LUST FOR LAND: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CATTLE TRAILS AND RAILROADS IN INDIAN TERRITORY

By

Kathryn Bailey

Lust for Land: The Signficance of Cattle Trails and Railroads in Indian Territory

Lust for Land: The Signficance of Cattle Trails and Railroads in Indian Territory

Thesis Title

Kathryn G. Bailey

Author's Name

04/28/2021

Date

Jackson College of Graduate Studies at the University of Central Oklahoma

A THESIS APPROVED FOR

MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY

By

Patti Loughlin Digitally signed by Patti Loughlin Date: 2021.04.28 13:11:22 -05'00'

Committee Chairperson

Rowan Steineker Digitally signed by Rowan Steineker Date: 2021.04.29 11:02:26 -04'00'

Committee Member

Heidi Vaughn Digitally signed by Heidi Vaughn Date: 2021.04.29 16:18:09 -05'00'

Committee Member

Committee Member

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments

I owe many people a debt of gratitude for their help and encouragement in the process of gathering the information, writing and rewriting this work. I first became interested in this subject during a Native American history class. I would like to thank the professors of the History and Geography Department at the University of Central Oklahoma for their encouragement and support throughout the writing of this work. A special thanks to my committee members, Dr. Patti Loughlin, Dr. Lindsey Churchill, Heidi Vaughn and Dr. Rowan Steineker. Dr. Steineker's class was where the idea for this paper was born. Dr. Steineker read the original ideas for this work. Dr. Loughlin's graduate seminar brought a more in-depth version of the work.

I want to thank my friends and co-workers, Dr. Monique Bruner, Carla Robison, and Erica Alvarez-Stanton for their encouragement and support in the rewriting and submission process. My family deserves my biggest thanks. They were with me every step of the way. My husband Aaron Bailey, who listened to my ranting with calm conviction that I could do the work needed to finish the project and his reading and rereading the work over and over again to make sure it made sense. I also want to thank my grandson, Joey Bailey for asking me to learn more about his Cherokee heritage. His drive to learn more about his people helped drive this work.

Thank you one and all for your help and encouragement. You will be a friend always.

Introduction

Transportation played a defining role in the territory that became Oklahoma. This research examines the significance of the cattle trails and railroads in transforming Indian Territory. The remains of which travelers encounter, without necessarily knowing, while driving Route 66 in the northeastern portion of the state, or traveling Interstate 35 through the central part of the state, or finally navigating US Highway 183 through western Oklahoma. "When the Cherokees came to the Indian Territory, this was literally speaking, a wilderness…the east side of the Cherokee Nation was a timber land, where wild game of all kinds and description was plentiful, and the streams were full of fish. The west side of the Nation was mostly prairie land,"[1] reports Ed Sunday, a Cherokee pioneer, in his Works Progress Administration (WPA) interview. The cattle trails began in 1830, followed by the railroads in the 1870s. Both the trails and railroads introduced the beauty and bounty of Indian Territory to non-Native people. This led to official surveys of Indian Territory lands starting in 1870. Individual chapters discuss the significance of the Civil War in Indian Territory, the Reconstruction legislation allowing railroads into the area and the relationship between Native American[2] elites and non-elites, cattle ranchers and drovers, railroad men, and settlers. Eventually this led to forcing the Native tribes to take land allotments, discontinuing their communal use of tribal lands in favor of private ownership. The surplus lands were opened to the public in a series of seven land runs. "This is our chance," said Joseph W. Bouse, a land run participant, in his WPA interview. "It was the

[1] Interview of Ed Sunday, ID: 6925, by Alene D. McDowall, July 26, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, Western History Collections (hereafter cited as WHC), University of Oklahoma, 3.
[2] The term Native American is used throughout this work instead of Indigenous People because most of the tribes living within the confines of Indian Territory were not Indigenous to that area.

finest looking prairie country I ever saw, covered with green grass, three to four inches high, as far as I could see to the east it was the same…"[3]

Chapter One provides an historiographic overview of the importance of both the cattle trails and railroads to the development of Indian Territory. Chapter Two describes the legislation used to define the confines of the territory, the forced removal of the Five Tribes to Indian Territory, the devastating consequences to the tribal nations after the Civil War, and the silent migration that followed the railroads. Chapter Three discusses the three major cattle trails that traversed the territory. Chapter Four describes the railroads and the explosion of tracks in Indian Territory. The conclusion presents a final statement about the role played by the cattle men, cattle trails, railroad prospectors, and the railroads, in securing the land for settlement by non-Native Americans in land runs across the Territory.

The interactions of the cattle drovers, railroad prospectors, Boomers, settlers with tribal permits to farm and the Five Tribes people helped drive interest in Indian Territory lands. Jack Bailey, a cowboy trailing a herd from Texas to Abilene in 1868, wrote in his diary, "I would like to live here…"[4] Many people received letters from family living in Indian Territory, including Rosa Ward Hornberger Moore, an early pioneer's daughter. Moore describes in her WPA interview about her uncle "writing and telling them what a wonderful country this was…[that]…they came to the conclusion that Oklahoma would be a wonderful place to come to."[5] "Oklahoma, Capt. Payne's Oklahoma Colony, 14,000,000 acres of the finest Agricultural and Grazing Lands in the world open for FREE HOMES, The Best Stock Country on Earth,"

[3] Interview of Joseph W. Bouse, ID: 5228, by Arnold N. Aronson, n.d., Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 3.
[4] Jack Bailey, *A Texas Cowboy's Journal Up the Trail in 1868*, ed. David Dary (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 12.
[5] Interview of Rosa Ward Hornberger Moore, ID: 8669, by Nora Lorrin, September 22, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 1.

asserts an 1880 Boomer handbill.[6] "Indian Territory that Garden of the World Open for Homestead and Pre-Emption,"[7] declares an 1880 flier. The unassigned lands of Indian Territory were not actually opened until the first land run in April 1889.

It was these fantastic descriptions by drovers, the outrageous promotions by railroad executives and the Boomer promotions that created an unparalleled interest for the lands of Indian Territory. This unbridled yearning led to the dismantling of the Native tribe's homelands, their tribal sovereignty and their unique cultures. All of these factors created the perfect storm aimed at wrestling control from the Native peoples of the lands promised to them forever for the fulfillment of the American dream of Manifest Destiny.

[6] William W. Savage, Jr., *The Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association: Federal Regulation and the Cattleman's Last Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973), i.
[7] "Indian Territory That Garden of the World, Open for Homestead and Pre-Emption," Record Group 393; Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1817-1947; National Archives; https://catalog.archives.gov/id/4662607.

Chapter 1

Historiographic Overview of Indian Territory

With gold discovered on Five Tribes lands in the southeast, the imperialist project of the United States forcibly removed Five Tribes people to Indian Territory. As the available land shrank, new sights were set on the homelands of the southeastern Indigenous tribes. The tribes collectively known as the Five Tribes, consisting of the Cherokee, the Chickasaw, the Choctaw, the Creek (Muscogee) and the Seminole, did their best to appease the federal government and the state governments of Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, North Carolina, Florida and Mississippi. As state populations grew, the Five Tribes people were targeted for removal to an Indian Territory west of the Mississippi River, far away from state borders, so the resources their southern homelands provided fell under the control of the states.

[1] Exposure to the resources of the Indigenous tribes lands happened as traders, explorers and settlers trekked across those lands. It was clear that the lands collectively owned by the Five Tribes held an abundance of natural resources not wholly used by the Indigenous tribes as the colonial settlers would use those same resources.

From cattle trails to railroads to Route 66, this chapter reviews the scholarly literature on the topic of movement and communication networks in Indian Territory and how those networks connect to a larger national and international network. This study focuses on the three major cattle trails: the Shawnee Trail, also known as the Texas Road, the Chisholm Trail, and the Great Western Trail, used by cattle drovers immediately following the end of the Civil War to the end of the cattle droving era in 1886. It examines the men who rode alongside those cattle for long

[1] Arrell M. Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries*, (Norman: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1965), 69-90

hours and mile after mile every day, and how their introduction to Indian Territory helped draw settler's attention to the area. This chapter also examines the interaction of the federal and state governments with tribal nations as the demand for Native lands increased.

Reconstruction in Indian Territory was a highly debated process. Many members of Congress wanted to punish the Native tribes for siding with the Confederacy, while others argued for restraint. Reconstruction treaties forced the tribes to cede more land and provided a means for more exposure of the territory, namely the insistence for railroad right-of-ways. In *The American Indian and the End of the Confederacy 1863-1866* (1925), Annie Heloise Abel examines the defeat of the Confederacy and the process of reconstruction applied to the tribes who fought for the Confederacy. Abel argues the Five Tribes were left vulnerable between the two warring factions and that the Reconstruction Treaties of 1866, "were but the beginning of new and bigger and never-ending troubles."[2] This marked a new relationship between the tribal nations and the United States government. In *Reconstruction in Indian Territory: A Story of Avarice, Discrimination, and Opportunism* (1972), M. Thomas Bailey argues that the Choctaws and Chickasaws, the tribes that quickly aligned with South, received better terms in their treaty agreement with the federal government that did the pro-Union tribes. Both the Creek Nation and the Cherokee Nation lay in ruins after the war, while Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations remained relatively intact. Reconstruction was a hard time for the Five Tribes. They were fighting for their very existence, trying to find their place in a reconstructed United States, and maintain what land they could.

[2] Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian and the End of the Confederacy 1863-1866* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1925, 1993), 362.

More recent scholars have discussed points of convergence where interactions among different peoples happen. As David A. Chang argues in *The Color of Land: Race, Nation, and the Politics of Landownership in Oklahoma, 1832-1929* (2010), the rapid development of Indian and Oklahoma Territory was due in part to the exposure of land opportunities by both the cattle tails and railroads through the area. Chang also indicates that land was the way Creek people and the American people 'defined their races, nations, and classes."[3] For Five Tribes people in Indian Territory, for example, land equaled sovereignty and their right to govern themselves. For non-Native settlers in Indian Territory, land signified an opportunity to form a birthright denied them.[4] Chang also maintains that the Creek Nation recognized the opportunities available to them when Texas cattlemen began driving and grazing cattle through Creek country in the late 1860s, and started charging them to graze upon their lands. As Chang continues, "The cattle trade represented an economic opportunity that the former planters [the Creeks] were quick to exploit."[5] Former Creek plantation owners switched to ranching as it was much less labor intensive. The Creeks capitalized on the cattleman's exposure to their lush grasslands used to fatten their cattle along the way to northern markets. Building on Chang's conclusion that the Creeks capitalized on an opportunity presented to them, the Cherokee did the same with the leasing of their Outlet lands along the border with Kansas, continuing until the Outlet was opened for settlement. Chang's argument that the Creeks used the cattlemen's crossing their land as an economic boon is an interesting concept. This study expands on this in the concept that the Five Tribes people tried different methods to retain control over their lands to delay the settlers encroaching on their tribal lands.

[3] David A. Chang, *The Color of the Land: Race, Nation, and the Politics of Landownership in Oklahoma, 1832-1929* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 6.
[4] Chang, *The Color of Land*, 7.
[5] Chang, *The Color of Land*, 57.

The Comanche was a powerful tribal nation on the Great Plains of North America. They were a migratory people whose range extended over eight hundred miles. They traded with many other tribal nations. Their dominance solidified in that their language was the language of the Native trade system across the Great Plains. Historian Pekka Hämäläinen's *Comanche Empire* (2009) argues the Comanche controlled their Comanchería first by territorial control, secondly by controlling the area's trading network, thirdly by their ability to assimilate others into their tribe, easily keeping their tribal numbers consistent, and finally by their influential power over their neighbors, making the weaker tribes and non-Natives more dependent on the Comanche for survival. Hamaleinen also argues it was the Comanche's ability to reinvent themselves into a great horseman culture that aided in their dominance.[6] "This emerged the idea of the Comanche barrier to the westward-expanding American frontier."[7] Journalist and historian S. C. Gwynne describes the area the cattle trails crossed in his book, *Empire of the Summer Moon: Quanah Parker and the Rise and Fall of the Comanches, the Most Powerful Indian Tribe in American History* (2010), as part of an area dominated by the Comanche that they called their Comanchería. The Comanchería consisted of around 240,000 square miles, encompassing the area that makes up five modern states: Kansas, Colorado, Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico. Gwynne argues that the Comanche Empire in 1836 controlled this area because of a century and one half of "deliberate, sustained combat" against rivals over buffalo herds, and that the Comanche were content with their hard fought spoils.[8] However, the Anglo-American Empire, driven by Manifest Destiny, did not rest on their hard fought land takeovers, thus they slammed into the Comanche in May 1836 as they moved further west along the Manifest Destiny

[6] Pekka Hämäläinen, *Comanche Empire* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2009), 1-17.
[7] Hämäläinen, *Comanche Empire*, 342.
[8] S.C. Gwynne, *Empire of the Summer Moon: Quanah Parker and the Rise and Fall of the Comanches, the Most Powerful Indian Tribe in American Histor*, (New York: Scriber, 2010), 24.

trajectory. Gwynne continues the argument that the Anglo-Americans, as well as the Spanish, had no idea of the magnitude of the Comanche Empire. Within the 240,000 square mile Comancheria, the Comanche also controlled significant river systems namely the Arkansas, Cimarron, Canadian, Washita, Red, Brazos, and Colorado. Thus making them more powerful than non-Natives imagined.[9] The Comanche proved that there was an existing trading network on the Great Plains, including within the confines of what became Indian Territory.

Before the war, many cowmen shipped their cattle on the river to New Orleans or Shreveport, then to points in the north. Writer and educator Mari Sandoz describes in her book, *The Cattlemen: From the Rio Grande across the Far Marias* (1958), how Illinois became an active clearing house for "Texas and Indian Territory cattle, with Independence, Westport and Kansas City the largest markets" during 1853-1855.[10] Sandoz argues shipping cattle up the river was expensive and when Union troops cut New Orleans and Shreveport off to Southerners, Texas cattle lolled, neglected in the fields. Following the end of war hostilities, Texans searched to rebuild their economy from the ravages of the war. When news of prices for beefsteaks in the northern cities reached Texas, they found the cash crop they needed to rebuild the state in the cattle running rampant across Texas lands. Cattlemen looked for an inexpensive way to get their cattle to market. Sandoz asserts, "the cheapest transportation…[for cattle]…was overland, on the rangy steer's own tough shanks."[11] Cattlemen knew they could use the Shawnee Trail to drive their cattle to markets in Missouri, because many of them used that same old military road to breech the boundary of Texas as homesteaders in the earlier years of the century. In 1865, only a handful of cattle drives took place, however in 1866 the drives amped up significantly. Sandoz

[9] Gwynne, *Empire of the Summer Moon*, 23-25.
[10] Mari Sandoz, *The Cattlemen: From the Rio Grande across the Far Marias* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), 42.
[11] Sandoz, *The Cattlemen*, 38.

continues that in 1866 around 250,000 head of cattle plodded across the Red River through Indian Territory to markets in Missouri and Kansas. Throughout the book, Sandoz relates the trials and tribulations faced by cattlemen as they drove their cattle to northern markets. Sandoz strips away the romanticized image of the cowboy and gives the reader a more accurate representation of the rough and tumble ride along the cattle trails.[12]

Exploitation of Five Tribes resources in Indian Territory continued after the Civil War as Southern states tried to rise out of the ashes. In his article, "A Cowman's-Eye View of the Information Ecology of the Texas Cattle Industry from the Civil War to World War I," (2016) historian David B. Gracy II argues that information was the driving force of the cattle industry. The management of this information was the defining key to the fledgling business. Gracy describes the Texas cattle industry pre-Civil War as lacking markets for the beeves, however after the conflict, "the business developed out of the need to make money beyond the boundaries of a defeated state."[13] Texas cowmen realized there was a dire shortage of meat in war-ravaged states as newspapers related story after story of the hunger for beef. Texas cattlemen needed "to connect the four dollar cow with the forty dollar market,"[14] but without access to railroads in Texas, it was up to the cowboys to round up the cattle, point them north along the Old Shawnee Trail, and drive them to railheads in Kansas and Missouri. Gracy defines the knowledge needed to make the fledgling cattle industry work as consisting of "four basic things: cattle, horses, the environment in which cowboys rode the horses to work the cattle, and customs of the range."[15] Gracy relates the changing verbiage of the business over the years. Gracy also breaks the

[12] Sandoz, *The Cattlemen*, 56-58.
[13] David B. Gracy, II, "A Cowman's-Eye View of the Information Ecology of the Texas Cattle Industry from the Civil War to World War I," *Information& Culture: A Journal of History* 51, no. 2 (2016): 165.
[14] Gracy, II, "A Cowman's-Eye View," 166.
[15] Gracy, II, "A Cowman's-Eye View," 166.

industry into three distinct historical periods. Directly after the Civil War to the mid-1880s is what Gracy calls the inauguration period, when the Texas cowmen built the business. This happened in two distinct ways. First, during the fall and winter months, contracting and gathering of the cattle happened. Next, in the spring and summer months, the drovers pointed the cattle north and began the long drive to cowtowns along railroads in Kansas and Missouri. The second phase of the business, starting in the mid-1880s to approximately 1900, saw the evolution of open range ranching to fenced ranches and the fortifying of the quality of the beef. The final phase, from 1900 on, moved the cowman onto the same industrial stage as other capitalized businesses.[16]

Indian Territory resource exploitation occurred as other trails, blazed in retreat by Union soldiers, provided another route to northern markets. In "The Chisholm Trail: A Sketch" a pamphlet written for the Oklahoma Historical Society by Elmer L. Fraker (1967) the trail is described as a trading route, blazed by Native American scout Black Beaver for retreating Union soldiers to Kansas, used by Jesse Chisholm after the Civil War as his main route. Although Jesse Chisholm traversed only the norther part of the trail, cattle drovers dubbed the entire trail from Texas to the Kansas railheads as the Chisholm Trail. As the cattle plodded along the trail, settlers moved further and further west until they breeched the trail causing major problems as the settlers, in attempts to save their crops from the invasive longhorn cattle, strung barbed wire fences across the prairies.[17] This is a significant event in the fact that the settlers not only restricted the livelihood of the cattlemen, but also made advances into Indian Territory to exploit its natural resources.

[16] Gacy, II, "A Cowman's-Eye View," 174-187.
[17] Elmer L. Fraker, "The Chisholm Trail: A Sketch," *Oklahoma Historical Society* (1967), Oklahoma History Center Vertical Files, (accessed November 24, 2018).

Indian Territory was a unique blend of several different geological areas ranging from arid plains to vast areas of wild prairies, forests and mountains. In his article, "Chisholm: The Long Trail to Glory," (1967) historian Joe B. Frantz describes the two main obstacles faced by the cattle drovers traveling along the Chisholm Trail: geography and weather. Frantz expresses the attitude that the Native Americans encountered along the trail were more a nuisance than an obstacle. Frantz argues "the Chisholm Trail was the first effective means of dispelling the myth of the Great American Desert, it changed Americans everywhere into a beef-eating people, but most of all it gave us a continuing glimpse of a free, unconfined world in which the only thing that mattered was working with what you had—and delivering the goods."[18] Accounts like this are found throughout newspapers during the cattle droving era, attracting settlers to the American West and Indian Territory in particular. Many settlers did not consider that Native Americans lived in the area and used the prairie as their communal lands for farms and livestock. Many Americans lobbied the U.S. government to separate the tribes from their lands so that land was available for settlement by non-Natives.

Historian William W. Savage, Jr. explores the interaction of the Cherokee tribe, cattlemen, boomers and the federal government in his book, *The Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association: Federal Regulation and the Cattleman's Last Frontier*. The Cherokee Strip or Outlet as it was labeled on maps, was land given to the Cherokee as an outlet to western hunting grounds as part of their removal treaty. Originally the outlet consisted of just over 6.5 million acres, however with Reconstruction treaties the area was reduced to just over 6 million acres, the federal government used for placement of other tribes. It was ideal country for grazing cattle as it

[18] Joe B. Frantz, "Chisholm: The Long Trail to Glory," *Tri-State Chisholm Centennial Committee* (1967), Oklahoma History Center Vertical Files, (accessed November 24, 2018).

was relatively flat, well-watered by four major rivers, and was virtually unparalleled in grass needed to sustain herds of longhorn cattle. "Tall, sod-forming brasses like big bluestem, Indian grass, and switchgrass were indigenous to the eastern region, while short, sod-forming buffalo grass and bunch grass like blue grama and sideoats grama were characteristic in the central and western areas."[19] The Cherokee tribe, after the 1866 Reconstruction Treaty, was essentially cut off from the Outlet in respect to having settlements there. They looked for ways to make the Outlet advantageous to the tribe. The cattlemen trailed herds of longhorns through the Cherokee Nation in eastern Indian Territory right after the Civil War, but as fear of Texas fever grew, Missouri and Kansas enacted laws to restrict, then ban the longhorn from passing across their states. Texas cattlemen moved their trails west, using the Chisholm Trail where they crossed the Outlet. The Cherokee tribe did tax the cattlemen for passage through the Outlet as early as 1867, but it wasn't until 1877 that they imposed a grazing fee. After much maneuvering many cattlemen formed the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association and negotiated a five year lease of the Outlet with the Cherokee tribe. Many people were not happy with the lease of the Outlet, especially the Boomers, Kansas stockmen and others that would enter the Outlet to steal its valuable resources or graze their cattle free of charge or attempt to settle areas of the Outlet. The interaction of the boomers, cattlemen, Cherokee tribe and the federal government is the basis for Savage's book. Savage's meticulous study of the government documents, tribal meeting records, cattlemen's meeting records and boomer literature gives the reader great insight into the relationships of these entities during an untenable time.[20]

[19] William W. Savage, Jr., *The Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association: Federal Regulation and the Cattleman's Last Frontier*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973), 18.
[20] Savage, *The Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association*, 19, 25, 29, 33, 45, 18, 49, 63, 66, 69, 70, 76, 91, 93, 112.

As fears of Texas fever grew, the trails used by the cattle drovers moved further west from more populated end points. Cattlemen abandoned the Old Shawnee Trail in favor of the Chisholm Trail and then finally the Great Western Trail. Even as the trails moved further west, Indian Territory was an integral part of the cattle drive. Cowboy historians Gary and Margaret Kraisinger in their book, *The Western: The Greatest Texas Cattle Trail, 1874-1897* (2004), argue the most important cattle trail during the cattle droving era was the Great Western Trail. This trail was the longest in distance, over two thousand miles, lasted the longest, and accommodated the highest volume of cattle. The seeds of the range cattle industry in the northern territories traversed along the Western Trail. The trail formed in response to western expansion of settlers that finally overtook the Chisholm Trail in the late 1880s. The Great Western Trail is relevant to this study in that it still trekked across the western edges of Indian Territory as it made its way north to Ogallala, Nebraska. Texas fever effected all of the cattle trails at different times. The Shawnee Trail, the eastern most trail through Indian Territory, survived as a cattle trail only a handful of years until Missouri and Kansas enacted quarantine laws against longhorn cattle carrying "Texas fever" that effectively closed the trail to Texas cattle forever. Cattle drovers shifted to the Chisholm Trail, however, Texas fever followed the longhorns along this trail as well. Although the Chisholm Trail lasted from 1867-1876, it too was choked off by first harsher quarantine laws and then settlers erecting barbed wire fences across the prairie. The Great Western Trail lasted from 1874-1886, when quarantine laws and settlers too shuttered it closed.[21]

Railroads played an important role in the development and taming of the west. The railroad was an indispensable part of drawing together the fragmented parts of the United States,

[21] Gary and Margaret Kraisinger, *The Western: The Greatest Texas Cattle Trail, 1874-1886* (Newton, KS: Mennonite Press, Inc., 2004), 3-48.

including the parts of the west not quite under the control of the U.S. government. Abraham Lincoln in the midst of the Civil War knew the importance of connecting the eastern part of the United States and the West. He pushed through the Pacific Railroad Act of 1862. Modification of the Act continued as the Civil War escalated. With the conclusion of the Civil War and the Union victory, railroads again found its place during Reconstruction. Embedded within each of the Reconstruction treaties with the Five Tribes of Indian Territory was railroad rights-of-way across the Territory. Each tribe strenuously objected to this access across their lands. Historian Christopher B. Bean in "Who Defines a Nation?: Reconstruction in Indian Territory" in, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Indian Territory* (2015), edited by historian Bradley R. Clampitt, argues that the most threatening element to Five Tribes people survival during Reconstruction were railroads. As a part of all of the Reconstruction treaties, forced railroad access across tribal lands in Indian Territory proved the most invasive for the Five Tribes peoples in the Territory. Railroad companies had to negotiate with the Five Tribes nations, which they did not like so they continually lobbied Congress to "extinguish Indian title [to the land] without tribal consent."[22] In the early 1880s, all pretense was dropped and Congress granted right of way for more railroads, bypassing the Indian nations altogether. "The nations were now powerless to prevent and control railroad access to their lands."[23] Historian Angie Debo, quoted by Bean, said it best, "the building of railroads intensified the greed of every predatory interest that was watching the Indian Territory."[24] Bean argues that the U.S. government used the Civil

[22] Christopher B. Bean, "Who Defines a Nation?: Reconstruction in Indian Territory." in *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Indian Territory*, ed. by Bradley R. Clampitt, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 119.
[23] Bean, "Who Defines a Nation," 120.
[24] Bean, "Who Defines a Nation," 120.

War and Reconstruction to "bring the nations under congressional control and within American society."[25] The integral piece in this process was the extinguishing of tribal sovereignty.

