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Fall 2013
Vol. 20, No. 2
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GILCREASE JOURNAL

WINNER OF THE AMERICAN ALLIANCE OF MUSEUMS AWARD FOR EXCELLENCE IN DESIGN IN 1998, 1999, 2000, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2009, AND 2010.

GILCREASE MUSEUM

A University of Tulsa and City of Tulsa Partnership

1400 North Gilcrease Museum Road

Tulsa, Oklahoma 74127-2100 (918.596.2700)

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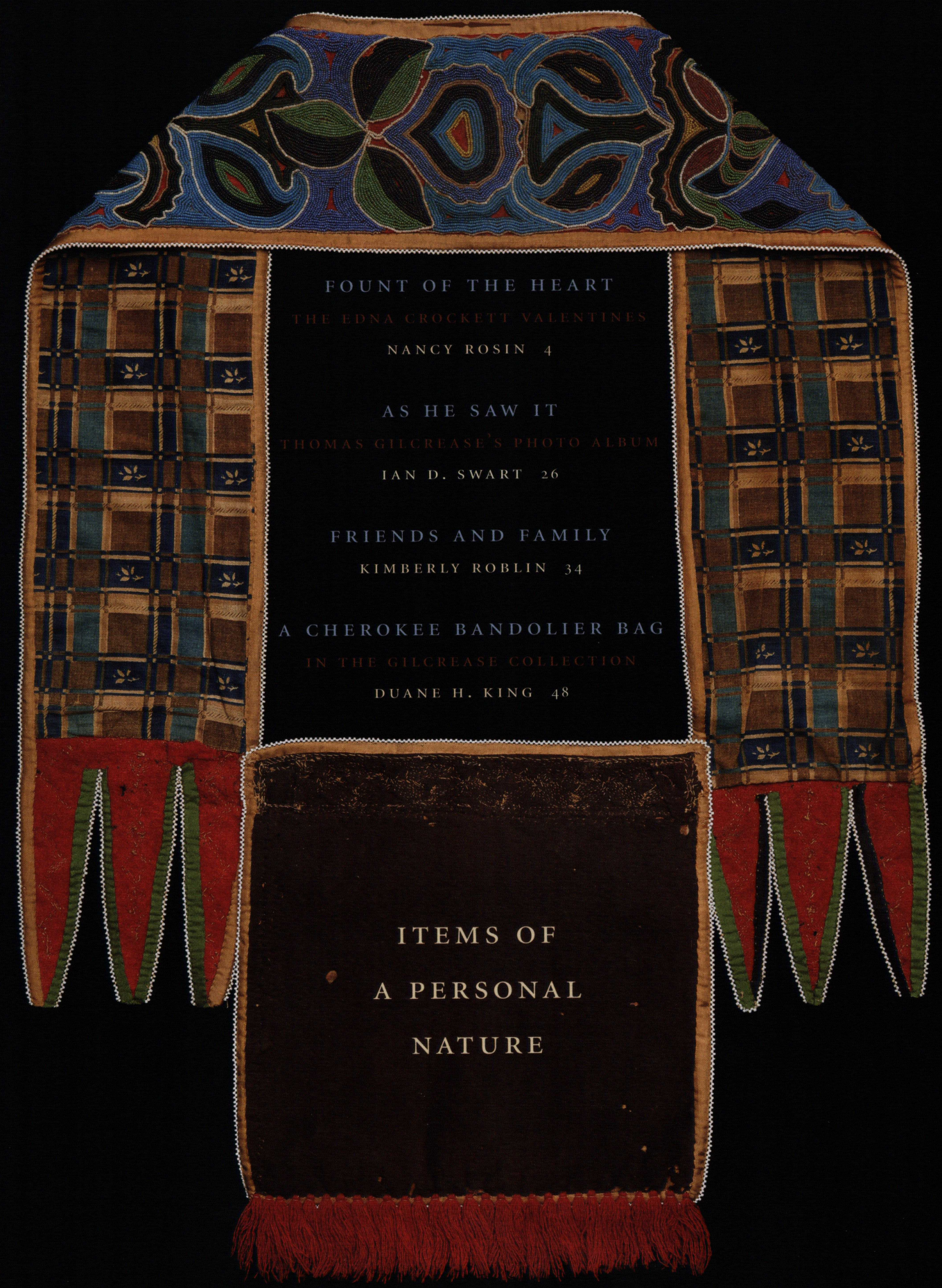
FRONT COVER AND FACING PAGE: Cherokee bandolier bag, GM84.3409.
BACK COVER AND PAGE ONE: Embossed valentines from the Edna Crockett Collection, GM5316.1277, 1275.

GILCREASE JOURNAL VOL. XX NO. 2 FALL 2013



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ITEMS OF A PERSONAL NATURE

Fount of the Heart

THE EDNA CROCKETT VALENTINES

NANCY ROSIN

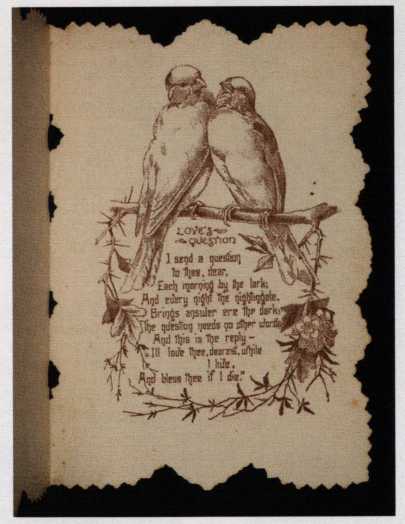
Over time, even the simplest items of a personal nature can become treasures. Whether they appear to be extraordinary, seemingly unimportant, or even ephemeral, they are tangible reminders of childhood, adventures, or love, evoking fond memories and rekindling tender emotions. Personal items cherished by an earlier generation and saved—intentionally or by accident—lend perspective to our knowledge of the past and help to clarify our journey to the present. Fortunately, our forebears have provided a unique resource, their own history; we embrace the fact that their fingerprints still illuminate the personal objects we hold in the palms of our hands. These relics and the stories they tell deepen our understanding of people who were much like us, but lived in a very different time, people whose dreams built this place we call home. A unique collection of paper valentines preserved in the archives of the Gilcrease Museum offers an irresistible opportunity for an exploration into the lore of sentimental keepsakes.

Expressions of Love: A History

The exchange of expressions of love and friendship goes as far back as the first time a beautiful flower was offered as a gesture of tenderness, or the gentle touch of a delicate feather signified romance, or perhaps, when poetry was first inscribed for a beloved. In an ancient Roman springtime festival, the Feast of Lupercalia, a written name drawn from an urn on a sacred altar revealed a chosen lover for the year. In later festive celebrations reminiscent of that early pagan rite, the choice of a love partner was also selected in the style of a lottery. For centuries, the chosen lover was called a "valentine" in honor of the third-century martyr, Valentinus, patron saint of lovers. The word *valentine* came to signify not a person but the gift we recognize as today's valentine.

As early as the 14th century, sacred religious tokens known as devotionals—or *canivets, dévotes dentelles,* or *andachtsbilden*, depending upon the area of their European origin—were skillfully handmade using the same knife that would have been used to sharpen quills for writing.[1]

An embossed card, 3 x 4 inches, with intricately layered flowers and a crocus scrap pasted in the center. Inside, printed under two birds on a perch: *Love's Question—I send a question to thee dear, each morning by the lark, and every night the nightingale, brings answer ere the dark. The question needs no other words and this is the reply—I'll love thee dearest while I live. And bless thee if I die.* Inscribed on back, *1892.* Crocuses signify cheer. GM5316.1269.





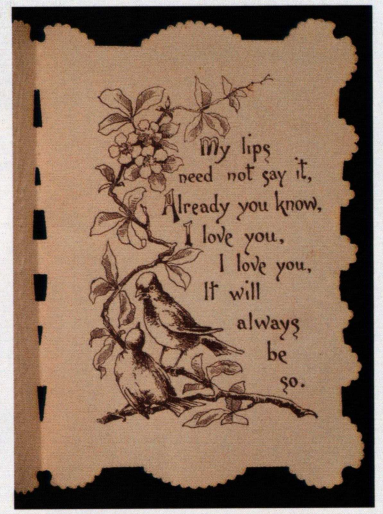
These delicate parchment tokens, the precursors of the lace-and-paper valentine, were created in convents, decorated in honor of a saint, and sold to benefit the church. Given with respect, admiration, friendship, or love, crafted on parchment or vellum, they were the epitome of the personal love token. Collectors of antique valentines seek them as important touchstones that reflect the purest example of the form. As revered gifts, they celebrated special occasions such as birth, first communion, marriage, birthdays, friendship, mourning, or simply were expressions of love. The religious designs emulated tatted lace of the era and incorporated motifs such as the sacred heart and the dove, representing the Holy Spirit, gouache paintings of saints, as well as floral bouquets, swags, ribbons, and ornate borders. As time passed, the hearts came to symbolize the lovers, and the religious devotion gradually dissolved away, replaced by a secular, romantic love. The emblems, cut or printed upon paper, endured, and became the characteristic designs we recognize today as symbolic of romance.

Permission for Love

A holiday for love was welcomed as a festive excuse for romantic indulgence among every stratum of society. The tradition was enhanced by the evolution of paper valentines that were increasingly available to a very receptive audience. As a result of numerous advances in printing and paper-making techniques and the development of an efficient and inexpensive means of postal delivery, the holiday reached its pinnacle by the mid-19th century. The availability of a vast variety of valentines, at every price, expanded and democratized the observation of the holiday. There were satiric or caustic products for a certain audience and amorous ones for traditional romantics. The competition between English valentine manufacturers resulted in the creation of a wide range of exquisite offerings using engraving, lithography, and cameo-embossed lace paper. Businesses profited from their enormous popularity, which further encouraged the ascent of the most popular holiday.

The progression from the earliest European religious keepsakes and the majestic Austrian friendship cards to the superb British paper lace examples is filled with magnificent specimens of art on paper. Technological developments fed the flow from handmade to machine-made paper lace, creating a beautiful canvas for ornate confections. Embellished with tiny faux jewels, feathers, ribbons, floral decorations, metallic die cuts, and often even scented, they ranged from simple elegance to overloaded garish creations—increasingly costly, but enthusiastically given and received.

A cadre of focused writers made Saint Valentine's Day a major theme for newspapers and magazines. Many upcoming young artists were captivated by the romantic imagery and participated in the creative process, as well as the timely publicity. It was an extraordinary era, when the reality of the brevity of life, the joys of romance, the blessed fulfillment of marriage, and the certainty of death, were celebrated intensely in poetry and art. Journals and keepsake albums became repositories for much of what we now call ephemera, the items of everyday life that reveal valuable insight about the past.

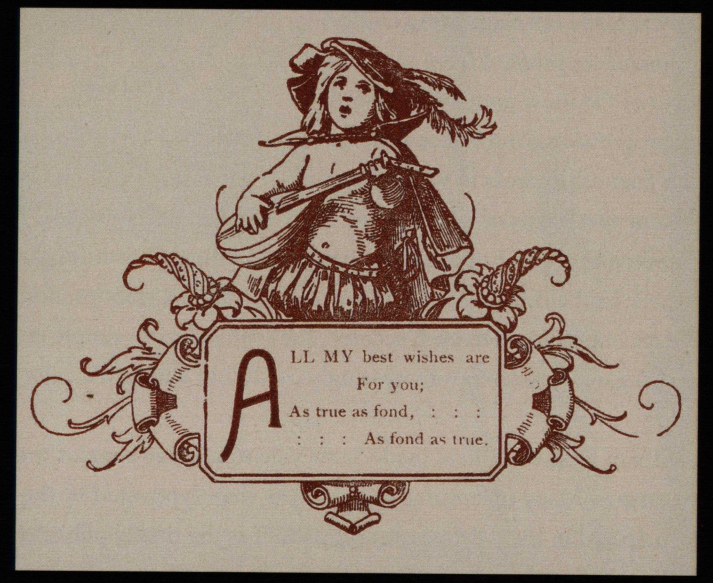


The pink background on the cover of this embossed card, 3 x 4 inches, is in the tasteful style of the George Whitney Company, Worcester, Massachussetts, although it is unsigned. The draped garlands are serene, and the design is subtle and romantic. Look carefully at the single chromolithographed image pasted in the center, which carries numerous symbolic messages. We will never know how the people who gave and received the card saw the image of a palm tree and people on horseback riding toward distant mountains, but we can interpret the tiny picture as referring to a loving couple en route to a new beginning in a new place.

A butterfly signifies new life, transformation; violets say "faithfulness and love;" and lilies of the valley say "return to happiness." Inside (image above) is the message *My lips need not say it, Already you know, I love you, I love you, It will always be so.* GM5135.1268.



The two layers of the cover of this valentine, 4 x 6 inches, are connected with folded paper springs which when lifted create a three-dimensional effect. Illustrations include a waterwheel with icicles cascading down and a small birdhouse and butterfly on either side of a white paper lace framework that overlooks a wintry scene. Inside the card is printed: *All my best wishes are for you; as true as fond, as fond as true* beneath a medieval-style boy playing a lute, symbolic of the God of Marriage. On the back is written the date, 1893. Possibly manufactured by George Whitney, Worcester, MA. GM5316.1273.



As technological change affected the pace of 19th-century life, the time once available for creating handmade expressions of love at home began to decrease. New machines could now manufacture paper valentines inexpensively, and the holiday came within the reach of an eager public, anxious to acquire an item representative of the latest popular trend. Sentimental wishes could now be bestowed upon everyone on one's list, wherever the mail could be carried.

Prior to the modern postal service, recipients paid upon receipt of their greetings, the rate dependent upon the weight of the mail, and the distance carried—which would have been by coach or horseback. Valentines were generally sent anonymously, so many an irate father would be faced with an enormous expense, but willingly suffer the burden for the sake of a lovely daughter and her unknown suitors. With set rates, pre-stamped mail included weight allowances to make envelopes feasible, and valentines could be more private than ever, and shielded from the curious.

Besides being a popular mode for affectionate greetings, sentimental offerings, amorous prose, or even secret messages, valentines frequently became the vehicle for marriage proposals. This was the one occasion when women could send messages protected by the traditional anonymity of the unsigned valentine. Guessing the suitor was a great part of the intoxicating fascination. Heavily advertised to soldiers at the time of the Civil War, valentines proved to be a soothing balm to their absence, and were often the sole link to home—and an enhancement of the will to survive. Notes longingly written upon the valentines shared stories of war and bittersweet thoughts of home.



ARRIVAL OF THE COUNTRY POSTMAN ON ST. VALENTINE'S MORNING.

"Arrival of the Country Postman On St. Valentine's Morning," *Harper's Weekly,* New York, February 19, 1859. Nancy Rosin Collection.

By the 1850s, the process of chromolithography began to be adopted, and color printing gradually became the rage. That meant that valentines could be decoratively printed in appealing colors, and embellishments once laboriously handcrafted could be machine–made. Until the end of the 19th century, when imported fold-down, open-out valentines and colorful postcards stole everyone's attention, the chromolithographed blank, often in several colors, became the background on which decorations could be applied. These modernized valentines were cherished as much as more elaborate versions from an earlier era. Far from ephemeral, these trifles were regarded as special objects worthy of being saved in the safest of places—albums, trunks, and often, because they were deemed nearly sacred, between the pages of the family bible.





Left: A McLoughlin Company card, 4 x 6, with a child surrounded by roses that are tied with a blue bow, probably signifying a little boy. The verse inside is the same as in the valentine on the facing page. GM5316.1283. Right: A 4 x 4 heart-shaped valentine with cream roses, meaning charm and thoughtfulness. Inside, the words *I send you love a line. I'll be your Valentine* accompany an image of a woman walking away while reading a letter. Dated 1894. GM5316.1274.

Facing: An embossed card, 4 x 6 inches, with a rose, symbol of love and beauty. On back of card is written "Harry." Also, a printed red "C" in upper right corner. The "C" is a price/size code for McLoughlin Company. GM5316.1284.

