

INDIAN PIONEER LEGACY: A GUIDE TO OKLAHOMA LITERATURE

By Arrell Morgan Gibson*

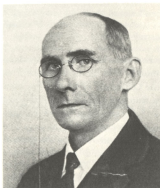
The drama and depth of the Sooner chronicle has attracted sustained literary attention which in turn has produced an immense number of provocative books and articles. While the Oklahoma experience has been edified in fiction—*Cimarron*, *Oklahoma Run* and *Grapes of Wrath*—and poetry—*The Prairie Speaks* and *Prairie Schooner*—most of the writings about Oklahoma have been non-fiction and in the field of history. The Oklahoma histories produced thus far fall into two classes, the general survey type often used as textbooks in elementary and secondary schools or colleges and universities and the "mug history." The format of the latter is distinguished from the general history in that it frequently is multi-volume and contains, besides a summary of state history, the portraits and biographies of subscribers.

"Mug histories" have been produced for towns, counties and regions of the state, as well as for the entire state. They include C. B. Douglas, *The History of Tulsa* (Tulsa, 1921), three volumes; W. F. Kerr and Ina Gainer, *The Story of Oklahoma City* (Chicago, 1922), three volumes; John D. Benedict, *History of Muskogee and Northeast Oklahoma* (Chicago, 1922), three volumes; Roy J. Johnson (ed.) *Oklahoma History South of the Canadian* (Chicago, 1925), three volumes; Charles F. Barrett, *Oklahoma After Fifty Years: A History* (Oklahoma City, 1940), four volumes; Joseph B. Thoburn, *History of Oklahoma* (Chicago, 1916), five volumes; Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (New York, 1929), four volumes; and Gaston Litton, *History of Oklahoma* (New York, 1957), four volumes.

The first general history of Oklahoma was published at Topeka, Kansas, in 1890. Marion Tuttle Rock was the author of this pioneer work titled *Illustrated History of Oklahoma: The Land of the Fair God*. Subsequent similar publications have included Joseph B. Thoburn and Isaac M. Holcomb, *A History of Oklahoma* (San Francisco, 1908); L. J. Abbott, *History and Civics of Oklahoma* (Boston, 1910); A. Cantonwine, *Star Forty-six: Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1911); Joseph B. Thoburn and Isaac M. Holcomb, *Oklahoma History and Government* (Oklahoma City, 1914); Frank S. Wyatt and George Rainey, *Brief History of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1919); J. F. Hatcher and T. T. Montgomery, *Elementary History of*

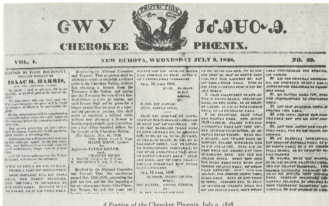
* The author is the George Lynn Cross Research Professor of History at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

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Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, two well known early Oklahoma historians

Oklahoma (Oklahoma City, 1924); James S. Buchanan and Edward E. Dale, *A History of Oklahoma* (Evanston, Illinois, 1924); Muriel H. Wright, *The Story of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1929); Victor E. Harlow, *Oklahoma: Its Origins and Development* (Oklahoma City, 1934); Lerona R. Morris, *Oklahoma Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow* (Guthrie, 1930); Grant Foreman, *History of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1942); Edward E. Dale and Morris L. Wardell, *History of Oklahoma* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1948); Edward E. Dale, *Oklahoma: The Story Of A State* (Evanston, Illinois, 1949); Edwin C. McReynolds, *Oklahoma: A History of the Sooner State* (Norman, 1954); Kaye Teall, *Black History in Oklahoma: A Resource Book* (Oklahoma City, 1971); Arthur L. Tolson, *The Black Oklahomans, A History: 1541-1972* (New Orleans, 1972); Muriel Wright, George Shirk and Kenny Franks, *Mark of Heritage* (Oklahoma City, 1976); LuCelia Wise, *Oklahoma's Blending of Many Cultures: Illustrated in Oklahoma Art* (Oklahoma City, 1974); Edwin C. McReynolds, Alice Marriott and Estelle Faulconer, *Oklahoma: The Story of Its Past and Present* (Norman, 1967); H. Wayne and Anne Hodges Morgan, *Oklahoma* (New York, 1973); and Arrell M. Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries* (Norman, 1965).



