FREDERICK SAMUEL BARDE:

CHRONICLING THE MUSKOGEE (CREEK) INDIANS, 1890-1916

by

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Title: Frederick Samuel Barde: Chronicling the Muskogee (Creek) Indians, 1890-1916

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Abstract:

Journalist and photographer Fredrick Samuel Barde chronicled territorial Oklahoma, fully covering topics such as local agriculture, railroads, statehood, and the actions of the Five Civilized Tribes. His interest in the Muskogee Creek Indians rose above the rest because of the Nation's internal schism and their overall conflicts between assimilation and preservation of their native ethos. From the time of their removal, both the Creek people and their leaders showed evidence of divergence between traditionalism and absorption into Christian culture. Barde recorded their struggles by writing biographical sketches and articles displaying their conflict. He recognized both the pressure to integrate as well as their struggle to keep traditional customs.

Barde's documentation of the Muskogee people analyzes and reports on the nation through direct experiences and observations. The purpose of this thesis is to show Barde's work as a journalist in relation to his documentation of the Creek people during the time of allotment. His proximity to their land allowed him to experience on-the-scene reporting, and to witness the turmoil of allotment. His high levels of professionalism allowed him to write and research the people with credibility. The Creek's history showed their tendency for factionalism, and Barde chronicled the last tribal conflict

before their government dissolved after the Curtis Act. Many of the era's correspondents showed the native people in a stereotypical fashion, while Barde refrained from this type of journalism since he was able to attend the Creek's rituals, functions, and to see the conflict between the Twin Territories. Again, his competence permitted him to gain the respect of the Creek people, which allowed him to attend their ceremonies. Two significant figures to the tribe, Chitto Harjo and Alexander Posey, symbolized the conflict of the Muskogee during the allotment era. Harjo represented the traditionalists, and Posey the progressive. Through Barde's relationship with Posey, and his time spent researching Harjo, he was able to report on both with an educated and thorough coverage. His chronicles of the Muskogee people during the allotment era showed a culture in transition, and his newspaper articles give a new and active voice to the history of the tribe by contributing a personal account of their complex society.

Frederick Samuel Barde

Image Courtesy of the Oklahoma Historical Society

INTRODUCTION

"If a historian should appear twenty years hence with ambition and power to trace to the source and forces that aided most in building up the Oklahoma of today, he could not if he wished ignore the part played by Fred S. Barde, newspaper correspondent, author, and naturalist."[1] The quality of Frederick Samuel Barde's work, and its extensive reporting, provides an in-depth analysis of Oklahoma during the pivotal years immediately before and after statehood. His role as a journalist adds to the comprehensive coverage for the fact that he experienced, researched, and explored the undertakings of the era. His professionalism and expertise earned him the title of "the dean of Oklahoma journalists in the first half of the twentieth century."[2]

At the forefront of his journalism career, Barde witnessed the American audience's growing fascination with the Native image. Many correspondents illustrated the Indians in a stereotypical fashion by showing them as uncivilized and brutish. Barde captured a nation of people faced with a choice: to maintain a traditional culture or to embrace the Anglo way of life. His detailed exposure of their affairs gave an exceptional account of the tribe during the turmoil of allotment.

For the Creek people, change was inevitable. The Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 and its revisions in 1891 and 1906, along with the Curtis Act of 1898, had consequences that involved the elimination of private landownership and an end to governmental autonomy for the Five Tribes. Indian integration into American culture served as a major influence behind the two policies. The US government believed the tribes would open

their lands to white settlement if they accepted the Anglo lifestyle. The Creek people, prone to factionalism, were among the strongest voices both for and against the forfeiture of their domain. He attended many of the Muskogee ceremonies and functions, which allowed him to immerse himself into their culture. While studying the tribe, he became captivated by two Creek individuals that depicted the tribe's conflict between the conservatives and the modernists.

The number of staunch traditionalists diminished with the passing of time, but full blood Creek, Chitto Harjo, also known as Crazy Snake, verbally protested the US government's law to allot his land. The Muskogee poet, Alexander Lawrence Posey represented the progressive ideology through his work with the Dawes Commission, yet his literary work depicted the voices of the traditionalist. Barde's extensive coverage of these men illustrated the conflict and standpoints of both the modernist and traditional stances.

The Oklahoma Historical Society acquired the work of journalist Frederick Samuel Barde in 1918. The Frederick S. Barde Collection offers a distinctive examination of Oklahoma's history, both exceptional and revealing, and gives an insight into a historically rich land. Barde's articles and photographs show a journalist's perspective of the state's past. His documentation of the Creek people coincides with this analysis and provides a distinctive addition to the Muskogee historiography.

[1] University and Editor, Norman, Oklahoma, October 9, 1916, from the Federal Writers Project Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Division, Box 18, Biographies Folder 6.

[2] William Welge and Bob Burke, *Early visitors to Oklahoma*, (Oklahoma City: Commonwealth Press, 2009) 117.

CHAPTER 1

Sources and Historiography

Journalist and photographer Fredrick Samuel Barde chronicled territorial Oklahoma, fully covering topics such as local agriculture, railroads, statehood, and actions of the Five Civilized Tribes. His interest in the Muskogee Creek Indians rose above the rest because of the Nation's internal schism and their overall conflicts between assimilation and preservation of their native ethos. From the time of their removal, both the Creek people and their leaders showed evidence of divergence between traditionalism and absorption into Christian culture. Barde recorded their struggles by writing biographical sketches and articles displaying their conflict. He recognized both the pressure to integrate as well as their struggle to keep traditional customs.

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Barde's life in Guthrie unfolded through articles published about him as well as the work of other researchers. William Welge and Bob Burke's 2009 work, *Early Visitors to Oklahoma*, provided a biographical sketch of the journalist.[1] As a journalism student at the University of Oklahoma, Larry Philips wrote a research paper on the life of the journalist in 1963. Letha Barde, stepdaughter of Barde, provided Philips with an interview of her father's family, achievements, and career.[2] The *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture* provide a brief biographical sketch. The Texas newspaper, the *Dallas Morning News*, published several articles at the beginning of the twentieth century about his achievements.

To show the tone of the newspapers during the time Barde chronicled the Muskogee people, articles from his own research collection demonstrated the work the journalist used to help construct his own work. Other local newspapers, such as the *Daily Oklahoman*, provided beneficial information for their proximity to Indian Territory. The 1894 work of L. Edward Carter, *The Story of Oklahoma Newspapers, 1844 to 1984*, gave a historiographical approach to the press of Oklahoma.[3] This monograph helped in

understanding the conditions of the state in which Barde documented. Although he was originally from Missouri and was employed by *the Kansas City Star*, he contributed to the history of Oklahoma journalism though his coverage of the state. The 1964 book by William H Taft, *Missouri Newspapers*, give a brief explanation of the founder of the Missouri newspaper, William Rockhill Nelson. His strict guidelines for his employers helped explain Barde's professionalism. The work of eastern newspapers gave contrast to the papers in proximity to Indian Territory and the tribes, thus showing a detached tone and gave Barde's journalism credibility since they reinforced his accuracy.

Early interpretations of the Creek people give an ethnographic account of their society. Indian Agent Benjamin Hawkins wrote extensively about the tribe while living in the Creek towns of Tuckabatchee and Coweta at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He tried to introduce the plow to the people, yet they resisted wanting to maintain their traditional ways. He was present during the Creek War of 1813-14, where a group of Muskogee men resisted against assimilating into the Euro-American culture. After the revolt's aftermath, the Creek ceded their land in Alabama in the Treaty of Fort Jackson in 1814. Hawkins sympathized with the tribe, believing the settlement was unfair.[4] Barde also sympathized with the tribe's plight a century later. Both writers empathized with the tribe after emerging themselves in the tribe.

Literature from authors who lived amid the Creek tribe, such as anthropologist Frank G. Speck, seems to validate many of Barde's encounters. Speck's "The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town," printed in 1904 and 1905, describe his time spent amongst the people and provided a first-hand account of culture.[5] While Speck analyzed the people in terms of integration into white society, Barde observed the effects of this adaption and

wrote about its detrimental effects on the Muskogee's culture. John Reed Swanton detailed the Creek towns when they inhabited the southeastern region of the United States in his book the *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* published in 1922.[6] Swanton mentioned in his introductory chapter that his research on the Creeks built on the ethnographical work of Speck since new information had been discovered, such as the reproduction of new maps.[7] Swanton gave an anthropological explanation of the Creek Confederacy's through the descriptions of the clans. Barde described the altercations to the Creek Confederacy after their removal to Indian Territory, thus building on the historiographical study of the Creek people. Barde's account was told through a different voice than Swanton, since he was a journalist, but both provided an in-depth study of the Creek's government.

Barde's major contribution to the Creek historiography was his observations of the effect of the policies, enacted by the United States government, on the tribe. Angie Debo was the first author to publish a book detailed the injustice towards the Muskogee people during the allotment era. Debo's 1941 book, *The Road to Disappearance: A History of the Creek Indians* explained the people's culture, government, and the changing effects the presence of white society had on their tribe.[8] Barde's opinion of the US government's actions towards the Native Americans mirrors Debo's analysis. They both criticized the white settler's greed for Indian soil and the manipulation of the US government. Barde was able to provide a personal account of the effects, whereas Debo researched government documents and interviewed second generations for her material, while Barde also focused on the topic of their image and how the American media stereotypically portrayed the Indians.

For the topic of Native female identity, Devon Mihesuah discussed how women find their identity in her book *Indigenous American Women: Decolonization, Empowerment, Activism* published in 2003.[9] Hilary N. Weaver also discussed indigenous character for the *American Indian Quarterly* in her 2001 article entitled "Indigenous Identity: What Is It, and Who Really Has It?"[10] Both these authors examined the meaning of character how it relates to gender and ethnicity. The role of Creek women, who once held authority in the matrilineal clans, changed from the time before removal to Barde's documentation. Barde noted in several of his articles the energetic presence of the Muskogee women and their role in Creek society. The works by Mihesuah and Weaver illustrate the effects of the allotment era to the women, while Barde photographed the changes to the identity of both Muskogee men and women.

Differences in the work between and male photographer and a female photographer of the Native Americans during the turn of the twentieth century was analyzed in Bobbi Rahder's 1996 article for *Journal of the West* "Gendered Stylistic Differences Between Photographers of Native Americans at the Turn of the Century."[11] A comparison between the photos of Annette Ross Humes and Barde provides a dispute to Rahder's argument. Kristina L. Southwell and John R. Lovett in their word, *Life at the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency: The Photographs of Annette Ross Hume* published in 2010, discussed photojournalism in territorial Oklahoma.[12] Female photographer, Annette Ross Humes's and her work parallels Barde's craft since both captured the people as a culture in transition, show the Native Americans in both white clothing with accents of traditional Indian wear. With the exception of this book, recently scholarship in the past ten years is very scarce on the topic of Indian photojournalism.

Craig S. Womack criticized Debo's work in *Red on Red: Native American Literary Separatism*, published in 1999, saying only an author with Creek lineage could write about the peoples in their entirety.[13] He also claimed her use of the word "disappearance" in her title alluded to the fact the Muskogee people died with allotment, he argued they, as a tribe, still thrived.[14] Fifty years apart in publication, both sources aided to the history of the Creek people and the argument made in both works. Womack approached the subject after the revival of Indian identity and, in hindsight, analyzed their image and representation. Barde as a journalist examined the current plight of the Creeks during his lifetime, both Debo and Womack support the idea of a threatened image. Womack provided an analysis of poet Alexander Posey and his image among the Creek people. He detailed the complex image Posey portrayed as a social figure and through his writing. In comparison to Barde, they both examined the poet's life and work. Barde's relationship with Posey was shown through their letter and his photographs of the poet, which allowed him to incorporate personal stories and encounters he had with the poet. Barde provided and illustrated a first-hand account of the perplexing image Posey portrayed both as a personality and as a writer.

Personifying the Creek's conflict between a progressive and traditionalist ideology, Barde reported on the half-Creek poet Alexander Lawrence Posey and full blood Muskogee, Chitto Harjo that showed their beliefs respectively. Analyzing the two prominent figures that symbolized the two ideologies, two authors were used to show how their image affected the public and the tribe, the aspects chronicled by Barde. Kenneth Waldo McIntosh's 1996 dissertation, "Chitto Harjo, the Crazy Snakes and the Birth of Indian Political Activism in the Twentieth Century," showed the political

advocacy behind Harjo without romanticizing the individual, a trait often done by Barde and Posey. Barde's efforts to find Harjo after he went into hiding, as well as his extensive research, he was able to debunk the myth and legends that surrounded Harjo during the first decade of the twentieth century. Daniel F. Littlefield wrote extensively on Posey and his 1992 book, *Alex Posey: Creek Poet, Journalist, and Humorist.*[15] Littlefield wrote about the relationship between Posey and the Muskogee people along with his complex personality. Barde was able to produce articles based on stories Posey told him through the letters they exchanged and the time they spent together.

Housed in the Oklahoma History Center, the Frederick S. Barde Collection holds a substantial assemblage of the journalist's work and research materials from 1890 to 1916. The collection, organized into three separate parts: manuscripts, photographs, and maps, shows the extensive effort the correspondent put into each story he wrote. The folders for his editorials and research material are arranged in alphabetical order by topic and are located in archival boxes. Many of his editorials have been retyped by the Historical Society and do not provide the date or newspaper title of the article. Many of the articles used for this thesis were not labeled with a date or title and it was unclear if they were ever published in a newspaper. Numerous clippings from several local newspapers written by other authors also reside in the collection. He also collected pamphlets, and letters, and documents, such as a copy of the Sequoyah State Constitution.

The voice that Barde provided for the history of the Muskogee people gave an exclusive account of the people during the turmoil of the allotment era. As a journalist, he had the opportunity to witness the culture in transition by attending their ancestral rituals

and reporting on their circumstances. His upbringing and accomplishments showed how he earned his reputation as well as how he excelled as a journalist during a time when print media endured hardships concerning ethics and verity.

[1] William Welge and Bob Burke, *Early Visitors to Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Commonweatlh Press, 2009)

[2] Larry H. Phipps, "The Life of Frederick Samuel Barde," (University of Oklahoma, 1963). Oklahoma Historical Society Research Division.

[3] L. Edward Carter, *The Story of Oklahoma Newspapers, 1844 to 1984* (Muskogee: Published for the Oklahoma Heritage Association by Western Heritage, 1984).

[4] H. Thomas Foster II, *Encyclopedia of Alabama*, s.v. "Benjamin Hawkins," 2011.

[5] Frank G. Speck, "The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town," *American Anthropological Association* (Kraus Reprint Co.: Millwood, 1974).

[6] John Reed Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington: G.P.O, 1922).

[7] Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*, 10.

[8] Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941).

[9] Devon A. Mihesuah, *Indigenous American Women: Decolonization, Empowerment, Activism* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003).

[10] Hilary N. Weaver, "Indigenous Identity: What Is It and Who Really Has It?" *The American Indian Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (2001).

[11] Bobbi Rahder, "Gendered Stylistic Differences Between Photographers of Native Americans at the Turn of the Century," *Journal of the West* 15, no. 1 (January 1996).

[12] Kristina L. Southwell and John R. Lovett, *Life at the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency: the Photographs of Annette Ross Hume* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010).

[13] Craig S. Womak, *Red on Red: Native American Literary Separatism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

[14] Womack, *Red on Red*, 28.

[15] Daniel F. Littlefield Jr, *Alex Posey: Creek Poet, Journalist, and Humorist* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).

