

Mary Alice Hearrell Murray: A Chickasaw Girl in Indian Territory



*By Linda Williams Reese**

Few historians, even in the state of Oklahoma, have given more than a passing notice to Mary Alice Hearrell Murray. Her husband, William H. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, however, has received hundreds of pages of newsprint, biographies, and numerous articles. His life has been examined to reveal the personality, activities, accomplishments, and eccentricities of the mastermind behind Oklahoma's progressive state constitution, ninth governor of the state, congressional representative, and 1930s US presidential hopeful. It is interesting to consider that there is very little known about the woman who shared his life for thirty-nine years. Mary Alice Hearrell was an educated woman born into a family with maternal ties to the highest level of Chickasaw government. She married William Murray when he was a successful attorney working for her uncle, Douglas H. Johnston, gov-

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ernor of the Chickasaw Nation. She raised five children, one of them a future governor; accompanied Murray to Washington, DC, as a representative's wife; moved the whole family to Bolivia in the 1920s as part of his failed homesteading venture; and then served as First Lady of the governor's mansion from 1931 to 1935. Much of Murray's career, and his frequent absences from home, depended on her family connections, steadfast moral encouragement, and sometimes financial support. Perhaps Murray's political life was writ so large as a state and national figure that historical mention of Alice became an afterthought, but that was not a valid reflection of her life.¹

Following Alice's death in 1938, her body lay in state in the Oklahoma State Capitol Building, the first Oklahoma woman ever to be honored in this way. Murray wrote and delivered a beautiful eulogy for her funeral service and burial in Tishomingo. Although he wrote about their relationship, stating that she "alone understood and sustained me" in his three volume set of memoirs published in 1945, she is only briefly mentioned, and with little detail. This slight would be in keeping with Murray's attitudes about a woman's place in nineteenth-century American society. In a biography of Murray, historian Keith L. Bryant marked Alice's death as the beginning of the rapid decline of Murray's physical and mental health and faculties. Alice Hearrell Murray demands more than trivial investigation and a few references as the wife of one of the western states' most controversial politicians. During some of the most difficult years of Oklahoma statehood, she exemplified the qualities of character in public and private life that set the standard for Oklahoma womanhood of that generation. More than that, her life as a Chickasaw woman is a representative study of the transformation of Indian Territory into the state of Oklahoma. This article examines her family history and her early years within the Chickasaw environment that prepared her for life with the accomplished, yet flawed, William H. Murray.²

The Chickasaw people were among the first Americans encountered by Europeans in the sixteenth century. Always a tribe small in population, usually between three and four thousand, they nevertheless made an imprint on the early history of America. They were admired for the prowess of their warriors, for the beauty of their women, and for their thriving communities on their lands in the southeastern quadrant of North America. Throughout the colonial period, the Chickasaws were caught up in the aggressive conflict among the British, the French, and the Spanish for control of North America. This created strife among the Chickasaws, and between them and their associated tribe, the Choctaws. Intelligent and ever curious, they embraced first the trade goods,

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Tishomingo, view northwest past the news depot and the capitol drug store to the third Chickasaw Council House (17619, Oklahoma Historical Society Photograph Collection, OHS Research Division).

and then other components of European culture such as the English language, colonial housing and dress, and African slaveholding. They never lost, however, their cherished group identity. Chickasaw clans required an individual to marry outside his or her clan, and descent was matrilineal. The prime agricultural land of the Chickasaws, and eventual British rule in North America, introduced a pattern of intermarriage among white colonial men and Chickasaw women that would continue until the end of the nineteenth century. As the years progressed, there was a shift in tribal leadership from full-blood to mixed-blood families. Another pattern that Chickasaws adopted was African slaveholding.³

Traditional Chickasaw women fulfilled all of the expected duties of wife and mother such as cooking, childcare, clothing construction, and gathering of food resources. Marriage was monogamous except in some cases when a warrior might marry women who were sisters. The women cultivated the crops, gathered firewood, hauled water, and prepared meals. They threw a small piece of meat into the fire before a meal as a blessing to prevent evil and to bring about good. The Muskogean language sounded pleasant to listeners, and was even more enjoyable when the women sang. Chickasaw women also used singing

to strengthen the spirits of their warriors by forming small groups to accompany them into warfare. Chickasaw women were noted for their cleanliness that included daily bathing and anointing their hair with oil. Traditional Chickasaw women's apparel gradually changed over time from animal skins sewn together with deer sinew, cinched at the waist with a leather belt, and shoes constructed of hardened deer or elk skin, to cloth dresses that reached below the knee. Women were expected to separate themselves from others during menstrual periods, childbirth, and postnatal recovery. They cared for children until they reached their early teens when the boys were then sent to male village elders to be taught the skills of a hunter and warrior. In conjunction with holy men, the women also ministered to the sick with homeopathic medications. The women participated in funeral observances by wailing over the grave of the deceased for approximately twelve months. Even though factors of dress, housing, and routines changed over time, Chickasaw women instilled in their children the cultural knowledge of what it meant to be a Chickasaw.⁴

To make way for a burgeoning population and quell conflicts in the United States, the government decided to clear native cultures from valuable agricultural land east of the Mississippi River. In addition, some politicians claimed that there needed to be time and space to "civilize" and assimilate native peoples into white society. The path the US government chose was a negotiated, if possible, or forced, if not, removal of the Five Nations (Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole, and Creek) from their homelands to land in the west. Under direction from President Andrew Jackson, Congress passed the General Removal Act in 1830. What followed was one of the most shameful and scandalous episodes in American history. The removal was carried out by government agents and contractors under cold, dangerous, and inhumane conditions that caused great suffering and loss of life among the Indian peoples. The Choctaws were the first to remove to what is now the southern half of the state of Oklahoma during the years of 1831–33. The spectacle of their hunger, misery, and death served as a warning to the Chickasaws. They signed the Treaty of Pontotoc in 1832, and chose to remove to the west at their own expense. It would not be until 1837, however, that the Chickasaws signed the Treaty of Doaksville, securing a portion of the expansive Choctaw Nation. They paid the Choctaws \$530,000 for an area in the western part of the Choctaw domain. Both nations believed that this land would always belong to them by way of the federal treaties.⁵

For members of the Five Nations, their families shared similar experiences with non-Indian families in the cultural and geographic de-

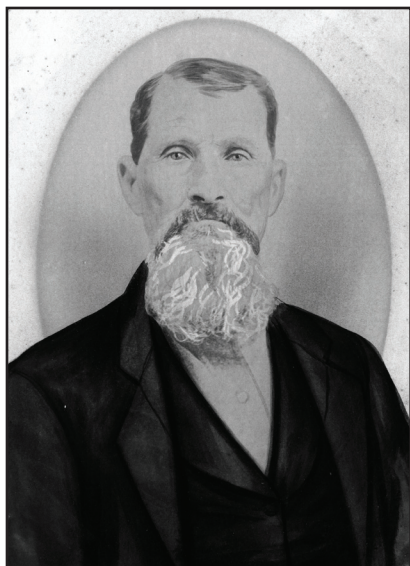
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velopment of the United States. They were exposed to the acquisition of improved and changing material and mechanical goods, a growing population, the development of large cities, the advent of rail transportation, and warfare. Each family, however, also left a singular record of personal experience. Alice Murray's family background is one of fascinating detail. Her father, Jecomiah B. (J. B.) Harrell, often called "Jick" by family and friends, was born in Tennessee in 1824 to Eli and Sarah Dorrell Harrell. By 1850 he had moved to Neosho, Missouri, where he established himself as a blacksmith. He and his wife Catherine had two daughters, Mary Jane and Nancy. By 1858 Harrell had an additional two children—a son, William, and daughter, Cleopatra Gertrude—by a second wife whose name remains unknown. When the Civil War began, Harrell enlisted in the Tennessee Ninth Infantry Regiment, Company E, of the army of the Confederate States of America. For this mostly land war, his blacksmith skills were, no doubt, in great demand.⁶

