

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

COOPERATION AND CONFLICT: A CASE STUDY
IN HARMONY AND DISCORD IN
CLEVELAND COUNTY, OKLAHOMA,
1889 - 1959

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

By
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Norman, Oklahoma
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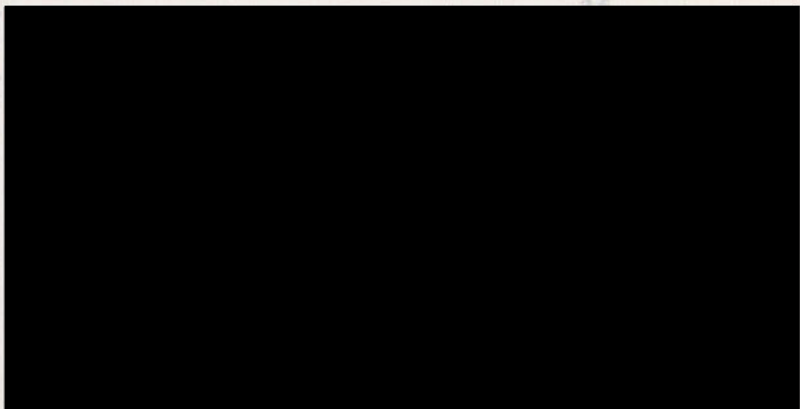


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Cleveland County.

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"COOPERATION AND DEDICATION A CASE STUDY
IN CIVIC HARMONY AND DISCORD IN
CLEVELAND COUNTY, OKLAHOMA,
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PREFACE

In Norman, Oklahoma Territory, in June 1890, readers of the Norman Transcript saw an advertisement which boldly proclaimed that there were "Rock Bottom Prices on East Main Street". Readers also saw that "W. T. Wallace, the West Side Merchant Took the Lead in Low Prices."¹ To some historians, advertisements such as these suggest that young communities were composed of individualistic businessmen who chose to compete fiercely with one another rather than to work together. This study will address the subject of the cooperation and conflict within a community and will examine the reasons for discord and the causes of harmony.

I will examine Cleveland County, Oklahoma, and will focus on Norman, the county seat and most populous city in that county. Three different periods, roughly a quarter century apart, will be observed. The periods were chosen

first of all for their convenience in a chronological study, and second, because each period provides an example of increased economic and social activity, and thus of cooperation and conflict.

"COOPERATION AND CONFLICT: A CASE STUDY

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The first period examined begins in 1889, the year Oklahoma Territory was opened to white settlement. The land openings of Oklahoma provide an excellent opportunity to observe the activities of frontier entrepreneurs; businessmen who migrated into the territory and literally built towns overnight.² I have focused on the attempt to attract schools, especially the territorial university, to Cleveland County.

World War I provides the setting of the second chapter. The war created social instability throughout the United States because of several factors. One was the large percentage of German-born or German-speaking citizens in the country. Another was the prevalence of radical labor and political organizations. And third was the backlash of the right against the "aliens" and radicals. In Oklahoma, all of these problems were compounded. Oklahoma was the setting of the Green Corn Rebellion, the only armed uprising against the draft during the war. In Cleveland County, a group of farmers were arrested, charged with sedition, and connected with the Green Corn Rebellion. Throughout the state, violence occurred against non-supporters of the war, spurred by fears of anarchist conspiracies. Yet in

Cleveland County, no such violence occurred. This chapter examines the activities of Cleveland County in context of what occurred throughout the state and nation, and assesses who was responsible for the propagation and also the moderation of civic unrest. County Historical Society arranged for the The final chapter concerns the intense interest of the business community in procuring and retaining a naval air station and training center during and after the second World War. This chapter re-emphasizes the importance of government spending in the economy. The chapter focuses on the conflict which arose when the continuance of the training center was opposed by the University of Oklahoma. In the process of preparing this thesis I have received the help of many people. I shall attempt here to list the names of only those upon whom I have relied most heavily. The many whose names are omitted also have my sincere thanks. The questions posed in this thesis would have remained unasked but for guidance of my academic advisor, William W. Savage, Jr. Professor Savage has taught me and my fellow students in his seminars and in countless consultations to appreciate the broad themes in whatever material we choose to examine. I thank him for his intellectually stimulating approach to history and for his patience. Professors Norman L. Crockett and Paul W. Glad have also provided leadership in their seminars and have always been helpful and supportive.

The Cleveland County Historical Society deserves credit for its efforts in promoting academic interest in local history, and in ensuring that local history is represented in the area high schools. Charles S. Standley, Jr., of the Cleveland County Historical Society arranged for the society to provide funds to help defray my research expenses, and to distribute this work among the county high schools. Furthermore, many members of the society suggested other sources for my study of the county, and during several presentations to their monthly meetings, offered observations and helpful criticism of my work.

The faculty and administration of the county high schools were willing to schedule blocks of instruction on state and local history during which a representative of the Cleveland County Historical Society and I worked with classes to stimulate interest and answer questions. These sessions resulted in the uncovering of many sources for my study, and the involvement of the students in the discovery and writing of their past. Teachers who were helpful include Al Roach, Lexington; Audie Harmon, Moore; Pat Leveridge and Karlease Kelly, Noble; and Pat Lenington, Norman.

I have relied heavily upon the Oklahoma State Historical Society. Mary Moran of the newspaper department was always willing to assist with hard-to-find material.

Many local residents provided information and insight for this study, but three deserve special mention. Harold

Belknap, editor and publisher of the Norman Transcript, took time from his busy schedule to provide me with his personal insights to the past and to grant me access to material held by the Norman Transcript. George Lynn Cross, former president of the University of Oklahoma, several times interrupted his duties at the American Exchange Bank of Norman, to discuss with me the issues of the past. And, most generously, he allowed me to examine his own manuscript in progress which contained a chapter on the Navy base crisis, on which I was working at the time.

Special thanks go to my friend, John Womack, who has been an active local historian throughout most of the years examined in this study. John is a shrewd judge of sources, an able writer, and a good critic. I have enjoyed our field expeditions and our many conversations concerning the interpretation of our findings. John's work provides a refreshing contrast to the mundane and parochial interests which characterize the work of many local historians.

Finally, I would acknowledge my wife, Susan, who, while busy with her own career, has found time to offer encouragement and editorial advice. To her I offer my deepest gratitude.

Michael C. Morton

Norman, Oklahoma

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CHAPTER 1 President Harrison,

was appointed territorial governor. The first territorial legislature consisted of thirteen members in the upper house, or Council, and twenty-six members in the House of Representatives. The legislature met in an opera house in Guthrie. The first business of the legislature was to locate

IN PURSUIT OF PLUMS: THE

STRUGGLE TO ATTRACT

EDUCATIONAL

INSTITUTIONS

Oklahoma Territory was formed when the Unassigned Lands of Indian Territory were opened for white settlement in 1889. On April 22, 1889, prospective homesteaders and town builders crossed the borders of Oklahoma Territory to make their claims. Norman was located about fifteen miles north of Purcell on the Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe railroad line.¹

and it was generally considered by non-Oklahomans The United States Congress had passed a bill to open the Unassigned Lands, but it had neglected to establish a territorial government. Therefore, Oklahoma towns functioned with provisional governments from April 22, 1889, until the official title.³

until May 2, 1890, when Congress passed the Organic Act for the Territory of Oklahoma. This act defined the counties of Oklahoma, specified that the statutes of Nebraska be used until Oklahoma drew up its own laws, specified three judges, a secretary, and a governor, all to be appointed by the president and approved by the Senate. The Organic Act also called for a bicameral territorial legislature to be elected by the people of Oklahoma. George W. Steele, a native of Indiana and a friend of President Harrison, was appointed territorial governor. The first territorial legislature consisted of thirteen members in the upper house, or Council, and twenty-six members in the House of Representatives. The legislature met in an opera house in Guthrie.²

The first business of the legislature was to locate territorial institutions. This process of dividing the plums was paramount to all territorial and early state legislatures. Oklahomans participated with zeal. The most coveted prize was the location of the territorial capital. The Organic Act had specified Guthrie as the meeting place of the first territorial legislature. The land office was located there and it was generally considered by non-Oklahomans to be the most important town in the territory. The residents of Guthrie, who had always considered their town to be the capital, were, of course, pleased that the legislature would meet there. And they were determined to secure the official title.³

Representatives began to ally themselves to associations within the legislature. These groups would attempt to locate the capital at their favored city. Unfortunately, few records exist of the political bargaining which accompanied the formation of these cliques. Individuals were hesitant to record "skulduggery" which involved themselves and their associates.⁴ Newspapers did not report political bargains. The editors were probably unaware of underhand agreements made against their towns, and were probably unwilling to publish news of any political bargaining done by representatives of their communities.⁵

The pro-Guthrie combination consisted of representatives from Logan and Kingfisher counties. This group planned to vote for the capital to remain at Guthrie, and for the state penitentiary to be located at Kingfisher. Other institutions were to be divided among supporters.⁸ Representatives from Payne County were invited to join the combination, but were not offered an institution. The Payne County representatives asked for the territorial agricultural college. When they were refused, they deserted the Guthrie combination and threw their support to Oklahoma City.⁶

Oklahoma City representatives had wide support in the legislature in their attempt to acquire the capital. Dan W. Peery, a representative from Oklahoma County, reported that the Oklahoma City combination intended to wield strongest influence in the location of institutions. The

group decided early on that Edmond should receive the territorial normal school.⁷