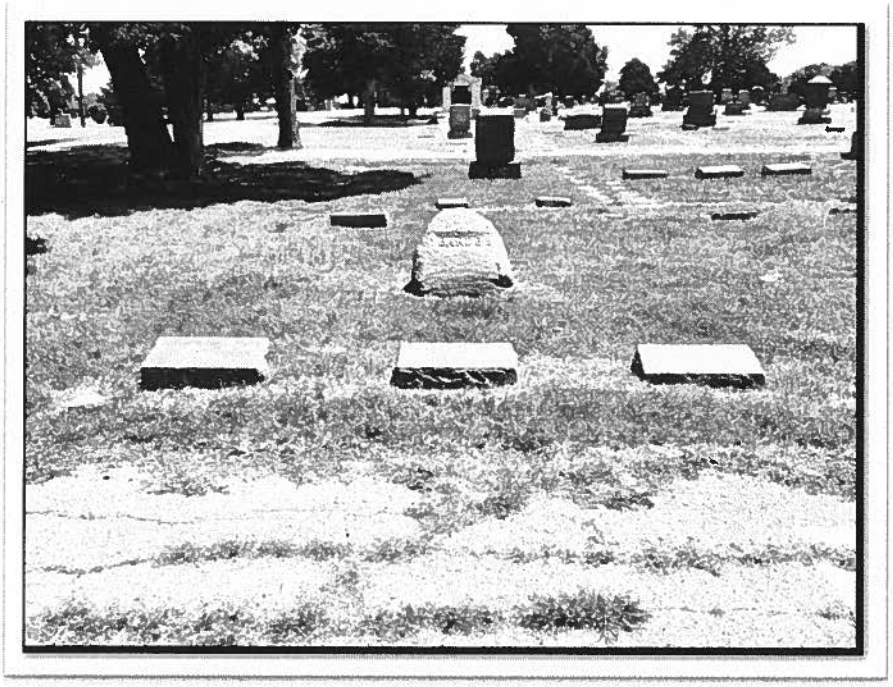
CHAPTER 2

A Remarkable Journalist

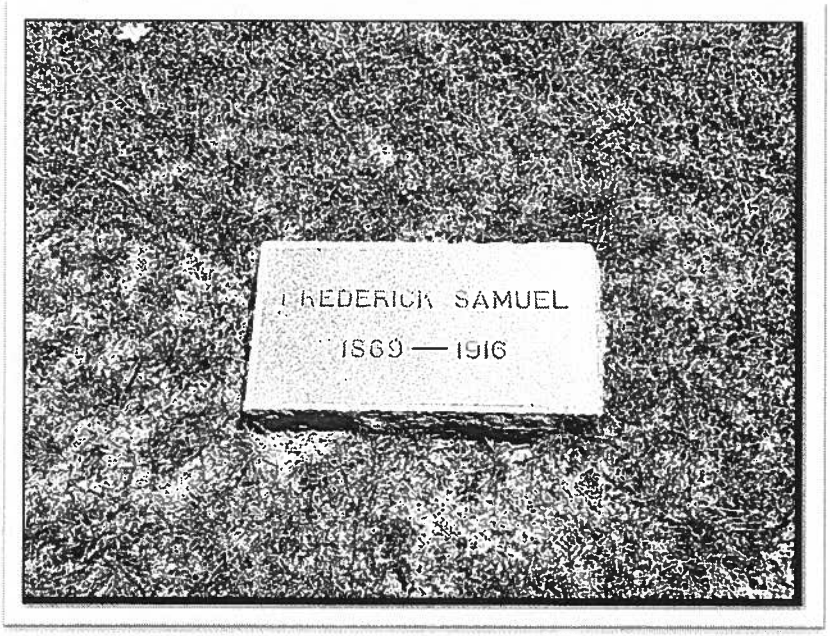
The headstone, a tan rock a little over a foot high and emblazoned with a plaque reading "Barde," resides in Summit View Cemetery in Guthrie, Oklahoma. **[Figure 2&3]** Before his death at an early age, Frederick Samuel Barde provided an exceptional journalistic account of the affairs and people of the Oklahoma and Indian Territories. After statehood, agriculture remained his true passion, but he continued to chronicle the current events with extensive coverage and a professionalism that surpassed the quality of "yellow journalism," the sensational reporting by many of the era's correspondents.

Born on July 25, 1869, Barde spent his childhood in the city of his birthplace, Hannibal, Missouri, and moved to Sedalia during his high school years. His mother, Martha Frances Dye Barde and father, Milton Barde, motivated their son's interests in nature and refinement respectively. Barde showed a connection to wildlife from an early age and spent much of his time outdoors. He also studied the compositions of several British poets, Greek philosophers, and his favorite writer, Henry David Thoreau.[1] He spent many summers of his youth with his paternal grandmother, where learning a musical instrument and an immersion in the local culture was mandatory. He remembered these summers fondly later in life.[2] From these childhood experiences, he later applied these traits to his career as a journalist.

Barde aspired to attend college after high school while working as a printer's assistant with the *Sedalia Democrat*. However, failing to achieve this goal, he sought



2. Summit View Cemetery, Guthrie, Oklahoma. Photograph taken by author, 2012.



3. Summit View Cemetery, Guthrie, Oklahoma. Photograph taken by author, 2012.

employment at a local hospital where he trained in practical medicine and worked briefly with the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad. After leaving these trades, he continued his journalism occupation as a stringer, or freelancer, for the *Kansas City Star* in 1890 where he quickly rose to the position of night journalist. Around this time, he met Anne Waldron-Kelly, who had recently moved to Sedalia with her two children to be with her mother after the death of her husband.

Anne was initially attracted to Barde's professionalism and his red hair. They were married on January 25, 1894. He adopted her two children, daughter Letha and son Neil. Barde considered Anne's children as his own and became enraged if someone challenged this view. Frederick and Anne had two children, Julia, and the youngest Frederic Milton. Anne and Barde compromised on their son's name. Barde wanted the boy to carry his name, yet his wife chose to omit the "k" to show a difference between father and child.

Two years after his son's birth, in 1894, the *Star* relocated the journalist to Oklahoma Territory to establish a bureau in Guthrie. The editor had sent correspondents, nicknamed "the Stars," to fourteen cities by June 7, 1897, including Oklahoma City, Shawnee, Norman, and Perry.[3] Likewise, the *Kansas City Journal*, *Dallas News*, and the *Wichita News*, sent reporters to Oklahoma Territory. Problems arose when the journalists either quit soon after arrival or seldom left the capital, and merely sent gossip back to their editors.[4] Outshining his colleagues, Barde traveled across the territories, and eventually the state, to gather information while compiling plentiful sources of research and continued to reside in Guthrie until his death.

Upon his arrival to Oklahoma Territory, around 1898, his initial reaction was less than enthusiastic. In a letter to his wife, he commented on the abundance of whiskey and degeneracy that plagued the city. He called the territory's capital "a typical western town, surrounded by bleak, barren hills."[5] However, his attitude changed overtime. Through his friendship with Judge C.G. Horner, he developed a deep appreciation for the nature and wildlife of his new home. Horner and Barde would take trips down the Cimarron River, giving themselves nicknames the Captain Kidd and Ben Bolt respectively. They hunted game and explored the natural world. He found solitude in a place called Doby Walls where he used a derelict cabin as his refuge from the hectic lifestyle of reporting.

Barde's wife also cultivated an appreciation for Guthrie through her involvement with the community. She participated in several civic functions, often making the society section of the local newspapers, which listed the numerous activities she attended or hosted. In 1906, she became a member of the Federation of Women's Club, an organization dedicated to improving the community through volunteer service.[6] Anne gave birth to six children, but only four survived infancy. She also employed a young African-American woman name Belle Adams as a housekeeper, also from Missouri, for a short time.[7] Along with her role as a mother and socialite, Anne often found time to help her husband with editing.[8]

Articles published on Barde living in Guthrie reveal that the family experienced a series of incidents. One account described an altercation when Barde felt his family was threatened by an African American man and proceeded to follow the suspect at gunpoint to the police station. When the man tried to escape, Barde shot at his feet and proceeded to beat the man with the barrel of his gun.[9] Years after this episode, his house was robbed

twice in the span of a few months; the thieves took several valuable possessions including a purse with a large sum of money.[10]

Barde's prestige allowed him to join certain social circles as seen by his invitation to join a hunting party in the company of Oklahoma Territory Governor Thompson Benton Ferguson in 1903. However, the politician failed to locate the group and returned home.[11] Both men had experience with journalism; the governor owned a small newspaper company in Kansas before his move to the territory. A Republican, he advocated for the separate statehood of Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory. After congress rejected the notion for two separate states, Ferguson changed his view and lobbied for the merging of the two lands.[12] Barde's additional endeavors at the turn of the century included working in an oil and gas business in Red Fork, Indian Territory. He acted as corresponding secretary for the new business that had recently received a capital of $100,000.[13]

Aside from his social time, the professionalism he put towards his career allowed him to receive a trustworthy name as a journalist while in Guthrie. Although he was known for his accuracy, *The Daily Oklahoman* was swift to report his errors. In 1910, they published a small note saying the journalist reported that the outlaw Bill Anderson attended the wedding of fellow bandit Belle Starr in 1866, yet the newspaper corrected him by stating that Anderson had died two years prior to the ceremony.[14]

Using another medium besides the typewriter, he used photography as another form to document his surroundings. However, the process of publishing photographs along with the written article was a practice the editors of the *Star* and other newspapers did not embrace until later in the twentieth century. Barde's images represented an in-

depth analysis of the material culture and environment, which he used to further research and archive a subject.

Occasionally, he assembled an office in the locations he worked, where he frequently took photographs.[15] The recent developments to the camera allowed a common person to make photography an accessible hobby and granted Barde the ability to capture his surroundings. In 1888 and 1889, The Kodak Company made No.1 Kodak and No. 2 Kodak cameras respectively. Each was preloaded with film and after use, could be sent back to the company for processing. The 1900 Brownie camera sold for one dollar, permitting vast consumerism.[16] In the same year, over 100,000 non-professionals owned a Kodak camera.[17] For portraits, photographs called "cabinet cards" and "*cartes-de-visite*" made the shooting process easier for traveling photojournalists and was inexpensive to produce.[18] The Eastman Kodak Company also sent camera packages that included a camera, negatives, developing trays, paper, and most importantly, instructions.[19]

In 1913, Barde received a letter from the Eastman Kodak Company in Rochester, New York, answering his question about a suitable camera for his profession. The company recommended their Garflex model, a camera that was appropriate for fast moving objects such as horses and automobiles because of its quick shutter speed. Kodak suggested he try their product on a trial basis where ordering and delivering was available at their local dealers.[20] Barde most likely used gelatin dry plate photography. This specific type of plates allowed the person to keep a negative of the photo when taking pictures, a trait loved by both professionals and amateur photographers.[21] Although the

articles and images were not printed together, Barde's photojournalism complemented his articles by adding a depiction of the current period, showing his attention to detail.

During this time, because of the accessibility of owning a camera, photography became both a major pastime and occupation. Indians became a popular subject to many photographers since people on the East coast were eager to see the faces and lives of the tribes. Print coverage of the Five Tribes between the years 1885 and 1916 in the East showed them as outlaws, heathens, and living in an unkempt society. One particular tagline from the *Times* on November 22, 1894, read, "The Five Civilized Tribes; Not Fit to Govern the Territory Ceded to Them. Unbearable Lawlessness There. The Commission Charged with Treating with the Indians Says the Government Must Take Control."[22] Many times, the tribe members were referred to as "The Red Man."[23] Photographers followed reporters to Indian Territory to capture these marketable images, some bringing with them backdrop, props, and costumes. To coincide with the "noble savage" image popularized in the East, they staged the photographs that erased any tribe affiliation. Many images of the "Indian princess" circulated trading posts and served as merchandise for tourists.[24]

However, a select few that remained true to the craft and photographed the tribes in their correct surrounding without using theatrical methods. Barde fit into this category immersing himself into their lifestyles as both a writer and a photographer. Other photographers during the time of the frontier including Allen Trachtenburg and Edward S. Curtis, like Barde, chose Indians as one of their major subjects. In a thirty year span, Curtis documented tribes from all across America; however he used props and costumes, ignoring historical truth.[25]

During the turn of the twentieth century, the freelance journalist's profession saw a growth in status and recognition. The wide use of correspondents during the American Civil War had aided in the popularity of print journalism. The large number of reporters and their extensive coverage of the conflict helped the newspaper's staff mature and expand after the war ended. The new telegraph lines allowed for information to be received quicker than before, which allowed the print media to respond to public's demand for the news. The role of the journalist also grew in importance for their first-hand responsibility in documenting the current affairs. However, the country also saw a rise in "yellow journalism," a trend started by newspaper entrepreneurs Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst who sought popularity in heavily urbanized cities.

The need to excite the masses with extravagant headlines and stories, which sometimes were far from the truth, threatened the ethics of journalism. Professor of Journalism Edwin Emery described this type of reporting as "a shrieking, gaudy, sensation-loving, devil-may care kind of journalism, which lured the reader by any possible means."[26] In contrast to this approach, the research material Barde compiled before writing about a topic or person allowed him to convey the subject matter with varied testimony. The metropolitan newspapers in New York City differed significantly from the territorial's print media. W. Joseph Campbell argued that in the year 1897, the three archetypes in the urban city faced a clash of ideologies with one victorious that continued to shape modern journalism. The three battling reporting styles that Campbell mentioned included William Randolph Hurst's "yellow journalism" in the *New York Journal*, a literary method, and *The New York Times* conservative approach. The victorious model was the conservative tactic that mirrors modern day journalism.[27] Many

of the stories the *Times* covered involved the news of the northeast coast of the country; the West remained a wilderness.

The "Wild West" Barde chose to chronicle gathered a reputation in the journalism world at the time for producing lively articles.[28] The character of these weekly publications from the years 1880 to 1890 was vibrant and often viewed differently than the newspapers of the East. Many of the western editors wrote about births, marriages, and deaths, and used the terminology "hatched," "matched," and "dispatched" respectively.[29] Barde displayed many colorful scenarios in his articles, but added a scholarly approach to his craft. Western reporters typically received minimal journalism training, if any.[30] Libel laws were rare, the popularity of the writers would occasionally stem from their idiomatic attacks of others in their editorials.

Other territorial journalists during this era wrote with dignity and constructive professionalism such as Cherokee writer, Ora Eddleman Reed, who wrote for the *Oklahoma City Times*. In one of her articles, "Some Early History of the Creek Nation and Her People," Reed gave a stylized account of the Muskogee's history before their removal as well as their language and war history. In her opening paragraph, she wrote, ". . .the Creeks were considered the most powerful and aggressive of the Indians occupying that section of the country and they subjugated many smaller tribes."[31] Reed's article was not free from opinioned statements. Reed explained, "One of the saddest events in the ever pathetic history of the down-trodden Indians was the removal of the Creeks. . .from their old homes east. . .to the wilderness to be known as the Indian Territory."[32] Charles Gibson wrote for the *Indian Journal*, a Creek newspaper that began in 1877, and he acted as the voice for Muskogee nationalists.[33] His article, "The

Accidental Creek and Cherokee Treaty Many Years Ago," specifically focused on the story of the young Creek warrior who made amends with the Cherokee tribe after years of turmoil. His writing was comparable to Barde's in that they both used a narrative style of writing.

Bostonian H.B. Metcalf, saw errors of journalism during this time or that, "a journalist is a man who wears two clean shirts in one week, while a newspaper man is a man who wears one clean shirt in two weeks."[34] Metcalf moved to Oklahoma and worked as editor at a newspaper in Blackwell, Oklahoma. Joseph B. Thoburn began his journalism career in 1899 in Oklahoma Territory. He is comparable to Barde in their extensive coverage of Oklahoma topics. He was heavily involved with the Oklahoma Historical Society and collaborated with Isaac N. Holcomb to produce a history textbook for public schools.[35]

The tradition to start a newspaper business began soon after removal. The first newspaper in the Twin Territories was the 1844 *Cherokee Advocate*; its audience reached the metropolises on the east coast. The editor, Princeton-educated John Ross, believed in the accurate and nonpartisan style of journalism.[36] Before 1900, limited advertising and legal notices along with the inability to purchase land for their plants made newspapers in Indian Territory sparse, but many non-citizens started their own weekly to advocate for the opening of Indian land to white settlement. The first newspaper with the Creek Nation opened in 1875, with Elias C. Boudinot as its editor. The Muskogee people disagreed with his support of opening Indian Territory for white settlement and also learned that he was in the employment of the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad, the same company Barde worked for in his youth.[37] The Creek Council met and agreed to banish the

newspaper, but Boudinot had already moved his plant to the Cherokee territory before the Creek law enforcement agency could react. The nation decided to open a tribal newspaper called the *Indian Journal*, where personalities such as Alexander Posey, served as managing editor. In a reflection of the overall journalism exemplar of this era, the location of the newspaper dictated the top stories.