With the signing of the Reconstruction treaties, the Five Tribes debated on how to handle this intrusion of their lands. Historian H. Craig Miner's "Little Houses on Wheels: Indian Response to the Railroad" in, *Railroads in Oklahoma* (1977), edited by historian Donovan L. Hofsommer, argues that at first the response by Five Tribes to railroads through their lands was one of promotion. Miner cites an 1855 Choctaw treaty granting "a blanket right-of-way to any railroad authorized by Congress to build through Choctaw Territory."[26] As Miner contends, Angelo-American attorneys for competing railroads warned the Five Tribes people against this blanket right-of-way deal. Miner maintains that full-blood members of the eastern tribes and most of the western tribes felt that "the iron horse was an unmitigated disaster, destroying their tribal economy [and] introducing liquor and settlers"[27] to the area. Congress got tired of the tribes attempts to mitigate some compromise and in 1882 decided it would no longer consult tribal legislatures on railroad right-of-way matters using eminent domain as its main tool.[28]

Most sources written about Indian Territory and Reconstruction argue that Reconstruction treaties placed harsh terms for Five Tribes people to follow. However, Historians W. David Baird and Danney Goble argue in their book *Oklahoma: A History* (2008) the Reconstruction treaties signed in Washington, DC by the tribes of Indian Territory contained better terms than the ones previously proposed at the close of the Civil War. By signing the Treaty of Washington, tribal annuities were restored. Along with the abolition of slavery,

[25] Bean, "Who Defines a Nation," 125.
[26] H. Craig Miner, "Little Houses on Wheels: Indian Response to the Railroad." in *Railroads in Oklahoma*, ed. Donovan L. Hofsommer, (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1977), 9.
[27] Miner, "Little Houses on Wheels," 12.
[28] Miner, "Little Houses on Wheels," 17-18.

freedmen granted tribal citizenship, and railroad right-of-way for one east-west line and one north-south line. Reorganization into a formal territory was expunged. However, the treaty still called for a tremendous loss of tribal land. The tribes gave up rights to the western half of the Territory, the Cherokee ceded their Kansas lands and their outlet to the buffalo hunting grounds, but the harshest land loss tribe was the Seminole tribe. The had to sell their old lands for fifteen cents an acre, then pay the U.S. government fifty cents an acre for their new lands.[29] The harshest reality of all was the realization that the tribes "no longer controlled their own destiny"[30] because of their limited sovereignty and the lack of government response to non-Native exploitation of the Territory's resources.

The cattle trails and railroads that crisscrossed Indian Territory brought with them exposure to the treasure of Indian Territory. Along with the longhorns and railroad crews, came unwanted attention to the bounty available within the Territory. Most American attitude toward Native Americans was one of unbridled hatred. Multiple newspapers across the United States printed many American's feelings toward Native Americans in words with no mistake for anything other than hatred and bigotry. The main phrase printed and reprinted were, "the only good Indian was a dead Indian."[31] A Connecticut newspaper printed the following editorial, "the first question meets us is, whether or no [sic] we shall admit that all power of our modern civilization is impotent to effect its satisfactory solution with all of our boasts that we have the flower and the acme of Christian civilization, must we admit that we are powerless to overcome

[29] W. David Baird and Danney Goble, *Oklahoma: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 113-114.
[30] Baird and Goble, *Oklahoma*, 115.
[31] "Gleanings," *The Daily State Journal*, (Alexandria, VA), May 19, 1871, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024670/1871-05-19/ed-1/seq-1/; "Here and There," *The Emporia News*, (Emporia, KS), September 3, 1880, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016419/1880-09-03/ed-1/seq-2/; "No Title," *The Emporia Weekly News*, (Emporia, KS), November 10, 1881, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85030221/1881-11-10/ed-1/seq-2/.

the barbarism of 261,000 Indians? Many believe the question will be solved only when he is exterminated, plowed under—and such are wont to say that the only good Indian is a dead Indian."[32] The attitude that land held by the U.S. government for use by only Tribal Nations was a hard pill to swallow for many Americans seeking a new life in the openness of the American West.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the lands that became Indian Territory, located on the western side of the Mississippi River, sat along the frontier of the United States. Those lands seemed out of reach for most Anglo-American settlers. However, with the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, explorers trekked across the Great Plains documenting the territory. Native removal from their homelands in the east to Indian Territory began with the Louisiana Purchase during Thomas Jefferson's presidency. The idea of Indian removal provided justification for the acquisition of this substantial land purchase.[33] President Jefferson believed the land acquired in the Louisiana Purchase a perfect place for "an Indian colonization zone on its western margins beyond the pressure and influence of the American settlements."[34] The tribes the civilization tactics fell upon were the Cherokee from Georgia, North Carolina and South Carolina; the Chickasaw from Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and part of Kentucky; the Choctaw from Mississippi, Alabama and part of Louisiana; the Muscogee Creek from Georgia, Florida and Alabama; and the Seminole from Florida. The Five Tribes gained the term "civilized" because of their attempts to align with American citizenry by adopting many European and American institutions, including conversion to Christianity, tribal constitutions, centralized governments, intermarriage with

[32] "Editorial Notes," *Morning Journal and Courier.* (New Haven [CT]), March 28, 1882, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015483/1882-03-28/ed-1/seq-1/.
[33] Theda Perdue, "Cherokee Women and the Trail of Tears," *Journal of Women's History*, 1 (Spring 1989): 14.
[34] Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries*, 71.

white Americans, market participation, literacy, raising livestock, changing from matrilineal to patrilineal descent, and even the use of slaves to work their farms. Nonetheless, they remained a target for state governments, citizens, and eventually the U.S. government for removal.[35]

The Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek (Muscogee), and Chickasaw tribes worked hard to follow the civilization terms. Nevertheless, with the discovery of gold in Georgia in 1828 the removal issue intensified. When Andrew Jackson won the presidency in 1828, he wasted no time forcing through Congress the Indian Removal Act of 1830 that Congress ratified on May 28, 1830. In 1834, Congress established and defined Indian Country in anticipation of removal of tribes from eastern lands.[36]

The Choctaws negotiated with the states governments in which they lived, to keep their ancestral lands, but after signing multiple treaties over several years, each time relinquishing land, it was not enough. Choctaw land along and near the Mississippi River was coveted by settlers moving to the area. With these encroachments onto Choctaw land, pressure applied on the U.S. government for another cession, and Mississippi's statehood in 1817, the clamor for land increased to a fever pitch. The Treaty of Doak's Stand in 1820 included the first overtures of removal in exchange for lands on the western frontier. Most Choctaw members refused to move.[37] With the signing of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in September 1830, the Choctaws were the first tribe to remove to the designated lands west of the Mississippi River. The removal process took place in three stages over a three-year period, beginning in 1831. Around 17,000 Choctaws marched along their own "Trail of Tears," the worst was the first trek

[35] Charles Robert Goins and Danney Goble, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 52; Andrew K. Frank, "Five Civilized Tribes," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=FI011
[36] C. Ross Hume, "Oklahoma History Embedded in the Law," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 25 (Summer 1947): 94.
[37] Michael D. Green, "Removal of the Choctaws," in *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, ed. Charles Robert Goins and Danney Goble (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 62-63.

in the winter of 1830-31 and the second during a cholera epidemic in 1832. Nearly 2,500 Choctaw died during the removals.[38] The Choctaw Nation settled for land in the southeastern portion of the proposed Indian Territory. Some Choctaws remained in Mississippi, but wrestled with legal troubles, harassment, and racism. Abuses described by the Mississippi Choctaws in 1849 include, their homes burned to the ground, fences destroyed, cattle turned into their crop fields, and personally accosted to the point that some died.[39] The terms of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek guaranteed the Choctaw Nation self-governance in their new western lands with no interference from any state.

In 1834, the Creek (Muscogee) Nation was the focus of removal, voluntarily at first, but in 1836, the U.S. Army forced them out of their homes to Indian Territory lands. The Creeks (Muscogee) tried the appeasement route signing treaties that ceded their lands in Georgia, but they remained steadfast in their desire to keep their Alabama ancestral lands. The Creek (Muscogee) Nation was divided into two groups. The so-called Lower Creeks moved to Indian Territory, but the Upper Creeks remained in Alabama. After the passage of the Removal Act, the Creeks (Muscogee) signed the Treaty of Cusseta on March 24, 1832. This was not a removal treaty, but an ingenious allotment scheme devised by the Creeks (Muscogee) themselves. This treaty divided their Alabama lands into individual allotments that they could sell for monies to finance their removal to Indian Territory. Although signed by Secretary of War Lewis Cass, the government refused to comply with the terms of this treaty and provide protection of property rights for the Creek (Muscogee) members.[40] Many speculators cheated the Creeks (Muscogee)

[38] Sandra Faiman-Silva, *Choctaws at the Crossroads* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 19.
[39] John H. Peterson, "Three Efforts at Development among the Choctaws of Mississippi," in *Southeastern Indians: Since the Removal Era*, ed. Walter L. Williams (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1979), 144-146.
[40] Michael D. Green and Danney Goble, "Removal of the Creeks," in *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma* ed. Charles Robert Goins and Danney Goble (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 64-67.

out of their allotments. As tensions escalated, fighting broke out. State and U.S. officials believed this terminated the terms of the treaty with the Creeks (Muscogee). Thus, Secretary of War Lewis Cass, sent the military to end the violence and force the Creeks (Muscogee) to remove to Indian Territory, forfeiting their Alabama lands.[41]

The Seminole Nation was the next of the Five Tribes in 1832 targeted for removal however, they decided to fight removal instead of comply with the directive. They had resisted removal and land loss during the first wave of removal talk going to war in 1817. The war lasted only until 1818. When the U.S. government again insisted they remove, forcing the Seminole to sign the Treaty of Payne's Landing in 1832, the Seminole again went to war in 1835. This war proved costly for the U. S. government, costing close to 15 million dollars and losing over 1,500 soldiers. Most Seminoles refused to move to the Creek lands in Indian Territory because they believed they would lose their Seminole identity. U.S. soldiers destroyed many Seminole settlements, forcing the Seminole to flee into the Florida swamplands. Soldiers attempted to round up the renegade Seminole, but it proved longer and harder to subdue them than expected. If captured, the soldiers treated the Seminole like prisoners. The soldiers shackled, marched, and loaded the Seminole onto boats for the trip to Indian Territory. The Seminole fought hard for their land, but ultimately lost their claim, most arriving in Indian Territory in 1842.[42]

The Cherokee decided to fight the removal too, but they attempted using legal action. The Cherokee Nation filed suit against the State of Georgia to stop their removal. President Jackson

[41] John T. Ellisor, *The Second Creek War: Interethnic Conflict and Collusion on a Collapsing Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 228-263.
[42] James Covington, *The Seminoles of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 145–6; Andrew K. Frank, "Indian Removal," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=IN015; Michael D. Green, "Removal of the Seminoles," in *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, ed. Charles Robert Goins and Danney Goble (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 72.

ignored the Supreme Court rulings in *Cherokee Nation vs. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) that upheld tribal sovereignty of the Cherokee Nation granting them the right to their tribal lands. Fractures formed within the Cherokee tribe. President Jackson negotiated the Treaty of New Echota (1835) with the minority factions of the Cherokee tribe. The terms of the treaty relinquished all Cherokee lands east of the Mississippi River in return for territory in what became the eastern part of Indian Territory, $5 million, safe passage west, and one year's subsistence. It also stated, "Under the most solemn guarantee of the United States, [this land shall] be and remain theirs forever—a home that shall never, in all future time, be embarrassed by having extended around it the lines, or placed over it the jurisdiction of a Territory or State, nor be pressed upon by the extension, in any way, or any of the limits of any existing Territory or State."[43] Only around two thousand Cherokee people moved under the terms of this treaty, while most of the Cherokee tribal members remained on their ancestral lands declaring the Treaty was illegal. When removal day came, some 17,000 Cherokee members were living on their ancestral lands. President Martin Van Buren sent the US Army to remove them by force. The remaining tribal members, forced at gunpoint and herded like cattle by the U.S. Army in 1838, trekked across land more than one-thousand miles along a "Trail of Tears" to their new lands in the northeastern part of Indian Territory. Along the way, more than four thousand Cherokee died, survivors burying them along the side of the trail in unmarked graves.[44]

The Chickasaw, after seeing what happened to the other tribes voluntarily moved to Indian Territory. The Chickasaw garnered monetary compensation for their ancestral lands from the U.S. government. They used this money to buy their Indian Territory lands from the

[43] Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries*, 80.
[44] Nelda Reid, "Trail of Tears," https://www.cherokeemuseum.org/archives/era/trail-of-tears (Accessed November 1, 2019).

Choctaw, settling along the western edge of the Choctaw Nation. The Chickasaw gathered at Memphis on July 4, 1836, with everything that belonged to them. Although the Chickasaw voluntarily removed, they had their own version of a "Trail of Tears," losing around 500 tribal members to disease[45] along the way.

The removal of the Five Tribes to Indian Territory is important because this provided exposure to lands west of the Mississippi, garnering more interest in those western lands. Each of the Five Tribes had similar experiences. Each tribe resisted the removal in their own way. Some tried appeasement, others used the courts, and still others took up arms, but the tactics did not save any of the Five Tribes from the inevitable.

The U.S. military was in charge of the removal process. Military forts sprang up almost overnight in Indian Territory to direct the transition of the tribes. With the formation of the Stokes Commission as an "Indian commission" in 1832, the removal process began. One member of the Stokes commission, Henry R. Ellsworth, invited prominent writer Washington Irving, English naturalist Charles Latrobe, and Italian nobleman Count Albert de Portales, on a grand adventure to Indian Territory. The adventure included a buffalo hunt, other hunting expeditions, and chasing and capturing wild horses. The adventure impressed Irving and Latrobe so much, they both wrote about their experiences, containing "colorful and dramatic descriptions of life in [Indian Territory] during the early 1830's."[46] Irving's *A Tour on the Prairies* provides sweeping descriptions of the land he toured, "In the often-vaunted regions of the far West, several hundred miles beyond the Mississippi [River], extends a vast tract of uninhabited country, where there is neither to be seen the loghouse of the white man nor the wigwam of the

[45] Jesse Burt and Robert B. Ferguson, "The Removal," *Indians of the Southeast: Then and Now* (Nashville and New York: Abingdon Press, 1973), 170–173.
[46] Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries*, 92-94.

Indian. It consists of great grassy plains, interspersed with forests and groves and clumps of trees, and watered by the Arkansas, the Grand Canadian, the Red River, and all their tributary streams. Over these fertile and verdant wastes still roam the elk, the buffalo, and the wild horse, in all their freedom. These, in fact, are the hunting-grounds of the various tribes in the far West."[47] Irving's description of the abundance he saw touring Indian Territory provides fuel for the ever-growing interest of settlers. Flowing descriptions as these encourage and influence settlers to push further and further west in search of their Manifest Destiny dreams.

Although removal was a traumatic event, the Five Tribes prospered in their new home. They created thriving communities amongst their individual Nations. After removal to the Indian Territory, one of the first things the Five Tribes did was build schools to educate their children as a negotiation tool to protect their sovereignty. "All the tribes believed fervently in education as their only defense against the white aggression that threatened them."[48] Indian schools became a crucially important part of federal Indian policy. There were Indian schools and mission schools. Many academies, day schools, and boarding schools sprang up in the territory funded by treaty annuities and other tribal monies. The tribes felt that if their children were educated this would ensure that those children might become defenders of tribal sovereignty. If their children learned English, then the tribes could negotiate with a better understanding of terms. The Choctaw Nation was the first to establish schools in Indian Territory. They operated twelve tribally funded schools by 1838. Their educational system became the model for schools in the Chickasaw, Seminole, and Creek nations. The Cherokee Nation established schools beginning in 1841, and by 1843, they operated eighteen schools. In 1844, the tribal government of the Chickasaw

[47] Washington Irving, *A Tour on the Prairies*, (Paris: A and W Galignani and Co., 1835), 1.
[48] Angie Debo, *A History of the Indians of the United State*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 202.

appropriated funds for a tribal academy, and by 1859, they operated four other boarding schools. This education of their children helped some tribes profit from the surge of cattlemen driving their stock to neighboring states across Indian land.[49]

The prosperity of the tribes in Indian Territory proved short lived when war broke out in the eastern part of the United States and spilled over into the west, including in Indian Territory. The Civil War struck hard in Indian Territory as the tribes tried to remain neutral. However, as the war accelerated, Union troops abandoned forts within the Territory leaving Confederate agents behind to convince many tribes to side with them in the conflict. The Civil War battles fought within the confines of Indian Territory did not contribute significantly to the overall outcome of the war. However, those battles had lasting implications on Indian Territory and the tribal nations. Some historians, such as Brad Agnew, Richard B. McCaslin, and Clarissa Confer, believe that no other part of the country suffered more than did those in Indian Territory. Some significant battles fought within Indian Territory included: the Battle of Round Mountain (November 19, 1861), the First Battle of Cabin Creek (July 2, 1863), the Battle of Honey Springs (July 17, 1863), and the Second Battle of Cabin Creek (September 19, 1864).[50] Other skirmishes fought within the confines of Indian Territory caused more annoyance than real contribution to the overall outcome of the war. General Robert E. Lee, commander of the Confederate Army surrendered at Appomattox Court House, Appomattox, Virginia to General Ulysses S. Grant on April 9, 1865 effectively ending the Civil War. However, that was not the end of the War in Indian Territory. It was not until June 23, 1865, when Brigadier General Stand Waite,

[49] Clyde Ellis, "American Indians and Education," *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, http://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=AM012. accessed August 26, 2018.
[50] Randy Krehbiel, "Indian Territory Suffered Greatly in Civil War," *Tulsa World*, April 25, 2001, https://www.tulsaworld.com/news/local/government-and-politics/indian-territory-suffered-greatly-in-civil-war/article_fa74e336-d209-5140-98dc-3328448e1ed2.html.

commander of the 1st Indian Brigade of the Confederate Army of the Trans-Mississippi surrendered in Indian Territory that the Civil War officially ended. When the final shots of the Civil War echoed into silence, Indian Territory lay in shambles. The Cherokee Nation, by some accounts, suffered the most during the War years, leaving the Nation in worse condition than when they arrived after their removal thirty years earlier.[51] Tribal attempts to remain neutral mattered naught during negotiations of Reconstruction treaties. All of the Native tribes, Union and Confederate, suffered under the terms of the treaties.

Chapter One described the lands of Indian Territory and how as agents, soldiers, surveyors, merchants, travelers, and others crossed into Indian Territory, they shared their experiences with others. These travelers related stories about the beauty, abundance and wonder of the Territory to friends and family. The question many Anglo-American citizens had for the federal government was why this abundantly resourced land was held only for tribal nations and not opened for their settlement. Chapter Two outlines how the use of treaties and other legislation drew boundary lines meant to protect Native tribes from encroaching settlers, turned out to be a means to corral those tribes into ever shrinking areas. Also examined are how non-Native lobbyists worked hard in Washington to push through legislation meant to force compliance from the tribal nations or lose their ability to govern themselves.

[51] Theda Perdue, "Stand Waite's War," *American History* 50 (April 2015): 32, 40.

Chapter 2

Fight for Control: U.S. Legislation, Native Americans, and the Legacy of the Twin Territories

Treaties represent the complicated history between Native nations and the U. S. government. Starting with the removal treaties of the 1830s Native tribes fought for their very existence. Treaties of the early 1800s, set terms meant to corral and remove the tribes from their homelands. These treaties designated lands west of the Mississippi River, an Indian Territory, where tribes could control their own destiny. From the post-removal era to the outbreak of the American Civil War, the tribal nations in Indian Territory prospered. This particular time, considered the "golden age" of the Five Tribes, however, was not as golden as once believed. During this period, major divisions existed among the many tribes between full bloods and mixed bloods that almost spelled doom for those tribes. With the advancement of the growing divide between northern business and southern slave driven industries tensions across the United States and Indian Territory began to rise. The divisions within the tribes grew as well. The outbreak of the American Civil War dealt a crippling blow to the Five Tribes people living in Indian Territory. Treaties with tribal nations take a punitive turn encompassing a new relationship between the two parties as the Civil War ended and Reconstruction began. This chapter takes a closer look at some of the legislation and treaties as they relate to Indian Removal, the opening of the West, the Civil War, the coveting of Indian lands, Reconstruction, and proposals for statehood. Land from the Louisiana Purchase set aside for tribal nations was an issue for many Anglo-Americans, including members of Congress. However, unbeknownst to federal officials, the lands set aside for the Five Tribes nations was teeming with natural resources that were virtually unexplored. As preparation for tribal removal, military men, road

builders, and others explored the lands providing introduction to those natural resources. Official surveys of the lands provided the boundaries, but also allowed for those men to experience the wild prairie grass, wildlife, timber and all other natural resources. This chapter expands upon the legislation used to provide the mechanism for generating interest for Indian Territory.

After the War of 1812, the United States government pushed through ideas of removing Native American tribes, especially the Five Tribes, from the southeast to portions of the acquired lands of the Louisiana Purchase in a bid to open up new land for Anglo-American settlers. With the passage of the Indian Removal Act on 28 May 1830, land was officially set aside west of the Mississippi River for Native tribes from the east. The wording in the first passage of the treaty states this Act was passed as, "an Act to provide for the exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the states or territories, and for their removal west of the river Mississippi."[1] The first tribe to find a home in the new Indian Territory was the Choctaws from Mississippi. It took two treaties to get the Choctaw Nation to remove to Indian Territory, the Treaty of Doak's Stand in 1820, and the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1830. The Treaty of Doak's Stand ceded a portion of the Choctaw eastern lands for land in the Indian Territory. The Indian Territory described as land "bounded on the north by the Arkansas and the Canadian, on the south by the Red River, and extended into southwestern Arkansas."[2] The Choctaw tribe signed the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek on September 27, 1830, relinquishing the remainder of their ancestral homelands that became part of the state of Mississippi. However, as part of the treaty, some Choctaw people could remain if they wanted to become citizens of the United States. The Senate ratified the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek on February 25, 1831. The Choctaw tribe

[1] Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma, 1803-1906* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1917, 1939), 13.
[2] Arrell M. Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries* (Norman: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1965), 83-84.

was the first of the Five Tribes removed from their homeland to Indian Territory in 1831. Choctaw citizens reported to two staging areas at Memphis, Tennessee and Vicksburg, Mississippi. Steamboats sent to ferry the Choctaw to Indian Territory had problems navigating because of huge rainstorms that changed rivers to torrents. As the Choctaw removal began in 1831, Choctaw Chief George W. Harkins wrote a letter to the American people:

> "…having determined to emigrate west of the Mississippi River this fall, I have thought proper in bidding you farewell to make a few remarks expressive of my views, and the feelings that actuate me on the subject of our removal. Believing that our all is at stake and knowing that you readily sympathize with the distressed of every country, I confidently throw myself upon your indulgence and ask you to listen patiently…I feel bound as a Choctaw to give a distinct expression of my feelings…We were hedged in by two evils, and we chose that which we thought the least. Yet we could not recognize the right that the state of Mississippi had assumed, to legislate us…could they remove that mountain of prejudice that has ever obstructed the streams of justice…We as Choctaws rather chose to suffer and be free, than live under the degrading influence of laws, which our voice could not be heard in their formation. Much as the state of Mississippi has wronged us, I cannot find in my heart any other sentiment than an ardent wish for her prosperity and happiness…Amid the gloom and horrors of the present separation, we are cheered with a hope that ere long we shall reach our destined land, and that nothing short of the basest acts of treachery will ever be able to wrest it from us, and that we may live free…I ask you in the name of justice…let us alone—we will not harm you, we want rest. We hope, in the name of justice, that another outrage may never be committed against us, and that we may for the future be cared for as children, and not driven about as beasts, which are benefited by a change of pasture.[3]

The Choctaws knew they had little choice in the removal process. Chief Harkins wanted the American people and the people of Mississippi to realize the hardship of the removal and that the Choctaws held no ill will toward them. The Choctaw wanted peace in their new lands with no future repercussions. The steamboats proved inadequate, so the US government provided wagons for transportation. In November 1831, approximately 2,000 Choctaws and their slaves made the trek to Indian Territory during a winter blizzard, in the first of three removal treks. During the

[3] Sequoyah National Research Center at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock, *George W. Harkins to the American People — December 1831*, March 10, 2010. https://web.archive.org/web/20150402191200/http://ualr.edu/sequoyah/index.php/george-w-harkins-to-the-american-people-december-1831/ (accessed January 5, 2020).

second journey in April 1832, cholera broke out among the Choctaw along the way.[4] The final removal trip, in 1833, proved the easiest. In his final report, George Gaines, the supervisor of the removals, stated, “in the three years of removal, we have transported more than 6,000 Choctaws from Mississippi to the new Choctaw Nation in the West."[5] The actual number was actually closer to 7,500 to 8,000. Estimates of Choctaw citizens who perished during the removals reached over two-thousand.[6]

The people of Creek (Muscogee) Nation from Georgia and Alabama were the next to find a new home in Indian Territory with the First Treaty of Washington in 1826 and finally completed with the Second Treaty of Washington in 1832. The Creek Nation contained two parts, the Upper Creeks and the Lower Creeks. After losing large chunks of land thanks to the renegade Red Sticks siding with the British in the War of 1812, tribal leaders passed a law stating any citizen signing away tribal land receive death as the penalty. The Lower Creeks signed the Treaty of Indian Springs in 1825 after the Upper Creek chief, Opothleyaholo, angrily refused to treat with the US government. Found guilty of signing over Creek lands without authority to do so Chief McIntosh, the Lower Creek chief, lost his life in return. Chief Opothleyaholo decided to cede the Creek lands in Georgia for prime lands in the Indian Territory between the Arkansas and Canadian Rivers, signing the Treaty of Washington (1826).[7] This treaty stipulated a one-time lump sum payment to the Creek Nation plus an annual payment in perpetuity. The treaty also confirmed the Creeks sovereign rights and their right to their Alabama land holdings. The Lower Creeks moved in accordance with this treaty. However, the Upper

[4] Sandra Faiman-Silva, *Choctaws at the Crossroads* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 19.
[5] Len Greenwood, *Trail of Tears from Mississippi Walked by Our Ancestor* Choctaw Nation Biskinik. March 1995, http://www.choctawschool.com/home-side-menu/history/trail-of-tears-from-mississippi-walked-by-our-ancestors.aspx, accessed January 12, 2020.
[6] Greenwood, *Trail of Tears from Mississippi Walked by Our Ancestors*.
[7] Gibson, *Oklahoma*, 88-90.

