

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

DR. EMMA ESTILL-HARBOR, PRESIDENT BOARD OF DIRECTORS,
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In the death of Ex-Governor R. L. Williams, the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society lost its president. Judge Williams had served as a director and a leader in the work of this institution for a quarter of a century. It was fitting and it would have pleased him very much to know that his successor would be found in Doctor Emma Estill-Harbour whose name he had placed before the Board to be chosen as a member many years before. Doctor Harbour had served as First Vice-President for several years and upon the passing of Judge Williams, she was under the By-laws elevated to the presidency. This strategic position upon the Board of Directors has fallen into worthy and capable hands.

Dr. Harbour was born in Liberty Missouri, and came to Oklahoma in the first decade of the 20th Century. Her education has been broad and liberal. Receiving her A.B. degree at the Oklahoma College for Women in 1915, she took her college M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in the University of Oklahoma in 1923 and 1933 respectively. She has had post-graduate work in Columbia University, University of Colorado and Chicago University. Her home address is: 302 East Sixth Street, Edmond, Oklahoma.

She is an honored member of many educational and professional societies including the American Association of University Women, of which she was State President in 1930-32; Delta Kappa Gamma, of which she was State Founder and once State Treasurer; and the National League of American Pen Women. She was elected by the Oklahoma Memorial Association to the "Hall of Fame" in 1935.

For her patriotic leadership she was appointed to serve as a director on character training at Neuf Chateau, France, during World War I. Her travels have taken her three times to Europe, to South America, Mexico, Central American countries, Cuba, Hawaii, Alaska, the Canal Zone, and Canada.

She was elected to a splendid position in the History Department of Central State College in 1912 and she possesses one of the longest tenures of teaching in that Institution of any teacher of the State—thirty-six years of service and still a member of the faculty.

C. E.

SOME JOHN A. SIMPSON—FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LETTERS
ON THE AGRICULTURAL SITUATION 1932-33

The following Simpson—Roosevelt letters have been annotated by Dr. Gilbert C. Fite, Department of History, the University of Oklahoma, and contributed for publication in *The Chronicles*. He is the author of "The Nonpartisan League in Oklahoma," *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (Summer, 1946), in which some of John A. Simpson's activities in Oklahoma were received.—Editor

Introduction

As the election of 1932 approached, one of the most critical problems facing the presidential candidates, and the entire country, was the agricultural depression. For ten years farmers had experienced chronic hard times and by 1932 they seemingly had sunk to the depths of bankruptcy and poverty. Many solutions for the farm problems were forthcoming. Among the foremost campaigners for agricultural relief was John A. Simpson of Oklahoma, president of the National Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union.

From 1917 until his death in 1934, Simpson was one of the nation's most aggressive farm leaders. After a career of school teaching, banking, and farming he was elected president of the state Farmers' Union in 1917. When Simpson assumed command, the organization was weak and of little consequence with only 231 dues-paying members.¹ For the next fourteen years he staged an intensive drive to build up a farmers class movement in Oklahoma. During that period, Simpson developed one of the strongest state Farmers' Union organizations in the United States.

His outstanding record in organizing Oklahoma farmers naturally placed him in the national limelight in farm circles, and put him in a strong position to bid for the national presidency of his organization. When the Farmers' Union held its national convention in St. Paul in November, 1930, Simpson was elected president by a large majority.²

After his election as national president, Simpson left his office in Oklahoma City and spent most of his time in Washington seeking national farm relief legislation. He served as an adviser and agricultural lobbyist. His counsel was frequently sought, not only because of his official position, but because of his long and successful experience with farm organizations. Many people, some of them in Oklahoma, viewed Simpson as radical and visionary, and had no faith in his farm relief schemes which included marked monetary inflation and a federal farm program that would guarantee farmers the cost of production, plus a reasonable profit. Nevertheless, he continued to advocate them with such vigor and persistency that

¹ The Oklahoma Union Farmer, January 1, 1926.

² Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth National Convention, Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America (Red Lodge, Montana, 1930). A pamphlet.

even his opponents respected his sincerity and good faith, if not his judgment.

In March, 1932, Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt wrote to Simpson asking for information and advice, presumably on the agricultural situation. From that time until Simpson's death, he endeavored to sell Roosevelt on his farm relief ideas. The following letters give a running account of Simpson's effort to convert Roosevelt to a program of inflation and legislation guaranteeing farmers the cost of production. Roosevelt did not commit himself in writing to any phase of Simpson's policies, although Simpson seemed to have believed that Roosevelt intended to launch out upon an inflationary sea as a means of saving agriculture.

—Gilbert C. Fite.

March 7, 1932

My dear Mr. Simpson:

I have been seeing so many people who have been talking and working with you of late that I wish much that I could meet you personally and talk with you about many matters on which I need information and advice at first hand.

Is there any chance of your coming to Albany in the course of the next month or six weeks? It would be fine if you could run up here and stay with us over night so that we could have a good talk. I expect to be here practically all of the time except March thirteenth and fourteenth and an occasionally Sunday at home at Hyde Park.³

Very sincerely yours,
Franklin D. Roosevelt

March 10, 1932

Dear Governor:

I thank you for your invitation to visit you in Albany.

I think I can make this visit about the last of this month or the first of next. I will let you know in ample time to notify me if the time I select is satisfactory to you.

Under separate cover, I am mailing you a copy of a radio talk I made in January. Also, under further separate cover, I am sending you a copy of a radio talk I made in February.⁴ These two talks, in a large measure, present the National Farmers' Union program.

Very sincerely yours,
John A. Simpson

April 11, 1932

Dear Governor:

I was mighty glad to hear you say, a week ago Sunday when I visited you, that you would be willing for a plank to be placed in the National

³ The Simpson-Roosevelt correspondence is in the Simpson MS collection deposited in the University of Oklahoma library at Norman.

⁴ In this speech Simpson sharply criticized the Federal Farm Board, calling it a complete failure. He castigated the "international bankers," and advocated liberal inflation and stabilization of the dollar's purchasing power.

Democratic platform promising the farmers such legislation as would secure to them cost of production for that part of their crops used in this country.

I was also pleased when you said you were in favor of a plank asking for an international conference on the silver question. However, I believe this nation will have to remonetize silver regardless of what other nations do. The gold standard is the set-up of big bankers and is the condition most favorable for their control of the volume of money and credits of the country. Remonetization of silver, will, to a large degree, take that control away from them. A gold standard makes it easy for other nations to sell their products in our country, but hinders their buying our products to take back home with them. We are now fearfully handicapped that way.

If you visit Washington in the near future I would like to know of it so I may have the pleasure of at least a further brief conference.

Sincerely yours,
John A. Simpson

July 28, 1932

My dear Mr. Simpson:

I am writing to acknowledge receipt of your letter of July seventeenth and to thank you for your kindness in sending me a copy of your address for delivery over the NBC network on Saturday, July twenty-third.

I appreciate very much the kind words you used concerning me in your speech and I sincerely hope that you have the opportunity and the strength to make many more.⁵

With cordial personal regards, I am

Yours very sincerely,
Franklin D. Roosevelt

August 27, 1932

Dear John Simpson:

That was a fine letter you wrote me just after the convention, and if my good intentions had been carried into action, I should have immediately acknowledged it. I am sure, however, that you realize the pressure under which I have been working during the past few weeks.

I need not tell you how much your offer of active personal service means to me. You will hear from us again as our plans for the summer are formulated.⁶

Yours very sincerely,
Franklin D. Roosevelt

August 27, 1932

Dear Governor:

I have been intending to write ever since I returned from Columbus, Ohio. I have been addressing very large audiences here in South Dakota

⁵ In this speech Simpson called the Democratic plank on agriculture "very satisfactory." He praised Roosevelt and said he believed the New York Governor would interpret the agricultural and unemployment planks "very liberally in behalf of the common people of the country." Simpson MS.

⁶ Soon after the National Democratic Convention, Simpson offered his services to Roosevelt's campaign.

all week. I am sure I have had an average audience at each meeting of, at least, five thousand. I spoke to fifteen thousand in Huron [South Dakota] last night. I have been having two meetings a day. They are using me on Sundays even. I will speak tomorrow, Sunday, at a point in this state and at another point in Minnesota.

I am enclosing a copy of an explanation of the Farmers' Union Marketing plan. I hope you will find time to read it carefully.

In a word, our plan is for the government to do for agriculture what it has done for transportation. The government for twenty-five years has regulated the marketing of transportation on a basis of cost including interest on investment. We want the government to regulate the marketing of farm crops on the same basis.