Examining frontier journalism aids in the research of Barde's work. For the western half of the country, the years between 1880 and 1890 showed a growth in print media popularity. A twenty percent increase in average newspaper circulation per region showed rise in this industry.[38] The narrative style of writing often included opinion pieces on local issues. Editors in command of these papers approached their profession with a different code of ethics. Rival newspapers editors occasionally settled their differences with a gunfight. Known for using both their pens and fists, the supervising editors oversaw the newspapers with a boisterous attitude.[39]

Journalism in Oklahoma also included the other four "civilized" tribes. Before the Indian Removal Act in 1830 and the Civil War, the Cherokee tribe operated *The Cherokee Phoenix* starting in 1828. The accomplishment of Sequoyah's Cherokee syllabary allowed this gazette to prosper in Georgia. After the removal, *The Cherokee Advocate* emerged from *The Phoenix* in the tribe's new capital in Tahlequah, Indian Territory. The Creeks started *The Indian Journal*, the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes published the *Chickasaw and Choctaw Herald*, and all publications began before the Civil War. Their plight during the aftermath of the war and the influx of white settlers on Indian and Oklahoma territory diminished the Five Tribe's newspapers. At the Land Run

of 1889, a settler automatically put plans underway for the *Guthrie Getup* and many Caucasian run newspapers followed.

Barde received most of his journalism training at the *Kansas City Star*, where the owner held his employees with high regard and professionalism, which aided Barde's career. William Rockhill Nelson wanted to open a paper that was opposite from the yellow media, or what he described as the "cheap afternoon newspaper."[40] Nelson also held strict rules for his newspaper; he refused to advertise liquor and hated comics, believing they were childish. Most of the editorials were published with a strong support for Republicans, Nelson's party affiliation, but included several Democratic voices as well since he thought favoring a party was unethical.[41] He trained his staff, giving them little pay and requesting they remain anonymous. His biggest lesson to the new reporters was to look constantly for a story that would appeal to varied interests while avoiding becoming a mechanism to the public.[42]

After leaving the *Star* in 1911, Barde's career as a naturalist progressed. Achieving considerable recognition for his wildlife photography and earning the reputation as a naturalist, he published *Field, Forest, and Stream*, that compiled the state's annual report of the state's game and fish, written by Barde in 1912. *The Washington Post,* giving most of the recognition to state game warden John D. Doolin, ran an article giving the report praise saying it was more entertaining than books of the same subject.[43] Oklahoma's audience never saw a report such as the one Barde published. The report was immensely popular and by the request of the public, he expanded the book, adding more illustrations and limited this edition to 1,000 copies at $2 per book.[44] In 1914, he produced *Outdoor Oklahoma*, a more historical account of the wildlife. By

the following year, he was writing annual reports for the state board of agriculture. Continuing as a freelance writer, he wrote for newspapers like the *Oklahoma City Times-Journal*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and the *Philadelphia Inquirer.*[45] He established a reputation for writing insightful articles regarding politics, and his opinions were sought after by both politicians and the public.[46] One of these views included making a law stating the government's legislative body should not employ women since he believed they led to unethical practices in Oklahoma's lawmaking branch.[47]

Aside from the newspapers, Barde assisted in the writing of two biographical accounts. The first was for his friend James Carson Jamison with the book *With Walker in Nicaragua: or, Reminiscences of an Officer of the American Phalanx* published in 1909.[48] Jamison gave his stories to Barde to perfect the manuscript and make his accounts legible. The novel focused on the private militia's conquest of Nicaragua by William Walker in the 1850s. Barde was acknowledged in his preface.[49] The second publication was for the widow of the army scout, Billy Dixon. She compiled the memoirs of her husband before his death while, again, Barde aided in the manuscript and publication of the book *The Life and Adventures of Billy Dixon.*[50] The manuscript depicted Dixon's participation in the Second Battle of Adobe Walls in 1874, where he and others battled a large group of Comanche. It also re-counted his service to the army where he received the Medal of Honor, the highest military decoration, for his bravery in the Battle of Buffalo Wallow. His widow recognized Barde in the preface for his editing of the book.[51]

A personal tragedy struck in 1913 upon which Barde never recovered. His seventeen-year-old son, Frederic, suffered massive injuries after being caught on fire by

the family's gas stove. Barde tried to save his son by trying to subdue the fire with his own hands.[52] His son survived for three days, yet the family was told by physicians that the boy would recover. Sadly, Frederic succumbed to his wounds and was the first buried in Summit View.[53] Three years later, Barde passed away at age forty-seven on July 22, 1916; he had been sick months before his death. Before his passing, Anne was the order appointed guardian over her husband's estate on June 14, since he was declared, "incapacitated by sickness."[54] Anne received $400 from Barde's account for funeral and medical costs.[55] A month after his funeral, the probate records showed Anne receiving $150 dollars in bonds and $70 of a health policy from London & Lancashire Indemnity Co.[56]

The *Star* ran a short obituary that gave a brief biographical sketch and mentioned he worked as a correspondent for the newspaper from the opening of the Cherokee Strip to shortly after statehood.[57] Five days later, they published an article that read, "He gave a loyalty to the Star and to the state that was ideal as it was balanced."[58] Two known accounts of the reasons behind his passing explained he passed away from the hardening of the arteries along with a general exhaustion and the other, a toxic poisoning.[59]An Episcopal service was held at the Barde household in Guthrie, the Masonic lodge oversaw the burial, and his coffin was covered in Oklahoma wildflowers.[60]

After his death, a bill introduced by Walter Ferguson and signed by Governor Robert Lee Williams was ratified by the state's sixth legislature in 1917 to acquire Barde's manuscripts, books, research, and photographs for $5,000 from his widow; she received the money in its entirety.[61] Governor Williams understood that the collection would go to the Oklahoma Historical Society where they would hire Barde's widow for

sixteen months to organize and oversee the accessioning of his work.[62] In 1950, his daughter, Letha Barde, brought additional works and research of her father to the Oklahoma Historical Society.[63]

During Barde's lifetime, his dedication to the journalism profession allowed his work to meet the standards of a principled writer and photographer. His credibility allowed the readers to understand current events without sensationalism and exaggeration. While many other journalists illustrated the natives in a stereotypical fashion, Barde showed them adapting to the white culture. During the allotment era, Barde witnessed the last of the tribal conflicts before they dissolved as a tribe while refraining from portraying them in a stereotypical fashion.

[1] William D. Welge and Bob Burke, *Early Visitors to Oklahoma* (Pittsburg: Commonwealth Press, 2009), 117.

[2] Larry H. Phipps, "The Life of Frederick Samuel Barde," (University of Oklahoma, 1963). Oklahoma Historical Society Research Division. The Research division will be referred to as OHS from this point forward. Phipps wrote a paper for a college course, Journalism 311 for the University of Oklahoma. He interviewed Barde's daughter, Letha Barde to obtain a majority of information about the man's life.

[3] *Kansas City Star* note from Fred S. Barde's personal scrapbook. Box 36, OHS, Barde Collection.

[4] Phipps, "The Life of Frederick Samuel Barde," OHS Research Division.

[5] Phipps, "The Life of Frederick Samuel Barde," OHS Research Division.

[6] "Women's Club Committees," *Dallas Morning News,* March 22, 1906, 10.

[7] *U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1900: Summary Population and Housing Characteristics: Oklahoma.* Washington: Government Printing Office.

[8] Phipps, "The Life of Frederick Samuel Barde," OHS Research Division.

[9] "Negro Pursuer Shot," *Dallas Morning News*, August 21, 1905.

[10] "Barde's Home Burglarized," *The Daily Oklahoman*, November 15, 1913, 4.

[11] "Couldn't Find the Party," *Dallas Morning News*, November 4, 1903, 9.

[12] *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, s.v. "Thompson Benton Ferguson." Oklahoma Historical Society. Barde's relationship with the politician could shed light onto Barde's political party and opinion on the matter of the separate statehoods. Indian Territory, in 1905, wished to become a recognized state, that many of the progressive Indians backed, believing in the parallel assimilation to white society could help their people survive the times.

[13] "Will Drill Deeper," *Dallas Morning News*, July 5, 1901, 5.

[14] "New State Notes," *The Daily Oklahoman*, September 8, 1910, 6.

[15] "Neighboring News Notes. Interesting Item from Nearby Towns by Special Correspondents," *Tulsa Daily World*, April 23, 1911. The editorial said that Barde had created headquarters in the town of Pawhuska to photograph the cattle dipping industry.

[16] Kristina L. Southwell and John R. Lovett, *Life at the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency: the Photographs of Annette Ross Hume* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), 11.

[17] William Welling, *Photography in America: The Formative Years, 1839-1900* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1978), 395.

[18] Southwell and Lovett, *Life at the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency*, 45; *Cartes-de-viste* is French for "visiting card," named after a card that would say the name and information of a guest, the photograph shared the same measurements.

[19] Southwell and Lovett, *Life at the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency*, 49.

[20] Eastman Kodak Company, letter to Fred Barde, March 18, 1913. Frederick Samuel Barde Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society, Barde Collection, Box 3, "Photographic Interest" Folder 4. The Oklahoma Historical Society will be cited as OHS from this point forward.

[21] Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History,1839-1889* (New York: Dover Publications, 1938), 375.

[22] "The Five Civilized Tribes - Not Fit to Govern the Territory Ceded to Them," *The New York Times*, November 21, 1894.

[23] "Making a Pale-Face of the Noble Red Man," *The New York Times*, March 5, 1911.

[24] Jeremy Drouin, "Photographing Native Americans in Oklahoma-Indian Territory | Kansas City Public Library," Kansas City Public Library, accessed October 6, 2011, http://www.kclibrary.org/?q=kchistory/photographing-native-americans-oklahoma-indian-territory.

[25] Bobbi Rahder, "Gendered Stylistic Differences Between Photographers of Native Americans at the Turn of the Century," *Journal of the West* 15, no. 1 (January 1996): 86.

[26] Edwin Emery, *The Press and America an Interpretative History of Journalism* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1962), 415.

[27] W. Joseph Campbell, *The Year That Defined American Journalism: 1897 and the Clash of Paradigms* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 7-11.

[28] James Melvin Lee, *History of American Journalism,* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1923), 382.

[29] Lee, *History of American Journalism,* 384.

[30] Robert F. Karolevitz, *Newspapering in the Old West: A Pictorial History of Journalism and Printing on the Frontier* (Seattle, Wash: Superior Publishing Company, 1965), 13.

[31] Ora Eddleman Reed, "Some Early History of the Creek Nation and Her People," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, Creek folder 18, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[32] Reed, "Some Early History of the Creek Nation and Her People," OHS box 14, folder 18.

[33] Mary Jane Warde, *George Washington Grayson and the Creek Nation, 1843-1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 101-6.

[34] O.P. Sturm, "Oklahoma Literati," *Sturm Magazine*, January-February (1911):10.

[35] Strum, "Oklahoma Literati," 10-11.

[36] L. Edward Carter, *The Story of Oklahoma Newspapers, 1844 to 1984.* (Muskogee: Published for the Oklahoma Heritage Association by Western Heritage, 1984), 3-4, 19.

[37] Larry H. Phipps, "The Life of Frederick Samuel Barde," OHS.

[38] Barbara Lee Cloud, *The Coming of the Frontier Press: How the West Was Really Won* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2008), 34.

[39] David Dary, *Red Blood & Black Ink: Journalism in the Old West* (New York: Knopf, 1998), 105.

[40] Quoted in William H Taft, *Missouri Newspapers* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1964) 171.

[41] Taft, *Missouri Newspapers*, 172.

[42] Taft, *Missouri Newspapers*, 173.

[43] "Good Game in Oklahoma," *The Washington Post*, March 2, 1914.

[44] "Oklahoma Book to be Published," *Daily Tulsa World*, January 16, 1915.

[45] Larry H. Phipps, "The Life of Frederick Samuel Barde," University of Oklahoma, 1963. CT 275 .B3 .W49, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Division.

[46] *University and Editor*, Norman, Oklahoma, October 9, 1916, Federal Writers Project Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Division, Box 18, "Biographies" Folder 6.

[47] "Sirens and Statesmen," *The Daily Oklahoman*, March 9, 1910, 6. This was an editorial written in response to Barde journal article on the same subject.

[48] James Carson Jamison, *With Walker in Nicaragua, Reminiscences of an Officer of the American Phalanx*(Columbia: E. W. Stephens Pub Co., 1909) 7.

[49] James Carson Jamison, *With Walker in Nicaragua: or, Reminiscences of an Officer of the American Phalanx* (Columbia: E.W. Stephens Publishing Company, 1909), 7.

[50] Billy Dixon, *The Life and Adventures of Billy Dixon,* comp. Frederick S. Barde (Guthrie: Co-Operative Publishing Co., 1914), 9.

[51] Dixon, *Life and Adventures of Billy Dixon,* 9.

[52] Larry H. Phipps, "The Life of Frederick Samuel Barde," University of Oklahoma, 1963. CT 275 .B3 .W49, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Division.

[53] "Young Lad Dies as a Result of Burns," *The Daily Oklahoman*, March 20, 1913, 4.

[54] Probate Docket, Office of the County Clerk, Logan County Court House, Oklahoma, Guardian Record, June 14 1916, Book 6, 193.

[55] Probate Docket, Office of the County Clerk, Logan County Court House, Oklahoma, Guardian Record, June 14 1916, Book 6, 193.

[56] Probate Docket, Office of the County Clerk, Logan County Court House, Oklahoma, Administration Record, August 12 1916, Book 12, 521.

[57] "The Death of F.S. Barde," *Kansas City Star*, July 22, 1916, 2.

[58] "As Wichita Knew Frederick Barde," *Kansas City Star*, July 27, 1916, 16.

[59] "Fred Barde Ill," *The Perry Republican*, April 20, 1916; Larry H. Phipps, "The Life of Frederick Samuel Barde," OHS. The newspaper gave the reason as a hardening of the arteries while his daughter, Letha, claimed it was a toxic poisoning.

[60] "Barde Funeral Held," *The Daily Oklahoman*, July 25, 1916.

[61] "State Buys Writer's Library. "Oklahoma Will Pay $5,000 for Collection of Late Frederick S. Barde," *Kansas City Star*, April 3, 1917, 8; "Historical Society Takes Barde Relics," *The Daily Oklahoman*, January 19, 1918.

[62] "Historical Society Takes Barde Relics," *The Daily Oklahoman*, January 19, 1918.

[63] Charles Evans, Oklahoma Historical Society Letter, August 10, 1950, Barde Collection, OHS, Box 30, Letha Barde Folder 27. The document is on the letterhead of OHS saying that Miss. Barde donated more items to the Barde Collection.

CHAPTER 3

"The Problem" with the Indians

The federal government attempted to dissolve the Indian tribes through the act of allotment, a policy designed to permit the opening of native land to non-Indian settlement. This process began in 1887 and continued throughout the nineteenth century. Many of the Creek people protested against allotment, believing it would ruin their nation. The history of the Muskogee people showed their inclination to internal conflict when dealing with the federal government. During Barde's career as a journalist, he saw the effects of this last internal conflict during the dissolution of the tribe. As a reputable journalist and with close proximity to the tribe, he refrained from portraying the Indians in a stereotypical fashion since he had the opportunity to witness, first-hand, changes to their society.

