

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

INDEX TO The Chronicles, 1964

The Index to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLII, 1964 compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, is now ready for free distribution to those who receive the quarterly magazine. Orders for this annual Index should be sent to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City-73105-, Oklahoma.

THE REAL NAME OF THE NOTED TSAI WHO LED THE EASTERN
CHEROKEE BAND TO HIDING IN THE MOUNTAINS DURING THE
REMOVAL IN 1838

Althea Bass, the well known Oklahoma author (*Cherokee Messenger* and other writings) has discovered an important and interesting note in Cherokee history. The name Tsai was a fictitious one given to hide the identity of the noted leader of the Cherokee band that fled to the mountains during the Cherokee removal from Georgia in 1838, as reported by Will West Long of the Eastern Cherokee.

Will West Long was a fine carver of wooden masks like those used by the ancient Cherokee in their dances. He made one of these masks many years ago and presented it to Mrs. Bass who has generously given it to the Museum collections of the Oklahoma Historical Society, a rare type of early Cherokee handicraft. Mrs. Bass also has presented the Historical Society's collection a number of original letters from Will West Long, dated from 1938-1943, giving interesting bits of old Cherokee lore, as well as his original manuscript written in pencil about the story of Tsai and his real name. The following letter from Mrs. Bass gives the birth and the death dates of Will West Long and other data:

845 Lahoma Avenue
Norman, Oklahoma
March 1, 1965

Dear Miss Wright:

To get whatever information might be obtainable about Will West Long, the Eastern Cherokee whose mask I brought you, I wrote to Mr. and Mrs. Joe Jennings, who once lived on the Eastern Cherokee Reservation when he was Superintendent there.

Mrs. Jennings made some inquiries among the older Indians, and this is what she has written me:

"Mary Chiltonkey has just sent me the information about Will West Long which she obtained from his son, Allen Long.

"Will West Long was born January 25, 1870, and died March 14, 1947.

"Allen Long carves masks which are good, but perhaps not as good as his father's were. Practically all of the old ones who knew and believed in the old Cherokee ways are gone now. Bird Partridge, who died a year or more ago, was one of the last ones. When we lived in Cherokee there were still a few of the old full blood families who practiced a few of the ancient customs, such as 'going to water,' that is bathing in a running stream after a funeral in the family.

"Perhaps you know Wattie Chiltoskey who carved the beautiful mulehead bookends. He is seriously ill in a hospital in Winston-Salem now. Wattie's family had clay cooking pots that had been used by the family for generations. He is the brother of Going Back Chiltoskey whose wife got the information about Will West for you. Going Back is quite a famous carver himself."

If Will West was born in 1870, he was rather younger than James Mooney thought him to be, for in Mooney's *Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees* prepared for the 1885-86 volume of the Bureau of Ethnology Reports, he speaks of him as a young man of about nineteen. Anyhow, we now have the date 1870, supplied by his son Allen Long through Mrs. Chiltoskey.

I hope this information will be of use to you.

Cordially yours,

(Signed) Althea Bass

Mrs. Bass has written her own notes on Will West Long and his story of the noted Eastern Cherokee, Tsaki, which follow here in *The Chronicler*:

CONCERNING WILL WEST LONG AND THE STORY OF LAWINI

Will West, or Will West Long as he more often called himself, was born on The Eastern Cherokee Reservation and lived his entire life there. His mother was Ayosta ("The Spoiler") and his father was Gunahi ("Long"), both of them individuals of importance in their tribe, with much knowledge of the history and traditions and religious practices of their people. James Mooney, in his *Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees*, prepared for the 1885-86 volume of the Annual Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology and published in 1891, wrote that he was "an intelligent young man about nineteen years of age, who had attended school long enough to obtain a fair acquaintance with English in addition to his intimate knowledge of Cherokee." Mr. Mooney employed him to put into permanent and usable form a large number of Cherokee formulas that were too poorly written or in too bad a state of preservation to be filed in the archives of the Bureau of Ethnology, and provided him with a blank book of two hundred pages for this purpose. Will West completely filled the book with two hundred and fifty-eight formulas and songs, provided it with heading, table of contents, and an illuminated title-page, and grasped so completely what was expected of him that the result was, in

Mr. Mooney's words, "an altogether unique specimen of Indian literary art."

