

UNION MISSION, 1826-1837

By Hope Holway

In the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society is a precious document of Oklahoma history, the *Journal of the Union Mission*,¹ which tells the story of that first mission to be established by Protestants west of the Mississippi from April, 1820, to June, 1825. After the last entry, one has to rely for the history of the Union Mission, on letters written to the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Mission Board by the Reverend William F. Vaill,² Superintendent, or by Abraham Redfield,³ school teacher and property manager. There are glimpses, too, of those last years from diaries and letters of passing travelers or of casual sojourners at the Mission.

The "Mission Family" was a group of twenty-one persons, carefully selected by the Board of the United Foreign Missionary Society.⁴ Young Reverend Epaphras Chapman was their spiritual leader, Doctor Marcus Palmer their physician, and John Spaulding and Abraham Redfield, the teachers. There were carpenters, stone masons, and a wheelwright, as well as young women recruited as seamstresses and housekeepers and for teaching and missionary service.

The *Journal* tells the story of the long and difficult journey from New York to the site on Grand River in what was then

¹ The journal was secured by the Historical Society in 1926, from F. C. LaBalle, a book dealer of Beatrice, Nebraska, who married a granddaughter of Rev. Vaill, daughter of Thomas Scott Vaill.

² Rev. William Fowler Vaill, graduate of Yale University, pastor of the North Guilford, Connecticut, Congregational church, 1804 to 1818, the present edifice built under his ministry. Born in Hadlyme, Conn., 1783; died in Weatherfield, Ill., 1868. After leaving Union Mission in 1833 he served several parishes in New England and in the Middle West. His early life is outlined in "History of Plantation of Manantakuck" by Bernard C. Steiner, 1897.

³ Abraham Redfield born about 1800 in Orange County, N.Y.; died 1882 at Deerfield, Mo. Carpenter and millwright by trade, also a lay preacher. His marriage to Phoebe Beach at Union in 1821 is probably the first Protestant marriage west of the Mississippi. In 1818 his only surviving son, David, then living in Ardmore, Oklahoma, writes of him: "After moving to Missouri he had a good farm, also practised his trades. He was an ardent Union man and was badly treated and robbed during the War. He was elected to the Union Convention in 1825, but died about that time."

⁴ The United Foreign Missionary Society was founded in 1817 by the merger of the Northern Missionary Society (founded in 1797 to minister to northern New York State Indians), the New York Missionary Society, and the Western Missionary Society of Pittsburgh, Pa., a union of Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed, and Congregationalist missionary effort.

Arkansas Territory. In happy anticipation of saving the souls of the heathen Osage Indians, the Family landed on February 15, 1821, and found a pleasant meadow blessed with a spring of abundant sweet water. Five log cabins under one roof were partially completed, but cooking and eating were carried on under a brush arbor until the next August, awaiting the completion of the common dining-hall and kitchen.

By that time "intermittent fever" had stricken practically all of the workers, slowing the comfortable housing of the Family. The mosquitoes themselves were a grievous plague, but in those days no one knew of the evil they carried.

The completion of the buildings, temporarily built of logs, was also delayed by the bitter realization that the timber in this locality was not at all suitable for the frame houses planned for permanent buildings. The *Journal* tells of the arduous labor which brought good pine logs down from the Spavinaw country, twenty-five miles up the river.

Early in 1826 Vaill writes to the Board⁵ that the dwelling houses are "about a dozen log cabins, decayed and uncomfortable." He lists also:

- 40' by 60' barn, a well-covered frame building
- 12'-square stone spring house, the spring flowing through it
- 20'-square storehouse, two-story, well-covered
- 13'-square frame shoemaker's shop
- log schoolhouse in poor condition
- kitchen and dining-hall under one roof, built of logs and in a state of decay
- old storehouse, carpenter shop, blacksmith shop, and smoke-house, all of log construction

In September of that year came the highest flood man had ever seen on the Grand River.⁶ All the houses were filled with muddy water; some, even two-story ones, were entirely covered. Two were washed away. Furniture and clothing were ruined or lost, with bedding, utensils, and supplies. Some of that household equipment was dearly cherished, for it had been brought from those distant homes back East. Almost as hard to bear was

⁵ Vol. ABC184 (call number at the Houghton Library of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.) of the papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (hereinafter referred to as ABCFNM), entitled "Osages, Chickasaws, and Mackinaws," Sept. 1824 to Sept. 1831."

⁶ *Missionary Herald*, Vol. XXIII (1827), p. 149.

the loss of everyday items, like pins, needles, thread, mosquito bar, quills, paper, and ink. Thirty acres of corn ready for harvest was ruined; cattle and pigs drowned. It was a hard blow both physically and psychologically.

A year and a half later, in May, 1828, the Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury and David Green⁷ wrote to Jeremiah Everts,⁸ the Board Secretary: "Location unfortunate—in a narrow, sunken, wet valley. A good spring of limestone water in the center of the yard the only thing that can recommend it . . . Garden soil hardens here so that crops do not grow well, and in several of the buildings water runs under the loose, open floors in wet weather, a very unhealthy condition."⁹

Plans for permanent buildings were hampered by the uncertain future which soon faced the Mission because its site was included in that part of the designated hunting outlet to the Plains allowed to the Cherokees by the Treaty of 1817 and later was definitely included by treaty in the Cherokee lands from which the Osages were to be moved farther west and north. Consequently the lifetime of any mission to the Osages at this place must be short, unless the work of the mission were transferred to other tribes coming late into this area. As early as October, 1826, the Mission writes to Vail, then in the East:¹⁰

We have not made any preparations for building because we have received no order from the Board. We would venture to put up a

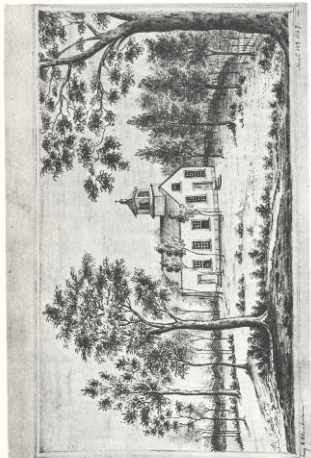
⁷ Cyrus Kingsbury, born at Alstead, N.H., 1788; died at Boggy Depot in the Choctaw Nation in 1870. Graduate of Brown University and Andover Theological Seminary, ordained to the Congregational ministry in 1816, he began his service as a missionary of ABCFM and founded Brainerd Mission in 1817, later serving at Elliott and Mayhew. In 1836 he and his wife, Electa May of Goshen, Mass., arrived at Pine Ridge in the Choctaw country. He was active in the service until his death at the age of eighty-four, greatly respected and loved by his co-workers. W. B. Morrison "Diary of Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III (1925), p. 152.

David Greene, Yale and Andover graduate, followed Jeremiah Everts as Secretary of the ABCFM Board. In 1828 he took an eight months' tour of Indian Missions, visiting thirty stations and traveling 9,000 miles. Later he was editor of the *Missionary Herald* and was associated with Lowell Mason in developing church psalmody.

