less than eight months old, and to have no approved pedigree. The Short-Horn goats to be purchased shall be of the following description: Short-Horn goats, not less than eight months old, and to have no approved pedigree. Bids will be received for any portion of the above number. It must be stated whether Native or Yearling horses, or Short-Horn bulls or goats are recommended or not. The right is reserved to reject any or all bids. An approved bond of \$1,000 will be required for the fulfillment of the Contract. Bids are requested to be present at the opening of the bids. Proposals should be endorsed, "Proposals for purchasing Yearling Horses," "Proposals for purchasing Short-Horn Bulls," and addressed to the undersigned.

SEALED PROPOSALS

OFFICE OF INDIAN AGENT, KIOWA, COMANCHE AND WICHITA AGENCY,
Anadarko, Indian Territory, March 25, 1879

Sealed Proposals in triplicate will be received at this office until 12 M. Thursday, May 1st, 1879, for the delivery at the Agency on or before July 1st, 1879, of

**500 Native or Northern Texas
YEARLING HEIFERS,**

**10 Short-Horn Bulls, 5 Short-Horn
Heifers.**

The Native heifer to be full one year old, of good size and condition.

The Short-Horns to be not less than eight nor more than eighteen months old, and to have an approved pedigree.

Bids will be received for any portion of the above named number. It must be stated whether Native, or Northern Texas heifers; whether Short-Horns are acclimated or not.

The right is reserved to reject any or all bids.

Approved bond of \$1,000 will be required for the fulfillment of the Contract.

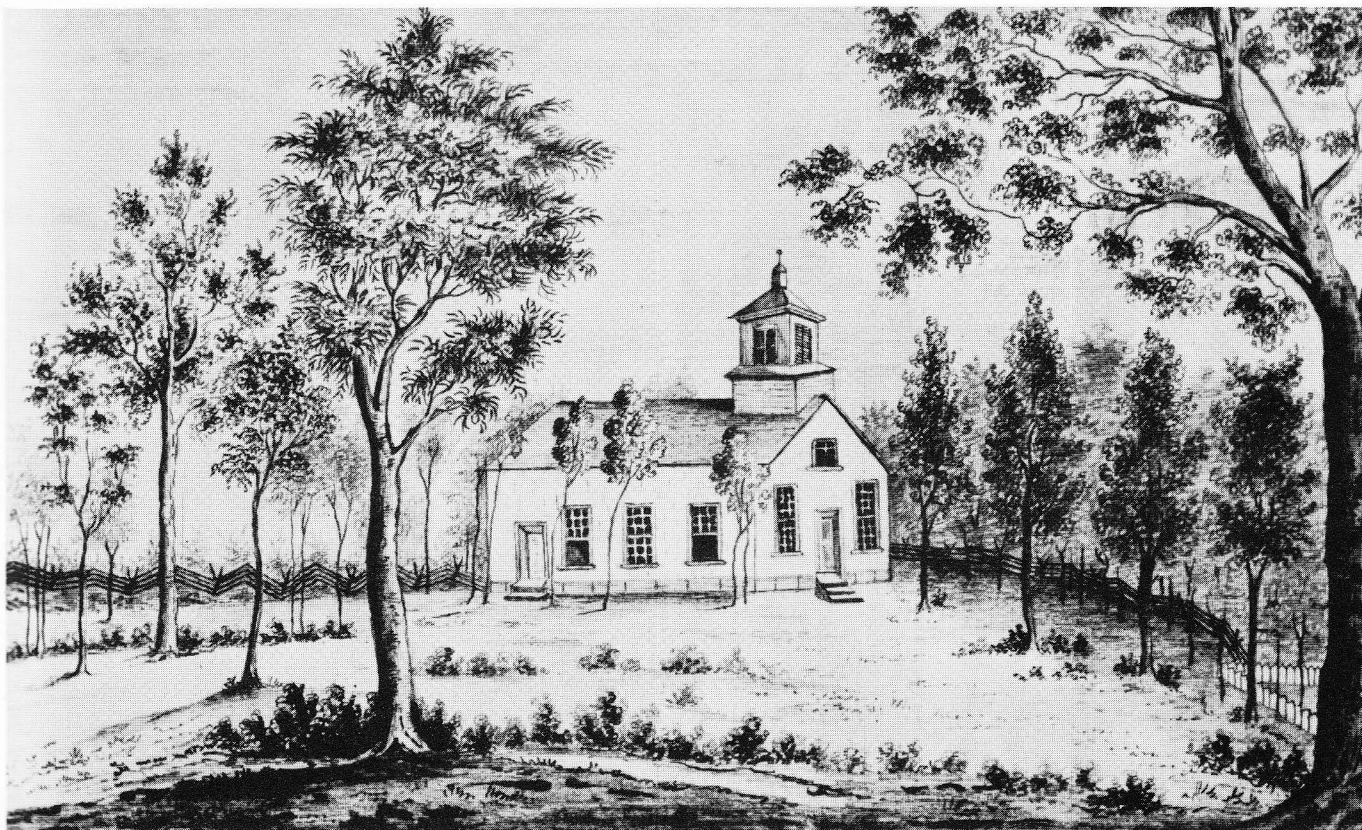
Bidders are requested to be present at the opening of Bids. Proposals should be endorsed, "Proposals for Furnishing Yearling Heifers," "Proposals for Furnishing Short-Horns," and addressed to the undersigned.

P. B. HUNT,

U. S. Indian Agent.



Appeal to the Great Spirit
Bronze by L. Dullin.



Missionary Chapel at Wheelock.

Sketch by Mary Chamberlain, 1849.

Missionary Frontier

By Hope Holway

FAITH, DEDICATION, SACRIFICE for a cause was the social ferment of the early 19th century, and no cause enlisted more adherents than that of converting the heathen to Christianity. In the white-spired New England churches gathered young men, soon to graduate from college, fired with the resolve to go forth and preach the Gospel. Listening eagerly were young women glimpsing doors opening for them to new activity never known before. Perhaps they dreamed of far-off lands of romance — Bombay, Ceylon, Burma, Java, Malacca, Tahiti — missions all established before 1820.

These young people were devoutly sure that Christianity was designed for the whole human race. In order that their souls might be saved from eternal damnation the heathen were in sore need of the Gospel; and gratitude for a blessed privilege should call youth to this service.

In every town and village there were missionary groups

giving for this cause. There were many Heathen's Friends Societies; in 1824 one such in Wareham, Massachusetts, sent \$16.50 to the American Board and one in nearby Sandwich gave \$7.04. The Female Juvenile Mite Society of Columbia, Pennsylvania, was credited with \$4.09, and the church mite box yielded \$4.18. A young lady from Sandwich sent \$3.00 for missions "being the avails of school-keeping."

To receive these contributions and to disburse them among the missions every denomination formed a Missionary Board, headquartered in some Eastern city. Various divisions of the societies occurred fairly early, like Isaac McCoy's American Indian Missionary Association (1842), and the slavery question had, by 1860, divided all of them into northern and southern groups.

To the grey-beards of the Mission Boards and to the mite box givers alike the vision was the same. On the



Missionary Nun.

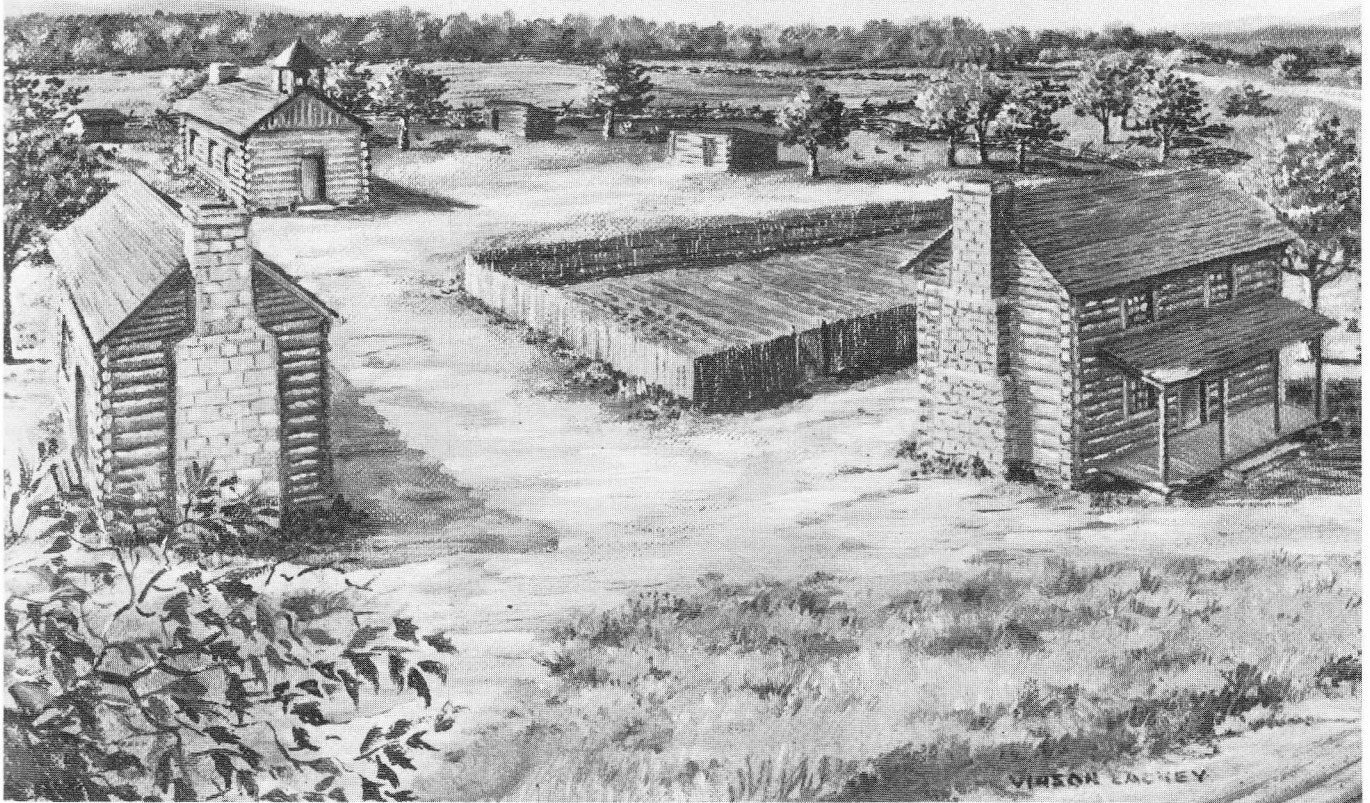
Watercolor by Olaf Seltzer.