The structure of the Creek government before their removal to Indian Territory added to their discord. Initially, the Muskogee people did not identify themselves as a single tribe but instead as a confederacy. They chose a self-governing, clan-based system that divided the people into several groups, each having a different name. They obtained the title of "Creek" from the Ochese Creek Indians, a name given to the people by the British in 1720. The Europeans' selected this name after the Ocmulgee River in Georgia, where the tribe once dwelled. After the eighteenth century, the people referred to themselves as *Maskokal'g* the English pronunciation translated to spelling of "Muskogee."[1] Geographic regions divided the clans into two separate divisions: the

Upper Creeks who lived near the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers in Alabama, and the Lower Creeks who inhabited the middle to lower section of the Chattahoochee River, which bordered Alabama and Georgia. Each clan elected a leader, or *micco*, with autonomous political factions, and a *heneha*, the town's speaker. The Muskogee held great respect for the orator since they valued the skill and power of speech.[2] The *henehas* of these towns met in a National Council to discuss issues and deliberate on matters concerning the people as a whole unit. Another partition amongst the Creek people was the belief in separating the clans into two systems symbolizing war and peace, which they referred to as red and white respectively. The red symbolized the warrior and the white represented harmony. The speakers of the clans often associated themselves with the red, while the head of the clans related to the white division. The internal towns held the balance between the two sides, while the external towns chose either to be peaceful or warlike. During the certain ceremonies, a criminal could flee to a white town to remain safe from punishment.[3]

At the dawn of the nineteenth century, factionalism among the clans concerning the encroaching white settlers. The Lower Creeks began to adopt the ways of the European-Americans, while the Upper continued their ancestral traditions. Tensions grew between the two divisions, and the Upper Muskogee protested against the Lower's assimilation. The Red Stick Rebellion from 1812-1813 reflected the clash between the two sides and illustrated the traditional Creeks' passion to remain true to their heritage. Leaders of the revolt, Upper Creek chiefs Menawa, William Weatherford, Peter McQueen, along with twenty-four clans wished to rid Americans from the area, present day Alabama and Georgia. The protesters received their name from an exercise the

ancestral Creek warriors practiced before battle. The fighters would compile a bundle of painted red sticks and withdrew one twig daily until the last one remained, this represented the day the war started.[4] The Red Sticks opposed the influence of the white culture on their clans. After they attacked and killed 350 white citizens, soldiers, and slaves at Fort Mims, William McIntosh, chief of the Lower Creeks allied with President Andrew Jackson against the protestors. Men from the surrounding Choctaw and Cherokee tribes, Lower Creeks, and American soldiers formed an army of 15,000 that retaliated against the 2,500 Red Sticks in the town of Tohopeka in 1814.[5] The revolutionaries suffered a massive loss and surrendered. Before they yielded to McIntosh and his troops, a severely wounded Menawa went into hiding and held council with a handful of the survivors. They refused water, food, and rebuffed the idea of tending to their wounds for three days until after the council completed their assembly.[6] They surrendered to the US troops and the result of the battle meant a cessation of the Creek land.

The surrendering of Creek land continued under the leadership of McIntosh with The Treaty of Indian Springs in 1825. They yielded the area east of the Chattahoochee River. Over time, the nation lost its original territory to the US government. For his alliance with the Federal government, a group of Muskogee led by Menawa assassinated the McIntosh at his home; revenge was a key part of the warlike nature of the Creeks.[7] Traditionalists and those wanting to adapt aspects of the Anglo culture soon recognized that removal was both impending and inevitable.

The Treaty of 1832 gave incentivizes for the Creeks to move west, guaranteeing full US federal monetary support.[8] However, most chose to take allotments to stay in

Alabama, but failed at privately owning land. Chief Eneah Emathla protested by leading a revolt that killed several white settlers in the state, but US troops repressed the Creek War of 1836, which only lasted several months. The remaining 15,300 Muskogee people, mostly Upper Creeks and their slaves, were forced to Indian Territory in chains and traveled by steamboat to their new home. In hopelessness, one Creek man cut his throat to avoid removal. During this process, 311 drowned with a sunken ship, 3,000 others perished from exposure to the elements, disease, and starvation.[9]

After the perils of removal, the people continued their old governmental procedures in Indian Territory. They met in two councils, one led by Roley McIntosh and the other both Opthele Yahola. In 1839, they fused into one council and created a centralized regime. Although some members still held animosity, the people slowly adjusted to the new land.[10] However, the dawn of the Civil War created a new conflict for the Muskogee Nation and its people.

The "White Man's War" contributed to the decline of the Muskogee traditions.[11] Even though the Creeks' culture involved the owning of slaves, the full bloods wanted to keep true to the Treaty of 1832 and remain neutral while the mixed blood entered into a treaty with the Confederacy.[12] William McInotsh's son commanded the Creeks who sided with the South while Chief Opothle Yahola stood as the leader of the Pro-Union faction.[13] He sought to remain impartial during the combat and gathered many other traditionalist followers while seeking aid from the government. Around 6,000 Muskogee men fought for the Confederacy. The result of war took a toll on the nation. Under the Reconstruction Treaty of 1866, they surrendered three million acres of land to the United States as a punishment for siding with the South.[14] The policy also specified that two

railroads were allowed in their land along with the presence of Christian missionaries, and the Creek people also had to enforce a federal court system within their government.[15]

In 1867, the Creeks assembled a new constitution that stated only one principal chief would oversee the tribe. It also included a legislative body consisting of the house of kings and the house of warriors and a judicial branch.[16] The new form of order incited the Sands Rebellion, led by Oktarharsars Harjo. A posse of traditionalist Muskogee men occupied the Creek Council House in protest of the fundamentalist Samuel Checote as principle chief until troops from Fort Gibson retaliated.[17] The Muskogee then constructed a new establishment that resembled the US Constitution, which caused animosity between those still faithful to the 1832 Treaty, the Loyal Creeks, and those supporting the new governmental order. The conflict continued with the Green Peach War in 1882.

The Loyal Creeks, who wanted to restore the traditional style of government and revoke the agreement from 1866 fought in protest of the new constitution. They lived in the hills of Nuyaka and recruited others to join their cause, including members of other tribes, such as thirty Seminoles. They chose a leader, Isparhecher. After a failed attempt at electing their frontrunner as principal chief of the nation, a series of fights broke out. The elected principle chief under the Creek constitution, Pleasanton Porter mustered a militia of Creeks to subdue the Nuyaka. Commissioners met with Isparhecher, who wanted recognition for staying dedicated to the Union during the Civil War. He requested that the Loyal Creeks had their own form of government, but was denied this demand. Isparhecher's people were granted amnesty, but only if they took a loyalty oath to the Muskogee constitution.

Several years after this revolt, the tribe was faced with another internal conflict that separated the tribe once again. In a perpetuation of defiance against the surrender of their sovereignty, many of the Creek refused to acknowledge the Dawes Commission, a policy set forth to demolish the Native's communal ownership of land. Initially, the Five Tribes were excluded from the General Allotment Act in 1887. However, in 1893, original drafter Henry L. Dawes and two other men formed commissioners to the Five Civilized Tribes, building an office on Creek land in Muskogee, Indian Territory, and negotiated with the tribes without success. The enactment of the Curtis Act in 1898, gave the officials the power to ensure their mission.[18] This policy allowed the commission to regulate the citizenship to each tribe without the tribe's consensus by stripping all five tribes of their tribal laws. The growing pressure from the white settlers to form the Twin Territories into one unified state helped the passage of the Curtis Act.

Losing these aspects to their culture, the tribes faced several problems. The focus of incorporating the settler's society into their own meant the integration of male dominated societies into a once matrilineal culture. The role of the females slowly conformed to the repressed position that many in the Anglo society experience. Aside from the false identities many of the journalists and many of the other mass communication professions embraced, the women of the tribes endured several challenges facing their character.

Barde documentation of the people during the allotment era depicted the tribe perpetuating the cycle of resistance. He commented on both their personality traits as well as the decline of their traditional culture as these challenges of allotment confronted the Creeks. He wrote frankly on the matters of the Indians in one article after an incident

in Muskogee, Oklahoma, the former land of the Creek Nation. The article was written after statehood, yet the journalist addressed the injustices towards the Five Tribes. "By treaties, these tribes were induced to relinquish and abandon certain privileges they had enjoyed under their own forms of government-every step taken by the Indian bringing him closer…to greedy and unscrupulous white men lying in wait for his rich lands."[19] Formally acknowledging the plight of the Muskogee people, Barde addressed the issue in his writing. His audience, consisting of mostly non-native readers, was privy to the recordings of a journalist who observed the Creeks and participated in their rituals. Aside from his political stance, Barde was interested in how the native image between the mixed-race Indians differed from those with pureblood heritage.

Since the time of the Five Tribes removal to Oklahoma, many of the tribal members wedded into the white race. Barde wrote that only a full-blood Indian retained the identity of the tradition while those with half-blood exploited the culture. One of Barde's articles showed the statistics and numbers of the full and half-breed Indians living in the Twin Territories, with the latter remaining higher, proving that the "real" Indians were diminishing.[20] Those of mixed race proudly addressed their native heritage, which Barde understood since he believed having Indian lineage was an honored characteristic. He noted their organized governments, comparing the Tribes to foreign countries since the Indians conducted treaties with the US government. The article was not given a date, but must have been written before the Curtis Act in 1898, since the Tribes still had a functioning government at the time he wrote the commentary since he mentioned their reputable self-funded schools and academies. Barde was impressed that these schools allowed their youth to attend prestigious universities in both America and

Europe. He also made reference that those of mixed race tended to be incredibly wealthy from the oil in Indian land while the full-blooded remained poor because of their inability to withstand the white speculators.[21] He wrote, "Let it not be imagined, however, that the word Indian amounts to much more than a descriptive term in the social life of eastern Oklahoma."[22] Even if the percentage of Indian blood was minimal, the half-white, half-Indian women enjoyed wearing traditional clothing for photographs yet preferred lace and powders for daily wear. In the same article about the mixed-blood Indians, Barde wrote of Marjorie Davis from Tulsa, a half-Creek woman famous for her musical skills, he claimed she was the most talented pianist in Oklahoma. The journalist suggested that an artist could make a reputable career photographing solely the Native American women of the Five Tribes.[23]

While the image of the Indian changed within Oklahoma between the mixed and full bloods, the national and global view of the people remained the same. Barde researched the native image from other newspapers outside of his area. A newspaper's headline from 1913 read "Expects a Bespangled Squaw; Finds Maid in Paris Fashion." The story from Omaha, Nebraska, opens with an acknowledgement to the recent change to the Western Indian regarding their outward appearance.[24] Railroad companies typically sent an employee to assist those not accustomed to traveling and the story centered around one of these particular staff members. The worker was expecting an Indian woman with long black braids adorned with feathers and wearing a blanket. When he did not see this description, but instead a well-dressed woman in modern attire, his surprise led to a newspaper article.

On the same page as this story, another article about the Native Americans was told through missionary Reverend G.H. Gebby. The writer of the article used one of Gebby's speeches for the editorial. The man urges the public to listen to the missions among the Natives for a true account of the Native culture and lifestyle and forgo the newspapers. In his speech, Gebby announced that the Indians were on the same intellect as whites and thus should be treated as equals. He claimed, "The only solution to the Indian problem is to absorb them into our own civilization."[25] Many saw that the Indians were depleting funds from the government, if they assimilated into white culture, they would no longer be treated differently than the rest of the citizens. A British newspaper clipping from 1906 focused on the first time a man from New York saw an Indian in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show in London. The spectator excitedly exclaimed, "He was the real red man of the forest all right, the kind you read about in Indian stories, and he looked it all over."[26]

Barde also researched the white attitude regarding the Indian affairs. In an article from the *St. Louis Globe Democrat* in 1890, the unknown writer of the article wrote that the government was spoiling the native in Indian Territory. They continued to explain that the provisions given to them made the Native lifestyle far better than their traditional days. The solution, according to the writer, was to make the natives work for their support from the US government, like the white man, and through this, they would learn to behave in a civilized fashion.[27]

A man claimed in another newspaper article that he could solve the problem of the Indians by teaching them to be civilized. In five years, he could make them self-sufficient. The sole purpose of this task included the ceasing of government funding for

the tribes.[28] If they acted and assimilated into white culture, the need for their designated subsidy would diminish since they would no longer identify themselves as Native Americans. The idea behind this assimilation process included the presence of missionaries and white neighbors, which meant the opening of more land to white settlement. Although the image of the Native Americans was popular with the print media, Barde focused on depicting the people in an honest and thorough fashion.

Choosing to write about their governmental proceeding with the tone of an ethnologist, he wrote an article dedicated to their Council House. He started by describing its importance and history to the Creek people. The grounds of the Muskogee people were sacred and held important meaning to both their government and customs. At the time of the article, citizens requested that the state of Oklahoma would gain title to the house and therefore preserve the site as a historic landmark. Barde explained that the house encompassed an upper and lower domain. The Creeks referred to the two houses as "House of Kings" and "House of Warriors" respectively. Outside of the quarters, resided a golden statue of an eagle with a bullet hole through the wing. A notorious criminal named Welsey Barnett shot the statue with his Winchester for luck.[29] Barde mentioned the house's historic significance by recounting its past and present. The spot to the left of the entrance was the location where the Lighthorsemen carried out executions. Barde wrote that older generations often visited the Council House for its ancestral meaning.[30] While paying attention to the historic landmarks of the people, he also gave extensive coverage of the Muskogee community by providing biographical sketches of the leaders during the allotment era.

The leaders of the Creeks were faced with the issues the Muskogee endured. Barde concentrated on the leader of the Muskogee. The principal chief of the Creek Nation from 1899-1907, Pleasant Porter, was portrayed as respectable and assimilating. Barde used the words of Lieutenant Governor Brockmeyer of Missouri for his first-hand account of the chief. He claimed, "General Pleasanton Porter is a more capable man than any man in public life in Missouri or the Southwest...and will lead the Creek Nation forward in its march of civilization more rapidly than it has ever progressed before."[31] Brockmeyer's primary explanation on Porter included the strength of the Creek government under this particular chief. Throughout the Lieutenant's commentary, he offered respect to his idea of the Creek society by explaining the governmental procedures and a brief synopsis of his interpretation of their culture. Having known the chief for twenty years, Brockmeyer presented insight into Porter's personality.

Barde provided a historical background for Porter's military milieu. The title of general was given to the chief by the Creek nation, which resembles the same title the US gives a man of martial rank. At the time Barde wrote the article, Porter was forty nine years of age and fought for the Confederacy during the Civil War, where he acquired two wounds. Porter received his "statesmanship" in Washington DC and was considered a Democrat.[32] Lt. Brockmeyer had said that Porter represented the progressive movement for the Creek Nation. The reformist men of the tribe, the man believed were the agriculturalists. He noticed the schism within the tribe between men such as Porter and the warriors, or traditionalist. However, he said, "One of the strong evidences of the intelligence of the Creeks is their recognition of human excellence....They have always welcomed the white man to their midst"[33] The history of the Creeks showed a radical

protest against the interaction with the settlers. Porter rejected the idea of protests, but saw how the government negatively affected his people. He said in a speech that his people once used the land to clothe and feed their families, yet now they were poor and the children starved.[34] After the Curtis Act, he saw that fighting would lead to the detriment of his people. If he sought arms, only destruction would follow. They could not emigrate for the lack of places to retreat and a passive resistance would be futile.[35]

Porter supported the efforts of creating the State of Sequoyah in 1905, the idea that Indian Territory would become a state recognized by the US government.[36] He believed that through this statehood, they would still have control over their own regime. Committees were appointed and they drafted a constitution that resembled the American structure. Porter was elected president and the tribes in Indian Territory voted for its passage. Congress rejected the idea and in 1907, the Twin Territories became the state of Oklahoma.