Creeks remained in Alabama. Alabama legislators, upset over the remaining Creeks, enacted punitive laws over the Creeks and their territory. After much maneuvering, the Creeks signed the Treaty of Cusserta, sometimes called the Third Treaty of Washington, in March 1832.

Although the Cherokees had signed the Turkeytown Treaty in 1817 giving up all of their lands in the east except in Georgia, the tribe as a whole did not move to Indian Territory until after the Treaty of New Echota in 1835. However, a lot of tribal opposition to the treaty delayed many Cherokees from going west until federal troops forced them on a march to Indian Territory. The Chickasaw shared land with the Choctaws in Mississippi and in 1832 signed the Treaty of Pontotoc. However, Chickasaw delegates looked for five years for suitable land to no avail. Finally, the Choctaw Nation, through the Treaty of Doaksville in 1837, invited the Chickasaw to share their land in Indian Territory. The Seminoles were more difficult to move. In 1832, the Treaty of Payne's Landing negotiated the removal of the Seminoles from Florida to Indian Territory. However, some Seminole warriors opposed the treaty triggering the ten year Seminole Wars.[8]

By the 1850s, the American frontier was getting ever closer to Indian Territory. A bill proposed to Congress about the Kansas and Nebraska territories ignited much controversy. Thomas Hart Benton, a Congressman from Missouri, stated in a committee address his feelings about the proposed bill, "I believe in the futility of this Bill—its absolute futility in the slaveholding States, and that not a single slave will ever be held in Kansas or Nebraska under it, even admitting it to be passed."[9] Congressional debate ensued, votes tallied, and finally federal

[8] Clifford L. Lord, ed. *Oklahoma: A Students' Guide to Localized History* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1965), 9-11.
[9] "Address of the State Central Committee, No. 3," *The Bedford Gazette* (Bedford, PA), September 1, 1854. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82005159/1854-09-01/ed-1/seq-1/.

officials, under pressure by white settlers, Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act forming the territories of Nebraska and Kansas and snatching some of the northern lands away from Indian Territory. President Franklin Pierce signed the act into law on 30 May 1854. The repeal of the Missouri compromise was an important "factor in the division of the larger Indian territory."[10] This act generated controversy with the inclusion of the popular sovereignty clause that the settlers of those territories decide if the state would enter the Union as a free or slave state. One reporter for *The National Era* newspaper in Washington, DC wrote, "The 'great principle' of the Kansas-Nebraska bill was said to be, that it guarentied [sic] 'sovereignty' and 'self-government' to the people of the Territory."[11] However, the reporter points out the problem of the "confused language of the Kansas-Nebraska act. The act contains no definite, fixed, and certain principle."[12] It was also the ambition of many Kansas politicians that Native American tribes in Kansas remove to Indian Territory. With the passage of this bill debate sparked almost immediately. Many believed that the "Nebraska Bill was understood differently [in the] North and South."[13] Tension was so high after the passage of the bill it sparked a bloody conflict between pro-slavery supporters and anti-slavery factions, known today as "Bleeding Kansas."[14]

Conflict between the southern states and the U.S. government continued to increase until multiple states seceded from the Union. The country was on the brink of war until finally in April 1861 the Civil War broke out. The war revived old rivalries between the full bloods and

[10] Roy Gittinger, "The Separation of Nebraska and Kansas from the Indian Territory," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 1, no. 1 (January 1921): 29.
[11] "No Title," *The National Era*, (Washington [D.C.]), April 3, 1856, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026752/1856-04-03/ed-1/seq-4/.
[12] "No Title," *The National Era*, (Washington [D.C.]), April 3, 1856,
[13] "Trumbull's Bill," *Nebraska Advertiser*, (Brownville, Nemaha County, N.T. [NE]), July 5, 1856, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84020109/1856-07-05/ed-1/seq-2/.
[14] Dale Watts, "How Bloody Was Bleeding Kansas? Political Killings in Kansas Territory, 1854–1861," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 128.

mixed bloods within the tribal nations residing in Indian Territory. Many of the Five Tribes economies revolved around slave holding industries. The Choctaw and Chickasaw thrived with cotton plantation endeavors while the Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles leaned more toward farming and ranching. The closest market for their goods was New Orleans so their economy had a southern orientation. Tension was simmering already among the Five Tribes because of comments made by Secretary of State William Seward in 1860 urging the federal "government to extinguish tribal land titles and open the West to settlement."[15] The federal government did little to entice the Native tribes within Indian Territory to take up their cause, while the South had major plans for the west, including Indian Territory. The Choctaws and Chickasaws were enthusiastic in joining the South as their economy depended on slave labor. The Creeks and Seminole held strong sentiment for the Confederates. The Cherokees however, were leery of taking any side at the beginning of the war. Principal Chief John Ross advocated the Cherokees take a neutral stance, however the fact that many Cherokee were slaveholders hindered their bid for neutrality. Almost all hope for the Indians siding with the Union fell away when Union troops in May 1861 abandoned their forts at Washita, Arbuckle, and Cobb retreating to Kansas. Albert Pike, an Arkansas attorney appointed as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs by Confederate President Jefferson Davis, negotiated treaties with the tribes in Indian Territory. Pike signed treaties with the Creek on July 10, 1861, the Choctaw and Chickasaws on July 12, 1861, the Seminole on August 1, 1861, the Wichita, Caddo, and others on August 12, 1861, but not with the Cherokee until October 7, 1861, then followed up with the Quapaw, Seneca, Shawnee, and Osage. The Native tribes within Indian Territory were in an untenable position, caught between warring factions bent on the destruction of their opponent. The area had no real

[15] James L. Huston, "Civil War Era," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org, accessed September 15, 2017.

significance except that neither the Union nor the Confederates wanted the Indians to side with the other. However, there were some critical battles fought within the confines of Indian Territory. The Confederates believed the territory was a good avenue to use to force Union troops out of Arkansas. Union troops planned to control the Mississippi River and cut the Confederacy in half. Indian Territory was now "under Confederate control and [under] martial law."[16] However, after the Battle of Honey Springs, fighting reduced to guerilla tactics. Roaming bands of irregular partisans pillaged and murdered anyone who got in their way including hapless civilians.

In the midst of the war, the federal government continued to enact laws that pertained to Indian Territory both directly and indirectly. The Homestead Act, signed into law by President Abraham Lincoln on May 20, 1862, opened public land to settlers. The terms of the Homestead Act specified, that any head of a family aged twenty-one years or over, a citizen of the United States or naturalized citizen, and had never bore arms against the United States, be allowed "from the first of January 1863 be entitled to enter one quarter section…of unappropriated public lands…at one dollar and twenty-five cents, or less, per acre; or eighty acres…at two dollars and fifty cents per acre" with the stipulation of payment of ten dollars for an affidavit and residence on said land for five years with marked improvement upon the land.[17] The Homestead Act was an integral step in fulfilling the manifest destiny dreams of the American people. This Act was the precursor to land allotments and land runs that took place in Indian Territory during the late 1800s. The *Raftsman's Journal* newspaper from Clearfield, Pennsylvania, added, "The bill also gives every person who has been in military or naval service during the present rebellion all the

[16] C. Ross Hume, "Oklahoma History Embedded in the Law," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 25, no. 2 (Summer 1947): 95.
[17] "Homestead Act," *Homestead Act of 1862,* 1, *Military & Government Collection*, EBSCO*host,* accessed September 20, 2017.

benefits of the Homestead Act without regard to limitations made elsewhere in the bill."[18] This meant that members of the military or navy were eligible to receive land grants regardless of their age or head of household status. The next bill, the Pacific Railway Act of 1862, proposed the completion of a transcontinental railroad connecting the eastern United States with California in the West. Massachusetts lawyer George P. Sanger summed up the national views on a Pacific Railroad after gleaning information from statutes, treaties and proclamations over a four year period from 1859-1863, "It was a part of every plan for a Pacific railroad to clear the country of Indians for miles on both sides of the road. The plan in place was not only to secure funds for the construction of the road by the sale of this land, but hopefully the influx of settlers would help to make the venture profitable from the beginning. By the Pacific Railroad Act of July 1, 1862, the United States undertook to extinguish the Indian titles to a strip of land twenty miles wide along the proposed line, which was not yet definitely located."[19] Under this Act, between 1850 and 1871, railroad companies received more than 175 million acres of public land. This Act, in part, was the reason why railroad right-of-ways were included in Reconstruction treaties with the Native tribes. A reporter for the Oskaloosa, Kansas newspaper *The Independent*, reported in May 1863 on this act in glowing terms, "The Pacific Railroad Act whereby is secured a connection of the Atlantic with the Pacific by an unbroken iron railway from Bangor to San Francisco, is one of the grand events of the nineteenth-century. That road will be running up the Rocky Mountains within three years from the close of the war, and to Sacramento and the Golden Gate within ten."[20] President Abraham Lincoln delivered the Emancipation Proclamation on September 22,

[18] "The Homestead Bill," *Raftsman's Journal*, (Clearfield, PA), May 21, 1862, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85054616/1862-05-21/ed-1/seq-2/.
[19] Gittinger, "The Separation of Nebraska and Kansas from the Indian Territory," 10.
[20] "A Glowing Picture," *The Independent*, (Oskaloosa, KS), May 23, 1863, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85029094/1863-05-23/ed-1/seq-1/.

1863, after the Union victory at the Battle of Antietam. It was not until the War ended in April 1865 however, that the proclamation was fashioned into what became the 13th Amendment to the United States Constitution. Congress ratified the 13th Amendment on December 6, 1865. This Amendment proclaimed, ""neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."[21] This set the stage for the Reconstruction treaties that would follow the end of the War. The Pacific Railway Act and the 13th Amendment helped to drive the terms of Reconstruction treaties with the Native tribes after the Civil War. Within those treaties, each tribe had to approve at least one east-west railroad and one north-south railroad right-of-way and had to grant tribal citizenship to their former slaves. The results of these terms helped bolster more exposure to the lands of Indian Territory.

The war finally ended in Indian Territory when the last Confederate General, Stand Watie, surrendered on June 23, 1865, at Doaksville, Indian Territory. Indian Territory was in shambles and its residents thoroughly improvised. The devastation was so great that James Harlan, Secretary of the Interior, "declared that thousands would inevitably perish during the winter unless the government provided for their relief."[22] Lawlessness gripped the territory. Alfred Seabolt's mother, who lived in Indian Territory during the Civil War, recounted to him, "during the reconstruction period, a vicious form of feudalism became rife in the entire Cherokee Nation and that conditions, on that account were exceedingly bad,"[23] according to his WPA

[21] The House Joint Resolution proposing the 13th amendment to the Constitution, January 31, 1865; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1999; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.
[22] M. Thomas Bailey, *Reconstruction in Indian Territory: A Story of Avarice, Discrimination, and Opportunism* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1972), 39.
[23] Interview with Alfred Seabolt, ID: 12846 by Gomer Gower, February 1, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 10.

interview. Many outlaws used the territory as a refuge. In September 1865 Dennis Cooley, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, took a group of men to Fort Smith, Arkansas, to negotiate new treaties with the Native tribes in Indian Territory. The pro-Union delegates arrived first followed by the Confederate supporters. There were as many as sixteen tribes represented during those September days. Among the tribes present were factions of the Five Tribes "whose lands and annuities were forfeited regardless of their loyalties."[24] Another stipulation in all of the treaty negotiations was the inclusion of railroad rights-of-way. Further stipulations included the abolition of slavery, absorption of the freedmen as tribal members, and the tribes in Indian Territory form one government. The *Nebraska Advertiser* newspaper from Brownville, Nemaha County, Nebraska Territory reported on September 28, 1865, "The Choctaw and Chickasaw delegates in the Fort Smith Council signed a treaty of peace with the United States by which they bind themselves to aid the Government in compelling the Indians of the Plains to maintain peaceful relations to each other and with the General Government; and to abolish slavery in their Territory."[25] The Five Tribes in the terms of their Reconstruction treaties agreed to help keep the peace with the Plains tribes. They knew that much of the lands they ceded under the terms of the treaties were destined for the placement of the Plains tribes. When found that many of the representatives present had no authority to accept the terms, the members of the commission developed a peace protocol leaving the issues for negotiation under the Reconstruction Treaties to come.

[24] Martha Hartzog, "Fort Smith Council," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org, accessed October 2, 2017.
[25] "The News," *Nebraska Advertiser* (Brownville, Nemaha County, N.T. [NE]), September 28, 1865, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84020109/1865-09-28/ed-1/seq-2/.

Treaty negotiations moved to Washington, DC, in late spring and summer 1866. The Choctaw and Chickasaw signed a joint treaty on July 10, 1866. The Creeks and Cherokee signed their own treaties on August 11 and the Seminole signed their treaty on August 16. All of the treaties promised forgiveness for all crimes committed against the United States prior to these treaties and incorporated provisions of peace and friendship toward the United States. All tribes made concessions. Abolition of slavery was the first major point along with giving the freedmen tribal rights. The Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole terms gave the freedmen unqualified rights, however, the Choctaw and Chickasaw gave them the choice of adoption into tribe or removal by the federal government elsewhere. The second major point of the treaties was the establishment of an intertribal council to govern over the tribes in Indian Territory with the superintendent of Indian Affairs serving as the council's executive. The third major concession was the loss of land in each Five Tribes nation for railroad rights-of-way through Indian Territory. The final concession was the forfeiture of a substantial amount of land as penalty for supporting the Confederacy. Part of the land ceded to the federal government was for the "location of the 'wild tribes.'"[26]

One of the tenants of the Reconstruction treaties was the rights-of-way granted to railroad companies to breech the borders of Indian Territory. With Reconstruction treaties in force, Congress instituted a race for railroad companies and the first railroad company to reach the Kansas border through the Neosho Valley would be the first to enter Indian Territory. The competition between the railroads set the stage for "unbridled violence" across the territory. "Heads were cracked in pitched battles, men were killed and anything that would burn"[27] was set

[26] C. Ross Hume, "Oklahoma History Embedded in the Law," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 25, no. 2 (Summer 1947): 95.
[27] Harry Sinclair Drago, *Great American Cattle Trails: The Story of the Old Cow Paths of the East and the Longhorn Highways of the Plains* (New York City: Bramhall House, 1965), 69-70.

ablaze. The Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad (MK&T nicknamed the Katy) won a "tremendous land grant" of about 1.6 million acres to build the north south railroad across Indian land and was the first to enter Indian Territory. Congress granted the east-west right-of-way to the Border Tier Railroad. As writer Harry Sinclair Drago describes in his popular book, *Great American Cattle Trails* about the railroad race, "by trickery, outright skullduggery and a financial determination not to give up in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds,"[28] the MK&T (Katy) was the first to pierce the boundary of Indian Territory in 1870. It generally followed the Texas Road, a major road used before and after the Civil War, into the territory from Baxter Springs, Kansas to Vinita then further, reaching Denison, Texas, in late December 1872, making the Texas Road obsolete. Railroads supposedly brought some semblance of civilization to the country, but not initially into Indian Territory with the Katy. Once a few miles away from the rail, it was like a walk back in time to the utter wildness of the untamed land. Service on the MK&T (Katy) began in 1872. The Atlantic and Pacific, who absorbed the Border Tier railroad (eventually incorporating the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway), entered Indian Territory from Arkansas and went westward to Vinita in 1871, but construction stopped as federal courts decided about land grants for the railroads. The Native tribes complained to the federal government about the railroad companies and their tactics. The Native tribes tried for years to curtail the effects of the Reconstruction treaties with little or no progress. The Native nations realized they needed to combine their efforts. On December 5, 1873, a carefully worded protest memorandum from the "confederated nations and tribes in council assembled at Okmulgee"[29] sent to the President put the tribes' feelings into words:

[28] Drago, *Great American Cattle Trails*, 68.
[29] US Congress, House of Representatives, Protest Against Railroad Land-Grants in Indian Territory, 43d Cong., 1st sess., Misc. Doc. No. 85 (January 22, 1874), 1-2.

> Can a great enlightened and Christian nation afford to enact so great an injustice? We, your memorialists, in full view of these above-stated facts and the experience of all Indians who have lost their lands and their homes; of the pauperism, the degradation, and ruin to our people which must follow such a disaster, appeal to your sense of honor as our only defense, and only hope in this extremity, to appeal all clauses in the acts of Congress above referred to, or any other acts making grants of lands situated in the Indian Territory to aid in the construction of railroads…[30]

The tribal members gathered, trying to plead their case against further upheaval of their Nations. Essentially begging the President for protection of their remaining assets, their land, its resources, and their very lives. Native tribe's barrier of isolation crumbled as each non-Native person experienced and then related the beauty and bounty of the Indian Territory. The Nations' pleas remained ignored. Meanwhile, the consistent lobbying by the railroad companies for right of way access continued vigorously. In a report filed by Mr. Deering from the Committee on Indian Affairs about granting right of way to the St. Louis and San Francisco railroad through Indian Territory clearly outlines the opinions of the committee as to who makes the decisions for granting railroad right of way. The committee believed that the U. S. government never relinquished title to lands in Indian Territory to any Indian tribe. The right of eminent domain lies with the U. S. government and that it is in the interest of the "nation at large that rights of way for lines of railroads and telegraph should be granted through Indian Territory."[31] C. J. Hillyer, a lawyer for the Atlantic & Pacific railroad, printed in a pamphlet his feelings, which mirrored most people's feelings, about Indian control of land, "that for business purposes, the Indian Territory was, so long as it remained in control of the tribes, like a long tunnel. The need for commerce in the area and the obligation of the federal government to support national

[30] US Congress, House of Representatives, Protest Against Railroad Land-Grants in Indian Territory (January 22, 1874), 1-2.
[31] US Congress, House of Representatives, Right of way to Saint Louis and San Francisco Railroad Through the Indian Territory, 47th Cong., 1st sess., Misc. Doc. No. 934 (April 6, 1882), 1-3.

railroad growth should outweigh any treaty obligation, and the Indians, if they resisted settlement of the region by whites and the creation of industries to serve the railroad, should be exterminated."[32] Feelings like this guided legislation through Congress when dealing with Native Nations from this point on.

Also as part of the Reconstruction treaties, the Five Tribes relinquished lands in the western part of Indian Territory. The federal government wasted no time in conducting treaty negotiations with the Plains Tribes to move to these Indian Territory lands. Three treaties negotiated at Medicine Lodge, Kansas in October 1867, known collectively as the Medicine Lodge Treaties, with the Kiowa, Comanche, Apache, Cheyenne, and Arapaho Indians began the process of moving those tribes to the ceded lands.[33] The treaties needed ratification by three-fourths vote of all adult male members of the tribes. The U.S. government never achieved the number of votes needed for ratification and the treaties remained under fire for several years.

Starting in 1871, federal policy toward the Native Tribes in the United States changed with the passage of the Indian Appropriations Act. This act ended all treaty negotiations with Native American tribes as sovereign nations. This Act appropriated money for agents of Indian Affairs to act on behalf of the tribes stating, "hereafter no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty."[34] New policies toward Native Tribes, especially those living in Indian Territory, turned again toward land issues.

---

[32] H. Craig Miner, "Little Houses on Wheels: Indian Response to the Railroad," in *Railroads in Oklahoma*, ed. Donovan L. Hofsommer, (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1977), 9.
[33] "Treaty with the Kiowa and Comanche, 1867" (Medicine Lodge Treaty), 15 Stats. 581, October 21, 1867, ratified July 25, 1868; proclaimed August 25, 1868, in Charles J. Kappler, compiler and editor, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties — Vol. II: Treaties*, 977–982 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1904), through Oklahoma State University Library, Electronic Publishing Center.
[34] Indian Appropriations Act 1871, National Archives, General Records of the U.S. Government http://recordsofrights.org/records/285/indian-appropriations-act/1.

Anglo-American settlers kept venturing into Indian Territory only to raise the ire of military units patrolling the area. The military escorted the settlers out of the territory. Pressure from Angelo-American settlers generated sympathy from many Congressmen. The pressure finally reached willing listeners in 1886. The General Allotment Act (Dawes Act), passed on February 8, 1887, focused specifically on breaking up reservations by granting land allotments to individual Native Americans. Native Americans registering on a tribal "roll" obtained allotments of reservation land. “To each head of a family, one-quarter of a section; To each single person over eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section ; To each orphan child under eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section; and To each other single person under eighteen years now living, or who may be born prior to the date of the order of the President directing an allotment of the lands embraced in any reservation, one-sixteenth of a section.”[35] However, the Five Tribes, consisting of the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole, and the Osage, Miami and Peoria, and Sac and Fox in Indian Territory were exempt from this Act. The Act stated, "the provisions of this act shall not extend to the territory occupied by the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles, and Osage, Miamies and Peorias, and Sacs and Foxes, in the Indian Territory, nor to any of the reservations of the Seneca Nation of New York Indians in the State of New York, nor to that strip of territory in the State of Nebraska adjoining the Sioux Nation on the south."[36] The Five Tribes strongly resisted the allotment of any tribal land fearing the land grants for railroads would lead to dissolution of tribal governments. On June 28, 1898, the Curtis Act, formally known as “An Act for the Protection of the People of the Indian Territory,” and an amendment to the Dawes Act, accomplished the dismantling of the sovereign status of the Five

[35] An Act to Provide for the Allotment of Lands in Severalty to Indians on the Various Reservations (General Allotment Act or Dawes Act), Statutes at Large 24, 388-91, NADP Document A1887.
[36]An Act to Provide for the Allotment of Lands in Severalty to Indians on the Various Reservations.

Tribes, thus overthrowing the Five Tribes exemption from the Dawes Act. This Act helped to weaken and dissolve Indian Territory tribal governments by abolishing tribal courts and subjecting all persons in the territory to federal law. This Act also sanctioned the establishment of public schools dismantling the Indian tribal school system. Prior to the Curtis Act, each of these tribes had sole authority to determine the requirements for tribal membership. The act transferred this authority to the Dawes Commission, allowing member enrollment without tribal consent.[37] An explanation of the negotiations of the Dawes Commission and the Cherokee appears in an article from *The Daily Chieftain* newspaper in Vinita, Indian Territory dated January 10, 1899. "The lands of the Cherokee nation remain; all else has been swept away by the omiverous [sic] Dawes Commission, backed by a venal and poorly informed congress…Hounded and threatened and cojoled [sic]…they [the Cherokee] have quietly and stoically submitted to the ruthless and outrageous abolition of their government and the destruction of their political and social rights."[38] The Dawes Commission continued their mission until the allotments were complete. The remaining land was set to open for settlement.

Newspapers printed articles about the impending opening of the lands of Indian Territory. Adding that the great climate, excellent fertility and picturesque nature of the lands caused the unprecedented rush of would be settlers to the area. In a *Yorkville Enquirer*, Yorkville, South Carolina newspaper article, published April 10, 1889, describes the upcoming land run in Indian Territory as, "the region to be thrown open is about one-fourth of the proposed Territory of

[37] An Act for the Protection of the People of Indian Territory (Curtis Act), Senate Document No. 33, 55th Congress, 3rd Session (1898), https://shareok.org/bitstream/handle/11244/41146/Senate-55-3-Document-33-Serial-3728.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.
[38] "A Prolonged Struggle," *The Daily Chieftain* (Vinita, Ind. Ter. [Okla.]), January 10, 1899, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn93050700/1899-01-10/ed-1/seq-1/.

Oklahoma, the organization of which was not authorized by Congress."[39] The first official run for land in Indian Territory happened on April 22, 1889. After this, there was much Congressional debate over issues of governing these assigned and unassigned lands. Debate churned around creating a new territory to encompass the occupied and unoccupied federally held lands west of Indian Territory. A proposal for creating a territory to include the Oklahoma District, which had rapidly filled with settlers after the land run and the Cherokee Strip area, reached Congress. The Oklahoma Organic Act, formally known as An Act to provide a temporary government for the Territory of Oklahoma, to enlarge the jurisdiction of the United States Court in the Indian Territory, and for other purposes, passed through Congress. It became law on May 2, 1890.[40] The Cherokee Nation strenuously objected to the Organic Act and sent a memorial response to Washington, D.C. Within this memorial the Cherokee claimed, "the opening of the Oklahoma Territory, south of the possession of' the said Cherokee Nation, to the occupancy and settlement of white people, and the attempt to draw lines of a territorial government around the lands of the Cherokees not in immediate occupancy, have disclosed a purpose of the United States to secure, if possible, all of such lands that are not in the immediate occupancy of Indians, for the benefit of white claimants, and the House amendments referred to, if carried into acts of legislation, will be looked upon by the Cherokee Nation as designed to enforce a sale of their property to the United States at such price and upon such terms as the

[39] "The Paradise of the Boomers," *Yorkville Enquirer,* (Yorkville, S.C.), April 10, 1889. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026925/1889-04-10/ed-1/seq-4/.

[40] An Act to provide a temporary government for the Territory of Oklahoma, to enlarge the jurisdiction of the United States Court in the Indian Territory, and for other purposes (Oklahoma Organic Act), House of Representatives Report No. 2054, 52nd Congress, 1st Session (1892), https://shareok.org/bitstream/handle/11244/39726/House-52-1-Report-2054-Serial-3051.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

United States may demand."[41] Their objections went unheard. The Act laid the foundation for territorial government. Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory gained these official names under this law. President Benjamin Harrison appointed a governor, secretary, three federal judges, and a marshal. Voters then elected members of a territorial house of representatives and a council—as well as a delegate to the U.S. Congress.[42] The Organic Act laid the groundwork for statehood.