Board lists the American Indian was entered as a "foreign heathen;" for instance, Cherokee was next to Ceylon. There were no anthropologists to point out that these people had a culture and a religion centuries old. The doctrine was not questioned that they must be prepared for a life to come in the Christian heaven, a doctrine that might help to assuage the subconscious guilt born of the dubious solution the United States Government had made of the political dilemma concerning the Indians. Perhaps missions would be a help. In 1819 Congress authorized President Monroe to "employ persons of good moral character to instruct the Indians in agriculture and to teach the children reading, writing, and arithmetic," and appropriated an annual payment of \$10,000 for the work. This did not include conversion but the missionary societies were designated as agents to recruit the persons of good moral character.

The story of the women who toiled in this mission field has too seldom been told. In a great many of the school reports the names of the women teachers are not even mentioned. Many of the men evidently shared the view of Stephen Foreman of Park Hill who wrote in 1852: "I could not object to the sentiment of the prayer . . . but I objected to a female leading the devotions of a mixed assembly." He quotes St. Paul: "Let the women learn in silence with all subjection."

There were a few, like Harriet Bunce Wright and Mary Etris, who dared to address the Boards and Secretaries back East, but most accepted their arduous lot with no recorded protest. There are a few family letters extant which tell of the loss of bedding and utensils in the floods, cooking out of doors for weeks while the men were building, living in small rooms with dirt floors or on rough boards so far apart that the winter cold blew up from beneath. The unscreened windows invited clouds of mosquitoes and flies. The ever-recurrent malaria every summer stole the strength and energy needed for the struggle, and big families and the loss of so many babies was another trying drain.

The difficulties of communication and travel were especially hard on the women, many of whom were very young and unused to such hardship. When the Washburns and the Finneys set out for the Dwight Mission in November, 1819, (Why did so many missionary journeys take place in the winter time?) they were all in their twenties, except Susannah who was only seventeen, but already carrying a little baby. They traveled through swamps and forests, for fourteen nights slept on the ground beside a fire which they did not know how to maintain, got stuck in the muddy ice until the women's cloaks were so frozen that they would stand alone, and



New Spring Place Mission.

Oil by Vinson Lackey.

the last sixty miles to Elliot Mission, which was located in Alabama, had never been traveled by a wagon. Forty-five days of such travelling brought them that far.

There were women "in the service of the saints" whom nothing daunted. Sophia Nye Byington rode five miles a day on horseback to teach a school of twenty-five with her little son, Edward, on the saddle with her. Women of great energy and ability can be named—Electa May Kingsbury, Priscilla Child Kingsbury, Philena Thacher Hotchkin, Anna Burnham, Ellen Stetson, Nancy Barnes, Catherine Fay, Margaret W. Stark, and many others who gave dedicated lives to the cause of Indian missions and schools.

There was never any unanimity of opinion concerning the importance of carrying on the schools compared with the obligation of preaching. The brethren back East imagined the preacher going forth with his Bible and by prayer and exhortation saving from damnation the Indians gathered around him. In the field the situation was quite different. The missionary had first to find a

place where the Indian was more or less permanently at home; secondly, he must make the English Bible understandable; and thirdly, he must hold an interest in a style of "preaching" wholly foreign to the Indian. Although it was against missionary theory to center that effort around the school, in practice that principle had to be followed. The value of education was more evident to the Indian mind than that of salvation. The children, too, awakened loving care on the part, at least, of the women of the missions.

It was a long time after these missions existed before the Indian became a "fellow man." This early effort was a doctrine laid on from above with dogmatic certainty of the truth; but without this certainty the lot of the Indian might have been much harder, with only official government interest on his side against the commercial exploitation that was always awaiting him. Perhaps this small glimpse of early missionary work in the Territory will lead to a study of the question "How much was it worth?"

In the early 1820's the United Foreign Missionary Society founded Union, Harmony, and Hopefield on the Grand River for the Osage Indians, and the names of Epaphras Chapman, William Vaill, Abraham Redfield, Dr. Marcus Palmer, William Requa, and Nathaniel Dodge appear in the journals as leaders. Twenty-five years later the Roman Catholic Sisters of Loretto also established an Osage mission.

Dwight, the longest-lived mission among the Cherokees, first located in Arkansas, was re-established fifty miles south of Union Mission in 1829 on land bought from Walter Webber by the American Board. To this mission came Cephas Washburn, Alfred Finney, and Jacob Hitchcock. There was also Fairfield near Stilwell and Park Hill near Tahlequah. At the latter was the printing press used for printing translations into Cherokee, many of them in the Sequoyah syllabary, as Samuel Worcester had procured a font of this type. This made it much easier for the Cherokees to learn to read. Among the Cherokees there was also New Spring Place on Spring Creek, founded by the Moravian missionary Rev. Miles

Vogler. A printing press was also established at Baptist Mission near Westville when Rev. Evan Jones led a detachment of Cherokees from the East in 1839. This press printed the *Cherokee Messenger*, the first Oklahoma periodical.

Among the Creeks and Seminoles there was Kowetah Mission where John and Mary Ann Lilley settled in 1843 under the guiding hand of Rev. R. M. Loughridge. This was a Presbyterian mission, as was Tullahassee where the Rev. Wm. S. Robertson, scholar and noble teacher, labored with his wife, Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson. Her translations of the Bible, tracts, and hymns into the Creek language and her knowledge of other related tongues gained her a reputation as a linguist. Tullahassee was one of the many missions which suffered the loss of their buildings by fire.

The Choctaw missions were the most numerous. As a tribe the Choctaws were eager for education and men like Rev. Wm. H. Goode and Rev. John Harrell carried on the Methodist Schools of New Hope, Fort Coffee, and

(Please turn to page 70)

Original school house at Dwight Mission.



Green Grow the Lilacs

By Noel Kaho

TWO GREAT AMERICANS with Cherokee Indian heritage have come from the same place in this magnificent Oklahoma.

This small area from which they came is a fragment of earth unlike any other in the whole world because, for America, it gave realization to its spirit. And each of the two gave expression to it in completely different ways.

These men were Will Rogers and Lynn Riggs.

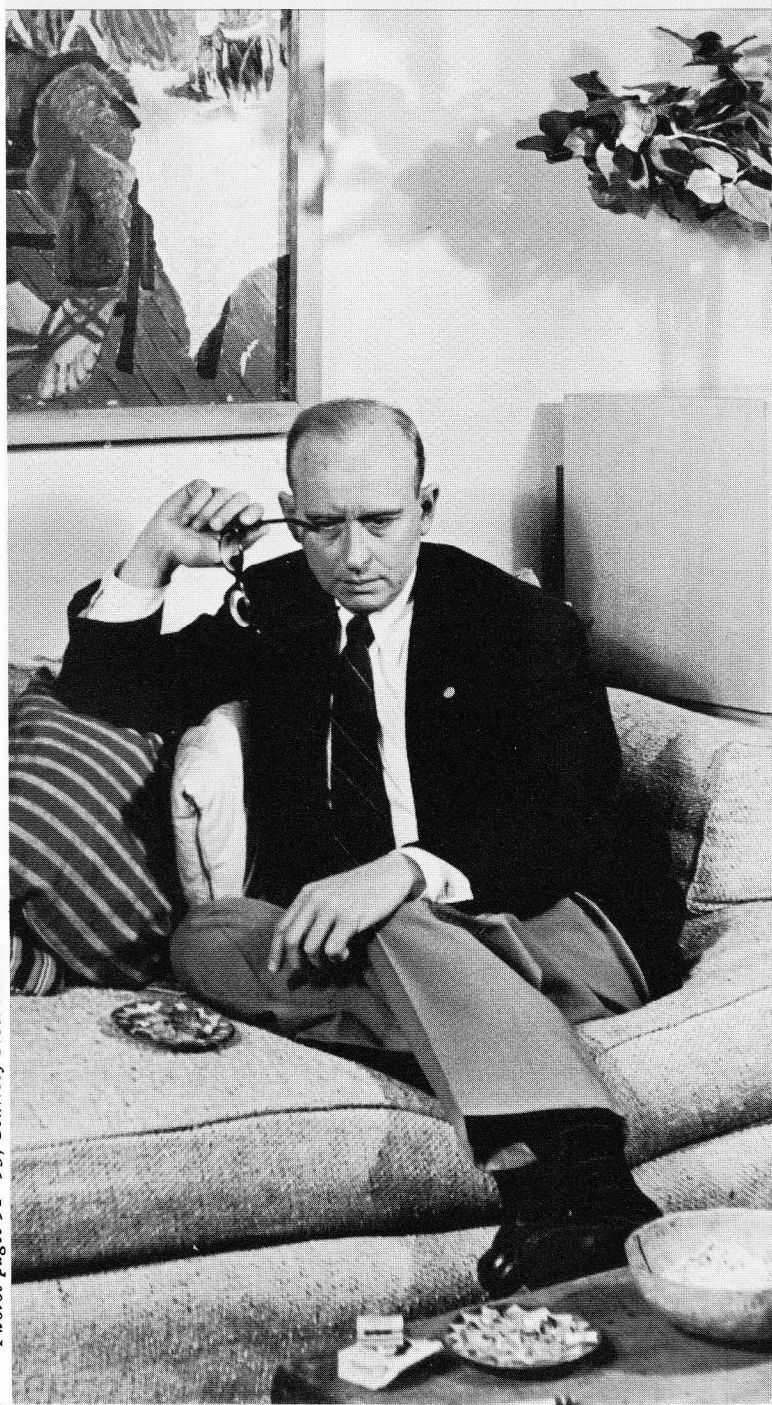
Will Rogers, at that soaring moment before his death, was the very essence of America. Within the spirit of the man was also the spirit and image of America. To everyone, regardless of how he looked at Will, whether for his humor and gaiety, or for his democracy, or his Christianity, his love of humanity, or his love of family, he was that image.

In quite a different way, this other great man, Lynn Riggs, created the image of America. So it must be said that within the spirit of this man was also the spirit of America captured for a moment in its progress. But Lynn did not stand singly before the world, as the other man did. He almost stood alone. It was what he wrote that captured that spirit and that image.

He wrote many plays. But his greatest was "Green Grow the Lilacs." And out of this play, almost word for word, was built that fabulous musical called "Oklahoma!" This, and the motion picture that followed it, has enchanted people all over the world, making them feel that here was America-at the turn of the century, yes, but America.

