

By Kenny L. Brown

A diverse assortment of people with numerous skills and trades elbowed their way into Guthrie on April 22, 1889. Lawyers, bankers, painters, carpenters, and others staked their claims and began living their visions of a bright future. Among them came several newspapermen filled with a desire to turn profits and wield influence. Will T. Little, perhaps one of the least ambitious of these, owned a small newspaper only a short time, but gained distinc-

tion as the first to issue a news publication actually written and printed in the newly opened Unassigned Lands.

Named the *Guthrie Getup*, Little's small sheet, folded in the middle and printed on only one side, came off the press on April 28, 1889. In his salutatory editorial, Little boasted of his feat: "The *Guthrie Getup* prances into the promised land at the head of the procession, and issues before one week after the glorious 22d of April, 1889."

Historians have frequently noted Little's minor accomplishment as one of many novelties occurring during and after the dramatic land run. But what happened to Little after the first few months? Did he contribute anything lasting to Oklahoma Territory? Little has suffered the same fate as many of the other lesser known '89ers; historians have largely overlooked him. Certainly many of the land run participants rushed into the Oklahoma country to make a quick profit. Little, and thousands of others, left a much more important, if forgotten, legacy. They stayed and helped to build the new territory. They erected homes, started businesses, and raised families. With a boomer's spirit and a pioneer's energy they constructed the true legacy of 1889. From its hurried beginning, they built the future of Oklahoma. Will T. Little, his life and achievements as editor, historian, and arboriculturalist, exemplified the often overlooked legacy of thousands of anonymous '89ers.

Born in Newark, Ohio, June 14, 1863, William Thomas Little spent most of his youth in Kansas, where his family moved, settling first at Olathe in 1866, then at Abilene in 1873. After graduating from the high school in Abilene in 1882, Will, as his friends called him, attended the University of Kansas for about three years, but headed west to settle in Leoti, Kansas. Soon counted among the leading citizens, Little helped develop the small town and steered it through a county seat war. Restless and seemingly irresolute, he then left Kansas to attend the law school at Columbian College in Washington, D.C., but became ill and returned to Kansas without graduating. He was admitted to the bar, but never practiced law. Instead, he decided to travel to Guthrie when the Unassigned Lands were opened for settlement to begin a newspaper and to help some fellow Kansans with their printing business.²

In the first issue of the *Getup*, Little displayed both his unique wit and mildly meandering writing style. Asking his readers to patronize his printing business, he hoped that the prairies would "resound to the measured strokes" of his job press. "Ah, there is the rub," he continued, "if you do not give us job work we will have to go back to our wife's folks. This would place us in a d_____ of a fix, as we are not married. Our last statement is especially directed to single ladies who



Will T. Little, pioneer editor, arboriculturist, and historian, about 1904 (Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society).

hold corner lots. . . ."³ No young women responded to his flippant proposal, even though Little was handsome, stood just under six feet tall, and was always clean shaven.⁴

Little remained editor of the Getup for only a few months, and for the next several years worked as a reporter for Frank Greer at the Oklahoma State Capital, the leading Republican newspaper in Guthrie. Usually without a byline. Little wrote numerous articles, almost always exhibiting a sharp sense of humor and slightly convoluted writing style. One of the articles was particularly noteworthy because it led to the first of many libel suits against the Oklahoma State Capital. The controversial report covered the

actions of Dr. J.A. Smith, a self-professed medical doctor.

Little's article explained that Smith had violated an unwritten ethic that reserved unclaimed town lots for churches. Local organizers of a proposed Episcopal church erected a fence around two lots with signs indicating that a church building would be constructed there. No one occupied this claim because virtually all settlers honored religious property of that type. Early one morning, however, Smith pitched his tent on one of the lots with the clear intention of claiming it for himself. Little learned the details of Smith's transgression and wrote a scathing article under the headline, "Smith, the Stiff, Jumps Jesus Lots!" A crowd of indignant citizens, within hours after reading the article, descended on Smith and bodily threw him off the lot. At his first opportunity after the Organic Act extended the laws of Nebraska temporarily over the territory, Smith sued the newspaper. He lost the case, but unable to rid himself of the nickname, "The Stiff," and the reputation of his attempt to steal the "Jesus Lots," he soon left town in disgrace.5

Just after the first territorial legislature met in 1890, Little took time off to help compile the new laws in the first volume of *The Statutes of Oklahoma*. Henry S. Johnston, in later years a good friend

of Little and eventual governor of the state, claimed that two other compilers who worked on the volume were politicians who merely wanted a job with pay; thus Little "wrote every line of it." 6

Despite the stability of a job, Little once again exhibited a characteristic restlessness when he decided to make the run into the Cherokee Outlet on September 16, 1893. By then, the year of Oklahoma's fourth land opening, almost everyone knew the best way to make the run—on the back of the fastest race horse available.