A Portion of the Cherokee Phoenix, July 9, 1828

The *Cherokee Phoenix*—provides an early history of Oklahoma's Cherokee Indian

The extent and diversity of historical literature which chronicles Oklahoma's evolution from a primitive frontier to a modern community are almost overwhelming at first glance. The most useful bibliographies and guides are Henry H. Evans, *Western Bibliographies* (San Francisco, 1957); Stanley Vestal (Walter Campbell), *The Book Lover's South West* (Norman, 1955); Jesse L. Rader, *South of Forty: From the Mississippi to the Rio Grande* (Norman, 1947); Ramon Adams, *Six Guns and Saddle Leather* (Norman, 1954) and by the same author, *Rampaging Herd: A Bibliography of Books and Pamphlets on Men and Events in the Cattle Industry* (Norman, 1959); Oscar O. Winther, *A Classified Bibliography of the Periodical Literature of the Trans-Mississippi West (1811-1957)* (Bloomington, 1964); Carolyn Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints, 1835-1907: A History of Printing in Oklahoma Before Statehood* (Norman, 1936); Lester Hargrett, *A Bibliography of the Constitution and Laws of the American Indians* (Cambridge, 1947) and R. Palmer Howard, "A Historiography of the Five Civilized Tribes," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVII (Autumn, 1969), pp. 312-331.

Periodical literature is a rich source of information on Sooner State history. The *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* indexes articles in national publications pertaining to Oklahoma. During territorial times a number of magazines were published in Oklahoma. These include *Sturm's*

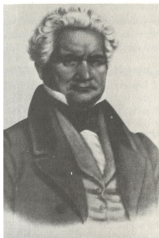
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Zebulon M. Pike left detailed accounts of his early expeditions into present day Oklahoma

Oklahoma Magazine, *McMaster's Oklahoma Magazine* and *Twin Territories Magazine* and comprise a productive source of historical information.

Harlow's Weekly, published between 1914 and 1942, is the mother lode of information on Oklahoma politics as well as social, economic and cultural developments for that period. A number of contemporary periodicals and journals are published locally and contain useful information. Selected articles from these sources enhance one's knowledge and appreciation of Oklahoma's unique history. They include *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, published quarterly by the Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City;



Major Ridge and his son John Ridge whose letters in *Cherokee Cavaliers* cover the most turbulent period in Cherokee history

The American Scene published quarterly by Gilcrease Institute and Museum, Tulsa; *Oklahoma Today*, published quarterly by Oklahoma State Government; the *Great Plains Journal*, published quarterly by the Museum of the Great Plains at Lawton; the *Red River Valley Historical Review*, published quarterly at Southeastern State University, Durant; and *Oklahoma Monthly*. The Oklahoma Historical Society staff has prepared and published a *Cumulative Index for the Chronicles of Oklahoma*.

Tribal publications provide an important source of information on Oklahoma before statehood. These include the *Choctaw Intelligencer*, *Chickasaw Intelligencer*, *Cherokee Phoenix* and *Cherokee Advocate*. Files of these newspapers are found at the University of Oklahoma Library, the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Gilcrease Museum. Also, the serious student of Sooner history will find that newspapers published in the border towns during the nineteenth century, notably at Fort Smith and Van Buren, Arkansas; Neosho and Southwest City, Missouri; and Wichita, Kansas, contain interesting and vital information on Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory affairs and portray the evolution of the Sooner State.

Files of certain newspapers including the *Oklahoma Journal*, *Daily Okla-*

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homan, *Oklahoma City Times*, *Tulsa World* and *Tulsa Tribune* provide information on contemporary affairs. The Oklahoma Historical Society has on hand the accumulated files of most newspapers published in the state, and the student will find the Society's card subject index useful in locating articles on specific subjects.

Special sources and guides indispensable for a full understanding of Oklahoma history include: the *Annual Reports* and *Bulletins* published by the Bureau of American Ethnology; the annual *Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*; the periodicals and published annual reports of missionary groups working among the Indian tribes of Oklahoma, including the *Missionary Herald*; the *Checklist of United States Public Documents, 1789-1909* (Washington, 1911) for assistance in locating published reports concerning both Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory; and George Peter Murdock, *Ethnographic Bibliography of North America* (New Haven, 1960).