Barde recorded the tribulation of the last chief elected by the Creek Nation, Moty Tiger. Barde wrote to D.H. Bynum, National Attorney for the Creek Nation, inquiring about a picture and biographical sketch of the principal chief. From the attorney's response on January 24, 1914, the reporter learned of Tiger's background. At the time of the letter, he had been chief for seven years. He assumed the title after Porter's death. Along with his governmental duties, he was the pastor at Methodist church in Honey Creek. As a full blood Creek Democrat, he served four years with the Confederate Army and was captain of the Lighthorsemen for the Nation. Bynum mentioned a previous meeting in Washington with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs where Tiger attended on behalf of the tribe. Known for his forthright personality, Tiger expressed that he predicted

nothing constructive would stem from the conference since his people rarely benefited from the meetings.[37]

In Barde's article on Tiger, he explained that much of the full-blood chief's conflict rested in his support of Republican attorney N. L. Mott. The lawyer brought to court many land grafters, making him unpopular with the progressives in the Nation.[38] Barde also pointed out that most of the politically active Democratic Creeks also joined the Confederacy during the Civil War, and remained staunch opponents of the Tiger and Mott coalition. The chief explained himself by saying, "I am first and last for my oppressed people."[39]

Showing the conflict between the Nation and Tiger, Barde wrote an article entitled, "Fifty Creeks ask for the Removal of Chief Moty Tiger and Delivery of Land Patents." The fifty Muskogee people sent an epistle to President Woodrow Wilson stating that their chief failed to consider his tribe when making political decisions. In their letter, they expressed concerns with Tiger's inability to speak English thus causing him to use an interpreter. The fifty Creeks asked that a younger chief be appointed.[40] The plea of the people mentioned in the editorial wished to have a progressive leader that represented the younger Muskogee generations. The conflict showed the continuance of the Muskogee people's interior conflict concerning the clash between the modernists and the traditionalists.

The factionalism of the Muskogee people showed their legacy of conflict concerning governmental procedures. During Barde's time with the Muskogee, he observed the last of their tribal conflicts before they dissolved as a tribe. Barde's proximity to the Creek Nation allowed him the opportunity to witness personally the

people and their customs. The journalists from the East rarely, if ever, interacted with the Five Tribes. Living in Guthrie, a city close to the Creek's land in Indian Territory allowed him to visit their domain and attend their ancestral ceremonies. Through both his writing and photography, he illustrated the effects of the white culture on the Muskogee by providing a personal account of their rituals and events.

[1] Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), 128.

[2] W. David Baird and Danny Goble, *Oklahoma: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 63.

[3] Craig S. Womack, *Red on Red: Native American Literary Separatism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 31-2.

[4] Wright, *A Guide to Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, 129.

[5] Kenneth Waldo McIntosh, "Chitto Harjo, the Crazy Snakes and the Birth of Indian Political Activism in the Twentieth Century," (PhD diss., Texas Christian University, 1996), 11-14.

[6] Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance: A History of the Creek Indians.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), 81.

[7] McIntosh, "Chitto Harjo," 14-15.

[8] McIntosh, "Chitto Harjo," 17.

[9] Baird and Gobble, *Oklahoma*, 84.

[10] McIntosh, "Chitto Harjo," 16.

[11] Debo, *The Road to Disappearance,* 177.

[12] Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 142.

[13] McIntosh, "Chitto Harjo," 17.

[14] John Reed Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors.* (Washington: G.P.O, 1922), 7.

[15] McIntosh, "Chitto Harjo," 21-2.

[16] Baird and Goble, *Oklahoma*, 116.

[17] Baird and Goble, *Oklahoma*, 116.

[18] Kent Carter, *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, s.v. "Dawes Commission" Oklahoma Historical Society, 2009.

[19] Barde, "Indian Lands" Barde Collection, OHS, Box 13, "Indian Lands" Folder 7.

[20] Barde, "Indian Affairs." Barde Collection, OHS, Box 13, "Indian Affairs" Folder 8.

[21] Barde, "Indian Affairs." Barde Collection, OHS, Box 13, "Indian Affairs" Folder 8.

[22] Barde, "Indian Affairs." Barde Collection, OHS, Box 13, "Indian Affairs" Folder 8.

[23] Barde, "Indian Affairs." Barde Collection, OHS, Box 13, "Indian Affairs" Folder 8.

[24] "Dec 21, 1913 Newspaper Clipping," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Indian-General Information" Folder 24. The title of the newspaper is cut off.

[25] "Dec 21, 1913 Newspaper Clipping," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Indian-General Information" Folder 24.

[26] "Dec 21, 1913 Newspaper Clipping," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Indian-General Information" Folder 24.

[27] "St. Louis Post, 1890, Newspaper Clipping," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Indian-General Information" Folder 24.

[28] "How to Civilize the Indians Newspaper Clipping," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, Indian-General Information" Folder 24.

[29] Barde, "Creek Council House," Barde Collection, OHS Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[30] Barde, "Creek Council House," Barde Collection, OHS Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[31] Barde, "Biographical Sketch of Pleasant Porter, September 17, 1899," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14. "Creek" Folder 18.

[32] Barde, "Biographical Sketch of Pleasant Porter, September 17, 1899," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14. "Creek" Folder 18.

[33] Barde, "Biographical Sketch of Pleasant Porter, September 17, 1899," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14. "Creek" Folder 18.

[34] Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940), 14.

[35] Debo, *And Still the Water's Run*, 33.

[36] Debo, *And Still the Water's Run*, 162-3.

[37] D.H. Brynum, letter to Fred Barde, 24 January 1914, Barde Collection, OHS, Box 28, "Moty Tiger" Folder 12.

[38] Barde, "Editorial on Moty Tiger," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[39] Barde, "Editorial on Moty Tiger," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[40] Barde, "Fifty Creeks Ask Removal of Chief Moty Tiger and Delivery of Land Patents," OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

CHAPTER 4

A Blending of the Two Nations

Land speculators, businesses, and citizens coveted the land in Indian Territory and pressured the government for its opening toward the end of the nineteenth century. An easy way to gain their domain, they thought, would be to redefine the Indian by making them appear and act comparable to an American citizen. White neighbors, Christian missionaries, and government procedures served as devices to force the Muskogee people to assimilate into the settler's culture. The presence of boarding schools, funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and run by missionaries, taught the younger Indian generations the cultural aspects of a Christianized American society. The older generations still partook in traditional tribal rituals and customs while the youth went to the boarding schools. Progressives believed that with the transformation of the Nation, the people continued to maintain their sovereignty while having a culture comparable to white society, while the traditionalists believed it was diminishing.[1] Barde wrote of these events with both fascination and detail, but he knew their ancestral ways were changing.

The ethos of the Muskogee people stems from an ideology of pride and tradition. In the eighteenth century, the autonomy of the women was recognized and respected within the tribe.[2] Families were matrilineal and felt closest with the mother's relatives. When the Creek Indian Agent Benjamin Hawkins spent time with the tribe in the early nineteenth century, he was asked to marry one of the daughters of a widow. The

arrangement was broken when the mother could not agree with the agent's idea of a family, where the father controlled the wife and children.[3] All men actively participated during wartime, leaving the women to tend to the household and agriculture. They would accompany the men during hunting season to prepare the hides.[4] Social events took place in the plaza and occurred during the evening to the early morning hours. Visitors were expected to participate. When Barde attended these events, his detailed accounts alluded to the idea he partook in the rituals. The influence of missionaries in the Creek society altered these rituals since many converted to Christianity, the ancestral customs began to decline. However, many combined both their old and new faiths. For example, they believed that a Muskogee deity called Hesketvmese and Christ functioned together.[5]

Since 1822, in the Southeast, the company of evangelists started to grow in Creek regions. Baptist and Methodists, the two most active denominations, taught the Nation the ways of white society. Before this time, the tribe had refused their services. After removal, they agreed via treaty to permit missionaries and churches in their province.[6] Government officials believed the easiest way to adapt the Indians was through education. By 1860, a plethora of devout instructors migrated to Indian Territory, most were women.[7] In addition to mission to teach the ways of Christ, they also acted as physicians, governmental advisors, and introduced organized societies. By the 1850s, the Creeks opened three faith-based schools, Koweta, Tullahassee, and Asbury Manual Labor School. The courses included occupational training plus agriculture, liberal arts, and mechanical skills for the men and for the women, a domestically focused curriculum.[8] Opothle Yahola, a strict traditionalist, rejected Christianity but saw the education beneficial since it taught them how to interact with the white settlers.[9]

Around the first part of the twentieth century, some of the Muskogee's began to rebel against the white man's religion. While still a staunch advocate for the Creek people and their heritage, Barde agreed with the work of the missionary. He wrote an article that explained the trials and tribulations of the preacher's work. Barde declared, "The missionary that does not grow despondent at times in teaching the gospel to the full bloods and the Negro freedman of the Five Civilized Tribes must have a stout heart."[10] He chose a missionary that expressed his attitude towards the decline of the disciples. He interviewed anthropologist Frank G. Speck, who had worked with the Creek Nation and believed that after the baptism of the people, their Christian leaders abandoned them.[11] The lack of churches amidst the community contributed to his theory. Speck claimed that many of the Indians chose not to partake in any organized religion, ancestral or Christian.[12] The Muskogee that retained their Baptist and Methodist ways were criticized by Speck who claimed their translation of his religion was a mockery of Christianity.[13]

Speck blamed the oil fields for contributing to the Indian's degeneracy. While the small towns in Oklahoma developed into cities, the oil companies needed labor. This kind of occupation required its employees to work long hours. As a result, many men without families gathered at the wells to earn "quick money."[14] The oil businesses needed any willing workers, and therefore hired many of the Creeks. He gave an example of a small town run by oil fields in 1908, where the white men lived an unruly lifestyle. Leading by example, according to Speck, the Indians soon strayed from the path and left their religious fervor behind. To clarify the point of his writings, Speck summarized thusly, "The social environment of these early proselyted people… has deteriorated with the incursions of the whites into the country, and left them to their own inadequate

resources, resulting in conditions which are really worse than if they had been left entirely to their native religion."[15] However, Speck acknowledged the heritage and wrote that he viewed it as part of their culture, and recognized that the people had been on the land long before the white men. Speck credited himself by stating many Indians of sound mind and that other ethnologists shared his opinion.[16] Barde used his account to contribute to either his own personal opinion, or that of a man with a strong opinion on the subject. Speck illustrated his knowledge of Creek civilization when he wrote a memoir for the American Anthropological Association entitled "The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town" in 1905. The topics he chose to cover included shamanism, sacred rituals, and basic cultural aspects of the Taskigi peoples.

Barde contributed to his own accounts of the Creek people by attending many significant Muskogee events, such as the green corn ceremonies and festival. An invitation to a holy event was held with reverence among the Creek's. The respect of the people towards Barde was illustrated by their motivation for him to attend their ceremonies. Throughout the undated article, the apparent tone of an outsider did not overshadow his already extensive knowledge of their ways. His work reflected his admiration for the people and awe of their practices. The Muskogee sacraments began with three meetings, where the clan chiefs attended and gave orders. Barde continued in his article to describe the location of the assembly in detail. He indicated that the opening of the house where most of the ceremony took place came up to his chin. He also described the roof, entryways, and walls.[17] "A space is left open all around at the back and sides of each house, to afford a free circulation of air; this opening came up to my chin, and enables to peep in on all sides."[18]

Continuing his article, Barde made mention of the sacred customs practiced during the ceremony. One of the first steps involved removing the soil from the previous year and replacing the earth with new dirt. Once the old soil was removed, touching the ground was forbidden until after a blessing. During the sanction, women danced on the soil and then separated themselves from the men. Upon completion of this step in the ritual, all the fires in the towns were extinguished. He remarked on their praying by writing, "The first sounds I heard were a strange, low, deep wail, a sound of many voices, drawn out in perfect unison, and only dying away with the breath itself, which indeed, was longer sustained than could be done by any singer whom I have ever yet heard."[19] Barde also observed that a person sentenced to a crime of larceny had the ability to become a free man if he worshiped with the rest of the tribe.[20] His familiarity of the Creek Indians showed when he noticed that most of the chiefs were wearing eagle feathers, an accessory only worn if they had killed an enemy.

His favorite observation, Barde explained, was when the women danced for the Green Corn ceremony. "The assemblae [sic] of females I was rather anxious to see, so I was at my post very early."[21] The journalist spared no paper in describing what clothing and ceremonial accessories the women wore. For the ritual, the women danced in circles around the main fire chanting and using the terrapin shell leg-bands that were fastened around their shins as instruments. This signified that both sexes could now intermingle and everyone danced together around the central fire laughing and yelling. Barde did not mention if he partook in any of the practices or simply watched from the side. His specially noted the presence of the chief's daughter. "The elder princess...I am happy to say, looked only at me. Someone must have told her, that I meant to run away with her,

for I had said so before I saw her, to many of her friends."[22] Continuing with the Creek traditions of balancing both battle and tranquility, a warrior reenacted the techniques he would use during war to ensure a victorious year in combat. Barde explained his interest in two shields and assumed by their presence and who carried the relics that they must have held great importance and heritage. "They were borne with great reverence by two chiefs," he wrote, "The Nation do[sic] pretend to explain whence they came; they keep them apart, as something sacred; they are only produced on great occasion."[23] A change to this ritual came with the missionaries. Baptist and Methodist denominations were popular among the Creeks and dancing remained prohibited to those who followed these particular religious convictions. Since dancing acted a key element to the sacred portion of the ceremony, without this factor in the green corn festival and the new presence of alcohol, the intoxicated festival transgressed into a "drunken sexual orgy."[24]

Barde attended other sacred aspects of the Creek ceremonial sport, which occurred during the Green Corn ceremonies in a separate article from his experience at the religious service. For the sport, a field would be measured anywhere from three hundred to six hundred feet. Sets of poles would be placed on either side, one set for each team serving as a goal. To win the game, one team must pass the ball, made out of wrapped twine and covered with buckskin, eleven times through the opponent's goal. [25] Each of the twenty-one team members carried two; three-inch sticks made of seasoned hickory and used them to pass. Touching with a hand would result in a brutal beating. Barde commented, "A baseball game between two big league teams in Chicago or New York is child's play compared to a Creek ball game."[26] The audience members carried a rowdy reputation, stabbing and shooting was a common occurrence. Gambling goods

such as horses, silks, and jewelry were commonly associated with this sport. The betting mostly occurred among the women.[27]

Barde recognized the Creek's religious aspect to the sport. The ritual began the day before and lasted until the early hours the morning of the game. Each team was led by a "medicine" man who would bless each of the players before the game.[28] Within every Creek town, a medicine man took control over the religious practices. The role of medicine men, or priests, received special training involving fasting and drinking concoctions thought to enhance the relationship between the ethereal and reality. Many of the Creeks believed that upon completion of this training, the medicine man had the ability to cure disease, manipulate the elements, and oversee all religious ceremonies for both peace and war.[29] Describing the man's blessing, he wrote, "With his face between his hands and inclined toward the earth, the medicine man now utters a long wail, and all the players spring forward as if charging upon an enemy, which they put to rout."[30] The next step in the process required the religious man to scratch the players with gar teeth. Barde pointed out that the Creek Indians commonly practiced this ritual before the sport began. In this process, the gar teeth were used to cut along each player's arms, legs, and backs to stimulate the adrenaline just before the competition. The match itself was violent and lasted for four hours. Watchers of the sport were occasionally injured when the teams would lose focus of the boundary lines and crash into the crowd.[31] A game was considered successful if only a few players were killed or disabled. However, most matches ended poorly causing a riot that involved the surviving players and spectators, including women.[32]

Barde closed his article by explaining the decline of this particular sport due to the introduction of whiskey brought by the white settlers. With the introduction of alcohol, the game's violence turned deadly. Barde mentioned one particular incident that involved an insurrection involving over five hundred intoxicated attendees and players. The teammates used their playing sticks as weapons; many brandished their knives, and other fired shots throughout the riot. The fight was dissolved after a feared deputy United States marshal threatened to shoot. Barde summarized the words of Arbeka Colonel Roley McIntosh, who believed "that it would be well for the Creeks to abandon their ball-playing, rather than risk the danger of a battle that might arise under the changed conditions."[33]

Focusing on the Muskogee people along with their government and custom, he spent time at Arbeka Crossing. White settlers envied this land, owned solely by the Creek Nation. During the event that Barde documented, Johnson Tiger, son of the chief Moty Tiger, gave a speech explaining the significance of the Creek language. Since Barde mentioned that people were waiting for Chitto Harjo, while others believed he passed away during Harjo's fugitive years, the article is assumed to have been written between 1909 and 1914. Barde attended this oration and recorded the lecture for one of his articles. He noted in his article that deputy US Marshals waited on the other side of Arbeka Crossing for fugitives, most notably Chitto Harjo, leader of the Snake Indians. Although the "unhappy man" did not appear, the grounds were still held sacred by the Muskogee.[34] Barde sustained his article by explaining Creek words, written phonetically so the reader would have a better understanding of the language. To continue Barde's interest in the Creek women, he quoted Tiger, '... The word for maiden is *hok-tomup-pe-*

hum-ke, ... it means ' a flower that grows alone.' Don't you think it pretty fancy."[35] Barde used Tiger's speech to explain several other Creek words such as fireplace and dog. Also continuing with his fascination with Creek historic vestiges, Barde described an artifact that Tiger considered the oldest relic to the Muskogee tribe. Tiger believed that the historical piece was a drum made out of a cypress tree. Barde gave a detailed description of the drum as well as its history.[36]

In spending the day at Arbeka Crossing, Barde seemed amused by a four-year-old girl chewing tobacco and mentioned the story of the child and her family at the end of his article. He started his explanation by saying, "The most precociously nicotine[sic] family in the United States was discovered."[37] He met a family with eight children, all girls. The mother dressed all her daughters in aprons, which held their tobacco. Returning to the four-year-old girl, the journalist wrote, "This angel child of only four years took a chew of long green, and spit with the utmost accuracy and certainly a distance of ten feet from the family room into the yard."[38] In this quotation, it can be assumed he was invited into this family's house.