Cleveland County representatives played an important role in the Oklahoma City combination. Thomas R. Waggoner, a twenty-nine year old representative to the House, is credited with throwing Cleveland County's votes in support of Oklahoma City. Waggoner had been Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe Railroad chief clerk for Delbert L. Larsh, the station agent for the Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe Railroad at Purcell, Indian Territory. When the Unassigned Lands were opened, Larsh formed a townsite company, of which Waggoner was a member. This company settled Norman. Waggoner became a provisional mayor of Norman, and a partner in a furniture store with Larsh. Later Larsh and Waggoner ended their partnership. Waggoner became an attorney and was involved in real estate, loans, and insurance.⁸

Waggoner decided that Cleveland County would support the Oklahoma City combination in return for the location of the territorial university in Norman.⁹ Dan W. Perry

gave the following description of Waggoner:

Thomas R. Wagoner [sic] was the first provisional mayor of Norman and one of the most active business men and promoters of the town. He was a shrewd scheming business man, and politics was also business with him. He had no altruistic thoughts in his mind and when he was planning to locate the University at Norman, he was figuring how much it would be worth to Tom Wagoner [sic]. He was a man about whom there was some mystery. He never tried to accomplish anything by direct means that he could secure by indirect means. He was a subtle organizer and I think he did more to fuse and bring together

the many discordant elements of the House that made up the organization that located the University at his town and voted the capital to Oklahoma City than any other man, and he did it all for Tom Wagoner [sic].¹⁰

The Guthrie citizens and representatives were infuriated by the threat posed by the Oklahoma City combination. Guthrie leaders approached some Oklahoma County representatives, who were unsure that Oklahoma City could secure the capital, and offered them a compromise. Such a representative was Judge J. L. Brown of Oklahoma County. Brown addressed a mass meeting in the streets of Oklahoma City before the capital location bill was introduced in the legislature. He explained the problems of passing a bill which would give Oklahoma City the capital. Then he advised the gathering that he thought that he could obtain for Oklahoma City two or three "good institutions," such as the university, the agricultural college, and the penitentiary, if they allowed Guthrie to have the capital. The crowd responded with "derisive yells" then reaffirmed that Oklahoma City would have the capital or nothing at all.¹¹

By the time the bill to locate the capital was introduced in the legislature, the Oklahoma City combination was strong enough to ensure its passage. Bill No. 7, as it was called, passed the Council, then it passed the House. But after it had passed the House, two members of the Oklahoma City combination deserted. One of the men was 29 year old William C. Adair, a representative from Norman. Peery

described Adair as a "Smart Alec" with weak character, and suggested that bribery was involved in the defection.¹²

The Guthrie combination then asked that the bill be reconsidered. This alarmed the Oklahoma City faction. Peery, who had been down at the Guthrie railroad station wiring his friends about the victory, ran back to the House. Fortunately, for the Oklahoma City supporters, the legislature had taken a break for lunch before voting on the reconsideration proposal. Peery and his friends decided to enroll the bill; that is, have it signed by the speaker of the House, the president of the Council, and then the territorial governor. Peery carried the bill to the desk of the Speaker, who signed it. Then he handed the bill to another representative to have him deliver it to the president of the Council.¹³

Both houses of the legislature met in the same building, but on different floors. There was only an outside stairway connecting the floors and individuals had to step out into the street in order to go to the Council from the House. When Peery and his friend left the House they stepped into the midst of an angry crowd of Guthrie residents. The crowd had the Speaker of the House on the ground and was about to search his person for the bill. But the Speaker told the crowd that Peery had it. When the crowd recognized Peery, they proceeded to chase him through the streets and alleys of Guthrie. He finally escaped them by crawling

through a fence and into a butcher shop. The butcher was out chasing him. Peery hid in the refrigerator until night-fall, then he rejoined his friends.¹⁴

Even though the Oklahoma City combination had been deserted by two members, and the Guthrie combination seemed strong--especially on the streets of Guthrie--the legislature voted down the reconsideration proposal. The bill had passed. That week, a Guthrie grocer, E. S. Shelton, demonstrated the tenacity and optimism typical of many settlers by advertising that the capital might go, but he was there to stay.¹⁵

But the capital did not go. Governor Steele vetoed the bill and ended the hopes of the Oklahoma City combination.¹⁶

The other institutions, however, still had to be located. And Oklahoma City's loss did not nullify the agreements of the combination. On October 30, 1890, Mort L. Bixler, of Norman, introduced Bill No. 50 to locate and establish the University at Norman.¹⁷

In fact, the newspaper Bixler, 29, was the editor of the Norman Advance. He had lived in Oklahoma City before moving to Norman, and had been involved in the "Kickapoo" party. This party opposed the provisional mayor, William L. Couch, and the Seminole Townsite Company. The Kickapoos accused the Seminole Company of making illegal claims. In a demonstration against the Seminole Company and the provisional government, in

September 1889, Bixler was arrested and charged with sedition against the government. Neither Bixler nor any other Kickapoos were prosecuted. Bixler brought the Norman Advance in June 1890.¹⁸

The legislature requested that \$5,000 in bonds be provided to establish the University. A few days later the price was raised to \$10,000. Bill No. 56, with its amendments, passed through the legislature and was signed on December 19, 1890.¹⁹

Norman promoters obviously played an important role in the acquisition of the University. T. R. Waggoner seems to have been the prime mover of the political alliance. And Mort L. Bixler probably relied on his Oklahoma City friends to help him attain his political goals. Furthermore, Bixler took the parliamentary responsibility of seeing the university bill through the legislature.²⁰

The leading newspaper in Norman, the Norman Transcript, gave scant coverage of the legislature during the struggle over the location of institutions. In fact, the newspaper seldom mentioned anything about the institutions until the university bill passed the legislature. Two issues are noteworthy. In the July 13, 1889 issue, editor Ed P. Ingle supported the Frisco Convention, an attempt to wrest the provisional capital from Guthrie. The Norman Transcript considered the provisional territorial government to be unlawful and, since it had no tax base, unwieldy. The

citizens of Guthrie were called "arbitrary." On November 15, 1890, however, Ingle published a paragraph from the Guthrie Democrat which stated that the only way to settle the capital location problem would be by an appointed commission.

Thus, the Norman paper agreed with Guthrie on the capital issue after Oklahoma City had lost its bid for the capital but Norman had won the University.²¹

The Norman Transcript usually filled its pages with exuberant booster propaganda. Readers learned of mammoth cal turnips grown in Cleveland County, and of cattle-killing blizzards in New Mexico; but they did not read of the problem of locating the institutions until October 4, 1890. On November 22, 1890, the Norman Transcript published an excerpt from the Guthrie News, which reported that the University bill had unanimously passed the Council and predicted that Norman would become a university city as well as a mercantile city. In the December 6, 1890 issue, Ingle reported in a small notice that the university bill would go through the House that day and would probably pass unanimously. In the same issue, Ingle gave more coverage to his friend, W. S. Miller, a traveling salesman for Newton Flour Mills. Miller had stopped by to visit the editor.²²

When Bill No. 56 passed the legislature, the Norman Transcript reported that Norman would get the University. On December 27, 1890, the Norman Transcript reported that Governor Steele had signed the university bill, and Norman

would receive the University. The paper explained the conditions of the bill and predicted that these conditions would be met. Finally, the people of Norman were praised for their success in obtaining the "second best institution."²³

The role of the newspaper is more interesting in the period between the passage of the university bill and the county bonds election to secure the University. Again, the Norman Transcript seemed to be more concerned with local gossip than with support of the University. The Cherokee Strip issue dominated the regional news. But on April 25, 1891, the Norman Transcript published a note from the Lexington Leader, which stated that the people of Lexington would not be jealous of the University and they hoped to see Norman prosper. The Norman Transcript then encouraged voters to support the bonds issue. The Saturday before the election, the Norman Transcript was saturated with news of the University and the bonds issue, but it explained the importance of the matter and begged the reader's indulgence. The Norman Board of Trade distributed one thousand extra copies of the Norman Transcript throughout Cleveland County.²⁴

On May 23, 1891, the Norman Transcript proclaimed that "lovers of education" should rejoice. The bonds proposal had passed. The election results were: Gate was short-lived. It opened for the first session in September 1890. For a while the school experienced

	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>
Case	44	99
Moore	29	174
Norman	539	20
Noble	107	103
Lexington	85	67
TOTAL	<u>804</u>	<u>463</u>

The voters of Cleveland County had supported the University students after the Territorial University opened in September by a wide margin.²⁵

The University was not the first educational institution at Norman. In April 1890, the Oklahoma District Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church ordered that a district high school be established. The conference appointed a board of trustees. Four of the five members of this board were from Cleveland County. After some study, the board decided to locate the college at Norman.²⁶

Another board, which included Mort L. Bixler, was appointed in April 1890, to locate and establish the school. This board decided that Norman citizens would provide a building which would not exceed a cost of \$10,000. C. G. Bowling, a Norman resident, donated ten acres of land on the east end of Main Street. He then platted the land adjacent to the future campus and entitled it "College Addition."²⁷

Thus the first institution of higher education in Oklahoma Territory was established. The school was given the prestigious name of High Gate College because of its elevated location on the east entrance of Norman. But High Gate was short-lived. It opened for the first session in September 1890. For a while the school experienced

administrative problems. For instance, A. N. McDaniels, an acting president, left High Gate and opened his own school in downtown Norman. High Gate also experienced curricular problems until it changed from a coeducational preparatory school to a girls' seminary. But High Gate could not attract students after the Territorial University opened in September 1892. Not satisfied with the proposition of the school becoming a dormitory for University students, the administrators of High Gate decided, in 1895, to close the school. That year the Oklahoma Sanitarium Company bought the building and established an insane asylum.²⁸

Another institution, the Norman Business College and Academy, was located on Main Street. The school was incorporated on June 1, 1892, and T. R. Waggoner was president of the board of trustees.²⁹