Oklahoma subjects have been popular with graduate students in the writing of theses and dissertations at Oklahoma institutions of higher learning and at colleges and universities across the nation. A catalog of theses and dissertations completed at the University of Oklahoma is available to the serious student of Sooner State history. Another helpful guide is Frederick J. Dockstader, *The American Indian in Graduate Studies* (New York, 1957) which lists all theses and dissertations completed on the subject of the American Indian as well as the college or university library where the student may obtain a particular work on interlibrary loan. Also see Vicki Dale Withers, "A Checklist of Theses and Dissertations Relating to Oklahoma History Completed at the University of Oklahoma and Oklahoma State University Through 1973" (Master of Arts thesis, Stillwater, 1974).

The bedrock material of Oklahoma history—the manuscripts, journals, diaries and personal papers of prominent men and women—is scattered in libraries and archives across the nation. Many useful collections of manuscript material are located in Oklahoma at the State Historical Society, Gilcrease Museum and the University of Oklahoma Library. Guides describing the content of pertinent collections and providing location include: The Library of Congress, *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* (Ann Arbor, Michigan and Hamden, Connecticut, 1962-1964), four volumes; Philip M. Hamer (ed.) *A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States* (New Haven, 1961); *Oklahoma: A Guide to Materials in the National Archives* (Norman, 1951) and Arrell M. Gibson, *A Guide to Regional Manuscript Collections* (Norman, 1960).

Oklahoma's progress in industrialization, urbanization and general mod-

ernization is documented in the *Oklahoma Business Bulletin* and *Oklahoma's Economy* produced by the University of Oklahoma Bureau of Business Research. The University of Oklahoma Press has published two instructive and helpful books which trace the evolution of the modern Sooner State—*Oklahoma: A Guide to the Sooner State* (Norman, 1941), and Kent Ruth (ed.), *Oklahoma: A Guide to the Sooner State* (Norman, 1957).

Walter Prescott Webb's classic, *The Great Plains* (Boston, 1931) describes the climate, plants and human adaptation to that extensive and distinctive geographic region which includes the western third of Oklahoma, and Carl F. Kraenzel provides through his *The Great Plains in Transition* (Norman, 1955) a recent interpretation of this region. The variety of Oklahoma's natural environment is depicted in Charles N. Gould, *Travels Through Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1928) while information on Oklahoma place geography including origins of names for counties, towns, cities, mountains, rivers and other geographic features are found in Charles N. Gould, *Oklahoma Place Names* (Norman, 1933) and George Shirk, *Oklahoma Place Names* (Norman, 1974). Indispensable to the student for map work and place geography location is the *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1971) by John W. Morris and Edwin C. McReynolds. Also see John W. Morris (ed.), *Geography of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1977).

Oklahoma's rich prehistory has been the subject of extensive writing by archeologists and anthropologists. Authoritative articles, monographs and books on this phase of Sooner State development include David A. Barreis, "Pre-ceramic Horizons of Northeastern Oklahoma," *Anthropology Paper No. 6* (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1951); Museum of Anthropology, by the same author, "Two New Cultures in Delaware County, Oklahoma" *Oklahoma Prehistorian*, Vol. II (1939), pp. 2-5; Waldo R. Wedel, *Prehistoric Man on the Great Plains* (Norman, 1961); Robert E. Bell, "Recent Archeological Research in Oklahoma, 1946-1948," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII (Autumn, 1949), pp. 303-312; and by the same author "Trade Materials at Spiro Mound as Indicated by Artifacts," *American Antiquity*, Vol. XII (1943), pp. 181-184. Henry W. Hamilton, "The Spiro Mound," *The Missouri Archeologist*, Vol. XIV (October, 1952) is the most extensive work in print on this famous Oklahoma archeological discovery. Despite the title, *Archeology of Eastern United States*, James B. Griffin (ed.) (Chicago, 1952) this work contains a section on Oklahoma prehistory by Kenneth G. Orr titled "Survey of Caddoan Area Archeology." Also see Robert E. Bell, *Oklahoma Archeology: An Annotated Bibliography* (Norman, 1969) and Arrell M. Gibson, "Pre-

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history of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLII (Spring, 1965).