Guthrie on April 22, 1889, was a city of opportunity. Little claimed a corner lot, started the Guthrie Getup, and worked as a reporter for Frank Greer (Courtesy OHS).

Following this formula for success, Little searched hard for the mythical, unbeatable horse that would carry him to a choice quarter-section in the Cherokee Outlet. He soon found the animal he wanted—a spirited, pedigreed race horse named La Junta. Not only had La Junta won several races, but also had killed two men who had tried to ride him. He was one of those apocryphal, untameable horses.

Because the owner wished to rid himself of the dangerous animal, Little bought La Junta for a fraction of its value. He led the horse home and immediately struggled to tame it. After two hours Little broke La Junta and within a few weeks rode the spirited horse in the Cherokee Outlet land run, staking a claim near Black Bear Creek north of Perry. But La Junta's services did not end there. In 1894, one year after the opening of the Outlet, Little decided to seek a position in the territorial House of Representatives on the Republican ticket. Realizing that the legend of his horse had spread among the people of the area, Little rode the sleek animal on his campaign throughout the district. He later asserted that La Junta's notoriety helped him

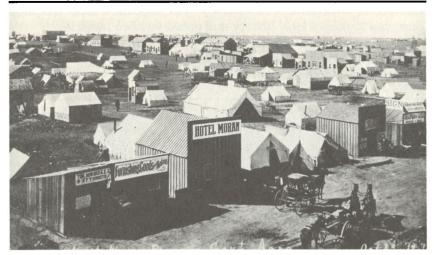
win the election as representative for what was later named Noble County.7

In January, 1895, Little returned to Guthrie to attend the territorial legislature as a new representative and found a stalemated political environment. His fellow Republicans controlled both houses. The Democrats had declined to third party status, but held the governor's post under William C. Renfrow, an appointee of President Grover Cleveland. The rebellious Populists had finished the 1894 election with about 33 percent of the vote, yet even if they had aligned with the Democrats, the Republicans still held a majority of members. Neither the Republicans nor Governor Renfrow embraced the Populists' anti-bank, anti-railroad, pro-farmer agenda.8

Little likewise shunned the Populists' platform in favor of a more restrained legislative course. Although he introduced a bill to regulate oleomargarine, the bane of dairy farmers, Little focused most of his efforts on improving towns, regulating vital services, and upgrading the quality of life in the new territory. Bills he introduced included one to help in developing waterworks and other utilities for towns, another to improve the election process in towns and villages, and another to create a special school fund for areas within the old Cherokee Outlet. He also wanted to pass laws regulating pharmacists, promoting athletic contests, and establishing a territorial insane asylum.⁹

As a former newspaper editor and reporter, Little took a special interest in the fledgling Oklahoma Historical Society, which the Oklahoma Press Association had started in 1893. He pushed a resolution through the house that provided William P. Campbell, custodian of both the press association and the historical society, with multiple free copies of all official documents. These could be exchanged for similar documents from other states and territories. More importantly, he endorsed Governor Renfrow's request for an appropriation for the historical society and helped in its passage. 10

Little also convinced the House of Representatives to recess in order to attend the Oklahoma Press Association semi-annual meeting at Perry in February, 1895. Delegates to that meeting learned that the Oklahoma Press Association had delayed too long in filing incorporation papers for their historical organization, and that a group at the University of Oklahoma had already incorporated as the Oklahoma Historical Society. To avoid confusion in funding and duplication of effort, the press association decided to merge with the already incorporated Oklahoma Historical Society. Soon after the legislative



Perry is where Little established a home after making the run into the Cherokee Outlet in 1893 (Courtesy OHS).