~ The Language of Flowers ~

Acacia ~ *Platonic Love*
Acanthus – *The Arts*
Almond – *Thoughtlessness*
Amaranth – *Immortality*
Amaryllis – *Pride*
American Cowslip – *You are my Angel*
Apple Blossom – *Preference*
Ash – *Grandeur*
Balsam – *Impatience*
Beech – *Prosperity*
Birch Tree – *Gracefulness*
Bachelor's button – *Celibacy*
Bluebell – *Kindness*
Buttercups – *Cheerfulness*
Candytuft – *Indifference*
Cherry – *Good Education*
Clematis – *Artifice*
Clove – *Dignity*
Columbine – *Folly*
Corn – *Riches*
Cowslip – *Early Joys*
Crocus – *Pleasures of Hope*
Daffodil – *Unrequited Love*
Dahlia – *My Gratitude Exceeds Your Care*
Daisy – *Innocence*
Dandelion – *Oracle*
Evening Primrose – *Inconstancy*
Fennel – *Strength*
Fern – *Sincerity*
Forget-me-not – *Do not forget me*
German iris – *Ardor, Flame*
Hollyhock – *Fruitfulness*
Honeysuckle – *Bonds of Love*
Horse-Chestnut – *Luxury*
Hyacinth – *Game, Play*
Hydrangea – *You Are Cold*
Ivy – *Friendship*
Jonquil – *Desire*
Larkspur – *Swiftness*
Laurel – *Glory*
Lavender – *Distrust*
Lilac – *First Emotion of Love*
Lily – *Majesty*
Lily of the Valley – *Return of Happiness*
Marigold – *Pain*
Mistletoe – *I Rise Above All*
Moss – *Maternal Love*
Moss Rose – *Love, Voluptuousness*
Oak – *Hospitality*
Pansy – *Think of Me*
Passion Flower – *Faith*
Peony – *Shame*
Peppermint – *Warmth of Sentiment*
Periwinkle – *Pleasing Remembrances*
Pine Tree – *Daring*
Rose – *Love and Beauty*
Rose Bud – *Young Girl*
Rosemary – *Your Presence Revives Me*
Sage – *Esteem*
Scarlet Geranium – *Folly*
Sprig of Spruce – *Farewell*
Star of Bethlehem – *Purity*
Strawberry – *Perfect Goodness*
Sunflower – *False Riches*
Violet – *Modesty*
Tulip – *Declaration of Love*
Weeping Willow – *Melancholy*
Wheat – *Riches*
White Rose – *Silence*
Wreath of Roses – *Rewards of Virtue*
Wreath of White Daisies – *I Will Think of It*
Yellow Rose – *Unfaithfulness*

The Crockett Valentines



Dated 1892, this pink and white valentine card is delicately highlighted with silver. The dramatic accent is a die-cut scrap affixed to the center. A pair of birds perches atop an eave, suggesting lovebirds and a home. The verse inside, beside a printed bird and twigs, reads *So strong's the flame of love for thee that in my heart doth burn, this world to me were paradise dids't thou but love me in return.* GM5316.1270.

The twenty-four valentines and three calling cards in the Gilcrease collection, all dated between 1890 and 1895, bear the name of Edna Crockett, for these are her saved treasures. There is no recorded provenance for the collection, and we do not know where and how Edna Crockett lived. She may have been a city dweller or a pioneer. We do know that in the late 19th century valentines were widely available in the large cities. They were also sold by traveling salesmen, or could be ordered by mail. Personal collections of valentines were treasured.

The *Chronicles of Oklahoma* in the digital archives of the University of Oklahoma Library preserves the story of one such personal valentine collection belonging to a young settler, Augusta Carson Metcalf. In "My life in the Indian Territory of Oklahoma,"[3] she recounts her family's arduous wagon crossing of the flooded South Canadian River:

> *Well a lot of things got wet. I still have a few of the valentines Aunt Belle had sent us from Philadelphia, and they have the brand of that Canadian Flood on them — river mud. . . .*

The cherished valentines survived, a connection to the past, guarded tenderly as a talisman. History is built on such an illuminating detail.

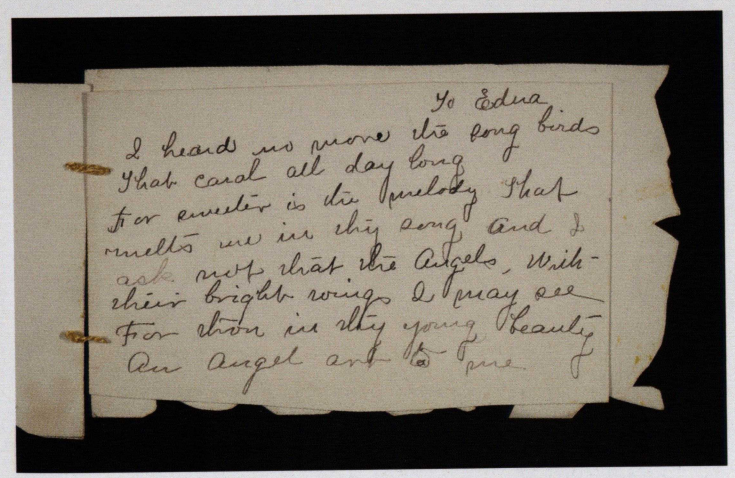
Whatever route valentines took, whether carried by railroad, stagecoach, canoe, horseback, steamboat, or blissfully hand-delivered, the excitement of receiving them was the same. Valentine's Day spread west and eventually reached California, where it has been popular since the days of the Gold Rush.

A Holiday for Everyone

Die-cutting and chromolithography, two of the mechanical processes used in the creation of appealing cards, had become much more affordable by the time Edna's valentines were made, enabling the less expensive merchandise to be more widely distributed. Two prominent companies dominated sales, George Whitney of Worcester, Massachusetts, and the McLoughlin Company of New York City. The magnitude of the McLoughlin business empowered them to provide a sophisticated service to stationers throughout the country in the form of printed catalogs. New ones were mailed out annually, listing the varieties available by the gross, or in selected assortments. Even shopkeepers in distant areas were encouraged to "buy early" to meet the demand. While there were comic "vinegar" Valentines catering to a specific audience, the popular traditional items were charming and romantic, often exceptional in taste and assembly, and were accompanied by decoratively embossed envelopes. The sizes and degree of decoration advanced by an alphabetical code designating the price, from a penny to seventy-five cents each (in today's dollars, approximately twenty cents to $15), wholesale. Boxed lots were not always marked individually, as the exterior of the box would bear the letter code. It is possible to find numerous examples of the same design, obviously copied from a template, and to study the blanks—the base layer of the design —for different, increasingly elaborate variations. It is a fascinating aspect to collecting, affording hours of pleasure; the fact that these can still be found is exciting. Several pieces in this collection bear marks that associate them with this company; gratifying detective work identified others by comparing the base layer of the card. Lost were the personal touches, the individuality, and the infinitesimal detail, but people were entering a modern age, and chromolithography made it possible to mass-produce by machine.

Over five centuries, through all its stages of evolution and forms, changing from a person to a gift, from ethereal calligraphy to commercially printed poetry, elaborate or naïve, or embellished with a mystical secret language of flowers and designs, the message of the valentine has remained constant. We continue to honor it as an inexpressibly tender tribute of love and affection.

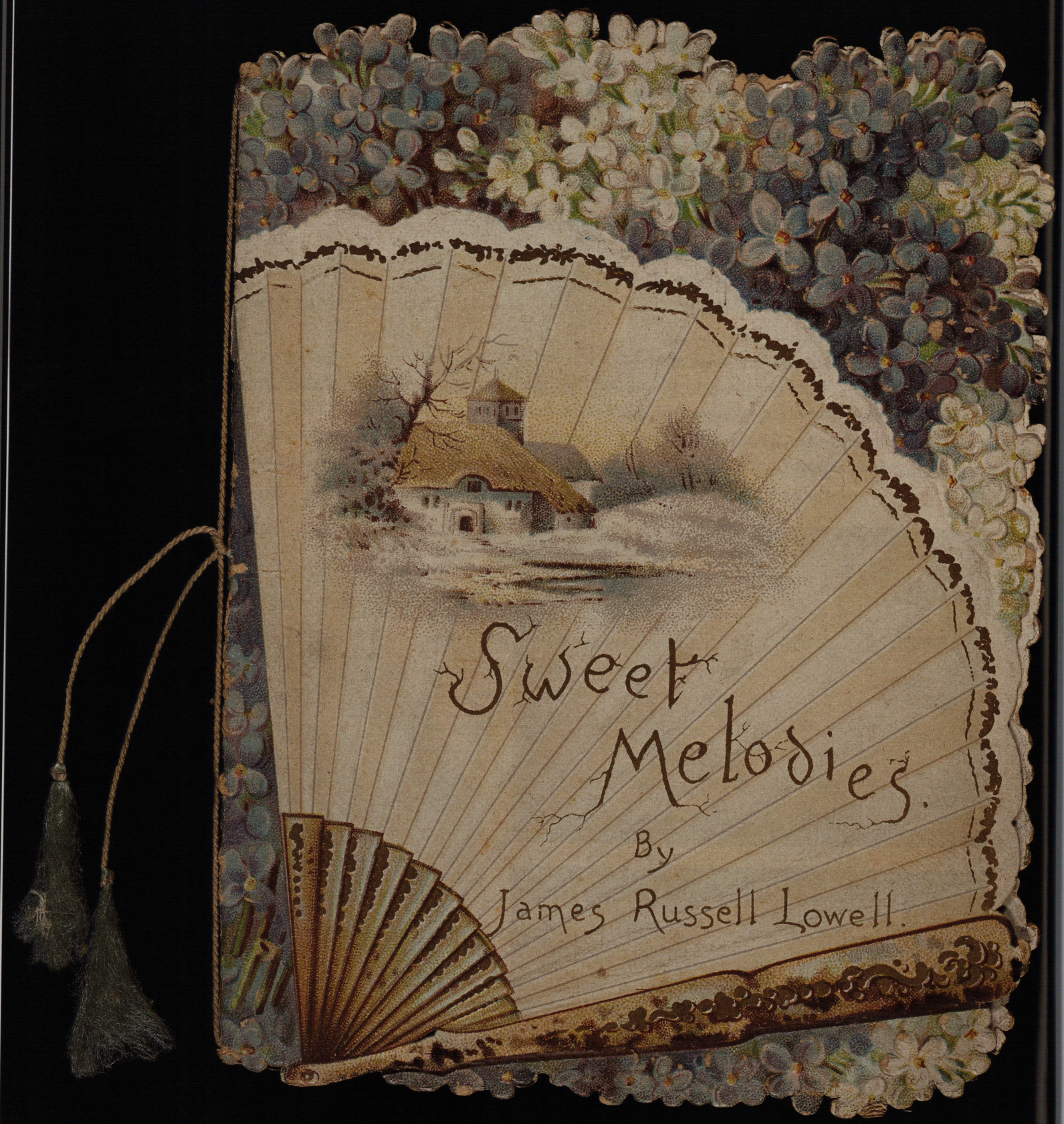






John Boland, a St. Louis stationer, offered a selection of McLoughlin Bros. valentines in this 1899 catalogue. Nancy Rosin Collection.

Two handmade valentines. Below left: A card, 3 x 4, with an openwork border created by a small punch and a tiny envelope reading *Remember me* with blue asters, symbolic for love and patience. Dated February 14, 1890. GM5316.1264. Bottom left: a valentine to Edna with hand-painted flowers and yellow cord. GM5316.804. Simplicity makes these especially tender, and it is easy to see why Edna cherished them. One can imagine the time and effort required to assemble the materials and create the cards and the pleasure of receiving a gift of the heart made by hand.



Sweet Melodies, a 4 x 6 booklet. The front cover is a fan with a thatched home amidst a snow scene. On the back is written *O. L.* The booklet contains sentimental verses selected from the works of the famed American poet James Russell Lowell. The format, with a fan and silk tassel, are reminiscent of an elegant dance program. Purple lilacs symbolize the first emotions of love, while white lilacs represent youthful innocence, making quite a spectacular design for a token of affection. Published by Raphael Tuck and Sons, Ltd., Publishers to the Queen (London, Paris, and New York) and printed in Germany. GM5316.1280.

A loving token. . . This rigid-card, 4 x 6 inches, could be propped up by manner of a paper support glued to the back. It features a glittery cut-out reading *Greetings* and above that an arch of five white bells ringing and blue satin glued and pleated to look like a curtain. Easel-backed novelty cards were the height of Victorian style. A popular trend was to display them on the table for all to enjoy. This elaborate presentation may have cost as much as two dollars. GM5216.1281.



1 See Anne Ball. *Encyclopedia of Catholic Devotions and Practices* (Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor Publishing Company), 2002. And also, Philip N. Cronenwett. *Characteribus ex Nulla material Compositus: A Unique Manuscript Format,* Dartmouth College Library Bulletin, 1995.

2 Melvin Harrel. "My Life in the Indian Territory of Oklahoma, the Story of Augusta Corson Metcalf," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* University of Oklahoma Library Digital Archives: http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Chronicles/v033p049.pdf

For more on the history of the valentine, see Frank Staff. *The Valentine and Its Origins* (New York: Praeger), 1969.

Information on the Victorian meanings of flowers comes from Robert Tyas, *The Language of Flowers; Floral Emblems of Thoughts, Feelings, and Sentiments* (London: George Routledge and Sons), 1869, and *The Language and Poetry of Flowers, and Poetic Handbook of Wedding Anniversary Pieces, Album Verses, and Valentines, Together with a Great Number of Beautiful Poetical Quotations From Famous Authors* (New York: Hurst & Co., Publishers), no date.

NANCY ROSIN is president of The Ephemera Society of America (www.ephemerasociety.org) and president of the National Valentine Collectors Association (www.valentinecollectors.com).



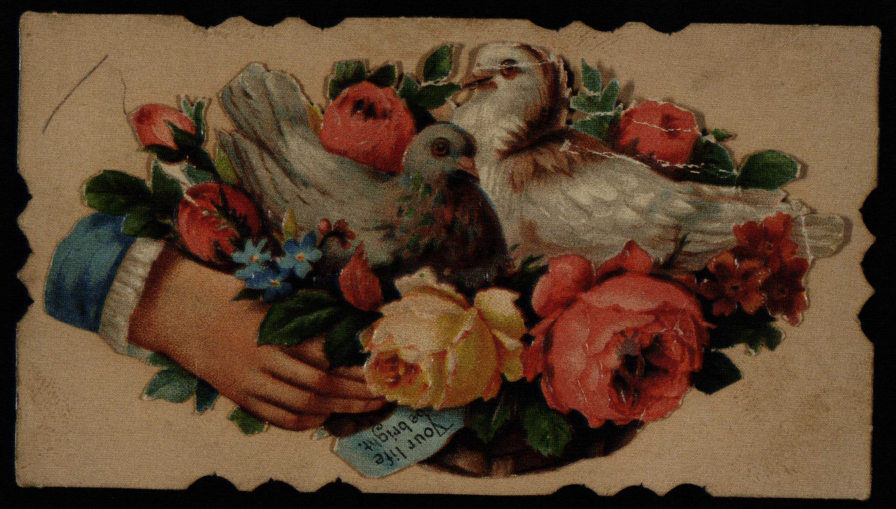
A little girl holding a bouquet and a letter stands at the center of this small valentine, 2.5 x 3.5 inches. Written on back, *1893, Edna, E. L.* Manufactured using the same blank as the card at right. Both cards have a spray of flowers inside beside the words *Lo! At thy feet I lie, I am all thine. One smile do not deny thy Valentine.* GM5316.1272.

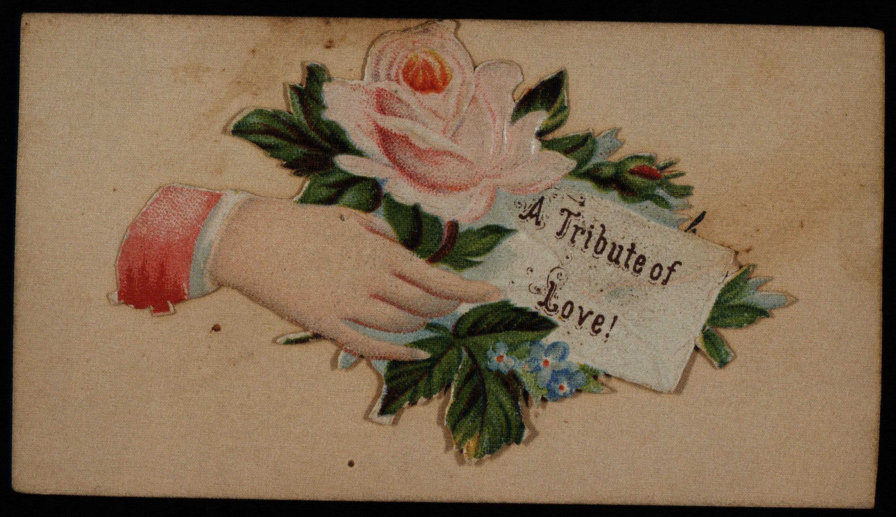


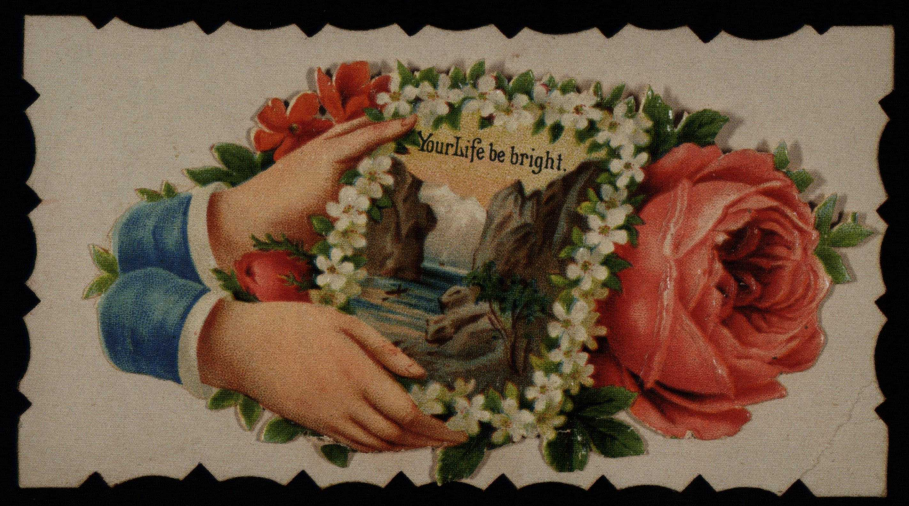
An embossed card, 2.5 x 3.5, with a central heart framing a rose. Inscribed on the back with the date 1890. This valentine is constructed on the same blank as the card at left. GM5316.1278.