Inasmuch as the Confederate Indian troops fought in Missouri, it is likely at this time that Harrell met, or at least became aware of, Tandy Walker, through their military service for the South. Walker was the second governor of the Choctaw Nation, and second in command of Choctaw and Chickasaw troops. In 1861 Walker was a lieutenant colonel in the First Regiment of Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles. Late in the war he was promoted to colonel in command of the Second Indian Cavalry Brigade. Most of the action seen by the Choctaw and Chickasaw regiment involved defense of their homeland in Indian Territory. Walker's troops, however, combined with white Confederate soldiers, defeated the Federal army in a battle at Newtonia, Missouri, in 1862. In addition, in 1864 Confederate units from Missouri and Arkansas, and Walker's Indian Territory troops, stopped the forward movement of Union soldiers at Poison Springs, Arkansas, capturing an artillery battery and a large supply train.⁷

When the war came to an end, Harrell was discharged at Fort Washita, Indian Territory. General Zachary Taylor had chosen the site for the fort early in 1842. It was located eighteen miles north of the Red River near the Washita River on Chickasaw Nation lands. Taylor's decision rested upon his assessment of the river navigation, the healthful environment, and the needs of the Choctaw and Chickasaw residents after removal from their lands in the eastern United States. Under the concessions of the 1837 Treaty of Doaksville the Chickasaws agreed to live on the central and western sections of the much larger Choctaw domain in Indian Territory. Fort Washita, built by Company A of the Second Dragoons, was occupied in 1843 and served as an outpost

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J. B. Hearrell, father of Alice Hearrell Murray (1325, Ada Bingham Collection, OHS Research Division).

designed to protect the Choctaws and Chickasaws from Plains Indian raids. In 1855 the Chickasaws finalized a treaty with the Choctaws defining their national boundaries and establishing an independent constitutional government. The fort had been under Confederate control during the Civil War. Harrell found this area similar to his home state of Tennessee and its opportunities very appealing.⁸

Although much of Indian Territory lay in ruins after the war, the Choctaw and Chickasaw lands escaped the worst of the physical destruction. There had been little division of loyalties in favor of the North or the South within the Choctaws and Chickasaws, in contrast to other Five Nations participants caught up in the Civil War. In 1860 the Indian Territory Choctaw population stood at 13,666, with an additional 804 white residents and 2,349 enslaved black people. The Chickasaw population was 4,260, with an additional 148 white people and 975 enslaved people. During the war this area was a reservoir of Confederate sympathizers from the other three Indian nations and their enslaved people. Immediately following the war, their lands became a temporary way station of desperate members of the Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole tribes and newly freed slaves attempting to make their way back from refuge in Texas to their homes.⁹

Harrell's arrival was a portent of the future for all of Indian Territory. The US peace treaties with the Five Nations demanded, among other things, railroad access across Indian Territory. Railroad construction brought in both American and foreign workers as well as considerable

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attention to the natural resources of Indian Territory in coal, lumber, and prime agricultural land. For these two nations, cotton production dominated agriculture. Choctaw and Chickasaw production increased from a low of a few hundred bales in 1868 to an estimated five thousand bales by 1873. Growth rose substantially, reaching hundreds of thousands of bales per year, throughout the rest of the century. Cotton agriculture required large numbers of farm laborers. The formerly enslaved African Americans belonging to the Choctaws and Chickasaws, now freedmen, tilled the land, as well as white noncitizens largely from Texas and Arkansas admitted under a special “permit” system. By the 1890 census the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribal members composed only 25 percent and 9 percent respectively of the total residents of their lands.¹⁰

At the end of the war, Harrell applied to President Andrew Johnson for a pardon for his participation in the war. He was then a resident of San Saba County, Texas. He swore his allegiance to the United States and its Constitution, and accepted the abolition of slavery. The pardon was approved. According to Texas relatives, the entire Harrell family decided to change the spelling of its last name. There were many families with the last name Harrell, and to differentiate themselves, they went to court and added an “e” following the capital “H,” in the future to be spelled Hearrell. Perhaps this name change also signaled a fresh beginning for the family.¹¹

After his wife died during the war, Hearrell decided to return to the Chickasaw Nation where he once again set up trade as a blacksmith. Hearrell made easy friendships with his Chickasaw neighbors. In addition to his own work, he taught many of the young Chickasaws blacksmithing skills. He was immediately struck by the charm of the young and lovely Martha America Walker in Indian Territory, and the attraction seemed mutual. Martha was the daughter of Lewis Walker, Tandy Walker’s brother, and Mary Ann Cheadle Walker, a woman of Chickasaw heritage. Martha was eighteen years his junior; he was a widower with four children. Unions like this were not uncommon in the years following the Civil War because of deaths from warfare and disease, as well as families broken and separated. These years of tragedy made extended family connections all the more important. A marriage between these two required considerable discussion and the approval of her relatives. Hearrell’s wedding to Martha, a Chickasaw woman, granted him, a white man, access to Chickasaw land. After her family approved, they were married on July 20, 1865, and settled along the Blue River near present-day Milburn, Oklahoma, in a large log house Hearrell built.¹²

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By the time of J. B. Hearrell's death in 1885, the couple had welcomed eight children of their own. Their fifth child, named Mary Alice, was born January 9, 1875. They would have another three daughters following her birth. In addition, like most Indian Territory families, the Hearrells took in and raised young children orphaned by the war, creating a large and crowded household. J. B. hired a tutor to teach all of the children at their home. Alice never lacked love and playmates as she grew into womanhood, but she also learned early the responsibility of household chores. Within Alice's family inheritance, then, she carried both Choctaw and Chickasaw elite standing, as well as southern white traditions. Her young world was filled with brothers, sisters, aunts and uncles, cousins, and friends. These ties remained constant throughout her life. She was closest, however, to her younger sisters Ada and Daisy.¹³

Alice later reflected, in an interview in Washington, DC, on the years she spent in her family's home. Most of her remembrance entailed her Chickasaw heritage, with special admiration for her mother. "From infancy, I was trained by my mother, one of the last valiant women of the great tribe, to serve my people in every capacity," she said. Her mother taught her everything she "had learned from the open book of nature and from the tribal traditions." Alice could perform all of the traditional tasks of a Chickasaw woman. She could weave and dye wool and cotton "in the old intricate way." Another important task was the making of *pashofa*. This dish, favorite of the Chickasaws and Choctaws, is a soup made from cracked white corn (hominy), water, and pork. It was usually served cold, unless it was part of a healing ceremony. Then it was served warm.¹⁴