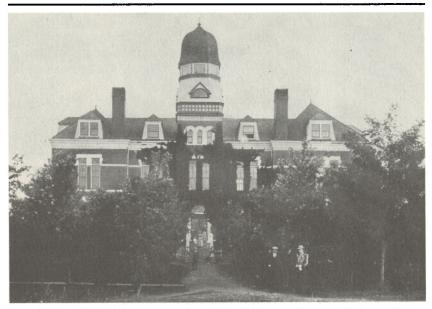
session, the newly organized society dismissed Campbell and named Little as the custodian of the Oklahoma Historical Society.¹¹

While under the control of the Oklahoma Press Association, the historical society had collected most of the newspapers issued in the territory, but had gathered few other documents or artifacts. Little called for a different direction. He wanted historians, newsmen, writers, teachers, and public officials to cooperate in developing an archives. He realized that the sudden growth of the embryonic territory presented a unique opportunity for recording the history of Oklahoma in detail from its birth. In his usual affectedly elegant style, he explained this opportunity to a gathering of editors in September, 1895. He said, "At a period of development when other commonwealths had scarce wiped the moisture from their ear lobes, Oklahoma is pressing out the wrinkles of her infant wardrobe preparatory to its packing in the golden urn of ages, repainting her baby carriage for its final preservation as a relic of times never before seen and never again to be seen."12 To preserve this youthful heritage. Little said that the society should build its historical holdings with the "same lightning rapidity as has the creation whose doings it will record."13

In his four-year tenure as custodian, Little worked to fulfill his vision. He acquired new furniture and equipment for the society's headquarters, put the new office into working order, increased the

number of documents dramatically, and organized local meetings designed to collect local history and preserve town histories.¹⁴

Between 1895 and 1899, while Little was custodian of the historical society, he continued to write a few articles for territorial newspapers and magazines. He divided his time between his office at



From 1895 to 1899, Little was custodian of the Oklahoma Historical Society, which was moved to the University of Oklahoma in Norman in 1895. This was the first building constructed on the Norman campus (Courtesy OHS).

the university in Norman and his farm near Perry, about eighty miles to the north. During those years he made substantial improvements to the farm and tried to convince other farmers to adopt his methods. He was the first Oklahoman to raise Tamworth hogs and he experimented with alfalfa and blue grass. ¹⁵ In a desire to uplift his neighbors, Little displayed a continual quest to develop Oklahoma.

By the late 1890s, Little began focusing most of his efforts on the planting of trees. He started the crusade in the spring of 1896 when he approached the Noble County Commissioners in Perry with a proposal. He offered to provide the labor and expertise if the county would purchase the seedlings to plant in the town square surrounding the courthouse. The commissioners accepted the proposal. Critics soon complained that planting trees at county expense wasted the taxpayers' scarce resources, especially because virtually all earlier

efforts to plant trees had failed. Some opponents spread the rumor that Little would make a profit of \$1,500 in the scheme.¹⁶

Despite the skepticism, Little proceeded. He purchased 8,600 white elm seedlings from a nursery in Sturgeon Bay, Wisconsin, at a cost of \$23.80. Over several days he and a few young boys planted the seedlings in furrows plowed nine inches deep. This method allowed deep rooting away from the hard, sun baked surface. During the first year Little cultivated the soil six times, breaking the surface to avoid loss of moisture—a process known as the Campbell method. The trees grew several feet over the next few years, and critical townspeople eventually changed their minds. They soon took pride in their courthouse park.¹⁷

Between 1896 and 1898, Little also researched forestry techniques with emphasis on windbreaks (or more accurately "shelterbelts"). A few scientists and agricultural experts advocated the planting of trees for beautification, for practical use, and for the retardation of evaporation due to wind. None went as far as Little in prophesying tremendous improvement in climate. In January, 1898, he gave his first exhaustive talk on windbreaks to the territorial Agricultural, Horticultural, and Irrigation Society, recommending forest planting for "the stopping of the wind and the production of rain for the prairies." ¹⁸

At the same time that Little proselytized in Oklahoma, he sought a national audience as well. In 1898 he joined the American Forestry Association, which was fast becoming a major force in promoting professional, scientific forestry, and was at the threshold of gaining federal support for a variety of projects.¹⁹