Facing: An embossed pink and gold blank , 3.5 x 5, is adorned with an applied sheet of paper lace. Cupid peers down upon a fellow cupid, who delivers a letter while riding a swan. Underneath is a pink daisy: *With affection and regard.* Daisies signify innocence and modesty. Inside is printed: *Never, O, never doubt my true heart. Though we may linger far, far apart! Day thought and night dream, thou art to me. All my life's pathways lead me to thee* alongside little girl hoisting a banner. Written on back, *1892.* Inside, red wafers to show through the lace. The swan is associated with intuition, spirituality, sensitivity, transformation, and peacefulness. Swans pair for years or for life, so the swan is an apt messenger of love. GM5316.1271.



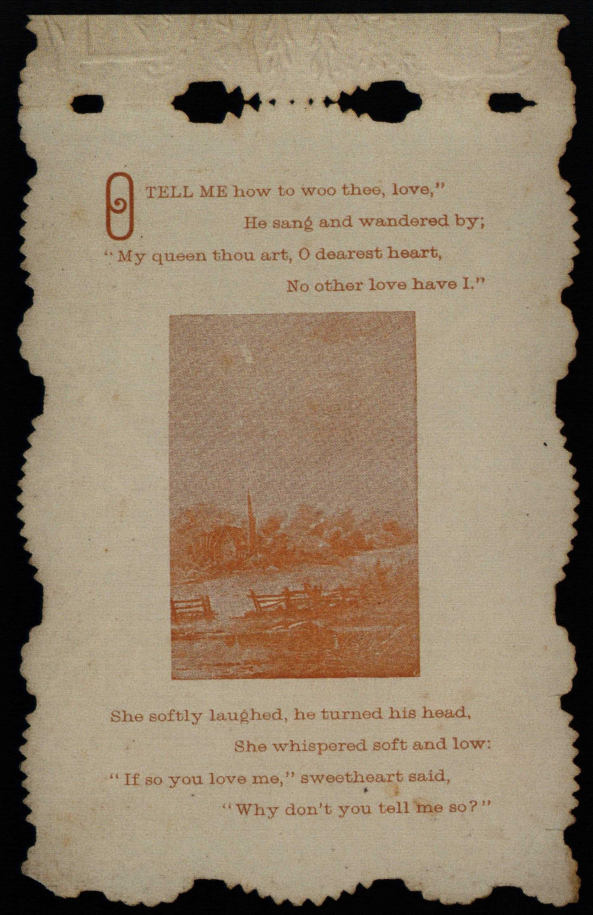




Calling Cards

The Victorian calling card was a mark of genteel etiquette and sophistication. Also known as hidden name cards, these would be presented on specific visiting days at proper homes, or left on a small tray in the foyer. Not much larger than an inch by two, calling cards might be elaborately fringed with silk floss or bear simple calligraphy; most were similar to the three shown here. A die-cut chromolithographed image, called a scrap, would be glued to the card at one edge; when the scrap was lifted from the opposite side, the caller's name was revealed. A popular motif was the outstretched hand, symbolic of friendship.

Numerous sample books and folders arrived from companies as far away as Pennsylvania and Ohio, from traveling salesmen, or from local entrepreneurs, who eagerly encouraged the inexpensive and popular trend. Enticing designs and custom printing made calling cards an essential and tasteful accessory in this rising community. GM5316.1286; 1287; 1285.







Immediately above: An example of scrap, colorful die-cut images used on valentines. Right and top: An embossed card, 3 x 4, with applied lacework and a scrap of roses and violets. The blanks, the top one smaller, have a design of delicate flowers in the style of the George Whitney Company, a major producer of valentines in Worcester, MA. Printed inside, a meadow and church: *O tell me how to woo thee, love, He sang and wandered by; My queen thou art O dearest heart, no other love have I. She softly laughed, he turned his head, she whispered soft and low: If so you love me sweetheart said, why don't you tell me so?* Written on back, *Edna Crockett, 1894.* GM5316.1276.





Facing: Detail. An intricate single sheet, 4 x 6. This embossed card has been embellished to the highest degree with golden lace paper, silk ruched ribbon, and a romantic chromolithographed image. The central motif is an adoring couple gazing into a fountain graced with a pair of lovebirds. Doves and an overflowing fountain have religious significance, making the modern imagery surprisingly similar to early devotional tokens. The artist has created a spiritual picture with hidden reference to the poetry: *Love to be holy must be pure.* GM5316.1282.

An embossed card, 3 x 4 with a central spray of pink roses and small red flowers. Inside, printed next to a spray of flowers, is a poignant inquiry: *Thou art all the world, To this heart of mine, My life, my hopes, my vows all thine; Am I nothing to thee but a valentine?* GM5316.1267.



An embossed card, 3 x 4, made of two layers of blanks (a yellow one topped by a white one sprinkled with flowers) and a paper lace frame. It is embellished with a rose die-cut, a Turkish man in pantaloons and turban, and a couple in European costume. Printed inside with a man delivering a message to a woman in a tower: *Cupid's messengers to-day take love's tidings everywhere. Birds and flowers and human hearts breathe the magic love-filled air. What then can I say or do but think of, wait for, trust in you.* Written on back, *To Edna from Marcia. 1891.* Manufactured by the George Whitney Company, Worcester, MA, and identified by comparing it to a similar signed version. GM5316.1266.



An embossed card, 2 x 3, with a central spray of pansies and a note *True to thee.* Printed inside with a child fishing: *Dear little friend, I send you here with heart sincere, a loving line; and it will be a joy to me to get from you a valentine.* Dated on the back 1890. Pansies are symbolic of thoughtfulness. GM5316.1263.



Facing: Detail. An intricate card, 5 x 7, with a gold scalloped border, a Cupid riding a bird, a little boy set amid a gold frame, and a central heart of flowers that says *Remember me.* Printed inside is a red Cupid riding butterflies: *Love's Victory—I did but look and love smile, 'twas but for half an hour, then to resist I had no will, and now I have no power. Oh would you pity give my heart, one corner of your breast, 'twould learn of yours the winning art and quickly steal the rest.* Dated 1890. GM5316.1265.

An embossed card, 5 x 7, featuring Cupid as a postman riding a bird and a scrap with daisies and a hand holding flowers, with a note reading *Purity.* The legend inside reads: *Come Love To Me—This world would be dark without thee, the days would be dreary and long, for thou hast the charm about thee, to give me sweet sunshine and song.* Dated on the back 1890. Likely made by the same assembler who made the card detailed on the facing page. GM5316.1262.



Athens, theatre of Bacchus, seated in chair of the High Priest.

As He Saw It

THOMAS GILCREASE'S PHOTO ALBUM

IAN D. SWART

A recent discovery within the archives of the Tulsa Historical Society sheds new light on an important chapter in the life of Thomas Gilcrease.

It is widely known that the European and Middle Eastern travels of Thomas Gilcrease during the 1920s had a profound effect on him. They altered his view of the world and accelerated his development as a collector of American art, history, and culture. While seeing the ruins of ancient civilizations with his own eyes, Gilcrease realized that a vanished society is remembered only by what material is left behind and vowed to spend his life collecting treasures of the Americas.[1]

It is safe to assume that had Gilcrease not visited the Egyptian pyramids or the ruins of Athens, there would be no Gilcrease Museum.

In his biography of Thomas Gilcrease, David Randolph Milsten devotes an entire chapter to these foreign travels. Milsten repeatedly bemoans the lack of information about Gilcrease's personal thoughts during the journey and the negligence of French travel partner Numa Bouttier to include "Mr. G." in the journal kept during the five-month trek across Europe, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East.

He writes, "Regrettable it is that Thomas Gilcrease depended so completely upon Bouttier to record the daily events of their travels. The impressions of the Oklahoman would have been written in a homely fashion and with descriptions couched in his western manner. He would have pointed up in well-phrased sentences an appreciation for the historical sites and no doubt for the repositories of art which came to his attention . . . . What a tragedy that Bouttier failed to record the reactions of Gilcrease to the landmarks they visited or to even comment upon the impressions he received from his exchange of thoughts with Gilcrease."[2]

Lack of information about Gilcrease's personal reaction to sites he visited in the Old World is a constant theme in Milsten's chapter "Foreign Intrigue and Travel." He refers to the chapter's title as "merely for want of a better label for the unopened package which promised reward and resulted in a most ungratifying trophy."[3]

Now the reward has arrived. In a box of signed first edition books and photographs donated to the Tulsa Historical Society by Katherine Walling Hardy in 1974, over 600 travel photographs and postcards were found. The images depict street scenes of Paris, historic sites in the Greek Isles, the Vatican, and natives in northern Africa. Almost all of the photographs contain an ink notation on the reverse. The notations were written by the hand of Thomas Gilcrease.

The lost voice of Thomas Gilcrease had been found.

Gilcrease's biographer combed through the journals of Bouttier to glean what morsels could be found, while making assumptions and using what information was available to create a mosaic of that period of the life of Gilcrease. As Milsten put it, "The Bouttier-Gilcrease episode, as it is applied to the life of Thomas Gilcrease, was like finding a piece of a jigsaw puzzle and laboring to locate the space from which it came."[4] The Walling Collection at the Tulsa Historical Society contains the missing pieces of the puzzle.

The myriad sites and cities visited by Gilcrease were recorded by Bouttier, but now it is possible to see exactly what the two men saw, as if this photographic collection were a window into the past. These photographs, taken by Gilcrease himself, provide evidence as to what he thought important to record and remember. His notations proved an even greater insight into the man with ample money in his pockets and an unquenchable thirst for experiencing culture and history firsthand.

His words vary from humor to history to philosophy, though he could from time to time be quite a romantic:

> Dear Friends: I am in old Spain and it seems many years since I left home and friends – Perhaps I am only growing old. Orange blossoms perfume spring's soft breezes and songs of gentle birds come from every tree-top and life seems but a dream in a land of tenderness, kindness, peace, and love. Tenderest remembrances. Tom.

Francis "Frank" Gaston Walling, father of Katherine Hardy, had been instrumental in the organization of Gilcrease Oil Company. He was listed as a vice-president of the corporation in the 1922 charter and continued to serve in that capacity for many years. In 1942, Walling became one of the original incorporators and trustees of the Thomas Gilcrease Foundation. Walling is only mentioned on four pages of the Milsten biography; however, further research has shown that he was a close friend and travel companion of Thomas Gilcrease.

In August 1927, Gilcrease sent a postcard to Frank's wife, Katherine Adams Walling. The playful language suggests a close friendship between him and the Wallings. "I am in Milan and will meet Frank in Southampton about June 9th. Surely will be happy to see him and assure you that I will show him a wild time and that he will return home feeling like a boy of 27 years. Tom."

Mr. Walling was 52 at the time the postcard was sent.

Katherine Walling Hardy, who bequeathed this collection to the Tulsa Historical Society, volunteered her time as a registrar during the early 1970s with the Society. The Gilcrease photographs were likely found in the home of her parents after her mother's death in 1972. Gilcrease may have given Walling the photographs of his travels as a token of their lifelong friendship.

The collection is now preserved for posterity, and will be the subject of an exhibit at the Tulsa Historical Society and Museum in fall 2013. For more information, visit www.tulsahistory.org.

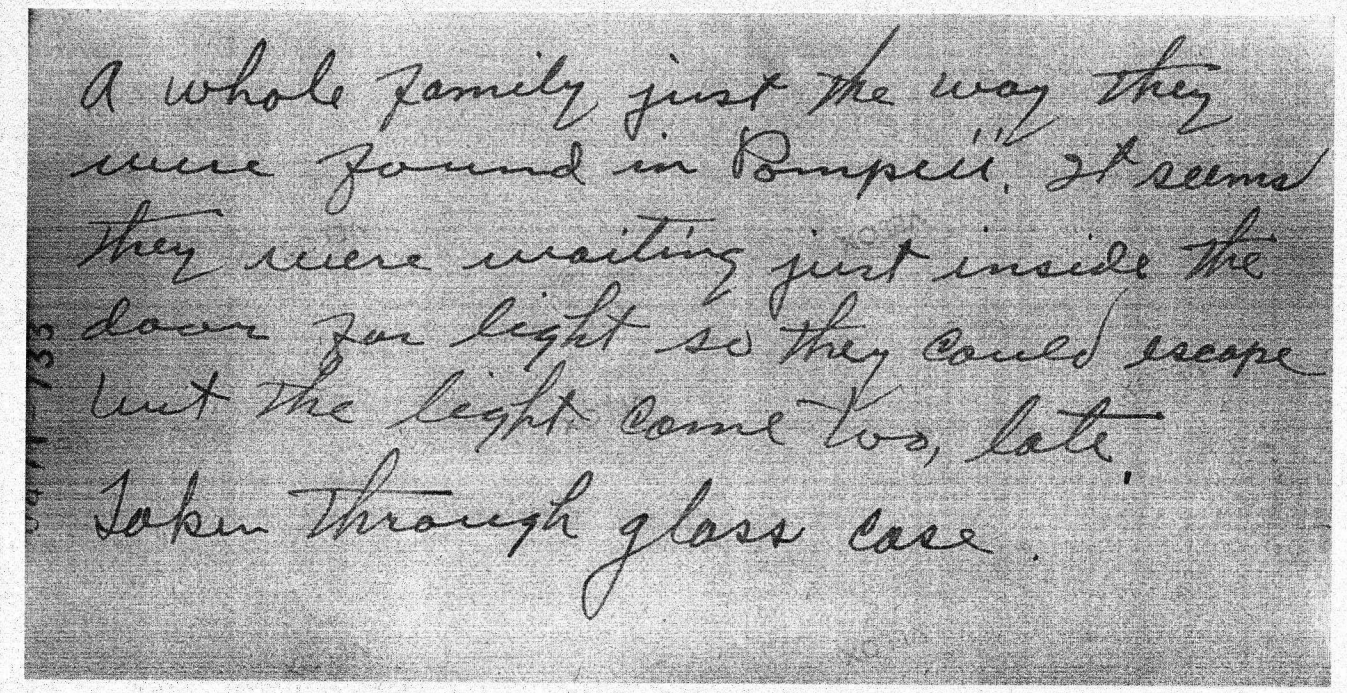
Captions are by Thomas Gilcrease, as inscribed.
Ian Swart is archivist and curator of collections at the Tulsa Historial Society.