The money plank of the National Democrat Platform is the most embarrassing one I meet. I feel that you should state publicly that you believe we must have a cheaper dollar. The present dollar is the highest price in the history of this nation. It takes ten bushels of oats to buy one dollar. It takes three bushels of wheat to buy one dollar. Remember, three bushels of wheat makes almost two hundred pound loaves of bread. It takes fifteen pounds of cotton to purchase a dollar. It will draw thousands of votes to you, here in the Republican states, if you will just say that the dollar we have is too high priced. Europe cheapened the value of their money units from one-fourth to one-fifth their former value. This helped the debtors to pay the creditors. We have made it impossible for our citizens to ever pay their debts. . . .

It [the United States monetary system] is damnable. It was invented to satisfy the greed of the big bankers of this nation. To call such a system sound is a disgrace to our Democrat Party.

I am over intensely interested in seeing you overwhelmingly elected and then after you are elected I want you to be in a position to start a new deal in this country. I want you to say just enough on this money question to justify you in doing what should be done after you are elected. I do not want you to say enough to drive votes from you. I think you understand.

Remember, in your speech at Topeka, that the National Democrat platform pledges to see that farmers are refinanced at lower rates of interest and more favorable terms. This amounts to an endorsement of the Frazier Bill.⁷ Also remember, that the agricultural plank of our platform agrees that we will do everything under the Constitution to get cost of production for agricultural products. This was intended as an endorsement of the Farmers' Union Marketing Plan.

I am sure if in your speech you will make it plain that you intend to see that farmers are financed on as reasonable terms as the government finances the shipping interests and on as easy terms as they have made to the peoples of Europe and if you will let the farmers know that you approve of the government regulating the marketing of farm crops just like they regulate the marketing of transportation, then all over this Nation the farmers will rise up like they did one hundred years ago, go to the polls and support you as they did Andrew Jackson in 1832.

Yours sincerely,
John A. Simpson

⁷ Senator Lynn J. Frazier of North Dakota introduced a bill providing for financing farm mortgages at one and one-half per cent interest, plus a payment of one and one-half per cent of the principal each year. To finance this plan he urged that the government issue non-interest bearing notes.

September 6, 1932

Dear Governor:

I have had a wonderful series of meetings the last four weeks,—Farmers' Union picnics, Holiday Strike meetings⁸ and yesterday a Labor Day meeting in Madison, this state. [Wisconsin] I have been in Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, South Dakota, Minnesota and will be here all this week. In the four weeks I have held thirty-four meetings besides broadcasting in Iowa, Nebraska and South Dakota. Only two of the meetings have had less than one thousand present and several of them have had more than ten thousand. I am sure in the thirty-four meetings I have talked to one hundred and fifty thousand people. Hundreds have told me, "I voted for Hoover in '28, but I will not vote for him this time." Not one person has ever told me, "I did not vote for him in '28, but will this time." To make it short, it just looks like this midwest country is going to give you a big majority.

I have a letter from one of the farm leaders in which he says the Wilson Allotment Plan is being presented to you.⁹ The Farmers' Union, the Grange and the Farm Bureau all opposed the Wilson Allotment Plan in the last session of Congress. It is a United States Chamber of Commerce scheme to muddy the waters. The President of the United States Chamber of Commerce was present when the plan was formulated and big business financed Wilson and others to lobby for it in Washington.

My suggestion is that in your speech on agriculture you stick to the plank in the National Democrat Platform which pledges farmers everything will be done under the constitution to secure to them cost of production for their products. I suggest you call attention to the fact that the government does that for railroads under the Interstate Commerce Law. I also call your attention to the fact that the government does not attempt to control the companies exportable surplus. They only control that part of transportation service used by the people in this country. . . .

The National Democrat Platform also pledges farmers refinancing at low rates of interest and on the amortization plan. I suggest you elaborate on this plank in a way that makes it clear to the farmers that you endorse the principles of the Frazier Bill without mentioning it. . . .

My meetings continue up to election day and will take me, after this week, into Iowa, North Dakota, Montana, Utah, Colorado and the last week before election in my own state, Oklahoma.

Yours truly,
John A. Simpson

October 4, 1932

My dear Mr. Simpson:

It is always good to get your reports on conditions, as you find them, and the suggestions you make are very helpful. In some manner, your letter didn't reach my desk at Albany until after I had started west and it has been held by my secretary for my return. . . .

⁸ The Farmers' Holiday program called for withholding farm products from the market until prices advanced.

⁹ M. L. Wilson of Montana State College was one of the leading advocates of the domestic-allotment program. There were several modifications of this plan but Simpson was referring to the version which provided cash-benefit payments to farmers who limited their production. Simpson opposed this plan because it did not aim at providing cost of production, and he was against restricting acreage by law.

The result in Maine is very gratifying and the reports of the progress of the campaign through the west make me feel that the chances are very bright for a sweeping victory. Regardless of whether I am able to acknowledge all of your letters, I know that I may depend on you to continue writing me.

With best wishes, I am

Yours very sincerely,
Franklin D. Roosevelt

October 29, 1932

Dear Simpson:

I wish you could see the mountain of correspondence that awaits me on my return from my recent trip to the south and west. Certainly if letters are any indication, it will be a sweeping victory in November. . . .

I shall hope to hear from you at least once more before Election Day.

With my thanks for all you have done, and my warm personal regards, I am

Yours very sincerely,
Franklin D. Roosevelt

Be sure to come in and see me when you come East.

December 17, 1932

Dear Mr. President-Elect:

I am glad you sent Mr. Henry Morgenthau Jr. to represent you in the conferences held here [Washington] by leaders of farm organizations and near farm organizations.¹⁰

Mr. Morgenthau very definitely made known that we should not build any marketing program around the Farm Board. This policy harmonizes with the Farmers' Union one hundred per cent.

Numerous Farm Board set-ups were represented in this conference. It was quite evident they were trying to save the Farm Board. Attempt was made shortly after Mr. Morgenthau left to have the conference indorse the activities of the Farm Board and ask that it be retained as an institution. I made successful, emphatic, objection.

I am sure the Farm Board is the most unpopular government institution that exists here in Washington. Ninety per cent of the farmers have no faith or confidence in the personnel or the policies of this board.

Do not let those who are borrowing large sums of money for their institutions from the Farm Board and drawing big salaries from these Farm Board set-ups deceive you into changing your policies in this matter.

I believe you should get rid of the Farm Board at the earliest possible moment, of course, giving them fair time in which to arrange transfer of their affairs to such department as may be provided.

Yours truly,
John A. Simpson

¹⁰ From December 12 to 14 representatives of the leading farm organizations met in Washington to develop a united program that could be presented at the next session of Congress.

April 3, 1933

Dear Mr. President:

Since the Fourth of March I am sure you have faced more and bigger problems than any other President of the United States in the first thirty days of his administration.

There are many of these problems still facing you. Among them the money question. The money question is the biggest and most important problem you will have to solve. All other measures will fail until such time as our monetary system has been intelligently revised.

You can not balance the budget. You can not make farm relief legislation work. You can not save the banks, the railroads, the insurance companies and other commercial and industrial enterprises with a dollar that buys four bushels of wheat from a Kansas farmer, ten bushels of corn from a Nebraska farmer or twenty pounds of cotton from a Texas farmer.

I recall, with pleasure, that you called me over the telephone from Albany during the National Democrat Convention in Chicago. I remember you told me, when I complained of the money plank that had been adopted by the Convention, that you would interpret it liberally and by liberally you said you meant we must have a dollar with less purchasing power.

In the legislation passed so far there is nothing that cheapens the dollar. It still has its extortionate purchasing power. . . .

I respectfully urge the immediate consideration and quick action on the question of monetary reform to the end that the people of this Nation may have a dollar that will pay debts and constructs instead of a dollar that brings destruction and repudiation.

Very respectfully,
John A. Simpson

April 6, 1933

Dear Mr. Simpson:

Thank you for your letter of April third. Please let me assure you that I am just as anxious as you are to give the dollar less purchasing power and farm products more purchasing power.

Very sincerely yours,
Franklin D. Roosevelt

May 6, 1933

Dear Mr. President:

A very important matter has reached a place where I feel it my duty to present to you the farmers' side of the question. The question is Senate amendment to H. R. 3835, known as Part 3 or Cost of Production.

You will recall that on the afternoon of March 6 Mr. Brenckman representing the Grange, Mr. Ogg representing the Farm Bureau and I had a conference with you. Among other things, I told you I was billed for a series of meetings that would take me as far west as Omaha, Nebraska. That if I made these meetings I must start the next day. That I would cancel them if the Congress you had called into special session for the ninth would take up the matter of farm legislation. You told me that the Congress would only be in session three or four days,—just long enough to take care of the bank situation. Then they would recess for about three

weeks. With this information I made my meetings in the west returning the eighteenth of March. In a few days after I left Secretary Wallace called a conference and the farm bill [Agricultural Adjustment Act] was written. I had no opportunity to take part in its construction.