In September, 1898, Little traveled to Omaha, Nebraska, to attend a regional meeting of the association that was held during the Trans-Mississippi Exposition. Because most members of the association lived in the East, only thirteen delegates attended. But among them were several important leaders, including Frederick H. Newell, president of the association and an engineer for the United States Geological Survey, and J. Sterling Morton, former Secretary of Agriculture.²⁰

When the delegates began discussing the possibilities of planting trees in the arid West, Little presented his pet idea to the group. He explained that the area between the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi River represented the "greatest body of arable land in the known world," but portions of this area were "swept by winds of such velocity and constancy as to make cereal farming without irrigation an unsatisfactory occupation." Therefore, he suggested that the

American Forestry Association petition Congress to form a commission to investigate the feasibility of planting numerous windbreaks on the plains. The delegation at Omaha agreed. They passed Little's resolution and officially committed the American Forestry Association to the philosophy that windbreaks would "reduce evaporation, thereby conserving a precipitation that under those conditions would be ample for grain husbandry."²¹

Soon after the meeting in Omaha, the American Forestry Association named Little one of its vice presidents, representing Oklahoma Territory. Little remained an officer for two years. He postponed his promotion of forestry, however, because he found a new job. From 1899 to 1901, he worked as a governmental land appraiser for the Dawes Commission in Indian Territory, and later on the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation. Finally, in 1901 he landed the ideal position—



A dedicated arboriculturist, Little planted a catalpa grove on his farm near Perry, shown here in 1904 (above). In another project, he planted a rose garden at the Perry post office (opposite) (Courtesy OHS).

postmaster of Perry. Although he established a home in Perry, he still owned his farm a few miles away.²²

Shortly after becoming postmaster, Little persuaded the city to plant cedars and scotch pines at the local cemetery. He also convinced



local school officials to start a tree nursery on an unclaimed piece of land at the edge of town. It became a source for seedlings planted in local schools, both in Perry and at neighboring rural schools. These activities brought Little and Perry much attention. A nursery in Guthrie, moved by Little's public stewardship, offered free seedlings to all school districts in Oklahoma. Officials from eleven territorial towns wrote to him for advice on planting trees.²⁴

The attention soon became national. In 1903, the nursery in Wisconsin which had sold him the original white elm seedlings began printing a picture of Perry's courthouse park on the back of all its stationery. Included with the photograph was a short letter from Little describing his success with the trees. As a result, people from throughout the country began writing to him for advice.²⁵

Meanwhile, Little looked for ways to take his message of tree planting and general improvement to farmers. In the spring of 1901, the territorial legislature passed an act creating a Board of Agriculture, which would help educate farmers and formulate laws beneficial to them. The act also called for the establishment of "farmers institutes" in each county. Agricultural leaders in other states and territories had formed similar institutes designed to educate farmers

by holding seminars and conventions. Under the new law, the Oklahoma institutes would also elect delegates who would meet in a territorial convention to elect a Board of Agriculture. In 1902 Little helped organize the Noble County Farmers Institute and became its delegate to the convention that organized the territorial Board of Agriculture.²⁶

Through his association with the Board of Agriculture, Little met its secretary, Joseph B. Thoburn, who, like Little, was a native Ohioan whose family had settled in Kansas. Thoburn had a degree from the Kansas State Agricultural College and was working for the American Forestry Association when Little joined in 1898. Little and Thoburn soon joined forces on yet another crusade—a plan to develop irrigation in Oklahoma using federal funds. The National Reclamation Act of 1902 had provided for irrigation projects funded by the sale of the public domain. Oklahoma Territory was entitled to almost three million dollars for projects, but territorial farmers had shown no interest in irrigation, fearing the acknowledgment that Oklahoma had arid land would drive away eastern investors. In 1902 when governmental engineers went to southwestern Oklahoma Territory, they found the terrain inadequate and the farmers unenthusiastic.²⁷