⁸ Jeremiah Everts (1781-1831), one of the founders of ABCFM, first editor of *Missionary Herald*, Corresponding Secretary of the ABCFM Board for ten years and Manager of the American Bible Society. Very strongly opposed to moving the Indians west, in 1829 he wrote for the *National Intelligencer*, under the pseudonym of "William Penn," "Essays on the Present Crisis in the Condition of the American Indian." He died of tuberculosis at the age of fifty.

⁹ Kingsbury's Report, May 8, 1828—ABC1848, Document No. 119.

¹⁰ ABC1848, No. 52. As early as 1824 Richard Graham, Indian Agent, writes to the Secretary of War: "If Clumore's village is removed, it will be necessary to remove the missionary society established on the Verdgrass to some other point." *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, Vol. XIX, Ark. Ter.—1819-25, p. 617.



From the original drawing of Whiteoak Mission Church, by Mary E. Chamberlain, 1847. Choctaw Nation. The reproduction of this original drawing is shown on the next cover of this number of The Chronicles, from the rare lithograph by the noted artist, Winslow, today is the oldest church building in Oklahoma, erected by Presbyterian missionaries in 1846 and now owned by the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (South), near Milledgeville, McQueen County.

house, but not knowing whether this station is to be retained by the Board, we do not know whether to put up a log house or to begin the putting up of a new frame house. Every mail we expect some order from the Board.

Four months later Vaill writes, "Lovely's Purchase being settled—makes site of Union more uncertain."¹¹

The workers at Union were never sure of just what to plan about permanent buildings, and their Missionary Board back East was no more certain concerning the future and so could not advise. The replacing of the first log buildings with framed ones, sealed with pine boards, was a slow process, even though the lumber was sawed in the Mission mill up on the hillside.

This mill, completed in 1823 at a cost of \$4,000, was the pride of the Mission, although Kingsbury's 1828 report speaks of it as costly to operate and "not a profitable appendage to the Mission." In a large building with wheelroom 49 feet square, the 36-foot wheel was moved by oxen, for no good water-power seat could be found nearby. The saw-mill could cut 1,000 feet of board "between sun and sun," and the grist mill could grind 80 to 90 bushels of grain in the same time. It was a great convenience to the surrounding country as well as to the Mission, but its costly operation required sixteen oxen and two men. The pasture contiguous, not over eighty acres, was hardly enough to feed so many oxen. However, by dint of repairs growing ever more frequent, the mill operated until 1835, when Redfield reports, "The irons under the great wheel are worn out."¹²

The mill gave rise to annoyances other than frequent break-downs, for a letter from William Requa of Hopefield to Henry Hill in 1831, states "Union charges \$2.00 a bushel for wheat and every fifth goes for toll. \$12 a barrel for flour—will order from Chouteau—it is half as much."¹³

The hope to replace all the log buildings was never quite fulfilled. In 1829 Vaill reports that the houses for Redfield, George Requa, and Doctor George Weed are raised and enclosed. The dining-hall is enclosed, a men's room for older male pupils at the school is added to the Vaill house, and a meat-house is

¹¹ ABC1848, No. 92, Feb. 9, 1827. William L. Lovely, assistant to Col. Return J. Meigs, Indian Agent, transcended his powers when he bought for the Government 1,000,000 acres north of the Arkansas River between the Verdigris and White Rivers in exchange for Cherokee and white claims against the Osages. In 1824 all these lands were included in Arkansas Territory.

¹² ABC1844, No. 199. Call number of ABCPM volume in the Roughton Library. Titled "Chickasaws, Creeks, Osages, 1831-37."

¹³ Document #158 in ABCPM Papers Vol. 39 (old number), Jan. 15, 1831. Henry Hill was treasurer of the ABCPM Board.

built. In 1830, a house was being build for Mr. Woodruff, the blacksmith—"cannot do without a blackamith." The truth of this remark is evident from a bill submitted to the Reverend Isaac McCoy, in his work for the Government surveying parties from August to October, 1831, totaling \$88.25¹⁴ Besides horse-shoeing, the bill includes such items as "handling frying-pan," bracing spades, cutting of wagon tongues, making steel markers, and linch pins, repairing guns and pistols.

To quote a few of the prices:—bracing spades, \$1.25; 1 pr. bullet molds, \$1.50; bridle bits, 25c; repairing canister and pail, 12½c. Similar work was done for the Mission Family, especially the repairs, for there was no corner store nearby to replace broken utensils. Other farm equipment had to be supplied since the ploughs brought by the Family were not heavy enough for the rough prairie sod, and required constant strengthening.

In May of 1831 Richard and Sarah Vaill are writing to their Aunt Ursula Selden in Connecticut and tell her:¹⁵

Our house room is now more extensive and we generally have plenty of company to occupy them as the road from Wisconsin to Arkansas passes here and people generally make it a stopping place. The log cabins in which we were once crammed are nearly all demolished for firewood. The Mission now rather has the appearance of a neat little village. There are about six or seven dwelling houses besides the dining-hall and storhouse and several outhouses. These are placed around a square about twenty rods long and ten rods in breadth which forms the Yard and is now set with a row of trees on each side.

Washington Irving's *Journal* speaks of the comfortable house of Mr. Vaill where he and U.S. Commissioner Ellsworth were accommodated. Latrobe, the English naturalist traveling with them, writes of the pretty situation and arrangement of the buildings. But Vaill's house was damaged in the gale of 1835, and Mr. Redfield regrets that he cannot repair it before he leaves.

In 1831, Vaill reports as follows on the Mission property, estimated at a value of \$15,000,¹⁶ not including provisions, utensils, furniture, etc.

1,000 acres ploughed land, 80 acres pasture	
8 yoke oxen	\$ 300
10 steers	200
200 head cattle	1400
100 hogs	400

¹⁴ McCoy Papers, Vol. 19, July 12, 1831. Isaac McCoy was Baptist Missionary and Government surveyor of Indian tribal boundaries, founder of the American Indian Association and editor of their journal, and author of "History of Baptist Indian Missions" (1840).

¹⁵ Typescript in Union Mission File—Oklahoma Historical Society Library.

¹⁶ ABC1844, No. 92, Nov. 10, 1831.

5 dwellings/700	3500
Mill	2000
Other buildings	2000

Six years afterward (in 1837), William Requa is down at Union, "looking things over,—not much to salvage."¹⁷ By 1839 the passing traveler could see only the overgrown ruins of a few buildings and the cemetery on the hill.¹⁸

In that cemetery, clustered around the white stone of the young leader, Epaphras Chapman,¹⁹ were many rude headstones, markers for the little graves, among them one for the Vaill's two-year-old daughter, born at Union in 1824, and one for little Charles, son of Isaac and Christiana McCoy. Seven Redfield children slept there, four of them dying in that terrible summer of 1834, months of extreme heat and drouth and resultant cholera, when the Mission suffered the great sorrow of the deaths, within a few weeks of each other, of Reverend and Mrs. Wm. B. Montgomery of Hopefield.²⁰ They were buried beside the little graves. Susan Comstock Requa²¹ of Hopefield also lay under the oaks on that quiet hill.