The acclaim of "Green Grow" when it was first produced by the Theatre Guild centered mostly on its freshness and its break with the traditional type of stage play. Robert Littell, in a New York paper, wrote that it "is one of the most thoroughly satisfying evenings that the Guild has given us in a long time—full of rich, free humor, salty poetry, and some reckless tenderness that was America's before she was tamed and civilized by fences and mortgages and chain grocery stores."

Study of Lynn Riggs, Oklahoma playwright and poet, in his New York apartment.



Photos pages 51 - 53, Courtesy Noel Kaho.



Scene from the movie, *Oklahoma*, based on the stageplay, *Green Grow the Lilacs*.

But not all of Lynn Riggs' plays had this quality. Some of them dipped deeply into the terrible turmoil of the human heart.

Some people who knew him well and knew his plays say that many of the characters of his Oklahoma-placed plays were recognizable relatives and people he knew in his childhood. They also say that many of the plots and situations were also recognizable.

He was basically a poet and it was through his poetry that he exposed himself, though only through a small window. In the plays he portrayed the people of his life; in his poems he spoke softly of himself. In one, exposing the often anguish in his heart, he wrote "... with tatters of a joy he fashioned when a boy."

And in another poem he hints of the depths of his emotional reaction to the people who did not understand him, or denied him:

*"They, the impenitent, discordant
Of voice, with their high scorn,
Fail in the land of willows, fail
In the broad wood, in the country of corn."*

That he loved poetry more deeply than the drama was evident one night when he chose to miss part of the glamorous opening night of one of his plays because his first book of poems, "the Iron Dish," had just been delivered to the publisher from the printery. He chose to see the book rather than the play.

Very few around him understood this about Lynn. But

there was one wonderful exception and she was his beloved sister Mattie. But Mattie could not fend for him, she could only love him and understand. When he came home to Claremore, he sought her and a few of his dear friends, to talk excitedly about his next play. And sometimes to read from his latest script.

At first, after his success was assured, he tried to reach out to the others. He tried to explain himself, his creative process, his meanings. And in my mind's eye I can still see him standing before a group of Claremore business men at a Chamber of Commerce luncheon, talking intensely and cupping his hands together as if to focus his words into something they could understand.

When it was over he wept because of his failure. Intellectually, he knew that he would fail, but emotionally he had to try once more, perhaps in an attempt to sew up and make whole again those "tatters of a joy he fashioned when a boy."

This also could explain that during his stay in France with funds from the Guggenheim Foundation, he slowly began to relax, to be released from his sense of isolation. He began to feel, as many people have, a deep sense of nostalgia for the "land of willows, . . . the broad wood, . . . (and) the country of corn."

And in this joy he created a play. It too was filled with joy, with free humor and reckless tenderness that was America's, and Claremore's in his childhood. That play was "Green Grow the Lilacs." It was the realization of a spirit. ●

Lynn Riggs with model stage.



OKLAHOMANS *as Writers*

By Savoie Lottinville

TO MOST AMERICANS, the discovery that theirs is a dominant literature has been a startling phenomenon of the post-war years. In something less than half a century, the literary flow has been reversed across the Atlantic. When our parents were young, their standard fare consisted of English novels and biographies, the naturalistic novels carried over from French writers of the last century, and the poetry of a New England with its eyes fixed on London and Surrey and Devonshire. Today, any English publisher's list is loaded with books of American origin. French, German, Italian, and Latin American houses eagerly translate leading American authors for simultaneous publication in their respective countries. Even the Russians look to the seasonal developments in the American short story, the novel, and the play. What has happened?

I greatly mistrust the popular answers one customarily hears in other departments of our activity, the words "bigger," "best in the world," "greatest." If they were ever true, they are no longer so. But the immense freedom to experiment which has characterized the American literary tradition is undoubtedly a prime reason for the enviable position in which we now find ourselves literarily. We have welcomed new forms, particularly those which we have developed or refined here. Audiences have been generous in recognizing literary strength, wherever it has developed. But above all, Americans have advanced literary criticism to the position of a fine art. Nowhere else has there been so much purposeful "exegesis" as here.

To say that Oklahoma is in the mainstream of literary creation would be to exaggerate. The imagination, the structure, and the writing which go into great novels and verse are rare in any section, even if nationally they have become fairly plentiful. A Lynn Riggs coming whooping and hollering out of Claremore with perhaps the greatest folk play of our century is an infrequent phenomenon. Ditto for that great teller of tales in prose, John Joseph Mathews of Pawhuska, and for that very first-rate biographer, Marquis James of Vinita. (How true the Indian inheritance, even in literature, in Oklahoma: all of these men are of Indian blood.) An Alice Marriott has appeared only once in the United States as a whole, thereby proving that genius is where you find it, including Oklahoma City.

Our genius on the whole is perhaps a quieter one—excellent and long-sustained effort in the nonfictional form, represented by hundreds of highly competent men and women, writing in every age since Le Page du Pratz began exploring our territory in the eighteenth century. We can claim many of them as residents, and many by virtue of the inspiration our land gave them when they came to visit it: Washington Irving and Victor Tixier, Sam Houston, Josiah Gregg, Stephen Watts Kearny, Randolph B. Marcy, and—to jump half a century forward in time—Vernon Louis Parrington, the profoundest intellect who practiced his craft within our borders. I could mention the Englishman, Walter Bagehot, and his *Lombard Street* in the same breath with Paul B. Sears, who, when he was sojourning amongst us twenty-five years ago, wrote, from an expository point of view, a comparable classic in *Deserts on the March*.

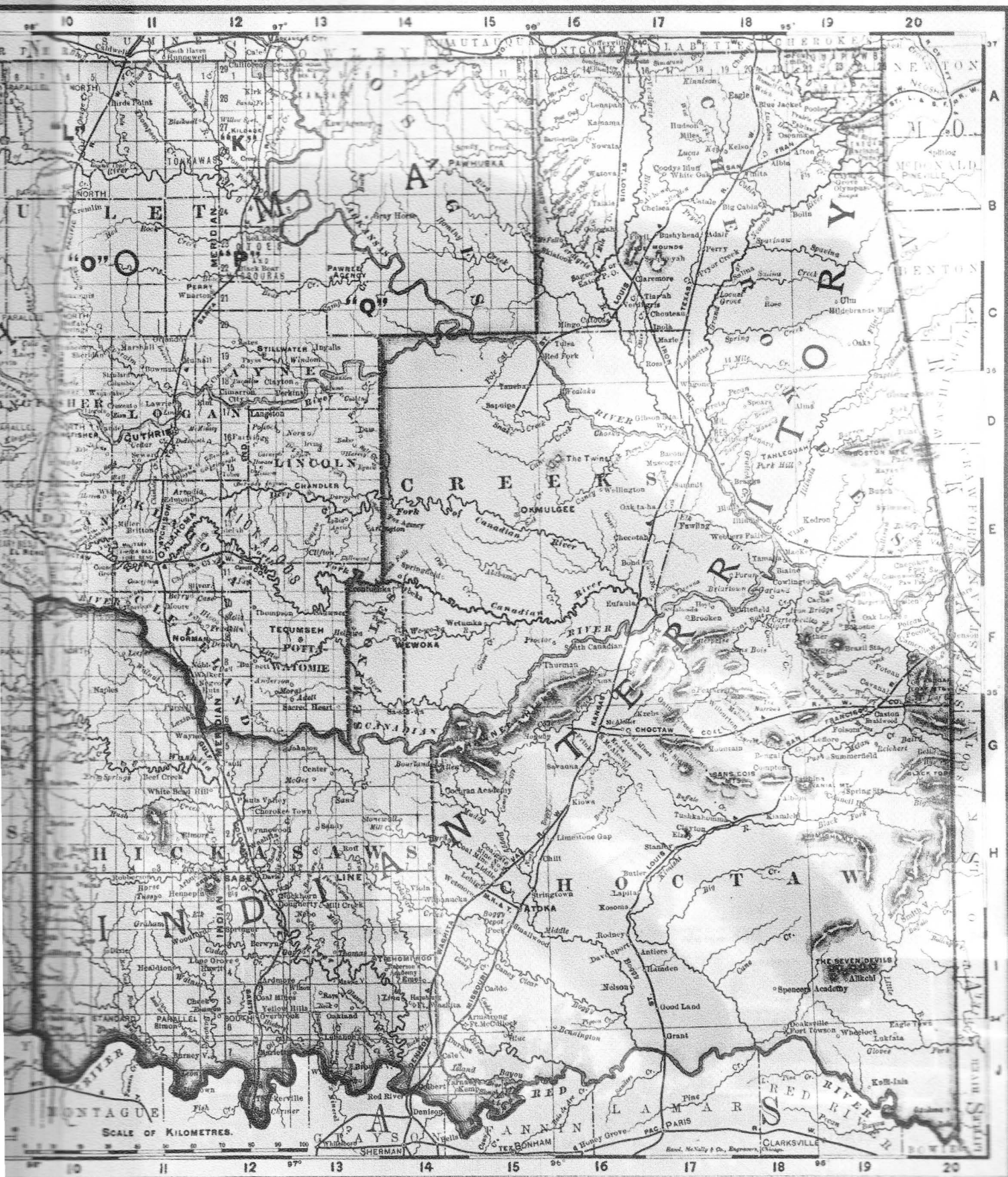
In a short essay like this, it is impossible to name names and recount performances of the many writers whose individual strength has contributed vastly to the collective literary strength of Oklahoma. What is important to understand is that, per hundred thousand of population, Oklahoma has added more history, more biography and autobiography, more lore of the frontier, and more of the rich insights provided by analysis than any other state in the Southwest.