Her mother taught her that "every man was a brother and every woman was a sister." She told Alice stories about the "wanderings" of the Muskogean tribes, their exile from "the land of their fathers," and their removal to Indian Territory. As a child, Alice dreamed that her life would be much like her mother's, and her destiny would be to marry a traditional Chickasaw man. She said that throughout her life she carried in her heart the "love of the open which comes down from the Indian tribes." Alice did not long remain, however, in the care of her mother and father.¹⁵

When her father's health declined, the Hearrells decided to send eight-year-old Alice to live with her uncle, Douglas Hancock Johnston, and his wife, Nellie. Ada and Daisy would follow her there later. This decision had much to do with the fact that Johnston was superintendent of the prestigious female boarding school known as Bloomfield Seminary. Not only would Alice receive a better education than she

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The second Bloomfield Academy building with students and faculty, c. 1890–92 (Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries, Litton Collection, 18).

would have living at home and attending a local Chickasaw day school, but her parents also could be sure that she would be appropriately chaperoned and cared for. As a member of the Chickasaw elite, she would be educated for a prestigious position in the non-Indian milieu that Indian Territory was rapidly becoming.¹⁶

Johnston was well known to the Hearrell family. His mother was Mary Ann Cheadle Walker Moncrief, and his father was Colonel John Johnston Sr. Following the death of both of his parents when Douglas was only nine years old, he was raised by his half-brother, Tandy C. Walker II. He was educated at the Chickasaw Academy and at Bloomfield when it was temporarily a coeducational school after the Civil War. Before taking charge of Bloomfield, Johnston was a farmer and stockman. When Alice arrived in 1883, Johnston's first wife, Nellie Bynum, and mother of his son Llewellyn, called "Ludie," was already ill from tuberculosis. She died in 1886. Three years later, he married Bloomfield teacher Lorena Elizabeth "Bettie" Harper and they had a daughter, Wahneta, most often referred to as "Juanita," and a son, Douglas. Beyond the Hearrell girls, the Johnstons also raised Cora, Julia, and Estelle Chisholm, orphan daughters of the famed Cherokee interpreter, scout, and trader Jesse Chisholm.¹⁷

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*Alice Hearrell and her uncle,
Douglas Johnston, 1896
(Western History Collections,
University of Oklahoma Li-
braries, Litton Collection, 9).*

During her years at Bloomfield, Alice grew especially fond of her uncle. He became one of the most important influences in her life. She and her uncle had long conversations about her significance as a Chickasaw woman. He told her, as well as the other Chickasaw school-girls, that she must “fill her mind with useful and refining thoughts and influence.” He cautioned her against assuming pretentious airs of pride, saying that the “truly well educated person becomes more and more humble and loveable, as time passes and education increases.” He also said that she would reflect “the aristocracy of [her] Chickasaw breeding” if she could be the same sweet person “in a log cabin that you might be in a mansion.” Alice both loved and respected him, and remained close to his family until her death.¹⁸

Bloomfield represented the hopes of the Chickasaw Nation to educate a young generation of Chickasaw women both to represent their Indian heritage and to navigate the demands of the white world. As historian Amanda Cobb has written, “Literacy, for the Chickasaws, was a way for them to control their own transformation. . . . What government officials and missionaries did not understand was the ability of tribal members to accept ‘American’ ways without rejecting their own culture.” The school began as a missionary school under the auspices of the Indian Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. They sent Minister John H. Carr, a circuit preacher known

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Bloomfield Academy faculty, 1889 (226.3.A, Miss. M. Eleanor Allen Collection, OHS Research Division).

to the Chickasaws, to construct the first missionary boarding school for girls among the Chickasaws in Indian Territory. Carr was married to Angelina Hosmer of Bedford, Massachusetts. Hosmer had been a student at Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in Massachusetts, one of the nation's most prestigious female educational facilities. The school was located three miles north of the Red River just across from present day Denison, Texas. The name, Bloomfield, took hold when former Chickasaw Chief Jackson Kemp addressed a letter to Carr by way of describing the green prairie location filled with colorful wild flowers.¹⁹

Initially, funding for the school came from congressional monies earmarked to honor the service of former president George Washington. In addition, the Mission Conference contributed one-third, and the Chickasaw Nation the remaining two-thirds of the expenses. After the original log school was built, the nation contributed \$66.66 for each pupil. By 1860 a farm and orchards provided food supplies and supported the day-to-day operation of the school. The Carrs chose another Massachusetts teacher, Susan Jane Johnson, to join them at Bloomfield. They modeled instruction at the school after that of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary. In addition to Christianity and the English language,

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they taught the appropriate lifestyle and behavior for middle-class women of the white race. There was full attendance at every session throughout the early years, and by 1860 the school had increased to sixty students.²⁰

When the Civil War began and the Chickasaw Nation joined the Confederate cause, many families withdrew their daughters from school. During the war years, the Chickasaw Battalion camped at Bloomfield using the buildings as a commissary and hospital. Only minimal school hours were kept for the few students. Following the war, Confederate Captain Frederic Young, originally from England, taught the coeducational school that Douglas Johnston attended until 1868. Over time the school buildings decayed and directors changed hands frequently. In 1873 the Choctaw newspaper, the *Vindicator*, admonished the two southern Indian Territory nations to “send all our children to schools that could be carried on in a manner that would reflect honor on the Nation, besides conferring a lasting good on the rising generation.” It would not be until 1876 that Governor B. F. Overton signed a Chickasaw act to reestablish Bloomfield Seminary as a “first-class boarding school” for girls to be operated under a contract system. Douglas Johnston joined the leadership of Bloomfield at this time, and the school entered what became known as its “Golden Age.”²¹

The education that Alice Hearrell received at Bloomfield was far different from the female instruction of the earliest years. The original Bloomfield missionaries concentrated on basic literacy, domestic skills, and Christian religious instruction for the students, with the intention of removing Indian culture. Now that instruction was in the hands of the Chickasaw government officials, it would be directed less on Christian education and more on the enhancement of Chickasaw women as cultural leaders in a white world. Christian religion was a part of the overall experience of Bloomfield, but not its primary focus. Douglas Johnston as administrator and Elihu B. Hinshaw as principal set entrance requirements, expanded the academic program, and raised standards. In addition to mixed-blood girls, they actively recruited full-blood Chickasaw students to the school, whether boarding or living close by. They also replaced the crumbling buildings with modern frame structures after fires twice destroyed them. The letterhead on Bloomfield stationary read: “Bloomfield Seminary. Literary, Music, Art, Elocution. A School for Higher Education of Chickasaw Indian Girls and Young Ladies.”²²

Alice was exposed to a curriculum of the sciences: chemistry, astronomy, botany, and physiology; and the social sciences: geography, US history, government, general history, and philosophy. Other courses

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Alice Hearrell, later Mrs. William Murray, while she was a teacher at Bloomfield Seminary (6996, Juanita Johnston Smith Collection, OHS Research Division).



included English composition and grammar, American literature, English literature, mythology, rhetoric, logic, and Latin. In addition Alice discovered that she had a talent she enjoyed for the rest of her life: art. Whenever she had moments of leisure, she was at her easel painting. Bloomfield held classes in oil painting, pastel, charcoal, and pen work. Alice learned to play piano, but music courses also were offered in guitar, mandolin, violin, banjo, and voice. Bloomfield's curriculum was so strong that the Chickasaw legislature authorized the granting of diplomas to graduates, and considered them eligible to teach in Chickasaw Nation schools without taking any teacher examinations. As Amanda Cobb has written, these Chickasaw women graduates needed to have the tools to "negotiate social and economic boundaries," in order to "ensure the survival of the Chickasaw Nation."²³