As Norman began to benefit economically from the colleges and the University, the Norman Transcript gave more coverage to education. On May 31, 1891, the Norman Transcript predicted that the University would draw to Norman a class of wealthy people who desired a university education for their children. And on March 21, 1892, the Norman Transcript began to include "Norman is the educational center" in its banner. When High Gate College experienced financial crisis in 1893, the Norman Transcript pleaded for the community to contribute to the College.³⁰ Also in 1893, David Ross Boyd, the president of the University attempted

to provide revenue for the school from opening of the Cherokee Outlet. Boyd asked Congress to reserve sections thirteen and thirty three of each township for the support of territorial colleges and universities. When Congress refused, the Norman Transcript expressed great disappointment, and considered the issue a loss for Norman.³¹ Yet this occasional concern for the colleges and University by the newspapers does not constitute convincing evidence of cooperation. In fact, the nonchalance of the Norman Transcript is striking. Certainly the Norman paper did not discourage the schools, but its support was half-hearted at best. The town promoters cooperated with each other. But their cooperation was in the form of political associations. This behavior was common to the legislatures of the western territories and the older, eastern states. It continues today. The only example of non-cooperation found in this period was the defection from the Oklahoma City combination by W. C. Adair--and Dan W. Peery suggested that Adair was bribed. Actually, there was no reason for any Norman promoter to not cooperate to acquire the university. The University of Oklahoma was a bargain. It was given to Norman for forty acres of land and \$10,000. In 1839--a year in which money was as hard to get as in 1891--Boone County, Missouri, raised \$82,381 in cash and \$35,540 in land to get the University of Missouri. Perhaps the relative ease Cleveland County

experienced in acquiring the University explains the apparent lack of commitment by the community.³²

Some conclusions can be drawn from this early period of Cleveland County's history. Internecine conflict existed; but it was hardly the rampant social disorder some historians would have us believe. Town promoters and businessmen, firm believers in the American form of free enterprise, advertised against each other; they undersold and outbid each other. Still this conflict was tempered by a sense of community. Inter-community conflict also existed. This is best demonstrated by the vote distribution in the Cleveland County university bonds election. But even in these conflicts there seems to have existed a sense of camaraderie. In Guthrie, during the capital location struggle, Dan W. Peery shared bachelor's quarters with a Guthrie merchant whose parents had known Peery in Missouri. And in Norman, H. B. Stubbeman owned a boarding house where the professors of both the University and the Methodist college resided.³³

Early communities therefore demonstrated tendencies to cooperate and to compete. But in neither the towns, nor in the townspeople, were either of these tendencies pronounced enough to be considered dominant characteristics.

County during the war in the context of the disturbances in the rest of the state, and especially in the context of the Jones Family trial, we will be able to make some observations about why the unrest existed and why it existed to the moderate degree that

CHAPTER 2

A recent account of the Green Corn Rebellion states that the Jones Family was an active part of the Working Class Union (WCU). The WCU had been organized by the Industrial

NO TIME TO QUIBBLE: CLEVELAND COUNTY

AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Workers During the First World War, violence permeated Oklahoma. This unpleasant fact has been largely ignored by historians.¹ Those who have addressed the problem have focused their attention on the Green Corn Rebellion, a poorly planned uprising of farmers in Hughes, Pontotoc, and Seminole Counties, in early August, 1917. During the summer of 1917, a group of farmers from Cleveland and Pottawatomie counties were arrested and charged with sedition. The accounts of the Green Corn Rebellion have all included these men, known as the Jones Family, as part of the outbreak. An examination of the documents which deal specifically with the Jones Family, however, suggests that the men were acting independently of the rebels. Furthermore, the conviction of the eight members of the Jones Family was based more upon patriotic fervor and fear and anger toward the radicalism in Oklahoma and the rest of the nation than upon substantial incriminating evidence. By studying the social unrest in Cleveland

1960's, however, an antiwar group in Norman published a

County during the war in the context of the disturbances in the rest of the state, and especially in the context of the Jones Family trial, we will be able to make some observations about why the unrest existed and why it existed to the moderate degree that it did.

A recent account of the Green Corn Rebellion states that the Jones Family was an active part of the Working Class Union (WCU). The WCU had been organized by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), and was largely responsible for inciting the Green Corn Rebellion.² The author writes that the Jones Family was dedicated to raising the "red flag of revolution in all parts simultaneously, to burn property, raid grocery stores for supplies and hardware stocks for guns and ammunition, and to slay and pillage." The assertion, however, is taken from a McAlester newspaper on August 6, 1917. The article was based upon a press release from the U. S. attorney's office.³ Other accounts of radicalism in Oklahoma do not make such a strong connection between the Jones Family and the WCU. The general interpretation is that the Jones Family intended to hide the men of draft age, and, if necessary, resist efforts to take them. This theory was stated in a 1932 M.A. thesis by Charles C. Bush, and most subsequent studies have not questioned it.⁴ The Jones Family has not attracted much attention or original research. In the late 1960's, however, an antiwar group in Norman published a

newspaper entitled the Jones Family Grandchildren. The paper furthered the concept of the Jones Family as a radical group by explaining in its first issue that it had derived its name from a local organization which had armed itself and taken to the woods to avoid the draft.⁵

In order to understand the Jones Family, and their trial, one must understand the attitudes of Oklahomans concerning the war. William H. Murray, a prominent Oklahoma politician had been defeated for the district U. S. Congressional nomination in 1916 by Tom McKeown, of Ada. Murray had been a supporter of Woodrow Wilson, and had advocated that the United States become prepared to enter the European conflict. McKeown had campaigned for neutrality.⁶

Yet in the months between Murray's defeat in July, 1916, and the time the United States entered the war in April, 1917, there was a remarkable transition in the attitudes of the majority. During this time, Americans were barraged with propaganda until most were convinced that Germany was a threat to the United States, as well as Europe. The Germans were portrayed as despicable, inhumane enemies, who practiced none of the restraints of civilized warfare. Stories were widespread of German atrocities such as the raping and mutilating of nuns, and the bayoneting of infants. Oklahoma, and the rest of the nation, responded with enthusiasm for American participation in the war.⁷

The war was most often perceived as a moral rather than a political or economic struggle, and was portrayed as good opposing evil. This appealed to the fundamentalist background of most Oklahomans. Those opposing the war, therefore, were seen to be opposing the forces of righteousness. Ironically, Congressional opposition to Wilson's preparedness program and entry into the conflict was led by Jeff McLemore and Oscar Calloway, of Texas, and Thomas Gore, of Oklahoma. Their constituents were enthusiastic supporters of the war and resented them for not climbing on the bandwagon.⁸

Pro-war enthusiasm was manifested in several organizations. The most prominent was the Oklahoma State Council of Defense. This was the state branch of the Council of National Defense, which consisted of the Secretaries of War, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor, and had been organized a month before the United States entered the war. The organization was formed to provide a network which could provide leadership on the state and local level to accomplish the objectives of the national government. It would disseminate propaganda, and establish programs to encourage enlistment in the armed services and boost financial support of the war effort.⁹

The State Council of Defense received the hearty support of Governor Williams. The council included prominent businessmen, politicians, and representatives of the academic community. Stratton D. Brooks, president of the

University of Oklahoma, was secretary of the council, and Chester H. Westfall, a University of Oklahoma professor of journalism, was director of publicity. J. W. Cantwell, president of Oklahoma A. and M. College, was also a member of the committee. The governor appointed executive committees for each county, usually including the leading banker, editor, attorney, and the county agent. The county committees were told that they were responsible for providing "a medium through which the citizens of each community can co-operate in the task of helping to win the war."¹⁰

Neither the state nor county councils knew exactly what authority they could exercise in carrying out their responsibilities. Therefore, they assumed whatever authority they deemed necessary. Often this involved interference with the rights of citizens. For instance, in Norman, a "slacker pen" was constructed on Main Street in front of the banks. When anyone made a business transaction then cashed a check at a bank, representatives of the Council of Defense informed the individual how much of the money the council thought should go to War Bonds, Liberty Loans, or the Red Cross. If the individual refused to spend his money in that manner, he was thrown into the slacker pen until he decided to comply.¹¹

With the encouragement of respected members of Oklahoma communities, this martial ardor was imposed even upon elementary school children. In Durant, children stood in

formation and addressed the national flag with straight arm salutes. And in Norman, children wore olive drab and khaki for military training at school.¹² mob which broke into his room, Oklahomans became intolerant of groups which retained any German cultural ties. In Major County, members of German-American congregations found placards nailed above the doors of their churches which warned: Oklahoma. Throughout the U. S. GOD ALMIGHTY UNDERSTANDS THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE not those who were accus. Address HIM only in that Tongue and the courts seldom prosecuted DO NOT REMOVE THIS CARD ans were unconcerned. A Major County editor supported the action and warned aliens that they had better demonstrate their loyalty to America. Other newspapers in the state applauded the editor for his stand. Professor Joseph B. Thoburn, director of the state historical society, reported that three Oklahoma towns had "distasteful German names," and that no steps had been taken to change them. Another article warned that in some school districts the German language was being taught, and suggested that those teachers should be dismissed and their teaching certificates revoked.¹³ homa shall refuse to enlist: but if forced to enter choose to die fighting the enemies of humanity in our fellow workers.