1 Martin Wenger, "Thomas Gilcrease," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 40. (Summer 1962): 95.

2 David Randolph Milsten, *Thomas Gilcrease* (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1969) 96-97.

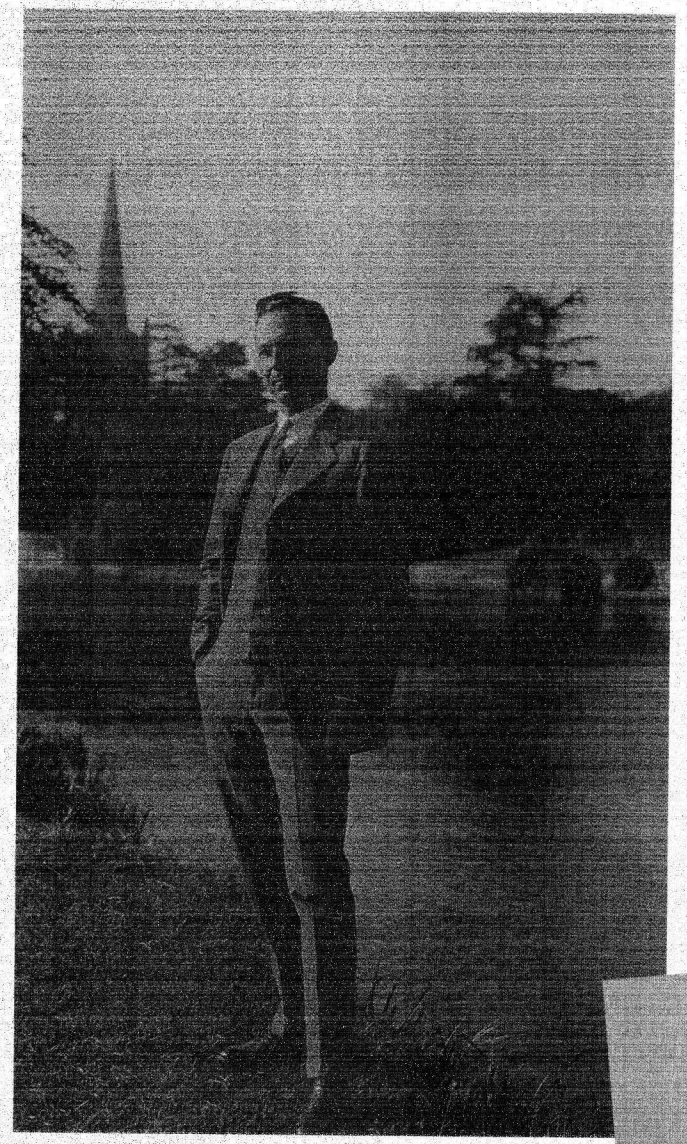
3 Ibid., 95

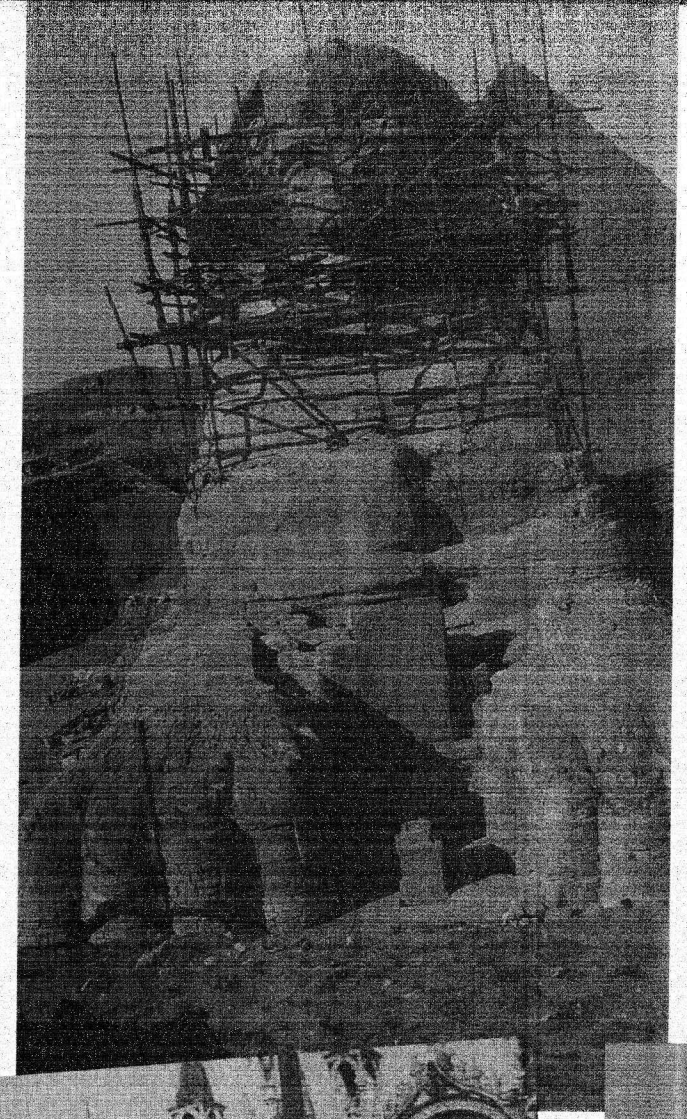
4 Ibid., 113.





A whole family just the way they were found in Pompeii. It seems they were waiting just inside the door for light so they could escape but the light came too, late. Taken through glass case.







Shakespeare and his lovely Anne lies but dust beneath the Church tower on the West bank of silent Avon while Mr. Gilcrease stands upon the East bank, facing the rising sun with the realization that he too will soon cross over to the West bank and join that endless march of numberless folk gone.

Venice. Piazza San Marco.

Sphinx showing feet which have rarely been seen for centuries due to drifting sands. The tablet gives the story of the Pharoah Tothmes as follows: The Pharoah after hunting was tired and while resting between the feet of the Sphinx dreamed that the God Hormachis appeared and told him that if he would keep the sands away from the Sphinx that he would some day become King and later Tothmes did become King. This is first time the feet have been seen since 1886.

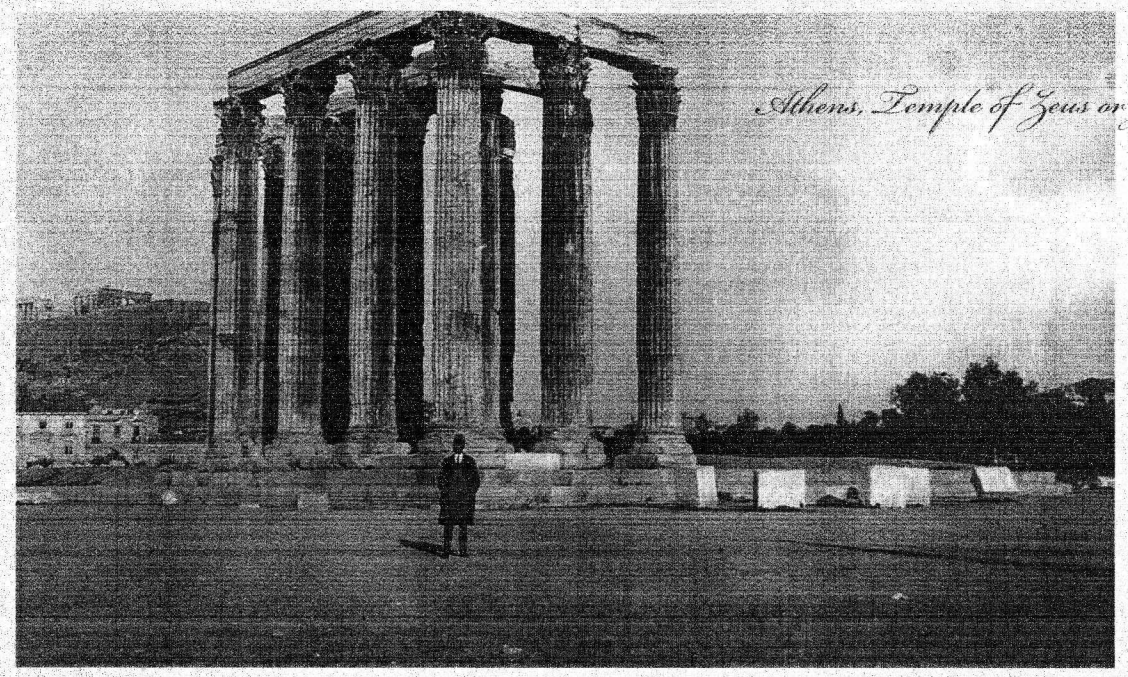
Natives leaving Breakfast on the Nile.





Near Sea of Galilee; a Shepherd, with his flock and poppies playing his flute for me. This boy has a face which requires a second look and a third thought.

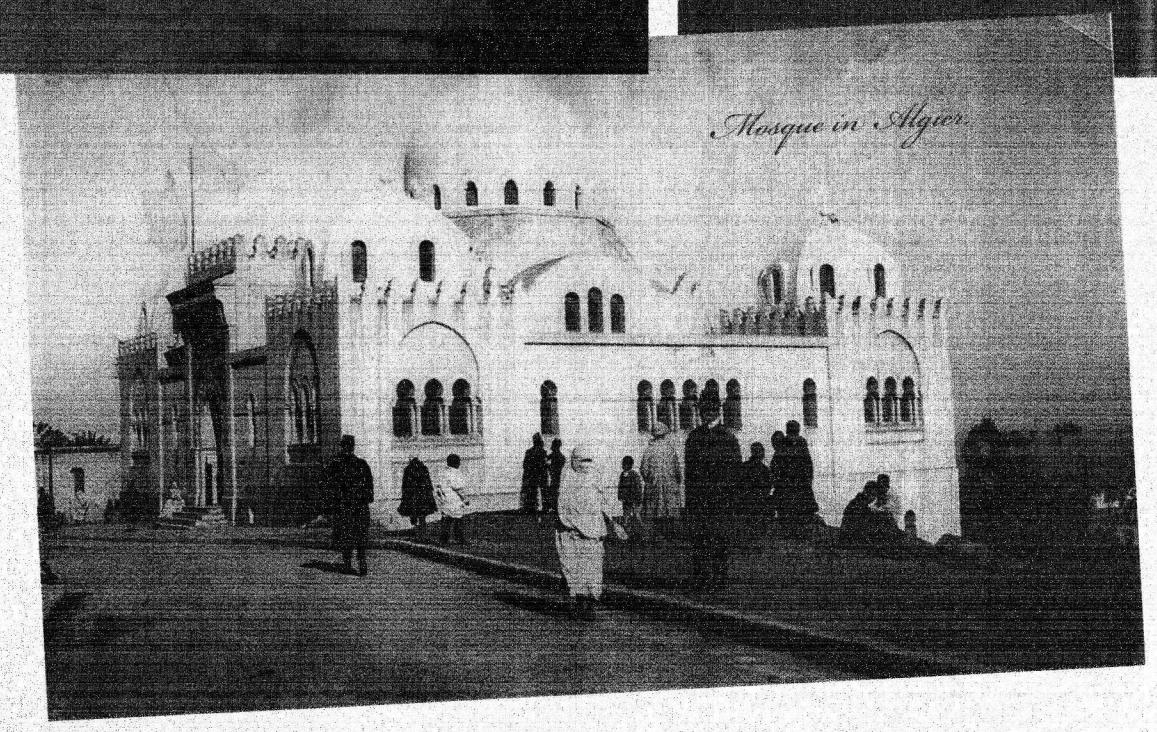
Near Sea of Galilee a Shepherd with his flock and poppies playing his flute for me. This boy has a face which requires a second look & a third thought.



Athens, Temple of Zeus or Jupiter.

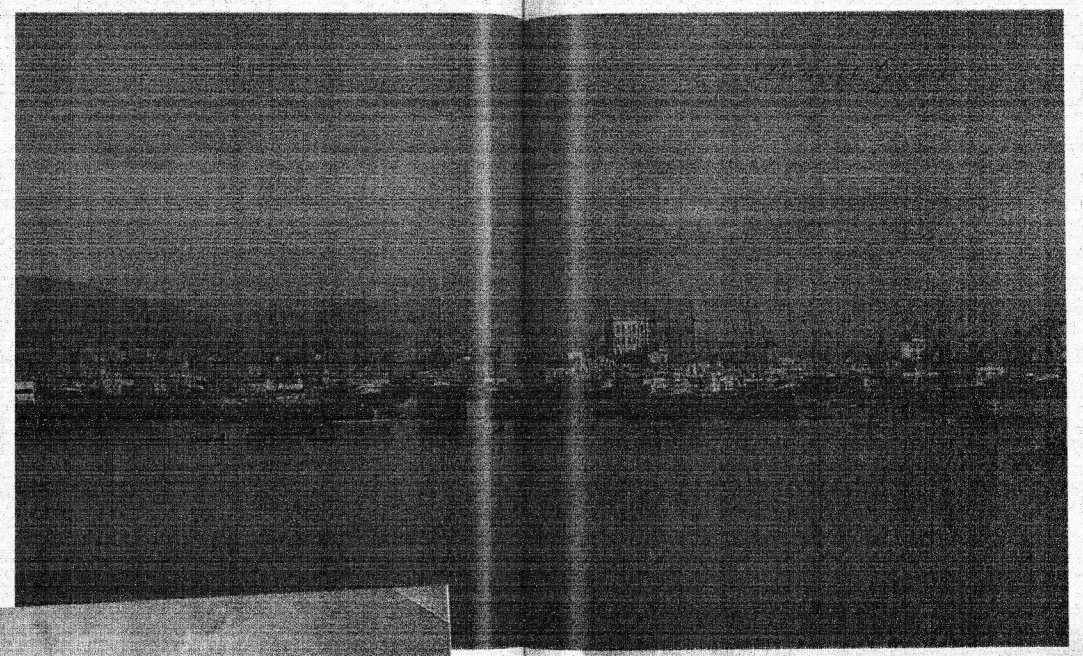


Haiza, Palestine; arrival of a caravan.

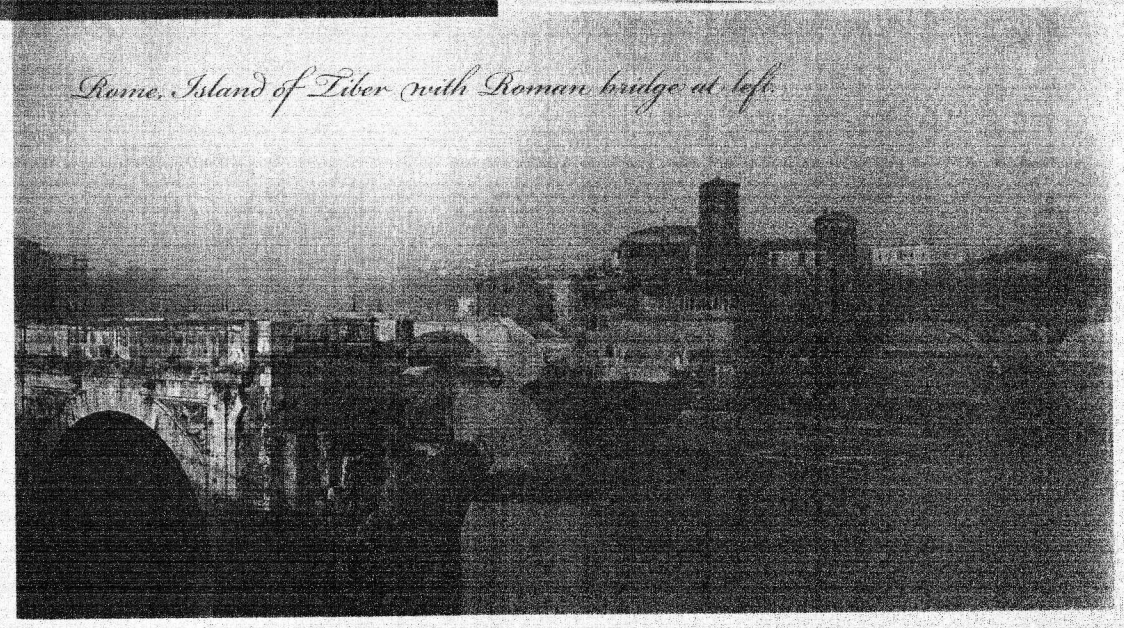


Mosque in Algier.









Rome, Island of Tiber with Roman bridge at left.

Thebes, Ramesseum, Statue of Rameses II. Weight is said to be 1000 tons and is of one piece of red granite and stood 60 feet high.

Friends and Family

KIMBERLY ROBLIN

Museums purposefully preserve and interpret cultural objects. Sometimes they also inadvertently preserve the personal stories contained within those works. This portfolio features paintings, drawings, and prints at Gilcrease that have a human back story, as the personal links between the artists and their subjects and settings, children and wives, mentors, colleagues, and friends are revealed.



MERRITT MAUZEY

Known for depicting scenes and experiences familiar to him, Merritt Mauzey was born on a Texas cotton farm in 1897. The crop figured prominently in his life, from providing content and illustrations for his children's books, to more directly employing him in cotton ginning and sharecropping. He took art classes as a boy and continued his lessons as an adult at evening courses offered at the local high school. He excelled at lithography and eventually became the first Texan to receive the Guggenheim Memorial Award. This work, entitled *Our Son,* one of his most intimate, shows his son, Merritt Jr., who enlisted in the army in 1942 and served until the end of World War II. The print bears an inscription pasted on the lower center margin reading *This is a gift of Merritt Mauzey. In memory of his wife Maggie Mauzey.*

Left: *Our Son.* Merritt Mauzey, lithograph on paper. GM1427.589.

Facing: *Self Portrait.* Merritt Mauzey, lithograph. GM1427.21.



JOHN NEAGLE Born in Boston in 1796, John Neagle expressed an early interest in art and began drawing lessons as a boy. His potential was subsequently noticed by two of the leading portrait artists at the time, Charles Willson Peale and Thomas Sully, with whom he studied before embarking as an itinerant portraitist. Finding it difficult to establish his career while constantly on the move, he settled permanently in Philadelphia and there married Mary Chester, niece and step-daughter of Thomas Sully. In the Philadelphia art world he met one of Sully's students, a young painter named George Catlin. The two became friends. Neagle completed this portrait of Catlin the year before Catlin painted his first portrait of a Native American and directed his career towards recording and documenting American Indian lives and customs.

Facing: *George Catlin*. John Neagle, 1825, oil on canvas. GM0126.2164.