I filed a brief with the Senate Agricultural Committee stating these facts. The Committee granted an open hearing. The hearing lasted four days. The Committee placed the amendment asked for in the bill [cost of production amendment]. Later the Senate voted to keep the amendment in the bill.

When the bill went back to the House, the House refused to concur in this particular Senate amendment and it went to a conference. The conference has failed to agree.

Secretary Wallace filed with the conference the Department of Agriculture's protest against the Cost of Production Amendment. . . .

I have shown this remarkable protest of the Secretary's to a number of farmers. Their verdict has been unanimously that it has more inconsistencies than they ever read in a like number of words.

The first thing in Secretary Wallace's protest to which I call your attention, he says the amendment is economically unsound. Such a statement is a reflection on the platform upon which you ran. That platform promised farmers everything possible would be done to secure to them cost of production for their products. I helped write the plank long before the National Democrat Convention. . . . With the understanding that the plank was satisfactory to you the Platform Committee adopted it. I was there; a delegate from my state. Upon the basis of the promise in that plank I went before the farmers of the Nation in one hundred and eight meetings in twelve states; many times broadcasting over nationwide hook-ups. I was in good faith in presenting that plank in every meeting I held. I think the Democrat Party was. I believe you were. But I believe there are those who have kept the facts from you and that is the reason I am writing this letter. We did not consider cost of production economically unsound in the campaign. I can see no reason for doing it now.

The next thing in this remarkable paragraph of the Secretary's to which I call your attention is contained in the same sentence. He says the Cost of Production Amendment would depress rather than increase farm prices. Then a little later on in a sentence he says cost of production would back farm commodities up on the farm. In other words, would make prices so high no one would buy farm products. Absolutely inconsistent and the farmers who saw it caught it at once.

Another inconsistency, he states there is no legislative standard for determining cost of production. In the next sentence he tells about the cost of production figures of the Department. As inconsistent as it is possible for a statement to be. Of course, the Department of Agriculture has a cost accounting department. It has operated for twenty years. Has spent millions of dollars.

So far as I am personally concerned it makes no difference to me. My only object in writing this letter is to do my full duty to you, to the farmers of the Nation and to the political party they have trusted. I am a firm believer in the principles of the Democrat Party as expounded by Jefferson and Jackson, and I hope to always be found doing my part to preserve its integrity.

Very respectfully,
John A. Simpson

May 20, 1933

Dear John:

I have not had an opportunity before this to thank you for your letter of May 6th. I hope you will realize that on Monday, March 6th, I acted in entirely good faith in telling you that probably Congress would be in session only three or four days. Things moved so fast, as you know, that during the next two days it became obvious that other matters had to be taken up to meet the financial and economic crisis.

On the evening of March 8th we tried to locate you, Mr. Taber and Mr. O'Neal. The next day, because many long distance telephones failed to locate you, we asked Congressman Lambertson, the Vice President of the Farmers' Union, to come to the meeting on March 10th, understanding that he was authorized to act in your absence. The Congressman has all these facts.

Very sincerely yours,
Franklin D. Roosevelt

June 5, 1933

Dear Mr. President:

In the last few weeks I have held meetings in Illinois, Michigan, Ohio and here in my home state, Oklahoma.

Out of my contact with various groups and interest at these meetings I am convinced there is some improvement in the farm situation. I am also convinced that the thought of inflation is ninety per cent of the cause of this improvement. However, it is my firm belief that unless there is real inflation, instead of just fear of it, improvement will cease and we may even lose the advances we have made. . . .

Your letter to the fifty-four nations, your proclamation putting us off the gold standard and your request for legislation asking for abrogation of the clause in contracts providing for gold payment met with almost unanimous favor among the thinking people of the country. Never recede from these positions you have taken.

Yours respectfully,
John A. Simpson

June 15, 1933

Dear John:

Many thanks for your note.

We are, as you know, having a bad time during the closing days of Congress.

When I get back from my little trip, I hope you will run in and see me.

Sincerely yours,
Franklin D. Roosevelt

After Roosevelt had been in office six months, Simpson was thoroughly disgusted with the New Deal. In a five page open letter to the President he sharply criticized the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the National Recovery Act, and the lack of what he considered adequate inflation. He also attacked Roosevelt's "brain trust", and the "international bankers." A sense of disappointment char-

acterized this letter of September 14, 1933. The last letter written to Roosevelt by Simpson, at least the last of which there is a copy in the Simpson files, was written about three and one-half months before Simpson died. Until the end he insisted that liberal inflation was the only real way to restore farm prosperity. This letter of November 28, 1933, reads:

Dear Mr. President:

I thank you for your letter of November 15.

I expect to be in Washington the twenty-third of December. When I arrive, shall call your office, and shall be glad to make you a visit.

I just returned from the annual convention of the National Farmers' Union held in Omaha, Nebraska, November 20, 21, and 22. There were members there from thirty-one states. . . .

I heard Governor [Charles] Bryan tell our convention that he took the advice of government agents and shipped one hundred and seventy-five pigs on the theory that this would raise the price of his two hundred pound hogs. He has kept the two hundred pound hogs for the price to raise. Instead of raising, it is one dollar and ten cents per hundred pounds less, and four hundred pound hogs are a second grade hog.

The wolves I am trying to keep off your back are your pretended friends who pat you on your back and tell you things are lovely.

There will never be permanent prosperity in this country until there is a restoration of the volume of a medium of exchange. There is really, at least, fifty billion dollars less of medium of exchange to do business with to-day as compared with May, 1920 when the big bankers ordered deflation.¹¹ Bank deposits are thirty billion less. Money available from building and loan associations is ten billion less. Money available from life insurance companies is ten billion less. Besides in May, 1920, farmers and business men could go to their local banks any day and borrow. This credit they had was a medium of exchange. It has entirely disappeared.

You could do no better thing than to cease issuing interest-bearing bonds, and instead issue full legal tender non-interest-bearing currency when the government needs money.

Mr. President, I assure you there is no man in the United States more anxious to have your administration be a success than I am.

Yours respectfully,
John A. Simpson

JEREMIAH CURTIN IN INDIAN TERRITORY

The portion relating to the Indian Territory in *The Memoirs of Jeremiah Curtin*, Joseph Schafer, Editor, has been annotated by Carolyn Thomas Foreman and contributed for publication in *The*

¹¹ Simpson was among the many farm leaders who believed that the Federal Reserve Banks had purposely and maliciously restricted credit in 1920 to the detriment of agriculture.

Chronicles of Oklahoma, through the gracious consent of Dr. Clifford L. Lord, Director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.—Editor

Introduction

Jeremiah Curtin, the celebrated linguist and philologist, was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1840; graduated from Harvard in 1863, he became secretary of the United States Legation the following year and acting consul general in Russia from 1865-66. He was actively associated with the Bureau of American Ethnology from 1883 to 1891. He traveled extensively in far parts of the world and is said to have spoken seventy languages. He was a prolific writer and is well known for his translations from the Polish of Henryk Sienkiewicz's *Quo Vadis* and eight other works. His home was in Bristol, Vermont, and he died in 1906.

The Memoirs of Jeremiah Curtin, edited by Joseph Schafer, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, was issued at Madison in 1940, and it would be difficult to find a more fascinating book. Few citizens of Oklahoma know that this distinguished scholar spent some time in the Indian Territory in 1883-84. He went from St. Louis to Muskogee and wrote first of this Creek town, continuing the description of his journey from there.

—Carolyn Thomas Foreman

"Muskogee. . . at that time was an untidy, tumble-down place. There were no sidewalks and only a few comfortable residences. Mr. Tufts,¹ our Indian agent, lived in a two-story building, but most of the buildings were only one-story high. Among the population were many negroes.

"From Muskogee I went to Okmulgee, the capital of the Creek nation. I made the journey in 'the stage,' a canvas-covered conveyance resembling an emigrant wagon. The ride of forty miles was over an uncultivated plain varied here and there by the bed of a dry creek skirted on either side by a scant growth of timber. In the rainy season a rapid stream runs over these beds. But for these infrequent breaks the whole country would be one vast plain covered with tall, dry grass. Only in three or four places did I see any cultivation.²

"The Half-way house, a three-roomed, log structure, was kept by a negro. The dinner was served in a room which had but one window, and that was very small. The room was usually lighted from the open door, but on this occasion the door was closed, for the wind was blowing; we had to eat in the semi-darkness. But the dinner was good, and in spite of drawbacks, such as darkness, canned milk, and no butter, we enjoyed it.

"In Okmulgee there were two comfortable hotels: the Perryman house and the Coon. I stopped at the Perryman house. The council house of the Creek nation was a large brick building with a bell tower, and a bell to call together the warriors and the kings, the two branches of the government. I went to Okmulgee because council was in session, and it was a good time to get acquainted with the leading politicians of the

¹ John Q. Tufts.