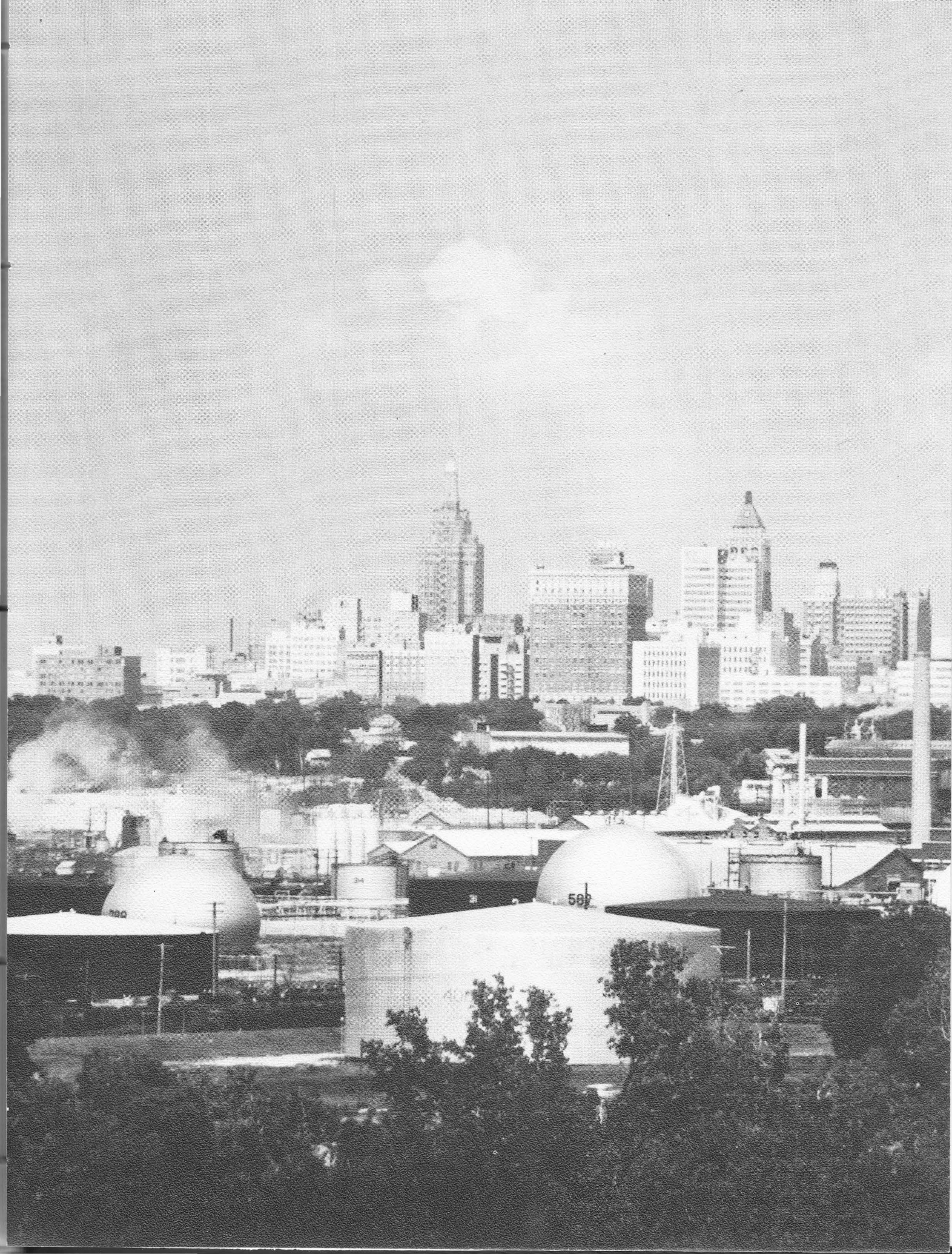
Creatively, the future is in the hands of those who have already demonstrated their great capacity for growth—the Marion Gavins, the Bill Scotts and Bill Guliks, and the sensitive and regrettably infrequent performers like Helene Carpenter. They are all products of a most excellent school for writers, Foster Harris's creative writing courses at the University of Oklahoma. As every serious student of literary history knows, learning technique is an indispensable preliminary to the writing of Literature (spelled with a capital "L"). Out of this interesting process at Norman must surely come an Ernest Hemingway or a William Faulkner of the next quarter century. For there have been less basic teachers of the beginnings of art than those who profess it in these courses at the University—notably Gertrude Stein in the case of Hemingway. And the momentum possible under a wiser and more far-sighted plan has already been demonstrated in Oklahoma.

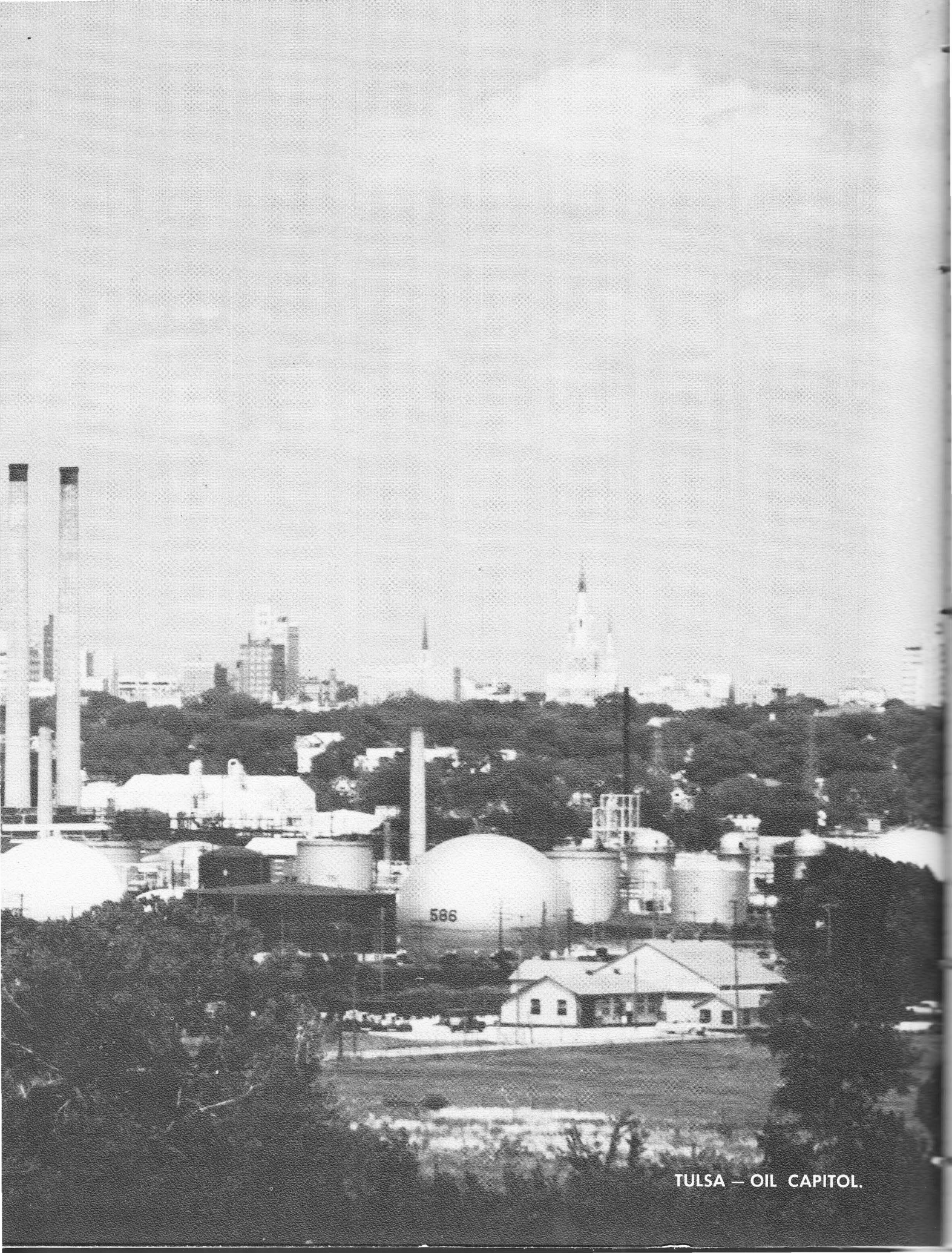
I sometimes think, when I allow myself to be utterly truthful to my time and place, that greater even than the need for writers is the need for readers. Only the young who have been properly introduced to the delights of the book can supply an audience for Oklahoma writers. I wonder, with statistical accuracy, if we are producing enough of them.

If we are not, perhaps some of us who love the book can do more. ●

This is a detailed historical map of the Oklahoma Territory, showing county boundaries, major cities, and geographical features. The map includes a grid with latitude and longitude coordinates. Key locations labeled include Beaver, Cherokee, Cheyenne, Comanche, and Apache. A scale of statute miles is provided at the bottom.







TULSA — OIL CAPITOL.

Tulsa

A METROPOLITAN FORCE

By Angie Debo

AT FIRST GLANCE the new shining city on the bend of the Arkansas seems unrooted in time and space. Its people are cosmopolitan, its spirit is modern, its look is toward the future. But its origins go back to a time before the coming of the white man to the Western World, and the influences of its past has never died.

In his famous journey through the Gulf country in 1540 De Soto first came upon Tulsa (Talise, Tulsey) as a thriving, populous Creek Indian town in the midst of extensive cornfields in the present Alabama. Three centuries later—in 1836—when the Creeks were driven by the advancing white frontier to what is now Oklahoma a branch of this town settled on the present site. The people came in a body led by their town officials. They laid out their ceremonial square and enclosed it with their public buildings. An oak that stood at one corner may still be seen in the back yard of a residence at 1730 South Cheyenne Avenue.

They built their log cabins and established their little farms in the surrounding area, but the square was their community center. Lewis Perryman, a mixed blood Creek from another town, came in 1848 and opened a trading house. In 1856 a missionary held some preaching services at "Tulsee-town"—"a remote part of this nation . . . where the people are yet very wild and superstitious."

This condition gradually changed. One of the public schools supported by the Creek Nation was in existence there as early as 1880. An Indian church was eventually organized. A postoffice was established in 1879 with one of the Perrymans as postmaster. Extensive ranches were operated by thrifty mixed blood Creeks, or sometimes in later years by white cattlemen intruding on the Indians' land.

Then in 1882 the railroad—the present Frisco—building across from Missouri reached the place. Stores and other businesses sprang up, operated by Creeks or city-building white men. The "town" became a town in the white sense, with a muddy or dusty Main Street (it still carries that name) bordered by hitchracks and false-fronted frame shacks. It was an important cattle shipping point, probably the only authentic cow town Oklahoma ever had. Here in actual fact were all the elements of Western saga: converging trails, bawling longhorns, shipping pens and loading chutes, celebrating cowboys, and the influence of courageous women in taming its wild spirits.

Shortly before the turn of the century the federal government began to liquidate the regime of the Creeks and other tribes to prepare their Indian Territory for Oklahoma statehood. Their land was surveyed and cut up into farm-size tracts and white settlers multiplied. The cowman gave place to the farmer. Tulsa would have shed its roistering ways and developed into a prosperous agricultural center—but then came oil.