Besides social and ritualistic customs, Barde also focused on the nation's strict policies on his articles concerning the consequences of theft for the Muskogee people. During the era when the Creeks held a government, the journalist referred to their style of punishment for a misdeed as "somber barbarism."[39] Larceny remained the biggest crime to commit, no matter the monetary cost of the object stolen. After three acts of theft, the person was sentenced to death. For the first occurrence, the guilty party was sentenced to forty-eight lashes from hickory sticks. Lighthorsemen acted out the punishment. The second offense brought one hundred lashes. Barde pointed out the severity of the lashed

depended on the level of sadomasochism of each of the Lighthorsemen. Barde explained that in either 1890 or 1891, brought by the sentence of a third larceny charge, Thomas Chickasaw was the last man executed by the Creek government. Barde used the eyewitness account of Johnson Tiger, Creek interpreter for the Dawes Commission, to explain Chickasaw's final days and capital punishment. The accused man's third offense involved riding a horse that he took from a nearby field. The Nation's trial court judge, the "hard, tyrannical" Freeland Marshall, gave him the death sentence for this act. Barde conveyed his shock at such a punishment by writing, "Such an act would have been hardly enough to convict a man of much less than a capital offense in a white man's court."[40]

Although Barde was appalled by the strict governmental procedures, he still credited the humility of the Creek people. After Chickasaw received his sentence, he was given a day to be with his family. Barde stated, "True to Creek precedent, he made no effort to escape."[41] He then went on to explain the doomed man's events leading up to the execution. Chickasaw turned himself in to the Light Horsemen to which they then went to the nearby country store to buy a burial suit. The next procedure involved measurements at the blacksmith shop for a coffin, then dinner. One of the Lighthorsemen was a friend of Chickasaw; and therefore had the obligation of first shot in the execution. Barde compared this to *hari-kari*, the Japanese custom where the closest friend is chosen to behead the victim.[42] Setting up the image of the day of the execution, Barde wrote, "Thomas Chickasaw saw on his coffin as he rode to the cemetery, forlorn and overgrown with weeds, that lay west of sun-blistered and dusty little town of Okmulgee."[43] At the firing squad, a Baptist missionary read from the Bible and prayed for the condemned.

The extensive knowledge Barde displayed for the Muskogee people contributed to the understanding of their customs and heritage. He provided to his readers an educated study and description of their rituals. His presence at the ceremonies showed the deference he had for their customs and the mutual respect between Barde and the Creek people. For a tribe that once violently rebelled against white society, they accepted Barde's inquiry into their society. They also trusted the journalist to an extent that they allowed him to photograph their daily lives. The resulting photographs show a culture in transition, and the blending of white and Creek society. Photography was very important to Barde. He took his camera on several of his expeditions and was eager to capture his environment.

Of Barde's photography collection, ranging well over two hundred photographs on Oklahoma land and people, three captured the Muskogee people. He maintained a professionalism that remained within the boundaries of truth, and illustrated the people in their natural setting. One particular photograph depicts two women working, titled, "Creek Indians - Two Women Making Sofky." **[Figure 4]** They are wearing long dresses and aprons with bandanas shielding their hair from their labor. The younger of the two looked at the photographer with a smile on her face while the elder looks down, concentrated on their work. The setting for the picture appears to be outdoors. In the background, the overall presence of the prairie topography accustomed to Oklahoma span the landscape around them. Surrounding the two women are other utensils most likely used for their particular type of labor. The making of sofky involved the process of pounding a moist husk of corn to mush, the process seen in the photograph. After this step, they seasoned the corn with ash lye and then placed it in a jar. They are using the

4. "Two Women Making Sokfey."
Photograph by Fred S. Barde. Photo courtesy of the
Frederick Samuel Barde Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Division.

stump of a tree to act as the bowl for their softy and each held two wooden oars to aid in the smashing of the corn. Creek poet Alexander Posey made sofky as a humorous element in his writing. He often wrote how the women worked diligently cooking as the men acted slothful. Traditionally, it was required for the Muskogee to keep a jar full of this delicacy to offer to their guests.[44] The photograph depicts the blending of the ancestral and white societies. The women wear clothing associated with the white society while making a traditional Muskogee dish.

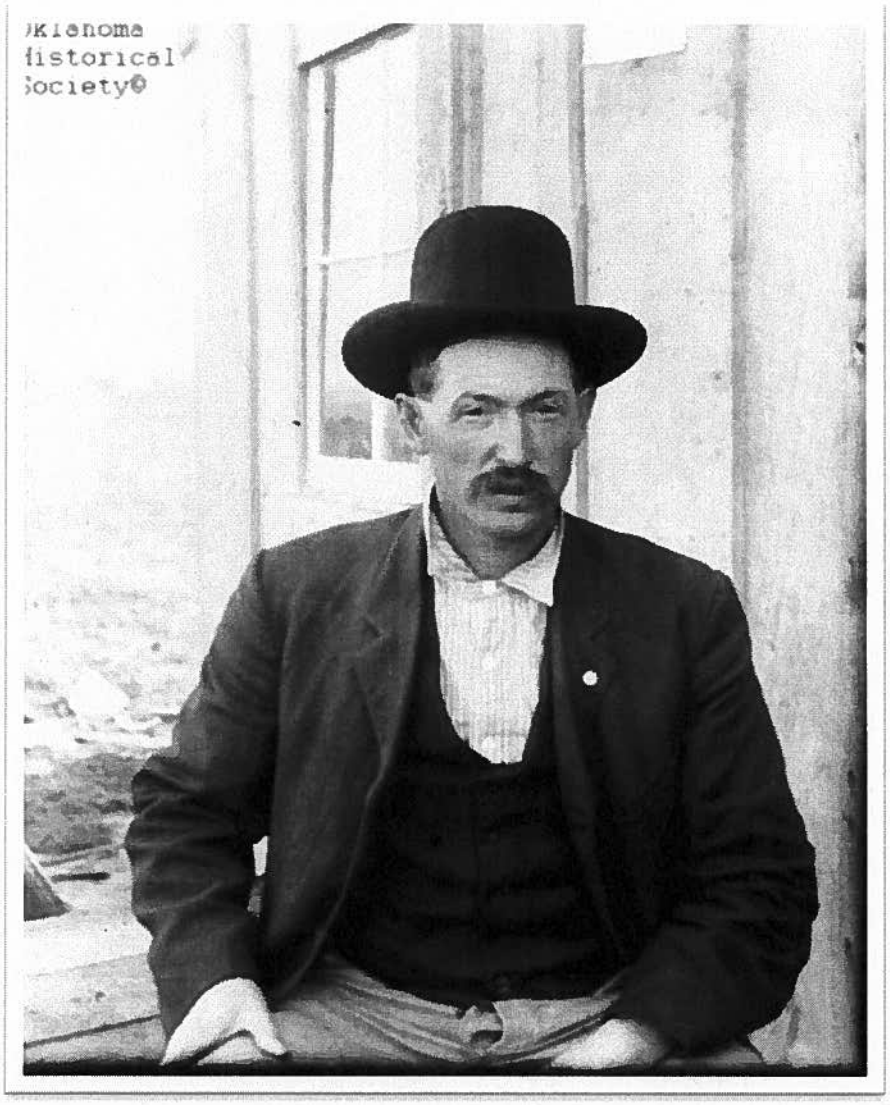
A second photograph, in front of a backdrop, shows a mature woman dressed in the similar fashion as the women in the previous photograph. This example counteracts his statements in editorials of the elderly struggling with the adaption of the white culture. The photograph, entitled "Typical Full blood Creek Indian Woman," shows the woman holding a pipe as a child looks into the distance. **[Figure 5]** The woman appeared to be sitting at the end of a table draped with a white tablecloth. A long dress made with simple fabric adorned with an apron and a scarf or piece of cloth holds her hair back from her face. This time the woman was also wearing a cape. She looked into the camera with an emotionless expression on her face with the pipe resting between her lips, her left hand clutching onto the bowl of the pipe with her right hand gently around the young child. The youth appears to be in the toddler years and wears a dress with braids in her hair. She looks off into the distance appearing to be bored with her current situation. The title of the photograph alluded to the notion that all full blood Creek women appeared in this manner, which lacked many of the attributes characteristically given to Indian women at the time, including wearing their hair in long braids adorned with feathers.

5. "Typical Fullblood Creek Indian."
Photograph by Fred S. Barde. Photo courtesy of the
Frederick Samuel Barde Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Division.

Barde depicted a similar approach with his portrait of a Creek man sitting in front of a house. **[Figure 6]** The image shows a more intimate shot of the individual rather than the picture taken at a distance similar to the photographs of the women. The man wears clothing associated with white society, rather than a traditional Indian dress. Through his photographs of other tribes, Barde showed some of the individuals in their ritual clothing. He portrayed the Creeks as adapting to the white society.

Based on the premise that many of the frontier photographers abused the presence of backdrops and props, for Barde in comparison with his writings and previous photography, he did not dilute his photojournalism with the typecast of the "noble savage." The Creeks were originally from the Georgia and Alabama regions. Although the climate did not differ dramatically from Indian Territory, the agriculture and the overall change forced the people to adapt to a new environment, thus having to change their style of dress.

Other journalists, writers, and photographers were contributing to both the fabricated and factual image of the Indians at the turn of the twentieth century. Many photographers flocked to Indian Territory to capture these marketable images. To coincide with the image popularized in the East, they staged the photographs that erased any tribe affiliation. Prints of the "Indian princess" circulated trading posts and served as merchandise for tourists.[45] Other photographers during the time of the frontier, including Edward S. Curtis, chose photographing Indians as one of their major subjects. In a thirty-year span, Curtis documented tribes from all across America; however, he used props and costumes, ignoring historical truth.[46] However, a select few remained true to the craft and photographed the tribes in their true surrounding without using theatrical methods. Barde



6. "Indians-Creek."
Photograph by Fred S. Barde. Photo courtesy of the
Frederick Samuel Barde Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Division.

fit into this category immersing himself into their lifestyles as both a writer and a photographer.

A photographer similar to Barde was Annette Ross Humes, who documented the lives of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichitas, from 1898 to 1902 by using a camera lens as her medium. Like Barde, she never received formal training in the craft but actively took images of her surroundings and typically took portraits, tightly framing her subjects so the viewer could see every detail. Also similar to Barde, the images show the assimilation process through the manner of her subject's fashion. She was fascinated with the tribe's fashion, a mix between "citizen's clothing," or clothing made from factories and sold in trader stores, mixed remnants of their traditional wear, an image signifying their parallel assimilation process to white society.[47] Her mission was to document her surroundings in its true form, which is evident in her raw, unedited photography.[48]

Barde's first-hand observations extended to the other aspects of his journalism career. His relationship with Creek poet Alexander Posey allowed him to offer publications that provided an in-depth look into his perplexing personality. Barde's photographs of Posey are often used by modern day authors and researchers of the Muskogee poet. Along with his research of the Muskogee people, Barde's interest in the traditionalist Chitto Harjo, or Crazy Snake, was shown by his active involvement in the search for the Creek man when Harjo fled from the authorities after an altercation. To the Muskogee people, and in current studies, Harjo represented the voice of the traditionalist while Posey signified the modernist attitude. Barde's reporting on both individuals show that they were more complex than this assumption, and through his own experiences, was able to provide a detailed biographical sketch and analysis of Posey and Harjo.

[1] Mary Jane Warde, *George Washington Grayson and the Creek Nation, 1843-1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999) 41.

[2]Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), 129.

[3] Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country the Creek Indians and Their World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 113.

[4] Ethridge, *Creek Country the Creek Indians and Their World*, 99, 108.

[5] Warde, *George Washington Grayson and the Creek Nation*, 40.

[6] W. David Baird and Danney Goble, *Oklahoma: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008) 71-2.

[7] Baird and Goble, *Oklahoma*, 101.

[8] Baird and Goble, *Oklahoma*, 102.

[9] Warde, *George Washington Grayson and the Creek Nation,* 41.

[10] Barde, "Okmulgee, OK., May 27," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[11] Barde, "Okmulgee, OK., May 27," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[12] Frank G. Speck, "The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town," *American Anthropological Association* (Kraus Reprint Co.: Millwood, 1974)

[13] Barde, "Okmulgee, OK., May 27," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[14] Barde, "Okmulgee, OK., May 27," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[15] Barde, "Okmulgee, OK., May 27," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[16] Barde, "Okmulgee, OK., May 27," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[17] Barde, "Green Corn Ceremonies," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[18] Barde, "Green Corn Ceremonies," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[19] Barde, "Green Corn Ceremonies," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[20] Barde, "Green Corn Ceremonies," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[21] Barde, "Green Corn Ceremonies," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[22] Barde, "Green Corn Ceremonies," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[23] Barde, "Green Corn Ceremonies," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[24] Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1948), 294.

[25] Barde, "Stickball," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[26] Barde, "Stickball," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[27] Barde, "Stickball," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[28] Barde, "Stickball," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[29] Debo, *The Road to Disappearance,* 24.

[30] Debo, *The Road to Disappearance,* 24.

[31] Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country the Creek Indians and Their World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 102.

[32] Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* , 295.

[33] Debo, *The Road to Disappearance,* 24.

[34] Barde, "Arbeka Crossing," Barde Collection. OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[35] Barde, "Arbeka Crossing," Barde Collection. OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[36] Barde, "Arbeka Crossing," Barde Collection. OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[37] Barde, "Arbeka Crossing," Barde Collection. OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[38] Barde, "Arbeka Crossing," Barde Collection. OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[39] Barde, "Larceny," Barde Collection. OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[40] Barde, "Larceny," Barde Collection. OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[41]Barde, "Larceny," Barde Collection. OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[42] Barde, "Larceny," Barde Collection. OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[43] Barde, "Larceny," Barde Collection. OHS, Box 14, "Creek" Folder 18.