² If Mr. Curtin had made the trip in the spring or early summer he would have seen great varieties of exquisite wild flowers of all colors.

nation. Before we reached the hotel, I met two of my Washington acquaintances, Mr. [George W.] Grayson³—an Indian with only a few drops of Indian blood—and Mr. [Legus C.] Perryman;⁴ and was introduced to Captain [Frederick B.] Sever[s], the leading merchant of the town. Fifteen years earlier he had come from Arkansas, a poor man, with only a few dollars to pay his way. He was now the owner of a big ranch, the largest store in town, and more than half a million of dollars. To become a land-owner he had married an Indian woman.⁵

³ Captain George Washington Grayson, born in 1843 near Eufaula, Oklahoma, was a son of James Grayson and Jennie Wynn, a half-blood Creek Indian. It is claimed that the original name of Grayson was Grierson, which became changed in an unaccountable way. The original member of the Grierson family in this country was a native of Edinburgh, Scotland, who married a woman of the Hillabee Town in the Creek Nation; one of their children became grand parent of George W. Grayson. This lad attended Asbury Manual Labor School, near Eufaula, and he was such a brilliant pupil that he was sent by the Creek Nation to Arkansas College at Fayetteville, Arkansas. He enlisted as a private in the Second Creek Volunteers at the beginning of the Civil War, and at nineteen years of age he was captain of Company K which he commanded until the end of the war.

Captain Grayson married Miss Georgiana Stidham, a daughter of George Washington Stidham, one of the most progressive and highly esteemed citizens of the Creek Nation. Grayson served as treasurer of the nation, secretary of the International Council of the tribes, member of the House of Warriors, and delegate many times to Washington.

⁴ Legus [Ligest] Chouteau Perryman, the most influential member of the family, was born at Sodom, in the Creek Nation, March 1, 1838. He was a son of Lewis and Ellen Winslett Perryman, who both emigrated from the eastern nation in Alabama in 1828. Educated at Tullahassee Mission, under the Rev. William Schenck Robertson, Legus was of great assistance in translating the Bible and many hymns into his language. He wrote articles in his language for the *Indian Journal* of Muskogee in 1879, on "Creek finances," "Muskokee's land," which he signed "Lekase." In the same paper in 1881, he published "Book teacher," an article concerning the Rev. W. S. Robertson, who was called by the Creeks "The Teacher." In 1881 he translated the laws of the Creek Nation which were issued in Creek and English by the *Indian Journal*. The most important work done by Legus Perryman was the comprehensive code of the Creek laws in English and Creek, published in 1880.

Legus was twice elected chief of his nation, in 1887 and 1891; according to Dr. Angie Debo in *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941), Legus was an able executive. "He had energy, decisiveness, and a keen and logical mind; he wrote his own letters and directed his own administration. . . ." (H. F. & E. S. O'Beirne, *The Indian Territory, Its Chiefs, Legislators and Leading Men* [St. Louis, 1892] pp. 105-07; James Constantine Pilling, *Bibliography of the Muskogean Languages* [Washington, 1889], pp. 67, 68.)

⁵ Frederick B. Severs, a native of Washington County, Arkansas, was born August 13, 1835. He was a son of Charles J. Severs of Tennessee and Basima T. Ballard of South Carolina. He received his education at Cane Hill College in Arkansas and worked as a salesman in the store of W. C. Dickson at Fort Gibson before becoming a teacher in the Creek Nation at Asbury Manual Labor School near Eufaula.

Later he engaged in business with H. Shields on the Deep Fork of the Canadian River until the Civil War when he joined Captain Samuel Checote's company as first lieutenant in the Confederate service. In 1863 he was granted citizenship in the Creek tribe, a privilege bestowed on less than half a dozen white men. On September 8, 1869, Captain Severs was married to Miss Annie Anderson, daughter of George Anderson, king (town-chief) of Concharty. He owned a large store in Shieldsville which he later moved to Okmulgee, and in 1884 he opened a store in Muskogee, where he had a home; he also owned a large ranch and a farm where there was a commodious house in a grove of fine trees.

"The following day I spent at the council house where I made the most of my time, for on the morrow the council was to adjourn. A quarrel had arisen, and Grayson and his party had withdrawn to have the dispute settled in Washington. It was a famous day for me. The heated discussions carried on by the Indians and negroes—there were almost as many negro as Indian members in the house of warriors—were immensely interesting. That evening Roberts, an editor from Muskogee,⁶ described to me the conduct of the government and the childish way in which this latest struggle for chief had been conducted. Perryman had been made chief, but he could not keep the office for the majority became dissatisfied and reconsidered the question.⁷

"With the assistance of Grayson and another Creek delegate to Washington, I had learned more or less of the Creek language. I now began to study it seriously. My wife,⁸ and I spent Christmas and New Year's in Okmulgee. At Christmas time the weather was perfect, but the New Year came in with a cold wave, and with wind the Indians said came 'straight from Dakota.' Fortunately, there was plenty of wood. . . . I spent New Year's day burning up wood and reading Creek. . . .

"As soon as a warm day came, I improved it by hiring a team and a driver to take me to Wealaka.⁹ The team, the best the town afforded, was an old two-seated wagon, drawn by a pair of work horses, their harness tied here and there with rags and ropes. . . . During the entire day I saw but six houses. Most of them were off near the horizon, not one was directly on the road. The scenery was monotonous—broad plains with here and there what is called 'bottom,' a dry creek; or, perhaps a little riverlet with timber growing on either bank. Far off a low ridge of hills was visible. There were birds of many kinds and prairie chickens and quails without number. A few miles from Wealaka the road led through a forest of small timber.

"When near the town, it seemed to consist of an imposing brick structure built on a hill, a store at the foot of the hill, and off, almost hidden

⁶ Myron P. Roberts, who was born in Chatham, Columbia County, New York, April 18, 1832, came to the Indian Territory as the correspondent of a Chicago newspaper. In May, 1876, he published the first issue of the *Indian Journal* in Muskogee; on March 15, 1877, the paper was moved to Eufaula after the Muskogee plant had been totally destroyed by fire in December, 1876. Roberts died December 4, 1882, and the printing was carried on by his sons Renfrew M. and Loren H. Roberts.

⁷ In 1894 Perryman was impeached by the House of Warriors. (For further reference, see John Bartlett Meserve, "The Perrymans," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XV, No. 2, [June, 1937], pp. 166-84.)

⁸ Alma Cardell Curtin.

⁹ Wealaka Mission was established in 1882 when the boarding school was removed from Tullahassee Mission by the Reverend R. M. Loughridge and his wife. The school was housed in a large brick building, was very prosperous and was filled to capacity. There was a church at Wealaka at that time in connection with the mission. In 1883 the Reverend Jeremiah N. Diament and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Jacob P. Whitehead were in charge of the mission (*Historical Sketches of the Missions under the Care of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church* [Philadelphia, 1886], pp. 25, 26, 33, 36, 37).

by a clump of trees, an unfinished house. We drove to the brick building—the mission school. I introduced myself to the superintendent and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Lockridge,¹⁰ and was invited to remain at the mission while in Wealaka. We had supper at the 'family table' with a hundred or more Indian children and their teachers, eleven in number.

"That night I slept on a regulation bed, not even one degree softer than a rock. I did not want to eat breakfast at daylight, as the principal and his teachers did, so in the morning I went to look up a boarding place. The only possible one was at the unfinished house in the clump of trees, the home of Sam Brown, a half-breed Yuchi.¹¹ Both Brown and his wife had been educated at the mission; they spoke English, and he was willing

¹⁰ The Reverend Robert McGill Loughridge was born at Laurensville, South Carolina, December 24, 1809. He was educated at Mesopotamia Academy in Alabama, Miami University, at Oxford, Ohio, from which he was graduated in 1837. After which he spent a year at Princeton Theological Seminary, being licensed to preach April 9, 1841. In the autumn of 1841 he was sent by the Presbyterian Board to investigate the situation in the Creek Nation at the request of the Creek agent. He was a recent graduate of Princeton and he rode his horse 600 miles to present a proposition to the Creek council to establish a mission. These Indians were utterly opposed to missions, as they interfered with their dances, ball plays and busks, but young Loughridge prevailed upon the chiefs to allow him to establish a school, provided he confined his preaching to the mission buildings.

Loughridge returned to Alabama and the following February 5, 1843, he returned by steamer with his young bride to the Verdigris Landing in the Creek Nation; they started work in a log cabin in the Coweta settlement. In 1846 the missionary persuaded the Indians to lift the band on his preaching. Loughridge was transferred to the Tullahassee Mission, the largest school in the nation. The principal of this school was the Reverend William Schenck Robertson, who had recently married Ann Eliza Worcester, eldest daughter of the Reverend Samuel Austin Worcester of Park Hill Mission. Loughridge and Mrs. A. E. W. Robertson revived John Fleming's language studies and published portions of the Bible, tracts and readers in the Creek language.