Vast sources are available on the subject of Oklahoma's Indian heritage. The University of Oklahoma Press alone through its Civilization of the American Indian series has published nearly one-hundred fifty books on the various Indian tribes, many of these now resident in Oklahoma. Two basic sources of information on the tribes generally and of Oklahoma specifically are Frederick W. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (New York, 1959), two volumes and Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951). Angie Debo, *A History of the Indians of the United States* (Norman, 1970); United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Indians of Oklahoma* (Washington, 1965); Dale Van Every, *Disinherited: The Lost Birthright of the American Indian* (New York, 1966); Murray L. Wax, *Indian Americans: Unity and Diversity* (Englewood Cliffs, 1971) and Alvin Josephy, *The Indian Heritage of America* (New York, 1958) are useful survey works on the American Indian.

The effort by various European nations to establish colonial empires in the interior of North America, including Oklahoma, is described in the journals of explorers, traders' accounts, official reports and governmental documents. Spanish entradas began with Coronado. His journey across western Oklahoma in search of the fabled Gran Quivira is described in Herbert E. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands* (New Haven, 1921); Grove A. Day, *Coronado's Quest: The Discovery of the Southwestern States* (Berkeley, 1940) and *The Coronado Expedition* (Washington, 1896) edited by George P. Winship. The late Professor Bolton provided additional information on Coronado in Oklahoma, including Andres de Campo's sojourn, in the very readable *Coronado—Knight of Pueblos and Plains* (New York, 1949).

Historians for years have written that De Soto's peregrinations in the lower Mississippi Valley included Oklahoma. This claim was laid to rest by publication of the definitive *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (Washington, 1939) which indicated this conquistador's party came no farther west than present Little Rock, Arkansas.

Spanish administration and use of its northern borderland, including Oklahoma, is told in Bolton's two volume *Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier* (Cleveland, 1914); Woodbury Lowery, *Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States* (New York, 1959) and Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, 1932).

The French period in Oklahoma history is documented by the scarce and out-of-print *Historical Collections of Louisiana* (New York, 1846-1853) in

five volumes edited by Benjamin French. Available sources include two articles by Anna Lewis: "French Interests and Activities in Oklahoma, 1718-1719," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II (September, 1924), pp. 253-268 and "La Harpe's First Expedition in Oklahoma, 1718-1719," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II (December, 1924), 331-349.

A Master's thesis by Elizabeth Ann Harper John, "Trade and Diplomacy of the Taovayas Indians on the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1719-1835" (Norman, 1951) is the most detailed and informative work done thus far on the story of the French traders and their Wichita Indian mercenaries in the early economic utilization of Oklahoma resources. Also see her *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds* (College Station, Texas, 1975). For information on military affairs on the Oklahoma border during French times see Henry E. Allen, "The Parilla Expedition to the Red River in 1759," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII (July, 1939), pp. 51-71.

Oklahoma as a component of French Louisiana came under United States jurisdiction in 1803. For nearly a quarter of a century the future Sooner State developed much like other frontier regions of the United States—government agents exploring and mapping the area, trappers and traders, the "Long Knives," harvesting the natural bounty and emerging pioneer settlements—before it was designated as the Indian Territory. One of the most informative general books on this period is Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland, 1926). More detailed information on early explorations is found in *Expedition of Zebulon M. Pike*, edited by Elliott Coues, which contains the journal of Lieutenant James Wilkinson describing his exploration of northeast Oklahoma in 1806. A highly readable biography of Zebulon M. Pike is W. Eugene Hollon, *The Lost Pathfinder* (Norman, 1949). Also see *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, edited by Donald Jackson (Norman, 1966), two volumes.

Accounts of the Stephen H. Long and John R. Bell expeditions on the Arkansas and Canadian rivers are found in *Early Western Travels 1748-1865*, edited by Reuben G. Thwaites (Cleveland, 1905), volume sixteen. George Sibley's reconnaissance of Oklahoma's Great Salt Plains is described in "Major Sibley's Diary," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. V (June, 1927), pp. 196-211. One of the most interesting early Oklahoma adventures is found in Thomas Nuttall, *Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory in Early Western Travels 1748-1865*, edited by Reuben G. Thwaites (Cleveland, 1905), volume thirteen.