Sometimes the abuse of dissidents, slackers, and aliens became violent. An Oklahoma City dentist was questioned by the local Council of Defense concerning his loyalty. He did not give them satisfactory answers, but was released. V. Debs, and other prominent Socialist leaders on the national level, were imprisoned for their antiwar speeches. A mob destroyed his office. In Stuart, a bald-headed man had stars and stripes painted on his head, was whipped, ducked Oklahoma Socialists were fearful of vigilantes, and also

in water, then clubbed on the head so that he would remember that "the flag represented power." A 72-year-old minister in Sulphur was attacked by a mob which broke into his room, shaved his head, and forced him to swear allegiance to the United States. In Tulsa, a group of I.W.W. members was taken from the jail, whipped, then tarred and feathered.¹⁴

The violence was not unique to Oklahoma. Throughout the United States mobs beat, whipped, lynched, and shot those who were accused of disloyalty. The police and the courts seldom prosecuted the vigilantes. Americans were unconcerned with the patriotic backlash. According to the dean of the University of Minnesota Law School, "war time was no time to quibble about constitutional rights and guarantees."¹⁵

Yet the mobs could not squelch all antiwar sentiment. The Socialist party in the United States had taken a strong stand against the war. In 1914, the state convention of the Oklahoma Socialist Party unanimously adopted the following resolution:

If war is declared, the Socialists of Oklahoma shall refuse to enlist: but if forced to enter military service to murder fellow workers, we shall choose to die fighting the enemies of humanity in our own ranks rather than to perish fighting our fellow workers.

But as the war approached and public opinion began to support the war, such statements became dangerous. Eugene V. Debs, and other prominent Socialist leaders on the national level, were imprisoned for their antiwar speeches. Oklahoma Socialists were fearful of vigilantes, and also

realized that their unpopular pacifist stance had reduced their party membership. Therefore, in 1918, the state convention decided not to draw up a platform in order to skirt the sensitive war issue. The Oklahoma Socialists had learned that it was necessary to keep unpopular ideas to themselves.¹⁶

Not all Oklahomans who opposed the war were as cognizant of the national and state temper. The tenant farmers of the state had lived for decades in ignorance and hopeless poverty. In the years preceding the war, radical agitators had preyed upon the tenant farmers' feelings of economic and political impotence. By 1917 there were radical agricultural organizations in Oklahoma, and in Arkansas and Texas. These organizations were based upon secrecy, and were composed of landless agricultural workers. Their comprehension of economic and political systems was naive, yet their grievances were well founded. Their anger was directed toward the "capitalists" -- that is, the landlords and bankers in their communities, and the wealthy industrialists that they learned of through their leaders. The European conflict was perceived as a rich man's war and a poor man's fight; a contrivance of the industrialists to stimulate production and profits.¹⁷

When the Selective Service Act was signed on May 18, 1917, agitators had a new fulcrum to use in their manipulation of the farmers. Members of the WCU were told that

to be drafted meant certain death. And they were told that when the young men were sent to war, old men would be forced to work on collective farms, and wives and daughters would be forced to live with college boys. Farmers were encouraged to resist, and told by WCU agitators that rebellions were being planned in other states. Once the rebellion started, farmers would march to Washington--thought to be only a few days' walk--and take control of the government. They could eat green corn along the way. The agitators also promised arms and funds from Germany to support the revolt.¹⁸

In early August, 1917, these would-be revolutionaries formed several large, armed bands in Seminole, Hughes, and Pontotoc Counties. The residents of area towns panicked, and formed posses to put down the insurrection. The few times that posses encountered the rebels, there was little resistance. The tenant farmers had no military leadership and little will to fight. The posses simply had to round up the rebels; and most of the rebels surrendered voluntarily. Only a few men were killed during the entire incident. The insurrection, called the Green Corn Rebellion, was a failure.¹⁹

Nevertheless, rebellion is a frightening thing. And no Oklahoma town was unconcerned about what had happened. The usual response was the formation, or strengthening, of a home guard, often organized by the local council of defense. Most people felt that draft resisters should be

severely punished. William H. Murray stated that people who did not obey the laws "should be set up against a hill, and shot."²⁰ And, of course, there was an intensified suspicion of anyone who did not support the war. Public reaction to the rebellion is best summarized by the following poem written by a Norman editor.

The Draft Resister on August 4. That

I am strong and brawny--
 My muscles are like corded steel,
 I swing the ax and follow the plow,
 All day long in the field;
 My body is perfect, full six feet tall,
 But my brain's like a pigeon's egg
 And my heart's the size of a tennis ball--
 I'm a coward in my legs.

Full brave am I--
 When with others of my kind
 I can slip through the night,
 Terrorize women and children
 And destroy with dynamite;
 I spit on my country's flag--
 And seek to help her foes--
 A very brave man I can be
 When I can feel no blows.

Why should I fight--
 In mud and water in the trench?
 I hate the noise of battle;
 I dread the scream of the flying shell,
 The machine gun's bark and rattle;
 I shrink from the rifle ball's shrill whine,
 The sight of flowing blood--
 The tremors crawl along my spine,
 Each hair on end is stood.

I won't be drafted to the front,
 I will not volunteer.
 I'll do my fighting with my mouth,
 And do it all right here.²¹

In late July, 1917, a few days before the Green Corn Rebellion broke out, seven men from Cleveland and Pottawatomie

Counties were arrested and taken to jail in Oklahoma City. When John L. Bohanan, a farmer from eastern Cleveland County, went to Oklahoma City to post bond for the men, he too was arrested. The men were charged with conspiracy to obstruct the draft law and inciting men of draft age to insurrection.²²

The men, referred to as the Jones Family by the prosecution and the press, were arraigned on August 4. That same day the Daily Oklahoman, a widely read Oklahoma City newspaper, carried headlines concerning an antidraft mob of 400 men near Ada. Assistant U. S. district attorney, W. Boothe Merrill, reflected the attitude of the prosecution when he stated that if attorneys for the Jones Family succeeded in picking flaws in the indictments, the federal government would convene a special grand jury and return new indictments against them.²³

The trial began on September 19, in the United States District Court, at Enid. The presiding judge was John H. Cotteral, and the U. S. attorney was John A. Fain. Both men were known to be particularly sensitive to opposition to the war. In a later case in which Fain was also the U. S. attorney, Cotteral made the following statement:

... this is a necessary war and the espionage act and the selective army law were passed immediately after war was declared to protect the interests of the nation. Acts of conspiracy in opposition to the government are most serious and cannot be tolerated.

No patriot can stand up and say that this war is not a necessity when the most powerful military

this monarchy ever known is constantly encroaching on the rights of this republic.²⁴

The defendants were charged on three accounts: first, that they did "conspire, confederate and agree to prevent, hinder, and delay" the execution of the draft act; second, that they did "conspire to oppose with force the authority of the United States, that is: to procure arms and ammunition and offer individual and combined resistance to the enforcement of the draft act;" and third, that they did conspire to "feloniously incite an insurrection."²⁵

The government employed the tactics of fear and ridicule in its treatment of defendants and witnesses. John Snyder, a defendant, suffered a mental collapse while being held in the Oklahoma City jail. The Insanity Board of Pottawatomie County adjudged him insane, and he was incarcerated at the State Insane Asylum at Norman. On June 21, J. C. Herrod, an elderly witness, was waiting in the hall outside the courtroom for his turn to testify. He arose and walked onto the porch of the Federal Building where he took out his pocket knife and cut his throat. Herrod recovered and signed a statement that he had decided to take his own life rather than testify against friends and neighbors.²⁶

Scott Mitchell, became so confused on the witness stand that he changed his testimony, then refused to testify, and was charged with perjury. The prosecution charged that the actions of Herrod and Mitchell were dictated by fear of reprisals by the defendants. The newspapers accepted

this theory. But the witnesses had reason to fear the court as well as the defendants. One witness was ridiculed because he related time by such terms as "after dinner" and "after supper." And another witness provoked laughter in the courtroom when he testified that he had been scared in Oklahoma City and was "a little scared now."²⁷

The prosecution based its case upon the testimony of Lee Barton and J. C. Holmes. Barton was a farmer from the Tecumseh area. Holmes' occupation is not known. Both men had joined the defendants' organization in May, upon the advice of a recruiting officer, in order to obtain evidence against the group. The prosecution referred to Barton and Holmes in press releases as "two agents of the federal secret service."²⁸

According to Barton and Holmes, a working relationship existed between the Jones Family and the WCU. The Jones Family had, at one time, advocated resistance to the draft. The young men were to join the home guard, and procure the arms provided by the government. But the arrest of Rube Munson, state organizer of the WCU, earlier in the summer frightened the Jones Family, and caused them to change their plans. The young men were then instructed to be drafted into the army, report to the cantonments, then desert with their rifles and equipment. According to an unnamed witness, the men would attack and destroy small towns, hamper troop movement, and destroy railroads, until the government granted

them immunity from the draft. Tobe Simons, a defendant from Tecumseh, was allegedly responsible for the plans. In all testimony the prosecution emphasized the association of the Jones Family with the WCU, the association of the WCU with the IWW, and the association of the IWW with German agents and German financial support.²⁹

Another important aspect of the government's case was that the defendants had decided to petition Congress to stop the war. Some reports state that the petition asked for Congress to stop the draft. Tobe Simons was allegedly the author of the petition.³⁰

Albert Frost and Wiley Duff testified that they had refused to join the WCU and had received threatening notes signed "IWW," and "The Bunch." Furthermore, Frost testified that after he had returned home one night an unknown person had shot a hole through his hat.³¹

The trial lasted from September 19, to October 6. The jury had retired on October 4, and returned with their verdicts the next day. Eight men were pronounced guilty on the first count. The second and third counts were dropped. Three men were pronounced not guilty. Judge Cotteral sentenced the convicted men to six years in the federal penitentiary, at Leavenworth, and fined them each one hundred dollars.³²