Loughridge went to Texas during the Civil War. He was recalled in 1882 to take charge of Wealaka Mission which had a capacity of one hundred pupils. Two years later the missionary resigned to devote himself to preaching and preparing books in the Creek language (Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, [Norman, 1941], pp. 119-121, 147, 308; Pilling, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-57).

Mr. Loughridge compiled a Creek and English dictionary from various sources while at Wealaka in 1882. The first part, Creek and English, contained about 10,000 words. The English-Creek section contained about 6,500 words (James Constantine Pilling, *op. cit.*, p. 55).

¹¹ Samuel W. Brown, chief of Euchee Town and district judge, was born at Van Buren, Arkansas, in June, 1843. He was the eldest son of S. W. Williams, an officer in the U. S. Army; his mother was a granddaughter of Cussine Barnett, one of the most prominent members of the Euchee tribe of Indians. Mr. Brown took his name from one of the trustees of the school which he attended. He was a student of Tullahassee Mission for six or seven years. After a trip to New Mexico for his health he returned home in 1862 and joined the Union army. In 1866, on his return to the Creek Nation, he married Miss Neosho Porter.

Brown served in the House of Warriors and the House of Kings for many years and in 1882 he became treasurer of the nation. In 1881 he started a mercantile business at Wealaka and carried it on until 1891, when he sold it to Isparhecher (O'Beirne, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-89).

to assist me in learning Yuchi. The Yuchi tribe¹² live about six miles from Wealaka. Mr. Brown sent for an old man reputed to be wise, and before evening I had the creation story of the Yuchis, the children of the Sun. As the house was unfinished, the rooms were cold and untidy. At times as many as a dozen Indians sat huddled around the little stove in my room, an unkempt crowd: only love for my work made it possible for me to endure their presence.

"Our nights were made miserable by the squealing of pigs in the open pen just back of the house. The weather was cold, and each one of twenty pigs was trying to get into a warm corner. To this noise was added the howling of Touzer, a poor, mangy dog, whose home was under the house. . . .

"I stayed about a month at Wealaka. I took down a large vocabulary, studied out the grammar, and obtained a few valuable myths. When ready to leave, I found considerable trouble in getting started. There was no stage; the mail was brought either in a light wagon, or by a man on horseback. At last I hired an American, by the name of Kinney, to take us to Muskogee in his freight wagon. In an Indian country all the traveling is done on horseback. The distance from Wealaka to Muskogee is fifty-five miles; we were obliged to spend a night at the Half-way house which was kept by Beams, an old negro.¹³ In the 'sitting room' of the Half-way house was a fireplace where four logs were blazing. There was a bed in the room, a small table, and an organ.

"Overhead were rough, smoke-blackened rafters, but the house was clean and tidy. Beams had been a slave. A few years before the Civil war he arranged to buy his freedom of his master. He was to pay \$1,200. When emancipation came, he had already paid \$600. He knew then that he was free but he was so conscientious that he worked till he paid the last dollar of the twelve hundred. My driver had described the man and place to me so I counted on having an interesting conversation with my colored host. When I entered the sitting room, to my surprise, I saw a white woman sitting by the fire. She rose, introduced herself as Mrs. Carlton, and said that she was glad to see white faces. She told me that she was a missionary, and, with another lady, Mrs. Thorn, was trying to establish a school

¹² The Yuchi have been known by many names and have lived in many places. They are said to have lived on both sides of the Savannah River. Bartram, in 1792, wrote of their relations with the Creek confederacy. He stated that because of their numbers and strength they excited the jealousy of the Muscogulge confederacy, but they were shrewd enough to unite against a common enemy. In 1799 Benjamin Hawkins wrote that the Yuchi "are more civil and orderly than their neighbors, and the women are more chaste, and the men better hunters." In 1836 these Indians were removed with the Creeks to Oklahoma (*Handbook of American Indians*, Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., [Washington, 1912], Part 2, pp. 1003-07).

¹³ Abraham Beams, a free Negro living near Fort Towson, Indian Territory, was shot and killed in the spring of 1840, by W. H. Fowler and a party of other white men who crossed the Red River and seized a number of free Negroes. They "carried off seven men, women, and children, all known as the Beams family, some of whom they took from the Creek country." These people had belonged to a man named Beams who went to Illinois and set them free, but John B. Davis of Mississippi claimed them, and Fowler, acting for him, took some of them down Red River. Years of litigation followed and in 1855 testimony was taken in Illinois before Green B. Raum covering the Negroes as far back as 1823. The case had become of great importance and at two terms of court in 1856 judgments for freedom upon the verdicts of juries were rendered in the cases of four of the Negroes, and in February, 1857, a similar judgment was rendered in the case of the remainder of the Beams (Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, [Norman, 1933], pp. 160-62).

in the neighborhood. They had spent several weeks at the Half-way house and had secured the promise of forty colored pupils. Our host had agreed to build a school house for the teachers.

"During the evening Mrs. Thorn played, and the old negro sang several church songs which, with rich voice and queer negro pronunciation, pleased me immensely. I remember with what power of lungs he brought out the words, 'Come Thou Fount of Every Blessing' and 'Tis the Old Ship Zion.' Though a devout church member he had the superstitions of his race. . . .

"To add to the entertainment of the evening, Kinney, my driver, gave a sketch of his life. From the time he was ten years old till he was sixteen he worked as cabin boy on a vessel which plied between New York and South American ports. When seventeen, his grandfather died and left him a fortune. Then came the Civil war, and his guardian invested the money in army supplies. When he was of age, he received \$75,000. He went to Chicago, invested the money in a wholesale clothing store and succeeded. He married a niece of Bob Ingersoll and expected soon to become a millionaire. Then came the great fire, and everything he had was consumed. The company he was insured in paid only a few cents on the dollar. His wife died. He wandered around for a few years, then married again, and came to the Indian Territory. He did not like the country and did not prosper. (A year later while hunting, Kinney accidentally shot and killed his only son, whom he almost idolized.)

"Early the next morning we were jogging along in the freight wagon. In traveling through that beautiful country the mystery was where the people lived, for there were very few houses to be seen. In riding a hundred and twenty miles we did not pass a dozen teams although we were all the time on the highway between Muskogee and Okmulgee. We reached Muskogee late in the afternoon. The wind was so cold and the journeys with horses were so long and wearisome that I decided to go to Seneca, [Newton County] Missouri, and work with the Choctaw [?] and Modoc Indians¹⁴ living on the Quapaw reservation near that town and return to the heart of the territory when the weather was more favorable.

"On the way to Seneca I spent a day at Burn's hotel in Vinita. Though the best hotel in the town, the rooms were so small that I had to get into my sleeping room and sit down on the bed in order to shut the door; the 'sitting room' was parlor, sitting room, and wash room all in one. In Seneca 'the best hotel in town' was so wretchedly dirty, flies were so plentiful, and food so poor that after a few days I secured board at the agency farm and a room in the house of Mr. Watson, a Quaker missionary.¹⁵

"Mr. Dyer,¹⁶ the agent, was away, but Mr. Williams,¹⁷ his assistant, went for Indians supposed to know a good deal 'about the old time.' Scar Face

¹⁴ The Modoc Indians were moved to Indian Territory in 1873 from their former home in southwestern Oregon.

¹⁵ John M. Watson and his wife Eliza were missionaries of the Society of Friends. In 1886 they were at the Hillside Mission, and in 1887 they were teaching at the Modoc School. (Floyd E. Miller, "Hillside Mission," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 3 (September, 1926), p. 226.)

¹⁶ D. B. Dyer served as Indian agent at the Quapaw, Cheyenne and Arapaho agencies. He was a native of Illinois and was appointed from Kansas.

¹⁷ Gilbert D. Williams was born in New York and appointed clerk at the Quapaw Agency on August 13, 1880.

Charley¹⁸ and Anna Long-John came. I decided that there were myths to be had, but the first thing was to get a vocabulary and a working knowledge of the language. I discovered at once that harmony was lacking in the official circle. This situation was decidedly unpleasant. I found it was best to see as little as possible of the government officials, then I could not be accused of favoring either party.

"There were 26 Modoc families on the reservation, in all 102 souls. The older ones, those supposed to have been connected with the murder of General [E. R. S.] Canby¹⁹ and Dr. [Eleazar] Thomas²⁰ in 1873, had been brought to the Quapaw agency in chains. They were discontented and homesick; they wanted to go back to Oregon, 'to the place where the world was created.' I had been on the reservation only a few days when I found among this exiled remnant of the Modoc tribe, a most remarkable person; Ko-a-lak'-ak-a (Hard Working Woman), a woman who had in her mind all the lore her people possessed a hundred years ago. She was the daughter and granddaughter of a chief and when a child her grandfather taught her the wisdom of the Modocs. She had a wonderful memory. Though she was no longer young and her health was poor, she was willing to give me the myths and beliefs of her tribe. She had more stories in her head than I dreamed it possible for any one to learn and keep without aid of books.