The U.S. government moved more and more toward the joining of the twin territories into a unified state. In April 1906, Congress passed the Five Civilized Tribes Act, officially known as "An Act to Provide for the Final Disposition of the Affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes in the Indian Territory and for Other Purposes." The act closed tribal rolls and provided for the sale of town sites. The government sold all tribal buildings, the proceeds deposited in the U.S. Treasury and credited to the tribe. The Department of the Interior took over the Indian schools, school funds, and tribal government buildings and furniture. The law provided that the President might appoint a principal chief for any of the tribes.[43] This law attempted to assimilate the Five Tribes members into the fabric of American citizenry. Congress followed with the Burke Act of May 8, 1906 amending the Dawes Act by allowing the federal government to decide whether tribal individuals were "competent and capable" before giving them free simple patents to their allotted land. The act further provided that citizenship not be granted to Native American individuals until the time of the final validation of their trust patents, at the end of the probationary 25 year

[41] Memorial of Cherokee Chiefs and Delegates, Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 109, 51st Congress, 1st Session (1890); https://shareok.org/bitstream/handle/11244/40952/Senate-51-1-Miscellaneous-109-Serial-2698.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.
[42] An Act to provide a temporary government for the Territory of Oklahoma, to enlarge the jurisdiction of the United States Court in the Indian Territory, and for other purposes (Oklahoma Organic Act), House of Representatives Report No. 2054, 52nd Congress, 1st Session (1892), https://shareok.org/bitstream/handle/11244/39726/House-52-1-Report-2054-Serial-3051.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.
[43] United States, Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, *Laws, Decisions and Regulations Affecting the work of the Commissioners to Five Civilized Tribes*, 1893-1906 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1906), 90.

period, instead of upon the receipt of the trust patents, as stated in the Dawes Act.[44] The stage was set for statehood. Continuing arguments persisted among leaders of the two territories over proposed admission to the Union. The Five Tribes lobbied for a separate state of Sequoyah. In 1905, the tribes convened the Sequoyah Convention. Convention members drew up a constitution and tribe members presented it to Congress in Washington, DC. President Theodore Roosevelt actually recommended admission of the twin territories, however, Congress disapproved. In June 1906, Congress passed the Enabling Act, officially known as "An Act to enable the people of Indian and Oklahoma territories to form a state constitution and a state government,"[45] starting the process of establishing constitutional state government. This act authorized the people of the Oklahoma and Indian territories to elect delegates to a constitutional convention and set up a temporary state capital. The act articulated stipulations that must appear in a constitution. Those stipulations included, freedom of religion, the abolition of polygamy and plural marriage, prohibition of liquor for twenty-one years, creation of a dispensary system for the distribution of medicinal alcohol, establishment of nonreligious public schools taught in English, and the extension for right to vote to all males of any race, color, or previous condition of servitude.[46]

Statehood was officially within reach. President Theodore Roosevelt signed the proclamation officially making Oklahoma a state on November 16, 1907. Newspapers across the country covered the event. The *Vinita Daily Chieftain* in Indian Territory proclaimed in its front-

[44] M. Kaye Tatro, "Burke Act (1906)," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org, accessed October 03, 2017.
[45] HR 12707, An act to enable the people of Indian and Oklahoma territories to form a state constitution and state government (Enabling Act); RG 233, Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, https://www.archives.gov/legislative/features/oklahoma.
[46] Dianna Everett, "Enabling Act (1906)," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org, accessed October 05, 2017.

page headline, "Oklahoma a State. At exactly 10 o'clock this morning (9 o'clock Vinita time) President Theodore Roosevelt affixed his signature to a document that admitted Oklahoma to statehood whereby she may enjoy all privileges and exercise all rights accorded to the other 45 states."[47] The *Palestine Daily Herald* in Texas ran the front-page headline, "Democratic State of Oklahoma Born Today. The Indian and Oklahoma Territories became the state of Oklahoma at 9:15 today when the president at that hour affixed his signature to the proclamation."[48] The *Hobart Daily Republican* newspaper headline boldly proclaimed statehood for Oklahoma! *The Tucumcari News and Tucumcari Times* in New Mexico, was less zealous in their reporting of the event, "Oklahoma A State…a new star added to the flag, making 46 in all."[49] Congress finally achieved their goal of containing many Native tribes within Indian Territory forcing them under federal government regulations. Oklahoma became a state with some wild maneuvering by the United States government and equally wild attempts by the tribes to maintain some control over their lives only to lose that control in the end. Oklahoma, the state where east meets west, Native Oklahoma, thrives today.

In less than a century, the lands of Indian Territory faced rapid change. From a frontier wilderness acquired in the Louisiana Purchase, to a place targeted as a resettlement zone for Native Americans, to an incredible boon for new settlers striving for their piece of the American dream, to the twin territories (Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory) and ultimately culminating into the formation of the 46th state of the United States. Oklahoma experienced fast-

[47] "Oklahoma a State," *The Vinita Daily Chieftain* (Vinita, Indian Territory [OK]), November 16, 1907, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025020/1907-11-16/ed-1/seq-1/.
[48] "Democratic State of Oklahoma Born Today," *Palestine Daily Herald* (Palestine, TX), November 16, 1907, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86090383/1907-11-16/ed-1/seq-1/.
[49] "Oklahoma a State," *The Tucumcari News and Tucumcari Times* (Tucumcari, N.M.), November 16, 1907, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn93061711/1907-11-16/ed-1/seq-10/.

paced change over a relatively short span of time. Oklahoma is a microcosm of American history. This chapter examined the legislation passed to facilitate this rapid change. Chapter 3 will continue to show how the area changed through the examination of the cattle driven along the three major trails across the Indian Territory landscape and how the exposure those cattle drives provided helped shape the national attitude toward lands held only for Native use.

Chapter 3

Cattle Trails Make Tracks across the Indian Territory

This chapter focuses on the three main cattle trails that passed through Indian Territory. These trails, followed by drovers, provided the opportunity of exposure to the beauty and bounty of the territory's natural resources. Cattlemen detailed the beauty and abundance of the territory in their letters and diaries to their families as well as to anyone who would listen. American studies scholar Henry Nash Smith called the West, the Garden of the World in reference to the untouched paradise with plenty of resources everywhere. This promise land was there for the taking, "guaranteed by God and Manifest Destiny."[1] Although Smith wrote about the West after the expansion, the attitude of would-be settlers is clear. Most people who ventured into the West, believed it was either the Great American Desert or a vast uninhabited open wilderness ready for them to plunder. As the pioneers plodded across the West, they believed that they were entitled to all of the resources available, disregarding the Native tribes that lived and depended on those resources to survive. Indian Territory, the land promised to the Indians forever by removal treaties in exchange for their homelands in the east, became an integral part of American history and the westward expansion of the United States. Indian Territory was the designated endpoint for the Five Tribes (the Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek (Muscogee), Chickasaw, and Seminole) during the removal period. However, with the American ideal of Manifest Destiny, it did not remain in Indian hands very long. As historian David Chang has suggested, "The history of Oklahoma is a history of movement, possession, and dispossession. It is American history told in fast-forward."[2] Chang was not the first to speak of the transition of Oklahoma in historical terms.

[1] Sara R. Massey, *Texas Women on the Cattle Trail*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006), 11.
[2] David A. Chang, *The Color of the Land: Race, Nation, and the Politics of Landownership in Oklahoma, 1832-1929* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 2.

Oklahoma historian Angie Debo wrote that Oklahoma history "is the history of the United States in microcosm" and "all American traits have been intensified."[3]

This is evident with the cattlemen that crossed Indian Territory starting in the mid-1850s and continuing until the 1890s. The cattlemen and the trails themselves played a significant role in the opening of Indian Territory for pioneer settlement by providing colorful, promotional descriptions of the land and the transportation network needed for railroad companies and later pioneers to breech the boundary of the Territory in the late 1880s. "Indian Territory that Garden of the World, open for Homestead and Pre-Emption…the Kansas City, Lawrence and Southern R.R. (railroad) being the Short, Direct and only Good Route to the Public lands in the Territory are making every preparation necessary to accommodate the rush…"[4] proclaims an 1889 flier anticipating the opening of Indian Territory. This advertisement included a map of the proposed unassigned area anticipated for opening to emigrants. Railroad builders across the west depended on settlers moving to the west and as such they made every advertising effort to attract settlers. These descriptions opposed the official records of many previous expeditions through the area. Summer expeditions provided reports that the lands that became Indian Territory had been part of the Great American Desert and should remain tribal settlement. A perfect place for a Native colonization zone.[5] However, the open spaces and plentiful resources within Indian Territory was the topic of many conversations of cattle drovers as evident in their journals, the recollections of early pioneer settlers, and Natives Americans in interviews conducted in the 1930s and in some

[3] Angie Debo, *Prairie City: The Story of an American Community* (New York: Knopf, 1944, reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), xii; Angie Debo, *Oklahoma: Foot-loose and Fancy-free* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949; reprint 1987), ix.
[4] Poster Advertising "Indian Territory That Garden of the World, Open for Homestead and Pre-Emption" in Current Day Oklahoma ; ca. 1889; Letters Received, 11/1863 - 12/1904; Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, Record Group 393; National Archives Building, Washington, DC. [Online Version, https://www.docsteach.org/documents/document/indian-territory-poster, March 22, 2021]
[5] W. David Baird, "Westward Expansion," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=WE021.

newspaper stories during the cattle droving era. James A Hicks, an early pioneer settler, went on a six-week hunting trip in Indian Territory in 1888, where he experienced the abundance of wildlife. He made another trip to the territory in 1889, "at this time the country was the most beautiful of all countries I had ever seen in my life. I was very much impressed with its beauty on this trip."[6] Rosa Ward Hornberger Moore, another early pioneer, had an uncle that "kept writing and telling them…[Rosa and her mother]…what a wonderful country this…[Indian Territory]…was…they came to the conclusion that Oklahoma would be a wonderful place to come to…"[7] Mrs. C. W. Callerman, the wife of an early pioneer, talks about her husband's health and the doctor suggesting he take a trip, "Oklahoma being the most talked of section of the country at the time…[1890]…he started for the Land of Promise."[8] Daisy Willis Turner, a Native woman of Choctaw/Chickasaw parentage, tells of the bounty in Indian Territory…"my father hunted quite a lot and my mother made us warm clothes with the hides."[9]

The cattle trails offered an economic boon for the Fives Tribes, the Creek and Cherokee tribes in particular, namely in the form of "grass money." Grass money was the term for the fees charged to the cattle drovers for pasturing their herds on Native lands. This money was the accrual "from lands leased to owners of large numbers of cattle who pastured their stock upon the prairie lands in the western or northern sections of the nation."[10] Isadore Labadie Smith, a member of the Plankashaw Tribe, a confederated member of the Miami Tribe, remembers that

[6] Interview with James A. Hicks, ID: 1385, Interviewed by Interviewed by Robert W. Small, November 10, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 2-4.
[7] Interview with Rosa Ward Hornberger Moore, ID: 8669, Interviewed by Nora Lorrin, September 22, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 2.
[8] Interview with Mrs. C. W. Callerman, ID: 1080, Interviewed by A. M. Aronson, February 18, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 1.
[9] Interview with Daisy Willis Turner, ID: 9696, Interviewed by Robert H. Boatman, January 12, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma
[10] "Bread Money," summary by Elizabeth Ross, ID: 7028, August 4, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 1.

the Quapaws lived between her family and the Kansas line and "their Nation was a grass covered prairie…[that]…they would lease…to the Kansas cattlemen for ten cents per acre."[11] The tribes realized the importance of maintaining control over their tribal land use in commons. Charles Stewart Lewis, a Choctaw tribal member, remembers, "the land was held in common with equal rights to all…[tribal members]…we were allowed all the land we needed for our use…allowed one square mile for pasture, and there was no limit to stock on public domain." Lewis continues, "We derived our revenues from natural resources…[grass money]…and from permits paid by renters." [12] Several tribes charged settlers for permits to complete improvements to land. In a letter written by Choctaw commissioners in February 1894, they explain what Land in Common means to them as, "self-preservation, self-interest, and the nobler instinct, that we that are strong ought to help those that are weak…this disposition to help one another is matured and developed in us by the system of holding our lands in common."[13]

Transportation played an important role in the development of the region first by the Five Tribes and then non-Natives. The first phase included foot traffic, draft animals, wagons, and waterways. Established in the 1820s, military forts kept the peace between the Five Tribes emigrants and the Plains tribes, namely the Apache and the Comanche. Cattle trails passed through Indian Territory beginning as early as the 1820s. Texas settlers, military expeditions, herds of cattle, and Civil War soldiers traveled the Texas Road north to south through eastern portions of the Territory. Trails crisscrossed the Territory to destinations in Kansas, Missouri, and Arkansas. The cattle trails connected Indian Territory to neighboring states and national

[11] Interview with Isadore Labadie Smith, ID: 12235, Interviewed by Nannie Lee Burns, November 24, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 3.
[12] Interview with Charles Stewart Lewis, ID: 6700, Interviewed by Etta D. Mason, July 14, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 1-2.
[13] "Choctaw Manuscript" document held by Stanley A. Clark December 7, 1937, ID: 7888, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 8-9.

networks. Cattle drovers, like Jack Bailey who drove cattle up the trail in 1868, and pioneers wrote in journals or diaries about the beauty and natural features of the land as they drove the length of the Territory, many commenting they would enjoy living in the Territory if not for the Natives living in the country.[14] Many newspapers printed stories about Indian Territory along with many eyewitness accounts of the beauty, bounty, and endless resources within the confines of this restricted area. The *Emporia News* newspaper published a letter in 1867 about Indian Territory, "Speaking of the Indian Territory south of Kansas, the Lawrence Journal says that a gentleman who traveled all through the Indian Territory at the south of Kansa, writes us as follows, in a private letter: 'I think this is the best country in the world. No man has seen the paradise of the Indian country who has not crossed to west side of the Arkansas River. I know, by personal observation, that all portions of the country which appears on the map as barren country is the finest timbered and the best watered country in the world. This part is as well timbered as Michigan.'"[15] The Leavenworth Weekly Times in 1877 printed an article about opening Indian Territory to Anglo-American settlement, "…western emigrants have been led to believe that in everything that makes a land desirable the Territory surpasses all the pictured glories of the garden of Eden. This being the case, thousands of emigrants…bypass us…[Kansas]…in search of an imaginary paradise in the Indian Territory."[16]

Another method of exposure was the mail service that followed the U.S. Military to Indian Territory. Mail came by way of Little Rock, Arkansas, and St. Louis, Missouri. The Five

[14] Jack Bailey, *A Texas Cowboy's Journal up the Trail to Kansas in 1868*, ed. David Dary (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 12; Interview with Phamie Elizabeth Sheldon, ID: 8216, by Mildred B. McFarland, August 13, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 2; Interview with H. T. Palmer, ID: 13041, by Nannie Lee Burns, February 24, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 3.
[15] "No Title" *Emporia News* (Emporia, KS), May 3, 1867, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016419/1867-05-03/ed-1/seq-1/.
[16] "The Indian Territory" *Leavenworth Weekly Times*, (Leavenworth, KS), October 18, 1877, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84027691/1877-10-18/ed-1/seq-1/.

Tribes were forcibly removed to Indian Territory and the military remained in the Territory. Once there, federal government communications increased to the military outpost. This relocation helped improve the infrastructure for the Five Tribes to address the increased mail demand. For example, the Butterfield Overland Mail Service began with a route in St. Louis and Memphis with a junction at Fort Smith that turned toward the Red River thereby crossing Indian Territory. Mail service did not only carry mail dispatches but passengers as well. Traffic decreased with the mad rush for the California gold fields and the advent of a more direct east-west trail "from Fort Smith, Arkansas along the Canadian River and by Santa Fe."[17] Other paths branched off the road toward the southwest. September 1858 saw the first trip of the Butterfield mail depart from Missouri, through Indian Territory, bound for the gold fields of California. This route went south from Indian Territory, across the Red River to El Paso, Texas, and westward to California along the Southern Route. Many newspapers printed comments about the land traversed by the Butterfield line as "where grass and water are abundant…the fertility of the soil would, with proper encouragement and protection, hold out inducements to make permanent settlements."[18] These encouragements align with President James Buchanan's opinions expressed in a letter to John Butterfield dated October 9, 1858, "it is a glorious triumph for civilization and the Union. Settlements will soon follow the course of the road, and the East and the West will be bound together by a chain of living Americans, which can never be broken."[19] A passenger account of his travel over the Butterfield Overland Mail route, printed in the New

[17] Interview with H. T. Palmer, ID: 13041, by Nannie Lee Burns, February 24, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 3.
[18] "Overland Mail Routes," *National Era.* (Washington [D.C.]), October 21, 1858, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026752/1858-10-21/ed-1/seq-2/.
[19] "The Great Overland Mail from San Francisco," *Washington Union* (Washington [D.C.]), October 10, 1858. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82006534/1858-10-10/ed-1/seq-2/.

York Herald in October 1858, describes the trip through Indian Territory. "I noticed in riding through the Territory but little farming going on…the soil is well adapted for producing corn, tobacco, hemp, etc…they…[the Choctaw]…generally prefer to raise stock. The land is well watered, and with little cultivation could be made to yield abundantly. As we proceeded west, the country…grew more open…[with]…rolling plains."[20] Here he writes about meeting emigrants from Texas camping in the area. This account describes some of the features of Indian Territory that help shape the understanding of the Territory. F. W. Goldsby recounts in his WPA interview, his family settled in the Choctaw Nation on Boggy Creek where "we rented and built a stage stop there, as that was the route of the old Butterfield Stage Line."[21] He continues that "on average, about four coaches daily came along…always loaded with people."

Shawnee Trail or the Texas Road

There were three main trails in the northeast section of Indian Territory of vital importance to the region. The Osage Trace, an ancient well-traveled trail used before the forced removal of Five Tribes people, followed the Cimarron and Arkansas Rivers to the Three Forks region around the confluence of the Arkansas, Neosho (Grand), and Verdigris Rivers, in present day Wagoner, Muskogee, and Cherokee counties. The Fort Smith trail, built in 1827, was a military road that connected Fort Smith, Arkansas, and Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, used as a supply route between the two forts. The first military post built in Indian Territory was Fort Gibson, built in 1824 on the Neosho (Grand) River, used to direct the resettlement of the Five Tribes. W. A. Patilla, a Cherokee tribe member, recalls in his Works Progress Administration

[20] Grant Foreman, "California Overland Mail Route through Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 9 (September 1931): 306, 308, 309, 310.
[21] Oral Interview of F.W. Goldsby, ID: 10399, by Robert H. Boatman, March 29, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 1-2.

(hereafter WPA) interview that Fort Gibson was a "hub of all roads leading north, east, south, and west."[22] With the discovery of gold in California in 1848, the Fort Smith Trail became part of the California Road. The third main trail, the Shawnee Trail or Texas Road, entered the northeast corner of Indian Territory around Baxter Springs, Kansas, and present day Vinita, Oklahoma and headed south and slightly west to Texas. Some people used this route for settling Texas from the 1820s to the 1840s. The Texas Road linked Missouri and Indian Territory to Texas. This was a major thoroughfare through the region and continued until the railroads arrived following the Civil War in the late 1860s and 1870s. Many trails were feeder trails to the major thoroughfare of the Shawnee Trail.[23]

Indian Territory had several trails available for travel. Texas cattle traveled four major cattle trails to northern markets, if the split in the Shawnee Trail is included. The oldest and earliest was the old military road known as the Shawnee Trail in far eastern Indian Territory to Baxter Springs, Kansas and Missouri. This trail, nicknamed the Texas Road because of its use by emigrants to Texas, used before the Civil War to drive some Texas cattle to market slowly gained importance as a main thoroughfare. When Mexico opened land to settlement in Texas in the 1820s, the Texas Road was the main route for settlers to make their way there. The Texas Road, according to Dawes Commission lawyer and historian Grant Foreman, "served important pioneering traffic north and south through eastern Oklahoma."[24] "No other cattle trail played so

[22] Interview with W. A. Patilla, ID: 13242, by L. W. Wilson, March 14, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 5.
[23] Scott Baxter, "Resource Protection Planning Project Transportation in Oklahoma to 1920," (M.A. thesis, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, 1986), 12; Interview with James C. Webber, ID: 5667, by Lawrence D. Hibbs, February 17, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 1; Interview with T.P. Wilson, ID: 5890, by L. W. Wilson, n.d. Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 8.
[24] Foreman, "California Overland Mail Route through Oklahoma," 300; Bob L. Blackburn, "Grant Foreman," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=FO020.

important a part in the history of the country through which it passed as the Texas Road,"[25] stated writer and historian Harry Sinclair Drago. The Texas Road was a wide swath path used to accommodate the heavy traffic made up of settler's wagons, military supply caravans, freighters, herds of cattle, as well as herds of ponies and mules.[26] Texas cattlemen drove their cattle across Indian Territory to St. Louis along the Shawnee Trail in earnest starting in the 1850s. The Texas Road was the primary north-south trail through the Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee nations. Before the Civil War, the Shawnee Trail was an avenue to drive cattle to market. However, this history, largely ignored, gives the illusion Texas cattle drives started after the end of hostilities in 1866. The Shawnee Trail connected Texas cattle to Mississippi River towns in Missouri before the war broke out. Several crossings established along the route, namely Preston Bend, Colbert's Ferry, and at the Sac and Fox Agency on the North Canadian River found frequent use. In an August 1854 account in the *Texas State Gazette*, around 50,000 head of cattle traversed the Texas Road to the Missouri cowtowns of Independence, Westport and Kansas City.[27] The Five Tribes used this road to drive their own cattle to these markets. The Five Tribes developed their herding skills on their homelands in the southeast. After the removal process, the Five Tribes resumed cattle herding in Indian Territory. These cattle, called "Cherokee cattle," were considered very good quality. In 1857, as California bound settlers passed through Cherokee Nation, Cherokee cattlemen sold thousands of head of cattle to them. Cherokee trader and cattlemen Jesse Chisholm, for example, traded along a route that became synonymous as one

[25] Harry Sinclair Drago, *Great American Cattle Trails: The Story of the Old Cow Paths of the East and the Longhorn Highways of the Plains* (New York City: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1965), 30; Thomas Lask, "Harry Sinclair Drago, 91, Writer," *New York Times (1923-Current File)*, October 27, 1979. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/123946667?accountid=14516.
[26] Wayne Gard, "The Shawnee Trail," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 56, no. 3 (January 1953), 362-363.
[27] Gard, "The Shawnee Trail," 363.

of the most famous and most traveled cattle trails through Indian Territory, the Chisholm Trail.[28] This trail was used exclusively in the middle years of the droving era, 1867-1884.

An unknown fever illness, a disease carried by Texas longhorns, broke out as early as 1853 in Missouri. Texas fever, the name it gained, ravished northern stock, while the longhorns remained unaffected by the disease. Many settlers traveled by covered wagon with their small herds in tow to new lands in the American West. When the small herds encountered the longhorns or the land the Texas cattle grazed, they contracted the disease and died, devastating the pioneers.[29] In one six week stretch, "the Texas longhorns left a trail of dead animals from the Neosho River to the Kansas Valley."[30] In response to the "fever," armed vigilante groups formed taking matters into their own hands, killing any Texas cattle entering their land. In 1855, Missouri passed laws prohibiting diseased cattle passing through the state. However, the Texas cattle did not have the look of diseased cattle so the laws proved ineffective. Farmers resorted to vigilante justice again. In response to the border patrols of the vigilante groups, drovers moved their routes westerly into Kansas Territory.[31] Texas fever broke out in Kansas Territory in 1858 forcing the Kansas legislature to pass laws restricting Texas cattle in their territory. Angry Kansas farmers again formed vigilante groups to protect their livestock from the dreaded Texas fever. Further laws passed that restricted the driving of cattle into the territory between April 1 and November 1. When war broke out, cattle drives into Kansas and Missouri ended.

---

[28] James E. Sherow, *The Chisholm Trail: Joseph McCoy's Great Gamble* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018), 216-218.
[29] Interview with Guy Marshall, ID: 9088, Interviewed by Augusta H. Custer, October 27, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 1; Interview with Maud E. (Rice) Smith, ID: 4712, Interviewed by Nora Lorrin, June 29, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 2, 6; Interview with Sarah A. Penrod, ID: 8718, Interviewed by Anna Berry, September 21, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 2.
[30] Sherow, *The Chisholm Trail*, 48.
[31] Wayne Gard, "Retracing the Chisholm Trail," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (July 1956): 56, http://www.jstor.org.vortex3.uco.edu/stable/30235278.

The Texas Road remained an active thruway for the area as an avenue for escape from the war and to move troops. The road figured prominently for both sides during the Civil War. The outbreak of the Civil War stopped most non-military travel along the Texas Road. The North did very little to attract the allegiance of the Five Tribes before or during the war while the South made continuous overtures and promises to the tribes if they allied with them. The Texas Road was the site of the Battle of Honey Springs with actual fighting astride the road. Many other battles happened just off the road as well. The war served as the opportunity to settle old blood feuds between some of the Five Tribes, especially the Cherokee. The Civil War "spread destruction by torch as well as bullets" and when it was over, the Cherokee Nation lay in ruin and desolation. [32] After many decisive battles in the east, the North won the war.