The evidence which convicted the men was weak and often contradictory. George Pounds and Jared Shirey both

testified that Barton and Holmes, the government agents, had called the secret meeting in which the men debated whether or not to register for the draft. Barton had made the motion that the men should vote on whether or not they should register, and Holmes had seconded the motion. The motion, and all questions concerning the draft, had been presented in a negative manner. Tobe Simons had attended the meeting and had argued against Barton and Holmes. Other defendants had also opposed the proceedings.³³ Testimony often revealed that the defendants had feared spies in their group. The prosecution repeatedly used this point to imply illegal activities. Yet the defendants were no doubt well aware of the dangers of taking a public stand against the war, and wanted to keep any antiwar discussion as confidential as possible.³⁴ The fear of violence by pro-war groups also explains the crucial question of arms collected by the defendants. The prosecution never proved that the group had obtained arms or explosives. Allegations were made that money was collected to buy weapons, and even that plans were made with Rube Munson and the WCU to obtain them. But the arms were never found. According to J. C. Harrod, he and his three sons agreed that they would resist a mob which they had heard was coming after them. They bought rifles and ammunition with which to defend themselves. The arms, then, were acquired by individuals--not by the group. And

certainly the possession of firearms was not unusual in rural Oklahoma.³⁵

The defendants repeatedly testified that their organization was a farmers' cooperative group, and that it was law-abiding and patriotic. When they had become affiliated with the WCU, they were not aware of its revolutionary tenets.³⁶

The defense objected that the court refused to strike from consideration of the jury all testimony that someone had shot at Albert Frost. The defense also objected that the court accepted testimony on what Clarence Roberts was said to have done in the absence of the defendants. And finally, the defense objected to the admission of testimony which implied a conspiracy between Rube Munson and the WCU, and the insurrection which had occurred in Seminole, Hughes and Pontotoc Counties.³⁷

Some of the defendants made poor choices for their lawyers. Two defense attorneys, J. J. Carney, a former district judge of Oklahoma City, and Pat Nagel, of Kingfisher, were Socialists. Attorneys Nagel, Roscoe Arrington, and J. Q. A. Harrod, petitioned the court for an arrest in judgment, and later for a new trial, on the grounds that the first count of the indictment was too vague, and that the draft act of May 18, 1917, was unconstitutional. Considering the convictions of Judge Cotteral, the petitions were foolish.³⁸

The defendants themselves were unlikely revolutionaries. Tobe Simons, designated a leader by the prosecution, was a fifty-two-year-old farmer who had lived in the Tecumseh area for twenty years. He owned and operated a cotton gin which he ran for the benefit of farmers. Wealthy businessmen of Shawnee, Tecumseh, Norman, and Guthrie, put up thousands of dollars in bond for Simons, C. W. Morris, Walter Phillips, and John Shirey.³⁹

The most interesting defendant was John L. Bohanon. As mentioned above, Bohanon was a wealthy farmer. He had moved to Cleveland County, in 1889, from Texas, where he had been a sheriff for five years. He was sixty-three-years old at the time of the trial. Bohanon admitted being a member of the WCU, but claimed that it had been represented as a mutual benefit society for farmers. He also admitted being opposed to the Selective Service Act, when it was being debated by Congress. Furthermore, he testified that his son had gone to Mexico to avoid the draft.⁴⁰

Bohanon was well-known and respected in Cleveland County. He was represented by Ben F. Williams, the most able attorney in Norman.⁴¹ The defense witnesses for Bohanon, and his co-defendant, Frank Banning, were among the most prominent individuals in the area. The witnesses included J. D. McGuire, a Norman hardware merchant; William Synatt, a Norman banker; S. W. Hutchin, a mayor of Norman; Claud Pickard, a county sheriff and businessman; F. O. Miller,

a county clerk; W. J. Hess, publisher of the Norman Democrat-Topic; John Brockhaus, a Norman merchant; S. P. Larsh, a Tecumseh businessman; H. P. Brendle, a resident of eastern Cleveland County who was active in the sale of war bonds; Jim Stogner, a Noble banker and businessman; and C. J. Sellers, another Norman businessman. None of these men would have been willing to damage their reputations by testifying on behalf of an insurrectionist.⁴²

Bohanon and Banning were both acquitted, probably because of their attorney's skill and their witnesses' prestige. Their acquittal, however, brings up a serious question concerning the conviction of the eight defendants. If Bohanon and Banning were active in the local organization, and if they were opponents of the war, yet they were acquitted, were the other men convicted because of their Socialist attorneys, or an inept defense, or a lack of prestigious witnesses?⁴³

Clearly the evidence against the Jones Family defendants was flimsy. There is little doubt that the men perceived themselves as agrarian political activists. But there was a tradition of agrarian activism in Oklahoma and the West, and that in itself did not imply violence. The men also opposed the war; but neither did that imply violence. The defendants had expressed antiwar sentiments during a summer when support of the war was believed to be both patriotic and moral. And they were tried after an attempted

insurrection had shattered the security of the state. If justice was indeed blind in the Jones Family trial, it was blinded by the waving of the flag.

During the tumultuous summer of 1917, and throughout the war, Norman and the rest of Cleveland County remained surprisingly calm. There were minor disturbances. A Bohemian farmer was verbally abused for an alleged expression of disloyalty on the streets of Noble. And, of course, there was the slacker pen in downtown Norman. But there was no reported violence connected with the war issue, and the ethnic churches were not disturbed. The excesses of the patriotic backlash in other parts of Oklahoma were absent.

Yet Cleveland County could easily have over-reacted. Newspapers carried the stories of the violence which occurred in the eastern part of the state. And the fact that the defendants in the Jones Family trial were from Cleveland County, or nearby, must have led some residents to believe that a large scale rebellion could occur where they lived. One newspaper addressed that possibility. On August 4, 1917, the Norman Transcript carried a front page editorial entitled "Cry Revolution!" which reported that Sheriff Ben Wheeler had been warned that the Jones Family and the IWW were headed toward Cleveland County from the Seminole nation. The sheriff had then warned residents of the eastern part of the county to be alert. The article went on to urge readers to imagine what would happen "if an organized gang

of several hundred men in automobiles should make a sudden raid on the town?"⁴⁴ Therefore, the paper said, Cleveland County remained calm because of the prestige and influence of Ben F. Williams, the defense attorney for Frank Banning and John L. Bohanon. Williams was one of the best lawyers in Oklahoma, and he was one of the most respected men in Norman. When he became a defense lawyer in the case, area residents' attitudes about the defendants were modified. Bohanon and Banning themselves were respected, and the list of their defense witnesses read like a who's who of Cleveland County. Thus the Norman newspapers which in early August had been extremely critical of the Jones Family defendants, two months later were praising Williams for winning his case. The Norman Democrat-Topic provides the best example. On August 10, the paper had published "The Draft Resistor," quoted above, and an editorial calling for the severe punishment of draft law violators. But during the trial, W. J. Hess, publisher of the Norman Democrat-Topic testified for Banning and Bohanon. And on October 7, the paper applauded Williams for scoring "a notable victory." The Norman Transcript, also praised Williams for his assistance in the defense of all 11 men, and acknowledged the acquittal of Banning and Bohanon.⁴⁵

Not only was Williams considered a hero, but two years later the press would refer to Bohanon as "our old friend J. L. Bohanon" and state that his son had gone to

Mexico to manage the family's ranch long before the United States had entered the war. Therefore, the paper said, the report that he went to Mexico to avoid the draft was "without foundation."⁴⁶

Public opinion is never controlled by one man. No doubt many residents of Cleveland County believed the Jones Family defendants to be wrong, and held to that belief even after some defendants were acquitted. But there was no social disorder. No mobs were formed and nobody was lynched. One wonders if that would have been the case had Banning and Bohanon been defended by, say, Pat Nagle, the Socialist from Kingfisher. Such violent actions would not have been suprising considering the excitement in the state. Yet when a hometown lawyer, several community business leaders, and the newspapers, all supported, or seemed to support, the men who only a few days before had been considered anarchists, there could be no public endorsement of mob or vigilante action. The sparks of vigilantism were not fanned. Order prevailed.

the thirties, as economic and political turmoil, turned into war in Europe and the Far East. Oklahomans, along with the rest of the nation, noted these situations with alarm. Yet they hoped that the United States could stay out of another world conflict. Oklahomans were more concerned with their own economic paralysis than with world affairs.²

By late 1941, however, newspapers gave precedence to the world conflict and dwelt less on domestic economic issues. When the United States finally entered the war after Pearl Harbor, Norman citizens responded with enthusiasm. This enthusiasm

CHAPTER 3

JUST LIKE GETTING ANOTHER STATE UNIVERSITY:

NORMAN AND THE NAVY BASES, 1942 - 1959

The Depression hit Norman hard. Cleveland County did not experience the severe dust storms of Oklahoma's southwestern plains, or the mass exodus of the eastern cotton growing areas, but county residents nonetheless realized their dire situation. Work was hard to find; and when it was found, wages were low. Hoping for greater opportunities, young people began to drift away. Business leaders in Norman were well aware that something needed to be done. But except for some WPA projects such as paving roads, and constructing a new courthouse, nothing happened.¹

In the late thirties, as economic and political turmoil turned into war in Europe and the Far East, Oklahomans, along with the rest of the nation, noted these situations with alarm. Yet they hoped that the United States could stay out of another world conflict. Oklahomans were more concerned with their own economic paralysis than with world affairs.²

By late 1941, however, newspapers gave precedence to the world conflict and dwelt less on domestic economic issues. When the United States finally entered the war after Pearl Harbor, Norman citizens responded with enthusiasm. This enthusiasm, however, did not degenerate into the excesses of the First World War. There was no slacker pen on Main Street, and farmers were not harassed at the whim of street ruffians.³