Asenath Selden Vaill, wife of Reverend Vaill, became depressed and not herself in that same ill-fated year and her husband took her back to her home in Hadlyme, Connecticut, where she succumbed to the results of the hard work of mission life which she had come to believe was futile and useless effort. She died at the age of thirty-nine, a young woman with mind and body broken. William Vaill, the most hopeful of the leaders, a man who evidently somewhat enjoyed the work of setting up an outpost of civilization in the wilderness, felt himself defeated and resigned from the missionary service that same year.²²

¹⁷ ABC1844 No. 211, May 7, 1837. William C. Requa of Tarrytown, N.Y., was one of the founders of Hopefield Mission.

¹⁸ *Arkansas Gazette*, June 12, 1839, p. 2, Col. 1. Copied from St. Louis Saturday News, "Sketches of Arkansas and Life among the Indians."

¹⁹ M. L. Wardell, "Protestant Missions Among the Osages, 1820 to 1838," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II (1925) p. 294; Oscar W. Davison, "Oklahoma's Educational Heritage," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, (1946).

²⁰ Rev. Wm. B. Montgomery of Danville, Pa., and his wife, Harriet Woolley of New York City, leader of the original Harmony Mission party, who, in 1829 established a station among the Osages, 150 miles north of Union.

²¹ Susan Comstock Requa, wife of William, came from Wilton, Conn., as a member of the Union Mission Family, but after her marriage lived mostly at Hopefield. Richard Vaill, in a letter to his aunt, speaks of her plan to make a sketch of the Mission grounds for the friends back home.

²² Facsimiles of Vaill letters, in the Union Mission File of the Oklahoma Historical Society Library.

Phoebe Beach Redfield²¹ was perhaps of sterner stuff than Asenath Vaill or her love of teaching carried her through the loss of seven children and the hard manual labor which every woman in the Mission had to undergo, for she and her husband were the last to leave Union, staying until 1837, when everything was closed. They then went to Missouri to live.

Sixty years later Ann Eliza Robertson writes to a daughter-in-law of Phoebe Redfield of her memory of Phoebe when the Worcestersters lived a short while at Union, when Ann Eliza was a ten-year-old girl:²²

Your parents lived just across the Yard from us, and I always counted it a great privilege to go and see Mrs. Redfield, for she was a truly lovely woman. Her seven children slept side by side in the Mission graveyard on the hill, but a little adopted Osage girl of two years old had her loving, motherly care. What told me much of what she had been to the Indian girls in that school was seeing Osage young women in their wild Indian dress come to her and take hold with practiced hands to help her in her work and noticing the loving trust between them and her.

Phoebe was only about thirty-five years old at the time Ann Eliza was at Union. Married only fourteen years, she had borne and lost seven children.

The amount of physical labor necessary merely to sustain life in the early missions is staggering to think of. Not only antisyphing the hunger of a "family" approaching one hundred persons when the school was at its height, but the spinning, weaving, sewing, cleaning, and mending of all the clothing, even the footwear of so many. There were the seasonal chores of making soap, dipping candles, salting the meat after the butchering, and the boiling down of the salt spring water, a tedious method of providing salt. All this with materials and utensils hard to get. The slow, precarious journeys of the missionary boxes from the East were one of the trials, but their arrival was one of the joys of missionary life.

Nature added some plagues other than floods. For three months of 1827 the prairie flies were so bad that the cows and calves had to be turned into the thickets of the range, and so no milk or butter.²³ Work with the oxen and horses had to be done at night. The continuing "depredations" of the Indians,

²¹ Phoebe (Beach) Redfield, member of the Union Mission Family, born about 1800 at Newburgh, N.Y.; died in Deerfield, Mo. in 1896. During the sixteen years she was at Union Mission, teaching the small children and training the older girls in household arts, she bore seven children and lost them all. After the move to Missouri there were three more sons,—John, William, and David, the latter surviving to old age.

²² Ann Eliza Robertson, the oldest daughter of Samuel Worcester, briefly lived at Union Mission when she was ten or eleven years old.

²³ *Missionary Herald*, Vol. XXIII, (1827), p. 310.

stealing and killing the livestock, was another source of anxiety. At one time as many as forty pigs were stolen in one night.

There were happenings now and then that were exciting. Terror caused by the Pawnee and Delaware raids within a very few miles of the Mission drove the Osage families of the French traders nearby and the Hopefield Osages "panic-struck with fear," into the protection of the Mission. They came pouring into the houses and even crawled under the beds.¹⁶ The missionaries themselves did not fear attack which would offend the Great White Father, but the drain on Mission resources was too heavy and appeal was made to the Fort Gibson Garrison to remove the Indians to its protection, which General Arbuckle did.

In the late 1820's there was bi-weekly preaching at the Garrison to such of the soldiers and their families who would listen. Few of the Osages were coming to Union to hear the sermons; and even the preaching tours out into the tribe met with difficulties. Interpreters were hard to secure; the Indian agents were reluctant to allow preaching. Chief Clermont did not want preaching in his village, the largest of the Osage settlements, twenty-five miles away. But one of the missionary's obligations was to preach the Gospel to the heathen. Nathaniel Dodge from Harmony, Cephas Washburn from Dwight, and William Vaill from Union undertook a preaching tour among the Osages of three weeks' duration in 1832.¹⁷ There was also a tour in the Creek country, but neither met with great success.

Besides the tours, there was considerable coming and going of the Mission Family. In 1826 Vaill went East and with him his daughter Elizabeth for further schooling and Sister Chapman, leaving the Mission after her husband's death. The next year, Mrs. Vaill's sister, Miss Eliza Selden, came to marry Mr. Douglas, the steward. His appointment as such by Reverend Vaill caused some talk, for George Requa, William's cousin, had been appointed steward by the Family during Vaill's absence. Very much offended by Vaill's action, Requa resigned as a missionary and became a hired hand, responsible for the care of the stock and the meat supply.

The William Requa family had to live at Union while Hopefield was being rebuilt after the flood and moved farther up the river. Requa wrote to David Greene in January, 1829,¹⁸ "We feel that we were charged pretty high for our board while called by Providence to tarry there for a season." The board bill

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.* Vol. XXVIII (1832), p. 288. Also Vol. XXVI (1830), p. 286—a discussion of missionary preaching.

¹⁸ ABC18.4.6, No. 79, Jan. 8, 1829.

was \$28.00 for seven weeks for the Requa family and \$2.50 a week for Mrs. Montgomery and child.