When Oklahoma came into the Union in 1907 it headed the oil states, and during the ensuing twenty years it alternated with California for top place. Tulsa never had an oil well, but it became the center of the industry—in management, in financing, in technology, most of all in its driving energy. As great field after great field roared into production, streams of wealth poured into the city and overflowed in building and civic spirit. It was in the 1920's that its dramatic skyline rose, compact, symmetrical, all built at once through the unity of the force that produced it.

But now came overproduction, the discovery of the great East Texas field, and conservation practices good in



Cattle crossing the Arkansas at Tulsa.

Courtesy Fannie B. Misch.

the long run but ending the old days of wide open wells, close drilling, and fabulous profits. In 1927 Oklahoma for the last time headed the oil states, producing 277,775,000 barrels, thirty per cent of the nation's output. By 1943 it had dropped to fourth place. At the same time everything was slowed down by the Great Depression and disrupted by World War II.

With the end of the war, Tulsa entered a new phase in its development, broader in its base, more balanced in its structure, but growing largely out of its experience as the "oil capital." It is still the control center for far-flung oil and gas production, it operates pipelines, its great refineries are continually expanding, and it has many firms manufacturing oil field equipment. It leads in technology and information; in research laboratories; in the publication of the *Oil and Gas Journal*, read by oilmen throughout the industry; in its International Petroleum Exposition, with displays of equipment and interested visitors from all over the world. It has the headquarters of the Independent Petroleum Association of America and of the American Association of Petroleum Geologists.

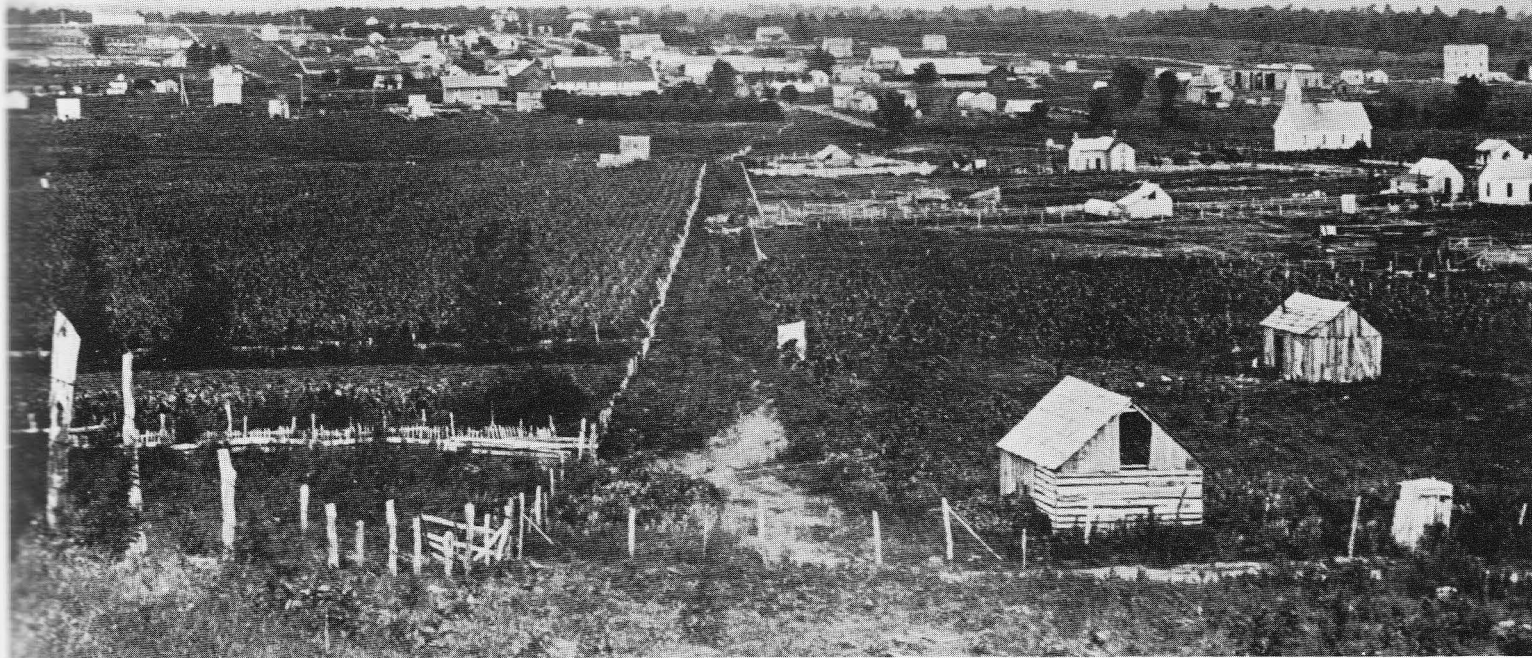
Also—because oilmen are irresistibly attracted to avia-

tion—the development of this new industry has come naturally to the "oil capital." In 1929 its recently constructed municipal airport was officially recognized as the first in the world in volume of passenger traffic; in January of the present year when its new, beautiful terminal was opened, its 10,000 foot runways placed it among the seven municipal airports of the United States capable of handling the great jets of the present and future. Here also is the maintenance base of American Airlines, the city's largest industrial employer, with a payroll of nearly five thousand.

Latest of all, and also growing naturally out of the technical experience and daring imagination of oil and aviation, have come electronics and the production of space equipment. And perhaps it is as natural that with its young spirit Tulsa has the national headquarters of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce.

All this has brought a new surge of building. Much of it has spread out after the modern manner, but several new structures with clean, bare, contemporary lines have strengthened the skyline without changing its symmetry.

The cultural development of the city has of course



Tulsa in 1892 looking south from Standpipe Hill.

Courtesy Fannie B. Misch.

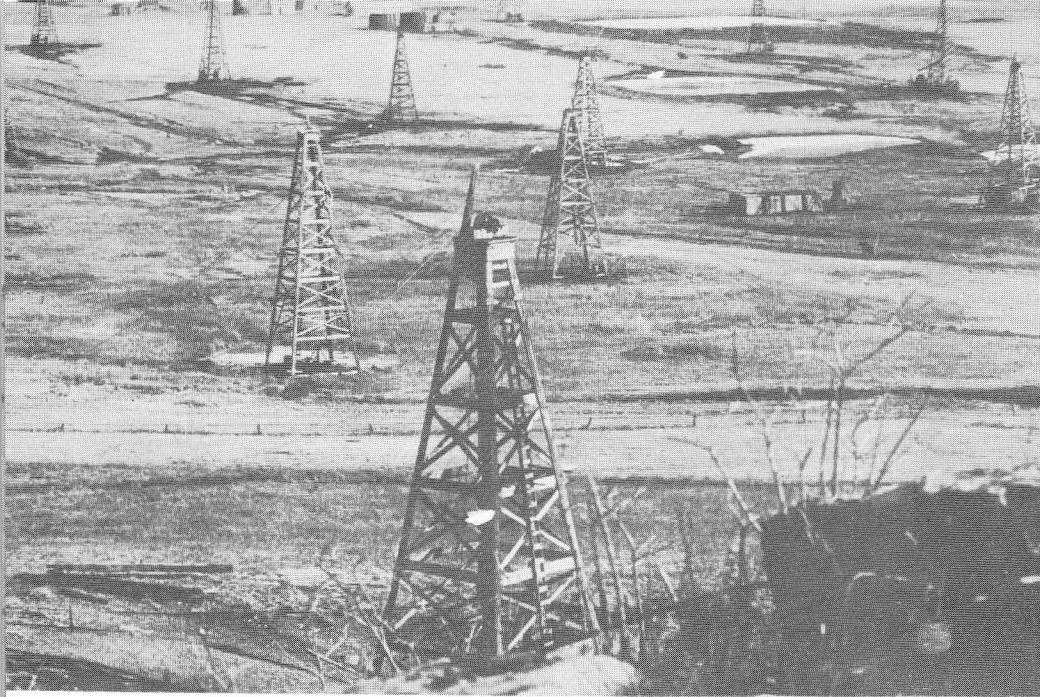
been vastly stimulated by oil wealth and the uncalculating generosity of men to whom money was only an incident of the game; but its roots—like the drill that taps long-buried formations—go deep into an older past. When Waite Phillips gave his palatial residence to the public as the Philbrook Art Center with a downtown office building for its upkeep it was a typical oilman's gesture; but it grew out of an art club organized by a few women culture-bent in the days of crude beginnings, and its Indian wing and its annual exhibition of Indian art is an even deeper expression of the soul of the city. The Gilcrease Institute with its priceless collections of paintings, manuscripts, and books of Indian and Western Americana is the gift of an oilman who was also a Creek Indian and who gained his first appreciation of beauty in the tribal schools.

Roberta Campbell Lawson, the first Oklahoman to serve as president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, was the wife and mother of oilmen, but also the granddaughter of Charles Journeycake, great and beloved chief of the Delaware Indians. The Little Theatre, established in 1922, now has its own playhouse and a membership of

6,800; but it was the first Little Theatre in the nation to recognize the genius of Lynn Riggs, when it produced his Indian Territory play, *Big Lake*, with the youthful author coming over from nearby Claremore for rehearsals. Typically this son of a Cherokee cattleman had worked as a reporter on the *Oil and Gas Journal*. The present civic opera and symphony orchestra derive from the determined musical leadership of a group of women who founded the Hyechka Club in 1904. Tulsa at that time had a population of probably twenty-five hundred, and was changing from a cow town to a farm center, with feverish hopes of oil; but the name of the club is the Creek word for music.

The interest in cattle and farming also survives in the Tulsa State Fair with its livestock and agricultural products and its encouragement to junior exhibitors. In 1961 its extensive plant was greatly enlarged, so that the "big barn" now has 8.5 acres under one roof. The attendance that year was more than seven hundred thousand.

Thus Indians, ranching, farming, oil, and the new developments of the space age—all have had their influence in building the city and shaping its spirit. But in the final evaluation the greatest of these has been oil. ●



Courtesy Fannie B. Miss

Early view of Glenn Pool, famous Tulsa oil field.

Terminal building of the Tulsa Municipal Airport.



Photo by Howard Hopkins.

Grant and Caroline Foreman

OKLAHOMA HISTORY TEAM

By Fannie B. Misch

OKLAHOMANS owe a perpetual debt of gratitude to Grant and Carolyn Foreman whose twenty-three books plus many articles have added so much to our knowledge of the state and especially of the Indian peoples who live in it.