"Ko-a-lak'-ak-a and Norel-putis, a Wintu Indian,²¹ I consider the most remarkable persons I have ever met. Both possessed mental power of the first quality. All the lore of the Wintus would have been lost had I not met Norel-putis in the autumn of 1884. Very little of the Modoc mythology would have been saved had I not found Ko-a-lak'-ak-a. Both were of the old-time Indians; neither one of them spoke English.

"I spent thirty days, from seven in the morning till six in the afternoon, taking down what Ko-a-lak'-ak-a told me. My evenings were occupied in learning the Modoc language, studying out its construction, and getting a vocabulary. Meanwhile I had to endure many hardships which could have been easily avoided had the agency been under the control of the proper officials. But I counted hardships as nothing compared with the treasure which I was obtaining. The Modocs were at that time quiet, and for Indians, they were industrious. They tried, however, to keep up their customs and in that way caused the agent annoyance.

¹⁸ Scarface Charley, a celebrated Modoc warrior known as a connection of Captain Jack, or Kintpuash. He was run over by a mail stage when a child and received the injuries which caused his name. It has been said that he was a Rogue River Indian and that he joined Captain Jack prior to the war of 1873, when he was twenty-two years old. The Reverend Thomas, who was killed in the peace commission massacre, called Scarface Charley the "Leonidas of the lava-beds." He was never known to commit any act not authorized by the laws of legitimate warfare. He was sent with the Modoc prisoners of war to the Quapaw agency where he died about December 3, 1896.

¹⁹ General Edward Richard Sprigg Canby, a native of Kentucky, was appointed to the Military Academy in 1835 and was graduated in 1839. He had a distinguished career in the Mexican War where he was brevetted for gallantry and meritorious conduct at Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Contreras, Churubusco and Belen Gate of Mexico City. He served all through the Civil War and was wounded by guerrillas on White River, Arkansas, November 4, 1864. While engaged in a peace conference near Van Bremmer's ranch in California he was murdered by Modocs on April 11, 1873.

²⁰ Eleazar Thomas, D. D., of the California Conference, was Presiding Elder of the Methodist Church in Petaluma, California, circuit.

²¹ Wintum, one of the two divisions of the Copen family of Indians. Their territory was in northern California. They were called the most interesting of the California Indians.

"The summer before I was there a woman died, and, following a Modoc custom, her family burned all of her clothing and several blankets. When winter came and the blankets were needed, the agent was forced to draw on government for new ones. The Modocs still shave and tar their heads when a relative dies. From change of climate deaths are frequent. They mourn for their 'own country' (near the lave beds of Oregon) where each mountain, valley, and lake has a story and is connected with the religion and mythology of their tribe.

"Toward the end of March I went to Tulsa, Indian Territory. In that little out-of-the-way town I met a Russian from Moscow and had the pleasure of again speaking and hearing a language which, for me, is one of the most melodious in the world. . . .

"On my second arrival in Wealaka, Mr. Porter,²² an educated Creek Indian (two-thirds [sic!] white), said if I would spend a few days at his house, he would read Creek with me and explain, as well as he could, its grammatical construction. This I was glad to do. Porter owned a large tract of land. While I was at his house, he set fire to the dry grass of the previous summer to make ready for fresh grass. I think that he and I enjoyed that burning as much as we would had we been boys. One evening we set fire to the grass around a belt of timber which he wished to fell. It was a fine sight to watch the fire creep to the top of the trees, to see it blaze, and to hear it crackle. . . .

"After my pleasant visit at Mr. Porter's house, I went to Yuchi to finish a vocabulary of the Yuchi language and get as many myths and traditions

²² Pleasant Porter, the most distinguished member of the Creek tribe, was born September 26, 1840, about twelve miles from Muskogee where Clarksville is now located. He was the son of Benjamin Edward Porter and Phoebe, a daughter of Tha-lo-pee Tust-e-nuk-kee. His grandfather was Captain John Snodgrass Porter of Norristown, Pennsylvania. During a dark period of the Muskeogean Confederation Captain Porter proved such a true friend of the Indians that they made him a member of the tribe. He had acted as mediator after the massacre of Fort Mimms and saved a great part of the tribe from a bloody reprisal. Captain Porter entered the regular army in 1799 and was honorably discharged June 1, 1802.

Thomas S. Woodward, in his *Reminiscences*, wrote that Captain "John S. Porter . . . with a few Creeks of the McIntosh party in Arkansas, visited California and went up the Pacific coast to the Columbia river, and returned by the way of Salt Lake. . . ." On his return he wrote Woodward that on the head waters of the Colorado of the West, he found a small remnant of the original Musqua. They spoke mostly a broken Spanish dialect, but still retained much of their old language and old family customs. They gave much the same account of being driven from their homes that Woodward had learned from the Creeks.

At the age of ten Pleasant Porter entered Tullahassee Mission where he remained five or six years. At the outbreak of the Civil War young Porter enlisted and he was mustered out at the close of the conflict as a first lieutenant. He was school superintendent of his nation and served twelve years on the Creek council; for four years he was presiding officer of the Upper House. During thirteen sessions of congress Porter was a delegate to Washington and during serious trouble among the Creeks when adjustment was made to a different form of government he was always active.

"Mr. Porter was commissioned a general by the council, and to him largely belongs the merit of putting down these insurrections with but little bloodshed." General Porter was remarkably well read and had great ability as an orator. In September, 1899, he was elected chief of his nation; he died at Vinita September 3, 1907 (Pilling, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 72; O'Beirne, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-64; D. C. Gideon, *Indian Territory* [New York, 1901], pp. 203-06; John Bartlett Meserve, "Chief Pleasant Porter," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 3 [September, 1931], pp. 318-34).

as possible.²³ There was no hotel. The only room I could find was in the house of one Thomas Crow. The weather was fine, and we could work outside, but at night five persons shared our room. The first morning a hen insisted on coming in. I wondered at her tameness, but it was explained when Crow put a nest egg on each bed. During the morning three hens laid in turn, an egg on the bed I had occupied the preceding night. I was glad, however, to learn that the Yuchis living on Pole-Cat creek knew more about the old time than did those around Yuchi.

"The Pole-Cat Yuchis lived near the highway between Yuchi and the Sac and Fox agency; the nearest town was thirty miles away. I stopped at the Half-way house. It was the best place to send for Indians or go to them, and it was also the only place for miles around where I could get lodging and board. The house belonged to Tiger Jack, a Yuchi. He owned a large tract of excellent land and might have been rich had he not been lazy and intemperate.²⁴

"The 'hotel with accommodations for man and beast,' I found to be two log houses chinked with mud; each house a small unplastered room. In one was a fireplace where all the cooking was done. There was a bed in the room, a table of home manufacture, four or five trunks—piled one upon another, and a cupboard. At night a piece of braided cloth in a saucer of liquid lard served for a light. The other house contained a bed, a stove, a small table, an oil lamp, and a few chairs, which three times a day were carried to the kitchen. We occupied the second house but not alone. At night several persons slept on the floor near our bed. It was a broad bed, and on it was a tick in which there was a small quantity of straw. We spent several nights at Tiger Jack's house but we did not undress, nor did we sleep much, for there were rats in the room, and occasionally one jumped onto the bed. I stayed to finish a vocabulary and to take down some valuable myths.

"One afternoon I went to the Yuchi planting festival, a ball game, in which women as well as men take part, and a night dance in the open air. The ball game and the dance were both interesting. The dancing began after dark. A great fire was built, and the Indians threw off their blankets and, almost naked, danced around the fire. It was a weird sight. The dancers got so excited, and so many of them had been drinking that their wild whoops made us somewhat uneasy, especially as one of the younger Indians had suggested that I might be a government spy. At the end of the dance we had an alarming experience.

"Tiger Jack drove us to the dance in a lumber wagon drawn by two spirited horses. His wife, and the teacher of the Yuchi school, Mrs. Curtin, and myself were passengers. The ride was pleasant. We forded a large river and then went on through the quiet country, the horses hoofs making

²³ Yuchi or Euchee. Although the Yuchi form a part of the Creek Nation they are the remnant of a dispersed or conquered tribe. Their language is entirely different from the Creek or any other on the Western Continent. Many of the Yuchis have grey eyes, and their complexion is several shades lighter than full bloods of other nations. Some of the women are noted for their beauty.

According to Albert Gallatin the Euchee language is "the most guttural, uncouth, and difficult to express with the English alphabet of any known tongue among the American Indians. Even the Creeks cannot learn it, although the Eucheese speak the Creek language with apparent readiness." (Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* [Edinburgh, 1934], Vol. 3, p. 77; O'Beirne, *op. cit.*, p. 23).