A fifty-mile journey to Dwight Mission to visit Cherokee chiefs along the way, undertaken by William Requa in 1828, was a journey more laborious than a trip to Europe today. His hope was that this tribe would be willing for the Mission to remain within their territory and serve them, but the Cherokees greatly feared that missionary establishments would encroach on their new land and bring in too many white people. So they refused to allow the Mission to stay on the banks of Grand River.¹⁹

In 1830, the William B. Montgomerys came to live at Union and the young Dr. George Weed and his wife came from Dwight Mission, for someone was needed to take the place of Dr. Marcus Palmer who had gone to Fairfield Mission among the Cherokees the year before with his wife, Clarissa Johnson from Connecticut, a member of the original Family, teacher and religious worker for these eight years. Her sister Jerusha, later to be Dr. Palmer's second wife, arrived in Union in 1832. Dr. Weed and his wife Eliza Lathrop of Massachusetts, remained at Union only two years, he serving as physician and also as keeper of accounts, and their house was a boarding home for Indian children.

In 1833 John Fleming and his wife, Margaret Scudder, came to Union from a year's stay in the Creek Country. Fleming speaks of his wife as teaching a small school. Just what that school was is problematical, for in 1833 Mr. and Mrs. Mathias Joslyn were teaching the Mission school, Mrs. Joslyn taking charge of the mission children when the school was closed. Elizabeth Vaill comes back from the East, hoping to teach in the school, but when she finds Mrs. Joslyn there, she decides to be married instead to William Waldo, a trader and merchant.

Her sister Sarah had been married the year before to Reverend John Montgomery, Princeton graduate and a missionary of Illinois. Also this year Mr. Redfield takes his only vacation in twelve years and goes back to New York for a few weeks.

There is no mention in the records of a building especially for church services or funerals, or for the meetings of the Indian Mission Presbytery, loyally sustained by the handful of ministers from Dwight, Harmony, and Union. There was also the Neosho Temperance Society. In 1833 there were thirty-seven members, about half Indians with two blacks.²⁰

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ ABC384.4, Vaill to Greene, July 28, 1822 (No. 117).

In 1826, the affairs of the United Foreign Missionary Society were "assigned" to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which meant support and direction would come from a new source. When the Committee from the Board came to look them over as did Cyrus Kingsbury and David Greene in 1828 and Kingsbury again in 1835, there must have been much conjecture and desperate hope as to the contents of their report.

In 1834 Cassandra Lockwood¹¹ and her husband Jesse rode on horseback from the Dwight Mission, fifty miles away, to make a visit in the Osage country. Union was one of their stopping places and Cassandra speaks of Vail, Montgomery, and Redfield and their good health. "With their mission family we had some precious seasons of religious conversation and prayer. We talked of the uncertainty of life and the importance of the errand upon which we were sent to these native tribes. While here I could not but observe how these Christians loved one another." This is a tribute to a group which had differences of opinion but which seemed never to have serious rifts or quarrels.

Besides the families from Hopfield there were others who came to live at the Mission for a few months at a time. In June of 1831 Isaac McCoy, the Baptist missionary employed by the Government to survey the Indian boundaries came to Union with his wife Christiana and four of his children to live there while he made the surveys with his eldest sons, Calvin and Rice, and Dr. Andrew Jackson Donelson of Tennessee, the nephew of President Andrew Jackson's wife. The McCoy children were Charles, two and a half years old; little Isaac, six; Eleanor, ten; and twelve-year-old Nancy, a child afflicted in both mind and body.

Their journey from daughter Delilah Lykin's home in Missouri was three hundred miles of exposure to rain, high water in the streams, wet ground for a bed, and perilous crossing of the rivers in open canoes with log contrivances attached, which process they called "rafting." To get across the rivers with this party of twelve persons, three wagons and ten horses, three cows and two calves, meant unloading and loading, easing everything down the steep river banks, and pulling all up again on the far side—sometimes a whole day to cross one river. From June 8 to June 28, Christiana and her children traveled toward an unknown home. McCoy had the Osage Agency in mind, but found no white people there at that time. So Union Mission

¹¹ "Letters of Cassandra Sawyer Lockwood, Dwight Mission, 1834," annotated by Joseph B. Theburn, in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII (1955), p. 202.

with its kindly Family must have seemed a haven of refuge to the McCoy's.¹²

In the fall of that year (1831) Vaill writes to Lewis Cass,¹³ Secretary of War, "We were happy to open our doors to accommodate them (the McCoy's) with a temporary residence at this central station, knowing him to be devoted to the cause of the poor Indians. We have found him and his family to be very worthy and agreeable people."

And in August Vaill had written to David Greene:

It is a matter of joy to me that so good a man is at the head of this business, a man who, I have no doubt, has the good of the Indians at heart, although he has been an unqualified advocate of their removal. . . . he found me agreeing with him in this position—let us do good to them as we have the opportunity to do what we can to alleviate their circumstances, taking their condition as it is or may be.

This is one of the few references in these sources to a burning question of the day,—the removal of the Indians from their home in the East to these western lands, Vaill apparently not a strong supporter of such a policy, but desiring to help the Indian wherever he might be.

McCoy came and went during the weeks of that summer on his government business and on the Sabbath he preached and exhorted many times for the Mission and once for the Presbytery meeting, although it was always in his mind that this was a Presbyterian Mission and the Baptists ought to bestir themselves to set up a mission of their own in this locality. He was much interested in John Davis, the young Creek Baptist convert, who was for a time a student in the Union school. He married Maria Reed, another Creek student there. He was building a cabin thirteen feet square for himself and wife when the McCoy's arrived.

One wonders whether this is the cabin where Jothan Meeker¹⁴ stayed with Davis the next winter after the McCoy's had gone. Davis had received an appointment from the Baptist Board at \$200 a year and one horse¹⁵ to preach among the Creeks and to McCoy he seemed "pious and devoted to doing good among his people."

Meeker had no appointment and came at McCoy's urging to spend the winter at Union while deciding where to locate. It was a personal arrangement of McCoy's—one of his "confrivances." He wrote Meeker, "We will live—or starve—together." Meeker was a printer and McCoy evidently had an idea that

¹² McCoy Papers, Vol. 19, Aug.-Dec., 1831.

¹³ ABC18.4.4, No. 92, Oct. 1, 1831.

¹⁴ Jothan Meeker's diary in the Manuscript Division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

the printing press which had been promised the Cherokees in their treaty at a cost of \$2,000 might be brought here for Meeker, and with two Baptist preachers located here—and a press—there was a possibility of a Baptist Mission establishment. But Meeker stayed only a few weeks and then went north to the station where his real work was done among the Ottawas.