It was in the year 1897 that Carolyn Thomas, age 22, arrived in the village of Muskogee, Indian Territory, with her father, Judge John R. Thomas, and her brother, John Jr. This was just thirty-six years after the *Fort Smith Herald* had advertised a steamboat excursion up the Arkansas River to the new 850 foot railroad bridge that had just been constructed at Muskogee in the Creek Nation. The town was born on Christmas Day, 1871, when the engine, *General Grant*, pulled flat cars loaded with workmen, their families, merchandise and military supplies across the new bridge for the first time to the south side of the river where a new hotel had just opened in five railroad box cars.

The area was near the confluence of the Grand, the Verdigris, and the Arkansas Rivers long known as Three Forks. It had been a trading area since the beginning of the nineteenth century and was near the site of Fort Gibson, established in 1824, the first fort to be constructed west of the Mississippi River.

When John Thomas arrived in Muskogee to fulfill his duties as Federal Judge for Indian Territory, Muskogee was without a townsite government and with only cisterns for water supply. In an election the next year the town was incorporated and the name Muskogee was adopted. In this election 744 whites, 406 Indians and 1088 Negroes voted.

The primitive conditions of the new town of Muskogee were in great contrast to that which Caroline Thomas had been accustomed. Her father, a Captain in the 120th Indiana Regiment during the Civil War, had served in the U. S. Congress and Caroline had attended private school in Washington and studied French. She had travelled on the Continent and spent a year in Brussels with her father.

The first duty assigned to Judge Thomas on his arrival in Indian Territory was to recruit troops to serve in the Spanish-American War. Caroline's brother, Lt. John R. Thomas, Jr., was wounded in the Battle of Guasimal in this war.

During the sixty years between 1830, when the Indian Removal Act was passed, and 1890 more than 60,000 Indians were removed from southeastern United States to Indian Territory. Here each of the Five Civilized Tribes maintained their own government to supervise their people. However in 1874 the government created Union Agency at Muskogee to replace the individual councils of the Five Tribes for the administration of their government matters. Then in 1893 President Grover Cleveland created a commission, headed by former Senator Henry Dawes of Massachusetts, to treat with the Five Civilized Tribes to secure an agreement to get the Indians to dissolve their tribal title to lands by taking allotments in severalty, by which is meant individual ownership. To do this it was necessary to enroll all eligible Indians entitled to allotments and there were more than 323,000 persons finally registered. Another task of the commission was to grade and appraise the lands of the Indian nations.



Courtesy Fannie B. Misch.



Main Street, Muskogee, 1876.

Oil by J. Baker.

One of the men who came to Muskogee to work for the Dawes Commission was Grant Foreman, an attorney from Illinois. Mr. Foreman, a graduate of Michigan University, who had been practicing in Chicago, welcomed the opportunity to come to the sunny and warm clime of Indian Territory for field work with the Dawes Commission. He became a member of the legal department of the Commission which entailed much study of the Indian laws, customs and usages and made many trips to the Indian Bureau in Washington.

It was during this time that Grant Foreman acquired an intense interest in the affairs and history that was to become the realm of his future research and writing. In 1903 Mr. Foreman entered into a partnership with Judge Thomas in the practice of law. This partnership continued until the death of Judge Thomas in 1914.

Another partnership also resulted from the alliance of these two attorneys. On July 26, 1905, Caroline Thomas and Grant Foreman were married in the home of her father at 1419 West Okmulgee, the sturdy white cottage where Mrs. Foreman still lives today nearly sixty years later. Surely the Foreman team did not realize on that happy day just how closely wedded they would become to this beautiful valley of green meadows, forests and mountain streams.

For the next forty-eight years the study of this delightful cottage on Okmulgee Avenue was a busy place productive of both scholarship and happy social associations.

No matter how far afield they travelled — in Mexico, New England, Europe or Asia — the Foremans always returned with their sheath of notes to their study to compile and write history.

In 1906 the young married couple started the first of many interesting travels throughout the world by visiting the West and Canada. The next year they went to Europe. Other trips followed and in 1921 they spent the entire year on a long trip around the world. In 1925, twenty years after their marriage, Mr. Foreman retired from the practice of law to devote his full time to writing about the Oklahoma region and the Indians who occupied it. Caroline Foreman shared her husband's interest in history and also became a writer of it. Interspersed with their writing activities were more trips to various parts of the United States and to South America, Africa and about the world.

During these trips the Foremans conducted research on matters pertaining to the history of Oklahoma especially finding much valuable material in England. They also enjoyed making the acquaintance of a number of noted scholars including Sir Flinders Petrie, Egyptologist, Ernest Herzfeld Eran and Sir Leonard Wooley, archaeologists, and formed a friendship with the noted American ethnologist John R. Swanton of the Smithsonian Institution.

All of the works of the Foremans are well grounded on the facts of history. To discover these facts was not easy. Much money, time and travel was spent in doing

the basic research for a Foreman project. This man and wife history team searched diligently for material throughout the United States including the examination of thousands of documents in the National Archives, the Library of Congress, the Draper collection at Wisconsin, the Ayer collection in the Newberry Library in Chicago, the Huntington Library in California as well as depositories at the University of Texas, California and in many historical societies from Massachusetts to California. The British Museum, the Public Records Office in London and the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris also provided important information. The Foremans were able to take copious notes, sometimes exact verbatim accounts of the material, and these research notes are now a part of the Library of the Gilcrease Institute where they are frequently consulted by scholars from throughout the country.

In addition the Foremans collected many books both in the field of their scholarship and on general subjects, the latter reflects their broad cultural outlook. In fact the underpinnings of their house had to be reinforced due to the heavy weight of their many volumes. Like his notes, the Americana books of the Foreman library are now a part of the Gilcrease Library of American history.

The historical work of Grant Foreman brings to light the dramatic settlement of an Indian Empire which was to become the State of Oklahoma. His many books, pamphlets, and articles cover nearly all the facets of the Indian history of Oklahoma from origins, customs, early history, and removals to the gradual evolution of the tribes into modern civilization. Thirteen of Mr. Foreman's books were published by the University of Oklahoma Press. His first book, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* was published in 1926 by the Arthur Clark Company. Other publishers of Foreman's work include Yale University Press, The Torch Press of Cedar Rapids and the University of Chicago Press. Mr. Foreman's own favorite among the books he wrote was *Indian Removal*, the detailed study of the tragic times of the many Indian peoples when they were uprooted from their homes in the South and forcibly transferred to what is now Eastern Oklahoma.

Caroline Thomas Foreman worked side by side with her husband and several of his books are devotedly dedicated to her. At his suggestion she undertook the writing of a book on the history of printing and early newspapers in Indian and Oklahoma Territories. The compilation of this work required six and a half years of steady work and when published as *Oklahoma Imprints 1835-1907* by the University of Oklahoma Press it contained 499 pages of invaluable information set two columns to a page!

Mrs. Foreman's *Indians Abroad* tells about visits of American Indians to Europe and much of the research for it was done in Europe. During World War II the federal government distributed 80,000 copies of this book to its troops throughout the world.

Her next book *Park Hill* narrates the story of that early Cherokee settlement in Oklahoma where so many important early personalities of Oklahoma history lived. *Cross Timbers* is an account of the unusual strip of thick timber that stretched from Texas through the Indian country. Travelers across the Southwest feared the difficulty they faced in having to pass through these thickets which marked the beginning or ending of the Great Plains depending upon the direction of travel. A lesser known book by Mrs. Foreman is *Indian Women Chiefs* which appeared in 1953.

Among the many honors which Caroline Thomas Foreman has received during her long life is her selection by the American Association for Local and State History for its Merit Award. She was cited for the outstanding contribution her books and articles have made to the culture of her own region.

Caroline Foreman continues to live in the house on Okmulgee Avenue which has been her home since shortly after her marriage in 1905. Here in the tranquility of the little white cottage filled with exotic souvenirs of her travels—bells from Rangoon, Sumatra, Bali, rugs from Damascus, porcelain from China, tapestries and paintings from Europe—this charming and alert scholar enjoys the visits of her many friends who come to chat with her. Although the passing of her beloved husband in 1953 left an irreplaceable loss in her heart, Mrs. Foreman has continued to produce important pieces of historical work. The cultural of Oklahoma has been greatly enriched by the work of Caroline and Grant Foreman and their legacy to the state will be appreciated forever. ●

Carolyn Foreman.



Courtesy Fannie B. Misch.

CIVIL WAR (Contd.)

In the following two months occurred rather inconclusive battles at Cain Hill and Prairie Grove. They did enable Colonel William A. Phillips to occupy Fort Gibson and destroy Fort Davis which had been established by the Confederates nearby. Dissension continued. Phillips could not get much needed reinforcements and supplies and withdrew to Kansas. The following spring Fort Gibson was again occupied by Union troops who thereafter held it precariously until the end of the war.

Actually, much of the activities of the Federals from then on was devoted to holding supply lines open to Fort Gibson. The Battles of Pea Ridge and Prairie Grove in Northeastern Arkansas broke the power of Confederates in that state. Fort Smith was taken and from it forays into Indian Territory were made. Indecisive battles were fought at Webbers Falls and Cabin Creek and in June, 1863, General James G. Blount left Fort Smith with the largest army to be gathered in the Territory. He arrived at Fort Gibson on the eleventh. Immediately the army crossed the Arkansas River and attacked General Cooper's command on Elk Creek in a battle which has become known as Honey Springs. It developed into the Territory's largest and bloodiest conflict. But, as usual, the Confederates exhausted their ammunition and retired to Fort Washita. Again the Union force could not follow up its advantage and recrossed the Arkansas to Fort Gibson.

In August Blount recrossed the river and an inconclusive skirmish transpired at Perryville. But here General Blount's troubles with superiors came to a head and he was recalled. The Confederate troops were demoralized, unpaid, poorly clothed, but always well fed, lacking arms and ammunition and often poorly disciplined, but the constant dissension among Union officers prevented their taking advantage of such a situation.

Blount was recalled in order to report to Fort Scott. At Baxter Springs his command, consisting of two companies of cavalymen, his band and a group of civilians were attacked by the notorious Quantrill's guerrilla band. The cavalymen ignominiously fled leaving eighty-five helpless musicians and civilians to be massacred. Among the victims was James O'Neill, an artist for *Leslie's Weekly* who had accompanied General Blount in his Indian Territory campaign. O'Neill drew the picture best known concerning the war in the Territory. It is a scene from the Battle of Honey Springs which was printed in *Leslie's Weekly* at the time and is now used on the masthead of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission stationery.

