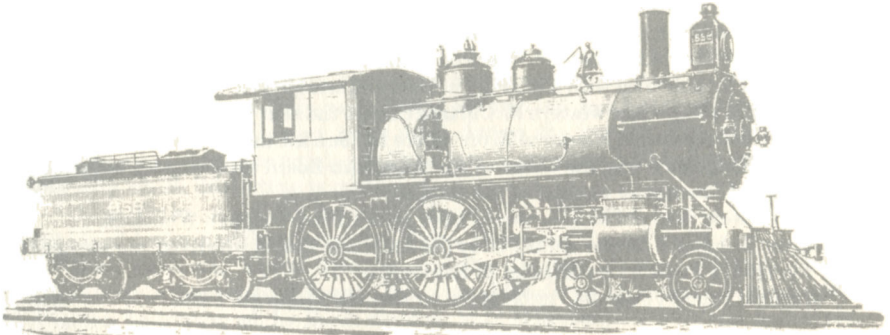


# WAGONER, I.T.



## “Queen City of the Prairies”

*By Brad Agnew\**

During the summer of 1887 an obscure railroad section hand moved his family to a location where the tracks of two railroads crossed fifteen miles north of Muskogee in Indian Territory. Their home became the first in the new town of Wagoner. Today, as the city approaches its centennial, a few of its citizens still remember the men and women who built the community and watched it grow from one family to become the “Queen City of the Prairies.”

Wagoner is cradled between the Verdigris and Grand rivers about twelve miles north of their confluence with the Arkansas River. The gently rolling prairie and fertile valley bottoms include some of the best farm land in Oklahoma. Prehistoric Caddoan Indians recognized the agricultural potential of the area at least a thousand years ago and established villages in the valleys. Traces of their presence have been obscured by time, but at the Harlan and Norman sites near Wagoner, archeologists have found clues that enable them to speculate about these Indian ancestors.<sup>1</sup>

The Osages occupied the lower Grand and Verdigris valleys early in the nineteenth century, but the federal government eventually

ceded the area to the Creeks and Cherokees. Members of the McIntosh faction of the Creeks established themselves along the Verdigris River. Although the future site of Wagoner lay astride the Texas Road, a major north-south route through Indian Territory, the area around the future town remained unsettled.<sup>2</sup>

During the Civil War, as their fortunes were beginning to fade, Confederate forces marched north on the Texas Road to attack a Union supply train. En route they surprised a company of black Union soldiers cutting hay near Flat Rock Creek, approximately seven miles north of the future location of Wagoner. Attacking with the advantage of numbers and surprise, on September 15, 1864, the Confederates routed the Union troops, many of whom fled into the cane thickets. The boys in gray systematically hunted down the fleeing black soldiers and killed them. Estimates place the Union dead at seventy-three. Despite such Confederate victories, the war was almost over, and in the spring of 1865 Southern resistance came to an end in Indian Territory.<sup>3</sup>

Immediately after the war herds of cattle that had been bottled up in Texas were moved toward railroad loading points in Missouri and Kansas. Many of the cattle were pushed along the old Texas Road, sometimes referred to as the Shawnee Trail. The days of the long drive through Indian Territory, however, were numbered.<sup>4</sup> After 1867 most drovers steered their herds north along the Chisholm and other trails farther to the west.

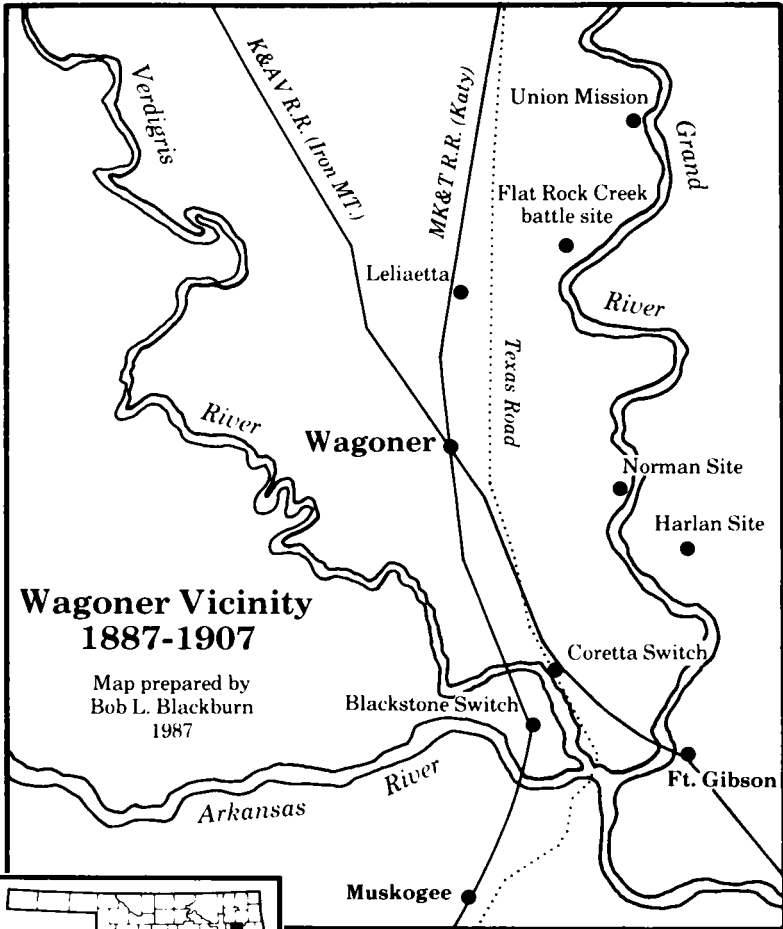
One provision of the post-Civil War reconstruction treaties with the Five Civilized Tribes required the Indians to allow the construction of a railroad through their territory. In 1871 the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas (Katy) crossed the Kansas border into the Cherokee Nation. Company officials had intended to lay track through that tribe's territory all the way to Fort Gibson on the Grand River. By the time the Katy railhead had reached Pryor Creek, however, the Cherokees were making such extravagant demands that the railroad's general manager decided to bypass Fort Gibson and head directly for the Creek border. Consequently, tracks were laid through the sparsely inhabited prairie west of the Grand River across land where Wagoner would be built.<sup>5</sup>

Cattle belonging to Creeks, Cherokees, or Texas ranchers occasionally grazed on the prairie between the Grand and Verdigris, but there were few signs of permanent human habitation in the area. In fact, the MK&T's general manager reported that his construction crews working south of Chouteau's Crossing were being stricken by

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“miasmatic sicknesses” and that “white man could never survive in such a poisonous atmosphere.”<sup>6</sup> Railroad officials who established stations at Flat Rock Creek and at Gibson Station apparently found no reason to stop in between.

Despite adverse reports about the region, a few economic enterprises did flourish there. Cattlemen fattened their herds on the prairie grasses before sending them to Midwestern slaughter houses, and industrious whites and mixed-blood Indians harvested the virgin



**Wagoner Vicinity  
1887-1907**

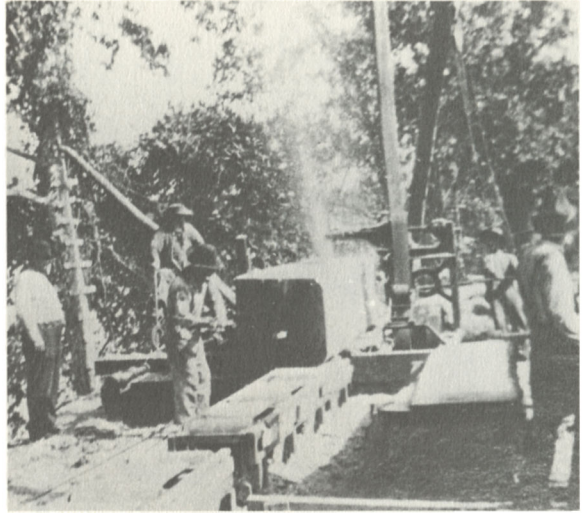
Map prepared by  
Bob L. Blackburn  
1987