The trappers and traders in early Oklahoma are the subject of Elliott Coues (ed.), *The Journal of Jacob Fowler* (New York, 1898) and Walter B. Douglas (ed.), *Three Years Among the Mexicans and Indians* (St.

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Louis, 1916) which chronicles the trading enterprises of Thomas James in Oklahoma. In Max Moorhead, *Commerce of the Prairies* (Norman, 1954) the reader will find descriptions of the early efforts to blaze a trail along the Canadian to Santa Fe. On early Oklahoma settlers, articles like Grant Foreman, "Nathaniel Pryor," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VII (June, 1929), pp. 152-163 tell of efforts to settle Oklahoma before it was set aside as the Indian Territory. Also see Albert-Alexandre de Pourtales, *On the Western Tour with Washington Irving: The Journal and Letters of Count de Pourtales* edited by George F. Spaulding and translated by Seymour Feiler (Norman, 1968) and Joseph A. Stout, Jr. (ed.), *Frontier Adventurers, American Exploration in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1976).

Muriel H. Wright, "Early Navigation and Commerce along the Arkansas and Red Rivers in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII (March, 1930), pp. 65-88 explains the use made of Oklahoma waterways during these early times. Also see Wayne Morris, "Auguste Pierre Chouteau, Merchant Prince at Three Forks of the Arkansas," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVIII (Summer, 1970), pp. 155-163.

The story of the evolution of Oklahoma as a resettlement zone for Indian tribes with the designation of Indian Territory is discussed from a legal viewpoint in Luther B. Hill, *A History of the State of Oklahoma* (Chicago, 1908) volume one. Basic information on Indian culture is found in Frederick W. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (New York, 1959), two volumes; Clark Wissler, *The American Indian* (New York, 1938) and James Adair, *The American Indian* (Johnson City, Tennessee, 1930).

Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951) is the most informative work on the sixty-seven tribes presently resident in the Sooner State. John W. Caughy, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman, 1939); Ralph Gabriel, *Elias Boudinot, Cherokee, and His America* (Norman, 1941) and Grant Foreman, *Sequoyah* (Norman, 1938), although primarily biographies of Indian leaders, are especially instructive as studies in acculturation. Accounts of white-Indian relations which produced conflict and removal to Indian Territory include Mary Elizabeth Young, *Redskins, Ruffleshirts, and Rednecks: Indian Allotments in Alabama and Mississippi* (Norman, 1961); David H. Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival* (Norman, 1962) and Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers* (New Haven, 1930).

Oklahoma's indigenous tribes have received the attention of the historian and anthropologist and are described in: John Joseph Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters* (Norman, 1961); Mildred Mayhall,

The Kiowas (Norman, 1962) and Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Comanches, Lords of the South Plains* (Norman, 1952). John Methvin has written widely on the native peoples of western Oklahoma including *In The Limelight or History of Anadarko* (Anadarko, 1920).

The agony of removal of the Indian tribes from their ancestral homeland in the East to Indian Territory has appealed to authors from the beginning and continues to be a popular subject for research and writing. While the Five Civilized Tribes have received most attention in this regard, it should be borne in mind that those tribes north of the Ohio River in the Old Northwest Territory—the Delawares, Shawnees, Sacs, Foxes, Potawatomis and Kickapoos—received an identical type of pressure and harassment and suffered Trails of Tears of their own. Three books which tell the story of the removal of the tribes from the Old Northwest Territory are Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago, 1946); Annie H. Abel, *Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi*, in the *Report of the American Historical Association for 1906* and Muriel H. Wright, *Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951).

James Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees* (Washington, 1900) describes in vivid details derived from contemporary accounts the suffering of the Cherokees. On this subject also see Thomas V. Parker, *The Cherokee Indians* (New York, 1907); Marion L. Starkey, *The Cherokee Nation* (New York, 1946); Gary E. Moulton, "Chief John Ross and Cherokee Removal Finances," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LII (Fall, 1974), pp. 342-359; Gary C. Stein, "Indian Removal as Seen By European Travelers in America," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LI (Winter, 1973-1974), pp. 399-410; C. W. West, *Fort Gibson, Gateway to the West* (Muskogee, 1974); Thurman Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy: The Story of the Ridge Family and of the Decimation of a People* (New York, 1970); R. Palmer Howard and Virginia E. Allen, "Stress and Death in the Settlement of Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIV (Fall, 1976), pp. 352-359; Michael Doran, "Population Statistics of Nineteenth Century Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIII (Winter, 1976-1977), pp. 492-515; Arrell M. Gibson (ed.), *America's Exiles: Indian Colonization in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1976); Arthur H. DeRosier, *The Removal of the Choctaw Indians* (Knoxville, 1970); Mary Whatley Clarke, *Chief Bowles and the Texas Cherokees* (Norman, 1971); Arrell M. Gibson, "America's Exiles," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIV (Spring, 1976), pp. 3-15; Linda Parker, "Indian Colonization in North-eastern and Central Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIV (Spring, 1976), pp. 104-129; Tom Holm, "Cherokee Colonization in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIV (Spring, 1976), pp.

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60-76; Louise Welsh, "Seminole Colonization in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIV (Spring, 1976), pp. 77-103; Blue Clark, "Chickasaw Colonization in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIV (Spring, 1976), pp. 44-59; H. Glenn Jordan, "Choctaw Colonization in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIV (Spring, 1976), pp. 16-33; Carol Hampton, "Indian Colonization in the Cherokee Outlet and Western Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIV (Spring, 1976), pp. 130-148; and William W. Savage, Jr., "Creek Colonization in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIV (Spring, 1976), pp. 34-43. Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932) and *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934) provide details on the removal story for all the Five Civilized Tribes. For information on the devastating Seminole War see Charles H. Coe, *Red Patriots: The Story of the Seminoles* (Cincinnati, 1898); John K. Hahn, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (Gainesville, 1974) and by the same author (ed.) *Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War* (Gainesville, 1966). Also see Gloria Jahoda, *The Trail of Tears* (New York, 1975).

The United States treaties which relocated the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks and Seminoles in Oklahoma are found in Charles J. Kappler (comp. and ed.), *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), three volumes; and Edward E. Dale and Jesse L. Rader (eds.), *Readings in Oklahoma History* (Evanston, Illinois, 1930). The neglect and cupidity of government removal contractors, which contributed so heavily to the high death rate on the Trail of Tears, are exposed in the published journal of Colonel Ethan Allen, *A Traveler in Indian Territory* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1930) edited by Grant Foreman. Accounts of travel in Oklahoma during this period are found in Washington Irving, *A Tour on the Prairies* (Norman, 1956); Charles Joseph Latrobe, *The Rambler in Oklahoma*. Muriel H. Wright and George Shirk (eds.), (Oklahoma City, 1955); Brad Agnew, "The Dodge, Leavenworth Expedition of 1834," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIII (Fall, 1975), pp. 376-396; also see Albert-Alexandre de Pourtales, *On the Western Tour with Washington Irving: The Journal and Letters of Count de Pourtales* edited by George F. Spaulding and translated by Seymour Feiler (Norman, 1968).

A work on the removal story, interesting because of its attempt to white-wash Georgia's harassment and persecution of the Cherokees is Wilson Lumpkin, *Removal of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia* (New York, 1907), two volumes. Also see Wilcomb Washburn (ed.), *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History* (New York, 1977), four volumes.

Until 1866, virtually all of present Oklahoma was divided among the Five Civilized Tribes. The story of the political development of these quasi-independent Indian republics is told in the writings of numerous historians. The Five Civilized Tribes community has received definitive treatment in such works as *The Seminoles* (Norman, 1957) by Edwin C. McReynolds; Grace S. Woodward's *The Cherokees* (Norman, 1963); Angie Debo's *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman, 1934) and by the same author on the Creeks, *And Still the Waters Run* (Princeton, N.Y., 1941) and *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941) and Arrell M. Gibson, *The Chickasaws* (Norman, 1971). Also see Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1942); James H. Malone, *The Chickasaw Nation* (Louisville, 1922); Muriel H. Wright, *Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951); Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932) and by the same author *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934).

The published constitutions and laws of the Five Civilized Tribes are extremely scarce and out-of-print but have been reproduced in *The Oklahoma Red Book* (Oklahoma City, 1912), two volumes. Selected portions are found also in Edward E. Dale and Jesse L. Rader (eds.), *Readings in Oklahoma History* (Evanston, Illinois, 1930). Also see Lester Hargrett, *Bibliography of the Constitutions and Laws of the American Indians* (Cambridge, 1977).