In addition to the academic advantages Bloomfield brought to the young women, schooling there also carried a great deal of social prestige. Graduates came to be known as "Bloomfield Blossoms" and were respected as the finest young women of the Chickasaw Nation. One student's notes from Principal Hinshaw's lectures indicated the expectations they were supposed to meet. Among these instructions were: "Be dignified and cultured young ladies"; "You will want to be measured by your success"; and, "We are not living for selves alone but for the happiness of those with whom we come in contact." Commence-

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ment was a major social event attended by members of the Chickasaw Nation. Graduates wore gowns of the latest fashion and black academic mortarboards, participated in the musical program, and presented an original essay each had written. These young women were the link between the Chickasaws' historical past and the continuation of the Chickasaws in the future. Many would become teachers themselves. They were also intended to be the wives of significant Chickasaw Nation leaders and leaders of the forthcoming state of Oklahoma. Alice's graduation day in 1894 was a joyous celebration for the Hearrell and Johnston families. Daisy Hearrell would graduate from Bloomfield in 1899, and all of the Chisholm daughters later.²⁴

It is interesting that when Alice discussed her Bloomfield education in later years, she did not emphasize the extraordinary academic opportunity in Indian Territory it provided for its time. She underplayed her education to fit the image that she, and perhaps her husband, wished to promote to the public. She continually insisted that she was not a political person. That was her husband's job. She generally deflected any significant political questions of the period. The role she embraced and publicized was that of loving and supportive wife and mother. In one lengthy 1914 article for the Saint Louis *Daily Globe* entitled "Romantic America," by Margaret B. Downing, Alice mentioned her years with the Johnstons. "Here I was trained in all considered necessary for a girl in my station to know, and to my regret my education consisted more largely of domestic than of intellectual accomplishments," she said. She told the reporter that she had always "pined for a college course," but that there was too much work to do at home to "pass so many years over my books." While there were demands outside of studies on her time, these statements more realistically fit her life following her marriage to William Murray than her school days.²⁵

By September 1, 1894, Alice began teaching at Mead School located in the tiny town of Mead, in northwest Bryan County. Her contract ran until June 30, 1895, and she received \$45 per month. The neighborhood schools in the Chickasaw Nation were very important to the people in preserving a Chickasaw identity as well as in educating their young people for the future. The Chickasaws built the schools in full-blood communities and employed Chickasaw teachers. Chickasaws served as trustees. A typical school resembled the one built in Pauls Valley in 1899. The twenty-four-foot by sixteen-foot building was built from pine that was sealed, weatherboarded, and covered with pine shingles. It was furnished with a stove, desks, teacher's chair, table, and blackboard. Classes were conducted in English, but the Chickasaw language was spoken during most other activities.²⁶

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Chickasaw Capitol Building, Tishomingo, Indian Territory. Photograph by Grant Foreman in the field with the Dawes Commission, c. 1900 (8470.14. Grant Foreman Collection, OHS Research Division).

Primary school teaching in late-nineteenth-century Indian Territory schools was similar to teaching in those of neighboring Oklahoma Territory. The school population was diverse in age, gender, income level, experience, and aptitude. In addition, seasonal crop production often affected attendance. White children were required to pay tuition in order to attend the Chickasaw schools. Consequently, large numbers of them went uneducated or attended subscription schools organized by groups of parents. By 1904 burgeoning numbers of white children in Indian Territory prompted Congress to allocate funds to pay for them to attend the Indian schools. Accustomed all of her youth to the charge of a house full of children, and reassured by her education, Alice embarked on her teaching career.²⁷

The Chickasaw Nation and the Choctaw Nation fought together to retain sovereignty over their lands, resources, and educational systems against the power of United States governmental policy. The demands of the Dawes General Allotment Act of 1887, and subsequent Curtis

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Estelle Chisholm and Alice Hearrell at Bloomfield Seminary (Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries, Litton Collection, 22).

Act of 1898, called for the dissolution of tribal lands and the abolition of Indian governments. In the 1893 Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Richard McLish, Chickasaw superintendent of public instruction, listed five academies and seventeen primary schools with an average attendance of 796. The Chickasaws under Douglas Johnston's leadership were able to negotiate a settlement over continuing control of their schools with Secretary of the Interior Ethan Allen Hitchcock in 1901. They accepted a board of examiners for Chickasaw schools, but with only one member appointed by the Interior Department. This board would be responsible for examining applicants for teaching positions and reporting to the US government. In all other respects, the Chickasaws maintained control of their schools until Oklahoma statehood.²⁸

Alice's mother, Martha, became seriously ill in 1897 and moved to Douglas Johnston's home at Emet in present-day Johnston County, Oklahoma. Johnston had recently completed construction on a new home painted all white that was recognized as one of the finest in Indian Territory. Decorated with cherry mahogany fireplace mantels and crystal chandeliers, the house had fourteen-foot ceilings and moveable partitions to create a dance floor when needed. When Johnston was elected governor of the Chickasaw Nation in 1898, his home became known as the "Chickasaw White House." Alice already had returned to the Johnston home to teach at Bloomfield. Now she also took on the

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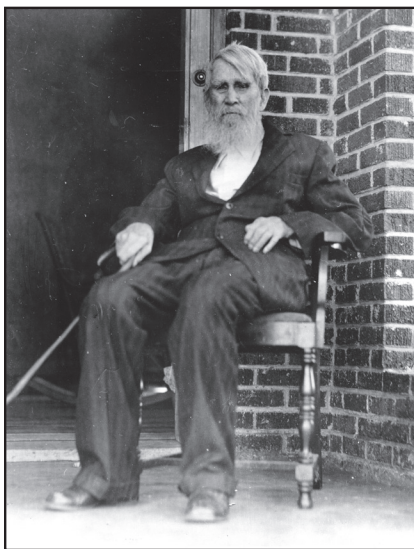
care of her mother. Her help was especially welcome because of the turmoil her uncle faced in the complicated transition of the Chickasaw Nation to probable statehood. She remained there after her mother's death until she married William Murray. Throughout her life, the Johnston home would always be her connection to her family and the Chickasaw people. She would return there often.²⁹

William Henry Murray's arrival in Indian Territory in 1897 was significant to the Chickasaws, Governor Douglas Johnston, Alice, and ultimately to the state of Oklahoma. According to his biographer, Keith L. Bryant Jr., Murray came to Tishomingo, the Chickasaw capitol, by way of a horse-drawn hack, wearing a derby hat and Prince Albert coat, and carrying a carpetbag full of his possessions. He owed money for the transportation from Texas, but he had connections he could count on for a loan. At that time no one would have considered him an acceptable suitor for Alice Hearrell. He was twenty-eight years old and had survived on his own since the age of twelve. She was twenty-three, and had been surrounded by loving relatives her entire life. The two could not have been more unlike in temperament, upbringing, education, and background.³⁰