*Located in the fertile heart of the Three Forks region, Wagoner was ideally situated for economic growth.*

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*Even before the settlement of Wagoner, economic activity in the area included harvesting virgin hardwood forests along the rivers (right) and cattle ranching on the fertile prairies (below) (Courtesy Margie Semore and Wagoner Co. Historical Society).*

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hardwood trees along the Grand and Verdigris rivers. Samuel Sylvester Cobb, who settled a few miles southeast of modern Wagoner in the early 1870s, estimated that thousands of board feet of walnut logs belonging to the Cherokees were sold to Eastern furniture companies. Although the logs brought \$8 to \$9 per thousand board feet, Cobb doubted that the Cherokees ever received a cent for them.<sup>7</sup>

In 1883 Henry Samuel Wagoner, the Katy dispatcher in Parsons, Kansas, decided a switch was needed to serve the cattle and lumber men between Gibson Station and Flat Rock Creek. Wagoner, known to most of his associates as "Big Foot," ordered that one be built in the area. When the job was completed, the Katy roadmaster telegraphed company officials, "Wagoner's switch is ready."<sup>8</sup>

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*Henry S. "Big Foot" Wagoner, seen here in 1910 with his wife, established "Wagoner's Switch" in 1883 (Courtesy W.C.H.S.).*

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The area attracted few permanent residents until the Kansas and Arkansas Valley Railroad announced plans to lay tracks through northeastern Indian Territory into Kansas. One area resident claimed until the K&AV began grading its right-of-way "to where the town of Wagoner now stands, there was nothing there but a side track of the MK&T and a section house."<sup>9</sup>

In early May the K&AV approached the Katy's right-of-way. *The Indian Journal*, the official newspaper of the Creek Nation, claimed that Creek citizens, officials of the Arkansas Valley railway, and Indian Agent Robert L. Owen, "were engaged in a game of 'grab' at Wagoner switch . . . by forcibly taking and fencing some 680 acres of land." The newspaper promised a thorough investigation and credited Creek Chief Joseph M. Perryman for "prompt action . . . in going to the scene of action and putting a stop to the proceedings."<sup>10</sup>

*Sally H. McAnally**William H. McAnally*

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Although the speculators failed to acquire control of the land surrounding the junction of the two railroads, their actions focused attention on the site and attracted white settlers. When William H. McAnally, a MK&T employee who had worked at Wagoner's switch, learned that the K&AV would cross the MK&T line nearby, he decided to build a hotel there. After discussing the matter with his wife, on June 5, 1887, McAnally moved his family to Wagoner's switch. He had planned to settle in the old Katy section house, but when the family arrived, the structure was occupied by a work crew.

At first the McAnallys slept on the porch of the section house, then moved into a borrowed tent until they took possession of the section house. Ultimately, McAnally quit his job as a railroad section hand and built a timber structure which railroad employees called "The Cottonwood Hotel."<sup>11</sup> A young mixed-blood Cherokee referred to the building as a "frame shack" and claimed that it was "the first house built in Wagoner." He also suggested that the bread he bought as McAnally was preparing to open his establishment for business was the first purchase ever made in Wagoner.<sup>12</sup>

Because of the railroad intersection and the fertility of the surrounding country, the town grew rapidly. McAnally circulated a

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petition among the residents of the community which he sent to Washington, D.C., requesting that a post office be opened to serve the people of the new town. The request was approved, and on February 25, 1888, the Wagoner Post Office opened under the supervision of William W. Teague, a native of Indiana. The year before, Teague had moved to Wagoner to run the town's first store located on the southwest corner of what would later be Cherokee and Main.<sup>13</sup>

Whites from the "states" and from within the territory flocked to the new town. Within a year at least two other general stores were in operation, and gradually other businesses were attracted to the new community. Although Wagoner was originally known as a cow town, residents soon strung wire around their community to keep cattle out. Twenty-foot-wide gates provided access to the town in each direction.<sup>14</sup>

By 1892 Wagoner's population had grown to 400, and it boasted "five general mercantile stores, two drug stores, a cotton gin, grist mill, two blacksmiths' shops, one livery stable, one newspaper, one



*Although the people of early Wagoner did not own their land, they constructed buildings like these along S. Main Street (above). Farmers helped the economy by growing crops such as cabbage (facing page) (Courtesy W.C.H.S. and Liz McMahan).*



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church-house with Presbyterian and Methodist organizations; [and] four hotels.”<sup>15</sup> Among those who moved to Wagoner in the early years and remained to become civic leaders were Joseph Casaver, Samuel S. Cobb, James A. and William H. Harris, and M. J. Phillippe.

Although the Creeks still owned the land, fullbloods did not feel at home in the town, and few established residence there. Ironically, Creek freedmen, who were the victims of discrimination in white communities, settled in Wagoner in significant numbers. By 1902 blacks owned a number of businesses in the town including a cotton gin, a saloon, and boarding house. Two years later the *Wagoner Echo*, a weekly newspaper serving the black community in northeastern Indian Territory, began operations in the city. And by the first years of the twentieth century a separate school system had been established for black children.<sup>16</sup>

Education was of primary importance to the growing population of Wagoner. The schooling of Creeks was financed by the tribe and missionaries, but whites, who were considered intruders, were not allowed to send their children to Indian schools. William McAnally hired a teacher and established a school in a small building behind the Cottonwood Hotel. Although no records have been located, the school probably was supported by subscriptions. Families with children enrolled would pay a small monthly fee to defray the cost of the teacher’s \$10 a month salary and other expenses.<sup>17</sup>



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By 1895 Wagoner had sufficient population to support a more formal educational program. The Mary A. Norville Institute announced that it would open September 2 for two terms of five months each. The school promised a "thoroughly practical" course of instruction designed to encourage "close habits of study." Tuition ranged from \$1 to \$2.50 per month depending on grade level. Bookkeeping and music lessons were each \$1.50 extra per month. Hall-Chapman Normal also opened for the fall term on September 2. Offering a full course of instruction, including music, art, and elocution, the school claimed that its tuition ranging from \$1 to \$2 was "more reasonable than any other school in the territory with the same instruction."<sup>18</sup>

Modest as these tuitions seem, they were beyond the means of many of the parents who had recently moved to the new town. Throughout Indian Territory whites clamored for free public schools for their children. Wagoner students continued to attend private schools or to receive instruction from their parents at home until the town established a public school system in the fall of 1898.

In June of that year Congress passed the Curtis Act which authorized the establishment of free public schools in Indian Territory. Wagoner, which had already been incorporated, was the first community in Indian Territory to establish a public education system under the Curtis Act. City officials rented a building, hired teachers, and obtained necessary books and supplies within two months of passage of the legislation.

The same year Central College, a private institution, opened with local financial assistance. Although the school could accommodate 250 students, only 30 enrolled for the fall term of 1898. The second semester, however, the student body swelled to 150. The college consisted of two buildings, one for instruction and the other a dormitory for forty resident students. The \$20,000 facility was described as "a model structure." Despite its promising start the institution apparently could not attract enough tuition-paying scholars, for shortly after free public schools were established, Central College was sold to the Wagoner Public Schools system and converted into a high school.<sup>19</sup>

Missionaries were the first whites concerned about education in Indian Territory. In fact, Union Mission had been established near Flat Rock Creek north of Wagoner in 1820, and several missionary schools had served the Indian children of the region long before the coming of the railroads. Circuit riding preachers held periodic services in school houses throughout the area. In the summer after

harvest, the pioneers would construct brush arbors, and families for miles around would pack their wagons with food and bedding and spend a week or two at the annual camp meetings. S. S. Cobb, in describing the services at the meeting grounds near his house a few miles southeast of the future site of Wagoner, wrote, "the faith preached made little difference as all denominations participated."<sup>20</sup>

About six months after Wagoner was established, in the spring of 1888, a Methodist minister named Theo Brewer preached the first sermon in the building used as the town's first school, and in May the



*Wagoner Central College, constructed for \$20,000 in 1898 as a private school, later became the Wagoner Public High School (Courtesy Liz McMahon).*

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Reverend Calhoun C. Parks established the Cumberland Presbyterian Church with twelve charter members. Within a few years Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, Catholics, and several other denominations had organized their own churches.