In spite of the easing of their domestic finances with the \$5.00 a day government pay for Isaac and \$3.00 a day for Calvin and Rice, it was not a happy stay at Union for McCoy's family. Little Isaac fell from a tree and broke his arm, which his father says was never entirely healed. There is no mention of a doctor attending him. The death of little Charles, whose uprightness and prattle made him a favorite of all about him, was a great sorrow. Rice, the second son educated to be a physician, began to show serious signs of the illness which was to take him away from them the next year. When the heavy snows came in December, it was decided that the family should move to daughter Delilah's house at Shawano. Another toilsome 300 mile journey in the midst of winter, a party of seventeen this time, for the surveying hands were returning to their homes in Missouri. But it was only ten days before they reached Delilah's, for some of the rivers could be crossed on the ice, which was a much quicker method than "rafting."

Isaac McCoy's busy and dynamic presence at Union that year must have added to the "secular business" which Palmer and Redfield deplored and of which the Missionary Board did not at all approve. Perhaps Vaill was of a different mind and realized more than the others that some of the government money being disbursed for these surveys might as well come to Union Mission and serve to assist its finances.

In the McCoy letters at Topeka, there is a lengthy and very neat statement in Vaill's hand, of the articles furnished by the Union Mission "for the use of the U.S. in exploring and surveying Indian lands" from July to December, 1831, in amount \$311.12½. There is beef (some salted) at 30c per lb.; corn, 50c to \$1.00 per bushel; oats, "for packing," 15 bundles \$1.00; tobacco at 37½c per lb.; crackers, 37½c; sugar, \$1.25 for 6 lbs.; ½ bu. onions 75c; and there is flour and meal, tea, salt, and potatoes. Perhaps the Union supply of these latter was low, for Reverend Dodge of Harmony furnished McCoy with sugar, salt, and tea, sent to him at the Osage Agency in July. Other supplies were scythes, powder and lead, axes (\$3.50 for a large one), 16 foot plank for table, and a charge for a team drawing boards for a corn crib, which must have been at the surveyors' camp. There are also pine planks for canoe poles and one-half the amount of a canoe (\$3.00).

Historically speaking, the most important tenants of Union in the later years are Samuel A. Worcester and his family, then consisting of Ann Orr, his thirty-six-year-old wife with children Ann Eliza (ten), Sarah (eight), Hannah (four), and Leonard, born a few months after arrival. A long journey of fifty-one days brought them from the Eastern Cherokee country to Dwight Mission. After a short stay there in the fall of 1835 they came to Union to live. The press was already set up there and remained until the late spring of 1836, when it was moved to Park Hill near the Fork of the Illinois, considered a more suitable location for a Cherokee printing establishment. While at Dwight Worcester planned and carried on his negotiations with the Cherokee Council,¹⁵ which ended in a somewhat grudging permission for his press to be located at Park Hill. Buildings had to be erected there and tedious arrangements made for the establishment of the Mission and the press, but this interval was filled with a surprising amount of printing accomplished at Union during the year of 1836.¹⁶

Of these months we have a recollection of Ann Eliza (Worcester) Robertson when she was a little girl at Union, in her letter of 1898 to Mrs. Redfield:

In this Mission your husband's parents had been laborers for many years but when I knew them the Mission had been discontinued and the Osages were moving away to give place to the Cherokees, for whom their land had been promised, and your father-in-law was in charge of the business in closing the Mission. He was my S. S. teacher that year, and I have always been thankful that he had us commit to memory hymns as well as Bible chapters for our lessons.

A gruesome recollection of Ann Eliza's was the eating of a Mission cow by the wolves, a reminder of the nearness of the wild, unsettled country.

All contacts with the outer world were not of the character of Mrs. Lockwood's visit or of Mrs. Robertson's recollections. Though Union Mission was a spot in the wilderness, a settlement thirty miles from the nearest postoffice at Fort Gibson, the old road from St. Louis and the northern settlements practically ran through the Mission yard, leading down to the Red River and Texas. It was first an Indian trail and then the Osage Trace for the hunters and trappers carrying their pelts to St. Louis as far

¹⁵ Alice Robertson Collection, Letter 3B. (Facsimile—original in ABCFM Papers in Houghton Library. Given in full in "Samuel Austin Worcester, a Dedication," Mariel H. Wright, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVII (1955), p. 2.

¹⁶ "Oklahoma Imprints, 1835-1890."—Lester Hargrett (Bibliographical Society of America, 1951). ABCFM Annual Report of 1849 lists the Cherokee translations in "Books Printed in the Cherokee Language previous to Jan. 18, 1848," and this list includes "Child's Book—1835—18mo—8 pgs.—200 copies."

back as 1802.¹⁷ For many years it was the only road to the Texas country and was called the Texas Road or "Trace." The Mission Family were spectators of the journeyings of explorers, soldiers, premature settlers, traders and hunters, and driven bands of wild horses heading toward a market to the north. Frequent was the sound of rattling mule or horse-drawn wagons, jangling harness of military companies, or the slow plodding of pack mules, all passing by their doors. The dust of summer rose in clouds; the mud of winter caked upon their paths. The Mission men came to the rescue of those who attempted the fording of Grand River in flood or directed the new traveler to the nearby salt spring. Sometimes soldiers from the Garrison stopped on their way up the Grand to cut pine lumber needed for the fort; sometimes travelers asked for food and were supplied from the mission's scanty store; sometimes it was a physician that the passer-by was looking for.

The camping grounds nearby were used by large parties for a short stay, but even then the party leaders would be welcomed and hospitality would be offered. In 1828 a delegation of Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws from the East, forty-two persons in all, came by on their way from St. Louis to appraise the lands as far south as the Canadian River, offered to them by the U.S. Government in exchange for their lands in the East.¹⁸ The party was under the command of Capt. G. H. Kennerly. Lieut. Washington Hood was topographer, and Isaac McCoy was treasurer. Peter Pitchlynn was one of the Choctaw chiefs and Levi Colbert was with the Chickasaws. They passed by the Mission on November 28, 1828. Although in the official mission diaries there is no comment, McCoy's Journal remarks that the Indians did not think it was very good land which was being shown them. He also speaks of the jealousy and cupidity of the agents being a handicap for the Indians. At that time Union must have looked like a permanent settlement, for the frame buildings were completed and the outbuildings repaired. The mill was running at full capacity and the school had thirty Indian pupils. But in 1831 McCoy remarks that the Mission settlement looks much better than it did in 1828.

In the fall of 1832 the Mission's most distinguished visitor, Washington Irving, at that time a famous author,¹⁹ spent a night there. He arrived from Col. Chouteau's establishment at the

¹⁷ "Down the Texas Road"—Grant Foreman (University of Oklahoma Press, 1948).

¹⁸ McCoy's Journal, edited by John P. McDermott in the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII (1944-45), p. 406. The Foreman Papers (Glencoe Institute), Vol. 35, p. 42, mentions this expedition, referring to Letter Book No. 5, page 19, of the Office of Indian Affairs.

¹⁹ George H. Shirik, "Along the Washington Irving Trail in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXV (1957).