The last serious campaign saw Colonel Phillips drive to within thirty miles of Fort Washita in February, 1864. But valiant resistance on the part of Indians under command of General Stand Watie, who had become recognized as the ablest of the Confederate Indian leaders, and Colonel

Tandy Walker, caused this command, which made deepest penetration into the Territory, to retire. Stand Watie's activities earned him the sobriquet "The Indian Swamp Fox" because his warfare was modeled after the manner of Francis Marion of Revolutionary War fame.

The Indian country lapsed into such a state of anarchy that the law of the jungle was about all that prevailed. Stealing cattle and running them into Kansas became a prevailing activity.

Simultaneously with General Sterling Price's invasion of Missouri, which culminated in the Battle of Westport, Generals Gano and Watie moved up the Grand River Valley. At Cabin Creek they were so fortunate as to encounter what was probably the largest wagon train capture anywhere during the war. Loss of this huge amount of supplies almost forced the Union to again abandon Fort Gibson. It did give the Confederates enough supplies of every kind to enable them to continue a stiff resistance until the bitter end.

Defeat of Price at Westport and the retreat of his bedraggled troops through the Indian Country signaled the approaching end to Union and Confederate Indians alike. Union-sympathizing Indians began drifting back to their ruined homes as did their Confederate counterparts from Texas.

The last Confederate general to surrender was Stand Watie. On June 23, 1865, at Doaksville, he laid down his arms. The Indians were then subjected to the same severe "reconstruction" treatment which was dealt out by the Northern radicals who assumed control after Abraham Lincoln's death. ●

ENTER THE LAW (Contd.)

The fact is: the cattle and horse thieves and daring gunmen of the territory before the openings remained in the same class after Oklahoma was settled. A few disgruntled cowboys listened to their lurid tales of easy money and joined them. The rest came from the rabble who flocked to this last frontier. They became outlaws because they wanted to or because it seemed the easiest way to make one big haul and retire in comfort for the rest of their lives.

This was true with Butch Cassidy and his Wild Bunch of Wyoming. Cassidy and his boys often secured jobs on ranches while hiding out between robberies until they were all captured or killed. It is claimed that the James-Younger gang were forced into outlawry because of the bloody warfare on the Kansas-Missouri border before and during the War Between the States, and after the war men who had ridden with Quantrell were not welcome home. The James-Youngers had an opportunity to settle down had they so desired. As they grew older and their daredevil ambitions cooled, Jesse and Frank James and Cole Younger tried to quit, but it was too late. Even Bill

(See Page 68.)



The Holdup Man.

Watercolor by Olaf Seltzer.

Doolin, as he saw his ranks rapidly dwindling under the accurate gunfire of the pursuing marshals, decided to quit the outlaw life and escape with his wife and son to New Mexico. Again it was a case of being too late. Heck Thomas met him on the trail and ended his career with a charge of No. 8 buckshot.

And what happened to the officers? Those who survived their numerous gun battles became men of distinction in the years following the advent of statehood. Some continued in law enforcement work, in city police departments and county sheriff's offices. Others returned to the quiet occupations they had forsaken when mustered into service against the outlaws and lived out the lives of peace-loving men, content to have served this new country during its turbulent days. Many died in anonymity — forgotten heroes, unsung and unhonored.

But no historian, who writes with any degree of accuracy of our reason for being in a state of opulence and good repute today, can avoid the important part these men, and the outlaws they pursued, played in laying the foundation for peace and greatness. ●

LAST FRONTIER *(Contd.)*

1906, Oklahoma Territory expanded east, west, north, and south with an evangelistic zeal.

By 1891, and over the protests of Indian leaders, the Boomers were successful in adding another piece of Indian Territory to Oklahoma. Immediately on the east were the Sac, Fox, Potawatomie, Shawnee, and Iowa reservations. A special problem in this future settlement zone was that before these reservations could be opened to homeseekers, the Indian tribes had to be enrolled, the land surveyed, and each Indian man, woman, and child on the tribal rolls assigned an allotment or homestead of 160 acres. All land remaining on each reservation was declared surplus, returned to the Public Domain, and made ready for settlement. About 20,000 persons raced for the 7,000 claims available in the Sac and Fox country.

In rapid fire order, the Cheyenne-Arapaho were allotted and their surplus lands opened, again by a run, in 1892. Upwards of 25,000 homeseekers participated in the contest for claims. For the fast-growing Oklahoma Territory, the biggest acquisition came in 1893 when the fabulous Cherokee Outlet was purchased from the Cherokee Nation and opened for settlement. On September 16, 1893, over 100,000 homeseekers raced for the Outler's 40,000 claims.

The format for modern northern and western Oklahoma was nearly completed after the Outlet Run. The Kickapoo were finally brought to terms and their res-

ervation, situated just east of the old Unassigned Lands, was opened by run in 1895. This small reservation had so little surplus land that, to sate the land-hungry settlers, the Kickapoo received allotments of only eighty acres each rather than the customary 160 acre allotment.

With each land run there had been an increase in Sooner activity. The Sooner was a homeseeker who illegally entered the settlement zone before the scheduled run, selected a choice homestead, hid in the brush, and at the propitious moment appeared to stake his claim. Unlawful entry was so widespread by the time of the Kickapoo Run that many officials charged that possibly one-half of all claims were filed by Sooners. To thwart the Sooners, the United States Government searched for a fool-proof method for opening additional Indian reservations.

But before another opening occurred, Oklahoma Territory received a land increment by court action. On the southwestern border of Indian Territory was the Texas county of Greer. Early explorations had mapped this region as Texas. Subsequent surveys revealed boundary errors and in 1896, the United States Supreme Court directed that Greer County be attached to Oklahoma Territory.

Western Oklahoma was nearly complete. And in 1901 the last remaining Indian land in that section was opened to settlement. By that year the Kiowa, Comanche, Wichita, Caddo, and Apache had been allotted, and their surplus lands, amounting to somewhat over 2,000,000 acres, were opened. Instead of a run, the customary method of opening a settlement zone, a lottery was used. Hopeful settlers to the number of 170,000 registered at Fort Sill and Fort Reno for a drawing which would distribute the 6,500 claims.

Small enclaves of Indian land west of the Five Civilized Tribes, represented by the Osage, Missouri, Pawnee, Tonkawa, Otoe, Ponca, and Kaw tribes were opened by allotment and attached to Oklahoma Territory. The Big Pasture in the Kiowa-Comanche country, sold by auction in 1906, joined Oklahoma Territory to complete the absorption of all Indian lands west of the Five Civilized Tribes. Despite the resistance of the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles, even these nations fell by the process of Boomer inspired Congressional law and allotment, and finally were absorbed by Oklahoma in 1907 by process of Statehood. ●

Nominating the first mayor of Guthrie.





They came to listen.

MISSIONARY FRONTIER *(Contd.)*

Asbury Mission, all largely supported by tribal funds. Chickasaw money also went to these schools, and later their boys and girls were educated at Bloomfield and Wapanucka mission schools under Rev. Hamilton Ballentine.

Bethabara was the field of labor for Loring Williams. The stone church which was built at Wheelock under the direction of Rev. Alfred Wright in 1846 is still

standing. But before that, Clear Creek Mission had been established under Ebenezer Hotchkin and also Pine Ridge under Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury, a servant in the cause of missions until his death in 1870 at the age of eighty-four. Working closely with him was Cyrus Byington, founder of Stockridge and Goodwater missions, who remained on his farm in the Territory during the War between the States completing his Choctaw dictionary.

Between 1820 and 1860 there were approximately seventy missions founded and served by more than 200



men. The women, who came as wives, teachers, and occasionally missionaries, numbered more than 450. How many Indians were converted is difficult to say. Most of these missionaries made regular reports to their Societies in laborious longhand. In reading these reports, the number of Indians who attended the church services or sent their children to the schools seems discouragingly small. But perhaps it is not numbers which should count as a measure of the civilizing influence which these missionaries wrought.

Practically all of the missions were closed during the Civil War. Some were to re-open later, many with their buildings and fields destroyed. In many cases the Societies withdrew their support even before the War because the missionary in charge held the opinion, as did Father Kingsbury, that slavery was legal and therefore the missionary should not interfere. Many of their strongest supporters were slave-holders and the church in the Territory could not afford to lose them, which was certainly a practical point of view. ●

Contributors

Mrs. Walter Ferguson, Oklahoma journalist and Scripps-Howard columnist since 1925, died in an automobile accident in Florida February 27, 1962. Mrs. Ferguson, whose maiden name was Lucia Loomis, was born in southeastern Oklahoma in 1887. After her marriage to Walter Ferguson, the son of Governor Tom Ferguson, she moved to Cherokee, Oklahoma, where her husband was editor and publisher of the "Cherokee Republican." In 1920 the Fergusons moved to Oklahoma City to enter the banking business and in 1927 they moved to Tulsa where Mr. Ferguson died in 1936. Mrs. Ferguson participated actively in many civic projects of Tulsa and was one of the most beloved members of the community. Few persons have been more qualified to interpret Oklahoma.

Paula Love has been curator in charge of the Will Rogers Memorial at Claremore, Oklahoma, since it was opened in 1938. She is the niece of Will Rogers and lived in his home for many years. Her mother was Sallie Rogers McSpadden, Will's sister. Mrs. Love has been responsible for processing the many historical and museum materials at the Memorial. She is the author of "The Will Rogers Book."

Henry Bass is an affable Enid, Oklahoma, contractor, who is also a student of American history. He is Chairman of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission and a Vice President of the Oklahoma State Historical Society. He is also noted for his Newsletter which chronicles his interesting historical projects. Mr. Bass has been particularly interested in the Civil War and in the history of Oklahoma and he combines both interests in his contribution to this publication.

Glenn Shirley is the authority on the law enforcement aspects of the frontier period of Oklahoma. He has written seven books, the most recent of which is a biography of Heck Thomas, noted deputy marshall. Shirley's writing is based on meticulous research with an endeavor to set down the true record of events in a pleasing style. He is also the author of over 800 short stories and articles. Glenn lives at Stillwater.

A. M. Gibson is chief of manuscripts and curator of the Phillips Collection at the University of Oklahoma where he also teaches Oklahoma history. An authority on the Southwest, Dr. Gibson is a talented writer and excellent scholar. The publication of his history of the Kickapoo Indians is forthcoming.

Muriel Wright is editor of the "Oklahoma Chronicles," the magazine devoted to the history of Oklahoma. Miss Wright is the granddaughter of Allen Wright, prominent Choctaw leader who first suggested the word "Oklahoma" be used to designate the name of this state. She has devoted her life to the study of Oklahoma civilization.