Another indication of Wagoner's progress was the publication of the town's first newspaper. On October 1, 1892, a Cherokee attorney and journalist, Gus Ivey, established the *Index*. Unfortunately, no issues of this paper survive, and apparently it did not remain in operation long. Ivey may have sold the paper to M. J. Phillippe. Scattered issues of the *Wagoner Record* for 1894 and later indicate

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*Houses and businesses sprouted side by side along the dirt streets of Wagoner during the late territorial era (Courtesy Margie Semore).*

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that the first number was published on October 7, 1892, almost exactly the same time the *Index* appeared.<sup>21</sup>

The surviving issues of the *Record*, which are available at the Oklahoma Historical Society, are a treasure trove of information about life in Wagoner in the early years. The front pages of early issues are dominated by advertisements for Newberry and Ballard, dealers in general merchandise, who guaranteed "that neither zeal nor attention shall be wanting on our part to insure to our friends every advantage that may be afforded." James Parkinson, proprietor of both a general merchandise store and the Wagoner Lumber Company, assured his potential customers a wide selection of merchandise and building supplies "sold on a close margin." Other local advertisers included several attorneys, two drug stores, a meat market, livery stable, and two barbers, one of whom billed himself as a "tonorial artist." Of course, the paper also carried many ads hawking patent medicines. One claimed to cure a "Headache, brighten the Eyes and clear the Complexion"; another asserted that it "dries up blotches and pimples on the face, heals old sores and eruptions, makes a yellow skin clear and transparent and keeps the bowels and liver in perfect condition." Claims made for several other products were less restrained.<sup>22</sup>

The *Wagoner Record* also championed the movement to allow whites to obtain land in Indian Territory. In 1893 Congress authorized the President to appoint a commission to negotiate an agreement with the Five Civilized Tribes for allotment of land within Indian Territory. It was understood that the provision was the first step in opening the territory to non-Indian settlement. After the appointment of the Dawes Commission, the influx of whites into the Creek Nation which had been growing steadily now became a torrent. By 1896 the population of Wagoner soared to 1,500 and the newspaper claimed that the town had "over fifty good business houses of different kinds."<sup>23</sup>

Wagoner merchants financed the purchase of supplies by area farmers and townspeople who could not pay cash. Individuals would mortgage their livestock or other property and were issued coupons of varying denominations good for merchandise at the store extending credit.<sup>24</sup> The system, used throughout rural America in one form or another, reduced the purchasing power of the poor and was a factor in dividing the country along economic lines. Farmers Alliances in the South and Midwest would eventually unite to demand reforms to aid agriculture. In Wagoner the local chapter of the Farmers Alliance met to determine once and for all which merchants they should patronize. Meeting organizers had ordered five gallons of "syrup" from Fort Smith for refreshments for the group, "and before a decision was made as to who would have their trade, the entire body got drunk, adjourned *sine die* and never met again."<sup>25</sup>

While it did not ease the problem of tight currency, on October 1, 1895, the First National Bank of Wagoner opened for business. Prominent Wagoner merchant James Parkinson was the first president of the institution which advertised a capital of \$50,000. The bank did serve the needs of local businessmen and area ranchers who had been forced to travel to Muskogee or even as far as Denison, Texas, to transact financial business. Two other banks opened in Wagoner before 1900.<sup>26</sup>

At least one Baptist minister felt that Wagoner's economic progress had not been equalled in the realm of morality. In fact, he asserted that Wagoner had the reputation of being "the 'toughest' town in the territory of its size." Rising to the defense of his community, the editor of the *Record* countered, "Now we will admit that Wagoner has the name of having her whisky peddlers, gamblers, women of a demi mondane ilk, and a horse thief occasionally [sic]—and sometimes a scandal but there never has been but one murder committed here since it was a town."<sup>27</sup>

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Despite protests from the pulpit Wagoner's wayward element resisted reform. The *Record* reported, "City Marshal Alberty arrested two Demi Mondes, Minnie James and Christina Thomas, for disturbing the peace at Carr's restaurant, last Saturday, and took them to court at Muskogee, where they were fined \$20 each, and in default of payment of which they both languish in jail."<sup>28</sup>

Despite the occasional criticisms and normal growing pains, Wagoner's future appeared bright in the final years of the nineteenth century. In 1894 the *Record* asserted "that Wagoner is going to be the metropolis of the territory," and a year later the editor predicted that



"in less than two years this will be the largest city in the territory." He also argued that Wagoner was entitled to be the capital. Before the end of the century boosters were heralding their community as the "'Queen City' of the Prairies." City leaders were not content merely to talk about their future; they sought ways to promote their community's progress. As early as 1895 they were actively campaigning for the establishment of a federal court in Wagoner and attempting to incorporate their city."<sup>29</sup>

Although the Dawes Commission was trying to persuade the Creeks to relinquish control of their portion of Indian Territory, tribal leaders were resisting with determination. Unwilling to wait

for the Commission to resolve the impasse, city leaders took advantage of a decision by Judge William M. Springer which held that towns in Indian Territory had the right to establish municipal government under the provisions of an Arkansas law which Congress had applied to Indian Territory in 1890.<sup>30</sup>

On October 17, 1895, a group of Wagoner boosters met in the office of Captain William Jackson, an Englishman married to a Creek woman, to discuss the feasibility of establishing a municipal government. After agreeing that the time was right, the men drafted a petition which urged the federal court to allow them to organize "some form of City Government whereby law and order may be enforced and upheld . . . and whereby we may be more closely united for much needed public improvements."<sup>31</sup>

The petition, signed by 283 heads of families, was filed in the federal court of Muskogee on December 3, 1895, and a hearing was scheduled for Saturday, January 4, 1896. Despite the protests of Isparhecher, a conservative Creek who filed a petition opposing Wagoner's, later that month Judge Springer granted the town's request and allowed it to incorporate.<sup>32</sup>



*The buildings of the First National Bank of Wagoner (facing page) and the Wagoner National Bank (above) represented two architectural styles that dominated the town's early streetscape—Romanesque and Gothic (Courtesy Liz McMahan and Margie Se-more).*

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On April 28, 1896, the citizens of Wagoner conducted an election in which they approved a municipal charter and elected a slate of officials including Captain William Jackson as mayor and Charles Lacey, Terry Parkinson, Samuel Powell, Charles Buster, and Frank E. Smith as members of the city council. Although a number of other Indian Territory towns were considering incorporation, Wagoner was the first community to actually take the step.<sup>33</sup> This first city election may have established a precedent that endured well into the twentieth century. William McAnally hinted that a number of the early residents of the city had left their graves to cast votes in the election.<sup>34</sup>

Publicity arising from the establishment of a city government attracted both white and Indian speculators bent on acquiring tracts of land within the incorporated limits of Wagoner. One Cherokee purchased 75 acres within the city from a trading firm and an intermarried white man, neither of whom had a legitimate title to the land. When a Creek fenced a tract on the pretext that he planned to farm it, the overlapping claims produced a conflict that was finally settled by the federal court in Muskogee. Judge Springer ruled that land in the Creek Nation could not be transferred to anyone not a member of the tribe.<sup>35</sup>

The decision frustrated the plans of many of those who had fought for incorporation of Wagoner hoping to profit from the ensuing real



*Pool halls, groceries, dry goods stores, and drug stores were just a few of the enterprises begun along Wagoner's Main Street in the 1890s (Courtesy Liz McMahon).*

estate boom. Land-hungry whites regarded the decision as a temporary setback and kept lobbying for the right to acquire real property in Indian Territory. All the while the influx of outsiders rushing to acquire land in Indian Territory continued to swell.