One of the matters of Cherokee history of which Will West had full knowledge was that of the Eastern Band, made up of refugees who evaded or escaped from the custody of the soldiers assigned to bring in to the stockade all the members of the tribe for their removal west of the Mississippi in 1838. Years afterward, when the members of this band had been given legal status of a sort, they lived in fear of some personal retaliation on the part of the United States Government, and were reluctant to reveal the names of the leaders of the revolt by which they were able to remain in the mountain fastnesses of North Carolina.

Having heard of Will West Long as a leader among his people with special knowledge of the history of the Eastern Band, I visited him at his cabin high in the Big Cove in the summer of 1938. In company with an old man who was his guest and who spoke no English, and of his grandson, a little boy of perhaps a year and a half who played with a rattle made from a baking powder can partly filled with pebbles, we sat on the narrow porch of the cabin with blue sky and pure sunlight and the green beauty of that high valley all around us. Extension of the Blue Ridge Parkway through the reservation of the Eastern Cherokees known as the Qualla Boundary was then being proposed, and these people, living as they had done for decades in obscurity and poverty and great natural beauty, found themselves the center of popular interest. I asked Will West particularly about the story of Tsali which was then being given considerable prominence in the news and in the information offered tourists in that area.

Tsali, or Charley, Will West told me, was not the true name of their hero; it was merely a name so common that, in the use of it, the real identity of this leader would not be known. Until recent years, with their status still uncertain and their claims to the Qualla Reservation and some additional lands still not fully recognized, the Eastern Cherokee feared punishment and retaliation, first upon the leaders themselves and later upon the descendants of these leaders. The old man sitting with us, Mr. Long said, was a descendant of the man known as Tsali, and the old man, addressed in Cherokee, confirmed this information with smiles and nods of agreement.

Will West wrote out for me the names of the Cherokees who began the revolt against the soldiers driving them out of the mountains to the stockade. These were Lawisi

(Tsali), Yegini, the wife of Lawini, Wasidana, their nine-year-old son, and Tsudi gwa nu tsu gi (Fork-tailed Bird) the friend or possibly the brother of Lawini, who was making the march with them. He seemed concerned about having their true names known and made a matter of record, now that they no longer lived in fear of punishment and now that so much publicity was being given to the meaningless name of Tsali. Both the old man who sat with us that day and Will West remembered hearing Wasidana tell the story of Lawini's sacrifice.

It is quite possible that James Mooney was never given the names of these four participants in the revolt against the soldiers rounding them up for removal. In spite of his remarkable ability to gain the confidence of any Indians among whom he worked, circumstances were against him in this instance. Less than fifty years had passed since the revolt, and the Eastern Cherokees were still living in fear and in uncertainty of their status when he began his studies of their myths and formulas. More time must elapse before the Indians would feel secure enough to reveal the names of their heroic leaders.

Following my first meeting with Will West Long, I undertook the collection of clothing and toys for the Christmas celebration that he carried out each year for the people living in the Big Cove, and many of his letters to me are concerned with this annual event. To show his appreciation of these Christmas boxes, he made and gave me a dancer's mask and rattle. In his later years he devoted much of his time to the making of masks.

His command of the English language served him adequately in conversation and in oral narrative, where his voice and personality gave warmth to what he said and made it convincing and moving; but in writing, except for copying under supervision such as he had done for Mr. Mooney, he was limited and handicapped. It was, as he said, hard work to write, and it took a great deal of time. But he left this brief account of the courage and sacrifice that gave the Eastern Cherokees their home, and he put on record the names of those to whom they owe a debt of unending gratitude.

—Althea Bass

UNVEILING OF THE SCULPTURED BRONZE OF ALICE BROWN DAVIS,
CHIEFTAIN OF THE SEMINOLES, OKLAHOMA PAVILION,
NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR, JUNE 12, 1964

The National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians nominated (1961) the late Alice Brown Davis, Chieftain of the Seminoles, for the honor of a bronze portrait bust to be placed in its outdoor museum, a landscaped area at Anadarko. The outdoor museum of this American Indian Hall of Fame (organized 1952) has grown into a place of national significance where due recognition of famous American Indians in the history of our Country has been made in concentrated grouping, their likenesses in bronze along with their heroic stories preserved for the enlightenment of students and tourists in this part of the West for all time.