²⁴ Tiger Jack's farm was ten miles northwest of Sapulpa. He owned another farm two miles southwest of Kellyville.

almost no noise on the soft road. I enjoyed the ball game and the dance. About ten o'clock in the evening, I had seen what I wished to. I had talked with many of the Indians and was ready to go home. Tiger Jack's wife and the teacher were also ready, but Jack had been drinking and was unwilling to leave congenial company. For two hours we used our persuasive powers to induce him to change his mind, but in vain.

"At last I suggested taking the horses and letting him remain until morning. This roused him, and he decided to drive his own team; so we started. Everything went well for a time, then Jack began to urge the horses. Soon they were going through the woods and across the prairie at a full gallop, and we had to hold to the sides of the wagon to keep from being bounced out. We were afraid of hitting a tree, stump, or rock, and being thrown from the wagon and killed. No matter what we said, the drunken driver was deaf to our words. We feared the river for we thought there was danger of being thrown into the water and drowned. Down the bank we went into the river at full speed, Out, and up the bank! On we raced. Several times I tried to get the reins from the crazed man but could not. When at last the horses reached the house, they stopped so suddenly that the jolt was terrific.

"The key to the house was in Jack's pocket, but for more than an hour he hunted for it. His wife dare not speak to him for fear he would strike her. The wind was blowing, and the night air was very chilly. Just when we had determined to break in the door, Jack found the key, and I was fortunate enough to induce him to let me try it in the lock, to see if it was really the right key.

"April 18. After a long ride over hills, through brooks, and across prairies I reached the Sac and Fox agency.²⁵ It was quite a little village; there was a hotel, a store, and a mission school, as well as a church. The agent occupied a large brick house. The Indians lived outside the agency from 3 to 15 miles. It was about 60 miles to the railroad; a stage line went to Kansas City, 140 miles away.

"In this cattle country there was never any fresh meat used; the taste of beef, veal, and mutton was unknown—the cattle were sold and driven away. No one had energy to fatten cattle. Salt meat, mainly pork, was the 'staff of life' there. What little butter was used came from Kansas City.

"There were no bridges in the country. Whenever there was rain and the rivers were swollen, everyone who was traveling had to wait for them to run down. Consequently, there were many vexatious delays. While I was at the agency, we did not get mail for three weeks; the rivers were so high that it was impossible to cross them. Quakers traveling and converting Indians were weather-bound and turned their attention to agency people, so there was some excitement. The Indian work was interesting. The Sac and Fox Indians were secretive. It is difficult to obtain any of their traditions. I learned their language and took down a vocabulary, and got a

²⁵ Sac and Fox Agency was located on Deep Fork of the Canadian, across the line west from the Creek Nation. J. V. Carter was the agent in 1883. On July 1, 1884, Issac A. Taylor issued his first report. This agency embraced the Sac and Foxes, Iowas, Mexican Kickapoos, Absentee Shawnees, Citizen Pottawatomies and 240 Otoes, 200 Black Bobs and 140 Indians belonging to other tribes, amounting in all to 2,659 souls.

The Sac and Fox Manual Labor School accommodated about forty pupils. The buildings were of brick. The boarding house for students had some frame additions which the agent reported as almost uninhabitable. Chief Keokuk was the only chief on the agency who had adopted Christianity and civilization.

number of myths, but this required several weeks, for I had to gain the confidence of the tribe.

"From the Sac and Fox agency I went to the Kickapoo Station.²⁶ The Kickapoos are blanket Indians. I have often seen them naked except for a short, loose shirt, and a breechclout. They are bright, intelligent men. One old, blind man gave me a wonderfully beautiful myth of the months.

"At the end of June I was in Wewoka,²⁷ crossing rivers in dugouts, some of which had to be bailed continually and were risky affairs; but the Indians had considerable information to give me, and I did not value the risks I took.

"In August I went to the Quapaw agency²⁸ and worked with the Wyandot Indians. The heat was intense, often 102 in the shade. Ill from overwork, I decided to go to Washington and then to Vermont for a rest. Three weeks in Vermont and a week in Montreal. . . . passed quickly. Then, well and strong, I returned to Washington ready to resume field work."

MEETING OF NORTHERN DISTRICT AND TULSA COUNTY BAR ASSOCIATIONS

On February 27, 1948, an event of great historical interest took place in the City of Tulsa. The Bar of Tulsa County and that of the Northern District of Oklahoma met in the Federal Court Building in that City to pay honor to two eminent Federal Judges, Judge Royce H. Savage, present Judge of the Northern District of Oklahoma and Judge Franklin E. Kennamer, Judge of the Northern District of Oklahoma, retired.

Mr. John M. Wheeler, eminent attorney of Tulsa, set forth the purpose of the assembly when he said, "It will be the purpose of this meeting to properly dedicate and present portraits of these gentlemen, and to have those portraits accepted by the United States Government, to whom the portraits are being presented."

This unique movement had its origin some few years before when a committee having as its chairman, Mr. W. E. Green, and members of the committee, Mr. Wash E. Hudson, Mr. Byron Boone, Mr. Howard L. Smith, Mr. Lloyd Owen, Mr. Sam Boorstin, Mr. Villard Martin, Mr. John Rogers, and Mr. Claude H. Rosenstein, determined to carry out this program.

²⁶ President Chester A. Arthur, August 15, 1883, ordered the following described tract of country be set apart for the permanent use and occupation of the Kickapoo Indians: "Commencing at the southwest corner of the Sac and Fox Reservation; thence north along the western boundary of said reservation to the Deep Fork of the Canadian River; thence up said Deep Fork to the point where it intersects the Indian meridian; thence south along said Indian meridian to the North Fork of the Canadian River; thence down said river to the place of beginning. . . ."

²⁷ Wewoka, capital of the Seminole Nation.

²⁸ The Quapaw Agency is in the northeastern corner of Oklahoma. In 1884 there were 284 Wyandot Indians living at this agency. All of them wore citizens' dress, 250 spoke English, 175 were able to read.

Of all the leaders of the Tulsa Bar, and one who perhaps had more to do with the development and consummation of this tribute to Judges Savage and Kennamer than any other man, Mr. W. E. Green, told the story of this movement and ended his witty and inspiring address with the words, "We present to the government of the United States these two portraits to honor these two splendid Judges, hoping that the hearts of coming generations may be moved in tribute to them as our hearts pay them profound respect and reverence on this day."

After his address Mr. Green presented the portraits of Judges Savage and Kennamer after which time they both made eloquent responses.

Chairman Wheeler then introduced the distinguished artist who painted the two portraits, Dr. Joseph Sigall of the City of Tulsa.

At this time, Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, was introduced as the speaker of the occasion. Dr. Evans accented his address with the relation of art to history. So far as Oklahoma was concerned, he believed that a happy and profitable precedent was being set forth by the legal fraternity placing the portraits of the Judges of the United States in the Federal Building at Tulsa.

C. E.

OKLAHOMA RECEIVES A GIFT FROM THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS

A stone from the House of Commons, London England, "Mother of Parliaments", has been presented to Governor Roy J. Turner in the Blue Room of the Capitol, by Mr. Wallace,* representing Charles Sumner Bird of Massachusetts, and Eric Gordon Underwood, of England, through the American and British Commonwealth Association, a society founded by citizens of the United States to foster an understanding of British history and institutions. This gift was received by Doctor Charles Evans, Secretary, in behalf of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The gift is a fragment of stone in a case about 2 feet high, 1 foot broad, 4 inches deep, framed in mahogany and suitable for

* Alderman, Lambeth Borough Council; Assistant Secretary Union of Post-office Workers; born Sept. 11, 1889; married Margaret Gardiner; one son; educated in public elementary schools; M. P. Laborite from East Watham Stowe.

hanging in a prominent position in the Oklahoma Historical Society's building. Such gifts are being made to the Federal government and to other states and commonwealths.

This stone was once a part of the House of Commons which was wrecked by German bombs on May 10, 1941. It is expected to serve as a memorial to the common heritage of English speaking people. Contributions to our freedom were made by British forefathers through representative government, Magna Carta, habeas corpus, the Bill of Rights, trial by jury, and the common law.

In his remarks made during the meeting in the Blue Room when this historic stone was presented to the State, Justice Fletcher S. Riley, State Supreme Court, stated in part:

As a result of this mission on the part of the Honorable Harry Wright Wallace, a commoner and member of the British Parliament, we are to be assured that so long as the British Parliament endures, the Congress and Legislatures within the republic, commonwealths, and states of America may endure. So long as these exist, ours will be inspired by the achievements of the "Mother of Parliaments." The principal achievement is free government.

The right of free government or self-determination was an objective of Woodrow Wilson, stated as a part of his Fourteen Points. That principle was again enunciated in Atlantic Charter, agreed upon at the advent of World War II by representatives of two great English-speaking nations.