City boosters were more successful in securing a federal court for their community. After several years of agitation, Congress enacted legislation in June of 1897 which authorized an additional federal judge for Indian Territory and located a court in Wagoner. Its jurisdiction would eventually extend to both civil and criminal cases involving Indians and whites. The first session in Wagoner convened on the second Monday in November, 1897, with Judge John R. Thomas, a former congressman from Illinois, presiding.<sup>36</sup>

The court not only was a convenience to area residents, but it also was an asset to the city's economy, particularly to the hotels and restaurants which served the lawyers, litigants, and witnesses who now came to the city awaiting their day in court. The courtroom was in a three-story stone building financed by two local physicians at the corner of Cherokee and Casaver. After statehood the building was rented to the county and served as the Wagoner County Courthouse until 1938 when it was replaced by the current building.<sup>37</sup>

Wagoner obviously needed a court, for it was located within the domain of several notorious gangs and badmen. Indian Territory developed a reputation as a haven for outlaws even before the Civil War, and after that conflict renegades were attracted to it by ineffective law enforcement. Not even Issac Parker, the renowned hanging judge, could restore law and order to Indian Territory. From his court at Fort Smith, Parker sentenced scores of men to death and thousands to prison terms, but Indian Territory seemed to spawn outlaws faster than the judge could sentence them.

Shortly after its establishment, Wagoner's switch earned the dubious distinction of being an ideal site for outlaws to ambush passing trains. On September 15, 1891, Bob Dalton, his brothers, and gang descended on the station house at Leliaetta, a cattle loading switch four miles north of Wagoner, and captured the Katy agent. He was "persuaded" to stop a south-bound passenger train carrying a large amount of cash. Leaping onto the locomotive before it was fully stopped, gang members captured the crew, intimidated the passengers, and helped themselves to at least \$3,000 in silver. The robbers evaded law officers and executed a number of other escapades culminating in the attempt to hold up two Coffeyville, Kansas, banks at the same time. In the ensuing shoot-out two of the Dalton brothers



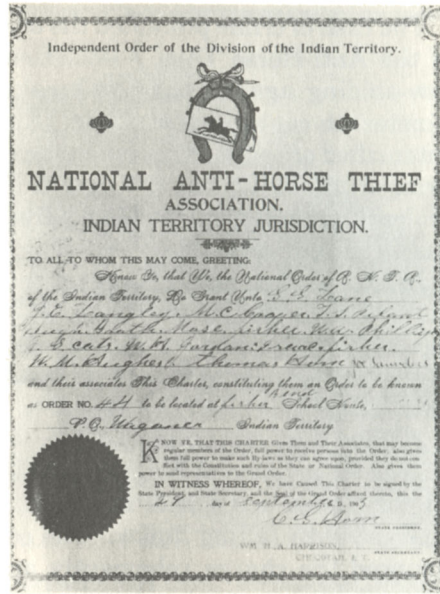
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and two other gang members were killed. Emmett Dalton, who was wounded and captured in the affair, was sentenced to fifteen years in prison.<sup>38</sup>

The elimination of one band of outlaws simply made room for others. On October 20, 1894, the Bill Cook gang waylaid an Iron Mountain train traveling south out of Wagoner. One of the holdup men threw the switch at Coretta, shunting the train onto the siding. On the Missouri-Pacific line, the Coretta switch was located just north of modern-day Okay. The outlaws boarded the train and encountered little resistance from the crew. Although they robbed the passengers, including a deputy marshal, and ransacked the express car, they were unable to open the train's safe. The outlaws rode off with only \$500 in loot. The train backed into Wagoner where railroad officials reported that the cars and engine had been heavily damaged by more than 200 rounds fired during the holdup. The human toll was even higher—one passenger killed and another wounded. Finally, lawmen captured or killed most of the Cook gang, but not before their spree of robberies had terrorized law-abiding citizens throughout the region.<sup>39</sup>

Three weeks later on the night of November 13, 1894, at Blackstone Switch about ten miles south of Wagoner, Nathaniel (Texas Jack) Reed and his men sidetracked and stopped a Katy passenger train. The gang had been informed that the express car would be carrying \$60,000. Actually, the money had been held for shipment later, but James F. "Bud" Ledbetter and three deputies, all experienced lawmen and excellent marksmen, were on the train. Ledbetter and his men kept the outlaws away from the express car and managed to shoot Reed as he was robbing the passengers in the coaches. All members of the gang escaped, but Reed was so seriously wounded that he eventually surrendered to Judge Parker.<sup>40</sup>

The gunplay and violence that gave Indian Territory its reputation for lawlessness moved into Wagoner on October 25, 1895. Dick and Zeke Crittenden, Cherokee mixed-bloods with unsavory reputations, had been in Wagoner drinking much of the day. Described as "large portly fellows, very strong physically," the brothers terrorized the residents of the town including an old man that "one of the boys beat . . . up pretty badly with his six-shooter." When they began firing "promiscuously," Sam Cobb, "the financial power in Wagoner," sent for Ed Reed, a deputy U.S. marshal. Cobb told the lawman to arrest the rowdy brothers. When Reed, the son of Belle Starr, pointed out that the Crittendens could not be taken alive, Cobb demanded that he



**The Anti-Horse Thief Association served as both a well organized vigilante force and as a popular fraternal group (Courtesy Margie Semore).**



“get them dead or alive.” Reed got his Winchester from home and attempted to arrest Zeke. In an exchange of gunfire Zeke was killed instantly. When Dick learned of his brother’s death, he vowed vengeance and went in search of Reed. They met in the street near Zeke’s body. Again, the deputy marshal’s Winchester proved more accurate than the Crittendens’ pistols. Dick was mortally wounded. Reed immediately surrendered himself to U.S. law officers in Fort Smith where all charges against him were dismissed. A little over a year later Reed was gunned down in Claremore while attempting to arrest two men for selling whiskey.<sup>41</sup>

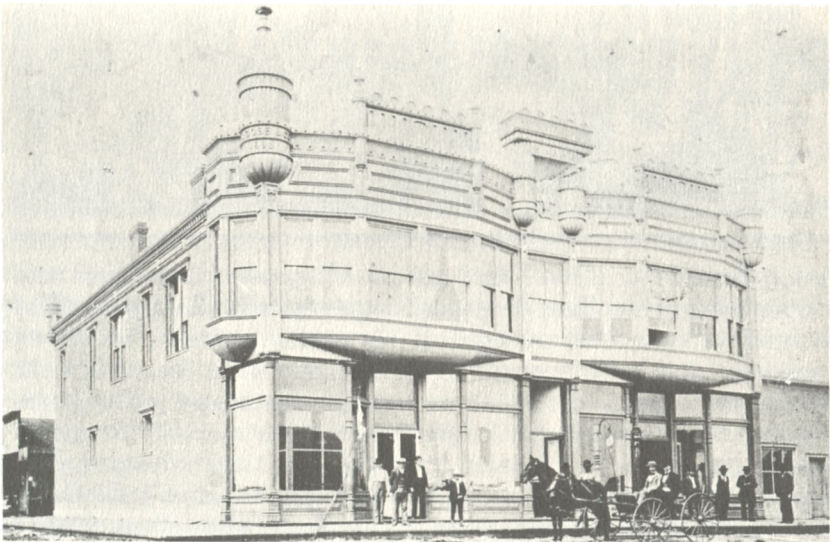
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The rash of crime prompted the organization of a Wagoner chapter of the Anti-Horse Thief Association which sought to mobilize the law-abiding against the law-breaking element of society. As the nineteenth century approached its end the federal government also intensified efforts to strengthen the courts in Indian Territory and to bring criminals to justice. Wagoner and Indian Territory became less violent, but traces of the town's frontier heritage would linger into the twentieth century.