The outdoor museum of the American Indian Hall of Fame aimed and built toward beautiful bronzes depicting scenes in the history of the American Indians, to include bronze portrait busts of notable Indian personalities in this history, now has on exhibit among its background pieces two large bronzes (6½ feet in height)—“Howling Wolf Pair” and “Bear and Cubs”—by the world famous Anna Hyatt Huntington, and 13 busts (12 cast in outdoor bronze) by noted artists in sculpture. All the sculptured pieces have been gifts to the outdoor museum exhibit donated through the generosity of individuals and organizations that are appreciative and interested in preserving something of the art, culture and history of the American scene. The Oklahoma Historical Society represented by some of its members and by its Board of Directors has been actively interested in the program work of the American Indian Hall of Fame since its beginning.

The donors of the bronze portrait bust of the late Seminole Chieftain, Alice Brown Davis, were members of her family, Mr. and Mrs. Tom Garrard, of McAlester, and Mrs. William S. Key, of Oklahoma City. This bronze bust (heroic size like other portrait busts in the Indian Hall of Fame area) was unveiled on “Oklahoma Day” in the Oklahoma Pavilion at the New York World’s Fair, on June 14, 1964, by Mrs. Tom Garrard, a granddaughter of the Alice Brown Davis. This beautiful sculptured bronze is the work of one of Oklahoma’s gifted Indian artists, Willard Stone of Locust Grove, who used as the model his own portraiture



ALICE BROWN DAVIS
Portrait Bust in Bronze by Willard Stone

of Mrs. Davis, a smaller sized bust of his beautiful hand carving in solid mahogany.

A large crowd gathered in the Oklahoma Pavilion at two o'clock in the afternoon of June 14, 1964, including distinguished guests from Oklahoma and elsewhere, with some of the party of the Oklahoma Governor Henry Bellmon in attendance, the Governor himself taking part in the afternoon's ceremony. The President of the American Indian Hall of Fame, Justice N. B. Johnson of the State Supreme Court, presided. Mrs. Frances Billingsley of Katonah, New York, who had assisted her husband, the late Mr. Logan Billingsley in the founding of the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians at Anadarko, gave a resume of the organization's aims and purposes for its Indian Hall of Fame museum. Mrs. William S. Key, a daughter of Mrs. Alice Brown Davis presented a tribute in memory of her mother. This tribute was written by Mrs. Tom Garrard (nee Allecc Locke) in affectionate memory of her grandmother, Mrs. Davis, and as her personal contribution for the unveiling ceremony:

**TRIBUTE TO ALICE BROWN DAVIS: DELIVERED
BY MRS. WILLIAM S. KEY**

Governor Bellmon, Justice Johnson, Members of the Board of the American Indian Hall of Fame, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Alice Brown Davis, whom you honor today as a leader of her people, was the mother of ten high-spirited children. Sixty years ago our mother 'took us to the Fair'—the World's Fair in St. Louis, 1904. My mother took with us a cowboy from our ranch to corral us.

The story of Alice Brown Davis, Seminole Chieftain, is the story of Oklahoma. She was born into Indian country half a century and more before Oklahoma became a state. Her mother was a Seminole, her father a South Carolinian; her way of life was a fusion of this heritage. A tribute to her is a tribute to the distinctive character of our state.

She was the daughter of Lucy Redbeard of the Tiger clan, from which came most of the leaders of the Seminole Nation, and Dr. John Frippo Brown, South Carolinian of Scottish descent, who attended the Seminoles as government physician on their move from the Florida Everglades to the present Oklahoma. Dr. Brown met the gentle girl to whom he gave the name "Lucy" on this famous trek. They were married and established their first home in the Cherokee Nation in deference to Seminole code prohibiting intermarriage.

Of this union there were seven children in addition to Alice. The elder brother of Alice Brown was Governor John F. Brown, for thirty consecutive years Principal Chief of the Seminole Nation. Another brother, Andrew Jackson Brown, was for many years Treasurer of the Seminole Nation.