Grand Saline in a "dearborn," a two-horse wagon, government property, loaned by Isaac McCoy from his survey party,—a proper loan, for Irving's companion was Henry Ellsworth, U. S. Commissioner sent out to "study the territory, to mark the boundaries, to pacify the warring Indians, and to establish order and justice," according to a law passed that summer by Congress on President Jackson's recommendation. Mr. Ellsworth, forty-one years old, was president of the Aetna Life Insurance Company of Hartford, Conn., and had been Mayor of that city, a man with a strong religious strain, kind-hearted and conscientious. Irving speaks of him in his journal as a "very gentlemanly and amiable person." He was on his way to meet the other two commissioners at Fort Gibson. Meeting by accident, Irving was intrigued at the prospect of a tour in the wilderness with such a companion. Irving's journal for the 7th of October, 1832, a Sunday, says that they left the Grand Saline at two o'clock that afternoon in the dearborn, driven by their guide Tonish,⁴⁰ and ran into a heavy thunderstorm on the prairie so that they had to put down the oilskin sides of the wagon. They crossed swollen brooks and drove through little groves of trees. The sun set in a clear streak but there were clouds overhead as they arrived about seven at Union Mission and were "comfortably housed in Mr. Vaill's house, his wife a Connecticut woman." Irving's somewhat patronizing tone in speaking of his hostess is pleasingly countered by a passing mention of "Mr. Irwin" in one of Vaill's letters.⁴¹ The fame of this man had not reached the Reverend Vaill. At the ring of a bell the travelers repaired to the refectory in another building where they ate with the pupils of the school. Irving speaks of the Cherokees as Delawares. On Monday morning they left the Mission after breakfast and started on their way down to Fort Gibson. Arriving there, Ellsworth found that Capt. Jesse Bear of Tennessee with his company of Rangers recruited from his mountain neighbors to be of assistance to the Commissioners had started off to explore the country without waiting for them. When Ellsworth found that the other Commissioners would not be at Fort Gibson for a few weeks, he immediately decided to find the Rangers and so the "Tour on the Prairies" began in October, 1832.

But he and Irving were not alone. Also by accident they had met with Charles Joseph Latrobe, the English traveler, botanist, geologist, sportsman, sketcher, and in Ellsworth's opinion a "cheerful and busy man." With him as a protege was the nineteen-year-old Swiss Count, Albert Pourtales, "irritating libertine," according to Ellsworth. In the letter to his wife which Ellsworth

⁴⁰ Tonish was Antoine de Hatre (or Deshetres), a well-known guide of Florissant, Mo. Latrobe's servant was Anthony Lombard.

⁴¹ *Portman Papers*, Vol. 74 "Missionary Correspondence," p. 284. (Gleason Institute)

wrote immediately on his return to Fort Gibson from the "Tour," transcribing his journal, he tells of an incident which was very mortifying to him and to Irving and which must have caused considerable excitement at Union Mission. Latrobe and Pourtales remained for a day or two at the Grand Saline after the others left and Col. Chouteau injudiciously told the young Count that he would have no trouble in securing an Osage maiden to accompany him as his squaw, an ambition which Albert had provided for by bringing a packhorse loaded with presents appealing to Indian women.

In Ellsworth's words:

His passions led him to great extremes . . . his conduct at Union Mission was censurable in the highest degree. Stimulated by the example of Col. Chouteau, he attempted to seduce an amiable young Indian girl at that school. The mother had been won by presents, but went to talk with Mrs. Vail, the wife of the Superintendent about the matter and see whether the girl might go. What presumption, indignation and refusal! Ought to have covered the Swiss gentleman with shame . . . There were other instances of conduct more gross, but I will not pollute my pages with a recital of them . . . I told Mr. Irving some remarks I had heard about the "Irving Party" which mortified him very much; and he determined, however he respected Mr. Latrobe, he would not travel any more with M. Pourtales.

A few days after Irving and Ellsworth spent the night at Union, Isaac McCoy, still in charge of the Indian boundary survey, passed through Union on his way to Fort Gibson to confer with Ellsworth, who had stopped at McCoy's house at Shawnee on the way down from St. Louis and had been disappointed that the survey would not be sufficiently completed to aid the Commissioners. That was when Ellsworth borrowed the wagon from McCoy. When McCoy arrived at Fort Gibson Ellsworth was already on the "Tour" and did not return until the 9th of November. McCoy used the interim while waiting to catch up his accounts and reports and journal.

In 1834, in the September heat of that year, two companies of Dragoons from Fort Gibson, looking for a cooler climate, set out to winter in Iowa. Co. H was in command of Capt. Nathan Boone (son of Daniel) and Co. I under Capt. Jesse H. Brown. By the time they reached Union, Capt. Brown and some of his men were ill and they stopped by the Mission to rest. They speak of the few Osage families that were left there, living on game and fish and a few vegetables from their patches.

The young French traveler, Louis Courtambert, in the spring of 1835 was an overnight visitor to Union while the Worcesterers were there. The story of this brief visit he tells thus:⁴²

⁴² Louis Courtambert, "Journey to the Country of the Osages," p. 41, (Paris, 1837) A pamphlet in French in the Gilcrease Institute Library.

I continued my route toward the south, always following the course of the Neosho. I shall never forget the charming hospitality that I received at this Mission in the house of one of the missionaries. I had expected much less because it was the Sabbath Day and because we were fourteen travelers. If I had been disgusted with the American people, three families like that would be sufficient to reconcile me with them.

The Mission at Union, which is also (like Harmony) on the point of being closed down, contained a printing press for the languages of the Cherokee and the Creeks . . . The printer, who was a white man, volunteered to show me his press and offered me the Gospel of St. Matthew in Cherokee, and a sheet containing the explanation of the alphabet; this has quære-vingt-dix letters. They have also printed a book in the Osage language with our letters.

One of these casual visitors, Charles Joseph Latrobe, Irving's fellow traveler in the prairie country, writes:⁴¹

In both this (Harmony) and the sister settlement of Union on the Neosho, it appeared that the ends aimed at by the missionaries were chiefly the establishment and maintenance of a school for the Indian child and the introduction of a taste for agriculture, and that their views of usefulness were limited to these objects.

This conclusion of a casual observer may be partly true. In the address to the Osages which the Mission Family carried with them from the UPMS Board in 1820 the Indians were told that these laborers in the field "will teach you to spin and weave, to knit and sew, to read, write, and number." Irving in his *Journal* speaks of "Old Father Vail" preaching to the Indians on the necessity of industry as a means to happiness. One old Indian responded that ploughing the fields and building fences was not his idea of happiness. Father Vail's answer is not given.