Murray's childhood had not been an easy one. He was born November 21, 1869, in the tiny town of Toadsuck, now Collinsville, in western Grayson County, Texas, to Uriah Dow Thomas Murray and Bertha Elizabeth Jones Murray. He was the youngest of three boys. His mother died in 1871, and the children lived with their mother's parents until 1873 when Uriah married again to Mary Jane "Mollie" Green and moved the family to Montague, Texas. From the beginning, the boys resented the new stepmother, a harsh disciplinarian. Uriah and Mollie had seven children of their own, and the family struggled financially. Uriah worked several jobs in these years while farming a small patch of land. The children received no education except for some tutoring from their father in Bible stories and basic math. By 1881 the boys had enough of Mollie and her punishments. John Shade, the oldest, George Thomas, and William Henry ran away together, working from place to place at various farm labor jobs. At one time they worked for Mr. and Mrs. Ed Loper, who treated them well, and the boys came to regard them as family.³¹

By temperament, William was energetic, curious, hardworking, and outspoken. He tried several times in short-term fashion to get some education. He struggled academically while attending a one-room school in Keeter in south central Wise County, Texas, but he found acceptance in speech and class debates. Sunday School attendance also helped him with reading and spelling. From Keeter, he traveled to

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Uriah Dow Thomas Murray, father of William H. Murray (6055, Juanita Johnston Smith Collection, OHS Research Division).

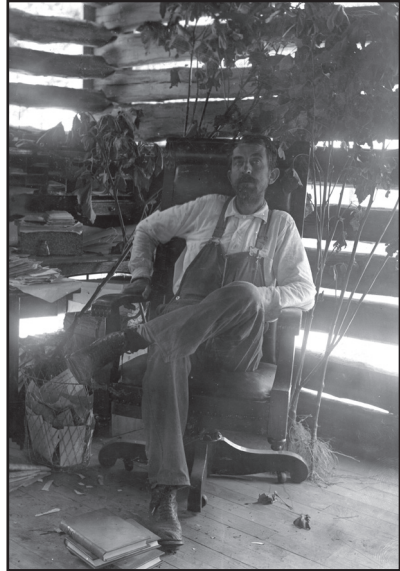
Springtown, Texas, to enroll in the College Hill Institute, where he was taken into the home of the school's founder, John McCracken. Other students were not friendly to this poor, shabby, uncultured young man. At the end of the term William and his brother John Shade set off to sell books and atlases to area farmers. William saved up some money and returned to the Loper home.³²

He spent the next two and one-half years working for the Lopers, reading incessantly and broadly on every topic he could find during his free time. Living in Buffalo, Leon County, Texas, Murray entered into politics by way of the Farmers' Alliance. This group hoped to make inroads on the power of the Democratic Party, and William, only nineteen, shined as a public speaker. He and his two brothers returned to College Hill for more education. Impressed with his work ethic, McCracken and the school's cofounder, D. P. Hurley, gave William special attention and mentoring. He passed the state teacher exam, and took positions at Milsap, and later at the County Line School at Cade, Texas. Murray's engagement in politics continued when elected as a Democratic delegate from Parker County to the Texas State Democratic Convention in San Antonio. Here Murray met the pivotal figure of his political life, James Stephen Hogg.³³

Hogg was a popular reformer in the Democratic Party who wanted to curtail the power of the railroads and powerful corporations in order to help farmers, ranchers, and small town businessmen. He was elected attorney general of Texas in 1886, and then after the 1890 election

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William H. Murray in his office in Tishomingo, 1906 (2610, William H. Murray Collection, OHS Research Division).



served two terms as governor. Murray campaigned exuberantly for Hogg, and the governor repaid his support with political appointments. Murray had truly found his calling in politics. He even twice entered the Texas state senate race after 1892. When he lost both elections, he returned to teaching in small schools near Corsicana. Here Murray met and became engaged to Rita Lakestraw, but the two had an argument when her family objected to the courtship. They parted disagreeably.³⁴

Giving up teaching, Murray and his brother George started a newspaper, the *Corsicana Daily News*. Murray also began to study law at night with Judge John Rice, and he passed the bar exam in 1897. He and his brother sold the failing newspaper, and Murray started practicing law in Fort Worth. His practice floundering and his finances dwindling, he visited his father who had moved to Indian Territory. Here was the fresh start Murray was looking for. The autonomy of the Five Nations over their lands was ending, and statehood would surely come soon after. There would be plenty of legal work and opportunities for an attorney interested in a political career. Murray cleared his debts and set out across the Texas border for Tishomingo, Chickasaw Nation.³⁵

Not shy about promoting himself, and needing money, Murray made the rounds introducing himself to Chickasaw Nation officers and important leaders. He quickly shed the derby hat and Prince Albert coat for more informal wear. He won a few small cases, and gave a speech

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at the 1897 laying of the cornerstone for the new Chickasaw Nation Capitol Building. The law firm of Treadwell and Lucas, impressed with Murray, offered him a full partnership in their firm. He also began to be invited to the society affairs of the Tishomingo business community and Chickasaw elite. At a social gathering in the home of Allan Latta, a Cherokee who lived in the Chickasaw Nation, Murray met Alice Hearrell.³⁶

Douglas Johnston was elected Chickasaw governor in 1898, and Murray was active in planning the elaborate inaugural festivities. By then he had also met Ada and Daisy Hearrell, but he chose Alice to attend the ceremonies with him. When Johnston's wife fell ill, Murray suggested that Alice accompany her uncle. Johnston escorted Alice in the grand march, and she acted as hostess during the proceedings, the sumptuous meal, and the dance held at the newly finished Chickasaw Capitol Building. The celebration was a resounding success. Besides Governor Johnston, the spotlight was on Murray and Alice.³⁷

Governor Johnston, the leader of the Progressive Party, had faced fierce opposition from H. H. Burris, the hand-picked candidate of the former governor, Robert M. Harris of the National Party. Johnston was willing to cooperate with the federal government in the rapid transitions forced upon the Chickasaws so that he might continue to have a voice in the decisions. The National Party fought against any effort to infringe upon the Chickasaw Nation's independence. Governor Johnston summoned Murray for a conference at the Chickasaw White House. Johnston had received back from Washington, DC, a packet of legislative documents that had been returned by Secretary of the Interior Hitchcock because they were not in acceptable form. Johnston was an intelligent man and capable administrator, but not trained in the law. As he took the measure of Murray over a few days, Johnston also discussed the nation's debt and legal issues left over from the Civil War concerning Chickasaw freedmen citizenship. He handed Murray the documents and told him to take care of the necessary changes. Murray was the right man at the right time for these issues, and his close association with Johnston and Chickasaw Nation legal affairs would continue for the next several years.³⁸

Alice was not immediately impressed with William Murray, one of her relatives later wrote. What she saw was a "gaunt figure" with an "unconventional manner." He was nothing like the young Chickasaw men with whom she had been raised. He usually was "carelessly dressed," and she thought him "ungainly." According to Nina Meeks, "Privately, she poked fun at his awkwardness" to her sisters. Murray's background would explain his uncertainty around women in social sit-

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uations, especially when it was a young woman so highly regarded. He later wrote in his memoirs, "Women have always embarrassed me. . . . I know the peculiarities of women, but know very little of their society." He wrote that as a young man he had "no associates among women, and therefore, do not understand their peculiar Society, System or Humors." He was definitely smitten with Alice, however, writing to her, "Alice, you seem to rest me when I'm weary—to inspire me when I'm discouraged. I wonder if I'm falling in love with you?" He went to great lengths to pursue her agreement to marriage. The more Alice saw of Murray, the respect her uncle gave him, and his dedicated work for the Chickasaws, the more she came to appreciate him. They were frequently invited to the same social affairs, and Alice began to admire and trust him.³⁹