Dr. Brown, Alice's father, educated in medicine at the University

of Edinburgh in Scotland, wrote in his own fine script a study of diseases prevalent in the territory and his prescriptions for their treatment, medicines made from herbs and roots, the healing qualities of which his Seminole wife had taught him.

Alice Brown was educated in part by private training. During the Civil War her teacher was Miss Carrie Bushyhead, sister of Cherokee Chief Dennis Bushyhead. After the war when the family moved to Greenhead Prairie she continued her education in the Seminole Mission school as did her younger brothers and sisters.

My sister Maye always said that our impressive Uncle John spoke with the combined flavor of Dickens, Shakespeare, and the Bible. These were the books of early Indian Territory. Our mother read a chapter of the Bible each morning of her life.

There were difficult days after the Civil War when the Brown family moved to Greenhead Prairie. A great cholera epidemic came and at fifteen our Mother's life of service was begun as she accompanied her father into the scourged homes.

With a legacy left Dr. Brown the elder son established a store in Greenhead Prairie. The days were difficult but still colorful. Jennie Chisholm lived nearby and became a life-long friend. Jesse Chisholm drove pack-horses over the trail he made famous, which ran west of the Brown home. Once after a great pass-through of buffalo, our Mother told her friend, Mrs. Susie Peters, a buffalo came home with the Brown cattle.

Dr. Brown died from the effects of his arduous work during the cholera epidemic; our grandmother, Lucy Brown, died soon afterward. When the elder brother moved the store to Sasakwa, it was there that Alice became a teacher. And then she was married. On January 20, 1874, Alice Brown was married to an early day rancher and business man of Indian Territory, George Rollin Davis, born in Pleasant Hill, Indiana, and reared in Kansas, his early home in Leroy. They were married in Okmulgee by the Reverend Samuel Checote, a Methodist Minister and Chief of the Creek Nation. Eleven children were born to them, ten grew to maturity, six daughters and four sons. For the most part the children grew up on the Bar X Bar Ranch at Arbeka, Seminole Nation, Indian Territory, a trading post established some years after their marriage by our parents.

When the youngest of us was three years old, our Mother was left upon her own resources. She cared for her children and superintended ranch, store and post office. Specifically, she directed the activities of cook, clerks, tenant farmers, sometimes as many as twenty cowboys, and always her ten children and the stream of Seminoles who came to our Mother as counselor and benefactor. In the latter capacity our Mother was an interpreter of the Indian in the law courts of the white man from the days of the Dawes Commission in the late years of the 19th century to 1935.

Outlaw and marshal, drummer and dignitary, stopped at the ranch and were fed and housed. When one of the children was sick, the doctor was sent for and he stayed and hunted until the child was well. Al Jennings came as an outlaw and many years later when he reformed and was making a political speech in his bid for Governor of Oklahoma, he acknowledged to an audience in Wewoka the presence of Mrs. 'Arbeka' Davis.

Indian Camp Meeting was a regular part of our early life. Our Uncle John served the Indian church as minister for years. Arbors, roofs supported by posts, were built around the church. Under these arbors the Seminoles cooked and ate throughout the days the camp

meeting was held. The Brown camp fed a hundred or so, including Mama's children. Services lasted for four hours at a sitting, and Mama's children were required to sit for that period. If you think the time excessive, the Indian would say "The sun always shines tomorrow." We loved to sing the Indian hymns, although we did not always know what we were saying. At the Indian church service, the men were seated on one side and the women were seated on the other. A new cowboy was always persuaded to take the cook to Indian church. When he was seated with her beside him, a solemn Seminole with a long pole would tap him on the shoulder and he would squirm in embarrassment to the smothered delight of cowboys and children until he discovered the reason for his predicament.

We always felt that Mama secretly enjoyed our pranks, although she was a strict disciplinarian, and we were almost always dutiful and obedient. Mama was not demonstrative. She kissed us when we went away to boarding school in the fall and she kissed us when we came home. That was all. But each of us knew her tenderness. Always when the littlest one fell down and lost his mitten and would come in crying from the cold, Mama would say, "Come, give me your little hand." And she would take the little cold hand in hers and hold it close to her and the world would be warm and right.