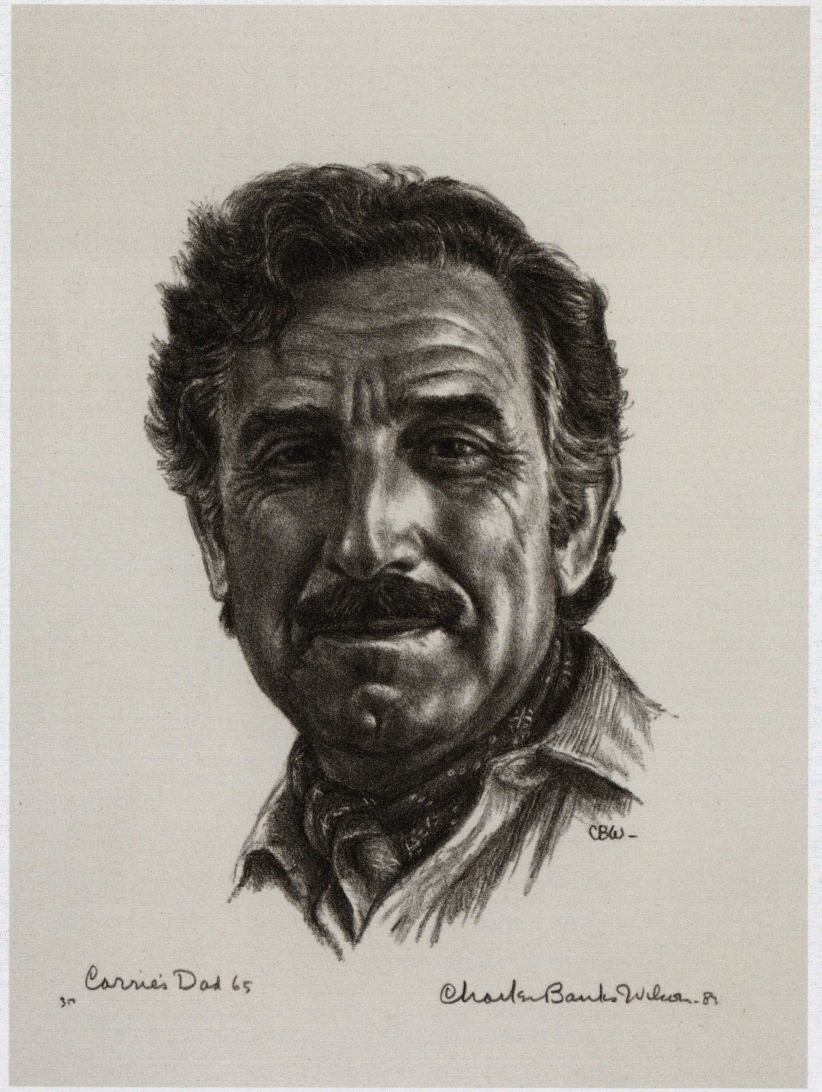
CHARLES APPEL A first-generation American, Charles Appel was born in Brooklyn in 1858 to German parents. The 1880 census records that his father, Peter, was from Hesse-Darmstadt and his mother Eliza from Wurtemberg. It also reveals a creative tendency in the family and an attention to detail and design. Peter worked in a jewelry factory. His youngest son George was apprenticed to a jeweler, and his oldest son, Charles, was a stone engraver. Charles studied at the New York School of Art under William Merritt Chase but returned to New Jersey and spent most of his life in East Orange, its beaches and shores figuring prominently in his romantic works. He and his wife, Blenda, a Swedish immigrant and childhood neighbor, raised their two daughters, Lillian and Viola, there as well. In this painting, one of the two girls sketches in a peaceful setting.

My Daughter Sketching. Charles Appel, oil on board. GM0127.2364.

GEORGE CATLIN Born in Pennsylvania, George Catlin abandoned his law studies as a young man for a love of art. Dedicating his career to documenting and recording Native Americans, he traveled into western lands at a time when many would not. This sketch, however, marks the somber and personal event of his wife's death. Clara Bartlett Gregory and George Catlin married in Albany, New York in 1828 when she was 21. The marriage was not always easy as Catlin traveled often and far and his wife's health subsequently suffered. In 1845 while the family was in Paris, Clara died at the age of 38. Sadly for Catlin, it was not his only loss, and their young son died from typhoid shortly after.



Clara Bartlett Gregory Catlin's tombstone. George Catlin, 1847, pencil on paper. GM1376.501.



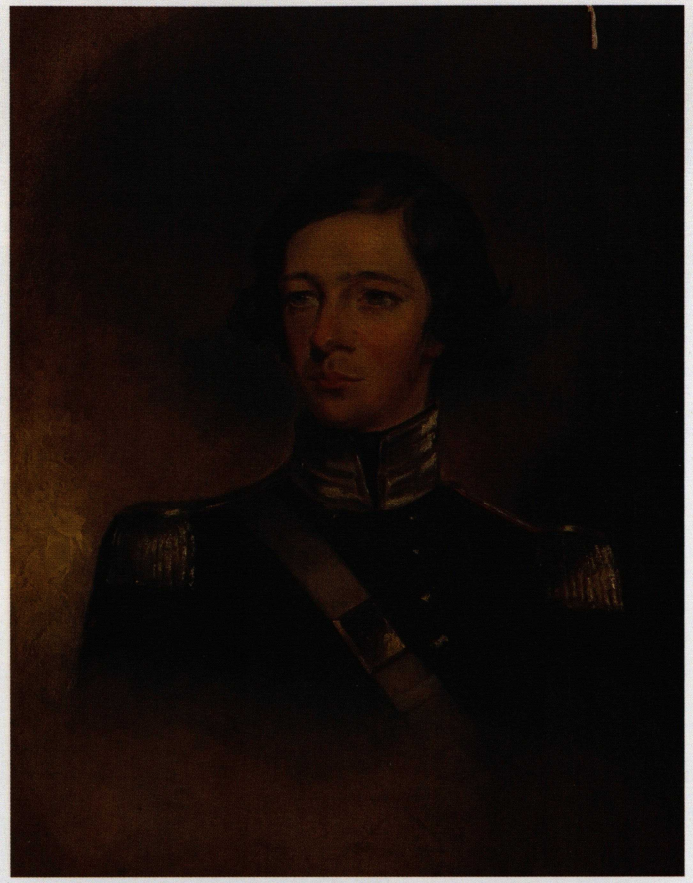
CHARLES BANKS WILSON Best known for his "Pureblood" Series and Oklahoma Capitol portraits and murals, Charles Banks Wilson was a well-known and widely respected regional artist. He worked in various mediums, from pen and ink to oil to tempera to lithography, and he always had a personal connection to the person or place he depicted. It might be the relationship forged with a reticent sitter. A familiar composition of a summer swimming hole like one of his youth. Or in the most personal examples, renderings of his daughter, himself, his wife, and his grandson, who was the subject of this lithograph, *Young Solomon.* Of it, Wilson said: My grandson, Carrie's boy, was eighteen months old when I did this drawing. His great-great grandfather was Solomon Quapaw, a tribal leader.

Carrie's Dad. Charles Banks Wilson, 1983, lithograph on wove paper. GM1427.686.

Facing: *Young Solomon.* Charles Banks Wilson, 1984, lithograph on paper. GM1427.694.

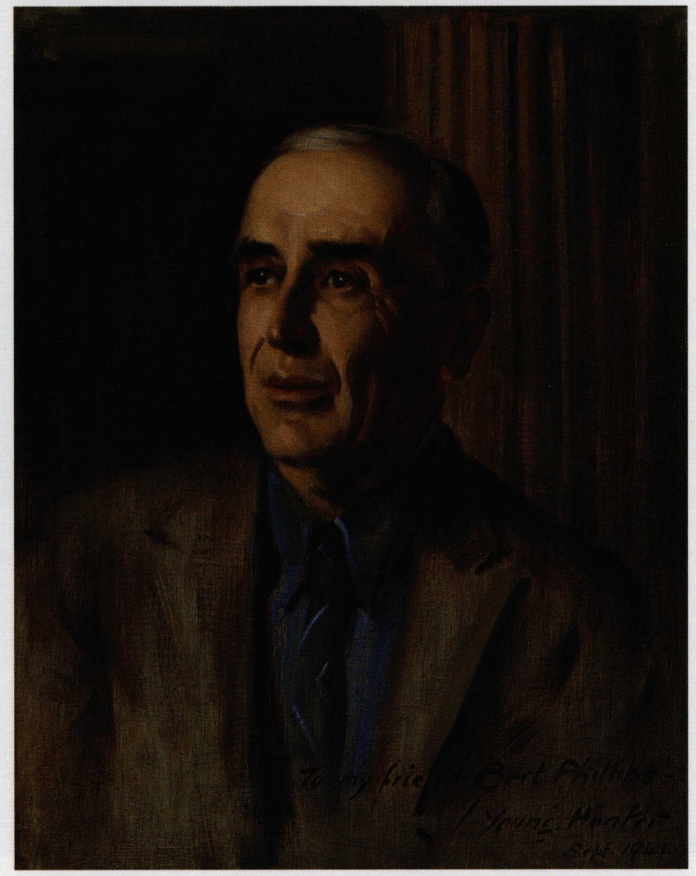


THOMAS AND ALFRED SULLY Born to English actors, Thomas Sully immigrated to the United States in 1792 when he was not yet ten years old. His interest in art began early and he briefly took lessons from his brother-in-law while still a teenager. A clash in personalities, however, ended the arrangement, and Thomas moved in with an older brother, Lawrence, and his family. Upon Lawrence's unexpected death a few years later, Thomas became head of the family and even married Lawrence's widow. The family settled in Philadelphia where Sully achieved great success and renown as a portraitist. Alfred, one of the couple's several children, possessed artistic ability, but instead chose the military and at seventeen went to West Point. He sketched and painted throughout a long career that covered the Seminole War, Mexican War, Civil War, and Plains Wars. Thomas Sully painted this portrait of his son as a young man.



Alfred Sully. Thomas Sully, oil. GM0126.1217.

JOHN YOUNG HUNTER AND BERT PHILLIPS After receiving a self-portrait of Joseph Henry Sharp, Thomas Gilcrease determined he wanted portraits of each of the Taos artists represented in his collection. He wrote to them and asked, but Bert Phillips, one of the Taos Society of Artist founders, felt portraiture was not his best skill and instead gave Gilcrease a portrait done by a friend, John Young-Hunter. Phillips lived in Taos longer than any other member, but Young-Hunter was a relatively recent arrival. Born in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1874 to a privileged family, he studied under John Singer Sargent at the Royal Academy and achieved moderate success in Europe with his landscapes and portraits. As a boy he had seen Buffalo Bill's Wild West and the impression of the faraway place never left him; in 1917 he traveled to Taos. Like so many, he built a studio and returned often, nearly every summer for the next 25 years.



Bert Phillips. John Young-Hunter, 1941, oil on canvas. GM0137.563.



ERNEST BLUMENSCHEIN Unlike some artists, Ernest Blumenschein did not favor sketching and painting as a child. He preferred another fine art—music, a natural course for the son of the Dayton Philharmonic director. A single illustration course, however, convinced Blumenschein that visual art would be his career. He studied in New York and Europe, where he met Bert Phillips and Joseph Henry Sharp in Paris. The three went on to found the Taos Society of Artists a few years later. It was his Taos work that attracted Thomas Gilcrease years later when he was actively growing his museum collection. As he had with Bert Phillips, Thomas Gilcrease asked Blumenschein for a self-portrait and Ernest obliged.

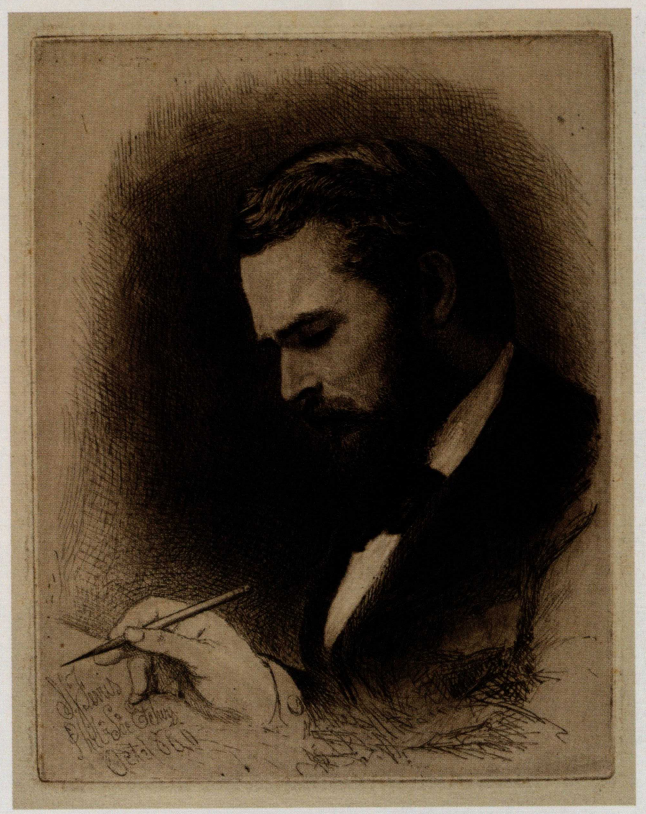
Self Portrait. Ernest Blumenschein, 1948, gouache and ink on paper. GM0237.784.

HAMILTON HAMILTON During the late 19th century, a renewed interest in etching emerged among a fairly tight-knit circle of artists in New York and other nearby states. Hamilton Hamilton was one such artist. According to census records, he immigrated to the United States from England in 1881 and wasted little time establishing his career. He belonged to the American Watercolor Society and the New York Etching Club. It was through his membership in the latter that he met fellow members, Thomas Moran and his wife, Mary Nimmo. It was commonplace for these artists to depict others from their group, as Hamilton did with an oil portrait of Mary and an etching of her daughter, Ruth.

Facing: *Mary Nimmo Moran.* Hamilton Hamilton, 1883, oil on canvas. GM0126.1191.

Ruth B. Moran. Hamilton Hamilton, 1883, etching on parchment. GM1426.334.









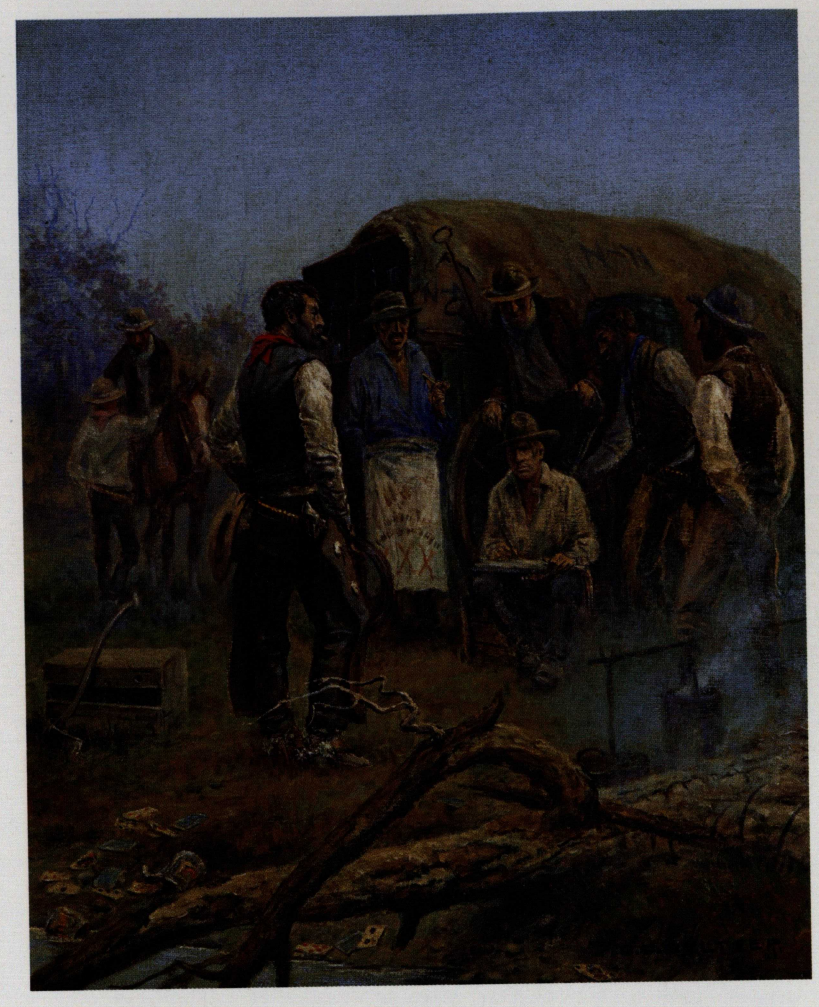
THE FERRISES AND MORANS

Stephen James Ferris, an etcher and painter from Philadelphia, became tied to the Moran family in 1862 when he met and married Elizabeth Moran, sister to Thomas and Peter. Stephen had a successful career, teaching for a time at Moore College, the first and only visual arts school for women. Portraits were his specialty, here one of his wife Elizabeth and a self-portrait. The Ferris and Moran families frequently exchanged prints as personal gifts. The couple had two children; Jean-Leon Gerome, named for one of Stephen's favorite artists, and May Electa. Jean-Leon inherited artistic talent from both his father's and mother's sides. A history painter and etcher, he completed this etching of Grandma Moran in 1879.