Marriage to Alice Hearrell would accomplish all of the life objectives that Murray had sought for years. He would be married to an attractive, cultured, and well-educated woman with deep commitment to family loyalty and impeccable morals. Tied to a prestigious Chickasaw family, he would be a member of the Chickasaw Nation social elite. He would be included in all high-level political and economic decisions of the leading businessmen. These contacts would provide ongoing financial opportunities. Upon his marriage he would immediately become a full Chickasaw citizen with access and rights to a large acreage of land. On Alice's part, she would be marrying one of the most exciting and idealistic figures she had ever known. Her future would likely be secure in that Murray had at this time a very lucrative law practice. She believed that her life would remain in the area she loved, within the realm of a beloved extended family. They took long buggy rides around the countryside together as Murray outlined his plans for their future. While away on business, Murray's letters of courtship contained ardent pleas for her to set a date for their marriage. Her responses indicated a desire to delay and some still-lingering hesitation.⁴⁰

By mid-April 1899 Murray appears to have won her agreement to marriage. His original proposed date was for September 9, 1899, when he was twenty-nine years old. In Tishomingo he received a letter from Alice to which he responded, "You said more and gave me more assurance than ever before . . . and all on all former occasions." He wrote to her that he repeated to himself that "this is like her good sincere self; now I know she understands me." Eight days later, he wrote again, "You know my whole heart is with my lady love." Explicitly, he wrote, "Let's make love-hay while loves sun shines and store it for all the years of the future." He then foretold their happiness together from his point of view. She would be his "companion" of middle age, and

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the “solace” of his old age. Her letter had included a parable about the “star,” and “the big gate.” Clearly, she wanted to know that she had his respect, and she would enter a marriage of partnership, not subordination. He assured her of his acceptance, “I the gate; you the ‘star.’ – The Lawyer’s wife, the Lawyer’s star shall be.”⁴¹

By June Alice had apparently agreed on an August wedding. On June 13 Murray wrote, “My lady love knows I love her more and more,” and he lamented having to wait eighty-five more days. He obviously had been pressing her to move the wedding up to a date in July. Her response to “my dear Mr. Murray” read, “I wonder if you are thinking of me as I am of you? No, I’ll venture you are reading.” In addition to news of her sister Ada’s engagement, Alice responded that July was too soon. “Do you think now that it must be in July? I hope not, for I am afraid I’ll not be exactly ready,” she wrote. She asked him to be reasonable about it, “Won’t you dearie?” She assured him of her love, and that she knew that it would “continue so all through life.” Patience was not one of William Murray’s virtues, and he continued to insist on an earlier date.⁴²

The couple were married on July 19, 1899. Reverend J. C. W. Jacobs of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, performed the ceremony at Governor Johnston’s home at Emet amid Alice’s family relations. The marriage of this highly placed couple also included the Chickasaw men who signed approval for Murray to marry a woman in the Chickasaw Nation, and some of the most important leaders in Tishomingo society. The *Daily Ardmoreite* newspaper reported on the wedding under the caption of “Prominent Young Attorney Secures a Chickasaw Queen.” That was the first time that Alice would hear such royal terminology applied to her name. When Murray later became nationally famous, news reporters frequently referred to her as an “Indian Princess.” She disliked this artificial characterization immensely. She understood her value as a Chickasaw woman, and refused to be associated with a meaningless title. Accompanying her husband on a campaign trip to the Chicago Democratic National Convention, she told a reporter, “For goodness’ sake, don’t say I’m an Indian princess. . . . I’m no princess, thank you. I don’t want to be.” She preferred instead to be known simply as “Mr. Murray’s wife,” once again diminishing her own accomplishments. She was commended for her position on an “Indian Princess” status in an article in “Oklahoma Outbursts.” The newspaper man stated that this had been a “cheap play for publicity,” and, “proud of her Indian blood as she is, she would not condescend to gallery-playing at all.”⁴³

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William H. Murray, his wife Alice, and four children at their home near Tishomingo, Indian Territory, 1905 (2059, William H. Murray Collection, OHS Research Division).

Besides his passion for Alice, there was another reason that Murray insisted on having an earlier wedding date. In order for a white man to marry a Chickasaw woman, five Chickasaw men were required to sign a document testifying to his suitability, and there was a \$50 fee to be paid to the nation. Once married, the husband received a “Citizen head-right” entitling him to Chickasaw land. The allotment of land in severalty under the Dawes Act was mandated by the US government. Chickasaw leaders became concerned that this might lead to unscrupulous white men marrying Chickasaw women in order to gain what could amount to more than three hundred acres of land, and then abandoning their wives. In 1899 they proposed a bill to increase the fee to \$1000. Murray let it be known to legislative friends that he wished they would not pass the bill until the September session because he planned to marry in July. The bill did not pass until September, and Murray paid only \$50 for this privilege.⁴⁴

After the wedding, the young couple moved into a small but newly constructed home that Murray had built for his bride. It was close to the Tishomingo Capitol Building. Murray’s stationery read, “Murray & Lucas [Madison Lucas], Attorneys at Law; Will practice in all the courts of the Indian Territory and Texas.” Alice agreed to teach again for the 1899–1900 year at Emet. In October, however, Murray wrote

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to Alice on his business stationery that he had received a letter from his cousin Maggie Jones. He instructed Alice to reply to her letter and invite Maggie to come at Christmas and stay with them for several weeks. He also wrote for her to tell Maggie "that you will resign your school in a short while, etc., etc. – you know." He signed the letter, "With a husband's love." Reading closely, this could seem to indicate that Alice might be pregnant. Their first child, son Massena Bancroft, however, would not be born until 1901.⁴⁵

Whether Alice left teaching of her own will, or because her husband requested it, remains unknown, but his views of the place of women in society would later become quite public. Commenting on Murray's attitude toward women in 1909, O. P. Sturm in *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine* wrote, "In the abstract, he has great reverence for womanhood," but Murray believed that a "woman's place is at home with her children, and not in public life." Murray never relinquished the nineteenth-century American model of subordinate womanhood, and Alice publicly complied. She would have a lifetime of hard work at various homes with her children, and as a participant in her mercurial husband's career, but this was the last time, in good times and bad, that she would have a paying occupation. Nevertheless her life exemplified a Chickasaw model of womanhood that granted greater freedom and authority to women. This would be especially true in later years when she was faced with the conditions her husband's decisions presented for the family.⁴⁶

The early life of Alice Murray is a reflection of the state of the Chickasaw Nation in the waning days of its existence as an autonomous unit in the area known as Indian Territory. Women of this generation who were born into intermarried Chickasaw and white families existed in a dual world that was changing rapidly. Their commitment was to the Chickasaw female culture and family structure that nurtured them, while their education came from the acceptable model for white women. Their attractiveness as marriage partners to white men because of their inheritance of land, as well as their own personalities and characters, both enlarged and challenged their future possibilities. Until she was twenty-four years old, Alice Murray lived among the members of her extended Chickasaw family who gave her security and standing in the community. When she agreed to marry William H. Murray, she stepped into the unknown with a man whose early life had been decidedly different from hers. His abilities and ambition would propel her and her children into a spotlight she never wanted. What would sustain her, time and again, would be the foundation of her Chickasaw youth.