It is worthy of note that Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points were reduced to seven points in the Atlantic Charter and that the Atlantic Charter constitutes a bilateral agreement. It was the product of the great minds of Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt.

The Atlantic Charter, however, was not entirely original. Its spirit and purpose were the same as that of the Magna Carta, habeas corpus, Bill of Rights, and the common law of England.

Some say the British government is without a written Constitution such as that brought about in America as a result of the Revolutionary War and extended by the framers and adopted by a people within the State of Oklahoma.

But the sum total of these great documents in England constitutes their frame of government as well as guaranties of individual rights and liberties.

To know and appreciate written Constitutions of our State and Federal government, the officer and citizen in America must be inspired by the heritage of the Anglo-Saxon race.

RECENT ACCESSION TO THE CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL HALL

The formal presentation of the Doctor George R. Tabor collection of Confederate Memorabilia was held in the Confederate Memorial Hall on March 8, 1948. Major Edmund Wiles, U. S. Army retired, of Little Rock, Arkansas, made the presentation address. This valuable collection was made possible through the kindness of Mrs. Tabor

and the General Stonewall Jackson Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Oklahoma City, of which she is a member. The Tabor Collection is now on exhibit in the Confederate Memorial Hall in the Historical Building.

IN MEMORIAM
OKLAHOMA PRESS ASSOCIATION MEMBERS

The following list of members of the Oklahoma Press Association who have died since June, 1947, was received through the courtesy of Nadene Hahn, Secretary, Department of Journalism, the University of Oklahoma, at the request of Tom Rucker, Secretary-Manager of the Oklahoma Press Association:

- Harold E. Grimes, age, 56 (born, 1891), vice president of station KOME, Tulsa; former Ardmoreite manager, died June 12, 1947.
- Jesse L. Day, age, 67 (born, 1880), founder of *Wewoka Daily Times*, died June 17, 1947.
- T. W. Maher, age, 66 (born, 1881), former editor of *El Reno Daily Democrat*, services, July 23, 1947.
- William H. Watkins, age, 80 (born, 1867), former editor at Ringwood, Helena, Goltry, died, August 9, 1947.
- Carlton Weaver, age, 66 (born, 1881), former publisher of *Latimer County News-Democrat*, died, August 17, 1947.
- Kirk E. Latta, age, 46 (born, 1901), former city editor of *The Tulsa World*, died October 14, 1947.
- Alonzo G. Sechrist, age, 92 (born, 1855), editor in Colorado but we have no record of his having been one since coming to Oklahoma, died October 17, 1947.
- Arch W. Walker, age, 54 (born, 1893), former employe of *Durant Daily Democrat*, died, October 14, 1947.
- Fred Chapman Knapp, age, 72 (born, 1875), founder of *Depew Independent*, died October 15, 1947.
- George E. Tinker, age, 79 (born, 1868), former publisher of *Osage Weekly* at Pawhuska, died, October 30, 1947.
- J. Edwin Pool, age, 64 (born, 1883), former managing editor of *Chickasha Express*, died, November 9, 1947.
- Charles L. Wilson, age, 79 (born, 1861), publisher of *Alfalfa County News*, Cherokee, died, November 14, 1947.
- Jay W. Anderson, age, 36 (born, 1911), former employe of *Talihina American*, died, November 20, 1947.
- Charles F. Twyford, age, 71 (born, 1876), Oklahoma City printer, died, November 23, 1947.
- Mark L. Goodwin, age, 76 (born, 1871), onetime Oklahoma City reporter for *The Dallas News*, died, November 23, 1947.
- Elmer E. Brown, age, 86 (born, 1861), former president of Times-Journal Publishing Co., Oklahoma City, died, December 1, 1947.
- A. P. Harris, age, 75 (born, 1872), McAlester; former Kansas editor, died, December 4, 1947.
- Joseph E. Bailey, age and date of birth not available, circulation manager of Newspaper Printing Corp., Tulsa, died, December 8, 1947.
- Mrs. Elva Shartel Ferguson, age, 77 (born, 1870), former publisher of *Watonga Republican*, died, December 18, 1947.
- B. Frank Herring, age and date of birth not available, former Oklahoma City AP bureau chief, died, December 16, 1947.
- Frank Shatzel, age, 70 (born, 1877), one time publisher of *Slick Spectator* and *Cromwell News*, died, December 12, 1947.

- L. C. McMerrick, age, 73 (born, 1874), former photo-engraving superintendent of Oklahoma Publishing Co., died, December 21, 1947.
- William O. Troutt, age, 77 (born, 1871), former publisher of *Spiro Gazette*, died January 29, 1948.
- Walter W. Sevier, age, 56 (born, 1892), employe of Oklahoma Publishing Co., died, January 28, 1948.
- William J. Farrell, age and date of birth not available, editor of the Tulsa department of *Southwest Courier*, died, February 3, 1948.
- O. E. McAfee, age, 54 (born, 1894), *Oklahoma Advertiser*, died, February 13, 1948.
- A. E. Barrow, age, 75 (born, 1873), former publisher of *Okemah Herald*, died, February 13, 1948.
- John H. Sorrells, age, 52 (born, 1896), former reporter on *The Daily Oklahoman*, died, February 25, 1948.
- Percy S. Walker, age and date of birth not available, member of early Oklahoma City printing firms, died, February, 1948.
- James N. Squiers, age, 62 (born, 1886), publisher of *Wynnewood Gazette*, died, March 3, 1948.
- Colonel Robert LaMunyon, age, 47 (born, 1901), former publisher of *Konawa Leader*, died, March 19, 1948.
- James W. Rice, age, 86 (born, 1862), associate of Rice Printing Co., Tulsa, died, March 23, 1948.
- Wallace R. Johnson, age, 33 (born, 1915), former Oklahoma City reporter, died, March, 1948.
- Fred Martin Hurst, age, 75 (born, 1873), former Oklahoma City printer, died, April, 1948.

IN MEMORIAM
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY MEMBERS

From June 1, 1946 to June 1, 1948, death has taken from the membership of the Oklahoma Historical Society, the following:

Life Members: Rabbi Joseph Blatt, Oklahoma City, August 6, 1946; Father Gregory Gerrer, Shawnee, August 24, 1946; Mrs. Bertha O. Meek, Ponca City, March 30, 1948; Alger Melton, Chickasha, December 12, 1947; Dr. William T. Shafer, Oklahoma City, April 26, 1948; Judge Robert L. Williams, Durant, April 10, 1948.

Honorary Life Member: Hon. Robert L. Owen, Washington, D. C., July 19, 1947.

Annual Members: Mrs. Robert C. Coffy, Muskogee, December 4, 1947; Fred E. Cooper, Tulsa, February, 1948; W. H. Ebey, Ada, January 19, 1947; Mrs. Thompson B. Ferguson, Watonga, December 17, 1947; E. D. Hicks, Tahlequah, February 9, 1947; Claude S. Hill, Oklahoma City, July 16, 1946; James F. Holden, Kansas City, Mo., May 12, 1946; Dr. Isaac Wayne Hooper, Norman, August 25, 1946; Deed Paradis Jackson, Mangum, March 9, 1948; Charles O. Johnson, Durant, August 25, 1947; W. M. Malone, Vinita, February 22, 1948; Mrs. Flora A. McCroskey, Oklahoma City, December 7, 1947; Quincy Mitchell, Durant, August 10, 1946; Merrill A. Nelson, Salina, October 26, 1947; R. R. Owens, Oklahoma City, January 18, 1946; Mrs. Ed L. Peckham, Blackwell, October 14, 1947; Mrs. Camille A. Phelan, Oklahoma City, July 28, 1946; Jess G. Read, Oklahoma City, July 20, 1946; Mrs. Donnelley Reid, Oklahoma City, June 29, 1946; John Rogers, Oklahoma City, June 17, 1946; Lt. Col. Harland F. Seeley, Joplin, Mo., September, 1947; Ludwig Schmidt, Bartlesville, July 23, 1947; O. L. Slane, Oklahoma City, August 22, 1946; Perry E. Waid, Waurika, January 21, 1946; Mrs. Estelle Chisholm Ward, Oklahoma City, December 9, 1946.

QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
FOR JULY, 1948 NOT HELD

It will be observed that the Minutes of the quarterly meeting usually found in each issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, are not included in this, the Autumn issue, Vol. XXVI, No. 3. This is due to the fact that no quarterly meeting was held by the Directors of the Society in July, 1948.

The Executive Committee and the associate Legislative and Budget Committee met on July 8, 1948 and voted to have the Secretary notify the members of the Board of Directors that due to many of the members being away on vacation and the recent meeting of the Board in Guthrie, May 26, 1948, they recommended that no meeting be held in July. The Secretary so notified each member of the Board.

C. E.