Portrait of SJ Ferris. Stephen James Ferris, 1880, etching on paper.GM1426.343.

Elizabeth Moran Ferris. Stephen James Ferris, 1881, etching on paper. GM1426.366.

Grandma Moran. Jean Leon Gerome Ferris, 1879, etching on paper. GM1426.325A.





SELTZER AND RUSSELL

While both men are known in western art, they came from very different backgrounds. Charles M. Russell led a privileged life in St. Louis before striking into the West. Olaf Seltzer was the son of a single mother in Denmark and literally came west when they immigrated during his boyhood. They settled in Montana near family and eventually the paths of the two artists crossed in a saloon in 1897 when the 19-year-old Seltzer happened across Russell's 33rd birthday celebration. The two realized their common interest in western scenes and Native American cultures and began a 25-year friendship. With more years of age and experience, Russell became a kind of teacher and mentor for the younger Seltzer.

Charley Russell about 1891 Sketching in the Judith Basin, Montana for Horace Brewster, Gros Ventre Johnny and Others of the N-N Outfit. Olaf Seltzer, 1927, oil on board. GM0137.864.

Portrait of C.M. Russell. Olaf Seltzer, 1908, oil on canvas. GM0137.365.

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JOSEPH HENRY SHARP Although there were several founding members of the Taos Society of Artists, it was Sharp who first visited the relatively unknown New Mexico village and later told his new friends Bert Phillips and Ernest Blumenschein about the wonderful place. Sharp was raised in the Midwest, studied extensively in Europe, and lived across the northern plains documenting Native Americans and their cultures and customs. And while these works are what he is best known for, he also did still-lifes and other portraits as well, including this one of his first wife, Addie Byram. They married in 1893 when she was around 20 and remained married until her death in 1913, the year after they moved to Taos.

Addie Byram Sharp. Joseph Henry Sharp, 1895, oil on canvas. GM01.2549.

Self Portrait. Joseph Henry Sharp, 1947, oil on canvas. GM0137.323.

A Cherokee Bandolier Bag

IN THE GILCREASE MUSEUM COLLECTION

DUANE H. KING

One of the most curious mid-19th century Cherokee bandolier bags to survive to the present was acquired by Gilcrease Museum in 2011. Its significance is not only in the great skill required to execute the intricate beaded designs but also the accompanying letter that documents the gift of the "shot pouch," a pipe, and plug of tobacco on April 20, 1846, by Tucquo, a respected veteran of the Red Stick War, to an U. S. army officer, 2nd Lt. Cave Johnson Couts of the First Dragoons.

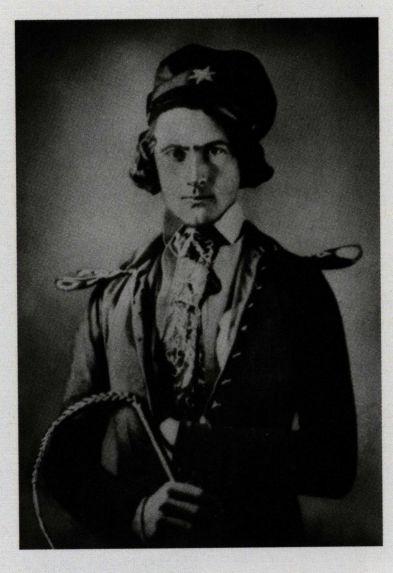
Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation
April 20, 1846

Dear Sir

Along with this note, I have the pleasure to send you a beaded shot pouch, a pipe and a piece of tobacco. They are a present from my friend Tucquo, a venerable man who fought with General Andrew Jackson in the Creek War, is a pensioner of the government on account of wounds then received, and has in his possession a rifle gun which was ordered to be made for him by President Madison as a token of his regard for the heroism he displayed at the battle of Tehopeka. The cause that induces the old warrior to make this present is the corect (sic) and manly views you have publicly expressed in regard to the recent disturbances and to the real character of the many desperate men who have fled from this country on account of their crimes, but who endeavor to solicit sympathy and protection of the officers of United States by holding up themselves as refugees from political persecution. He is glad to find in you a friend to truth and justice, and hopes you will be assured of his regard for the same—of his love and desire of peace, of his feelings towards the whites and his earnest desire to see, before he dies the people and government of the Cherokee Nation happy and prosperous. Hoping that the present may prove acceptable, coming as it does from a brave, honest and patriotic old man, who is much respected by the Cherokees and whose life has been threatened by the banditti who know but to fear him,

I have the honor to be
very respectfully
yr. friend & obdt. servt
Will. P. Ross

Lieut C. J. Couts
1st Dragoons.



Cave Johnson Couts, 1845, daguerreotype. Huntington Library.

The bandolier bag was obviously a prized possession of Tucquo. Although it is described in the Ross letter as a shot pouch, it was not a utilitarian item but rather a status symbol. It was perhaps made or commissioned as a presentation piece to be used and valued much like the rifle that Tucquo received for his heroic services from the president of the United States. There is no evidence to suggest that the old warrior and young officer were close friends or even knew each other. The letter, however, suggests that Tucquo was very appreciative of something that the officer had done. Like other gifts of this type, it may have also established an expectation of binding loyalty or reciprocal obligation. To fully appreciate the significance of this symbolic gift, it is necessary to explore the roles each played in a very critical period in Cherokee history.

Tucquo, or Whale (also spelled Dakwa, Toqua, Tuq-qua, Tucfo, or Tuck Wah), was described as a very large man and perhaps thirty-seven years old in 1814 when he enlisted as a private in Colonel Gideon Morgan's Cherokee Regiment during the Creek War.[1] Assigned to Captain Rain Crow's company, he spent a month in training at Moccasin Bend (now Chattanooga, Tennessee) before moving south with Andrew Jackson's army of 3,300 men, and in roughly three weeks they reached the Red Stick settlement of Tohopeka, located on a peninsula surrounded by high bluffs on the Tallapoosa River. The village contained about 300 log cabins and held nearly 1,000 warriors and around 350 women and children. Anticipating the attack,



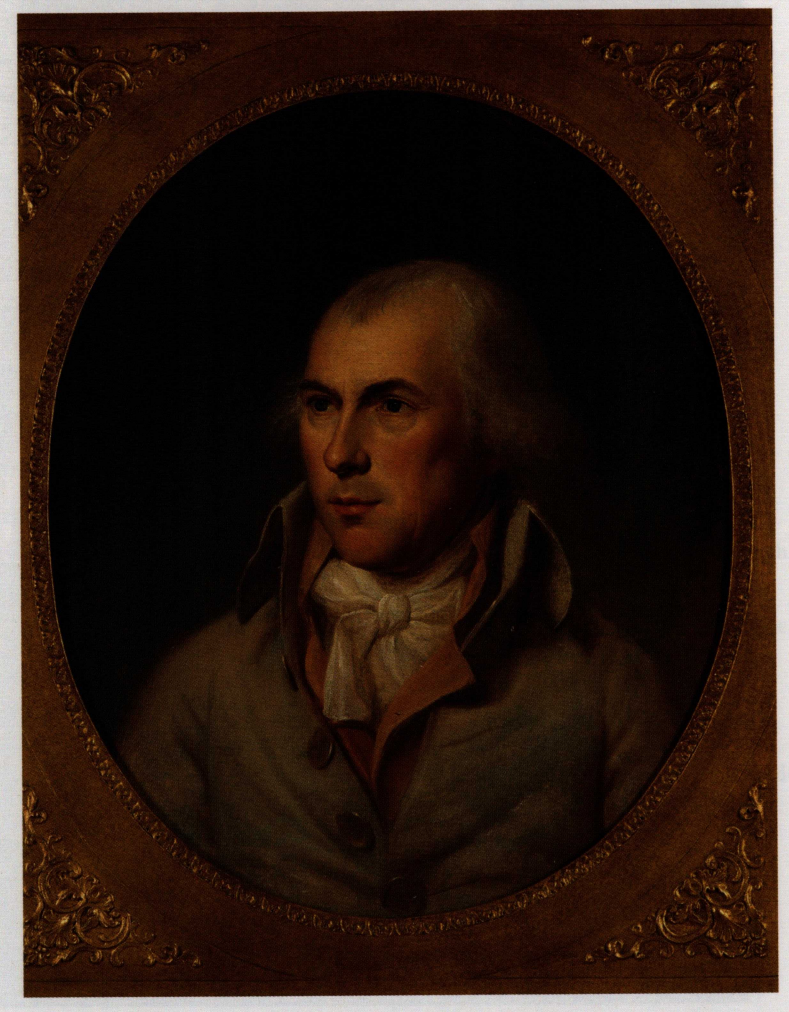
Interview between General Jackson and Weatherford. W. Ridgway after JR Chapin, engraving. GM15.1185.

the Red Stick chief Menawa, had ordered a timber and dirt palisade built across the neck of the Horseshoe Bend. Jackson's battle plan was simple. He sent part of his force two and a half miles downriver to cross the Tallapoosa River and take positions on the southern bank of the Horseshoe, preventing any possible Red Stick escape. Meanwhile, 2000 infantry would launch a frontal assault on the palisade.[2]

Tucquo played a pivotal role at the onset of the battle on March 27, 1814 when he and two other Cherokees swam across the river under direct fire and retrieved two Creek canoes. In the process, Tucquo was seriously wounded. His two comrades brought him and two canoes back to the waiting forces. The two canoes were used to return and capture the remaining watercraft to ferry large numbers of Cherokees and east Tennessee militia across the river to engage the enemy on the peninsula. Tucquo's action is credited with being a decisive factor in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend and worthy of a presidential commendation.

Today, the Horseshoe Bend battle site is a national military park. Proudly displayed in the visitor's center is the Tucquo rifle. One of three commissioned by President Madison for the three Cherokees who first swam the Tallapoosa River, it carries the inscription: *Presented by J Madison, President of the US to Whale, the Reward of Signal Valor and Heroism at the Battle of the Horse Shoe, March 1814.*

Tucquo never received this rifle and suspected it had been delivered to the wrong person. In 1843, with letters of support and affidavits, the president commissioned a second rifle and it was delivered to Tucquo via John Ross. It was the recently received second rifle, in Tucquo's possession, that was referenced in the letter to Lt. Couts from William Potter Ross. Also in 1843, Tucquo applied for a disability pension for the injury suffered at Horseshoe Bend. On May 9, 1844, a certificate of pension for $1,451.20 was sent to John Ross for Tucquo calculated at $4.00 a month since the date of his wound more than thirty years earlier.[3] For the disabled warrior whose previous treatment by the government was that of neglect and abuse losing everything in the removal, it was like winning the lottery. The assistance from the principal chief in collecting these two obligations from the federal government cemented Tucquo's loyalty to the Ross Party in perpetuity.



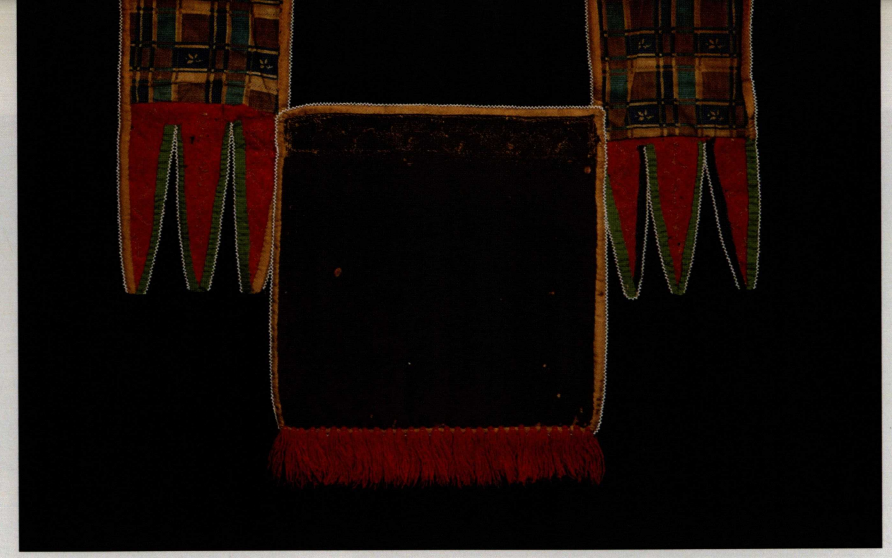
James Madison. Charles Willson Peale, 1792, oil on canvas. GM0126.1006.

William Potter Ross was in school at the time of removal but returned to the Cherokee Nation in 1842 after graduation from Princeton.[4] He attended the grand council of peace in Tahlequah in June 1843 that attracted thousands of people



International Indian Council (Held at Tallequah, Indian Territory, in 1843). John Mix Stanley, 1985.66.248,934B. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of the Misses Henry.

Facing, inset: Detail, Cherokee bandolier bag. GM84.3409.



representing twenty-one nations and tribes. The artist John Mix Stanley attended and painted portraits of some members of the Ross family including William Potter Ross. In his famous painting *International Indian Council,* he depicts two styles of Cherokee bandolier bags: one with V-shaped flap and the other with an open top.[5] An open top bag similar to the Tucquo shot pouch is worn by the man standing at left in the painting. A bag with a V-shaped flap similar to the Sam Houston bag (now in the collection of the National Museum of the American Indian) is worn by the man seated in the lower center. Stanley's painting verifies that both styles were in use at the same time.

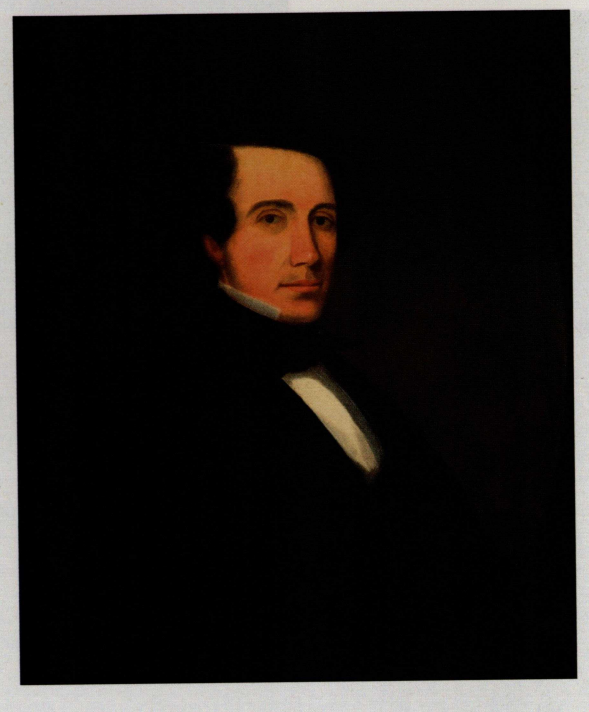
A few months after the council meeting, in October, 1843, William P. Ross appeared for business at the capital, under the council shed of Tahlequah. He was welcomed by the chief, presented and introduced to the Senate and Council. He was chosen clerk of the Senate, and during that session of the National Council was elected editor of the *Cherokee Advocate,* which issued its first number in September 1844.[6]

FOLLOWING THE REMOVAL, there were three distinct factions in the Cherokee Nation: the Old Settlers, the Treaty Party, and Ross Party. The Old Settlers emigrated before the Treaty of New Echota was signed. The Treaty Party voluntarily traveled after the treaty was signed, and the Ross Party were opposed to the Treaty and migrated involuntarily. The Ross party blamed the Treaty Party for its suffering on the trail and losses in the east.

THE BANDOLIER BAG

The Gilcrease beaded shot-pouch or bandolier bag (GM84.3409) is 29 inches in overall length by 19 in width. It has an indigo and brown stroud-cloth foundation with glazed printed calico interior. The bandolier strap is red stroud-cloth and printed calico trimmed with white seed beads sewn on with linen thread. It has red yarn tassels and silk edge-work heavily restored. A piece of tobacco was inside the pouch. The pipe mentioned in the 1846 letter was not present. This bag combines traditional Cherokee motifs and design with an evolving Prairie style here using a Delaware style slit pouch with wide bandoliers, dense colors, and contrasting beadwork. Dramatic use of colors and red stroud-cloth creates contrast between background and foreground. The dominant motif on the pouch appears to depict three highly abstract anthropomorphic figures, a male between two females, each with floral leaf-like elements sprouting from their shoulders. The bandolier lobes depict classic linear "patterns of power," typically described as diamondback rattlesnake motifs. The asymmetrical design elements on the bandolier are comprised of abstract "sprouting" floral patterns together with two geometric floral disks. *See full image on page 61 and page 3, plus details above, on page 64, and on the cover of this issue.*





Left: *John Ross,* daguerreotype.
GM4327.1807.

Right: *William Potter Ross.*
John Mix Stanley, oil on canvas.
GM0126.1147.