Secretary Thoburn quickly took action to reverse this situation. He convinced about forty prominent Oklahomans to agree to attend the Twelfth National Irrigation Congress in El Paso, Texas, in November, 1904. Then, he contacted Frederick H. Newell, his former boss at the American Forestry Association, who was then head of the Bureau of Reclamation. Newell agreed to meet with Oklahoma farmers at Mountain Park, a resort town in southwestern Oklahoma Territory. Thoburn took several prominent Oklahomans, including Little, with him to confer with Newell. Several hundred local farmers also converged on the meeting, and they listened to their leaders deliver lengthy speeches promoting an irrigation project for nearby Otter Creek. 28

Along with several others, Little spoke to this gathering. Resorting to his usually dramatic rhetoric, Little claimed that the area would one day "rival California in the production of fruit." This meeting and subsequent conferences with Newell in El Paso convinced government officials to give tentative approval to the Otter Creek project. During the next several months, Little joined with Secretary Thoburn in advocating irrigation for Oklahoma Territory. He made speeches, wrote articles, and planned strategy with Thoburn. Little was pleased that farmers and businessmen recognized "water conservation and distribution as the greatest element in successful farming."

Little's support for irrigation was a sideline only nominally related to his favorite topic of tree planting. Since 1898, when he first spoke out on the topic, Little's interests had diversified, and his advocacy of tree planting had become more general. In April, 1904, however, Frederick Barde, Oklahoma correspondent for the Kansas City Star, ran an article about Little, which included his usual appeal for forestation of the plains. Little soon became encouraged as several people from around the nation wrote to him. A wealthy man in Switzerland had acquired a copy of the Kansas City Star, was intrigued by the article on Little, and wrote to him with an offer of seedlings from the Black Forest in Germany.³²

This encouraging event renewed Little's resolve to find converts. In 1904, he began publishing *Oklahoma*, which was a "Review of Reviews for Farmers and City Tree Growers." This quarterly magazine, published from Little's home in Perry, gave advice on tree culture and advocated the planting of trees, including his idea of planting windbreaks.³³

With his campaign revitalized, Little signed up to deliver a paper on windbreaks at the Twelfth National Irrigation Congress in November, 1904, in El Paso. This was the same convention Newell had attended after his meeting with Little and others at Mountain Park. Hundreds of delegates from throughout the nation attended the meeting, including the principal leaders of the emerging conservation movement. At this prestigious forum, Little delivered an address entitled "Tree and Plain." His paper included an impressive review of previous research, experiments, and efforts to plant trees on the plains. He told of Ezra R. Stephens, a plains version of Johnny Appleseed, and he described the scientific experiments of Wisconsin's Professor F.H. King, who proved the effectiveness of windbreaks in retarding evaporation.³⁴

Little explained that scientific investigation revealed that a windbreak would shelter adjacent leeward soil at a ratio of one to sixteen. In other words, a windbreak thirty feet high would protect the soil up to 480 feet away. In theory, he suggested that rows of solid board fences thirty feet high built 480 feet apart would solve the wind problem on the plains. This, of course, was impossible, so planting rows of trees provided the best answer. Evaporation would slow, humidity would increase, and the local climate would be tamed. Little called his plan "the alpha and omega of both subhumid and semiarid farming." And he argued that farmers should receive aid. He concluded, "I come to this Congress courting cooperation from those sanguine characters who are gathered to build a yet greater new

West, to this end, that the general government financially recognize artificial tree windbreaks on subhumid prairies and semi-arid plains, as has the paternalism of internal improvement fostered levees and irrigation structures."³⁶ Although in a bit exaggerated form, this was the core idea behind the "shelterbelt" projects ultimately adopted by the federal government in the 1930s.



Little "builded his own monument" when he planted hundreds of trees on the grounds of the Perry courthouse (Courtesy Cherokee Strip Museum).

Delegates at the convention responded favorably to Little's address. He was the only speaker who was asked to read his paper a second time so any delegates who missed it could have a chance to hear it. Little also was later named a vice president of the National Irrigation Congress, representing Oklahoma Territory.³⁷

His participation at El Paso led to more involvement with nationally prominent conservationists. In early January, 1905, he attended the National Forestry Congress in Washington, D.C. Gifford Pinchot, Chief of the Bureau of Forestry, called the meeting to stimulate support for forestry and to motivate the United States Congress to switch control of the national forests from the Department of the Interior to his bureau. Dozens of prominent men in business, academia, and government came together to discuss the needs of forestry.³⁸