In an effort to make Wagoner more orderly and law abiding, in June of 1900 the city council enacted a curfew for anyone under the age of fifteen found on the streets after 8 p.m. without parental authorization. Conviction could result in a fine of from one to twenty-five dollars.<sup>42</sup>

Adult delinquency was viewed more tolerantly, however. The *Vinita Chieftain* accused Wagoner of being "wide open" and its courts "notorious on account of their refusal to indict or convict anyone charged with selling liquor." The editor of the *Wagoner Record* denounced the charge vehemently and accused the Vinita editor of being "either a wanton liar, a low-bread [sic] degenerate, a consummate ass or a three-ply fool." Three months later, after the sting of the *Chieftain's* charges had faded, the *Wagoner Record* complained

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*The Cobb Building (facing page), constructed by Sam Cobb, "the financial power of Wagoner," and the Brown Palace Hotel (above) were just two signs that Wagoner was maturing after incorporation in 1896 (Courtesy Margie Semore and Liz McMahan).*

that "two gambling halls have been running 'wide open' in Wagoner for the past year." The charge was supported by one early-day resident who recalled that "The Brown Palace Hotel was where the boys used to gamble all night."<sup>43</sup>

The skill and daring exhibited by Oklahoma badmen were precisely the qualities needed by a wartime army. The United States had been drifting toward conflict with Spain for some years. When war was finally declared in April of 1898, the War Department wired Judge John R. Thomas of Muskogee to raise "175 picked men, good shots and good riders" for a volunteer cavalry regiment that would be nicknamed the Rough Riders. In less than three weeks 200 men from Indian Territory had been organized into Troops L and M and sent for training at San Antonio. Five of the volunteers were from Wagoner—James C. Davis and Robert M. Haley in L Troop and Peter R. Bruce, James T. Hall, and William Mitchell in M Troop.

Training in Texas was strenuous but brief. Although the few Regular Army officers assigned to the regiment did not have time to convert the Western cowboys and Indians and Eastern polo players into a professional fighting force, the bravado and daring of the Rough Riders compensated for the unit's lack of experience. Few

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*Public services gradually came to Wagoner as title to the land cleared. In 1906 natural gas pipelines were laid along Main Street (facing page) and in 1912 the volunteer fire department posed in front of City Hall (above) (Courtesy Liz McMahon).*

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volunteer units got beyond their training camps, but the Rough Riders' second in command, Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, possessed sufficient political influence and determination to get the regiment into the thick of the action. He and the Rough Riders participated in the amphibious landing in Cuba and in most of the land action that compelled the Spanish to seek terms.

Casualties among the Rough Riders were high, but the volunteers from Wagoner all lived to tell about their exploits. The men from the Twin Territories earned the respect of Roosevelt, who visited the area twice to renew wartime friendships. In 1905 Roosevelt, now President of the United States, had his train make an unscheduled stop in Wagoner. Hundreds gathered hoping to catch a glimpse of the President who paid a brief tribute to the Rough Riders from Indian Territory and predicted that the Twin Territories would soon be united into a single state.<sup>44</sup>

Roosevelt's prediction was accurate. Ever since the appointment of the Dawes Commission in 1893, it had been apparent that officials in Washington were committed to the termination of Indian sovereign-

## WAGONER, I.T.

ty, the opening of Indian Territory to non-Indian settlement, and eventual statehood. As the Spanish American War was reaching its climax, Congress passed the Curtis Act, a measure that established a timetable for the liquidation of tribal government. Fullblood Creek chief Isparhecher, who had earlier challenged Wagoner's incorporation petition, opposed the measure with every legal means at his disposal. Federal officials, determined to open Indian Territory to non-Indian land ownership, checked each of the chief's moves.

Despite the objections of Isparhecher, in March of 1900 an agreement was negotiated between the Creek Nation and the federal

Laying Pipe for Natural Gas on Main Street, Wagoner, Okla.



government that outlined the procedure for transferring ownership of land from the tribe to individuals. In Wagoner, where a survey of the townsite had already taken place, lot holders were authorized to secure titles by paying fifty percent of the assessed value of the lot once the town's plat was approved and the lots were assessed.<sup>45</sup>

About six months later in October, the Secretary of Interior approved Wagoner's plat and authorized the assessment of the townsite. The city plat established Cherokee Street as the dividing line; east-west streets paralleling it were to be numbered while north-south streets were to be named after the presidents and notable men of the day including prominent local business leaders.<sup>46</sup>

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In January of 1901 the Secretary of Interior approved the assessment of the Wagoner-Townsite Commission. The total value of the townsite was placed at \$160,000. Several specific lot evaluations provided a clearer picture of the costs of property to those who occupied it. The 25-by-192-foot First National Bank lot was evaluated at \$340, W. D. Berry's livery stable and horse lot at \$1,280, and Parkin-son corner, occupied by the Wagoner Hardware Company, a 50-by-213-foot lot at \$650. Actual cost to the buyer was half the assessed evaluation and could be paid in three annual installments.<sup>47</sup> After thirteen years non-Indian residents in Wagoner could finally obtain title to the land on which their own homes and businesses stood.

Although the federal government moved too quickly to suit traditional Creeks, its pace frustrated enterprising businessmen and community leaders in Wagoner and other Indian Territory towns. Unwilling to await the completion of the allotment process, many white businessmen made major investments in Wagoner before they were able to secure title to the land.

When the Saint Charles Hotel burned in November of 1899, its owner, Charles Brown, built a new, sixty-room brick hotel on the same site at a cost of \$25,000. "Wagoner's new and magnificent hostelry," the Brown Palace, was the largest hotel in Indian Territory at the time of its construction in 1900 and became a city landmark.<sup>48</sup>

The growth of Wagoner stimulated a campaign to develop essential utilities for the businesses and residents of the town. Even before the passage of the Curtis Act, merchants in Wagoner were planning to organize a joint stock company to finance a city waterworks. The absence of enabling legislation in the Curtis Act delayed their plans. In the meantime a series of fires destroyed many of the city's early frame buildings, including the Saint Charles Hotel. The editor of the *Wagoner Record* chided the "city dads" for not "attempting, at least, to provide for a system of waterworks for this city." Later editions of the paper blamed Wagoner's lack of a waterworks on the federal government's failure to enact "legislation authorizing and protecting such an enterprise in this country."<sup>49</sup>

In 1904, after at least six years of aborted efforts, a large standpipe was erected on the hill north of the city, and mains were laid to provide water from the "Town Well" to businesses, residences, and the railroad. By 1906 lines had been laid six miles to Grand River to supply the growing demand for water. Fire plugs installed throughout the community gave the volunteer fire department sufficient water and pressure to battle the fires that had been devastating the town.<sup>50</sup>

**Germicide Water Company**  
INCORPORATED  
**Capital Stock \$50,000**

<p>For Internal Troubles  <b>DRINK Germicide Water</b></p> <p>For External Troubles  <b>BATHE In It</b></p> <p>For the Good of Your Friends  <b>TELL THEM Of It</b></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>IT CURES</b></p> <p>Eozma, Tetter, Rheumatism          All Forms of Catarrh          Stomach and Bowel Trouble          Varicose Ulcers          Lupus and Similar Affections          Diseases of Genito-urinary          Organs or any kind of Sore          Removes Dandruff Corns and          Bunions</p>
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Hot Cod Or Vapor Baths Equippd For 600 People Daily

LADIESBATH ROOMS ON 2ND FLOOR  
 HAVE EVERY CONVENIENCE

We Ship Water In Six Ounce Bottles, Jugs, Or Barrels.	Wagoner, Indian Territory
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*Advertisements, such as this one in the February 28, 1907 issue of the Wagoner Weekly Saying, hawked a wide variety of services and goods.*

Wagoner secured electricity a few years before the waterworks were completed. A. F. Parkinson, one of the town's leading merchants, reflected the sentiments of most of the business community when he said, "Wagoner needs electric lights and should have had them long ago." But there were a few, including a Judge McPhee, who did not "think the town should go to any expense in this matter. Have we not got coal oil lights?" In August of 1900 Wagoner's city council met in special session and granted a franchise to the Wagoner Light and Power Company to provide electricity to the town. Rates for home owners ranged from seventy-five cents for one light to two dollars for three lights per month. By early 1901 the new brick power plant was approaching completion, and lines were being strung throughout the town connecting businesses and homes to the generating facility.<sup>51</sup>