In late January, 1942, a chance meeting occurred which led to the establishment of two Navy bases in Norman--plums which boosted the community out of the Depression. Savoie Lottinville, then director of the University of Oklahoma Press, while on a train to New York, found himself seated next to K. B. Salisbury, a Navy captain. After some pleasant conversation about places each had lived, Salisbury asked if the University of Oklahoma had a flying program. Lottinville informed him about Westheimer Field and the school's fledgling aviation program. Salisbury then asked if Lottinville would go to Washington, D. C., to make arrangements to establish a flying school at Norman. Lottinville called the president of the University, Joseph Brandt, and received instructions to go to Washington and try to procure the flying school.⁴

Walter Neutadt, an Ardmore businessman, had given the University \$10,500 to purchase an airfield in honor of his late father-in-law, Max Westheimer. The school had

bought 160 acres north of town and had begun a small scale civilian pilot training program. The University attracted a \$220,000 WPA project to construct improvements of the field, and the Junior Chamber of Commerce had promoted a \$20,000 bonds proposal approved in a city election. Another \$36,000 had been put up by the University and the Max Westheimer estate. Thus, in 1942, Norman already had a small but respectable airfield to offer the Navy.⁵

In Washington, Lottinville endured the hardships imposed by the wartime shortages of lodging and laundry facilities as he met with the Navy land acquisition officers to explain the facilities Norman had to offer. The Navy wanted more information before it would decide to locate at Norman, but they indicated a strong interest. Lottinville kept President Brandt informed of his progress.⁶

When Brandt announced that the University had offered the airport to the government, the Norman Chamber of Commerce moved quickly to secure a flying school. The businessmen thought that Congressional support would be necessary to pull strings in Washington, and that Oklahoma politicians would be more responsive to Chamber of Commerce representatives than to University representatives. On January 28, the Chamber of Commerce met and voted to send Neil R. Johnson, and T. Jack Foster to Washington.⁷

Neil R. Johnson was a prominent businessman in Norman whose family had made money raising cattle in the Chickasaw

Nation before statehood. T. Jack Foster was an even more interesting character, with incredible skills of entrepreneurship. Foster had arrived in Norman in the twenties to attend the University. Although he had little money he managed to buy a dry cleaning establishment which he turned into a profitable business. In 1928, while still a student, he was elected mayor of Norman, which made him the youngest mayor in the country. After completing law school at the University of Oklahoma, and passing the bar exams, he was appointed city attorney of Norman. In the last thirties, he built the only large, modern motel between Oklahoma City and Dallas. By 1942, he was a member of the board of directors of the First National Bank of Norman.⁸

In Washington, the Norman delegation enlisted the aid of Senator Josh Lee and Representative Mike Monroney. Lottinville and Johnson returned to Norman after a few days, but Foster remained in Washington until February 22. On March 5, Foster went back to Washington. Much of Foster's time was spent entertaining bureaucrats and Navy officers and providing them with good Scotch whisky. He also had to reassure them that the Navy could secure airspace and that Norman could provide housing and services for Navy personnel.⁹

To make certain that the town could provide the Navy what it was promising, Norman residents consulted the Federal Security Agency concerning the health and recreational

needs of a Navy base, solicited WPA grants, and prepared the school system for an influx of students. Mayor Sylvester Grim proclaimed a "Clean Up, Paint Up, and Fix Up" week to encourage residents to prepare their homes and rental properties for the Navy personnel. The newspaper carried articles which proclaimed that "Enlisted Men of Navy are High-Type Citizens." And the Chamber of Commerce sent a committee to Enid, Oklahoma, Little Rock, Arkansas, and Kansas City, Missouri, to learn how these towns dealt with problems related to the military installations in their communities.¹⁰

Even though Norman had the facilities and services to offer, the Navy could not make a quick decision to locate there. Bureaucracies tend to move slowly, and wartime usually compounds this problem. Furthermore, government offices in Washington were packed with Congressmen and town promoters from all over the country trying to get federal projects for their communities.¹¹

Still, prospects were bright for Norman. Navy officials were enthusiastic, and T. Jack Foster, according to a newspaper, was "plugging away incessantly." The Army even agreed to relinquish the air space around Norman which it had previously claimed for nearby Tinker and Wiley Post airfields. But then a Navy official saw a problem to which Norman residents had no solution: Norman was too close to Oklahoma City. The Navy feared that its men would succumb

to all the vices readily available and less than twenty miles away. All Norman representatives could do was to assure the Navy that its men would be provided recreational facilities in the town's wholesome atmosphere and thus diminish the lure of Oklahoma City. Eventually the dubious officials were persuaded.¹²

On March 20, 1942, the Norman Transcript carried headlines that the Navy would establish a \$4,500,000 air base at Norman. Three days later the Navy announced that the base would cost \$7,000,000. The town was elated. A full-page advertisement by city merchants in the Sunday, March 22, newspaper carried a picture of Uncle Sam and an aviator under the banner, "Norman's Sleeves are Rolled Up, Too," and stated that the town would do its full share to make the air base a "potent factor in the final victory." The Norman Transcript itself was more direct when it entitled an article about the economic benefits of the base, "It Is Just Like Getting Another State University."¹³

The men who had worked to secure the base were considered heroes. The newspaper gave them ample recognition in both articles and editorials. One editorial even encouraged businessmen to contribute to a special fund which would replace the money spent by the Chamber of Commerce representatives in Washington. And T. Jack Foster addressed civic groups on his exploits in the capitol.¹⁴

was not as drastic, but is nonetheless interesting. The

Construction began on the Naval Air Station (NAS) on April 27. Soon thereafter, the Navy also built a Naval Air Technical Training Center (NATTC) and hospital south of the University of Oklahoma campus, and a gunnery school at Lexington. The economic impact of these projects was greater than most people had anticipated. Over twelve hundred acres of land around the airfield were condemned and bought by the government at an average of \$68 an acre. Local labor unions joined forces with the Chamber of Commerce to keep jurisdiction of the projects out of the hands of the Oklahoma City unions, even though they were willing to accept the higher Oklahoma City wage scale. The project absorbed the entire local labor pool and attracted hundreds of other workers. Wages were set by the U. S. Department of Labor, and ranged from \$.55 to \$1.50 per hour depending upon the level of skill. Once the bases began operation, cooks, radio operators, and mechanics were hired by the Navy.¹⁵

Any basement, attic, or spare room in Norman could be rented to workers and Navy personnel, especially officers and their families. Rents in Norman had been declining prior to 1942, but with the Navy came an increase in rents and real estate sales. Merchants also enjoyed increased business.¹⁶

The social impact of the bases upon the community was not as drastic, but is nonetheless interesting. The

Navy brought the first blacks to Norman. Over 100 blacks served as cooks, mess attendants, and as musicians in a black band. A newspaper editorial stated that although here most Norman residents would prefer that the town remain an all-white community, these residents should accept the change calmly, and consider it part of their contribution to the war.¹⁷

Patriotism was an important aspect in the community's attitude toward the bases. As residents filled their pocket-books with profits, they filled their consciences with pride that they were taking an active part in the war effort.

To maintain the Navy's approval, and their own self-concept of Norman as the cleanest town in Oklahoma, city residents consciously tried to keep out the seamier activities that often thrive in military towns. City and county officials worked together to keep out prostitution, bootlegging, and gambling, and to regulate two persistent Oklahoma issues: beer and dance halls.¹⁸

The Navy was careful not to offend or give cause for alarm to the town. When the Norman Transcript carried a wire service article which reported "hand-holding, embracing, kissing, lovemaking, and 'lollygagging'" in the corners, phone booths and corridors of a Naval hospital in New York, the commander of the Norman hospital assured the readers that a guard at his hospital strictly prohibited any such public display of affection.¹⁹

New arrivals to the bases, however, were not always aware that they were moving into the cleanest town in Oklahoma. Some were advised by men who had been stationed there for a while that the large, white, colonaded house across from the University was the finest brothel in the area. The house was, in fact, the residence of the president of the University, who one night had to send away from his door a tipsy and disappointed young sailor.²⁰

Instances of misconduct on the part of Navy men, however, were rare, and good relations generally existed between the town and the military. In fact, the social lives of both parties benefitted a great deal from each other. Selected civilians could attend the performances of Tex Beneke, Martha Scott, John Wayne, Gabby Hayes, Betty McGuire, Ted Fio Rio, Stan Kenton, and others who entertained at the bases. The Navy men were also entertained by University of Oklahoma sorority girls who went out to the bases to "strut their stuff" in musicals, beauty shows, and pin-up girl contests.²¹

This symbiotic relationship continued throughout the war. Even though a few optimists hoped that the bases would be permanent installations, most Norman residents believed that the bases would remain only for the duration. Moreover, many people were anticipating the Navy's departure so that the buildings and other improvements could be put to use by civilians. A city committee recommended that

the city, University, and county jointly ask for all the property left at the air base. The city would then receive several buildings, a swimming pool, and eight water wells. The county would receive several buildings and some land. And the remainder would go to the University for dormitories and flight facilities. Josh Lee, who had retired from the U. S. Senate and moved back to Norman, told a group of businessmen that airline companies would be attracted to an airfield such as the NAS. He was then a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board, and people respected his opinion on such matters. Lee also advised his audience to "continue in the spirit of the pioneer and be fast on the trigger."²²

Norman residents got a chance for fast action when on January 9, 1946, the Navy announced that it would consider continuance of the NATTC on a trial basis until the fall instead of closing the base on March 1, as planned. That afternoon, V. C. Bratton, president of the Chamber of Commerce, T. Jack Foster, vice president of the Chamber, and T. A. Nicholson, a Navy commander, met with the University Board of Regents to stress the importance of the Navy installations to Norman, the University and the state. George Lynn Cross, who had succeeded Joseph Brandt as president of the University, disagreed. He stated that "he was not willing to approve the Navy program unless some relief of the housing situation could be effected, and the Navy programs contemplated could be shown to be at a collegiate

levels and involving fewer personnel than in the past." The Regents unanimously supported Cross, and passed a motion allowing him to act alone in this matter to protect the best interests of the University.²³