Little did not deliver a paper, but participated in a panel discussion on livestock grazing in forest reserves. Much more importantly, he convinced the delegates to pass a resolution to promote the planting of windbreaks in Oklahoma Territory. Little proposed that farmers who were leasing school land should receive preferential rights of purchase if they planted windbreaks on the property. The government should reduce taxes on the same land after purchase. With statehood for Oklahoma fast approaching, he hoped that this resolution of the National Forestry Congress would be included in the state's enabling act. ³⁹

Soon after returning to Oklahoma Territory, Little launched another initiative. Through a friendly legislator, he introduced a bill to give small Oklahoma farmers a ten percent tax break for ten years if they planted windbreaks at least one-quarter mile in length. He also submitted another bill providing for the creation of city park commissioners, who would care for trees in parks and on city streets. The territorial newspapers endorsed his proposals and praised his recent national activities. The bills failed, but Little once again had raised awareness concerning the benefits of tree planting.⁴⁰

Little scored another major publicity triumph in the fall of 1905 when Fred Barde, the reporter for the Kansas City Star, again began writing about him. Barde wrote a series of eight lengthy, detailed articles about Little's efforts to plant trees in Perry and at nearby rural schoolyards. Little supplied most of the facts and details of his various projects, and Barde added the interpretation. Barde wrote, "only a man of tireless energy and unwavering interest... could give himself to work of such magnitude for the unselfish purpose of making happier the men and women and the boys and girls of his town."

Over the next two years Little continued his crusade. Perhaps his last effort was a lengthy article entitled "Where Forest and Plain Intermingle," which appeared in Oklahoma City's Daily Oklahoman on March 10, 1907. In the article he again called for city dwellers and farmers alike to practice forest cultivation, including the planting of windbreaks. The article, however, was inferior to his early efforts, almost incomprehensible in places. The deterioration of quality was probably the result of Little's diminishing mental capacity. Early in 1908 doctors diagnosed Little as having paresis, an organic brain disorder that caused a rapid decay of mental faculties. He entered the state insane asylum at Norman and died there on July 5, 1908, at the age of forty-six, leaving behind a widow and two young children.⁴³

Newspaper editors from throughout the state, the townspeople of Perry, and dozens of government officials lamented Little's passing. They reminisced about his achievements as a newspaper man, legislator, and custodian of the Oklahoma Historical Society. They recalled

his many labors in beautifying Perry and his constant efforts toward improving farm land by planting trees.⁴⁴ In an editorial eulogy, a writer for the *Perry Daily News* wrote, "Will Little is gone from our sight but in the beautiful trees of his planting he has builded his own monument; more lasting than the marble slab, and more valuable, for they shall last for ages, and as generations yet to come and sweet songed birds of the air enjoy their grateful shade the memory of good Will Little will not be forgotten."⁴⁵

Indeed many citizens of Perry remember who planted the now huge trees in the courthouse square, especially during the annual pioneer celebration that commemorates the opening of the Cherokee Outlet and which is held on the square. Yet, Little, like many other largely anonymous '89ers, deserves a wider audience. He and the other original settlers who stayed and helped build Oklahoma left a much greater legacy than their activities of a few hours on April 22, 1889.

ENDNOTES

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¹Guthrie Getup, April 29, 1889, quoted in Carolyn Thomas Foreman, Oklahoma Imprints, 1835–1907: A History of Printing in Oklahoma Before Statehood (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), 324.

- ² Joseph B. Thoburn, A Standard History of Oklahoma (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1916), 2: 697.
 - ³ Guthrie Getup, April 29, 1889, quoted in Foreman, 324.
 - 4 Ibid.
 - ⁵ Daily Oklahoma State Capital, July 9, 1908.
- ⁶ Henry S. Johnston To B.B. Chapman, May 9, 1956, Vertical Files, Cherokee Strip Museum, Perry, Oklahoma.
 - ⁷ Thoburn, 2: 722-723.
- ⁸ James F. Morgan, "William C. Renfrow: Governor of Oklahoma Territory, 1893–1897," The Chronicles of Oklahoma, 53 (Spring, 1975): 55-59; Dora Ann Stewart, Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1933), 261-264.
- ⁹ Journal of the House Proceedings of the Third Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma (Guthrie, Oklahoma: Daily Leader Press, 1895), 414, 428, 512, 513, 558, 577, 592, 600, 616, 642, 837, 874.
 - 10 Ibid., 309; Daily Oklahoma State Capital, July 9, 1908.
- ¹¹ Journal of the House Proceedings of the Third Legislative Assembly, 410; Thoburn, 2: 696–697.
 - ¹² Edmond Sun-Democrat, September 6, 1895.
 - 13 Ibid.
 - 14 Ibid.
- ¹⁶ Hennessey Clipper, March 12, 1896; Will T. Little, "Statehood: Figures and Facts," McMaster's Magazine, December, 1897—January, 1898, 367–376; Perry Daily News, July 9, 1908; Scrapbook [clippings from the Kansas City Star], 12: 24, April 20, 1904