Natural gas was the last of the utilities to reach Wagoner. By late 1906 the Wagoner Gas Company, managed by J. F. Owen, had almost completed the laying of the main and lateral lines to the businesses and residents of the town. From the Caney gas field nearly 100 miles away along the Kansas border the gas was sold to local customers for twenty-five cents a thousand cubic feet. The *Wagoner Weekly Sayings* waxed almost poetic as it described the path of the fuel "from the strange, mysterious caverns in the far underworld . . . bowling its

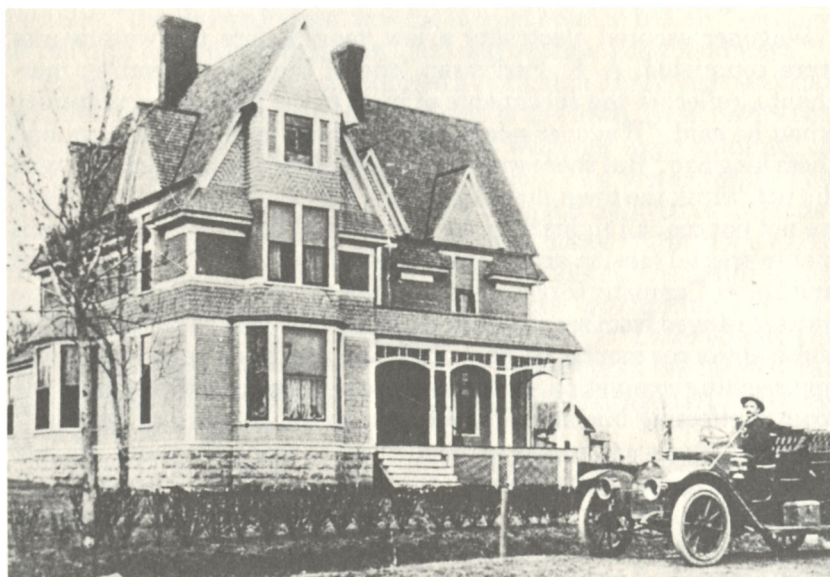


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way almost with the speed of lightning, hesitating here and there to leave a trail of light and warmth."<sup>52</sup>

The census of 1900 revealed that Wagoner's population had reached 3,372 and that the city was the fourth largest in Indian Territory. Predictions of future growth were unrestrained. Spurred by the *Wagoner Record*, in 1901 businessmen banded together in a Commercial Club, the forerunner of the Chamber of Commerce. Articles touting the town's development appeared regularly in the local newspaper and provided an excellent description of the community just after the turn of the century. Wagoner remained a trading center for a fertile agricultural region in the bottoms of the Verdigris and Grand rivers north of the Arkansas River. "Here cotton is king," the *Record* asserted.<sup>53</sup>

In cotton picking season Wagoner had two gins operating day and night. Corn and prairie hay also were important products shipped from town by area farmers. Fuel was plentiful and cheap. Coal was mined near Wagoner and delivered in the city for twelve cents a bushel, and wood from hardwood groves along the rivers and creeks



*Luther Opry, sitting in his new car in front of a stylish Queen Anne home, reflected the prosperity and progress of Wagoner by statehood (Courtesy Margie Semore).*

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sold at \$2.25 a cord. Oil and gas also were available in the area although they had been only partially developed.

Another valuable liquid resource flowed to the surface in Wagoner. The presence of "germicide water" offered hope that the city might become a Mecca to those seeking a cure from any number of afflictions. The mineral waters of Wagoner possessed "almost magical a character" and were credited with curing the most stubborn and virulent diseases. Bath houses capable of serving 500 people a day and several hotels offered patrons an opportunity to soak in the miraculous mineral waters. The editor of the *Wagoner Weekly Sayings* was reluctant to list the curative powers of the water lest he be accused of exaggeration, but he did suggest that:

This water cures eczema, tetter, acne or face bumps and various forms of skin diseases. It cures old varicose ulcers, matters not of how long standing. It cures lupus and kindred affections, sore eyes, gastrointestinal catarrhal diseases of the head and other catarrhal conditions to which the human system is subject. It cures gonorrhoeal infections and hyperacidity oi [of] the blood, constipation, piles and pruritis. It will positively remove dandruff and corns.<sup>54</sup>

The editor of the *Wagoner Record* predicted that Indian Territory would become the "Eden of the world" when it was developed. Problems remained to be solved, however. Although the city schools were good, there were no public schools for white children in the country. And the "unsettled condition in regard to land titles" remained the "greatest drawback to this country."<sup>55</sup>

Citizens in Wagoner had a solution—statehood—so they assumed the leadership in a campaign to persuade the federal government to grant single statehood to Oklahoma and Indian territories. In July of 1900 the *Wagoner Record* editorially endorsed the concept and urged the Creeks to ask Congress to extend the jurisdiction of Oklahoma Territory over their tribal land. Three months later almost 100 Wagoner business and professional men signed a petition calling for a public meeting at City Hall to organize a league to promote the cause of single statehood. In December delegates from Indian Territory favoring the union of the two territories met in convention in South McAlester. C. E. Castle, a real estate man from Wagoner, was voted permanent chairman of the convention which demanded "immediate single statehood."<sup>56</sup>

Despite the efforts of the citizens of Wagoner and other Indian Territory towns—all dominated by white settlers—plans to unite Oklahoma and Indian territories made little headway among the

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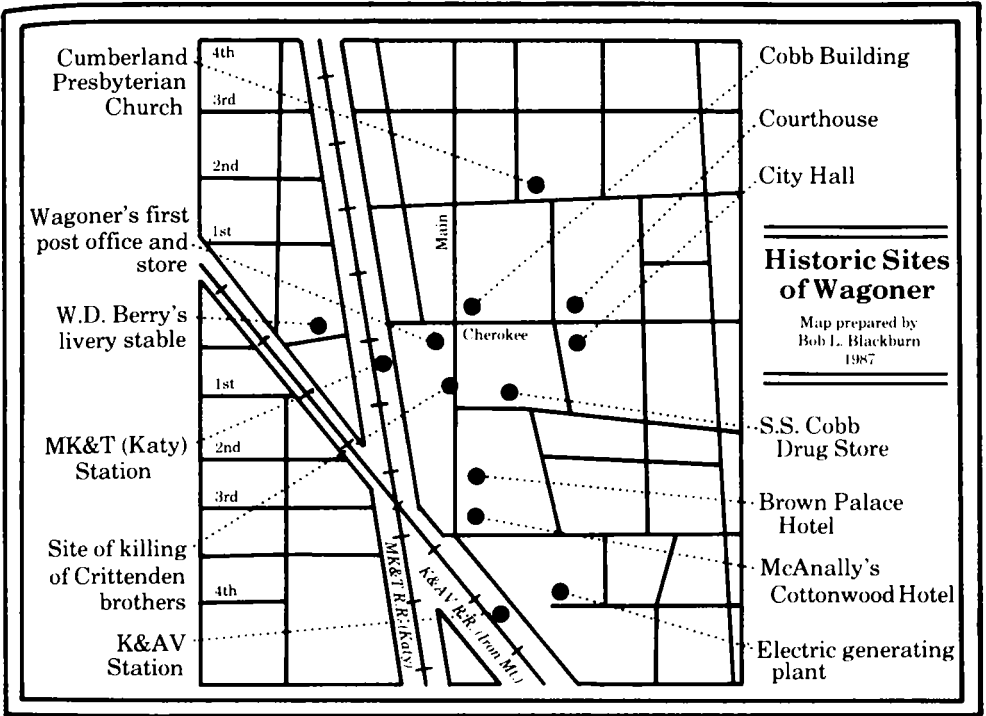
Five Civilized Tribes. Ultimately, in a last attempt to stave off single statehood, tribal leaders from Indian Territory called a constitutional convention in Muskogee in August of 1905. The entire territory was divided into twenty-six districts, each of which was entitled to seven delegates. Wagoner and the surrounding area were in District Seven. Several weeks before the convention opened, a public meeting at the courthouse selected seven representatives and alternates. One delegate from Wagoner, Judge Theodore Potts, played an active role in the deliberations, proposing that votes be cast by district and assisting in drafting the constitution.<sup>57</sup>