[44] Timothy Petete and Craig S. Womack, "Thomas E. Moore's Sour Sofkee in the Tradition of Muskogee Dialect Writers," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 18 (2006): 9-10.

[45] Jeremy Drouin, "Photographing Native Americans in Oklahoma-Indian Territory | Kansas City Public Library," Kansas City Public Library, accessed October 6, 2011, http://www.kclibrary.org/?q=kchistory/photographing-native-americans-oklahoma-indian-territory.

[46] Bobbi Rahder, "Gendered Stylistic Differences Between Photographers of Native Americans at the Turn of the Century," *Journal of the West* 15, no. 1 (January 1996): 86.

[47] Kristina L. Southwell and John R. Lovett, *Life at the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency: the Photographs of Annette Ross Hume* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), 14.

[48] Southwell and Lovett, *Life at the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency*, 32, 35.

CHAPTER 5

A Correspondent, An Insurgent, and A Lyricist

"Well so," Hotgun he say,
"My ol'-time frien', Yadeka Harjo, he
Was died the other day,
An' they was no ol'-timer left but me."[1]

The white journalist, a traditionalist rebel advocate, and a progressive poet laureate all spoke out against the injustice against the Five Tribes through their crafts and images at the beginning of the twentieth century. Barde's articles showed respect for both the activist Chitto Harjo and the Creek bard Alexander Posey. Both Barde and Posey romanticized Harjo through their writing. While Posey held an enigmatic viewpoint regarding the plight of the Indians, Harjo's adamant stance towards justice for his people showed through his tireless appeal against the ceding of the Creek land. Full-blood Creek Harjo's identity, feared by white society, grew to symbolize the battle for Native traditionalism, while Posey symbolized the progressive attitude. However, the poet used satirical poetry to demonstrate his people's circumstances through his "Fux Fixico Letters." Both men appealed to Barde's opinion that the mixed blood Indian tended to sway toward the progressive, modern changes while the full blood were staunch traditionalists. Barde's chronicling of both men gave an unexaggerated truth to the Harjo legend and helped draw attention to the poet Posey. He referred to Harjo as the strongest leader for his people and Posey as the most talented writer among the Five Tribes.

Harjo was born in the Creek town of Arbeka, located near the Deep Fork River, in 1846. Many of town's residents remembered the Creek Civil War from 1813-1814, the struggle of the removal, and the plight of the nation after the Civil War, which created an

anti-American atmosphere. His father was a full blood Creek named Aharlock Harjo who initially named his son Wilson Jones in an effort to assimilate into the white culture. However, during a Green Corn Ceremony, a medicine man gave the boy the name of Chitto Harjo to signify his adulthood. His education consisted of a strong customary instruction where he learned the ways of his people before removal.[2] Barde reported that, as a staunch traditionalist, he had two common-law wives that lived in their own houses and believed to be an atheist even though he referenced the Christian God several times in his infamous speech in Tulsa. He rejected the missionaries in Indian Territory thinking their main concern was taking money from the Indians.[3]

The beginning of the twentieth century, the actions of Harjo and his band of Snakes served as the catalyst to the initial protest of allotment that grew inner-tribally.[4] The Green Peach War years earlier had failed, causing the departure of Isparhecher from the public eye, leaving Harjo the face of the rebellion against assimilation. They believed the mistreatment of the Creek Nation by the US government revolved around dissolutely broken treaties.

The Special Senate Investigating Committee led by Secretary of the Interior James Rudolph Garfield held met in Tulsa, Oklahoma, at the Elk's Lodge in the Seaman Building on November 23, 1906. Harjo, accompanied by a handful of his followers and interpreter David H. Hodge, attended the meeting and sat in the first row. During his speech, Harjo's expressed his main concern that the previous treaties made between the US government and the Creeks would soon diminish, his country again taken away, and his people forgotten. He argued that his people lived in the land long before the settlers. He mentioned the treaties from 1832 that took his people's country east of the Mississippi

while they still inhabited Alabama, and in 1861 when they allied with the Confederate Army, which in turn caused a surrender of Creek land as punishment from the victorious Federal Army. He said that these events and their aftermath proved his reason to fear for the future of his people. Referring to the Civil War, he protested that he fought alongside the Union to ensure the continuation of the treaties that gave his people their land, proving his loyalty to those agreements.[5] He concluded his speech by saying, "The white people have run all through me…and committed all kinds of depredations and what I have left is precious few. I am here and stand before you today, my fathers, as a man of misery."[6] Barde quoted Harjo's speech to the Senate committee in several of his articles.[7]

Having spent over a decade in Oklahoma during the time of Chitto Harjo's infamy, Barde was accustomed to the ill-treatment of the Five Tribes. Illustrated in his articles covering Harjo, Barde expressed his strongest opinions towards the Indian's mistreatment and loss of culture. The admiration and sorrow he felt for the effort of the Crazy Snake leader was evident in his research. He said, "Had Crazy Snake been a white man, he would have been president of the United States."[8] His reasoning for this exclamation was his belief in Harjo's impressive presence, his superiority in public speaking, perseverance, and intellect.[9] From 1909 to 1911, Harjo went into hiding. The extensive investigation by Barde to find his whereabouts in the Choctaw region, proved successful, a feat the US Government had failed at achieving. Barde, a man not shy at expressing his opinion, openly condemned the irresponsible actions of the US government's peacemakers on handing the Snake situation. He presented himself as a "muckraker," a term used during this era to label a reporter who openly wrote about the corruption of others.

Barde criticized the numerous articles that exaggerated the actions of the Snakes. He wrote of other newspapers giving Harjo the image if a ruthless killer of white men and how the media called the Snake's actions a fierce revolution. He rebutted these allegations: "The truth is a recital of a pathetic tale of the efforts of a deluded and misguided full blood…to save themselves from the flood of white civilization…and maintain themselves in the simple life enjoyed by their ancestors."[10] He noted the encroaching white settlers and its effects on the tribe's harmony with their once-isolated land in the territory. The latest generations could not remember the old traditions of moccasins, plaited hair, and painted faces but instead opted for the style of the fashion made in factories. The few remaining traditional regalia were seen in a handful of earrings, combs, and necklaces.[11]

True to his form, Barde gave a detailed biographical sketch of the Snake clan. Upon taking the role as leader, not chief, Harjo directed his peers to refuse to sign the allotment treaty. While admiring the persistence of the leader, Barde proclaimed that white men with misguided intentions persuaded Harjo that the government would stay true to their 1832 treaty and the leader's blind trust in the government led to the Muskogee downfall. Rumors such as these stimulated the Snake's council meetings at Hickory Grounds. Barde's mistrust of the white lawyers, calling them an infestation of Washington, their greed of money caused the downfall of the Indian.[12] From the Snakes, these particular men gathered numerous amounts of money at councils, Barde estimated around 600 Snakes gave money to these lobbyists. Harjo grew precautious of their intentions and Barde speculated that the leader deposited around $7,000 across banks in Oklahoma.

In 1901 when Harjo was sentenced to two years of hard labor for a penalty of revolting, Barde responded by writing, "This seemed ridiculous to persons who looked at the matter soberly."[13] Barde continued by describing in 1908 that the newspapers again provoked fear of another uprising. However, Frank Canton, Adjunct General visited Hickory Ground and learned that the Lighthorsemen were armed to protect women and children from the white men who squatted at the location to sell bootleg whiskey. Upon the request that these men disarm, Harjo compromised, and three were allowed to carry guns to ensure protection and the threat diminished.[14]

Barde also described the presence of African American half-blood Creeks living at Hickory Ground and their involvement in the Smoked Meat Rebellion of 1909. He described that they once were the slaves to the Creek people who intermarried with the tribe. He also noted that, "the Creek negro vicious and revengeful, and when drunk he is transformed into a bloodthirsty demon. All of them go heavily armed."[15] He also explained that the same people stole meat and other belongings from the white settlers instigating and conflict that involved firearms in Hickory Ground. He claimed that a true Snake was absent from this debacle, but the word spread the Indians were instigating trouble and the newspapers exaggerated that over forty were killed in the scuffle. Based solely on his reputation, Harjo, was targeted as the leader of this fight and sought out by the deputies led to the search of his home. Once the deputies reached the Crazy Snake's home, those who did not flee fired upon the authorities.[16] At this time, Barde wrote that Harjo was shot through the calf, but later documents reveal it could have been through the hip.[17] Harjo's house was demolished in a fire, a theory that this was to cover bullet holes. From this occurrence the media, what Barde referred to as the "yellow

newspapers," gave accounts that the Snake Indians were scalping and mass murdering any white individuals they saw.[18]

Harjo fled, and the search for Crazy Snake followed. Five state militia troops, around 175 men, led by Colonel Roy Hoffman commenced a hunt by order of Oklahoma Governor Charles Nathaniel Haskell.[19] Military telephone lines connected with the rural lines, and the men were fully equipped with army gear. The ending cost of the expedition for the state was $6,000, and McIntosh County accumulated a debt of $3,500.[20] They hired known Indian outlaw Sam Cook who spent many years in the hills as a fugitive in McIntosh and Okmulgee counties. He served as an informant while an unnamed correspondent prepared with a Kodak followed the troops. Also joining the posse was Bill Tilghman, a United States Deputy Marshal skilled in tracking runaways.[21]

Thompson Tiger, son of Chief Moty Tiger, joined the troops to serve as an interpreter. The assembly went to several homes where Harjo claimed to have been hiding. Each time the troops secured themselves around the house while Tiger searched the premises and questioned the inhabitants. The troops failed to find Harjo. Rumors circulated that he was dead, living in Mexico or Louisiana.[22] On the predicament of the Creek man, Barde explained, "there is no hope for Chitto Harjo; he cannot escape the tragedy of his race. Unhappily he sinks with the despairing cry of a strong man who strives with death when night has fallen upon the waters around him."[23] Barde accompanied Colonel Roy V. Hoffman, the head of the militia after the Snake Rebellion, on his search for the missing Harjo. Hoffman's account of his voyage through Indian Territory, published in the *Tulsa Daily World* in 1915, gave his description of the pursuit following the Smoked Meat Rebellion. Hoffman mentioned that Barde took several

photographs through their search. The Colonel also referred to the sensational claims of the other newspaper on the issue surround Harjo. He explained, "[Barde] was the only correspondent who was on the ground all the time, and knew what he was reporting. The many lurid and harrowing tales that appeared in the press of the nation were sent in by those who did not know."[24] The same theory resided in his analysis of the Muskogee people. His mere presence and professionalism allowed his journalism to be free from the false and exaggerated headlines of the reporters who wrote only speculation and gossip. His style of reporting, which involved meticulous research and inquiry, led to an answer of Harjo's location two years later. The discovery of the Creek's fate was largely uncovered by the efforts of Barde.[25]

Barde wrote to many institutions and persons of interest on the whereabouts of Crazy Snake.[26] The Creek had found sanctuary in the Choctaw area in the house of a full blood Snake named Daniel Robert, also known as Daniel Bob. Through an interpreter, Robert described Harjo's escape after the shootout that left the Creek mortally wounded. Once Robert heard of the fight, he met the injured Harjo, Charles Coker, and Anderson Harris at a location north of McAlester. Coker was Chitto's lieutenant, also wounded, was believed to be the one who killed the two deputies. He claimed they fired at him and Harjo without warning when the Indian came to the doorway. The four men took a secluded road to Robert's house.[27] Medicine men could not retrieve the bullet from Harjo's hip, and he spent his remaining days in agony in a foreign land and succumbed to his wounds April 5, 1911. Robert dictated a letter to Barde after the death of Harjo. He mentioned this letter in one of his articles saying the note had "simplicity and directness belongs to Homeric times" and proceed to quote the entire message.[28] The letter dated

March 16, 1915, from Smithville, Oklahoma.[29] In the same article, Barde compared the death of Harjo to a poem of Alexander Posey's entitled "Hotgun on the Death of Yadeka Harjo." The poem laments the death of a traditionalist Indian.

The poet and writer Posey spent time visiting with conservative Creeks and even wrote about their plight more than Barde. Posey sympathized with their poverty, yet felt different racially and socially from these people. [30] He kept notes in his journal on these meetings, depicting his time with the elder generations, who were typically full-blood Muskogee. Barde commented on Posey's knowledge of the traditionalists and their outlook on their changing culture. "He knew the full blood to his innermost thought, and keenly felt the melancholy of the old man as they saw the invading white men breaking down the barriers behind which this Indian empire had slumbers since the early [18]30's."[31] Posey recorded one particular meeting in his journal the time he spent with Yadeka Harjo. Barde also attended the meeting and both writers listened to the elderly man tell stories of his past and recited myths from Muskogee culture. Posey smoked from Harjo's tomahawk pipe, which the latter received after the battle at Horseshoe Bend.[32] Barde captured the scene and titled the picture, "Alexander Posey Lighting the Pipe of Peace." **[Figure 7]** Both Barde and Posey earned the respect of Yakeda Harjo, where they were allowed in his company and Barde was able to photograph the aging Muskogee's treasured belonging. In addition, Barde was again privy to a first-hand account of traditional culture and heritage.

Representing the progressive Natives who believed allotment was a survival technique. Posey often contradicted himself both in his writing and in actions. He briefly met with Chitto Harjo in 1905. The poet, along with Drennen C. Skaggs, a notary public,

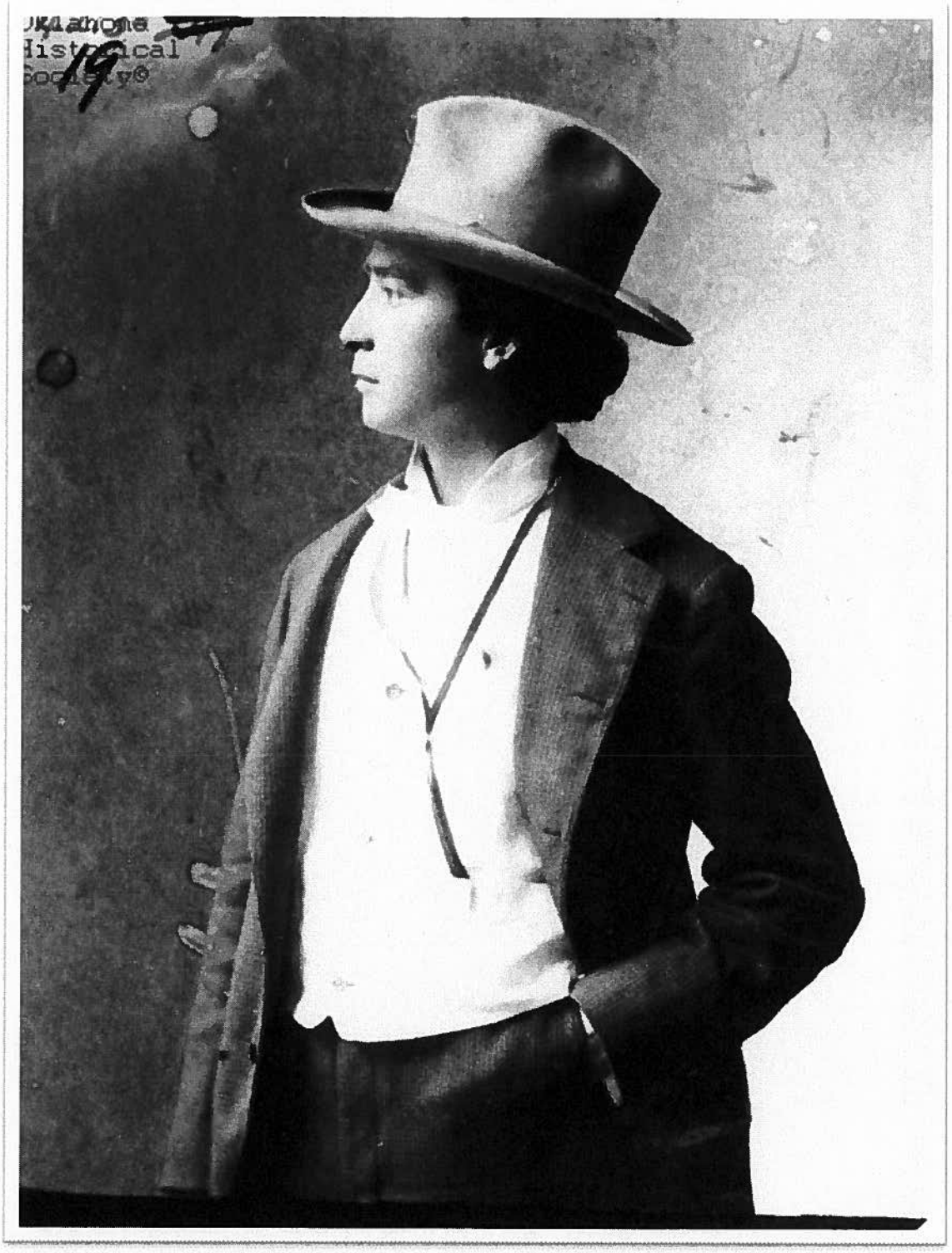
7. "Alexander Posey Lighting the Pipe of Peace."
Photograph by Fred S. Barde. Photo courtesy of the
Frederick Samuel Barde Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Division.