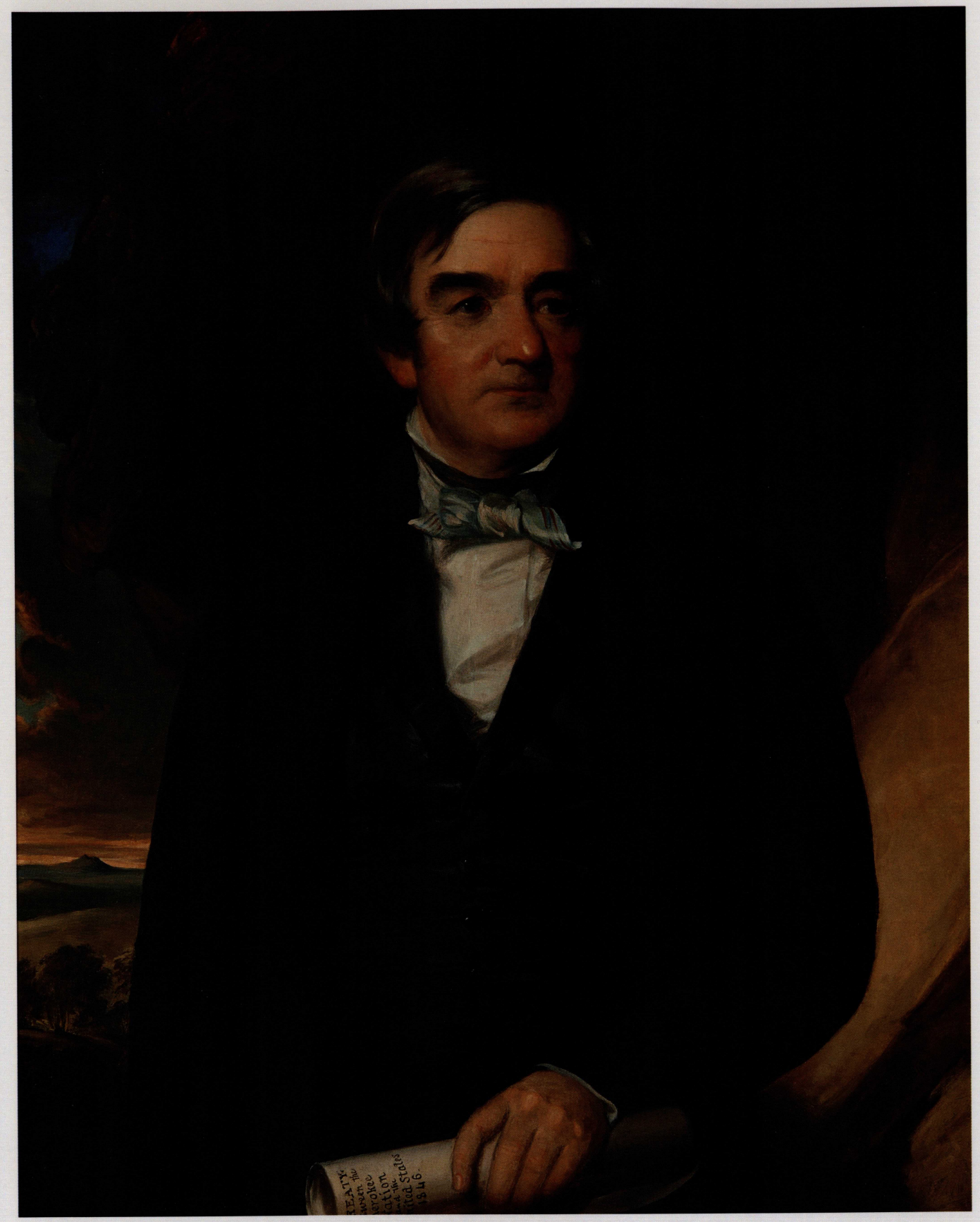
Facing: *John Ross,* 1848.
John Neagle, oil on canvas.
Museum purchase, 1942.12.1.
© 2013 Philbrook Museum of Art, Inc., Tulsa, Oklahoma.

The murders of Major Ridge, John Ridge, and Elias Boudinot on June 22, 1839 represented the first major act of violence due to factionalism in the post-removal period. The only survivor of the top leadership of the Treaty Party was Stand Watie, nephew of Major Ridge and brother of Elias Boudinot. In 1842, Watie encountered James Foreman, whom he recognized as one of his uncle's assassins. In the ensuing altercation, Foreman was killed. Watie was acquitted by an Arkansas jury on the grounds of self-defense. Ross partisans killed Stand's brother Thomas Watie in 1845. At least thirty-four politically related murders were reported in the Cherokee Nation in 1845 and 1846.

On Saturday night, November 2, 1845 a number of men purportedly belonging to the Treaty Party, including Thomas Starr, Ellis Starr, Washington Starr, Suel or Ellis Rider and Ellis West arrived at the home of R. J. Meigs, a son-in-law of John Ross.[7] Meigs escaped through the back door as they opened fire on him, and the next morning the bodies of two Cherokees were found less than a mile from his house.[8]

One week later, on November 9, 1845, the father of the Starr brothers, James Starr, was murdered at his home east of Stilwell.[9] According to his family, a group of armed men had ridden up to the family home at daybreak. Believing they were Lighthorse (national police), James told his family to say nothing, let them search the house and then they would leave. There were about sixteen men in the group. Most, if not all, were Cherokee, one was described as a mulatto, and most had painted their faces.

The witnesses recognized some of the men and reported them as (Anderson) Benge, Talusky Tucquo, John Downing, Luis Tucquo, Bill Sour John, John Tato,



Chico Canisky, and Big Stan. Tucquo fired the first shot and hit Starr in the left arm. A second shot penetrated his breast and may have been fired by Luis Nelm. Starr called for his son to make his escape and then died. The son, however, was shot three times and died six weeks later.

Mary Starr,[10] the sixteen-year-old daughter, attempted to escape on horseback. Some in the company beat her horse with their guns and fretted him so that she was compelled to dismount. The three small sons in the house ages ten, eight, and five, were protected by the women who put themselves between the party and the boys.

Had Mary been able to escape she might have been able to warn Suel Rider and his mother who lived a little over a mile away. The party, seemingly led by Tucquo, arrived there also in the early morning. John Tato walked into the kitchen and led Suel into the yard before they group opened fire. Shot seven times, Suel tried to escape but was chased down by a man named Big Stand and stabbed to death.

On the same day as the Starr and Rider murders, Bluford Rider and Washington Starr were also sought by the same group, though both escaped but not without injury. Washington Starr identified members of the party he knew as Tucquo, Tallusca Tucquo, Lewis Nelm, Cho-Chucca, Cheu Conskee or Otter Lifter, John Downing (Sam's son) and Aaron Wilkinson. According to family oral tradition Mary Rider was left with the task of burying Suel Rider by herself because all of the male relatives in the family had fled to Arkansas.[11] James Starr was buried in the Oak Grove cemetery near Stilwell.[12]

General Matthew Arbuckle[13] commanding the Second Military Department at Fort Smith quickly sent Major B. L. E. Bonneville to investigate the murders and ordered Captain Boone's company of First Dragoons stationed at Fort Gibson to Evansville, Arkansas, to camp between the warring factions. Lt. Cave Johnson Couts was a member of this company. He had graduated from West Point in 1843 and arrived at Fort Gibson on August 17, 1845.[14] He noted in his diary "on the morning of 13 Nov[ember] I went out hunting and on my return in the evening found that the whole company had left for the line . . . . Next day I overtook them and heir have had the most disagreeable and disgusting duty that any officer ever was placed in service."[15]

On November 15, 1845, six days after the murders of Starr and Rider, General Matthew Arbuckle, from his headquarters in Fort Smith, wrote to acting chief George Lowery that he had sent Major B. L. E. Bonneville to investigate the commotion in the Flint District.[16]

From Bonneville's report, Arbuckle said that he learned that the "murder of Starr and Rider and the wounding of two of Starr's sons, and the consequence of disturbances in the Cherokee Nation have resulted, directly or indirectly, from Resolutions of the National Council or orders issued in pursuance thereof."

The report also claimed that more than 100 men had been driven from their homes by "the reckless proceedings of the Lighthorse. They feared that by returning to their homes they may fall victim, no matter how innocent they might be, to the illegal and savage acts of an armed and irresponsible body . . ."



George Lowery. Unknown artist, oil on canvas. GM0126.2180.

Arbuckle demanded that the Lighthorse be disbanded at once and those persons concerned with the murder of James Starr and Rider, arrested. Nothing short of this would be acceptable.

George Lowery[17] refused to respond to Arbuckle directly but instead wrote to Colonel James McKissick, the Cherokee Agent. Lowery insisted that the information Arbuckle had received was incorrect. The assertion that the killing of Starr and Rider resulted from resolutions of the National Council or order issued pursuance thereof was "entirely groundless." The charge against the Lighthorse was "equally unfounded." The act for their organization was passed on November 8, the Captain and Lt. were appointed on November 11. They hastily assembled some ten or twelve men and arrived in the Flint district on Wednesday, the 12th, three days after the murders.[18]

Lowery did appoint a committee to investigate the disturbances. The committee consisted of George Hicks, Stephen Foreman, John Thorn, and William Shorey Coody. The committee filed their report on November 25, 1845. The committee concluded that the Starrs and Riders were involved in the attacked on R. J. Meigs and the number of refugees fleeing to Arkansas was greatly exaggerated.

On November 20, 1845, General Arbuckle, again wrote to Lowery, "I have directed Captain Boone, with his company of dragoons, to remain near Evansville [Arkansas], and to notify all the refugees not to cross into the nation for the purpose of violence; that such a step on their part would forfeit for them the protection they now enjoy."[19]

President James K. Polk relied heavily on information and affidavits supplied by General Arbuckle from members of the Treaty Party. In a message to the Senate of the United States on April 13, 1846, President Polk called for prompt intervention by the U. S. government into the internal feuds in the Cherokee Nation. He asked Congress to make amendments to laws to allow for the trial and punishment of said offenders in the courts of the United States. One week after the president's message to Congress, calling for the punishment of the offenders including Tucquo, William Potter Ross wrote to Lt. Couts gifting him Tucquo's bandolier bag. Couts wrote in his diary, "Wm. Ross, Ed[i]t[or] of Adv[oca]t[e], I esteem very highly—through his hands, I recd, the most beautiful pouch &c. from Old Tucquo."[20]

The Murrell home, Park Hill, Oklahoma.

Although General Arbuckle viewed the Treaty Party members as allies, Couts and some of his men saw them as criminals and villains. He lamented, "We considered ourselves performing a part contrary to the common laws of humanity, tramping justice under our feet when it stared us in the face as bright as the sun at meridian."[21] He went on to say, "Protecting a lawless banditti of half savages, midnight assassins, horse thieves, negro stealers, house burners, &c. from the just laws of the nation from which they have fled—settled, or scattered themselves among the citizens of the state along the line, most of whom were the aiders and abetors (*sic*) in all their rascality and villainy, crying political persecution, when every gallows west of the Mississippi, was yawning for its due, and crying for justice."[22] Couts felt powerless and concluded, "We could do nothing—General A.[rbuckle] gave the orders, and Cpt B.[oone] was satisfied to please him, and take no responsibility on his own."[23]

Couts was influenced by the people with whom he associated, many the socialites of the Cherokee aristocracy. Couts wrote in his diary, "We frequently attend dances around, and I enjoy myself at them exceedingly—have had several at our camp, and dance and play always until morning. The favorite play, is that which has the most kissing in it, and which all (no exception) are very fond of—they can kiss quicker, and smack louder than you can imagine and very sweet at that."[24]

On July 16, 1846, Couts wrote, "I attended a Temperance Celebration in Tahlequah with Miss Amanda Fields,[25] Miss Hicks,[26] Misses Mary,[27] Amanda, and Jane Ross, we gathered at Mr. Murrell's[28] and we had a truly delightful time—played until 2:00 o'clock . . . Wm. Ross, D.S.[29] and myself got pretty well whipped, also S. Hicks.[30] I left on the 17th for camp but it was all I could do. Miss Mary [Ross] is certainly a very attractive young lady—Most beautiful—highly accomplished—every way and to say I did not love her, wouldn't be the exact truth because I do. Miss Hicks is indeed," he said, "most beautiful, one of the most perfect beauties I ever saw . . . [31]

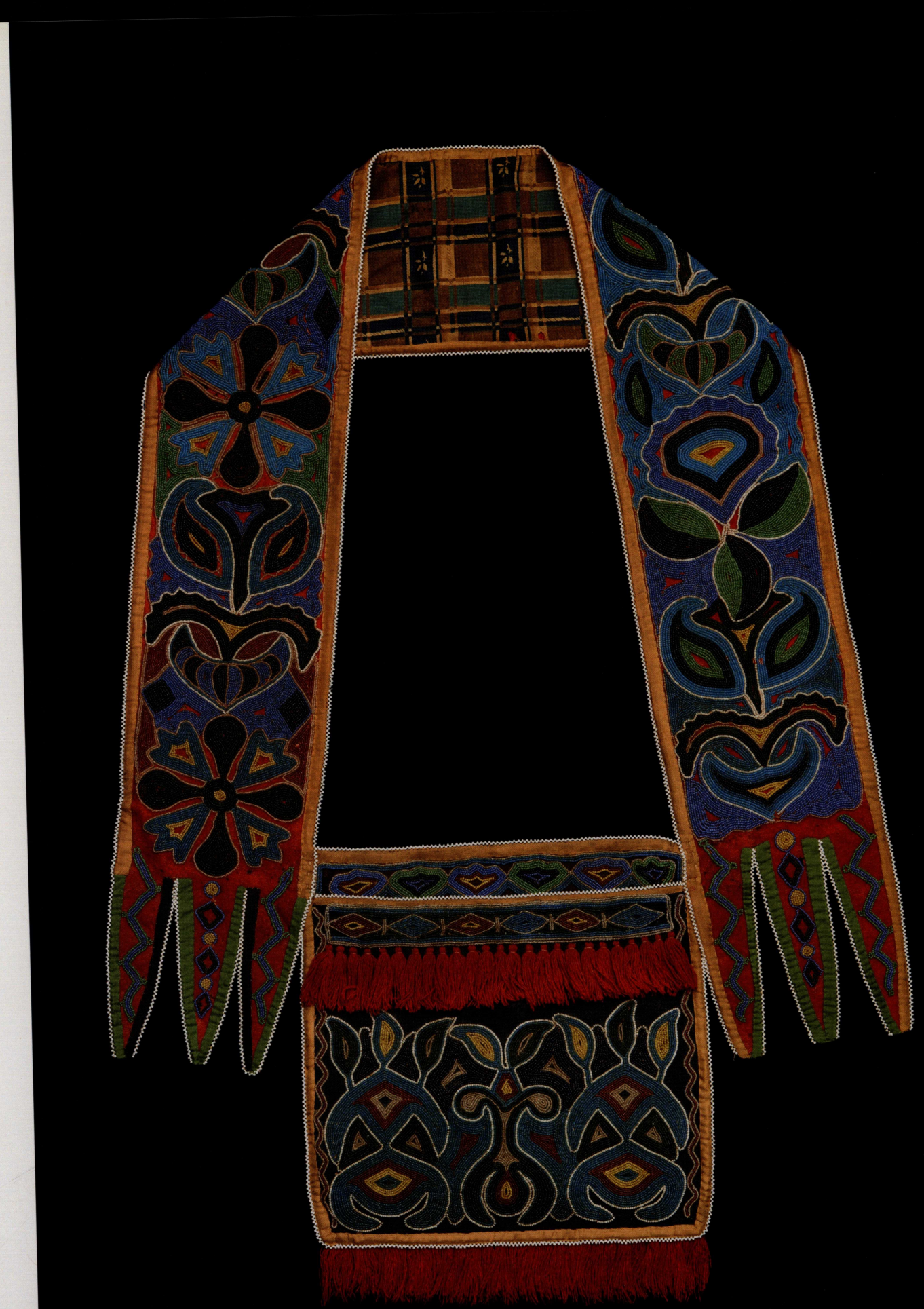


Mary Ross, ca. 1840s.

Throughout the winter and spring of 1845–46, political violence continued in the Cherokee Nation. Under federal threats of partitioning the Cherokee Nation, representatives of three factions met in Washington, D. C. On August 6, 1846, a treaty was signed by the representatives to keep the Cherokee Nation intact. Article 2 of the Treaty of 1846 provided a general amnesty for all those guilty of political violence in the Cherokee Nation.

With the hostilities ended by a stroke of a pen, the Dragoons were recalled to Fort Gibson. After eleven months at the Dragoon Camp at Captain [John] Bean's northwest of Evansville, Couts wrote, "the company left that delightfully villainous place on the 18th [of October, 1846] and arrived here [Fort Gibson] on October 19th."[32]

Couts celebrated the 4th of July, 1847 with his company watching an exhibition of fireworks later dining with Lt. Sackett and eating ice cream. Earlier he had lamented the fact that he and his company were not sent to the Mexican War with the regiment but seemed consoled by General Arbuckle's justification that Captain Boone, because of his age, would probably not survive the journey.