The lines were thus drawn for a conflict which for thirty days remained the most important issue in Norman-- superseding even the hiring of Jim Tatum, Bud Wilkinson, and Walter Driskill as coaches for the University of Oklahoma football team. The conflict brought out the most admirable qualities of the community, and some of the worst. Over thirty years later, the participants still remember the intensity of the struggle.²⁴

In 1946, housing for veterans was a national crisis. The problem was especially acute for college-bound veterans with families. In Norman, hundreds of veterans had been turned away, and at least one University faculty member had resigned by early January because of a severe housing shortage. On registration day for the spring semester, 1946, 5,400 students enrolled. Of these, 2,400 were veterans, 45% of whom were married. On that day, there were 608 veterans on the waiting list for housing. The veterans' liaison officer, Guy Williams, predicted that 5,000 more veterans would attend the University in the fall if they could find housing.²⁵

Before the war, Norman rooming house operators had persuaded governor Leon C. Phillips to withdraw a legislative

bonds proposal which would have provided for the construction of dormitories.²⁵ Stillwater, however, had constructed the buildings. Furthermore, Oklahoma A & M, at Stillwater, had provided "The Village," a housing project of small trailers and prefabricated houses for veterans and their families. George Lynn Cross feared that if Stillwater continued to provide more housing than Norman, then soon Oklahoma A & M would grow larger, and perhaps more prestigious than the University of Oklahoma. A similar situation had developed between Ohio State and Ohio University. The Norman Transcript shared this concern.²⁶

Cross, the Board of Regents, and many of the University faculty members, believed that the presence of a large naval training base adjacent to the University would jeopardize the school. Some people were concerned that the parents--especially those of coeds--would hesitate to send their children to the University if the base remained. Cross acknowledged these worries, although he was mainly concerned with the administrative problems created by the large training center. Throughout the conflict, Cross offered to allow the base to remain if the Navy would reduce the number of men stationed there and raise the educational standard to that of a collegiate level.²⁷

Norman businessmen, however, worried more about the economic loss to the town if the Navy base was removed than the harm to the University if the base remained. In January, construction of housing in Norman before the war.³⁰

1946, over 2,250 naval personnel were stationed at the NATTC. The base employed 537 civil service personnel, and 275 other civilians. According to Otis James, a leader in the effort to retain the base, the NATTC provided a \$10 billion annual payroll to Norman.²⁸

Once the businessmen learned that the University would not support the continuation of the NATTC they attempted a plan to ease the housing shortage, and thus allow the University and the base to coexist. On January 10, the Chamber of Commerce began to raise a projected \$42,000 loan to the University to aid in the conversion of barracks at the NAS into dormitories for veterans. Congress had recently passed the Mead Act which allowed such conversions. The Chamber of Commerce plan evolved into the "\$1,000 Housing Club" in which individuals would loan \$1,000 each to the University. The plan was popular in Norman, and received the support of the Norman Transcript. Fred Tarman, editor of the paper was a \$1,000 Club member. The club raised over \$34,000.²⁹

Further evidence of a spirit of cooperation was demonstrated by the newspaper. On January 10, a front page editorial urged Norman residents to register their rental properties with the University, and emphasized the economic dependence of the town upon the school. A few days later, another editorial blamed the postwar housing shortage on the Norman rooming house owners who had blocked the construction of housing in Norman before the war.³⁰

stay. At this point, a compromise for all interests seemed possible. Congressman Monroney supported a sophisticated, or "high type" Navy program, and the use of federal funds for the conversion of unused barracks. George Lynn Cross asked the Navy to continue flight training and to add a radar and electronics school. The Navy, however, did not want such a limited program. Instead it planned to consolidate its technical training by closing the schools at Chicago and Memphis and moving them to Norman.³¹

The public was impatient with the dispute, and directed its anger toward president Cross. In a confusing letter to the editor, published in the Norman Transcript, a woman tried to satirize the "high type" proposal by emphasizing the snobbish aspects of permitting a school for pilots and electronic engineers but barring one for aircraft mechanics. Another writer objected to education which taught people to think, and advocated technical training instead. He also used the opportunity to blast the New Deal, "long-haired members of the intelligencia" and the employment of women in the trades. Yet another writer criticized universities and suggested that Cross join the Navy to find out what made it work so well.³²

Other letters demonstrated more thought in their preparation, but also disagreed with the University. A group of University of Oklahoma alumni suggested that it was the University's patriotic duty to allow the Navy to

stay. They went on to discuss the need for technical education as well as liberal education. They also pointed out the economic importance of the NATTC. Another writer cited patriotic reasons for keeping the base, and also claimed that "financially the Navy has done more for Norman in four years than the University could do in 20 years."³³

In a special meeting on January 23, the University Board of Regents voted to request \$160,000 from the State Board of Regents for Higher Education to convert barracks at the NAS into housing. That afternoon, the University Regents met with Rear Admiral Felix B. Stump, V. C. Bratton, and T. Jack Foster, to discuss the Navy's plans for continuance of the NATTC. The regents once more reaffirmed that the continuance of the base would not be in the best interest of the University. Another resolution to that effect was drawn up and released to the press.³⁴

Bratton and Foster also made statements to the press. In a front page article Bratton explained that the Regents were blocking the continuance of the NATTC, although neither Admiral Stump nor the Chamber of Commerce could see any conflict with the University.³⁵

Other Oklahoma towns, aware of the conflict in Norman, moved in like sharks drawn to the scent of blood. Clinton, Cordell, and Elk City invited the NATTC to leave Norman and transfer to the smaller Burns Flat Naval Air Station near those towns. The Navy declined.³⁶

As the probability increased that the Navy base would be removed, so did the activity of Norman citizens. A group of 500 people met on Friday and Saturday mornings, January 26 and 27, at the USO armory in Norman. V. C. Bratton, who first addressed the meeting, explained the objectives of the Chamber of Commerce, and stated that the Chamber alone should not be expected to retain the base. Chairman Otis James, owner of a local bus line, then led the group in the drafting of a petition which requested the support of Admiral Stump, Senator Elmer Thomas, and Governor Robert S. Kerr. The group also sent a telegram to Admiral Stump which thanked him for his consideration, and stated that the Regents did not understand local conditions and should therefore be ignored.³⁷

The citizens also brought up the largely irrelevant morality issue. Edmund P. Frank, pastor of the Lutheran church, offered the observation that he had "found the morals of the University to be lower than those of the men in the service." Chief of Police, Dub Wheeler, supported that position by noting that during the war Navy personnel had been less hazardous to the morals of University girls than the football team had been.³⁸

The conflict also had ugly aspects. Some individuals secretly pressured members of the University Board of Regents to fire Cross. Others made harassing calls to the president's home. One caller even threatened the life of Cross' young son.³⁹

Most people, however, worked legally and diligently to retain the NATTC. On Sunday, January 28, the 101 Ranch Affiliated Indian Traders ran an advertisement which urged the readers to come into the store and sign the Navy petition. Amid proclamations about the return of Col. Zack Miller and the wild west show, the advertisement argued that Norman and the rest of the state needed the bases. That week, A. C. Jackson circulated the petition in Norman and other towns and obtained over 1,200 signatures. Otis James and the citizens' committee made plans to garner Senator Thomas' support during his scheduled visit to Oklahoma.⁴⁰

The political pressure which Norman residents hoped to bring to bear against the University never materialized. Governor Kerr refused to take sides in the issue and referred the citizens' group back to the Regents. Admiral Stump agreed that the Regents were acting against the interests of the state. But he refused to counteract the Regents, and praised president Cross for his courtesy.⁴¹

On January 30, a citizens' delegation met with Cross to convince him of the importance of the base. They pointed out that there were hundreds of jobs to be lost if the base were removed. They also argued that the University's position was causing a serious schism in Norman. Cross, however, reiterated the University's concerns over administrative problems.⁴²

The Korean conflict, the NATTC was reopened. The business community again applauded the arrival of Navy.

The citizens were too late. That day the executive officer of the NATTC at Memphis announced that the training schools at Chicago and Norman would be transferred to Memphis. The next day the Norman base received orders to pack the equipment and prepare to move by March 22, 1946.⁴³

For a few days the town refused to accept that the goose that laid golden eggs was flying to Memphis. A February 3 editorial in the Norman Transcript said that a modified Navy program would not conflict with the University, and that the Regents could still help. The following morning a citizens' committee met with the Regents and made an urgent request that the NATTS proposal be reconsidered. Nothing came of the meeting. On February 8, Otis James announced that the citizens had not given up the battle to retain the bases. But two days later an aviation cadet made the final training flight at the NAS, and the NATTC continued to crate its equipment.⁴⁴

By midsummer the bases and the fat Navy payrolls were gone. Pragmatists, however, spent little time grieving the Navy and consoled themselves with the thousands of acres and facilities worth millions of dollars which were distributed among the University, and the city, county, and state governments by the War Assets Corporation. For a few years the Navy was nothing more than a fond memory to Norman.⁴⁵

During the Korean conflict, the NATTC was reopened. The business community again applauded the arrival of Navy.