The Texas Road slowly came back to life after the Civil War. It branched off at Fort Gibson to satisfy the markets in Baxter Springs, Missouri, and Wichita, Kansas. The Missouri Pacific Railroad at Sedalia, Missouri was the closest railhead for sending cattle to northern markets. The Shawnee Trail split from its original as settlement moved west. The Middle Shawnee Trail, as it was called, looked for a new terminus away from the growing settlement of Missouri. Texas cattlemen, influenced by newspaper articles about the advantages of Baxter Springs, Kansas, drove their cattle along the Shawnee Trail, built corrals on the Indian Territory side of the state line to wait and load the cattle into railcars for shipment to Kansas City. The Middle Shawnee Trail found its terminus in Baxter Springs. However, driving cattle along the Shawnee Trail was no easy task.

The dangers encountered during cattle driving made many drovers quit after one trip. Pioneer and cattle drover Charles Epps relates his experience on a cattle drive through Indian

[32] Drago, *Great American Cattle Trails,* 41.

Territory in his WPA interview, "it was a wild looking country and often Indians would come to us and want to eat; we could not understand them as they made signs. We would give a crowd of Indians a beef once in a while."[33] He continues, "I was afraid of the Indians on this first trip but afterward they did not frighten me at all."[34] There were many irate farmers, bushwhackers, and outlaws to deal with and it got worse when the Texas longhorns again brought disease to Missouri and Kansas stock. Charles Epps continues his description of the tactics his outfit used while driving cattle, many drove on high ground and "kept out of draws and canyons in order to keep from being attacked by the Indians. By keeping out in open country the cattle drives could see if the Indians were coming after them."[35] Epps describes the wild beauty of the land and the dangers of driving cattle through the Indian Territory. Looney Hicks Griffin, a Cherokee tribesman, describes in his WPA interview a cattle drive in which he took part, "we took a herd of 1600 head of Texas cattle and started for the Cherokee Strip over the Chisholm Trail. We would drive the cattle all day until about one hour before sundown. We were more than five months making that trip which was a good average."[36] As Texas cowmen began driving their herds toward northern markets again, they discovered that the richness of the bluestem and buffalo grass were the perfect fuel for their longhorns.[37] The cattlemen used these lush grasses to fatten the beeves along the way.

Finding suitable men to fit the role of cowboy proved more difficult than anyone anticipated. Not every man had what it took to be a good cowboy. He had to be a good

[33] Interview with Charles Epps, ID: 4187, by Warren D. Morse, May 26, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 2-3.
[34] Interview with Charles Epps, 3.
[35] Interview with Charles Epps, 3.
[36] Interview with Looney Hicks Griffin, ID: 6315, by James S. Buchanan, June 17, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 2.
[37] Debo, *Oklahoma: Foot-loose and Fancy-free*, 24; Sherow, *The Chisholm Trail*, 123.

horseman, have a sense of the temperament of the cattle, and understand and respect the range etiquette. Many cowboys learned from seasoned veterans the tools they needed to keep the cattle content along their slow plodding day after day, mile after mile along the trail. Cowboys even took to singing to the cows as they slowly circled them to keep them calm at night. Jack Bailey, an early cattle drover, describes in his journal the method of the drive and the position of the cowboys around the herd. At the front one or more point drivers lead the herd. Flank riders ride along the sides of the herd and keep cattle from straying. Drag riders bring up the rear and keep the cattle from straggling. "Riding drag was the worst position in a trail drive because of the dust kicked up by the longhorn's hooves,"[38] Bailey writes. Bailey comments that as the miles stacked up on a person there was a real change in their attitude, "when we first started it was all jokes but now…getting to have a right sulky crowd."[39] Bailey continued on to Abilene,, Kansas with his part of the herd, but comments, "I'm glad to be rid of driving" belying cattle driving was a job for younger men than him.[40] Cattle droving was "a difficult and strenuous task…[and]…required one cowboy for each three hundred steers."[41] The average drive consisted of between 1,000 to 2,000 head of cattle, lasted anywhere from two to three months and traversed anywhere from 700 to 900 miles.

Cattle droving was not just a job for men, women actually played a role in the Texas cattle trade too. The so called "cattle queens" made enough money to make a permanent mark on the industry. At a minimum there were sixteen women who participated in driving cattle to northern cowtowns. These women ranged in age as well as social status. Though taught

[38] Jack Bailey, *A Texas Cowboy's Journal Up the Trail to Kansas in 1868*, ed. David Dary (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), xxv.
[39] Bailey, *A Texas Cowboy's Journal*, 31-32.
[40] Bailey, *A Texas Cowboy's Journal*, 56,
[41] Elmer L. Fraker, "The Chisholm Trail: A Sketch," *Oklahoma Historical Society* (1967), Oklahoma History Center Vertical Files, accessed November 24, 2018.

Victorian ideals of a woman's place in society, they adapted to the circumstances they faced daily. They learned out of necessity how to use the tools of the cowboy which included ropes, branding irons, whips, and even weapons like knives, rifles, and pistols. They also learned to ride horses and ponies like their male counterparts, going so far as adapting their clothing for this feat. They made good in their space within the Cattle Frontier West. These women earned the moniker, "cowgirl" as they drove their herds alongside the cowboys up the trails north.[42] Cowgirls added their own spin to the exposure of the Indian Territory, making notes in their journals, logbooks, and diaries of the birds, flowers and foliage they encountered.

All of this traffic left visible scars on the prairies that remain. Pioneer Cash M. Cade's WPA interview described the marks made by the cattle trails as "about three hundred feet wide with deep cuts or ruts in it any where from one to two feet deep."[43] Pioneer John C. Chisum described the cattle trails in his WPA interview as, "usually two or three hundred feet wide composed of deep little paths worn down by countless feet of cattle tramping in the same tracks."[44] As Oklahoma historian Angie Debo stated in 1949, "the marks of the great rutted thoroughfare still show as a continuous scar across farmland and stream."[45] As well as the visible scars left on the landscape, they also etched their way into the lives of the residents close to the trails. William C. Jackson, son of an early pioneer, states in his WPA interview that his father helped build a school close to the Texas Road that he attended. Jackson continues that one day,

[42] Massey, *Texas Women on the Cattle Trails*, 4-5, 10.
[43] Interview with Cash M. Cade, ID: 4392, Interviewed by Amelia F. Harris, June 14, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 3.
[44] Interview with John C. Chisum, ID: 10290 Interviewed by Zaidee B. Bland, March 18, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 14.
[45] Debo, *Oklahoma: Foot-loose and Fancy-free*, 25.

"we children were compelled to remain inside the school house until long after dark before the last of the herd had passed,"[46] along the Texas Road.

The cattle trails made the Creek and Cherokee tribes wealthy because "the tribes placed a number of conditions on the use of the cattle trails" through their respective lands.[47] Some of these conditions included purchasing a permit for each cowboy crossing Indian lands, a head tax on every animal in the herd and grazing fees for tribal communal land. Some Indians became cattle ranchers in their own right. An example of this is George Perryman, a Creek rancher whose ranch became the site for Tulsa. Lee Perryman, George Perryman's grandson and member of the Creek Nation, states in his WPA interview, "George Perryman at one time had three thousand head of cattle, two hundred head of horses and had one thousand acres of land in cultivation…"[48] In William Perry Earls' WPA interview in 1938, he described what cattle buyers experienced in Indian Territory, "the Indians had put a cattle tax on all the cattle and when we cattle buyers refused to pay the tax we were arrested and taken to Fort Smith. They did not put us in the jail but put the stripes on us and made us wear then as long as we were there, which was a long time."[49] Earles wore those stripes until the infamous Judge Parker released him. M. F. Savage, an Anglo-American ranch hand, described in his WPA interview, the cattle tax money as "grass money" saying it was payment for the cattle to graze on tribal land.[50] Grass money helped the economy of the tribes. However, it was difficult to collect in some cases. The tribes complained to the U.S. government about some of the cattlemen's reluctance to pay the tax. The

[46] Interview with William C. Jackson, William, ID: 12515, by James S. Buchanan, December 28, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 3.
[47] Baxter, "Resource Protection Planning Project Transportation in Oklahoma to 1920," 13.
[48] Interview with Lee Perryman, ID: 7824, by Carl R. Sherwood, October 16, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 1.
[49] Interview with William Perry Earles, ID: 10654, by Ethel V. Elder, May 26, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 4-5.
[50] Interview with M.F. Savage, ID: 10225, by Raymond Jantz, March 18, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 2.

federal government sent agents to aid in the collection process, but word traveled fast among the cattlemen and some would drive their cattle across the territory line into Kansas to avoid paying the grazing fees.[51] The nonpayment of grazing fees is reflective of the general attitude of non-Native exploitation of the resources of Indian Territory.

The prosperity experienced by Baxter Springs was short lived as settlement moved further west as did the cattle trails. Farmers settled closer and closer to the first break of the Middle Shawnee Trail forcing its abandonment in favor of a new break of the trail. This trail took a westerly diversion from Ft. Gibson, Indian Territory, crossing into Kansas on the way to Junction City, Kansas. This too was overrun with settlers moving ever closer to the trail. Again the Shawnee Trail branched off forming the West Shawnee Trail. The West Shawnee Trail, branched off at Boggy Depot, traversing the central ground between the Middle Shawnee Trail and the Chisholm Trail ending in Junction City east of Abilene[52] on the Kansas Pacific Railroad. The West Shawnee Trail was short lived.[53] By 1867, six states had enacted Texas fever laws further restricting the cattle driven up the trail from Texas. As the Texas fever legislation forced the Texas Road to split over to the Western Shawnee Trail, new options for endpoints awaited discovery. Drovers believed more and more that the Shawnee Trail was no longer a viable option as a major cattle route as farms sprang up right next to the road, Texas fever continued to frustrate Missouri farmers, who in turn resorted to physically attacking cattle herds and drovers. As the Texas Road began to lose favor because of the Kansas and Missouri legislation and other

[51] Savage, The Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association, 19, 25, 28, 29, 30.
[52] Clara M. Love, "History of the Cattle Industry in the Southwest," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 19, no. 4 (April 1916): 394-95.
[53] Wayne Gard, "Shawnee Trail." *Texas State Historical Association*, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ays02, accessed March 20, 2020; John Dobberson, "Cattle Drives: Oklahoma's Early Commerce: Whoopi-ti-yi-yo," *Tulsa World*, November 5, 2006, accessed June 7, 2020.

factors, a new trail, the Chisholm Trail, became the longhorn expressway with the city of Abilene, Kansas as its terminus.[54]

The exposure drawn to the Indian country by the diversions of the Shawnee Trail are evident before and after the Civil War. The need for diverse people to direct the conversion of the land into a habitable condition for the Native tribes during removal times were done by mostly soldiers of the United States Army and the Natives themselves. At the end of the War, most of the northeastern part of Indian Territory lay on shambles. The Cherokee and Creek (Muscogee) Nations lay ravished, with a great need for workers to rebuild. As a way to rebuild their economic system, the tribal nations sold permits allowing mechanic and laborers and their families to move to Indian Territory. This was a quick way for the tribes to replenish their coffers and rebuild their work force in response to the abolition of slavery.[55] Cattlemen also played a role in the replenishment of the Native coffers with the tolls placed on every animal of a herd that crossed and grazed on Native soil. As the cattle trails moved westward to avoid the tolls and Texas fever laws, the northeastern Native tribes lost their advantage as the only path to northern markets.

The Chisholm Trail

The Chisholm Trail, arguably the most famous of the cattle trails that plodded across Indian Territory, gained favor after politicians in both Kansas and Missouri forced cowboys to drive their cattle away from the more populated areas of their states. The drovers needed a

[54] Gary and Margaret Kraisinger, *The Western Cattle Trail 1874-1897: Its Rise, Collapse, and Revival* (Newton, KS: Mennonite Press, Inc., 2014), 11-21.
[55] Arrell M. Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries* (Norman: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1965), 284-285.

proven trail further west, away from the populated towns and farmer's fields. The natural choice for this move was the trade route called the Chisholm Trail. This trail, named for Jesse Chisholm, a Cherokee trader who spoke around fourteen different Native languages, and traded with a network of people from Kansas to Texas. Chisholm established trading posts along the trail. Chisholm died in 1868 never knowing how important his trail was to the cattle trade. On the new trail the cost of the drive was less as there "were no Indian tolls to pay, no Texas fever ban and no armed grangers"[56] blocking the progress of the herd. Several million longhorns traversed the Chisholm Trail from 1867 to 1884. Although several tribes claimed the trail passed through portions of their lands, the federal government considered the Chisholm Trail passed on public lands under their control.[57] The trail was not one continuous trail through Texas but a combination of trails with several different branches according to some drovers that traveled alongside the longhorns. However, the branch running the length of Indian Territory followed a main trail from the Red River to a trail blazed by Black Beaver, a Union Indian scout and friend of Jesse Chisholm, guiding retreating Union soldiers from Indian Territory to Kansas during the Civil War. The Chisholm Trail entered Indian Territory at Red River Station then followed an almost straight path through the Chickasaw Nation, into the unorganized zone, on through the Cherokee Strip, and finally on to the Kansas railheads. The trail in Indian Territory crossed lush grasslands, and five major rivers, the Washita, the South Canadian, the North Canadian, the Cimarron, and the Arkansas, providing ample resources for the plodding longhorns. The Chisholm Trail needed a railhead for its continued use as a main trail.

[56] Drago, *Great American Cattle Trails*, 71.
[57] Sherow, *The Chisholm Trail*, 113.

There was no major railhead for the Chisholm Trail that could handle the volume of cattle making their way from Texas. Joseph McCoy, an Illinois cattleman, decided to build a railhead in Abilene, Kansas, after searching for an ideal spot. McCoy's dream was industrious. He conceived the idea of establishing a shipping depot for cattle at somewhere west of the quarantine line and knew that the railroad companies were interested in expanding their freight operations. McCoy made a deal with the Kansas Pacific Railroad. By 1867, McCoy was ready for the cattle to make it to his stockyards. McCoy advertised his venture throughout Texas, even hiring men to travel down the Chisholm Trail to speak with the drovers themselves. As news reached the cowmen that a new stockyard in Abilene, Kansas was open, the cowmen rejoiced as now they could avoid the armed farmers that patrolled the old Texas Road in attempts to keep the longhorns from spreading Texas fever to their shorthorn stock. Along this trail, many cowmen commented that the route was more direct, with less timber, more prairie grass, smaller streams to ford, no tribal tax to pay, and fewer wild Native attacks on the herd. The trail was a more direct route through Indian Territory, heading almost due north through the middle of Indian country. It was a reasonable alternative to the charged attitudes of farmers and Natives along the Texas Road. Trailing the longhorns along this route, while the rivers and streams remained not swollen by floodwaters, the cattle drovers could easily pass through Indian Territory in a month. Cattle drovers commented that even during the fall this route presented a pretty picture of sunflowers and goldenrods, along with buffalo and other wild animals.[58]

The first year for Abilene, Kansas as a railhead for the Kansas Pacific Railroad (KP) and as the terminus of the Chisholm Trail was 1868. An estimated 75,000 head of Texas longhorns reached Abilene that year. McCoy's gamble paid off. The future looked bright for the cattle

[58] Wayne Gard, *The Chisholm Trail* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 81.

trade. However, in January 1869, Texas fever reared its ugly head again when the state of Illinois proposed a bill to ban cattle from Texas in their state altogether. McCoy fought hard, by himself, to defeat this proposed legislation. McCoy managed to get a compromise from the state legislature. "Wintered" Texas cattle could enter the state markets with no threat of the dreaded disease. That meant cattle herds held on the grasslands of northern Kansas through winter months could pass to the northern markets. Permits issued, attesting to the fact that cattle were wintered, were easily obtained by honest cattlemen. However, there were unscrupulous notaries who issued false permits to likewise dishonest cattle men.[59] With this amendment in the cattle industry's favor, 1869 saw a marked increase in cattle shipped to northern markets. An estimated total of between 150,000-160,000 head of Texas cattle passed through Abilene that year.[60] The next year, 1870, saw an even bigger increase with an estimated 300, 000 head of Texas cattle driven up the trail to Abilene.[61] By the beginning of 1871, McCoy earned over $5 million in sales of Texas cattle, in just three seasons.[62]

The 1871 season saw the Chisholm Trail's peak with 700,000 longhorns passing through Indian Territory on the way to Abilene, Kansas. There were so many cattle on the trail, it was hard for the drovers to keep them from running into each other. This flooded the market with beeves, dropping the prices lower than usual. Joseph McCoy took to the newspapers, using a false name, suggesting that drovers overwinter their herds on the grasslands to receive a better price the following season. This maneuver proved disastrous. Prairie fires, compounded with blizzard conditions killed an estimated 250,000 head of Texas cattle. The results, only an

[59] Drago, *Great American Cattle Trails*, 111-112; Love, "History of the Cattle Industry in the Southwest," 385-86; Sherow, *The Chisholm Trail*, 109-110, 114, 118.
[60] Drago, *Great American Cattle Trails*, 114; Love, "History of the Cattle Industry in the Southwest," 394.
[61] Drago, *Great American Cattle Trails*, 121.
[62] Sherow, *The Chisholm Trail*, 136.

estimated half of the Texas cattle made it to market in 1872. Farmers started voicing their opinions about the cattle trade again too, as new farms sprang up around Abilene. The farmers got together, essentially threatening any drovers with violence if they came to Abilene. Abilene lost its luster as new cowtowns sprang up when the railroads built further south toward the Kansas and Indian Territory boundary line. Places like, Wichita, Newton, Caldwell, and Ellsworth sprang up to take their turn as the cattle capitals.[63] The biggest trailing years for the Chisholm Trail were 1871 and 1873 when well over one half million head of longhorns plodded to the Kansas cowtowns. As the railroads, both the Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe (AT&SF) and the Kansas Pacific (KP) built further south, Newton, located south of Abilene on the AT&SF, grabbed a piece of the cattle trade. However, Newton only shipped Texas longhorns for one year in 1871, before the AT&SF Railroad built a railhead in Wichita, Kansas, opening in 1872. Wichita was a rough and tumble town. The first season, 1873, saw approximately 66, 000 Texas longhorns shipped from Wichita. Wichita held onto the cattle trade for three full seasons before trouble with farmers and Texas fever laws shuttered it in favor of the border town of Caldwell, Kansas. Caldwell was located on the AT&SF right across the Indian Territory border in Kansas, garnering the nickname the "Border Queen." Caldwell had several advantages. It cut off miles of driving time and provided a place to hold and graze the herds on the Cherokee Strip in Indian Territory. Railroad rival, the Kansas Pacific, built west of Abilene to Ellsworth, Kansas. Ellsworth grabbed their share of the cattle trade starting with the 1872 season. The peak season for Ellsworth as the railhead was 1873. Once again settlers converged on the trail causing recurring problems with the cowmen. Texas fever also reared its ugly head again as well.

[63] Sherow, *The Chisholm Trail*, 203, 207; Drago, *Great American Cattle Trails*, 126, 139-40; Goins and Goble, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 117.

Ellsworth was abandoned in 1875 as the cattle drover directed their herds toward Dodge City located on the AT&SF farther west beyond the farmers, settlers and quarantine laws.[64]

The Chisholm Trail, considered the point of convergence where north meets south and east meets west, was the main cattle thoroughfare and solidified its place in history. However, Texas fever again tormented cattlemen along this trail too, fueling the anger of pioneer farmers and state legislators. Missouri and Kansas lawmakers soon passed laws concerning Texas longhorns from certain counties because of Texas fever, the name the disease acquired. No one knew, at the time, that ticks caused the Texas fever outbreaks. The passage of the Animal Industry Act on May 24, 1884, forbade "anybody to drive cattle on foot through any State or Territory, knowing them to be infected with contagious diseases," causing many cattlemen to file protests with the Secretary of the Interior. [65] The act required a veterinarian, appointed by the Department of Agriculture, to approve all cattle entering into Kansas and Missouri from selected counties of Texas. The *Dallas Daily*, dated July 15, 1885, printed a dispatch sent to Secretary of the Interior Lamar about a couple of cattle drovers under arrest, "for violation of the animal industry law in the bringing of cattle from infected districts of Southern Texas into the Indian Territory."[66] It also mentions that along the trail "some 50,000 head of cattle are behind these herds on the trail."[67] This situation was a contentious one. Many of the landowners wanted the cattle drives to stop until a decision by the courts came down, while others thought the cattle should cross. Even the overwintering of the cattle was questioned. In most cases overwintering

[64] Kathy Weiser, "Kansas Cowtowns," *Legends of America*, December 2019, https://www.legendsofamerica.com/ks-kansascowtowns/; Sherow, *The Chisholm Trail*, 136; Goins and Goble, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 116; Drago, *Great American Cattle Trails*, 140, 148, 169-70, 173, 178, 180, 192.
[65] "Lamar's Late," *Dodge City Times* (Dodge City, Kansas), July 16, 1885, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84029838/1885-07-16/ed-1/seq-2/.
[66] "Texas Takes the Trail: The Herd on the Move Again," *The Dallas Daily Herald* (Dallas, Texas), July 14, 1885, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025733/1885-07-14/ed-1/seq-1/.
[67] "Texas Takes the Trail: The Herd on the Move Again," *The Dallas Daily Herald*, July 14, 1885.

worked, however some unscrupulous drovers assured buyers their herds were overwintered, but were not, thus calling the whole process into question. The *Fort Worth Daily Gazette*, dated February 15, 1884, reported the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indian leaseholders fenced their land. "But wherever a cattle trail crossed the lines of fence a very wide gate and two fifty foot panels of wire gates were put in making an opening of from 115 to 145 feet in width for herds to pass through."[68] These obstacles forced limits on the Chisholm Trail making it impossible to go any further into Kansas except to Caldwell, only a few miles across the boundary of Indian Territory. With angry farmers and quarantine lines redrawn, Texas drovers again searched for a trail further west away from farmlands, thus the Great Western Trail was born. The eight hundred mile Chisholm Trail from south Texas, through the heart of Indian Territory on to the cowtowns of Kansas finally succumbed to barbed wire and quarantine laws. Some estimates on the number of cattle that traversed the Chisholm Trail reach upwards of five million head during its years in service of 1867 through 1884.

The Chisholm Trail was traveled by more than just drovers and cattle. Travelers experienced the "country, north of the Red River, prior to and for many years after the Civil War…[believing it was]…unoccupied and remained a veritable wilderness…"[69] "The Chisholm Trail was the first effective means of dispelling the myth of the Great American Desert…[providing]…a continuing glimpse of a free, unconfined world…"[70] The exposure the Chisholm Trail brought to the center section of the Indian Territory aided in the movement

[68] "The Cattle Trails: Caldwell Journal" *Fort Worth Daily Gazette* (Fort Worth, Texas), February 15, 1884, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86064205/1884-02-15/ed-1/seq-3/
[69] Sam P. Ridings, *The Chisholm Trail: A History of the World's Greatest Cattle Trail* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2015), 3.
[70] Joe B. Frantz, "Chisholm: The Long Trail to Glory," 2, (Tri-State Chisholm Trail Centennial Committee, 1967) Oklahoma History Vertical Files, accessed November 20, 2018.

toward settling the Indian Territory. Although the tribal nations believed the trails crossed their lands, there was a section that the federal government concluded did not belong to any of the Five Tribes, the so called unassigned lands. This portion of land brought unusual attention to the lands originally intended for only tribal people to occupy. This section of land in Indian Territory remained contested even after the abandonment of the Chisholm Trail as the national cattle highway.