In a larger sense our Mother dedicated herself to the Seminoles with the same devotion she lavished upon her children. She was the natural leader of her people before she was appointed Seminole Chieftain by the President of the United States in 1922.

The specifics of her career: as teacher of Seminole children at Sasakwa and at Mekuaukey School for Boys; as teacher, then Superintendent of the Emshaka School for Seminole Girls; as disbursing agent of Union pensions for Seminole soldiers, as member of a missionary pilgrimage to the Florida Everglades, made with her brother Jackson and other tribal leaders; as an emissary into Mexico, riding fifty miles in a stagecoach drawn by burros, to substantiate a Seminole claim to a grant made by the Mexican government to the old Seminole warrior Wildcat; as an interpreter in the courts of Indian Territory and Oklahoma—all these things pale into insignificance beside the personal quality of her service and devotion to her people. Each morning Alice B. Davis rose early, groomed herself with dispatch, prepared and ate her breakfast, and placed on the back of her stove a great pot of chicken and rice.

She read the Bible and if she were not in court that day the Seminoles began to arrive. All day long they came and all day long they were advised or helped or scolded, and always they were fed. At the ending of her life when the minister from the Indian church came for the last visit with her, she lifted her head and asked, "Have you eaten? Have them prepare something for you."

Alice B. Davis was not elected by the Seminoles; but she was appointed Chieftain of the tribe by the President. True to the precept of the Seminole she had not sought the appointment. Her modesty was almost naive. When she was going to the appointment ceremony from her home in Wewoka to Muskogee, she saw on the train her old friend, the Reverend J. S. Murrow. On this train were her children and grandchildren and friends. "Where are you going, Father Murrow?" she asked. And the devoted old friend answered, "Where do you suppose, Daughter?"

Like her brother, Governor Brown, who one winter furnished provisions and clothing when the annual per capita payment was not made to the Seminoles, she died in modest circumstances at her home

in Wewoka. The date of her death was June 21, 1935. She was 83 years old and her lovely long hair was still black and shining.

The bronze which is here unveiled in her honor is sculptured in heroic size. Our Mother was small in stature.

The bronze portrait bust of Mrs. Alice Brown Davis was dedicated for permanent exhibit in fitting ceremony on the site of the American Indian Hall of Fame area at Anadarko, Oklahoma, on October 16, 1964. Mrs. Tom Garrard officially presented the bronze bust to the American Indian Hall of Fame, and Mr. Paul Stonum, member of the organization's Executive Committee, accepted this beautiful gift to be a part of the permanent exhibit on museum grounds. Mrs. Garrard said in her presentation that the bronze portrait was given in remembrance of her own mother, the late Maye Davis Locke (Mrs. Ben Locke) who had originally been the moving spirit and inspiration that resulted in the bronze of her mother, Alice Brown Davis. A brief historical sketch of Alice Brown Davis compiled from notes given by Maye Davis Locke follows here:

HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE LIFE OF ALICE BROWN DAVIS

A portrait bust of Alice Brown Davis was created by the Oklahoma Indian sculptor, Willard Stone, and unveiled as a part of the Oklahoma Day ceremonies at the World's Fair on June 12, 1956. This event was under the sponsorship of the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians.

In 1930 Mrs. Davis was an honoree in the "Oklahoma Hall of Fame"; in 1950 "Davis House" at Oklahoma University was named for her; and in 1961, she was nominated for honor in the American Indian Hall of Fame.

Mrs. Davis earned these various formal recognitions by the manner in which she carried out the responsibilities that she assumed as the natural leader of her people; appointed chieftain of the Seminole Nation by the President of the United States in 1922; as the interpreter of the Indian in the law courts of the white man, serving with the Dawes Commission as well as in the state and federal courts; as a Christian influence with her people, whether in her chosen church, the Spring Baptist Church near Sasakwa or serving on a Christian mission to the Florida Everglades, headed by her brother Jackson Brown.