David M. Hodge, a Republican delegate from District Seven who came from Broken Arrow, was among those who personally delivered the ratified Sequoyah Constitution to President Theodore Roosevelt in the White House. When the President explained to the representatives of the Sequoyah Convention that it was against Republican Party policy to form separate states from Oklahoma and Indian territories, Hodge walked out of the meeting, despite Roosevelt's calls for him to return, and caught the next train home for Indian Territory. Once there he changed his political affiliation from Republican to Democratic. Had Roosevelt accepted the constitution of the Sequoyah Convention, Wagoner would have been the seat of Tumechichee County and the area to the west would have become Koweta County.<sup>58</sup>

As the Sequoyah Convention was drafting a constitution, workers were laying the last tracks for Wagoner's third railroad. On September 21, 1905, the Missouri, Oklahoma, and Gulf entered the city. Running south through Muskogee to Henryetta, the line would eventually extend northeast to Joplin, Missouri.<sup>59</sup>

At the same time local businessmen were raising bonus money in hopes of attracting the El Paso, Mountain Park, and Saint Louis which would give Wagoner its first rail service directly east and west. The newspaper claimed that securing the east-west route was "practically a certainty" and that "one doesn't need to look far to see Wagoner the great railroad center of the Southwest. Wagoner could hardly avoid being a great city if she tried." Despite the newspaper's optimism, an east-west line never became a reality, but Wagoner did become an important rail center, a division point for both the Iron Mountain (Kansas and Arkansas Valley) and the Katy. As statehood approached, fourteen passenger trains a day served the town's 5,000 residents and surrounding rural community.<sup>60</sup>

By 1905 most of the opponents of single statehood realized that



Indian and Oklahoma territories would be combined to form a new state. On June 14, 1906, Congress finally passed an enabling act, the Hamilton Statehood Bill. This measure authorized Oklahoma and Indian territories to convoke a convention of 112 delegates who would draft a constitution that would be submitted to the voters of the proposed state. Once the ratification process had been completed, the President would admit the new state to the Union by formal proclamation.<sup>61</sup>

In November voters of the Twin Territories selected ninety-nine Democrats, twelve Republicans, and one Independent to go to Guthrie to draft the state constitution. Wagoner did not contribute to the democratic landslide. Instead, its citizens chose Jim A. Harris, a Republican, to represent the seventy-first district. The local newspaper attributed the Republican victory to the solid black vote of areas of the county cast in favor of Harris. At the Convention in Guthrie Democrats outnumbered Republicans by eight to one, so Harris had little voice in shaping the new state constitution.<sup>62</sup>

So far as Wagoner was concerned the most important consideration

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was the location of the county seat. In early January of 1907, newspaper reports indicated that Coweta was challenging the "Queen City" for that honor, but before the end of the month headlines proclaimed "Wagoner Wins."<sup>63</sup>

In their first opportunity to vote for state and county officials the residents of Wagoner were asked to select thirty-nine men from eighty-six candidates and decide on the constitution and a separate amendment on prohibition. On the issue of statehood 289 men in Wagoner voted "yes" while 188 voted "no." Throughout the Twin Territories voters overwhelmingly approved the constitution and sent Democrats into public office. In Wagoner, however, the trend once again was reversed in a number of contests with Republicans winning a seat in the state senate and on the district court bench. The *Weekly Sayings* attributed the trend to block voting in black areas of the county.<sup>64</sup>

After two decades the citizens of Wagoner had achieved the dreams of the pioneers who established the town—a booming, prosperous city where anybody could acquire land in an American state. Yet the statehood celebration was restrained; the newspaper reported, "There was no special demonstration here except the strong and prolonged blowing at the light plant whistle and the firing of a few guns or anvils."<sup>65</sup>

If the celebration of the birth of Oklahoma were less boisterous in Wagoner than elsewhere in the new state, perhaps it was because the community had finally outgrown the boastful bravado of its adolescent years. As the town approached its twenty-first anniversary, Wagoner, Oklahoma, had finally come of age.

## ENDNOTES

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<sup>1</sup> Claudette Marie Gilbert, *Oklahoma Prehistory* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Stovall Museum and the Oklahoma Archeological Survey, 1980), p. 47; Robert E. Bell, *The Harlan Site, Ck-6: A Prehistoric Mound Center in Cherokee County, Eastern Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Anthropological Society, 1972), pp. 5–17.

<sup>2</sup> The Creeks, like many tribes, were divided into conservative (upper) and progressive (lower) factions. The McIntosh faction was composed primarily of mixed-blood Creeks who were usually more progressive than the fullbloods. Conservative warriors killed William McIntosh, leader of his faction, for selling tribal land to the United States.

<sup>3</sup> Lary C. Rampp and Donald L. Rampp, *The Civil War in the Indian Territory* (Austin, Texas: Presidial Press, 1975), pp. 104–106; Phil Harris, "Round-Up," *Muskogee Sunday Phoenix and Times Democrat*, July 13, 1969, sec. III, pp. 2 and 12; *War of Rebellion. Compilation of Official Records for the Union and Confederate Armies*, First Series, XLI, Part 1, pp. 784–89.

<sup>4</sup> Grant Foreman, *Down the Texas Road: Historic Places Along Highway 69 through Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), p. 23; Interview, W. A. Patilla, March 14, 1938, *Indian-Pioneer Papers*, edited by Grant Foreman (University of Oklahoma Library, Western History Collections, Norman), LXIX, pp. 423–25. Hereafter cited as *IPP*; Edward Everett Dale, *The Range Cattle Industry: Ranching on the Great Plains from 1865 to 1925*, New ed. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), pp. 33–34.

<sup>5</sup> Edward Everett Dale and Jesse Lee Rader, *Readings in Oklahoma History* (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1930), p. 352; V. V. Masterson, *The Katy Railroad and the Last Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), pp. 115–16.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.

<sup>7</sup> *Wagoner County History* (n.p., 1980), p. 66; L. W. Wilson, "A History of Wagoner, Oklahoma, From S. S. Cobb," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. L. (Winter 1972), p. 490.

<sup>8</sup> *Wagoner County History*, p. 66; John D. Benedict, *Muskogee and Northeastern Oklahoma* (Chicago: the S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1922), I, p. 506. The date for the establishment of Wagoner switch is questionable. Benedict writes, "In 1883 a side track was built on the Katy Railroad about a mile south of the present site of the town and named "Wagoner Switch." (p. 506) On page 510, however, Benedict states that "This switch had been built by the railroad fifteen years before the town of Wagoner began its existence." That would place the construction of the switch in 1872. Since the Katy's line through Indian Territory was not completed until 1872, that date is probably incorrect. Although no reliable source has been discovered to establish the precise date of the construction of Wagoner's switch, 1883 seems plausible.

<sup>9</sup> Interview, Thomas Fox Young, January 23, 1938, *IPP*, CI, p. 268.

<sup>10</sup> *Indian Journal*, May 12, 1887, p. 4, May 19, 1887, p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> *Wagoner County History*, pp. 212–13.

<sup>12</sup> Interview, Thomas Fox Young, January 23, 1938, *IPP*, CI, p. 268.

<sup>13</sup> George H. Shirk, *Oklahoma Place Names* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), p. 215; Benedict, *Muskogee and Northeastern Oklahoma*, I, p. 510.