searched for the enrolled Muskogee people that had yet to sign for their 160 acres. Both men worked for the Creek Enrollment Field Party, a subagency to the Dawes Commission, and visited the activist's house. Posey kept a journal to record their assembly; however, he censored much of their conversation for reasons unknown. In Muskogee tradition, the people greatly respected hospitality. When Harjo refrained from inviting the men to dinner, this was a sign of distrust.[33] Since Posey worked for the Dawes Commission and because he embraced allotment as necessary for the survival of the Muskogee people, Harjo viewed him as a traitor. He viewed the traditionalists as fragments of a disappearing culture, but he still glamorized the leader and conservative ways as Harjo and his Snakes were a constant theme in Posey's Fux Fixico letters.[34]

Barde considered the half-blood Creek a talented writer through his use of humor and lyricism.[35] In his biographical sketch of Posey, Barde gave a brief explanation of his upbringing. Born in Eufaula on August 3, 1873, to a full blood Muskogee mother and a half Creek half Scottish and Irish father, he attended public school and then five years at the Muskogee academy, now known as Bacone University. He did not learn English until later in his youth when he father demanded it be his only language. His parents adopted another son around Posey's age and the two grew up companions. In his article, Barde described a story Posey told about his childhood. When Posey was two years old, he ran away from the family's house to chase a dog. When his mother found him, he had picked a flower to present to her, subduing her anger. The reporter constantly acknowledged the poet's lifelong admiration for nature and the wilderness, one of the traits they had in common.[36]

At Bacone, Posey studied journalism, but left the college without earning a degree in 1894. During his time spent at the institution, he started writing under the pen name Chinnubbie Harjo and started his career in writing. A year later, he was elected to the House of Warriors with the Creek National Council. He also took the position as the administrator to the Creek Orphan Asylum. Over the next seven years, he worked as the superintendent of public instruction and the supervisor of Creek boarding schools.[37] In 1902, he bought the *Indian Journal* and sold it a year later to become editor for the *Muskogee Evening Times.* He worked with the Dawes Commission from 1904 to 1907. He served a secretary to the Sequoyah Convention in 1905. He believed if the tribes had control over Indian Territory, agriculture and infrastructure would improve. Posey wished to see his beloved city, Eufaula, advance.[38] After statehood, he briefly worked as a real estate agent until his death on May 27, 1908.[39]

Barde remarked that Posey had a timid personality, often thought little of his own writing, and rarely socialized.[40] Barde's photograph of Posey titled "Alexander Lawrence Posey- The Creek Indian Poet," showed the man dapperly dressed with a confident posture. **[Figure 8]** In 1998, Alexia Kosmider analyzed this photograph and concluded that it showed Posey's inner conflict between Euro–American and Indian culture. In 1999, Crag S. Womack argued her analysis of this picture and wrote that people of all race and culture dressed well for their portraits.[41] The two photographs of Posey in Barde's collection show strikingly different sides to the Creek bard. The previous shows a man respecting his traditional roots while the other shows him in Anglo clothing. The elegant picture could also represent Posey's sense of humor. He loved practical jokes and posed for family photographs making comical faces.[42]



8. "Alexander Lawrence Posey- The Creek Indian Poet."
Photograph by Fred S. Barde. Photo courtesy of the
Frederick Samuel Barde Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Division

In several of Barde's articles on Posey, he would often incorporate a number of the Creek's poetry.[43] He noted that Posey was known for the "Fux Fixico Letters." In explaining the Muskogee names after the Europeans settled, the name "Fixico" became a surname, as did "Harjo."[44] Focusing on topics such as allotment and statehood, his writing appealed to people outside of the Nation and gathered a large following. In the letters, old Creek men, such as Hotgun and Wolf Warrior dialogued about the vast difference in their culture compared to the white lifestyle and politics. These men symbolized the traditionalist beliefs and customs since they related to a time before the Anglo way of life influenced the Native American Culture. Posey's originality and wit helped his letters, which he wrote anonymously, gain their popularity. Once he revealed himself as "Fixico," his individual reputation grew.[45]

Barde and Posey exchanged letters frequently. In one communication with the date, January 24, 1904, Posey wrote to the reporter to answer his question about his character of Hotgun, claiming he was a real person. Barde asked to see a photograph but Posey claimed only one picture existed from when Hotgun was a prisoner of the Snake War. The poet suggested that the journalist go to Hotgun's house with his Kodak and take a picture giving in full detail where Posey's character lived.[46] In another letter dated April 20, Posey answered a question posed by Barde, the meaning of the Muskogee word, *pascova*. The Creek explained it meant "public square" a location of ceremonies where chiefs and leaders held council, and occasionally, the area of the council house. Posey noted that only *pascova* that remained was at Hickory Ground.

After Posey's death, Barde continued corresponding to the poet's wife to discuss the publishing of her late husband's work posthumously. Barde published "An Indian's

Poet Tale of a River Trip" in 1915, taking direct quotations from Posey's unpublished river journal. The widow, Minnie Posey, had given the diary to Barde while he worked for the *Kansas City Star*. Barde printed the piece before his own death, much to the dismay of Mrs. Posey. The article contained what was believed to be part of Posey's unfinished work. A recent author suggested that Barde changed many of the poet's words in the publication. Barde said that the river was the North Canadian, yet Posey previously referred to it as the Oktahutche, the Creek name for the river. Another change noted was the absence of the last two paragraphs Barde omitted from the original text.[47]

The interaction between Barde, Posey, and Harjo produced a blend of the images of the Indian. Both Barde and Posey glamorized Harjo since his voice represented the injustice towards the Creeks and the rest of the Five Tribes. While Posey and Harjo were often analyzed for their representation of the conflict between modernists and traditionalists, Barde acted as an outside observer to the situation. His relationship with Posey allowed him to obtain personal information about the poet, while his extensive involvement in the search for Harjo gave the journalist an in-depth and candid look into to the sensationalized incidents surrounding Harjo. Through these experiences, he was able to report on both men with a well-crafted study and reflection on their lives.

[1] Alexander Lawrence Posey, quoted in Barde, "Biographical Sketch of Alex Posey," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 23 "Alexander Posey" Folder 3.

[2] Kenneth Waldo McIntosh, "Chitto Harjo, the Crazy Snakes and the Birth of Indian Political Activism in the Twentieth Century," (PhD diss., Texas Christian University, 1996), 36-40.

[3] Barde, "Chitto Harjo-April 16" Barde Collection, OHS, Box 11, "Chitto Harjo" Folder 14. The title is given for the name of the folder and the date marked on the typed transcript to signify a difference in the articles. The author assumed the editorial was written in 1909 from context. Barde described that a month prior to the editorial, the Smoked Meat Rebellion occurred.

[4] McIntosh, "Chitto Harjo," 9.

[5] John Bartlett Meserve, "Plea of Crazy Snake," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 11 (1933): 901-8.

[6] Meserve, "Plea of Crazy Snake," 908.

[7] Barde, "Chitto Harjo," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 11, "Chitto Harjo" Folder 14.

[8] Barde, "Chitto Harjo," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 11, "Chitto Harjo" Folder 14.

[9] Barde, "Chitto Harjo," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 11, "Chitto Harjo" Folder 14.

[10] Barde, "Chitto Harjo," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 11, "Chitto Harjo" Folder 14.

[11] Barde, "Chitto Harjo," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 11, "Chitto Harjo" Folder 14.

[12] Barde, "Chitto Harjo," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 11, "Chitto Harjo" Folder 14.

[13] Barde, "Chitto Harjo," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 11, "Chitto Harjo" Folder 14.

[14]Barde, "Chitto Harjo," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 11, "Chitto Harjo" Folder 14.

[15] Barde, "Chitto Harjo," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 11, "Chitto Harjo" Folder 14.

[16] Barde, "Chitto Harjo," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 11, "Chitto Harjo" Folder 14.

[17] Barde Collection, "Chitto Harjo-Letter from Daniel Robert" Folder 14, Box 11. A letter written by Harjo's friend to Barde claimed the Creek man died from a wound to the hip.

[18] Barde, "Chitto Harjo," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 11, "Chitto Harjo" Folder 14.

[19] Barde, "Chitto Harjo-April 16," Barde Collection. OHS, Box 11, "Chitto Harjo" Folder 14.

[20] Barde, "Chitto Harjo-April 16," Barde Collection. OHS, Box 11, "Chitto Harjo" Folder 14.

[21] Barde, "Chitto Harjo," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 11, "Chitto Harjo" Folder 14.

[22] Barde, "Chitto Harjo-April 16," Barde Collection. OHS, Box 11, "Chitto Harjo" Folder 14.

[23] Barde, "Chitto Harjo," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 11, "Chitto Harjo" Folder 14.

[24] "For First Time True Story of the Last Oklahoma Indian Uprising is Told by Man Who Put It Down," *Tulsa Daily World*, June 13, 1915, 11.

[25] Meserve, "Plea of Crazy Snake," 901-8.

[26] G. Lee Phelps, letter to Fred S. Barde, Barde Collection, OHS, Box 11, Chitto Harjo Folder 14. The letter is responding to Barde question about Harjo's location. Phelps wrote that the was not among the Cheyenne-Arapaho Indians, but the missionary gave his respect towards the Snake Indian and clan saying if he were Native, he would choose to be a Snake. The letter is dated January 25, 1912, a year after the grave of Harjo was discovered.

[27] Barde Collection, "Chitto Harjo-June 26," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 11, "Chitto Harjo" Folder 14.

[28] Barde Collection, "Chitto Harjo-June 26," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 11, "Chitto Harjo" Folder 14.

[29] Daniel Robert, letter to Fred Barde, 16 March 1915, Barde Collection, OHS, Box 11, CHitto Harjo Folder 14. The author assumes this is the original letter since an envelope with a conjoining date is located in collection and inside was the letter.

[30] Daniel F. Littlefield Jr., *Alex Posey: Creek Poet, Journalist, and Humorist* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 202.

[31] Barde, "A Creek Poet" Barde Collection, OHS, Box 23, "Alexander Posey" Folder 3.

[32] Littlefield, *Alex Posey*, 201, 208.

[33] Alexander Lawrence Posey, *Lost Creeks: Collected Journals*. Comp. Matthew Wynn Sivils. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2009.) 5-7.

[34] Posey, *Lost Creeks,* 2; Timothy Petete and Craig S. Womack, "Thomas E. Moore's Sour Sofkee in the Tradition of Muskogee Dialect Writers," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 18 (2006): 19.

[35] Barde, "Biographical Sketch of Alex Posey." Barde Collection, OHS, Box 23 "Alexander Posey" Folder 3.

[36] Barde, "Biographical Sketch of Alex Posey." Barde Collection, OHS, Box 23 "Alexander Posey" Folder 3.

[37] Alexander Lawrence Posey, *The Fus Fixico Letters: A Creek Humorist in Early Oklahoma.* ed. Daniel F. Littlefield and Carol A. Hunter (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2002.) 7

[38] Jeffery M. Widener, "From Bard to Speculator: Alexander Lawrence Posey and the Muscogee Nation, 1902-08," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 90 (2012): 10.

[39] Posey, *The Fus Fixico Letters*, 7-8.

[40] Barde, "A Creek Poet," Folder 3, Box 23.

[41] Craig S. Womack, *Red on Red: Native American Literacy Separatism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999) 137. Womack used Alexia Kosmiser's analysis of the photograph from her book *Tricky Tribal Discourse*, but gave the argument his dress merely symbolized Posey's keenness to fashion.

[42] Posey, *The Fus Fixico Letters*, 9.

[43] Barde, "Biographical Sketch of Alex Posey," Barde Collection, OHS, Box 23 "Alexander Posey" Folder 3.

[44] Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 294.

[45] Posey, *Lost Creeks,* 32-4.

[46] Alexander Posey, letter to Fred Barde, 24 January 1904, Barde Collection, OHS, Box 23, "Alexander Posey" Folder 3.

[47] Posey, *Lost Creeks,* 42.

CONCLUSION

For the American audience in the late nineteenth century, the dwellings of Indian Territory were a place of bewilderment and fascination. The interest surrounding this place stemmed from the idea of the "noble savage image," a reputation given to the Native Indians living on the land.[1] Many reporters flocked to the grounds with the hopes of photographing the Indian. During this era, both photojournalism and reporting developed into a new form of media. New York City advanced the growing forms of journalism, while the West started to create a separate, unique form of reporting. Several territorial reporters and photographers have received criticism for portraying the tribes in a trite and negative fashion.[2] Aside from the stereotypical depictions, several correspondents focused on their customs and practices while maintaining the overall tone of integration into white culture. Fredrick Samuel Barde captured the Muskogee tribe with an authentic voice that captured the people during the allotment era.

In reference to the opening quote by the Federal Writers Project, a century has passed from the time the *Star* published Barde's articles, and his work continues to act as an important analysis of Oklahoma's history during statehood.[3] Although he wrote about the numerous tribes relocated to the Territory, his documentation of the personalities and customs of the Muskogee tribe thoroughly depicts the struggle between progressive and traditionalist principles. His precise journalism illustrated the conflict the tribe faced: to move with the progressive effort or fight against the US government and retain traditionalist values. Not shy to express his opinion, Barde's belief that the US government unjustly treated the Native Americans was rare for the era.

Many journalists advocated the fabricated identities many of the Creeks endured during the last half of the nineteenth century, Barde's writings and photographs showed the truth behind these myths. While many other journalists illustrated the natives in traditional, sometimes fake, costume, Barde showed them adapting to the white culture. He was not shy about his own opinion, a trait many frontier reporters carried, yet he still gave respect to the tribe's customs by attending several of their rituals, as well as his extensive research on every topic he wrote or photographed. During a time when the press media was beginning to reach contemporary newspaper standards, Barde demonstrated the model of modern journalism.

[1] Jeremy Drouin, "Photographing Native Americans in Oklahoma-Indian Territory," Kansas City Public Library, , http://www.kclibrary.org/kchistory/photographing-native-americans-oklahoma-indian-territory, accessed October 4, 2011.

[2]James E. Murphy and Sharon M. Murphy, *Let My People Know: American Indian Journalism, 1828-1978* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981).

[3] *"If a historian should appear twenty years hence with ambition and power to trace to the source and forces that aided most in building up the Oklahoma of today, he could not if he wished ignore the part played by Fred S. Barde, newspaper correspondent, author, and naturalist."* University and Editor, Norman, Oklahoma, October 9, 1916, from the Federal Writers Project Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Division, Box 18, Biographies Folder 6.

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