Alice Brown Davis was born September 10, 1852 near Park Hill in the Cherokee Nation of Indian Territory to Dr. John F. and Lucy (Redbeard) Brown.¹ Dr. Brown, from Charleston, South Carolina, was a graduate in medicine from the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. As government physician, he was directed to accompany the

¹Dr. John F. Brown was a contract physician to the Federal troops at Fort Gibson though he administered as a doctor to the soldiers from both the North and the South. His eldest son, John F. Brown, served as a lieutenant in the Confederate Indian troops in the Indian Territory, and served as delegate to Washington in making the Seminole Treaty of 1865 with U. S. commissioners after the War. Dr. John F. Brown's Seminole wife was Lucy Redbeard by consensus of opinion in the family. However, Mrs. E. C. Aldridge

Seminole on their move from Florida to the new Indian Territory, and at this time he met Lucy Redbeard of the Tiger clan, from which came most of the leaders of the Seminole Nation. They were married and established their home in the Cherokee Nation in deference to Seminole laws prohibiting intermarriage. Of this union there were seven children in addition to Alice Brown. The elder brother of Alice Brown was Governor John Frippo Brown, for thirty consecutive years principal chief of the Seminoles Nation; another brother, Andrew Jackson Brown, was for many years treasurer of the Seminole Nation.

Alice Brown was educated by private training and in schools of the Indian Territory. During the Civil War she attended school under the instruction of Carrie Bushyhead, a sister of Dennis Bushyhead, Cherokee chieftain. After the War, when her family moved to Greenhead Prairie, her education was continued in the Seminole Mission School established by the Reverend Ross Ramsey, Presbyterian missionary.²

Alice Brown was married in January, 1874 to George Rollin Davis, early day rancher and business man of the Indian Territory. Eleven children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Davis. The following ten grew to maturity:

George Lytle (deceased),
 Clara Estella (Mrs. H. W. Twinam of Prague, Oklahoma—deceased),
 Jesse Edwin (deceased),
 Laura Myrtle (Mrs. E. C. Aldridge of Wewoka, Oklahoma),
 Eleanor Maye (Mrs. Ben D. Locke of Oklahoma City—deceased),
 Flora Maude (Mrs. Madison C. Jones—deceased),
 Elizabeth Marguerite (Mrs. V. L. Kiker of Wewoka, Oklahoma),
 Irene Genevieve (Mrs. William S. Key of Oklahoma City),
 John Frippo (Los Angeles, California),
 and Andrew Jackson Davis (Westminster, California).

When the youngest child was three, Mrs. Davis was left with the responsibility of rearing her children on the Burr X Bar Ranch at Arbeks, a trading post and post office established by the Davises in Indian Territory [Post Office established, September 10, 1863, George B. Davis, Postmaster].

In 1905, she became superintendent of Enehaka Boarding School for Seminole girls, in which her daughters received their education before entrance into college, her sons for the most part attending Meksakey Boarding School for Seminole boys.

She established her permanent home in Wewoka where she continued to interpret in the courts, upholding the rights of the Seminoles and administering to their needs during the turbulent periods of the removal of Indian restrictions on the sale or lease of their

(Myrtle Davis) has said that her mother, Mrs. Alice Brown Davis, confirmed the name of her Seminole mother as Lucy Graybeard. The children of Dr. John F. and Lucy (Redbeard) Brown were: John Frippo; Lucy (Mrs. Allen Crane); Jennie (Mrs. James Factor); Alice (Mrs. Alice B. Davis and her twin sister who died in infancy); Andrew Jackson, Robert Graham and Stanton Brown.

²The Seminole Mission School was founded and conducted by the Reverend James Ross Ramsey, a boarding school for Seminole girls, established after the Civil War (by 1863), generally known as the "Wewoka Mission" under the auspices of the Presbyterian Mission Board. Its site was about two miles north of Wewoka.—Ed.

lands and during the oil boom in Seminole County, which precipitated litigation over lands belonging—after allotment of tribal land—to individual Seminoles and over properties set aside by the Nation for schools and churches.

Like her brother, Governor John F. Brown, who one winter furnished food and clothing when the regular per-capita payments were not made to the Seminoles, Mrs. Davis shared all that she had with her people. Like her brother, she, too, lived in moderate circumstances in her last years. She died on June 21, 1938, in her home in Wewoka, Oklahoma.