Great Western Trail

As the Chisholm Trail had hard issues to consider for continued use, cattleman John Lytle blazed a trail in 1874 to take his herd of around 3,500 head to the railhead at Dodge City, Kansas, further west out of the way of farmers and quarantine laws. This trail earned the name the Dodge City Trail at first, then later was known as the Great Western Trail. With Dodge City, Kansas as the terminus of this new trail, the AT&SF became the main railroad for shipping cattle across the country.[71] At the conclusion of the Red River War, the armed conflict between US troops and the Comanche, Kiowa, Cheyenne and Arapaho in 1875, the Great Western Trail took up the reins of the cattle industry. The aftermath of the war, threw open the Texas panhandle for settlement permanently.[72] The Great Western Trail consolidated several southern Texas trails at a convergence point near Kerrville, Texas, following a northern track, crossing into Indian Territory at Doan's crossing, following a mostly northern direction along the western edge of the Comanche-Kiowa-Apache Reservation, then traversed what many thought was the most dangerous part of the trail Lytle blazed, the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation. It was at this part of the trail many cattlemen met Native Americans desperate for food and willing to do anything to

[71] Sherow, *The Chisholm Trail*, 31.
[72] Michael D. Pierce, "Red River War (1874–1875)," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=RE010, accessed February 24, 2020.

supplement their government rations. Drovers negotiated with the tribal nation peoples, giving them sickly, weak or wounded beeves that would not fetch much on the market as payment to cross the reservation. The trail continued to the Indian Territory boundary line crossing the Cimarron River into Kansas, ending at the shipping railhead of the AT&SF at Dodge City.[73] Many cowboys called the Great Western Trail the Chisholm Trail, however the terrain of the Great Western was more rugged with less watering holes for the beeves plodding north to the markets. The drovers encountered Texas canyons, the Wichita Mountains of southwestern Indian Territory, and the Great Basin of Kansas. This terrain forced drovers to prove they could handle the longhorns in any situation.[74]

The cattle trails kept moving further west to avoid quarantine laws and homesteaders. As the eastern Kansas cowtowns of Abilene, Ellsworth, and Wichita along the Chisholm Trail fell under quarantine laws, the Great Western Trail took up the mantle of the cattle industry. This made Dodge City, Kansas the queen of the cowtowns. In 1874, the same year that Lytle blazed the Great Western Trail, a patent was issued for barbed wire. This meant that homesteaders could use this type of fencing to protect their land. Homesteaders and ranchers desired cattle for their own purposes. [75] The peak years for the Great Western Trail were 1880 to 1884 with close to 1.5 million head plodding northward along the trail.[76] Drovers experienced long lines of cattle herds stacked up one after another like a modern day traffic jam in a large city. It is estimated that

[73] Carl N. Tyson, "Western Trail," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=WE025, accessed January 7, 2020.
[74] Gary and Margaret Kraisinger, *The Western: The Greatest Texas Cattle Trail, 1874-1886* (Newton, KS: Mennonite Press, 2004), 15, 17, 19.
[75] Kraisinger, *The Western: The Greatest Texas Cattle Trail, 1874-1886*, 28, 66.
[76] Goins and Goble, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 117.

around five million cattle trudged along the Great Western Trail, with nearly half of those traveling further north beyond Dodge City.[77]

The Great Western Trail is not as famous as the Chisholm Trail, but it remained in service longer than any of the other cattle trails used by Texas drovers, lasting twelve seasons (1874-1886). The Great Western was also the longest trail in miles in that not all of the cattle stopped in Dodge City, many thousand head of cattle continued on to Ogallala, Nebraska on the Union Pacific Railroad and further points north.[78] The Great Western Trail was the feeder trail for northern ranches as far away as Canada. The Great Western was the collimation of cattle driving trails because its path was far enough away from the homesteaders that continued to press onto western lands. The Great Western Trail thrived for twelve seasons until the quarantine laws finally closed all of Kansas to cattle drives.[79] No new trails were blazed as the old ones were abandoned. The business of trailing beeves was finished as the railroads made sure of that.[80]

The cattle trails lasted only about forty years. For a period of time, it was cheaper to drive cattle through the open lands of Indian Territory. It cost around one dollar to drive cattle to railheads in Missouri and Kansas, but it cost three dollars to send them by rail to the same destination. An interconnected and ever-changing web of trail s crisscrossed Indian Territory. The trails moved cattle and settlers alike. As Leroy Ward, a Choctaw tribal member, described in his WPA interview, “the original Ozark Trail went from Springfield, Missouri to Tahlequah, to

---

[77] Kraisinger, *The Western: The Greatest Texas Cattle Trail, 1874-1886*, 3, 105.
[78] Tyson, "Western Trail," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture;* Jimmy M. Skaggs, “Northward Across the Plains: The Western Cattle Trail,” *Great Plains Journal* 12, no. 1 (Fall, 1972): 55-56. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/1300223027?accountid=14516; Kraisinger, *The Western: The Greatest Texas Cattle Trail, 1874-1886*, 2.
[79] Kraisinger, *The Western: The Greatest Texas Cattle Trail, 1874-1886*, 8.
[80] Drago, *Great American Cattle Trails*, 252.

Fort Gibson where two trails crossed."[81] Ward names a few trails he was familiar, such as a branch of the Ozark, the Santa Fe Trail (called Whiskey trail), Hell's Half Acre, and comments that the Ozark and Santa Fe Trails crossed. However, when fences began cutting off access to grazing lands the cost of trailing cattle went higher. "The fight over the right-of-way through the Cherokee Strip in the Indian Nation between the lease holders of the strip and the cattlemen of Southern and Eastern Texas has become national in its notoriety, and involves questions of law of interest to the entire cattle-raising industry of the country," reports the *Abilene (Kansas) Reflector* on July 16, 1885.[82]

The tales of the land as related by the drovers that crossed Indian Territory belies the significance of the cattle trails across the Territory. Their significance as an important part of the tribal economy is evident in the accrual and disbursement of fees they charged per head of cattle left to graze on their tribal lands. Many people looked upon Indian Territory as a roadblock to the fluid commerce of the American system. Railroad companies lobbied Congress hard for access to these lands. The cattle trails lost their dominance when the railroads, allowed by the Reconstruction treaties of 1866, crossed the boundary of the Indian Territory. The iron horse overran the cattle trails as the main method of transporting stock because it was cheaper, quicker, and could avoid the Texas fever legislation that dominated the final years of the long distance cattle droving era.

[81] Interview with Leroy Ward, ID: 7781, by Grace Kelley, October 9, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 12.
[82] "The Cherokee Strip: The Trouble about Driving Cattle through the Leased Lands – Secretary Lamar's Action" *The Abilene Reflector* (Abilene, Kan.), July 16, 1885, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84029385/1885-07-16/ed-1/seq-3/

Chapter 4

Railroads Rumble across the Indian Territory

Reconstruction brought harsh repercussions to the Five Tribes. Not all the Five Tribes supported the South, but the tribes had no choice but to sign contentious treaties with the U.S. government. The terms of the treaties allowed for railroad right of way through Indian Territory, one railroad running north-south, one running east-west, and forfeiture of western tribal lands. Railroads were important to the United States during the Civil War, so much so that President Abraham Lincoln signed the Pacific Railroad Act on July 1, 1862, to ensure that California and the west remained as part of the Union. This opened the west to railroad companies and speculators in the states surrounding Indian Territory. This act ignored tribal nations living in the way of the railroad construction zones. This act also contradicted earlier efforts to protect Native lands.[1] Selected to connect California and the west to the Union with a transcontinental railroad were the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railroads. The Union Pacific built from east to west while the Central Pacific built from west to east.[2] The last spike, driven at Promontory, Utah, on May 10, 1869, joined the two railroads, forming the first transcontinental railroad.

Railroads were relative late comers to Indian Territory. With the 1866 Reconstruction treaties in full force, Congress instituted a race for the railroad companies for entry into the Indian Territory. The first railroad company to reach the boundary line between Kansas and Indian Territory through the Neosho Valley would win the coveted prize of the first railroad allowed to lay track in the Indian Territory. It was a three-way competition between the

[1] Christian Wolmar, *The Great Railroad Revolution: The History of Trains in America* (New York City: PublicAffairs, 2013), 128-29.
[2] Oliver Jensen, *The American Heritage History of Railroads in America* (New York City: American Heritage Publishing Company, 1975), 87.

Missouri, Kansas & Texas (MK&T nicknamed 'the Katy"), the Border Tier and the Atlantic and Pacific railroads. The competition between the railroads set the stage for "unbridled violence" in their attempt to reach the territory boundary line. "Heads were cracked in pitched battles, men were killed and anything that would burn" was set ablaze. [3] The Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad won the race to the line and with it won a "tremendous land grant" of about 1.6 million acres to build the north-south railroad across Indian land. The Katy was the first to enter the Indian Territory. [4] An *Emporia News* newspaper article on June 3, 1870, exclaims "the Missouri, Kansas & Texas railroad is finished to the state line to-day. Two hundred miles of track laid and put in substantial and good running condition inside of a year!"[5] "By trickery, outright skullduggery and a financial determination not to give up in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds,"[6] the MK&T (Katy) was the first to pierce the boundary of Indian Territory in 1870. A Kansas newspaper article dated June 17, 1870, exclaims, "The last spike on this road in Kansas, was driven by Manager R.S. Stevens a few days ago, and the first spike across the line in Indian Territory was driven by Col. Boudinot, a Cherokee Indian. Trains are now running to the Cherokee Nation!"[7] The Katy generally followed the Texas Road into the territory from Baxter Springs, Kansas to Vinita then further, reaching Denison, Texas, in late December 1872. Having finished second in the railroads race, Congress allowed the Santa Fe and the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf (the Border Tier Railroad) the right to build west through Indian Territory.

---

[3] Harry Sinclair Drago, *Great American Cattle Trails: The Story of the Old Cow Paths of the East and the Longhorn Highways of the Plains* (New York City: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1965), 69-70.
[4] Drago, *Great American Cattle Trail*, 68.
[5] "Town and Country," *The Emporia News* (Emporia, KS), June 3, 1870, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016419/1870-06-03/ed-1/seq-3/.
[6] Drago, *Great American Cattle Trails*, 68.
[7] "The M., K. & T. Railroad," *The Emporia News* (Emporia, KS), June 17, 1870, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016419/1870-06-17/ed-1/seq-2/.

Tribal reaction was not unified. The Plains tribes in western Indian Territory continually attacked surveyors sent by the railroads companies. Cherokee tribal member, Andrew J. Langley stated in his WPA interview that, "fullbloods…[tribal people]…were not in favor of the railroads."[8] The Cherokee and Choctaw tribes tried to insure that tribal members be placed on the railroad company's board of directors so the tribal interests could be voiced. Some non-Natives, mostly reformers, believed that the railroads would signal an end to the Nations tribal power. However, Five Tribes leaders tried to maneuver what looked like an invasion into an advantage.[9] Because the railroads had to get permission from the tribal nations for more right-of-ways, the tribes denied those right-of-ways. Ultimately, the tribal nations lost their right to deny the railroads and by 1888, there were eight railroad lines through Indian Territory.[10]

Railroads were thought to bring modernization to the places it ran through, but not initially in Indian Territory with the Katy. The MK&T (Katy) used the old Texas Road as its path through the Territory. The last spike of the MK&T in Kansas, "was driven by Manager R. S. Stevens…and the first spike across the line in the Indian Territory was driven by Col. Boudinot, a Cherokee Indian. Trains are now running to the Cherokee Nation!"[11] exclaimed the *Emporia News* on June 17, 1870. The Atlantic and Pacific, who absorbed the Border Tier railroad (eventually incorporating the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway) entered Indian Territory from Arkansas and went westward to Vinita in 1871, but construction stopped as federal courts

[8] Interview of Andrew J. Langley, ID: 6300, by W.J.B. Bigby, June 17, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 3.
[9] Donovan L. Hofsommer, ed., *Railroads in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1977), 7.
[10] Hofsommer, ed., Railroads in Oklahoma, 17; "First Railroads," summary by Pete W. Cole, October 19, 1937, ID: 7863, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 4.
[11] "The M., K. & T. Railroad," Emporia News, (Emporia, KS), June 17, 1870. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers* Library of Congress https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016419/1870-06-17/ed-1/seq-2/.

decided about land grants for the railroads.[12] Service on the MK&T (Katy) began in 1872 when it crossed the Red River into Texas. The MK&T (Katy) was the first over the boundary line, but the Atlantic and Pacific was "comin' a mile a minute" trying to reach Big Cabin and cross the Katy line stopping the Katy in its tracks. [13].

The Native tribes tried for years to curtail the effects of the Reconstruction treaties. On December 5, 1873, a protest memorandum from the "confederated nations and tribes in council assembled at Okmulgee"[14] sent to the President put the tribes' feelings into words:

> Can a great enlightened and Christian nation afford to enact so great an injustice? We, your memorialists, in full view of these above-stated facts and the experience of all Indians who have lost their lands and their homes; of the pauperism, the degradation, and ruin to our people which must follow such a disaster, appeal to your sense of honor as our only defense, and only hope in this extremity, to appeal all clauses in the acts of Congress above referred to, or any other acts making grants of lands situated in the Indian Territory to aid in the construction of railroads…[15]

Native reactions to the cattlemen and railroads differed from tribe to tribe. Many Plains tribes west of the Fives Tribes area attacked railroad-surveying crews and sent tribal leaders to Washington, DC to give speeches against the railroads. The Nations pleas remained ignored. Meanwhile, the consistent lobbying by the railroad companies for right of way access continued. In a report filed by Mr. Deering from the Committee on Indian Affairs about granting right of way to the St. Louis and San Francisco railroad through Indian Territory clearly outlines the opinions of the committee as to who makes the decisions for granting railroad right of way. The committee believed that the United States government never relinquished title to lands in Indian

[12] Scott Baxter, "Resource Protection Planning Project Transportation in Oklahoma to 1920." History Survey, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, 1986, 14.
[13] Drago, *Great American Cattle Trails*, 69-70.
[14] US Congress, House of Representatives, Protest Against Railroad Land-Grants in Indian Territory, 43d Cong., 1st sess., Misc. Doc. No. 85 (January 22, 1874): 1-2.
[15] US Congress, House of Representatives, Protest Against Railroad Land-Grants in Indian Territory, 1-2.

Territory to any Indian tribe. The right of eminent domain lies with the United States government and that it is in the interest of the "nation at large that rights of way for lines of railroads and telegraph should be granted through Indian Territory."[16] C. J. Hillyer, a lawyer for the A&P railroad, printed in a pamphlet his feelings, which mirrored most people's feelings, about Indian control of land, "that for business purposes, the Indian Territory was, so long as it remained in control of the tribes, like a long tunnel. The need for commerce in the area and the obligation of the federal government to support national railroad growth should outweigh any treaty obligation, and the Indians, if they resisted settlement of the region by whites and the creation of industries to serve the railroad, should be exterminated."[17] The Cherokee Nation took the brunt of the first railroad invasion into the Territory. Their cries for help to keep settlers out of their lands went unheard. Instead of Congress stemming the tide, they set it aside in favor of opening more land. It took almost ten years after the MK&T pierced the boundary into Indian Territory for the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad (A&P) to extend their line westward from Vinita to Tulsa, then across the Arkansas River to Sapulpa. The A&P went no further because of fierce resistance from the western Indian tribes until 1898. Meanwhile, Congress granted two additional railroad lines access to Indian Territory in July 1884. By April 1887, the Arkansas City (Kansas) Weekly Republican-Traveler ran bold headlines, "United! Kansas and Texas. By the Strong Bands of Steel…Arkansas City and Galveston Shake Hands Across the Great Indian Territory."[18] By the late 1880s, eight railroads operated in Indian Territory.[19] With the railroads came workers and their families that made up a silent migration of people to Indian Territory. Settlement was

[16] US Congress, House of Representatives, Right of way to Saint Louis and San Francisco Railroad Through the Indian Territory, 47th Cong., 1st sess., Misc. Doc. No. 934 (April 6, 1882): 1-3.
[17] Hofsommer, ed., *Railroads in Oklahoma*, 9.
[18] Hofsommer, ed., *Railroads in Oklahoma*, 29.
[19] "First Railroads," summary by Pete W. Cole, October 19, 1937, ID: 7863, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 4.

encouraged throughout the west with no regard for tribal nations.[20] Railroad promoters encouraged people to settle near the track. The railroads advertised the West as two powerful dreams. The first dream described the West as a land of beginning again, where big dreams might turn into grand successes. The second dream envisioned the West as "a place to escape the past and embrace the future."[21]

Railroads created towns like Vinita, Ada, Ardmore and many more to manage their operations. This in turn attracted white settlers to the territory in unprecedented numbers including David L. Payne's Boomer Movement. Payne organized what he called Payne's Oklahoma Colony. The colony sold memberships with the promise they would find prime farms in Oklahoma, meaning the unassigned section in Indian Territory. Payne and his members made several invasions into Indian Territory, the first in 1880. Ed Sunday, a Cherokee tribal member, states in his WPA interview, "Payne was determined to settle here, though, and would not become discouraged over £allure. Again and again he attempted to plant a colony and was often arrested and put, in jail."[22] US troops evicted them from the area, escorting them back to Kansas. Ed Sunday continues, "scarcely had they pitched their tents in the Indian Territory, when the United States soldiers ordered them out."[23] Antonio Frascola, a US military man, describes in his WPA interview a time when they were sent to scout for Boomers, "we found a few and ordered them over the line, and if they didn't go, arrested them."[24] Payne and some of his followers returned, but this time Payne was arrested. At the trial, Payne received a fine of $1000. With no

[20] Arrell M. Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries*, (Norman: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1965), 284.
[21] Carlos A. Schwantes and James P. Ronda *The West the Railroads Made* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 196.
[22] Interview of Ed Sunday, ID: 6925, by Alena D. McDowall, July 26, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 17.
[23] Sunday, 17.
[24] Interview of Antonio Frascola, ID: 9394, by Nora Lorrin, December 16, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 4.

money or property, Payne went free. Payne and his followers continued the invasions, increasing the pressure on federal authorities to make a decision about the Unassigned Lands.[25]

Tribal governments could not stop this influx of people clamoring for tribal lands. Homer S. Chambers, Anglo-American pioneer, described in his WPA interview, "the strip country by this time was known to thousands and coveted by as many. This caused the border counties of southern Kansas to be settled quickly. Some, not content to await an opening of the "strip," moved in and established colonies."[26] The Boomers attempts at establishing settlements in the Cherokee Strip and the problems with the cattlemen's lease of the Strip, led to the eventual decision by the Cherokee Tribe to sell the Strip to the federal government for close to $8.6 million dollars.[27] The U.S. government finally bowed to the demands of the railroads, businessmen, and white settlers and to the control over tribal lands out of the hands of the tribal nations. This led to allotments for tribal members and land runs for settlement of the territory.

The proposition of connecting the United States from east to west and north to south by railroads, begun with the Pacific Railroad Act in 1862, was no longer a dream. By the turn of the century looking at a map of railroads "offered a reassuring message: The national project begun in 1803 to conquer the West and tame it now appeared complete."[28] Only Oklahoma Territory and Nevada had less tracks than did anywhere else in the United States. "The Indians…found their economic hold in the West gradually dwindle as Congress repeatedly granted permission to the railroads to build across Indian [lands] and then settle the land adjacent to the tracks."[29] The

[25] W. David Baird & Danney Goble, *The Story of Oklahoma*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 294-295.
[26] Interview of Homer S. Chambers, ID: 13165, by W. T. Holland, March 9, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 2.
[27] Savage, *The Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association*, 123.
[28] Schwantes and Ronda, *The West the Railroads Made*, 166.
[29] Sarah H. Gordon, *Passage to Union: How the Railroads Transformed American Life, 1829-1929* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, Inc., 1996), 157.

U.S. government devised a plan to divide Indian Territory into allotments for all members of the tribes within its borders. Allotment surveys for settlement were blocks of land one mile on a side that constituted the main land measurement or section. "Roads followed these section lines."[30] After allotments to members of each tribe, the remaining land became part of public domain under the Homestead Act, which allowed non-Natives to vie for this land. Land rushes opened undesignated land after the allotments. The most famous of which is the land run of 1889. In all, there were five major land runs across Indian Territory between 1889 and 1895, opening more and more tribal land to non-Native settlers. By 1907, when Oklahoma became the 46th state, the population was nearly 1,500,000. The ratio of non-Native to tribal people was at least seven to one.[31]

The intrusion of the railroads tore open Indian Territory to non-Native settlement and had a hand in the dissolution of tribal governments. The Native tribes had little to no say in the way the government handled the situation. This intrusion sent shock waves through the Native Nations and by 1930, there was 6,678 miles of railroad track laid across former Indian Territory, now the state of Oklahoma.[32] The Native tribes had lost huge chunks of their land and their tribal sovereignty to the non-Natives, but not their spirit.

[30] Scott Baxter, "Resource Protection Planning Project Transportation in Oklahoma to 1920," History Survey, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, 1986. 7.
[31] Arrell M. Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries* (Norman: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1965), 285.
[32] Charles Robert Goins and Danney Goble, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986, 2006), 118, 190.

Conclusion

The history of Oklahoma is a snapshot of U.S. development. As historian Angie Debo wrote, Oklahoma history "is the history of the United States in microcosm" and "all American traits have been intensified."[1] Historian David A. Chang describes "the history of Oklahoma is a history of movement, possession, and dispossession. It is American History told in fast-forward."[2] Indian Territory was land identified by the federal government as a place of forced relocation for Five Tribes people who had been forcibly removed from their homelands in the southeast. Transportation innovation included Indian Territory. Trails were blazed to facilitate trade and mobility. The military also used these trails. Cattlemen drove cattle across the territory along the main trail, then blazed new ones as the Kansas railheads moved west. Parts of the cattle trails are still in use today. Railroads finally ripped through the territory. The scars of these trails are still visible on parts of the Oklahoma landscape. Driving along Route 66 in the northeastern part of the state, the traveler experiences the old Texas Road. Interstate 35 cuts through the central part of the state following the most famous of the cattle trails, the Chisholm Trail. Traveling in western Oklahoma along US Highway 183, the driver experiences the Great Western Trail.

This movement of people brought attention to the lands of Indian Territory. Alice M. Turner, an early pioneer's second wife, describes what her husband found when walking around their home, "he suddenly beheld a beautiful water-fall. He gazed in admiration at this spot of

[1] Angie Debo, *Prairie City: The Story of an American Community* (New York: Knopf, 1944, reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), xii; Angie Debo, *Oklahoma: Foot-loose and Fancy-free* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949; reprint 1987), ix.
[2] David A. Chang, *The Color of the Land: Race, Nation, and the Politics of Landownership in Oklahoma, 1832-1929* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 2.

beauty…He told others and led them to see."[3] This waterfall was named after him, Turner Falls, and was located in the Chickasaw Nation in south central Indian Territory. Mazeppa Turner married a Chickasaw woman, thus garnering permission to settle in the Chickasaw Nation. As cattlemen drove their cattle across Indian Territory, some wrote in diaries and letters about the beauty and bounty of the land. It was these fantastic descriptions by drovers and the outrageous promotions by railroad executives that created an unparalleled lust for the Indian Territory lands. In a letter of protest from the commissioners of the Choctaw Nation dated February 17, 1894, they describe their experience with removal and their interaction with the boomers: "When the white man settled among our people, and upon our old territory east of the Mississippi River, we surrendered valuable territory in exchange for what, at that time, was almost a wilderness. No people ever gave greater consideration for a purchase than did these Indians for the soil which the covetous boomers now seeks to make his claim."[4] This unbridled yearning led to the dismantling of the Native tribe's homelands, their tribal sovereignty and their unique cultures. Newspaper accounts of the cattle drives provide a rich source of information about the struggle of the drovers, but also about the attitudes many people had toward the Native people they encountered along the way. Many drovers were afraid of the Natives they met in Indian Territory, but after multiple encounters, that fear abated. Newspapers also carried railroad advertisements, "GRAND RUSH FOR THE INDIAN TERRITORY!...The finest timber! The richest land! The finest watered! West of the Mississippi River…The Grand Expedition will

[3] Interview with Alice M. Turner, ID: 8138, Interviewed by John F. Daugherty, July 31, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 1-2; Joe Sanchez, "Turner Falls," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=TU019.
[4] Choctaw Manuscript, ID: 7888, December 7, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 1.

Leave Independence May 7, 1879."[5] This type of advertisement encouraged settlers to focus on the Native lands of Indian Territory.

Searching through the oral histories of early pioneers in the Indian Pioneer Papers at the University of Oklahoma's Western History Collections, there are many examples of the beauty and bounty of the lands of Indian Territory as well as a wealth of other information searchable by keywords. There are also published accounts of the drover's experiences while trailing cattle. This rich collection of first-hand accounts helps add texture to historical events to aid in understanding the history of the Indian Territory. Descriptions such as Phamie Elizabeth Sheldon's first encounter with the Indian Territory in 1889, "my first sight of Oklahoma was the beautiful flowers; the prairie was covered with them,"[6] underscores the beauty of the Indian Territory. H.T. Palmer describes what he saw in the Territory, "this whole country was a great prairie and they were continually driving and grazing cattle here,"[7] belying the importance of the cattle trails passing through. Edith Burrows Russell describes a hunting trip her father took in Indian Territory, "Father used to go down in Choctaw Country on hunting trips. We always had plenty of wild fowl, turkeys, geese and brants (wild ducks)."[8] G.R. Kerr remembers, "during the early days…I killed a good many wild turkeys and several deer…I also killed lots of quail and prairie chickens."[9] Baylis John Fletcher, a cattle drover that trailed a herd up the Chisholm Trail in 1879, describes Indian Territory as a "country…[that]…abounded in deer, antelopes, wild

[5] "Grand Rush for the Indian Territory," https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/call-for-the-grand-rush-for-the-indian-territory-call-for-news-photo/959172518.
[6] Interview with Phamie Elizabeth Sheldon, ID: 8216, by Mildred B. McFarland, August 13, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 2.
[7] Interview with H. T. Palmer, ID: 13041, by Nannie Lee Burns, February 24, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 3.
[8] Interview with Edith Burrows Russell, ID: 4069, by Harry M. Dreyer, May 17, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 5.
[9] Interview with G. R. Kerr, ID: 8898, by Ida A. Merwin, October 12, 1937. Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma, 4.

turkeys, and prairie chickens."[10] These descriptions add the human element to historical narratives. The story of Indian Territory is complicated. It is filled with the transportation innovation of cattle trails and railroads and roads that transport people, animals and goods. It is also the story of Five Tribes people and their forced relocation by the federal government from their homelands. It is also the story of many Plains Tribes people, subdued by war with the U.S. government, forced onto reservations in western Indian Territory. It is the story of Indian Territory transitioning from territory to the twin territories of Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory to statehood in 1907. This transition took less than a century.

[10] Baylis John Fletcher, *Up the Trail in '79*, edited by Wayne Gard (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 32.

Bibliography

Government Documents:

"Agreement with the Cherokee and Other Tribes in the Indian Territory, Sept 13, 1865, Ft. Smith, Arkansaw. House Ex. Doc. No. 1, 1st sess. 39th Cong., vol. 2, 1865-66, pp. 480 to 542." http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol2/treaties/che1050.htm.

An Act for the Protection of the People of Indian Territory (Curtis Act), Senate Document No. 33, 55th Congress, 3rd Session (1898); https://shareok.org/bitstream/handle/11244/41146/Senate-55-3-Document-33-Serial-3728.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

Act of May 20, 1862 (Homestead Act), Public Law 37-64, 05/20/1862; Record Group 11; General Records of the United States Government; National Archives.

An Act to Organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, 1854; Record Group 11; General Records of the United States Government; National Archives.

An Act to Provide for the Allotment of Lands in Severalty to Indians on the Various Reservations (General Allotment Act or Dawes Act), Statutes at Large 24, 388-91, NADP Document A1887.

Cherokee Nation. 1866 July 19. Supplemental Article to the Treaty of July 19, 1866, between the United States of America and the Cherokee Nation of Indians Concluded April 27, 1868, Ratification Advised June 6, 1868, Proclaimed June 10, 1868. Native American Legal Materials Collection; Title 4306. Washington: GPO, S.n., 1868.