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Endnotes

* History Professor Linda W. Reese retired from East Central University in Ada, Oklahoma, in 2010. She currently writes on western women's history and Oklahoma history from her home in Norman, Oklahoma.

¹ William H. Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma*, Vol. 3 (Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1945); Keith L. Bryant Jr., *Alfalfa Bill Murray* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968); "Necrology, Alice Hearrell Murray," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 17, no. 2 (June 1939): 259-60. A note on sources: Murray's memoirs were written late in life when he was in mental decline. This author has tried to reconcile discrepancies of fact as much as possible with other original sources and the Bryant biography. This article is the first of an anticipated three articles that examine the life of Alice Hearrell Murray. The author wishes to thank Professor William W. Savage Jr. for his editorial suggestions.

² "Necrology, Alice Hearrell Murray," 259; Murray, *Memoirs*, Vol. 3, 655; Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill Murray*, 265. For the last thirty years, western women's history has been an ever-broadening field of publication that began with the path-breaking works of Joan Jensen, Darlis Miller, Sandra Myres, Susan Armitage, Elizabeth Jameson, Peggy Pascoe, and so many others. Except for a few biographies of high profile Indian women of Oklahoma such as Sarah Eppler Janda's *Beloved Women: The Political Lives of LaDonna Harris and Wilma Mankiller*, and Muriel Wright in Patricia Loughlin's *Hidden Treasures of the American West, Muriel Wright, Angie Debo, and Alice Marriott*, little attention has been paid to the women of descent from the Five Nations. I have heard it said at history conferences, "They are not Indian, they are white." This work is a beginning to an examination of the fascinating but forgotten life of Alice Murray, as an example of the retention of Indian identity and race pride among the mixed-blood women descendants of the Five Nations. This characteristic continues to mark the character of Oklahoma even in the twenty-first century. The Chickasaw Nation under the direction of Governor Bill Anoatubby has made significant strides in reclaiming the history, culture, language, and prosperity of the Chickasaw people through its educational system and the Chickasaw Cultural Center located in Sulphur, Oklahoma.

³ Arrell M. Gibson, *The Chickasaws* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 3-30; James Henry Malone, *The Chickasaw Nation; A Short Sketch of a Noble People* (Louisville, KY: John P. Morton Company, 1922; repr., Miami, FL: HardPress Publishing, n.d.), 186-231; H. B. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Natchez Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1899; edited abridged version by Angie Debo, 1962; repr. with introduction by Clara Sue Kidwell, 1999), 113, 395-96, 410; James R. Atkinson, *Splendid Land, Splendid People, The Chickasaw Indians to Removal* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2004), 14; W. David Baird, *The Chickasaw People* (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1974), 4-6; John R. Swanton, *Chickasaw Society and Religion* (repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 2-14, 53-56.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Gibson, *The Chickasaws*, 153-62; Amanda Paige and Fuller L. Bumpers, *Chickasaw Removal* (Ada, OK: Chickasaw Press, 2010), 23-70, 267-89.

⁶ Jecomiah Harrell would change his last name to Hearrell in 1865, see endnote 8. "Jecomiah B. Hearrell," <http://wikitree.com/wiki/Hearrell-2>, accessed October 19, 2013; "Jecomiah B. Hearrell," <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=95675105>, accessed June 20, 2014; Oklahoma Genealogical Society, "J. B. Hearrell," Hearrell Cemetery, Johnston County, Oklahoma, 2, http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~okgs/hearrell_johnston_co.htm, accessed June 30, 2013; US Census Bureau, "1850 United States Federal Census, Neosho, Newton County, Missouri," http://interactive.ancestry.com/8054/4200568_00298/3947133, accessed June 22, 2014; "US Civil War Records and Profiles, 1861-1865, J. B. Harrell," <http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?rank=1&new=1&MSAV>, accessed June 23, 2014.

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⁷ Gibson, *The Chickasaws*, 234-37; Mary Jane Warde, *When the Wolf Came, The Civil War and the Indian Territory* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2013), 128, 201-03.

⁸ "Jecomiah B. 'Jick' Hearrell," *Hearrell Family Book*, 94, <http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/60647644/person/38059460041/photox/a13e3dcb-2ca4-448>, accessed June 20, 2014; James A. Howard II, "Fort Washita," in Odie B. Faulk, Kenny Franks, and Paul Lambert, eds., *Early Military Forts and Posts in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1978), 54-64; W. B. Morrison, "Fort Washita," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 5, no. 2 (June 1927): 251-52; Gibson, *The Chickasaws*, 162, 190-91; Amanda J. Cobb, *Listening to Our Grandmothers' Stories: The Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw Females, 1852-1949* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 35.

⁹ Michael F. Doran, "Population Statistics of Nineteenth Century Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 53, no. 4 (Winter 1975-76): 501. Population racial categories in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations are somewhat indistinct, however, in that frequent intermarriage with whites had been common since initial European contact in the southeastern United States.

¹⁰ Gilbert C. Fite, "Development of the Cotton Industry by the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory," *Journal of Southern History* 15, no. 3 (August 1949): 349-53; Gibson, *The Chickasaws*, 251-57. For a full discussion of the demands of the Reconstruction treaties for the Five Nations, see Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian and the End of the Confederacy* (repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993): 173-218, 301-63, originally published as *The American Indian Under Reconstruction* (Norman, OK: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1925); Doran, "Population Statistics," 511.

¹¹ "Confederate Applications for Presidential Pardons, 1865-1867, J. B. Harrell," 1-2, http://interactive.ancestry.com/1187/MIUSA1865_113168-00469/11528?; "Jecomiah B. 'Jick' Hearrell," *Hearrell Family Book*, 65, <http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/60647644/person/38059460041/photox/c2ffb331-98cb-479>, accessed June 24, 2014.

¹² "Jecomiah B. 'Jick' Hearrell," *Hearrell Family Book*, 65, <http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/60647644/person/38059460041/photox/c2ffb331-98cb-479>, accessed June 24, 2014. Nina Meeks claimed that J. B. Hearrell actually had nine children when he married Martha Walker. See Nina Dunn Meeks and Harold B. Meeks, "Names, Incidents, Narrations About My Kin," 97, May 1966, manuscript, Chickasaw Nation Genealogy Research Department, Chickasaw Cultural Center, Sulphur, OK.

¹³ "Jecomiah B. 'Jick' Hearrell," *Hearrell Family Book*, 65, <http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/60647644/person/38059460041/photox/c2ffb331-98cb-479>, accessed June 24, 2014; Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Hearrell Cemetery, Johnston County, 3, http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~okgs/hearrell_johnston_co.htm, accessed June 30, 2013.

¹⁴ Photocopy, "Romantic America," *Saint Louis Globe*, June 6, 1914, folder 48, box 5, William H. Murray Collection, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK (hereafter cited as William H. Murray Collection); "Tash Pishofa," <https://chickasaw.net/Our-Nation/Culture/Foods.aspx>, accessed August 6, 2014; S. Matthew DeSpain, "The Legacy of Pashofa: Ceremony, Society, Women, and Chickasaw Life," *Journal of Chickasaw History and Culture* 8, no. 2 (Series 20, 2002): 1-9.