The major combat in the war was over when Couts was finally ordered to Monterrey, Mexico.[33] He wrote, "Although I was exceedingly anxious to leave, it appeared as if I were leaving home, so long I had been there. I called to see my particular friend and old flame, Miss Susie Ann, the day before leaving. In truth it was right hard to tear myself away from her, for like yourself, I never knew how much I loved her until she was married."[34]

On his way to Mexico, Couts went by his home in Tennessee, visited with family and an unidentified female friend for whom the diary seems to have been written. He then traveled to New Orleans, probably by steamboat, arriving on December 16, 1847. He then traveled by schooner to Brazos[35] and had a pleasant trip to Monterrey proclaiming, "the mountains around which present the most picturesque scenery I ever beheld."[36] He spent the first six months of 1848 in and around Monterrey. The duty was so mundane that he wrote virtually nothing about it in his diary. In late June, he was ordered to escort General John Ellis Wool out of the country, peace having been concluded. A short time later they were met by an express ordering the Dragoons to report to Los Angeles, California. Between July 25, 1848 and January 9, 1849, the four companies of First Dragoons traveled 1,613 miles through some of most inhospitable terrain of the desert Southwest. Of the nineteen wagons brought along, each company was assigned two. Couts complained bitterly about the Major assigning one wagon to the detachment's interpreter. Couts wrote: "Who is Mr. Morgan to get a wagon, a government wagon and good team when no officer… could get one save the Commandante[37] himself? Mr. Morgan is the drunken worthless interpreter, with his Mex wife, or woman along, both of whom are very good pimps and take charge of the Major's muchacha!"[38]

Having to make the six-month journey on horseback, Couts was limited in what he could carry to items that would fit in his saddlebags. The things most important to him that he chose to carry from Fort Gibson, to Monterrey, to Los Angeles were two items he had since 1846, first the journal given to him by Dr. R. H. Coolidge at the dragoon camp near Evansville, in which Couts documented the trip to California in considerable detail with descriptions, maps and illustrations, and secondly, the bandolier bag given to him by Tucquo, a constant reminder of his pleasant memories of his time in the Cherokee Nation.

Couts and his squadron composed of Company A and E stayed in the small town of Los Angeles for almost three months until March 26, 1849. From there they moved ninety miles south to Mission San Luis Rey, arriving on April 1. They spent several weeks refurbishing the buildings to use as barracks. On March 27, they were ordered to San Diego to escort the U. S. Mexican Boundary Commissioners. They arrived on the 29th.

On September 3, Couts wrote: "I have been living in the house of Don Juan Bandini since we came to San Diego, and can never forget the unbounded kindness of his wife, Dona Refugia, Senorita Ysidora, Dolores, Chata, &c. Earlier Juan Bandini had been a Mexican government official." At the end of the war, his daughters realized there were no American flags to welcome American troops so they made a flag from their petticoats. According the family oral tradition, the girls

Facing: Cherokee bandolier bag. GM84.3409.

were on the rooftop of their house watching the parading dragoons, when Ysidora leaned over and tumbled into the arms into the arms of Lt. Couts. Declaring that he had saved her life, they soon developed a courtship, got married, and raised a large family.

Couts makes no mention of a life-saving incident in his diary, but he and Ysidora were married on April 5, 1851. As a wedding gift, Ysidora's sister's husband, Don Abel Stearns, gave the couple a 2,219-acre ranch that he had purchased from two Luiseno Indians who had received it from the Mexican government.[39]

Rather than subject his wife to the rigors of army life, Couts resigned his commission on October 9, 1851 and set to work developing the ranch located thirty miles north of San Diego. They called it Rancho Gaujome, most likely from the Luiseno word wakhavumi meaning "frog pond." During construction they lived with the Bandini family in San Diego and Couts became involved in local affairs. He surveyed and mapped Old Town, giving the streets their present historic names. He was commissioned a lieutenant colonel in the California militia and aide-de-camp to Governor Bigler. His primary focus, however was the development of Rancho Guajome. He soon realized the substantial profits that could be made by selling cattle to the gold-booming northern California markets. In 1853, the hacienda was completed and the Couts family moved permanently to Rancho Guajome which Ysidora had not seen since construction began. By managing his business affairs with military precision, Couts became one of the wealthiest men in southern California. He added to his land holdings with the purchase of the San Marcos, Buena Vista, and La Jolla ranchos, and some government land, bringing the total to about 20,000 acres.

In the early summer of 1874, Couts traveled for a medical evaluation of a persistent heart problem. He was told that he had an aneurism for which there was no cure. Shortly after his return to San Diego, he suffered the final attack at the Horton House on June 10, 1874. He was fifty-three years old. He was survived by his wife and eight of their ten children.

He left his family a large estate, a fascinating diary, and a Cherokee bandolier bag—a memory of a long ago time in the Indian Territory. The bandolier bag passed through four generations of the Couts family before it came to Gilcrease Museum in 2011.

1 According to his application for a land bounty in 1857, he volunteered at Ten Islands, Cherokee Nation on or about January 27, 1814 and was honorably discharged on or about April 10, 1814 at Hillibies. On another affidavit he stated that he enlisted at Turkey Town in October, 1813 for a period of three months and was discharged at Ten Islands in January 1814 having spent 14 days in actual service. The documents appear to reflect consecutive enlistments. In 1857 his age is given as about 80 years and he was a resident of the Saline District. U. S. National Archives 55-160 W.T. 74985.

2 Halbert, H. S. and Ball, T. H. (1895), *The Creek War of 1813 and 1814* (Montgomery, Alabama: White, Woodruff & Fowler) See also: Kathryn E. Hollan Braund (editor) (2011) *Tohopeka: Rethinking the Creek War and the War of 1812,* University of Alabama Press.

3 U. S. National Archives, Pension records.

4 William Potter Ross (August 28, 1820–July 28, 1891) was born on the Ross ancestral farm, near Chattanooga, on the Tennessee River. His mother was a sister of Principal Chief John Ross, the benefactor who paid for his education. He attended the mission school in Wills Valley, Alabama; later Tusculum College in Greeneville, Tennessee; Lawrenceville, New Jersey, and graduated at Princeton College, with the honors of his class in 1842. After graduation, he followed the path of emigrated Cherokees to the west, stopping first to his boyhood home at Lookout Mountain, south of Chattanooga and ending at his father's house at Park Hill, in the summer of 1842. (See also footnote 9).

5 David C. Hunt, "John Mix Stanley: Survey Artist and Indian Painter," *American Scene* 12 (1971). W. Vernon Kinietz, *John Mix Stanley and His Indian Paintings* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1942). Julie Ann Schimmel, John Mix Stanley and Imagery of the West in Nineteenth-Century Art (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1983).

6 William Potter Ross taught Cherokee children of Fourteen Mile Creek, in their log cabin school-house during the 1842–43 school year. In 1843, he was elected clerk of the Cherokee Senate. On numerous occasions between 1846 and 1886, he was member of Cherokee delegations to Washington, D. C. Known as an eloquent orator, writer, and statesman, he earned the respect and friendship of seasoned politicians. During his fifty year career of public service, he was called upon twice, by the National Council, to serve as principal chief. First to fill the unexpired term of John Ross who died in Washington, D. C. on August 1, 1866 and again in 1874 to fill the unexpired second term of the lamented Chief Lewis Downing.

7 Return Jonathan Meigs, (April 3, 1812–August 6, 1850) was the oldest son of Timothy Meigs and Elizabeth (Holt). He was the son-in-law of Principal Chief John Ross having married the oldest daughter Jane (Jennie) in 1838 at Cleveland, Tennessee just before the forced removal. He was a partner of Chief Ross in a mercantile business in Park Hill until1850 when he left the Cherokee Nation on April 20 with a party of more than 130 whites, Cherokees and blacks for the California gold fields. He died in route near Elbow Springs, Utah, sixty miles west of Salt Lake City. (See "The Journal of John Lowery Brown," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Volume 12, June, 1934, page 200.) Jennie, his widow and mother of their five children, subsequently married Andrew Ross Nave who was killed by Confederate raiders under Stand Watie at Park Hill in 1863.

8 The original letter from William P. Ross and Jane Ross Meigs to John Ross, dated November 5 & 7, 1845, is in the Gilcrease Museum, catalogue number GM3826.8359, and was published in "The Papers of Chief John Ross," Volume 2, Gary E. Moulton (Ed.), University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. 1985, pages 271–274. Also see *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* The Oklahoma Historical society, Volume 61, (Spring) 1983, pages 302–303. *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Volume 34, 1956, page 21.

9 James Starr and 19 other Treaty Party members signed the controversial Treaty of New Echota on December 29, 1835. He emigrated with the B. B. Cannon detachment of 365 Cherokees which left the Cherokee Agency on the Hiwassee River on August 14, 1837 and arrived at Mr. Bean's in the Indian Territory just across the Arkansas line on December 27, 1837. In 1841, his brother Ezekial Starr (1801–1846) was elected to the Cherokee legislature from the Flint District and James was elected to represent the Going Snake District. The Treaty Party members in the Cherokee government claimed persecution by the majority Ross Party.

James Starr (1796–1845) was born in McMinn County, Tennessee, Cherokee Nation. He was one of twelve children of Caleb Starr (1758–1843) and Nancy Harlan (1778–1841), who was half Cherokee. In 1817, he married Suki Maugh. He also married her sister, Nellie Maugh, and may have also married Sallie Acorn. James Starr was the father of Thomas, Sr.; Bean; James, Jr.; Wm. Starr, Sr.; Ellis C.; John; Pauline (Bushyhead-Drew and S. Campbell, Sr.); Ezekiel Starr; Fields; Joseph, Sr.; Washington; Mary (A. Easkey); Samuel; Caleb; Jennie (J. Christie); Leroy; Rachel Starr (Starr); Lucy (Adair); & Sallie Starr (Adair). James Starr's son, Thomas Starr (1813-1890), was accused of attacking and murdering the Ross supporter and trader, Benjamin Vore and his family, at their home near Fort Gibson in 1843.

10 Mary Starr was born in May 1829, Cherokee Nation East; married Andrew Easky, in 1850; died in 1909, Adair County, OK.

11 The *Van Buren Arkansas Intellingencer* issue of November 15, 1845, included a letter of George Starr, dated November 12, 1845, Evansville, describing the murder of his brother, James Starr, by police. Also indicates that James Starr's sons, Buck Starr and Washington Starr were wounded, that Sewell Rider was shot and killed; and Jos Starr, son of James Starr was wounded. It reported that police attacked the nine-year-old son of Jesse Mayfield, a nephew of the Starrs.

12 The gravesite was marked by an elongated triangular uninscribed block of limestone. James Starr's daughter Lucinda Malzerine "Lucy" Starr, born on October 19, 1838, Goingsnake District, Cherokee Nation, was seven years old and present at the funeral of James Starr. She identified the grave site for her granddaughter who was born in 1909, who identified it for David Hampton in 1972, who identified it for the author and others in 2012. Lucinda married George Washington Adair VI about 1859 and had three children with him. She later married William T. Russell, on August 25, 1872. She died on August 24, 1925, Stilwell, Adair County, OK.

13 Matthew Arbuckle (December 28, 1778–June 11, 1852) was born in Greenbrier County, Virginia, now West Virginia. He entered the United States Army as an ensign in 1799, became a captain in 1806, a major in 1812 and was commissioned as colonel of the 7th U. S. Infantry regiment in 1820. In 1830 he was brevetted brigadier general. He was in command of the military forces stationed in the eastern part of the present state of Oklahoma for nearly twenty years. In April, 1824, Fort Gibson was established by Colonel Matthew Arbuckle of the 7th U. S. Infantry. He died from cholera at Fort Smith, Arkansas.

14 Cave Johnson Couts (November 11, 1821–June 10, 1874) was born in Springfield, TN, the third of 12 children born to William and Nancy Johnson Couts. He attended schools in Springfield, TN and Hollowell Preparatory Academy in Alexandria, Va. He received an appointment to the United States Military Academy in May 1838, arranged by his uncle Cave Johnson through Congressman James K. Polk of Tennessee. He was commissioned Brevet 2nd Lt in the Regiment of Mounted Rifles upon graduation.

15 Journal of Cave J. Couts, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA. CT 2541 (1-2), page 4.

16 Letter of General Matthew Arbuckle to acting chief George Lowery, November 15, 1845, printed in the *Cherokee Advocate.*

17 George Lowery (or Agina Agili "Rising Fawn") was born about 1770 at the town of Taskeegee on the Little Tennessee River in present day Monroe County Tennessee. About 1786, Lowery married Lucy Benge (ca. 1772–1846), a half-sister of Sequoyah, daughter of John Benge and Wurteh. Lowery served as town chief of Willstown, AL for 30 years until the time of removal. It was at Willstown that Sequoyah devised the Cherokee syllabary before moving to Arkansas in the early 1820s. Lowery served in the Cherokee regiment during the Creek War of 1813–14. He was commissioned as a captain and later promoted to major for meritorious service at the Battle of Tohopeka or Horseshoe Bend on March 27, 1814. He was a signatory to both the Treaties of 1817 and 1819 and was presented with a peace medal by President Monroe during one of his diplomatic missions to Washington.

In 1828, he was elected assistant principal chief and he was president for the council of the Eastern Cherokees at the Washington meeting in 1839, to fuse the eastern and western divisions into the present Cherokee Nation. In 1838, he was selected to be the assistant conductor under John Benge of the 4th Detachment of emigrating Cherokees on the Trail of Tears. They departed their summer camp 8 miles south of Fort Payne, Alabama on October 3, 1838 and disbanded on January 17, 1839 at Mrs. Webber's Plantation, present day Stilwell, Oklahoma.

Lowery was a member of two Cherokee Constitution Conventions in 1827 and again in 1839. In the Indian Territory, he served as assistant chief under principal Chief John Ross from 1843 until 1851. He died on October 20, 1852 at his home four miles south of the Park Hill Mission Station at age 82.

18 Letter of George Lowery to Cherokee Agent James McKissick, November 26, 1845.

19 Senate Document [298], Twenty-ninth Congress, *First Session*, Part III, No. 7-D, page 169.

20 Journal of Cave J. Couts, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA. CT 2541 (1-2), page 6.

21 Journal of Cave J. Couts, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA. CT 2541 (1-2), page 5.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.

25 According to Carolyn Foreman, "The Fields family had the reputation of being the handsomest and laziest family in the nation, the laziness being attributed to the fact that they were great book lovers and indulged this taste in preference to manual labor. Amanda Fields, like many other Cherokee girls, was sought after by young army officers stationed at Fort Gibson." She married Delos B. Sackett, later brevet major general and inspector general of the United States Army. Amanda died in 1849 in Arkansas while her husband was serving with First Dragoons on the New Mexico frontier. See "A Cherokee Pioneer" by Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Volume 7, No. 4, page 365, December, 1929.

26 Possibly Jennie Hicks (August 20, 1825–March 24, 1895), daughter of Elijah Hicks, who later married John Wardell Stapler.

27 Mary Jane Ross (1827–1908) and Amanda Ross Murrell (1830–1896) were the daughters of Lewis Ross. Jane Ross (1821–1894) was the daughter of John and Quatie Ross. The oldest daughter of Lewis Ross was Minerva A. Ross Murrell (1818–1855), the wife of George and owner of the Murrell home.

28 The Murrell home was built in 1844–1845 by George Murrell and is one of the few antebellum homes still standing in Oklahoma.

29 A logical candidate for D. S. might have been Lt. Delos Bennet Sackett (April 14, 1822–March 9, 1885), who graduated from West Point in 1845 and later married Amanda Fields. However, from the military records it appears that he was in Mexico during July 1846 and did not report to Fort Gibson until 1847. On June 16, 1847 he married Amanda Fields at Mrs. Murrell's. Lt. Couts and Jinnie Coody were the attendants. Amanda died two years later at Fort Smith while Lt. Sackett was assigned to protecting settlers from Apaches in New Mexico.

30 Possibly Senora Hicks, son of Elijah Hicks.

31 *Park Hill* by Carolyn Thomas Foreman. University of Oklahoma Press, 1948, pages 62–63.

32 Journal of Cave J. Couts, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA. CT 2541 (1–2), page 6.

33 On November 1, 1847, Couts was relieved of his command and on November 7 ordered to Monterrey, Mexico. Couts diary, op. cit. page 8.

34 Couts, op. cit. page 9.

35 Brazos Santiago, a small sandy island 500 yards off the coast of Texas just north of the mouth of the Rio Grande, served as the primary debarkation point for troops going to the Mexican War.

36 Henry F. Dobyns, editor, 1961. *Hepah, California! The Journal of Cave Johnson Couts from Monterrey, Neuvo Leon, Mexico to Los Angeles, California During the Years 1848–1849.* American Pioneers' Historical Society. Tucson, Arizona. Page 11.

37 Major Lawrence P. Graham (January 8, 1815–September 12, 1905).

38 Ibid, page 90.

39 The Mexican government had granted to brothers Andres and Jose Manuel, former neophytes at the San Luis Rey Mission, on July 19, 1845. Stearns purchased it for $550.



Detail, Cherokee bandolier bag. GM84.3409.


Greeting fond
and true.