Downing, Cherokee Nation, Creek Nation, Choctaw Nation, and Downing, Lewis. Memorial of the Delegates of the Cherokee, Creek, and Choctaw Nations of Indians, Remonstrating against the Passage of the Bill (S. 679) to Organize the Territory of Oklahoma, Consolidate the Indian Tribes under a Territorial Government, and Carry out the Provisions of the Treaties of 1866 with Certain Indian Tribes. Mis. Doc. (United States. Congress. Senate). Washington: GPO, 1870.

Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863; Presidential Proclamations, 1791-1991; Record Group 11; General Records of the United States Government; National Archives.

"Homestead Act." *Homestead Act of 1862* 1. *Military & Government Collection*, EBSCO*host* (accessed September 20, 2017).

The House Joint Resolution proposing the 13th amendment to the Constitution, January 31, 1865; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1999; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.

The House Joint Resolution proposing the 14th amendment to the Constitution, June 16, 1866; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1999; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.

HR 12707, An act to enable the people of Indian and Oklahoma territories to form a state constitution and state government (Enabling Act); RG 233, Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, https://www.archives.gov/legislative/features/oklahoma

Memorial of Cherokee Chiefs and Delegates, Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 109, 51st Congress, 1st Session (1890); https://shareok.org/bitstream/handle/11244/40952/Senate-51-1-Miscellaneous-109-Serial-2698.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Pacific Railway Act, July 1, 1862; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1996; Record Group 11; General Records of the United States Government; National Archives.

"Indian Territory That Garden of the World, Open for Homestead and Pre-Emption," Record Group 393; Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1817-1947; National Archives; https://catalog.archives.gov/id/4662607.

"Treaty with the Cheyenne and Arapaho, 1867" (Medicine Lodge Treaty). 15 Stats. 593, October 28, 1867. Ratified July 25, 1868; proclaimed August 19, 1868. In Charles J. Kappler, compiler and editor, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties — Vol. II: Treaties,* pp. 984–989. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904. Through Oklahoma State University Library, Electronic Publishing Center

"Treaty with the Kiowa and Comanche, 1867" (Medicine Lodge Treaty). 15 Stats. 581, October 21, 1867. Ratified July 25, 1868; proclaimed August 25, 1868. In Charles J. Kappler, compiler and editor, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties — Vol. II: Treaties,* pp. 977–982. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904. Through Oklahoma State University Library, Electronic Publishing Center.

"Treaty with the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache, 1867" (Medicine Lodge Treaty). 15 Stats. 589, October 21, 1867. Ratified July 25, 1868; proclaimed August 25, 1868. In Charles J. Kappler, compiler and editor, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties — Vol. II: Treaties,* pp. 982–984. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904. Through Oklahoma State University Library, Electronic Publishing Center.

United States. Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes. *Laws, Decisions and Regulations Affecting the work of the Commissioners to Five Civilized Tribes*, 1893-1906. Washington: GPO, 1906.

US Congress, House of Representatives, Protest Against Railroad Land-Grants in Indian Territory, 43d Cong., 1st sess., Misc. Doc. No. 85 (January 22, 1874)

US Congress, House of Representatives, Right of way to Saint Louis and San Francisco Railroad Through the Indian Territory, 47th Cong., 1st sess., Misc. Doc. No. 934 (April 6, 1882)

Oral History Interviews:

"Bread Money" summary by Elizabeth Ross August 4, 1937, ID: 7028, Indian Pioneer Papers, Western History Collections (hereafter cited as WHC), University of Oklahoma.

"Choctaw Manuscript" document held by Stanley A. Clark December 7, 1937, ID: 7888, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

"Houses of Early Indian Territory Days," summary by Ella Robinson December 15, 1937, ID: 12400, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

"Keetoowahs Work" summary by James R. Carselowey December 14, 1937, ID: 12388, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Archer, Ernest, ID: 5739, Interviewed by Mary D. Dorward, May 7, 1937 and May 10, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Bouse, Joseph W., ID: 5228, Interviewed by Arnold N. Aronson, n. d., Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Burnett, Caleb, ID: 1354, Interviewed by Warren D. Morse, April 23, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Cade, Cash M., ID: 4392, Interviewed by Amelia F. Harris, June 14, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Call, Mrs. Pearl, ID: 12445, Interviewed by L. W. Wilson, December 20, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Callerman, Mrs. C. W., ID: 1080, Interviewed by A. M. Aronson, February 18, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Campbell, Miles, ID: 4347, Interviewed by Carl R. Sherwood, January 21, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Campbell, Mrs. C. B., ID: 4456, Interviewed by Thad Smith, Jr., June 17, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Carroll, R.C., ID: 8450, Interviewed by Ethel B. Tackitt, August 31, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Chambers, Homer S., ID: 6893, Interviewed by William T. Holland, January 19, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Chambers, Homer S., ID: 13165, Interviewed by W. T. Holland, March 9, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Chisum, John C., ID: 10290, Interviewed by Zaidee B. Bland, March 18, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Cloud, Charles T., ID: 9640, Interviewed by Jasper H. Mead, January 13, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Cobb, S.S., ID: 12833, Interviewed by L. W. Wilson, January 27, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Coffelt, Samuel, ID: 7189, Interviewed by John C. Kerr, June 27, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Couch, Albert Columbus, ID: 8848, Interviewed by Mildred B. McFarland, October 12, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Couch, Eugene, ID: 1248, Interviewed by Harry M. Dreyer, April 29, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Culberson, James, ID: 7337, Interviewed by Lula Austin, August 27, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Culbertson, Sr., Mrs. C.E., ID: 6044, Interviewed by Charline M. Culbertson, May 25, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Dancey, Ben Butler, ID: 1034, Interviewed by Arnold N. Arnson, n. d., Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with DeBusk, William Howard, ID: 8453, Interviewed by Ruby Wolfenbarger, September 1, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Dobbs, J. C., ID: 6870, Interviewed by James R. Carselowey, July 23, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Dodge, Eachel, ID: 5765, Interviewed by Grace Kelley, May 14, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Doublehear, Bird, ID: 7567, Interviewed by L.W. Wilson, n. d., Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Duncan, Charlie, ID: 4769, Interviewed by Ruby Wolfenbarger, July 19, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Earles, William Perry, ID: 10654, Interviewed by Ethel V. Elder, May 26, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Eddleman, Mary, ID: 7888, Interviewed by Ella Robinson, October 16, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, Univeristy of Oklahoma.

Interview with Epps, Charles, ID: 4187, Interviewed by Warren D. Morse, May 26, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Evans, Will, ID: 6421, Interviewed by Ella Robinson, n. d., Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Fay, W. J., ID: 9112, Interviewed by Ophelia D. Vestal, October 28, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Ferguson, Laura, ID: 10501, Interviewed by Lillian Gassaway, April 23, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Fields, J.R., ID: 4500, Interviewed by L. W. Wilson, n. d., Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Folsom, Albert F., ID: 9169, Interviewed by Nora Lorrin, November 16, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, Univerity of Oklahoma.

Interview of Frascola, Antonio, ID: 9394, Interviewed by Nora Lorrin, December 16, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Garland, Josiah, ID: 1283, Interviewed by L. W. Wilson, January 24, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Gray, Tom, ID: 8603, Interviewed by Robert H. Boatman, September 23, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Griffin, Looney Hicks, ID: 6315, Interviewed by James S. Buchanan, June 17, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Gross, Samuel M., ID: 9795, Interviewed by Jasper H. Mead, January 27, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Guernsey, Charles E., ID: 10523, Interviewed by Amelia F. Harris, April 20, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Hammond, Dena Payne, ID: 4741, Interviewed by Elizabeth L. Duncan, June 15, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Hansen, Caroline, ID: 10117, Interviewed by Bessie L. Thomas, February 25, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Harris, C.B., ID: 5117, Interviewed by L.W. Wilson, n.d., Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Harris, Robert, ID: 9088, Interviewed by Augusta H. Custer, October 27, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Harriss, Mattie Lou Ray, ID: 9377, Interviewed by Amelia F. Harris, December 3, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Hart, Bill, ID: 6321, Interviewed by Jerome M. Emmons, June 6, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Hastings, Mike, ID: 2061, Interviewed by Jasper H. Mead, December 22, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Hatchel, Jr., James, ID: 9743, Interviewed by Mildred B. McFarland, January 17, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Henry, Arminita Exon, ID: 2231, Interviewed by Grace Kelley, February 24, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Hicks, James A., ID: 1385, Interviewed by Robert W. Small, November 10, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Higgins, Francis Marion, ID: 4032, Interviewed by Ethel B. Tackett, May 12, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Hill, Davis, ID: 7843, Interviewed by James R. Carselowry, Novermber 15, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Hill, John, ID: 6887, Interviewed by Goldie Turner, July 22, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Hodge, Minnie Wimberley, ID: 13131, Interviewed by Mary D. Dorward, March 4, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Holt, Alex, ID: 1101, Interviewed by Warren D. Morse, March 10, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Hurst, Alpha, ID: 308, Interviewed by Nora Lorrin, January 26, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Inklebarger, Henderson C., ID: 1339, Interviewed by Ethel B. Tackitt, April 27, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Jackson, William C., ID: 12515, Interviewed by James S. Buchanan, December 28, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Jenkins, William M. (Governor), ID: 6502, Interviewed by Dawes M. Fife, June 26, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Jones, Jake, ID: 9130, Interviewed by Thad Smith, Jr., November 3, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Jones, Night, ID: 8649, Interviewd by Robert H. Boatman, September 27, 1937, Indian Pionee Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Kelley, Lula Poole, IS: 8246, Interviewed by James R. Carselowey, April 6, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Kerr, G. R., ID:8898, Interviewed by Ida A. Merwin, October 12, 1937. Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Koch, Delbert, ID: 9016, Interviewed by Ida A. Merwin, October 23, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Krebs, Robert C., ID: 650, Interviewed by H. L. Rumage, March 1, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview of Langley, Andrew J. ID: 6300, Interviewed by W.J.B. Bigby, June 17, 1937, , Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Lewis, David B., ID: 7177, Interviewed by Billie Byrd, August 12, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Lowdermilk, Graham, ID: 1079, Interviewed by W. T. Hollan, November 19, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Mackel, T. J., ID: 7187, Interviewed by Alene D. McDowell, August 10, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Magee, Ellen Shanon, ID: 5123, Interviewed by L. W. Wilson, January 18, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Marshall, Guy, ID: 9088, Interviewed by Augusta H. Custer, October 27, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Mason, Ted, ID: 1383, Interviewed by Jasper H. Mead, March 11, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Masoner, G. H., ID: 1431, Interviewed by Jasper H. Mead, September 13, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, Univeristy of Oklahoma.

Interview with Mawlow, J.O., ID: 5225, Interviewed by H. L. Rumage, April 12, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with McCanless, J. B., ID: 1169, Interviewed by Jasper H. Mead, January 10, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with McCasland, J. C., ID: 1037, Interviewed by Warren D. Morse, n. d., Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with McCracken, Cook, ID: 5131, Interviewed by L. W. Wilson, n. d., Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with McCurry, ID: 4518, Interviewed by Ida A. Merwin, June 22, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with McGuire, Evelyn, ID: 2199, Interviewed by Alene D. McDowell, April 7, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WGC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with McIntosh, George, ID: 1175, Interviewed by L. W. Wilson, n. d., Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with McMakin, John, ID: 5123, Interviewed by L. W. Wilson, n. d., Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Miller, Mrs. Minnie L., ID: 13626, Interviewed by L. W. Wilson, April 11, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Moodt, R. E., ID: 1706, Interviewed by Robert H. Boatman, January 10, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Mooney, Dan, ID: 9559, Interviewed by Robert W. Small, December 24, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Moore, Rosa Ward Hornberger, ID: 8669, Interviewed by Nora Lorrin, September 22, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Morrison, W. B., ID: 7334, Interviewed by Lula Austin, August 13, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Mulkey, W. R., ID: 1714, Interviewed by L. W. Wilson, n. d., Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Musgrove, Clyde, ID: 4153, Interviewed by Anna R. Barry, May 20, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Myers, Frank A., ID: 10262, Interviewed by Anna R. Barry, March 16, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Nance, John, ID: 13627, Interviewed by L. W. Wilson, April 13, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Nelson, James L., ID: 1797, Interviewed by Merrill A. Nelson, May 17, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Nickolson, W. J., ID: 12886, Interviewed by Effie S. Jackson, January 26, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Osborn, Charley, ID: 9293, Interviewed by Maurice R. Anderson, November 16, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Owsley, Robert F., ID: 12828, Interviewed by Charles H. Holt, January 25, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Palmer, H. T., ID: 13041, Interviewed by Nannie Lee Burns, February 24, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Patilla, W. A., ID: 13242, Interviewed by L. W. Wilson, March 14, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Pennington, Josephine, ID: 7783, Interviewed by L. W. Wilson, October 12, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Penrod, Sarah A., ID: 8718, Interviewed by Anna Berry, September 21, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Rich, Houston L., ID: 1372, Interviewed by L. W. Wilson, March 20, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Ringer, Maggie, ID: 1366, Interviewed by Ruth Kerbo, April 20, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Russell, Edith Burrows, ID: 4069, Interviewed by Harry M. Dreyer, May 17, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Savage, M. F., ID: 10225, Interviewed by Raymond Jantz, March 18, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Seabolt, Alfred, ID: 12846 Interviewed by Gomer Gower, February 1, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, Western History Collections, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Sears, Laura Tyner, ID: 13639, Interviewed by Jarvis Tyner, April 18, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Shamley, John C., ID: 82, Interviewed by Bessie L. Thomas, February 9, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Shanahan, Ed, ID: 2184, Interviewed by James R. Carselowry, March 29, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Sheldon, Phamie Elizabeth, ID: 8216, Interviewed by Mildred B. McFarland, August 13, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Simmons, Jake, ID: 5142, Interviewed by L. W. Wilson, n. d., Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Smith, Dan, ID: 13115, Interviewed by L. W. Wilson, February 14, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Smith, Isadore Labadie, ID: 12235, Interviewed by Nannie Lee Burns, November 24, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Smith, Maud E. (Rice), ID: 4712, Interviewed by Nora Lorrin, June 29, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Spencer, James T., ID: 5144, Interviewed by L. W. Wilson, n. d., Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Stark, John F., ID: 5618, Interviewed by Leone Bryan, April 27, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Stewart, David L., ID: 13407, Interviewed by Alene D. McDowell, March 15, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Sukes, Alex, ID: 3241, Interviewed by L. W. Wilson, n. d., Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Sunday, Ed, ID: 6925, Interviewed by Alene D. McDowall, July 26, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Swimm, Bill, ID: 5245, Interviewed by L. W. Wilson, April 13, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Taylor, Burl, ID: 3301, Interviewed by H. L. Rumage, March 16, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Thompson, Austin, ID: 12517, Interviewed by Pete W. Cole, December 29, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Thompson, Austin, ID: 12754, Interviewed by Pete W. Cole, January 22, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Tiger, Lena Benson, ID: 13336, Interviewed by Mary D. Dorward, March 15 & 16, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Turner, Alice M., ID: 8138, Interviewed by John F. Daugherty, July 31, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, Univerisyt of Oklahoma.

Interview with Turner, Daisy Willis, ID: 9696, Interviewed by Robert H. Boatman, January 12, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Vann, E.F., ID: 13177, Interviewed by L. W. Wilson, March 10, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Wackmiller, C. P., ID: 4865, Interviewed by Louise S. Barnes, July 13, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Ward, Leroy, ID: 7781, Interviewed by Grace Kelly, October 9, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Warrick, Robert Fielder, ID: 9419, Interviewed by Mildred B. McFarland, December 9, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Watrous, Eugene, ID: 5596, Interviewed by Merrill A. Nelson, September 21, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Webber, James C., ID: 5667, Interviewed by Lawrence D. Hibbs, February 17, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with White, John W., ID: 8485, Interviewed by Linneaus B. Ranck, September 3, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Wilkerson, Richard, ID: 5821, Interviewed by Angie Debo, February 11, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Williams, Jim, ID: 8482, Interviewed by Ruth E. Moon, August 20, 1937, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Wilson, T. P., ID: 5890, Interviewed by L.W. Wilson, n. d., Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Interview with Wood, Mary Frances, ID: 13481, Interviewed by L. W. Wilson, March 23, 1938, Indian Pioneer Papers, WHC, University of Oklahoma.

Published Primary Sources:

"Address of the Cherokees to the People of the United States." *The Religious Intelligencer ...Containing the Principal Transactions of the various Bible and Missionary Societies, with Particular Accounts of Revivals of Religion (1816-1837),* 15, no. 13 (August 28, 1830): 202, http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/137566318?accountid=14516.

Bailey, Jack. *A Texas Cowboy's Journal up the Trail to Kansas in 1868.* Ed. by David Dary. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006.

Bron-Ko. "Cowboy Life: Part III—The Trail." *Outing, an Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation (1885-1906)* 19, no. 5 February 1892, 357-364. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/137483353?accountid=14516.

"The Chisholm Cattle Trail." *The American Farmer; Devoted to Agriculture, Horticulture etc.(1881-1897)* 73, no. 14 (July 15, 1892): 15. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/90184439?accountid=14516.

Dodge, J. R. "Our Country and its Resources." *The Phrenological Journal and Science of Health (1870-1911)* 60, no. 5 (May 1875): 300. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/137927284?accountid=14516.

Fletcher, Baylis John. *Up the Trail in '79*. Edited by Wayne Gard. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967.

Halsell, H. H. *Cowboys and Cattleland: Memories of a Frontier Cowboy*. Ft. Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1937.

Love, Nat. *The Life and Adventures of Nat Love.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.

"Railroads in the Indian Territory." *Friends' Review; a Religious, Literary and Miscellaneous Journal (1847-1894)* 29, no. 32 (March 25, 1876): 508. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/91119135?accountid=14516.

"Removal of the Cherokees: From the Cherokee Phoenix, AUG. 24." *Niles' Weekly Register (1814-1837),* 45, (September 21, 1833): 60,

http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/136307987?accountid=14516.

"Removal of Indians West of the Mississippi." *Religious Monitor and Evangelical Repository (1824-1842)* 5, no. 12 (May, 1829): 564. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/137573404?accountid=14516.

"Removal of Indians West of the Mississippi: Extract from the Report Made February 18th, by Mr. McLean, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to whom had been referred the Plan of Removing the Indians Westward of the Mississippi." *Religious Monitor and Evangelical Repository (1824-1842),* 05, no. 12, (May 1829): 564. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/137573404?accountid=14516.

"Shall the Red-Men be Exterminated?" *Putnam's Magazine. Original Papers on Literature, Science, Art and National Interests (1868-1870)* Vol. IV, no. XXI, (September 1869): 367. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/127794539?accountid=14516.

Newspapers:

Abilene Reflector. (Abilene, KS), July 16, 1885. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84029385/1885-07-16/ed-1/seq-3/.

Abilene Reflector. (Abilene, KS), July 30, 1885. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers.* Library of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84029385/1885-07-30/ed-1/seq-3/.

Bedford Gazette. (Bedford, PA), September 1, 1854. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82005159/1854-09-01/ed-1/seq-1/.

Byhan, Gottlieb, D. S. Butrick, Wm Chamberlin, Evan Jones, and et al. "The Cherokees." *Western Recorder (1824-1833),* February 08, 1831. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/126860465?accountid=14516.

Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922), January 5, 1881. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/172331876?accountid=14516.

Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922), November 26, 1872. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/171373527?accountid=14516.

Chicago Tribune (1860-1872), May 26, 1870. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/180324663?accountid=14516.

Chicago Tribune. (Chicago, IL), October 27, 1870. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014064/1870-10-27/ed-1/seq-2/.

Chicago Tribune. (Chicago, IL), July 5, 1871. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014064/1871-07-05/ed-1/seq-3/.

Chicago Tribune. (Chicago, IL), March 7, 1872. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014064/1872-03-07/ed-1/seq-4/.

Cheyenne Transporter. (Darlington, Indian Territory [Okla.]), April 10, 1882. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025001/1882-04-10/ed-1/seq-6/.

The Daily Chieftain, (Vinita, Indian Territory [Okla.]), January 10, 1899. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn93050700/1899-01-10/ed-1/seq-1/.

Daily State Journal. (Alexandria, VA.), May 19, 1871. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers.* Library of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024670/1871-05-19/ed-1/seq-1/.

Dallas Daily Herald. (Dallas, TX), July 14, 1885. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025733/1885-07-14/ed-1/seq-1/.

Delaware State Journal. (Wilmington, DE), July 26, 1873. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026836/1873-07-26/ed-1/seq-1/.

Dodge City Times. (Dodge City, KS), July 16, 1885. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84029838/1885-07-16/ed-1/seq-2/.

Emporia News. (Emporia, KS), April 5, 1867. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers.* Library of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016419/1867-04-05/ed-1/seq-2/.

Emporia News. (Emporia, KS), May 3, 1867. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers.* Libibrary of Congress. *https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016419/1867-05-03/ed-1/seq-1/.*

Emporia News. (Emporia, KS), June 3, 1870. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016419/1870-06-03/ed-1/seq-3/>

Emporia News. (Emporia, KS.), June 17, 1870. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016419/1870-06-17/ed-1/seq-2/>

Emporia News. (Emporia, KS), September 30, 1870. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016419/1870-09-30/ed-1/seq-2/.

Emporia News. (Emporia, KS), March 25, 1881. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016419/1881-03-25/ed-1/seq-1/.

Emporia Weekly News. (Emporia, KS), November 10, 1881. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85030221/1881-11-10/ed-1/seq-2/.

Fort Worth Daily Gazette. (Fort Worth, TX), February 15, 1884. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86064205/1884-02-15/ed-1/seq-3/.

Independent. (Oskaloosa, KS), May 23, 1863. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85029094/1863-05-23/ed-1/seq-1/.

Isley, Bliss. "The Chisholm Trail." *Wall Street Journal (1923 - Current File),* May 17, 1944. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/131527895?accountid=14516.

Kauffmann, Bruce. "'Manifest Destiny' used to Justify America's Expansion; Politicians Hoped to Appropriate all of North America." *Telegraph - Herald,* [Dubuque, Iowa], December 25, 2005. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/368553677?accountid=14516.

Leavenworth Weekly Times. (Leavenworth, KS), May 15, 1873. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84027691/1873-05-15/ed-1/seq-1/.

Leavenworth Weekly Times, (Leavenworth, KS), October 18, 1877. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84027691/1877-10-18/ed-1/seq-1/.

Morning Journal and Courier. (New Haven [CT]), March 28, 1882, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015483/1882-03-28/ed-1/seq-1/.

National Era. (Washington [D.C.]), April 3, 1856. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026752/1856-04-03/ed-1/seq-4/.

Nebraska Advertiser. (Brownville, Nemaha County, N.T. [NE]), July 5, 1856. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers.* Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84020109/1856-07-05/ed-1/seq-2/.

Nebraska Advertiser. (Brownville, Nemaha County, N.T. [NE]), September 28, 1865. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84020109/1865-09-28/ed-1/seq-2/.

New York Herald (1840-1865), August 27, 1853. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/505230546?accountid=14516.

New York Times (1857-1922), May 29, 1870. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/93065917?accountid=14516.

New York Times (1857-1922), April 14, 1876. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/93547053?accountid=14516.

New York Times (1857-1922), June 17, 1878. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/93771986?accountid=14516.

New York Times (1857-1922), March 20, 1880. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/93812189?accountid=14516.

New York Times (1857-1922), October 22, 1881. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/93974929?accountid=14516.

New York Times (1857-1922), July 22, 1887. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/94547658?accountid=14516.

New York Times (1857-1922), October 27, 1889. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/94752700?accountid=14516.

New York Times (1857-1922), April 24, 1897. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/95488543?accountid=14516.

New York Times (1857-1922), December 05, 1897. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/95519641?accountid=14516.

New York Times (1857-1922), February 1, 1902. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/96231529?accountid=14516.

Palestine Daily Herald. (Palestine, TX), November 16, 1907. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86090383/1907-11-16/ed-1/seq-1/.

Phoenix Gazette. (Alexandria [D.C.]), March 15, 1832. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85025006/1832-03-15/ed-1/seq-2/.

Raftsman's Journal. (Clearfield, PA), May 21, 1862. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85054616/1862-05-21/ed-1/seq-2/.

Richmond Enquirer. (Richmond, VA.), October 8, 1833. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024735/1833-10-08/ed-1/seq-1/.

Richmond Enquirer. (Richmond, VA.), October 22, 1833. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024735/1833-10-22/ed-1/seq-1/.

Richmond Enquirer. (Richmond, VA.), October 25, 1833. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024735/1833-10-25/ed-1/seq-2/.

Richmond Enquirer. (Richmond, VA.), October 29, 1833. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024735/1833-10-29/ed-1/seq-2/.

Southern Planter. (Woodville, MS.), July 07, 1832. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87065672/1832-07-07/ed-1/seq-3/.

Tucumcari News and Tucumcari Times. (Tucumcari, NM), November 16, 1907. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers.* Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn93061711/1907-11-16/ed-1/seq-10/.

Vinita Daily Chieftain. (Vinita, Indian Territory [OK]), November 16, 1907. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025020/1907-11-16/ed-1/seq-1/.

Washington Post (1877-1922), Mar 26, 1893. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/139039231?accountid=14516.

Washington Post (1877-1922), December 23, 1896. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/139774225?accountid=14516.

Watertown Republican. (Watertown, WI), September 17, 1873. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85033295/1873-09-17/ed-1/seq-2/.