¹⁵ "Romantic America."

¹⁶ Mrs. S. J. Carr, "Bloomfield Academy and Its Founder," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 2, no. 4 (December 1924): 11. In the post-Civil War years Bloomfield was referred to both as Bloomfield Seminary and Bloomfield Academy.

¹⁷ "Douglas Hancock Cooper Johnston," <http://vidas.rootsweb.ancestry.com/s004.html>, accessed June 30, 2013; Chad Williams, "Johnston, Douglas Henry," *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/J/J0014.html>, accessed August 30, 2011; "Necrology, Douglas Johnston," *The Chronicles*

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of *Oklahoma* 18, no. 1 (March 1940): 100-01; "Douglas H. Johnston," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Douglas_H_Johnston, accessed June 30, 2013. Johnston was named for the Civil War commander of Indian Territory troops, Douglas Hancock Cooper. Bettie Harper was the daughter of Serena Factor, a member of Bloomfield's first class.

¹⁸ Douglas Johnston quoted in Gordon Hines, *Alfalfa Bill, An Intimate Biography* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Press, 1932), 124.

¹⁹ Cobb, *Listening to Our Grandmothers' Stories*, 37; Carr, "Bloomfield Academy and Its Founder," 2-4.

²⁰ Carr, "Bloomfield Academy and Its Founder," 2-4; Frank A. Balyeat, "Review of Chickasaw Education Before the Civil War," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 34, no. 4 (December 1956): 486-90; See also Andrea L. Turpin "The Ideological Origins of the Women's College: Religion, Class, and Curriculum in the Educational Visions of Catharine Beecher and Mary Lyon," *History of Education Quarterly* 50 (May 2010): 133-58.

²¹ Caroline Davis, "Education of the Chickasaws, 1856-1907," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 15, no. 4 (December 1937): 419; *Vindicator* newspaper quoted in Irene B. Mitchell and Ida Belle Renken, "The Golden Age of Bloomfield Academy in the Chickasaw Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 49, no. 4 (Winter 1971-72): 414, 416.

²² Cobb, *Listening to Our Grandmothers' Stories*, 56-57, 59; Davis, "Education of the Chickasaws," 427.

²³ Cobb, *Listening to Our Grandmothers' Stories*, 57, 58, 59.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 58, 59, 60-63; "Some Bloomfield Seminary Notes," Chickasaw Genealogy Center, Tishomingo, OK, <http://www.chickasawhistory.com/Bloom.htm>, 1, accessed August 30, 2011.

²⁵ "Romantic America."

²⁶ 1894 Appointment Form, Richard McLish, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Chickasaw Nation, folder 38, box 6, William H. Murray Collection; Davis, "Education of the Chickasaw," 23-24.

²⁷ Oscar Wilson Davison, "Oklahoma's Educational Heritage," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 27, no. 4 (December 1949): 354-72; Frank A. Balyeat, "Education of White Children in The Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 15, no. 2 (June 1937): 192-97.

²⁸ Davis, "Education of the Chickasaws," 22-23; Ethan Allen Hitchcock was a career military man who fought in the Seminole Wars and the Mexican War. In 1841 he was appointed to investigate the corruption of the Indian removal process. Later he served as secretary of the interior for Presidents William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt. See Ethan Allen Hitchcock, *A Traveler in Indian Territory: The Journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock*, Grant Foreman, ed. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1930).

²⁹ Meeks and Meeks, "Names, Incidents, Narrations About My Kin," 97; Michael W. Lovegrove, *A Nation In Transition, Douglas Henry Johnston and the Chickasaws, 1898-1939* (Ada, OK: Chickasaw Press, 2009): 26-27; "The Chickasaw White House," <https://chickasaw.net/Services/Chickasaw-White-House.aspx>.

³⁰ Keith L. Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill Murray*, 22; Murray, *Memoirs*, I, 200.

³¹ Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill*, 3-5; Murray, *Memoirs*, I, 123-26, 137, 147-48, 153.

³² Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill*, 5-6; Murray, *Memoirs*, I, 165.

³³ Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill*, 6-8; Murray, *Memoirs*, I, 168-70.

³⁴ Robert C. Cotner, "Hogg, James Stephen," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Society, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fho17>, accessed August 3, 2014; Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill*, 7-8, 10-12, 14-17; Murray, *Memoirs*, I, 52, 154-55, 191-92, 224.

³⁵ Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill*, 18-20; Murray, *Memoirs*, I, 165, 166, 183-84, 197, 199.

³⁶ Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill*, 26-27; Lovegrove, *Nation in Transition*, 32; Murray, *Memoirs*, I, 239.

³⁷ Lovegrove, *Nation in Transition*, 32, 35; Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill*, 26-27.

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³⁸ Murray, *Memoirs*, I, 235-37; Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill*, 26-27. Indian Territory legal issues were extremely complex. Murray drafted a new annual tax to be imposed on noncitizens, urged the creation of a Chickasaw Commission to advise the Dawes Commission, and suggested an appropriation to defend citizenship roll disputes. In addition, to resolve Chickasaw Nation indebtedness, Murray proposed an annual fee on every head of livestock owned by white residents in the nation. See Keith Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill Murray*, 27.

³⁹ Meeks and Meeks, "Names, Incidents, Narrations," 97; Murray, *Memoirs*, I, 42; William H. Murray quoted in Hines, *Alfalfa Bill*, 121.

⁴⁰ Murray, *Memoirs*, I, 239.

⁴¹ William Murray to Alice Hearrell, May 8, 1899, and William Murray to Alice Hearrell, May 16, 1899, folder 19, box 6, William H. Murray Collection; Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill*, 28.

⁴² William Murray to Alice Hearrell, June 13, 1899, and Alice Hearrell to William Murray, June 19, 1899, folder 19, box 6, William H. Murray Collection.

⁴³ "Marriage License, July 14, 1899," Office of Scott Hawkins, County and Probate Judge, Tishomingo County, Chickasaw Nation Cultural Center, Sulphur, OK; Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill*, 28-29; *Daily Ardmoreite*, July 20, 1899; Genevieve Forbes Herrick, "Two Feminine Notables Here Offer Contrast," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, n.d., Marion Unger Collection, Outsized Clippings, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries, Norman, OK; Otis Lorton, "Oklahoma Outbursts," clipping, n.d., folder 14, box 6, William H. Murray Collection. Today the Chickasaw Nation sponsors the selection of its princesses. Princess applicants must meet several requirements, among them: residence in the Nation, education, degree of Chickasaw blood, and references. At the pageant they are judged on traditional dress, talent, and response to questions. The chosen young women serve as ambassadors of the Chickasaw Nation and travel to more than forty events across several states. See <https://www.chickasaw.net/Services/Chickasaw-Princess-Program.aspx>.

⁴⁴ Murray, *Memoirs*, I, 237.

⁴⁵ Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill*, 29; William Murray to Alice Murray, October 11, 1899, folder 19, box 6, William H. Murray Collection; "Teacher Appointment Form for Mrs. W. H. Murray," Tishomingo City, Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory, September, 1899-June 30, 1900, Emet School, folder 38, William H. Murray Collection; Murray, *Memoirs*, I, 274.

⁴⁶ O. P. Sturm, "The Sage of Tishomingo," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine* 9, no. 1 (September 1909): 26.