Edward Everett Dale is the Dean of Oklahoma historians. Dr. Dale was born in Texas, grew up on a

ranch in southwestern Oklahoma, and participated in cattle drives of the late nineteenth century. For many years he was professor of history at the University of Oklahoma and following his retirement he taught at the University of Houston. He now makes his home in Norman. The writings of Dr. Dale exhibit a breadth of vision and interpretation that assures their permanence as important contributions to the historic scholarship of America.

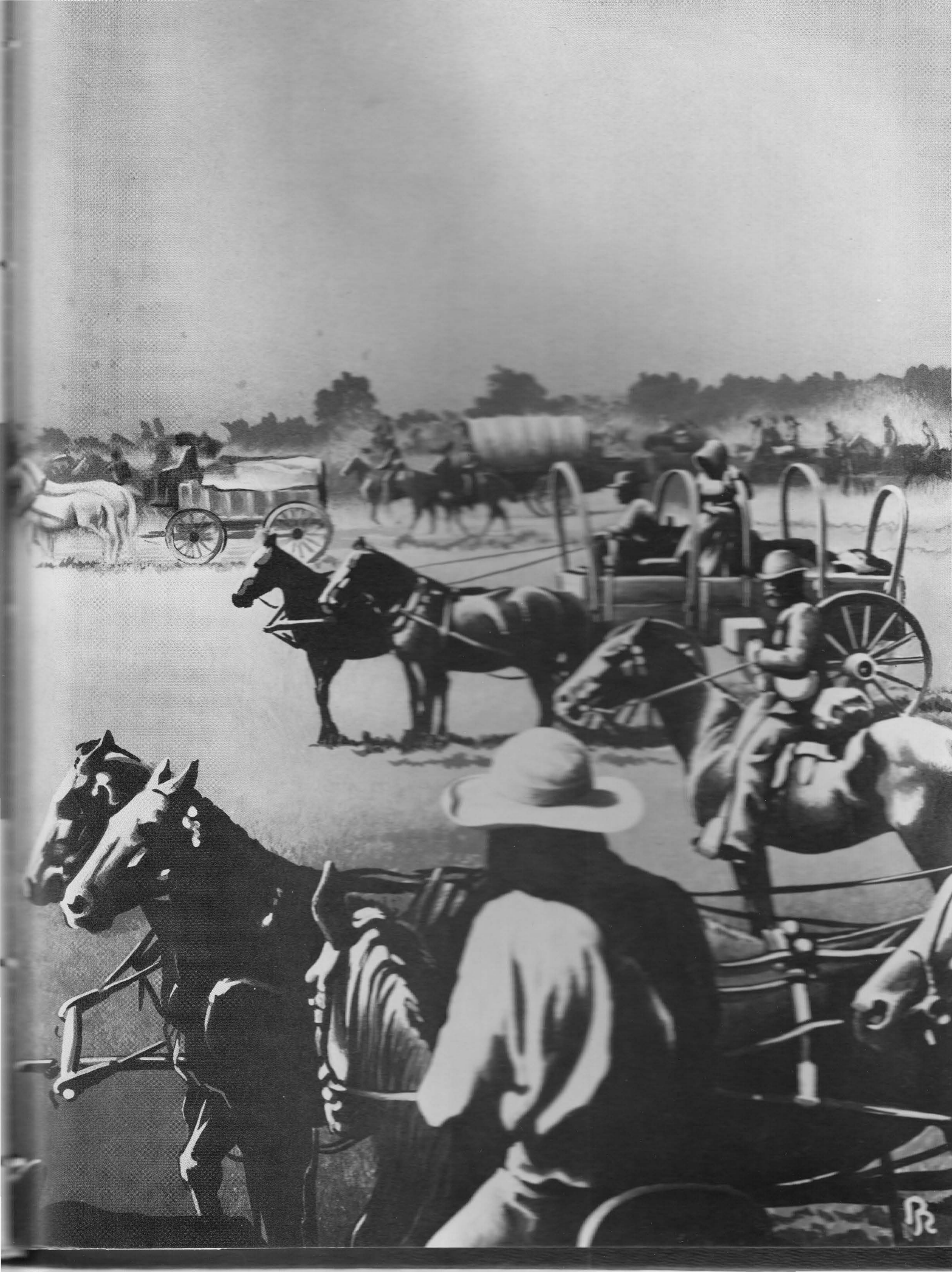
Hope Holway, a cultural leader of Tulsa for many years, received her education at Radcliffe College where she studied under Edward Channing. In recent years Mrs. Holway has concentrated her talents in the field of Oklahoma history and archival work and has made special studies of the pioneer women teachers of Indian Territory. She is the author of two books and numerous articles.

Noel Kaho is the author of "Will Rogers Country," an eloquent historical interpretation of northeastern Oklahoma. Noel Kaho is a man of versatile talents, pleasing personality, and good spirit. Now a dentist in Claremore, Oklahoma, he has been a journalist and economist. Dr. Kaho was a personal friend of Lynn Riggs and his presentation of Mr. Riggs in this magazine is a significant study of a significant man.

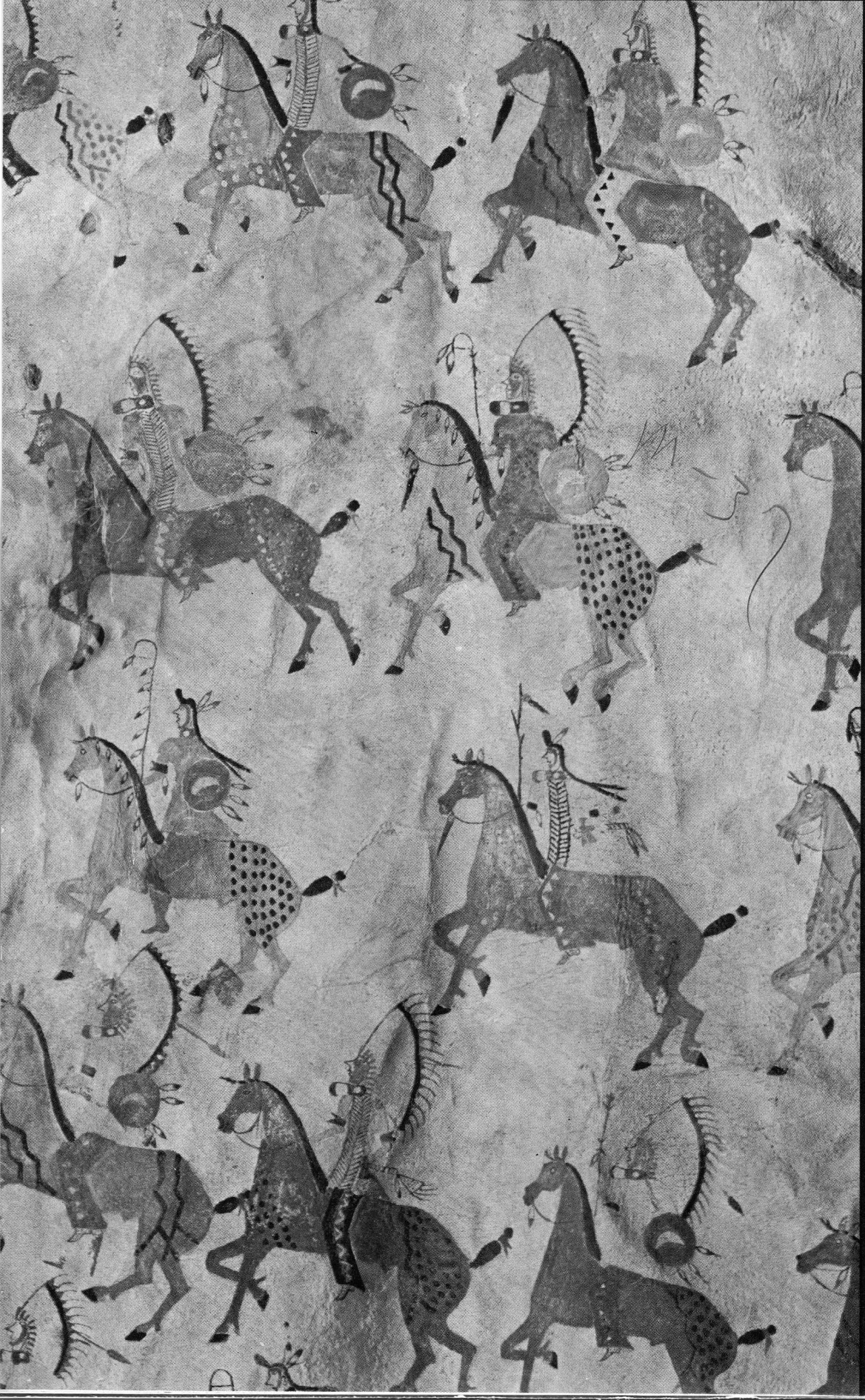
Savoie Lottinville is Director of the University of Oklahoma Press. He grew up in Tulsa, became a Rhodes scholar, and worked as a journalist on the Tulsa World until appointed assistant director of the Press by Joseph Brandt. In 1938 Lottinville became Director and the notable accomplishments of the Press since then have been due to his great talent. Savoie Lottinville combines energetic enthusiasm with brilliant perceptiveness and his contribution to Oklahoma culture is outstanding.

Angie Debo's contributions to Oklahoma history have been many and always significant. Born in Kansas, she was raised in Oklahoma and received her education at Oklahoma University and the University of Chicago. She has taught history in several colleges and served on the library staff at Oklahoma State University. Among her books are "Prairie City" which delineates the character of a typical Oklahoma plains town and "Oklahoma Foot Loose and Fancy Free." She lives at Marshall, Oklahoma.

Fannie B. Misch is a native of Iowa who moved to Tulsa from Kansas in 1917. She has a keen interest in the history of the Tulsa region and has assembled a significant collection of historical materials relating to it. Mrs. Misch has written many articles about Tulsa and a book entitled "Methodist Trails." An indefatigable worker in behalf of the cause of the preservation of Tulsa history, Fannie Misch deeply appreciates the role of the pioneers in the development of Oklahoma civilization.



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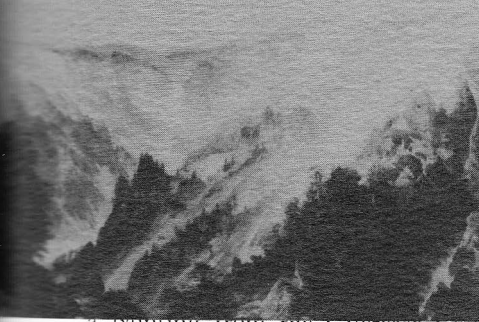
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