From that hot day in September, 1821, when the Mission School opened, to the closing day in February, 1833, it was a focal point, not only in the current activities of the Mission but in the hopes and plans for the future. Originally intended as the instrument of education for Osage children only, the school was never able to enroll as new pupils more than seventeen Osage children in any one year (1826) and during the twelve years of its life only seventy-nine Osage children attended the school, some of these for only a few weeks. The appeal of the hunt and village life could not be completely overcome. Under this discouraging attendance the first dream began to fade. In October, 1831, Vail writes to the Secretary of War:⁴² "Its first design was the civilization of the Osages. But as they as a people have been indifferent to the advantages of the school and as other tribes have removed near the institution, it has for three years

⁴¹ Charles Joseph Latrobe, *The Rambler in North America* (1835).

⁴² ABC1844, No. 92, Oct. 1, 1831. The list of pupils who attended the school is in ABC1844, No. 107.

past embraced the children of three tribes,—Osages, Creeks, and Cherokees."

The curriculum of the school was elementary as to book subjects,—reading, as much as enabled the scholars to read their Testaments; writing and "composition," simple arithmetic, some grammar and geography, all interspersed with Bible verses and the singing of hymns which the children loved. Work in the fields and pastures was required of the boys; in the kitchen and dining-hall and spinning rooms of the girls, all necessary if the Family was to be kept fed and clothed. Clariasa (Johnson) Palmer and Phoebe (Beach) Redfield were the chief teachers of the girls; Mr. Redfield and Reverend Vaill of the boys. Abraham Redfield was also caretaker of the buildings and superintendent of the mill. "Should a minister of the Gospel be so taken up with secular affairs as I am?"⁴⁵ Perhaps some of his discouragement comes from too heavy and distracting burdens outside of the school. "Missionaries should not be burdened with families."⁴⁶

One continual source of worry was the inadequacy and poor condition of the school building, at first a log structure, one room 18' x 20', later added to so that by 1826 it was at least 20' x 40' and probably two rooms. But still only a log schoolhouse. Here are some expressions of troubled minds over this matter:—Vaill (1826)—"schoolhouse of logs in poor condition; better buildings desirable"; Palmer (1826)—"should put forward frame school": . . . "a new schoolhouse should be built, for it will not do for this winter. It cannot be made tolerable": Kingsbury to Everts (1828) — "Improvements justified. Buildings ruinous and temporary."

Adding to the difficulties of poor attendance and inadequate physical plant, complete agreement as to the ideal type of school was never attained. There were arguments about the value of the boarding school over the day school. Redfield in 1832 writes Greene⁴⁷ that he is against boarding all the children; there should be some local day schools; he is utterly opposed to large mission establishments. Many of the brethren in the East agreed with him, but men like Vaill saw the advantage of having a close control over wild, unfettered children that had no idea of punctuality or responsibility such as could be given in a boarding school. Vaill, however, felt that the schools should be more of the parental type, the pupils being part of a family.

Out of discouragement arose also diverse opinions as to the place of the school in a mission program. Vaill, the optimist,

⁴⁵ ABC18.48, No. 78, Feb. 25, 1827. (Redfield to Everts).

⁴⁶ ABC18.44, No. 188, June 17, 1833. (Redfield to Everts).

⁴⁷ ABC18.44, No. 185, Dec. 29, 1832.

writes to Everts in 1828⁴⁸ "School now the chief engine to aid the Osages at present. Must have interpreters and teachers." Redfield and Palmer each expressed a desire at times to leave this busy community and go out into the Indian country by themselves to preach the Gospel; in fact, there was always dispute as to whether there should not be more preaching and less teaching. The Board back in the East was inclined to the preaching. But Vaill says in this same letter that it would be a waste of time for him to leave the school and go out into the Nation.

Redfield and Palmer especially were never quite sure in themselves as to which should come first in the missionary work with the Indians,—the school or the pulpit. Redfield writes to Everts in 1827:⁴⁹ "The school is little ahead after seven years,—reduced from 40-60 to 20-15. Money has been expended on Indian children now running wild on the prairies. Shall we labor on this way?" He adds that the school was premature, the beginning of the mission work was at the wrong end. In 1833 he writes to Greene that⁵⁰ he thinks it best to give up Union. "The Gospel comes first before education." Missionaries should preach the Gospel first—then colonize. Marcus Palmer writes to Everts in 1827:⁵¹

"The Indians must be civilized before they are Christianized—but the Gospel will civilize—*then* have schools." He adds that he thinks there is Divine disapprobation of the secular business. Men laboring together under such a basic difference of opinion as to the reason for their little progress must have been very unhappy at times, but they never give any evidence (in written words) that they are not tolerant of each other's opinions. The most Redfield ever said was that, in his opinion, a business man should be head of a mission,— "Ministers are not suitable."⁵²

Perhaps, too, these teachers were aware that the world outside of the Mission, the world of travelers and traders, had no respect for their training of the Indian. If they heard of these opinions, as they probably did, it must have tried their forbearance. Washington Irving's *Journal* speaks of Antoine Lombard, Latrobe's guide and a former Union Mission pupil, as "one of the worthless breed engendered and brought up among the missions." Irving also quotes Colonel Chouteau's comparison of two half-breeds, "This one had been twice as long at the Mission as the other and therefore is twice as good for nothing." This remark could mean, of course, that such Indians were not so

⁴⁸ ABC18.4.8, No. 100, March 22, 1828.

⁴⁹ ABC18.4.8, No. 77, August 21, 1827.

⁵⁰ ABC18.4.4, No. 186, June 17, 1833.

⁵¹ ABC18.4.8, No. 81, July 23, 1827.

⁵² ABC18.4.8, No. 77, Aug. 31, 1827.

easily exploited as those who could not read and write; or it could mean that Mission life was easier and therefore produced an Indian less able to cope with his environment. At any rate, it was no encouragement to the Mission teachers.

One cannot say when the suspicion first began among these men that Union Mission was not going to fulfill their hopes and aspirations, but it became a conviction during the last years of their work. The *Journal* entry for the close of their "fiscal" year in 1825 is by M. Palmer "On behalf of the Family," and it is the utterance of a man beginning to despair. "We realize more than ever that the prospects and interest of the Mission is wholly in the hands of an over-ruling Providence . . . (sentence crossed out) . . . And when shall we behold the wonders of God's power and grace in this land of heathen darkness?" If the wonders of God's power were ever consummated in the history of Union Mission they were not in the form and shape that the Family had prayed for.

In October of the next year Vaill writes to Evarts:⁵³ "I do not allow myself to think or feel that we are ready to vanish away . . . appearances are dark . . . but is not the population greater than all of the Sandwich Islands?"

Vaill's question is one of the scattered comments throughout these later letters which indicate that these missionaries felt that too much of the Board's funds were spent in distant lands and not enough allocated to the missions among the American Indians. Isaac McCoy felt this very strongly; he and Vaill must have been in agreement on this point. In July, 1828, William Requa writes to Evarts from Hopefield,⁵⁴ which shared all of Union's anxieties: "As a general thing in all religious meetings the Indians have given a respectful attention; yet they appear to be but little interested in them." He goes on to say, "We have no real cause for discouragement."