The intellectual development of the Five Civilized Tribes in the period immediately preceding the Civil War is documented in Angie Debo's *Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman, 1934); Grace S. Woodward's *The Cherokees* (Norman, 1963); Edwin C. McReynolds' *The Seminoles* (Norman, 1957); Arrell M. Gibson's *The Chickasaws* (Norman, 1971) and Angie Debo's *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941). The most famous of the educators and missionaries working among the Five Civilized Tribes was Samuel Austin Worcester. His life is reported in *Cherokee Messenger* (Norman, 1936) by Althea Bass. Her *The Story of Tullahassee* (Oklahoma City, 1960) records educational advancement among the Creeks.

Accounts by missionaries working among the Five Civilized Tribes provide a candid and interesting insight into the problems of developing schools and churches on the Oklahoma frontier. These include Henry C. Benson, *Life Among the Choctaw Indians* (Cincinnati, 1860); E. B. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians* (Greenville, Texas, 1899); O. B. Campbell, *Mission to the Cherokees* (Oklahoma City, 1973); Keith L. Bryant, "The Choctaw Nation in 1843: A Missionary View," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIV (Autumn, 1966), pp.

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319-321 and William G. McLoughlin, "Indian Slaveholders and Presbyterian Missionaries, 1837-1861," *Church History*, Vol. XLII (December, 1973), pp. 535-551.

Work in the Indian languages, translation and publication are told in Carolyn Foreman, *Park Hill* (Muskogee, 1948) and Ralph Gabriel, *Elias Boudinot, Cherokee, and His America* (Norman, 1941). *Park Hill* records the publication program of Samuel A. Worcester at the famous Park Hill Press. *Oklahoma Imprints* (Norman, 1936), also by Carolyn Foreman, brings to light the pre-Civil War publications produced on presses in the Indian Nations. Lester Hargrett's scholarly *Bibliography of the Constitutions and Laws of the American Indians* (Cambridge, 1947) lists and annotates the publications of the Five Civilized Tribes, including their constitutions and laws. Also see Jack Frederick Kilpatrick and Anna Gritts (trans. and eds.), *The Shadow of Sequoyah: Social Documents of the Cherokees, 1862-1964*. (Norman, 1965); John Philip Reid, *A Law of Blood: The Primitive Law of the Cherokee* (New York, 1970) and Rennard Strickland, *Fire and the Spirits, Cherokee Law From Clan To Court* (Norman, 1975).

Between 1830 and 1861 the citizens of Oklahoma's five Indian republics showed remarkable initiative and energy in changing this frontier wilderness to settled communities and prosperous farms, ranches and plantations. The economic advancement of the Five Civilized Tribes is told in Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933) and Joseph H. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (New York, 1929), volumes one and two.

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Angie Debo, one of Oklahoma's most respected Indian historians. Photograph courtesy of *Oklahoma Monthly*

Comanches (Norman, 1957); Arrell M. Gibson, *The Kickapoos, Lords of the Middle Border* (Norman, 1963) and Wilbur S. Nye, "The Battle of Wichita Village," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XV (June, 1937), pp. 226-228.

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Five Civilized Tribes to the Confederate Congress," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIII (Fall, 1975), pp. 353-366.

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Choctaw Country after the Civil War," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X (September, 1932), pp. 383-391; R. M. Johnson (ed.), *Oklahoma South of the Canadian* (Chicago, 1925), volume one; Gaston Litton, *History of Oklahoma* (New York, 1957), volume one and O. B. Campbell, *Vinita, I.T., The Story of a Frontier Town of the Cherokee Nation, 1871-1907* (Oklahoma City, 1969).

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Grant and Carolyn Thomas Foreman, two of Eastern Oklahoma's best known historians

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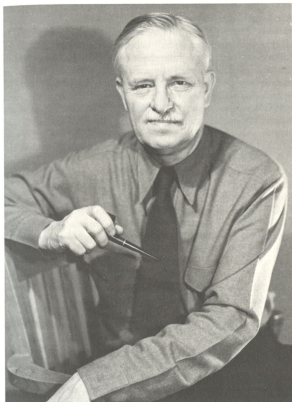
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