and 15: 82, October 2, 1905, Frederick S. Barde Collection, Archives and Manuscripts Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City (Hereinafter Barde scrapbooks): Daily Oklahoma State Capital, July 9, 1908.

- ¹⁶ Barde scrapbooks, 12: 24, April 20, 1898.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 The Daily Oklahoman, January 20, 1898.
- 19 The Forester, May, 1898.
- ²⁰ Ibid., November, 1898.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, November, 1898.
- ²² Ibid., August, 1899, January, 1901; Thoburn, 2: 697.
- ²³ Barde scrapbooks, 15: 74-77, September 25, September 27, 1905.
- ²⁴ Ibid., 12: 24, April 20, 1904; 15: 87, 93–94, 96–97, October 6, October 10, October 13, 1905.
- ²⁵ The Daily Oklahoman, March 10, 1907; "Our Trees in the Southwest," description on back of stationery, Tree file, Box 14, Frederick S. Barde Collection, Archives and Manuscripts Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City.
- ²⁶ First Biennial Report of the Oklahoma Territorial Board of Agriculture, 1903–1904 (Guthrie: The State Capital Company, 1905), 5–7, 21–23.
- ²⁷ Paul F. Lambert, Joseph B. Thoburn: Pioneer Historian and Archaeologist (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Heritage Association, 1980), 17–26, 28–29; First Biennial Report of the Oklahoma Territorial Board of Agriculture, 28–29.
 - 28 Otter Valley News, November 17, 1904.
 - 29 Ibid.
- 30 Perry Republican, January 27, 1905; Daily Oklahoma State Capital, November 23, 1904; Joseph B. Thoburn to Will T. Little, April 12, 1905, Personal Correspondence, Letterpress Book, 112–113, Joseph B. Thoburn Collection, Archives and Manuscripts Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City.
 - 31 Oklahoma Farmer (Guthrie), November 30, 1904.
 - 32 Barde scrapbooks, 12: 24, 38, April 20, 1904, June 24, 1904.
 - 33 Foreman, 242.
- ³⁴ Oklahoma Farmer, November 23, 1904, November 30, 1904; William T. Little, "Tree and Plain," Proceedings of the Twelfth National Irrigation Congress (Galveston, Texas: Clark & Courts, 1905), 285–291.
 - 35 Ibid., 287.
 - 36 Ibid., 291.
 - ³⁷ Oklahoma Farmer, November 30, 1904; Perry Republican, January 6, 1905.
- ³⁸ Samuel Trask Dana, Forest and Range Policy: Its Development in the United States (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956), 140–142.
 - 39 Forestry and Irrigation, January, 1905.
- ⁴⁰ Daily Oklahoma State Capital, January 27, 1905; Perry Republican, January 27, 1905; Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Eighth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma (Guthrie: The State Capital Company, 1905), 89, 92, 152, 190, 206.
- ⁴¹ Barde scrapbooks, 15: 74–77, 80–83, 87, 91–94, 96–97, September 25, September 27, September 30, October 2, October 6, October 9, October 10, October 13, 1905.
 - ⁴² *Ibid.*, 15: 91, October 9, 1905.
 - 43 The Daily Oklahoman, March 10, 1907.
- ⁴⁴ Perry Daily Enterprise Times, July 7, 1908; Oklahoma City Times, July 7, 1908; Perry Republican, July 10, 1908; Daily Oklahoma State Capital, July 9, 1908.
 - 45 Perry Daily News, July 8, 1908.