Wichita City Eagle. (Wichita, KS), October 24, 1872. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85032573/1872-10-24/ed-1/seq-1/.

Wichita City Eagle. (Wichita, KS), December 12, 1872. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85032573/1872-12-12/ed-1/seq-1/.

Yorkville Enquirer. (Yorkville, SC), April 10, 1889. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026925/1889-04-10/ed-1/seq-4/.

Secondary Sources:

Abel, Annie Heloise. *The American Indian and the End of the Confederacy, 1863-1866.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1925, 1993.

_____. *The American Indian under Reconstruction.* 1925. Reprint, New YorkCity: NY Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1970.

Atack, Jeremy, Fred Bateman, Michael Haines, and Robert A. Margo. "Did Railroads Induce or Follow Economic Growth?" *Social Science History* 34, no. 2 (Summer, 2010): 171-97, http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/1991101462?accountid=14516.

Atherton, Lewis. *The Cattle Kings*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961.

Bailey, M. Thomas. *Reconstruction in Indian Territory: A Story of Avarice, Discrimination, and Opportunism.* Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, Inc., 1972.

Bain, David Howard. *The Old Iron Road: An Epic of Rails, Roads, and the Urge to Go West*. New York: Penguin Group, 2004.

Baird, W. David and Danney Goble. *Oklahoma: A History.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.

Barrows, William. "The Cherokee Experiment." *The Andover Review; a Religious and Theological Monthly (1884-1893),* 02, 1887, 169,

http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/124358845?accountid=14516.

Bean, Christopher B. "Who Defines a Nation?: Reconstruction in Indian Territory." In *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Indian Territory*, ed. by Bradley R. Clampitt. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015.

Bedwell, Harry. *The Boomer: A Story of the Rails*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1936, 1942.

Beebe, Lucius and Charles Clegg. *The Age of Steam: A Classic Album of American Railroading*. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., n. d.

Benson, Ted. "Going for the Whole Railroad, Not just Hardware." *Trains*, 67 no. 11, November 2004. 56-57, http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/206627464?accountid=14516.

Bixler, Mark and Cheryl Crabb. "A Legacy of Shame: The Demise of the Cherokee Nation; Remembering the Trail of Tears". *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution.* May 7, 1998, Thursday, https://advance-lexis-com.vortex3.uco.edu/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:3SN4-CMR0-0026-G2S1-00000-00&context=1516831.

Bloom, Khaled J. "An American Tragedy of the Commons: Land and Labor in the Cherokee Nation, 1870-1900." *Agricultural History*, 76, no. 3 (Summer 2002): 497-523.

Bratt, John. *Trails of Yesterday*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1921.

Bric, Maurice J. "Mathew Carey, Ireland, and the "Empire for Liberty" in America." *Early American Studies* 11, no. 3 (Fall 2013). Accessed November 2, 2020. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23547678

Bryant, Keith L. "The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway and the Development of the Taos and Santa Fe Art Colonies." *The Western Historical Quarterly* 9, no. 4 (October 1978): 437-53.

_____. *History of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974.

Burt, Jesse and Robert B. Ferguson. "The Removal," *Indians of the Southeast: Then and Now*. Nashville and New York: Abingdon Press, 1973.

Burton, Jeffery. *Indian Territory and the United States, 1866-1906: Courts, Government, and the Movement for Oklahoma Staatehood.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.

Calloway, Colin G. *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History*. Boston: MA Bedford/St. Martin's, 2008.

Cammalleri, Joseph A. *Santa Fe's Eastern Oklahoma Railway Company Book One: The Stillwater District.* Santa Fe: Paper Tiger, 2001.

Chang, David A. *The Color of the Land: Race, Nation, and the Politics of Landownership in Oklahoma, 1832-1929.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Cheek, Gary C., Jr. "The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents." *American Indian Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (Winter, 2005): 313-314. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/216855343?accountid=14516.

Chiodo, John J. "Teaching about Manifest Destiny: Clarifying the Concept: A Journal for Readers, Students and Teachers of History." *The Social Studies* 91, no. 5 (September 2000): 203-206. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/274772177?accountid=14516.

Clampitt, Bradley R., ed. *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Indian Territory.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015.

Collins, Hubert E. *Warpath and Cattle Trail.* Niwot, CO: University of Colorado Press, 1998.

Cook, Kevin L. "Oklahoma Land Lottery: The Last Great Opening." *Wild West* 20, no. 3 (10, 2007): 38-43. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/201460529?accountid=14516.

Covington, James W. *The Seminoles of Florida,* Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 1993.

Dale, Edward Everett, ed. *Frontier Trails: The Autobiography of Frank M. Canton.* Norman : University of Oklahoma Press, 1972.

Debo, Angie. *A History of the Indians of the United States*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970.

_____. *Oklahoma: Foot-loose and Fancy-free*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949, 1987.

_____. *Prairie City: The Story of an American Community*. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1944.

Dary, David. *Stories of Old-Time Oklahoma*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011.

Davis, Ethan. "An Administrative Trailof Tears: Indian Removal," *American Journal of Legal History* 50, no. 1 (January 2008-2010): 49-100.

Denson, Andrew. *Demanding the Cherokee Nation: Indian Autonomy and American Culture, 1830-1900 (Indians of the Southeast).* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.

Drago, Harry Sinclair. *Great American Cattle Trails: The Story of the Old Cow Paths of the East and the Longhorn Highways of the Plains.* New York: Bramhall House, 1965.

_____. *Wild, Woolly & Wicked: The History of the Kansas Cow Towns and the Texas Cattle Trade*. New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1960.

Drew, Bettina. "The Great Amnesia." *Southwest Review* 99, no. 4 (Fall 2014): 556. *Gale Literature Resource Center* (accessed March 13, 2020). https://link-gale-com.vortex3.uco.edu/apps/doc/A392572557/LitRC?u=edmo56673&sid=LitRC&xid=215e5e8f.

Dykstra, Robert R. *The Cattle Towns*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968.

Ehle, John. *Trail of Tears: The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation*, New York: Anchor Books, 1988.

Ellis, Clyde. "American Indians and Education," *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, http://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=AM012 (accessed August 26, 2018).

Ellisor, John T. *The Second Creek War: Interethnic Conflict and Collusion on a Collapsing Frontier*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010.

Faiman-Silva, Sandra. *Choctaws at the Crossroads*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.

Flaherty, Daniel. "The Chickasaw View of the Railroad: Accommodation, Resistance, and the Demise of Sovereignty." *The Journal of Chickasaw History and Culture* 11, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 8-31.

Flanagan, Sue. *Trailing the Longhorns: A Century Later*. Austin: Madrona Press, Inc., 1974.

Foreman, Grant. "The California Overland Mail Route Through Oklahoma." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 9, no. 3 (September 1931): 300-317.

Foreman, Grant, ed. "Survey of a Wagon Road from Fort Smith to the Colorado River." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 12, no. 1 (March 1934): 74-96.

Fraker, Elmer L. "The Chisholm Trail: A Sketch," *Oklahoma Historical Society* (1967), Oklahoma History Center Vertical Files, (accessed November 24, 2018).

Frank, Andrew K. “Indian Removal" *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=IN015.

Frantz, Joe B. “Chisholm: The Long Trail to Glory,” Tri-State Chisholm Trail Centennial Committee, 1967, Oklahoma History Center Vertical Files, (accessed November 20, 2018).

Galenson, David. "The End of the Chisholm Trail." *The Journal of Economic History* 34, no. 2 (June 1974): 350-64. http://www.jstor.org.vortex3.uco.edu/stable/2116986.

Gard, Wayne. "Retracing the Chisholm Trail." *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (July 1956): 53-68. http://www.jstor.org.vortex3.uco.edu/stable/30235278.

_____. *The Chisholm Trail.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954.

_____. “The Shawnee Trail.” *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (January 1953): 359-377.

Gard, Wayne, Dean Krakel, Joe B. Frantz, Dorman Winfrey, H. Gordon Frost, and Donald Bubar. *Along the Early Trails of the Southwest*. Austin: Jenkins Publishing Company, 1969.

Gardner, Ruth. *Missouri-Kansas-Texas Lines: Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad CompanyPostcard Views and Passenger Time Tables*. Railroad Timetable & Postcard Pictorial Books, 1990.

Gibson, A. M. *Oklahoma: A Student’s Guide to Localized History.* Edited by Clifford L. Lord, New York: Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1965.

Gibson, Arrell M. *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries,* Norman, OK: Harlow Publishing Corp, 1965.

Gibson, Arrell Morgan, ed. *America's Exiles: Indian Colonization in Oklahoma.* Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1976.

Gittinger, Roy. "The Separation of Nebraska and Kansas from the Indian Territory." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 1, no. 1 (January 1921): 9-29.

_____. *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma, 1803-1906.* 1917. New ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939.

Glasrud, Bruce A. and Michael N. Searles, ed. *Black Cowboys in the American West: On the Range, on the Stage, Behind the Badge.* Norman : University of Oklahoma Press, 2016.

Goins, Charles Robert and Danney Goble. *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006.

Gordon, Sarah H. *Passage to Union: How the Railroads Transformed American Life, 1829-1929*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, Inc., 1996.

Gracy II, David B. "A Cowman's-Eye View of the Information Ecology of the Texas Cattle Industry from the Civil War to World War I." *Information & Culture: A Journal of History* 51, no. 2 (Spring 2016): 164-191.

Grant, H. Roger. "Prairie Innovator: The Chicago Great Western Railway." *Railroad History*, 149 (Autumn 1983): 70-82. http://www.jstor.org.vortex3.uco.edu/stable/43520974.

_____. "Three Components of the Chicago & North Western: The Omaha Road, the Louie, and the Great Weedy." *Railroad History*, 154 (Spring 1986): 16-39. http://www.jstor.org.vortex3.uco.edu/stable/43523786.

_____. *Railroads and the American People*. Railroads Past and Present. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012.

_____. *Railroads in the Heartland : Steam and Traction in the Golden Age of Postcards*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1997.

Gray, Walter P., III. "The True Believers: The Last Edwardian Gentleman." *Trains*, 60, no. 1, (January 2000): 80-81, http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/206637747?accountid=14516.

Grinde, Donald A. and Quintard Taylor. "Red vs Black: Conflict and Accommodation in the Post Civil War Indian Territory, 1865-1907." *American Indian Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (Summer 1984): 211-29.

Gwynne, S. C. *Empire of the Summer Moon: Quanah Parker and the Rise and Fall of the Comanches, the Most Powerful Indian Tribe in American History*. New York: Scribner, 2010.

Hämäläinen, Pekka. *The Comanche Empire*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

Harvey, Charles M. "Epic of the West's Expansion." *The North American Review (1821-1940)*, 186, no. 618, July 05, 1907: 518, http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/137060181?accountid=14516.

Hickey, Georgina. "Home on the Rails: Women, the Railroad, and the Rise of Public Domesticity." *The Journal of Transport History* 27, no. 1 (March 2006): 160-161. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/196624785?accountid=14516.

Hofsomer, Donovan L., ed. *Railroads in Oklahoma*. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1977.

Hoig, Stan. *Cowtown Wichita and the Wild, Wicked West*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007.

_____. *The Humor of the American Cowboy*. Lincoln: University of nebraska Press, 1958.

_____. *Jesse Chisholm: Ambassador of the Plains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

Hume, C. Ross. "Oklahoma History Embedded in the Law." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 25, no. 2 (Summer 1947): 92-101.

Hunter, J. Marvin. *The Trail Drivers of Texas: Interesting Sketches of Early Cowboys and Their Experience on the Range and on the Trail during the Days That TriedMen's Souls—True Narratives Related by Real Cowpounchers and Men Who Fathered the Cattle Industry in Texas.* Rev. ed. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016.

Irving, Washington. *A Tour on the Prairies.* Paris: A and W Galignani and Co., 1835.

Jackson, Helen Hunt. *A Century of Dishonor: The Classis Exposé of the Plight of the Native Americans*, New York: Pantianos Classics, 1885, 2016.

Jager, Ronald B. "The Chisholm Trail's Mountain of Words." *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 71, no. 1 (July 1967): 61-68. http://www.jstor.org.vortex3.uco.edu/stable/30237944.

Jeltz, Wyatt F. "The Relations of Negroes and Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians." *The Journal of Negro History* 33, no. 1 (January 1948): 24-37.

Jensen, Oliver. *The American Heritage History of Railroads in America.* New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc., 1975.

Jordan, Terry G. *Trails to Texas: Southern Roots of Western Cattle Ranching.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981.

Kagan, Hilde Heun, ed. *The American Heritage Pictorial Atlas of United States History*. New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., 1966.

Kraisinger, Gary and Margaret Kraisinger, *The Western: The Greatest Texas Cattle Trail, 1874-1886,* Newton, KS: Mennonite Press, Inc., 2004.

_____. *The Western Cattle Trail 1874-1897: Its Rise, Collapse, and Revival.* Newton, KS: Mennonite Press, Inc., 2014.

Krehbiel, Randy. "Indian Territory Suffered Greatly in Civil War," *Tulsa World*, April 25, 2001, https://www.tulsaworld.com/news/local/government-and-politics/indian-territory-suffered-greatly-in-civil-war/article_fa74e336-d209-5140-98dc-3328448e1ed2.html

Landry, Michael, and Richard D. Stone. "Commerce in the Late Unpleasantness: Business Aspects of Civil War Railroads." *Journal of Transportation Law, Logistics, and Policy* 80, no. 2 (Second, 2013): 87-97. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/1442997016?accountid=14516.

Long, Walter E. "Notes on the Longhorn-Chisholm Trail." *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (July 1956): 72-75. http://www.jstor.org.vortex3.uco.edu/stable/30235280.

Lord, Clifford L., ed. *Oklahoma: A Students' Guide to Localized History* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1965), 9-11.

Love, Clara M. "History of the Cattle Industry in the Southwest," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 19, no. 4 (April 1916): 370-399. https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/30234681.pdf

Loughlin, Patricia. *Hidden Treasures of the American West: Muriel H. Wright, Angie Debo, and Alice Marriott*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.

Marrs, Aaron W. *Railroads in the Old South : Pursuing Progress in a Slave Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.

Marshall, James. *Santa Fe: The Railroad that Built an Empire*. New York: Random House, 1945.

Martin, Albro. *Railroads Triumphant : The Growth, Rejection, and Rebirth of a Vital American Force*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Massey, Sara R. *Texas Women on the Cattle Trails*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006.

Masterson, V. V. *The Katy Railroad and the Last Frontier*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952.

Miner, H. Craig. "Little Houses on Wheels: Indian Response to the Railroad", in *Railroads in Oklahoma*, ed. Donovan L. Hofsommer. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1977.

Monaghan, Jay. *The Overland Trail.* Freeport, NY: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1947.

Moody, Ralph. *The Old Trails West.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1963.

Nelson, John Young. *Fifty Years on the Trail: A True Story of Western Life.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.

"Norman, Oklahoma: Cattle Trails Crisscrossed Indian Territory before Statehood - with: BC-OK-Cattle Trails List." *The Ojibwa News*, May 04, 2007. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/368163552?accountid=14516.

Olson, Tod. *How to Get Rich on a Texas Cattle Drive*. Washington, D. C.: National Geographic, 2010.

Osburn, Katherine M. B. *Choctaw Resurgence in Mississippi: Race, Class, and Nation Building in the Jim Crow South, 1830-1977.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014.

Parker, James W. *Riders of the Chisholm Trail: Volume 2.* Yukon, OK: J. W. Parker, 1972.

Perdue, Theda. "Cherokee Women and the Trail of Tears" *Journal of Women's History*, 1, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 14.

_____. "The Conflict Within: The Cherokee Power Structure and Removal." *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (Fall 1989): 467-491.

_____. "The Legacy of Indian Removal." *The Journal of Southern History* 78, no. 1 (February 2012): 3-36. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/921845973?accountid=14516.

_____. "Rising from the Ashes:The Cherokee Phoenix as an Ethnohistorical Source," *Ethnohistor*y 25, no. 3, (Summer, 1977): 207-218.

_____. "Stand Waite's War." *American History* 50, no. 1 (April 2015): 32-41.

Perdue, Theda and Michael D. Green. *The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears*, New York: Penguin Books, 2007.

Peterson, John H. "Three Efforts at Development among the Choctaws of Mississippi," in *Southeastern Indians: Since the Removal Era*, ed. Walter L. Williams. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1979.

Reed, Julie. *Serving the Nation: Cherokee Sovereignty and Social Welfare, 1800-1907*. New Directions in Native American Studies 14. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016.

Rickey, Jr., Don. *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay: The Enlisted Soldier Fighting in Indian Wars.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.

Ridings, Sam P. *The Chisholm Trail: A History of the World's Greatest Cattle Trail*, New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2015.

Riegel, Robert Edgar. *The Story of the Western Railroads from 1852 Through the Reign of the Giants*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1926.

Sandoz, Mari. *The Cattlemen: From the Rio Grande Across the Far Marias.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958.

Saunt, Claudio. "The Paradox of Freedom: Tribal Sovereignty and Emancipation during the Reconstruction of Indian Territory." *The Journal of Southern History* 70, no. 1. February 2004: 63-94.

_____. *Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmasking of an American Family*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Savage, Jr., William W. *The Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association: Federal Regulation and the Cattleman's Last Frontier*. Columbia: The Curators of the University of Missouri Press, 1973.

Schafer, Mike. *More Classic American Railroads.* St. Paul,: MBI, 2000.

Schwantes, Carlos A. and James P. Ronda. *The West the Railroads Made.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008.

Sherow, James E. *The Chisholm Trail: Joseph McCoy's Great Gamble*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018.

Skaggs, Jimmy M. *The Cattle-Trailing Industry: Between Supply and Demand, 1866-1890*. Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 1973.

_____. "Northward Across the Plains: The Western Cattle Trail." *Great Plains Journal* 12, no. 1 (Fall 1972): 52-68. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/1300223027?accountid=14516.

Skaggs, Jimmy M., ed. *Ranch and Range in Oklahoma*. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1978.

Stout, Joseph Allen. *Oklahoma Cattlemen: An Association History*. Stillwater: Oklahoma State University Press, 1981.

Stover, John F. *American Railroads*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961, 1997.

_____. *Iron Road to the West: American Railroads in the 1850s*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.

_____. *The Life and Decline of the American Railroad*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Sturm, Circe. "Blood Politics, Racial Classification, and Cherokee National Identity: The Trials and Tribulations of the Cherokee Freedmen." *American Indian Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 1998): 230-58.

Taylor, George Rogers and Irene D. Neu. *The American Railroad Network, 1861-1890*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956.

Unger, Irwin. *Everyday American History through the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Garden City, New York: GuildAmerica Books, 1994.

Veenendaal, Augustus J. "The Kansas City Southern Railway and the Dutch Connection." *The Business History Review* 61, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 291-316. http://www.jstor.org.vortex3.uco.edu/stable/3115812.

_____. "The Oklahoma Central Railway: A "Dutch" Railroad in the United States." *Railroad History*, no. 166 (Spring 1992): 80-102. http://www.jstor.org.vortex3.uco.edu/stable/43523700.

_____. *Smoke Over Oklahoma: The Railroad Photographs of Preston George*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017.

Von Richthofen, Walter Baron. *Cattle-Raising on the Plains of North America*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964.

Warde, Mary Jane. *When the Wolf Came: The Civil War and the Indian Territory*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas, 2013.

Watts, Dale. "How Bloody Was Bleeding Kansas? Political Killings in Kansas Territory, 1854–1861." *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 116-29.

White, Richard. *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2011.

Winther, Oscar Osburn. *The Transportation Frontier: Trans-Mississippi West 1865-1890*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964.

Williams, Walter. “Three Efforts at Development among the Choctaws of Mississippi,” Southeastern Indians: Since the Removal Era. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979.

Wolmar, Christian. *Blood, Iron & Gold: How the Railroads Transformed the World*. New York: PublicAffairs, 2010.

_____. *The Great Railroad Revolution: The History of Trains in America*. New York: PublicAffairs, 2012.

Wommack, Linda. "The Chisholm Trail Heritage Center Blazes the Way in Duncan, Oklahoma." *Wild West* 25, no. 6 (April 2013): 68-69. http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/1287325493?accountid=14516.

Worcester, Don. *The Chisholm Trail: High Road of the Cattle Kingdom*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980.

Wright, Muriel H. "A Chieftain's 'Farewell Letter' ti the American People," *American Indian* 1 (December 1926): 7, 12.

Wrobel, David M. *America's West: A History, 1890-1950*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

_____. *Global West, American Frontier: Travel, Empire, and Exceptionalism from Manifest Destiny to the Great Depression*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013.

Dissertations and Theses:

Baxter, Scott. *Resource Protection Planning Project Transportation in Oklahoma to 1920.* M.A. thesis, Oklahoma State University, 1986.

Hofsommer, Donovan Lowell. "Katy Northwest: A Case Study of Branch Line Railroading." PhD diss., Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, 1973.

Voss, Robert J. "Railroads and Coal: Resource Extraction in Indian Territory, 1866-1907." PhD diss., University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 2013.

Williams-Searle, John. "Broken Brothers and Soldiers of Capital: Disability, Manliness, and Safety on the Rails, 1863–1908." PhD diss., University of Iowa, Iowa City, 2004.

Online Sources:

Agnew, Brad. "Fort Gibson (fort)," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed November 19, 2018).

Baird, W. David. "Westward Expansion," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=WE021. (accessed January 2020).

Choctaw Nation, The. *Government Treaties.* n.d. https://www.choctawnation.com/history-culture/history/government-treaties (accessed January 2020).

Corbett, Bill. "Transportation," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed October 25, 2017).

Dary, David. "Cattle Drives," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed November 19, 2018).

Dobberson, John. “Cattle Drives: Oklahoma’s Early Commerce: Whoopi-ti-yi-yo,” *Tulsa World*, November 5, 2006, (accessed June 7, 2020).

Ellis, Clyde. "American Indians and Education," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed August 26, 2018).

Everett, Dianna. "Butterfield Overland Mail." *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed November 19, 2018).

_____. "Enabling Act (1906)." *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed October 05, 2017).

_____. "Organic Act (1890)." *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed October 05, 2017).

Gard, Wayne. “Shawnee Trail.” *Texas State Historical Association*, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ays02 (accessed March 20, 2020).

Greenwood, Len. *Trail of Tears from Mississippi Walked by Our Ancestors.* Choctaw Nation Biskinik. March 1995. http://www.choctawschool.com/home-side-menu/history/trail-of-tears-from-mississippi-walked-by-our-ancestors.aspx (accessed January 12, 2020).

Hartzog, Martha, "Fort Smith Council," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed October 2, 2017).

Haveman, Christopher. *Creek Indian Removal.* Alabama Humanities Foundation. 2018. http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2013 (accessed March 2020).

Hoy, Jim, "Cattle Industry," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed November 19, 2018).

Hughes, Michael A., "Military, Nineteenth Century," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed November 19, 2018).

Huston, James L. "Civil War Era," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed September 15, 2017).

Leahy, Todd E., "American Indian Ranching," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed November 19, 2018).

Mercati, Cynthia, and Dea Marks. 2000. *The Chisholm Trail*. Cover-to-Cover Books. Historical Moments. Des Moines, Iowa: Perfection Learning. http://ezproxy.metrolibrary.org:2067/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=482524&site=ehost-live&scope=site.

Mullins, Jonita. "Muskogee County," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, http://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=MU020 (accessed October 22, 2016).

Okamura, Ryoko, "California Road," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed November 19, 2018).

Pennington, William D. "Twin Territories (term)," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed October 25, 2017).

Pierce, Michael D. "Red River War (1874–1875)," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=RE010 (accessed February 24, 2020).

Poster Advertising "Indian Territory That Garden of the World, Open for Homestead and Pre-Emption" in Current Day Oklahoma ; ca. 1889; Letters Received, 11/1863 - 12/1904; Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, Record Group 393; National Archives Building, Washington, DC. [Online Version, https://www.docsteach.org/documents/document/indian-territory-poster, March 22, 2021]

Reid, Nelda. https://www.cherokeemuseum.org/archives/era/trail-of-tears (Accessed November 01, 2019).

Sanchez, Joe. "Turner Falls," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=TU019 (Accessed February 28, 2021).

Sequoyah National Research Center at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock. *George W. Harkins to the American People — December 1831*. March 10, 2010. https://web.archive.org/web/20150402191200/http://ualr.edu/sequoyah/index.php/george-w-harkins-to-the-american-people-december-1831/ (accessed January 5, 2020).

Skaggs, Jimmy M. "Western Trail," *Handbook of Texas Online*, http://www.tshaonline/handbook/online/articles/ayw02 (accessed February 25, 2020).

Snodgrass, Jimmy. "Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=CH025 (accessed February 15, 2021).

Strickland, Rennard. "Cherokee (tribe)," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed October 20, 2017).

Tatro, M. Kaye. "Burke Act (1906)," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed October 03, 2017).

Tyson, Carl N. "Shawnee Trail," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed November 19, 2018).

_____. "Texas Fever," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed November 19, 2018).

_____. "Western Trail," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, https://www.okhistory.org (accessed January 7, 2020).

Warde, Mary Jane. "Indian Response to the Boomer Movement," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed October 25, 2017).

_____. "Okmulgee Constitution," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed October 12, 2017).

Weaver, Bobby D., "Texas Road," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed November 19, 2018).

Weiser, Kathy. "Kansas Cowtowns," *Legends of America*, December 2019, https://www.legendsofamerica.com/ks-kansascowtowns/.

Wilson, Linda D. "Statehood Movement," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org (accessed October 25, 2017).

Worcester, Donald E. "Chisholm Trail," *Handbook of Texas Online*, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ayc02 (accessed May 13, 2020).