<sup>14</sup> Interview, Dan Smith, February 14, 1938, *IPP*, LXXXIV, p. 423; *Wagoner County History*, p. 70.

<sup>15</sup> H. F. and E. S. O'Beirne, *The Indian Territory: Its Chiefs, Legislators and Leading Men* (St. Louis: C. B. Woodward Company, 1892), p. 102; *Wagoner Record*, October 4, 1895, p. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), p. 287; Jimmie Lewis Franklin, *A History of Blacks in Oklahoma: Journey Toward Hope* (Norman; University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), p. 24; *Wagoner Echo*, July 28, 1904, p. 2; "The Early Period 1901–1917," typescript history of Wagoner's black schools in the personal files of John Ford, 200 SW 8th, Wagoner, Oklahoma.

<sup>17</sup> *Wagoner County History*, pp. 124–27, 213.

<sup>18</sup> *Wagoner Record*, July 19, 1895, p. 2, September 6, 1895, p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Dale and Rader, *Readings in Oklahoma History*, p. 659; *Wagoner County History*, pp. 71–73, 89; Benedict, *Muskogee and Northeastern Oklahoma*, p. 513.

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<sup>20</sup> *Wagoner County History*, pp. 34–35; Wilson, "A History of Wagoner, Oklahoma, From S. S. Cobb," pp. 488–89.

<sup>21</sup> *Wagoner Record*, October 4, 1895, p. 2; *Wagoner Tribune*, July 9, 1957, p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Wagoner Record*, February 16, 1894, pp. 1–3.

<sup>23</sup> *Wagoner Record*, October 4, 1895, p. 2.

<sup>24</sup> Wilson, "A History of Wagoner, Oklahoma, From S. S. Cobb," p. 495.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 494.

<sup>26</sup> *Wagoner County History*, p. 73; *Wagoner Record*, October 4, 1895, p. 3.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* April 6, 1894, p. 4.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* December 6, 1895, p. 3.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, February 23, 1894, p. 5, April 5, 1895, p. 2, December 7, 1899, p. 8.

<sup>30</sup> Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, pp. 364–65; *Wagoner Record*, October 11, 1895, p. 2.

<sup>31</sup> *Wagoner County History*, p. 66.

<sup>32</sup> *Wagoner Record*, December 6, 1895, p. 3.

<sup>33</sup> Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, pp. 364–66; *Wagoner Record*, February 28, 1901, p. 6.

<sup>34</sup> *Wagoner County History*, pp. 77–78.

<sup>35</sup> Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, pp. 365–66.

<sup>36</sup> *Wagoner County History*, p. 70; Indian Department Appropriation Act, June 7, 1897, *Supplement to the Revised Statutes of the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), Vol. 2, Chapter 3, pp. 629–32.

<sup>37</sup> Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma, 1803–1906*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), pp. 230–32; *Wagoner County History*, pp. 19, 70–71.

<sup>38</sup> Masterson, *The Katy Railroad*, p. 255; Bailey C. Hanes, *Bill Doolin: Outlaw O.T.* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), pp. 38–41; Howard R. Lamar, ed., *The Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1977), pp. 385–86.

<sup>39</sup> Glenn Shirley, *The Law West of Fort Smith: A History of Frontier Justice in Indian Territory, 1834–1896*, Bison Book Edition (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968), pp. 115–17; *Muskogee Phoenix*, October 24, 1894, p. 3.

<sup>40</sup> Nathaniel Reed, *The Life of Texas Jack: Eight Years a Criminal—41 Years Trusting in God*, ed. Glenn Shirley (Quanah, Texas: Nortex Press, Inc., 1973), pp. xii–xv; S. W. Harman, *Hell on the Border: He Hanged Eighty-eight Men* (Fort Smith, Arkansas: The Phoenix Co., 1898), pp. 371–79.

<sup>41</sup> *Wagoner Record*, November 1, 1895, p. 3; Interview, William Byrd, February 11, 1937, IPP, XIV, pp. 361–62; Glen Shirley, *Belle Starr and Her Times: The Literature, the Facts, and the Legends* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), pp. 255, 298–99; Wilson, "A History of Wagoner, Oklahoma, From S. S. Cobb," p. 491.

<sup>42</sup> *Wagoner Record*, June 7, 1900, p. 1, August 9, 1895, p. 3.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, November 1, 1900, p. 4, February 21, 1901, p. 4; *Wagoner County History*, p. 76.

<sup>44</sup> *Wagoner Weekly Sayings*, April 6, 1905, p. 1; Brian Lee Smith, "Theodore Roosevelt Visits Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, LI (Fall 1973), p. 270; Benedict, *Muskogee and Northeastern Oklahoma*, pp. 277–82; Phil Harris, "Round Up," *Muskogee Sunday Phoenix and Times Democrat*, October 24, 1971, sec. IV, p. 8; Theodore Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders* (Williamstown, Massachusetts: Corner House Publishers, 1979), pp. 265–69; Virgil Carrington Jones, *Roosevelt's Rough Riders* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1971), pp. 282–340.

- <sup>45</sup> *Wagoner Record*, March 15, 1900, p. 8.
- <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, October 25, 1900, p. 1, November 22, 1900, p. 2; Plat, Town of Wagoner, Creek Nation, Indian Territory, Approved October 10, 1900, in the Archives and Manuscripts Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
- <sup>47</sup> *Wagoner Record*, January 24, 1901, p. 5.
- <sup>48</sup> *Wagoner Record*, November 23, 1899, p. 1, August 23, 1900, p. 1.
- <sup>49</sup> *Indian Chieftain*, May 26, 1898, p. 2; *Wagoner Record*, November 23, 1899, p. 1, December 7, 1899, p. 4, February 21, 1901, p. 6.
- <sup>50</sup> *Wagoner Weekly Sayings*, December 13, 1906, p. 3; Wilson, "A History of Wagoner, Oklahoma, From S. S. Cobb," p. 494.
- <sup>51</sup> *Wagoner Record*, July 19, 1900, p. 1, August 23, 1900, p. 1, February 7, 1901, p. 6.
- <sup>52</sup> *Wagoner Weekly Sayings*, December 13, 1906, p. 16.
- <sup>53</sup> *Wagoner Record*, July 5, 1900, p. 4, January 17, 1901, pp. 1, 4, December 27, 1900, p. 2.
- <sup>54</sup> *Wagoner Weekly Sayings*, December 13, 1906, p. 3; *Wagoner Record*, May 11, 1905, p. 4.
- <sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, January 17, 1901, p. 1.
- <sup>56</sup> *Wagoner Record*, July 19, 1900, p. 4, October 25, 1900, pp. 1, 4, December 13, 1900, pp. 1, 4.
- <sup>57</sup> Amos D. Maxwell, *The Sequoyah Constitutional Convention* (Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1953), pp. 65, 68–69, 73, 75; *Wagoner Weekly Sayings*, August 10, 1905, p. 4.
- <sup>58</sup> Maxwell, *The Sequoyah Constitutional Convention*, p. 106; *Wagoner County History*, p. 19.
- <sup>59</sup> *Wagoner Weekly Sayings*, September 14, 1905, p. 1, September 21, 1905, p. 3; John L. Fike, "The MO&G-KO&G to 1926," in *Railroads in Oklahoma*, ed. Donovan L. Hofsommer (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1977), p. 51.
- <sup>60</sup> *Wagoner Weekly Sayings*, September 14, 1905, p. 1, November 30, 1905, p. 1, January 17, 1907, p. 10.
- <sup>61</sup> Dale and Rader, *Readings in Oklahoma History*, pp. 707–22.
- <sup>62</sup> *Wagoner Weekly Sayings*, November 8, 1906, p. 1; Danney Goble, *Progressive Oklahoma: The Making of a New Kind of State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), p. 201.
- <sup>63</sup> *Wagoner Weekly Sayings*, January 3, 1907, p. 4, January 24, 1907, p. 4.
- <sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, September 20, 1907, p. 1.
- <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, November 21, 1907, p. 8.