During the early 1830's there were worries and annoyances which are reflected in the letters from the Mission. "We must hold the Field—the Baptists and Methodists are coming in," Vaill writes to Greene in 1832.⁵⁵ Two years later Redfield repeats the warning that other denominations will be established if Union closes. He had attempted in 1831 to establish a mission among the Creeks and felt his failure was partly due to the pressure of other denominations. These devoted men seemed to take it hard that there were other paths to salvation besides their own particular one; it was almost as bad for an Indian to be a Baptist or a Methodist as to be a heathen. Perhaps this

⁵³ ABC1848, No. 89, Oct. 31, 1825.

⁵⁴ ABC1848, No. 78, July 12, 1828.

⁵⁵ ABC1844, No. 63, January 30, 1832.

can be called denominational jealousy, but it was truly a source of worry and grief to them, faced with a sense of their own failure. When John Fleming, a Baptist, was at Union he had some words of criticism which hurt Vaill's feelings very much, but Vaill writes Greene that he will forgive him. However, this criticism and the feeling that Fleming had been sent as an observer probably added to Vaill's feeling of failure.

The last act of the Mission story takes place when, in 1837, Redfield and Colonel A. P. Chouteau under direction of Governor Montfort Stokes, appraise for the U.S. Government the improvements made by the Missionary Board so that the Board might be reimbursed and establish another mission for the Osages in their new lands to the north. The appraisal was made, setting a value of approximately \$10,000, but the new mission was never established.¹⁴

Redfield had already written the final words in a letter to Greene in the spring of 1835, ". . . painful to think how little has been accomplished . . . find the Osages in the same ignorant and degraded state as when we came among them."¹⁵

All that is left in that valley meadow today are a few mounds under the persimmon trees with rude stone blocks evident under the grass and weeds. On the hill is the cemetery,—rough, unmarked headstones scattered here and there inside the enclosure built by the Oklahoma Historical Society. Under the canopy is the stone of Epaphras Chapman; across the road is a granite marker erected by the Oklahoma Press Association to mark the spot of the first printing in Oklahoma. On the hill beyond there are faint traces of that once busy road, but all is quiet now. Where once there was exhortation and prayer, the voices of children in hymn or Bible verse, the grinding of the iron wheel and the slow tread of oxen, the ring of hammer and chisel,—where there was once hope and faith, courage and endurance, now there is only the murmur of the brook flowing down to the river, the rustle of leaves, and those few mounds of earth.

¹⁴ The chronology of this appraisal, and the efforts of the Commissioners to collect their fees, and an investigation of the question of payment to the ABCFM and of the whereabouts of the appraisers' report, all covering the years between 1829 and 1861, is on file in the Editorial Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society and in the Gilcrease Institute Library, with source citations, results of a thorough search at the National Archives and in the ABCFM official papers. The title to the land was in question as late as 1871. The appraisal report itself has not been found at this writing.

¹⁵ ABCM:4.4, No. 193, May 15, 1835. See Appendix at end of this article for additional bibliographical notes by Hope Holway, on Union Mission.

Union Mission! What was it all worth? Note the discouragement and sadness that closes the story, yet one cannot help but feel that dedication like Union Mission, in itself, where the dream be real or a chimera, has a value because it is an effort that vitalizes and ennobles the human race; men and women toiling and sacrificing for the sake of their fellowman.

APPENDIX

By Hope Holoway

Almost the whole story of the last years of Union Mission is set down in the official papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, now to be read in the Houghton Library of Harvard University at Cambridge, Mass. The two volumes most concerned with these years are "Osages, Chickasaws, and Mackinaws; Sept. 1824-Sept. 1831" and "Chickasaws, Crocks, and Osages, 1831-1837." Houghton Library call numbers ABC18.48 and ABC18.4A, respectively. Much of this material, with some few additions, may be found in the volumes of the Missionary Herald and the annual reports of the American Board for these years.

The papers of the United Foreign Missionary Society, under whose auspices Union Mission was founded but which merged with the American Board in 1838, are included in the above papers at Houghton Library. The origins of these missionary societies is partly set out in Joseph Tracy's *History of American Missions to the Heathen* (1840), Oklahoma Historical Society and Gilcrease Institute Libraries.

Introduction to the lives of Philip Milledoler, Joseph Everts, and David Greene, secretaries to these Societies, may be found in any work of biographical reference.

In the quarterly publication of the Oklahoma Historical Society (*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*) may be found many articles dealing with Union Mission life in the later years, particularly with the personalities involved; and, although these articles may be considered secondary material, they contain voluminous references to original sources. All these articles up to 1938 may be expeditiously found by referring to the Cumulative Index, recently made available in publication.

The Thoburn Papers in the Editorial Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society, now being processed, have yielded original information on the later life of Abraham Redfield and his family, (Folder RE-1). Also in these papers is the correspondence concerned with the acquisition in 1839 of the original "Journal of Union Mission" from descendants of Rev. Wm. Vail, (Folder Un-1).

In the Library of the Society are the facsimiles of ten letters written by Rev. Vail from 1826 to 1848, the originals loaned to the writer by Lynde Selden of New York City. These letters throw much light on the last days of Asenath (Selden) Vail and the lives of her husband and children after her death in 1835. There is also other material on the Vail family in the Union Mission files of the Library.

On file in the Editorial Department of the Society are discussions, with references to original sources, written by the author of this article, listing and commenting on the names of the Union Mission Indian pupils during the short life of the school, a chronological story of the

final appraisal of the Mission property, and further comments on the first printing to come off the Worcester press.

The Alice Robertson Collection in the Library of the University of Tulsa contains much original material on the stay of the Worcester family at Union and the work of the press there. Letters quoted here are No.'s 3B and 356. In W-biog-12 there is a copy, in Worcester's hand, of the resolution of the Cherokee Council (October 29, 1835) which enabled him to set up his press at Park Hill. The original signed copy of this resolution is in the Library of the Gilcrease Institute in Tulsa.

The story of the McCoy family and their stay at Union is contained in Isaac McCoy's "History of Baptist Indian Missions" (1849), written largely from the journal and letters now deposited in the Manuscript Division of the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka, Kansas.

The incident of Washington Irving's visit to Union Mission with Commissioner Henry Ellsworth and the traveler-naturalist Joseph Latrobe is related in the "Western Journals of Washington Irving," edited by John P. McDermott (University of Oklahoma Press, 1944), and at length in Henry Leavitt Ellsworth, *Washington Irving on the Prairie or A Narrative of a Tour of the Southwest in 1832* (American Book Company, 1907). It is also mentioned in Latrobe's *The Rambler in North America*, published in 1835. The original diary which Latrobe kept while on this journey is now in the Gilcrease Institute.

For those interested in the total history of Union Mission, mention must be made of the War Department Papers, to which this author has not had access, except for the few photostats of these papers in the Foreman Collection at Gilcrease, which are mostly concerned with the early years. But regular reports were made to the Department and are on file in Washington, D.C. in the National Archives.