In a twelve page "NATTC Reactivation" section of the Norman Transcript, merchants ran large advertisements welcoming the Navy. There was, however, a marked difference in the spirit of these advertisements and those which hailed the Navy a decade earlier. In 1952, the greetings emphasized the economic contribution the Navy would make to the community. There was scant emphasis of patriotism, and no mention of the war effort. This dollars and cents perspective does not suggest that the businessmen had forgotten the positive correlation between flag waving and profits, but reflects the nationwide bewilderment over the concept of a limited war.⁴⁶

The Navy base remained after the end of the Korean conflict, and continued to provide Norman with the economic and social benefits which it had during WW II. The base certainly had the support of the business community. Prominent Norman citizens joined the Navy League, a national organization which supports and lobbies for the Navy. Norman Navy Leaguers hobnobbed with senior officers at the base, drank at the officers club, attended performances at the base, and even attended Army-Navy football games with the base commander.⁴⁷

When Washington considered removing the NATTC, the Norman Navy League used all of its influence to retain the base. In 1956, the group was able to reverse a Navy proposal to close the Norman NATTC.⁴⁸

In December, 1958, the Navy once again announced plans to remove the NATTC to Memphis. And the Navy League once again announced plans to thwart the proposal. This time, however, the struggle lacked the intensity of the struggle in 1946. There was no clash of interests within the community. The University and the NATTC did not interfere with each other. In fact, George Lynn Cross, still president of the University, offered his services to the Chamber of Commerce, and volunteered to travel to Washington if necessary to retain the base.⁴⁹

The Navy League was not successful, and the base was removed in 1959. Even the closing of the base did not cause much excitement. The base was no longer considered essential to the economic growth of Norman. The lean and uncertain years of the thirties and early forties had given way to the more prosperous and optimistic fifties. The people of Norman could forget the Navy and concentrate on football teams, interstate highways, and shopping centers. For them, tomorrow was on their side.⁵⁰

From these examples some conclusions may be drawn. First of all, social scientists are naive to try to label communities and their residents as either cooperative or competitive. They are both, and of that phenomenon the business and professional men of Cleveland County provide the best example. In not one instance did they demonstrate a tendency

to compete without a willingness to cooperate. In fact, during the most intense conflict of this study, the 1946 struggle to retain the Navy base, one is struck by the degree to which the business community tried to cooperate with the University. The business and professional men of Cleveland

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSIONS

The preceding chapters have examined three distinct periods of community cooperation and conflict in Cleveland County. The first chapter provided an example of cooperation among politicians and businessmen of Norman, and a bit of competition between the towns of the county. The second chapter examined a case of intense social unrest which had political origins. The unrest was contained; it did not break into social disorder. The third chapter provided an example of cooperation among businessmen, academicians, and politicians in the mature community--and the conflict which developed when differences in the academic and economic interests of the community seemed irreconcilable.

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to compete without a willingness to cooperate. In fact, during the most intense conflict of this study, the 1946 struggle to retain the Navy base, one is struck by the degree to which the business community tried to cooperate with the University. The business and professional men of Cleveland County are well described by Daniel Boorstin's term "Businessman Americanus."¹ They are primarily concerned with their own self interest; but they also believe that their personal prosperity is tied to the community's prosperity. They are boosters. As boosters, they are also concerned with the social order. For economic reasons, obviously, protecting the status quo also protected their position in society. There is, then, a longing for social order. What seem to us to be excessive measures during World War I--the slacker pen, for example--were measures to ensure order by discouraging dissent. And in the same period, if business and professional leaders attempted to control dissident elements by the examples they set in the Councils of Defense and the home guard, they also controlled, perhaps unwittingly, the ruffians inclined toward vigilante action by their support of Ben F. Williams and his clients. Community leaders and most residents are conservative. Kenneth Lockridge points out that the residents of the colonial New England town wanted a pluralistic society governed by "politics of diverse, frank, and contending interests." But

they also wanted the security and intimacy of a Puritan village. Likewise, Cleveland County leaders could struggle to attain a university, but only because that would attract a better sort of people. And another generation would work to attract a military installation, but only while assuring each other that the Navy men would be "high-type citizens."²

Communities are influenced by people who want their towns to be orderly places where they can raise their children, go to church, and lead respectable lives. They also want their towns to have enough economic opportunity for them to constantly increase their personal incomes and positions in society. The boomers, boosters, bankers, preachers, and teachers of Cleveland County, then, have always lived with a dilemma. They have welcomed the influx of money, institutions, industry, and people into their communities. They have worked together to attract such things, and they have fought each other to keep them. But along with the desire for a dynamic community has been the longing for one which is stable, secure, and harmonious.

In the process of examining the records of community leaders, talking to their relatives, friends and enemies, and in many cases talking to the individuals themselves, I have made some peripheral observations.

The most subjective observation deals with the personalities of the community leaders. If it is improper to categorize leaders as cooperative or competitive, it is equally

inaccurate to stereotype them as either saints or sinners. Some prominent individuals in this study have demonstrated exemplary strength of character and high ethical standards. They are men any community would be proud to claim. Ironically, these men have worked shoulder to shoulder with individuals who had the ethics of alley cats. Disgusting characteristics of the opportunists have been the tendencies to abandon their friends in the midst of crises and to join the opposition for personal gain; to hop on the bandwagon of public opinion and make excessive statements or take excessive action during difficult times in order to increase their status in the community; and to work to obtain huge expenditures of government funds for projects of dubious value for the community but obvious benefit for their personal interests.

An interesting characteristic of community leaders is that they have been as cliquish as school children. Social circles were formed around political parties, banks and churches. The members of a circle played cards, traveled, and partied as a group. And, as a group, they were petty and critical of the other cliques. Yet their pettiness never prevented them from joining forces whenever a situation required collective action.

Some community leaders have had lifelong loyalty to Cleveland County. Others have been peripatetic. These men have lived in Cleveland County for a while, made some money, then moved on to make or lose money in other places.

Variations on this pattern are the few men who have lived in Cleveland County and made large investments there, then moved away to live off of the return on their investments. While these individuals lived in Cleveland County, they were among the most active boosters. This suggests that the interests of the town booster may not be as closely tied to his community as he would be expected to believe. A booster and his town can be compared to a farmer and his farm. If the farmer considers the land his permanent home, he will try to make it as comfortable a place as possible. If, however, the farmer expects to leave the farm, the farm becomes a commodity. Short-term profits become more important than long-term consequences. In many cases, improvements could be both profitable to the farmer and beneficial to the land. Ponds and natural windbreaks, for instance, would provide habitat for wildlife and increase the productivity of the farm. Although some practices, such as the overuse of fertilizers, herbicides, and pesticides, would increase productivity and profits, the overall effects would be detrimental to the land. Likewise, the town promoter who intends to make the town his permanent home will strive to make and keep his community stable, secure, and harmonious. The one who views the town as a commodity, however, will be more interested in profits. Throughout this study, I have attempted to determine what has made Cleveland County the pleasant place that it

is. Any quick survey will indicate that the majority of residents--even cynical high school students--find Cleveland County a congenial environment. There are many factors for the current contentment. A healthy economy, pleasant natural surroundings, and cultural opportunities are among the county's advantages. Yet Cleveland County has evolved into a pleasant community largely because of luck. There has been no dynamic leadership to guide the community toward wise decisions. In the issues I have examined there was never a serious discussion of aesthetics or the cultural impact of a decision upon the community. Indeed, aesthetics have been bandied about, but only as an afterthought to economics.³ And aesthetic, cultural, or moral issues were sometimes exaggerated or reversed by factions in order to sway public opinion.

A community can no longer afford to rely upon luck. Growth can no longer be haphazard or unchecked. Despite even the best intentions of town boosters, they can make mistakes which would seriously damage a community.

Cleveland County has recently demonstrated a tendency toward community planning.⁴ Residents have taken an active interest in the type of industry that is invited into the community. They have shown interest in ecological studies and a hesitancy to allow development which would overburden natural and civic resources. They have demonstrated an interest in historic preservation. The willingness of representatives of diverse interests within the community to

work together to make decisions that affect the future of Cleveland County is encouraging. Such cooperation is the only way a community can ensure that it will maintain its quality of life.

APPENDIX

A brief discussion of important works which address themselves to the problem of community cooperation and conflict is in order. Frederick Jackson Turner, one of the most influential historians of the early twentieth century, was vague in his treatment of cooperation and conflict on the American frontier. His disciples have been equally vague. For instance, Ray Allen Billington described frontiersmen who were rugged individualists; self-sufficient and scornful of any individual or institution which would attempt to assist them or control them. Yet these same individualists were always willing to help each other build forts, fight Indians, roll logs, or raise cabins. Indeed, frontiersmen seem to have been imbued with a community spirit much stronger than that of their counterparts in the East.¹

Urban historians have studied men in frontier communities, and they also have found both cooperation and conflict. An appropriate introduction to the study of urban frontier history is The Urban Frontier, by Richard C. Wade. Especially interesting is Wade's observation that merchants were the power brokers in the young towns. Also pertinent in

this thesis is the "urban imperialism," or competition for commercial and political power which existed among the towns of the Ohio valley.²

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One of the finest applications of Turnerian theory is by Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick. In their 1954 article, "A Meaning for Turner's Frontier" Elkins and McKittrick examined the work of sociologist Robert K. Merton. Merton had observed two World War II housing projects administered by the Federal Public Housing Authority. One community, Crafttown, displayed characteristics which Elkins and McKittrick found similar to the frontier of the Old Northwest. For example, the population was homogeneous, and the community faced some serious problems. In Crafttown the people developed Turnerian frontier traits. They began to participate in self-government, they started their own cooperative store, they started a child-care center, and they developed an aggressive and manipulative attitude toward government. The second community, Hilltown, did not face similar problems, and the people did not behave as their counterparts in Crafttown. Elkins and McKittrick suggested that communities which faced fundamental problems would develop Turnerian frontier traits. The trait most pertinent to this study is cooperation.³

Robert R. Dykstra, in his highly acclaimed book, The Cattle Towns, published in 1970, found the Kansas cattle towns to be settings of a great deal of social conflict.

There were clashes between early settlers and later settlers, craftsmen and townsmen, northside and southside businessmen, ethnic groups, and real estate promoters. Dykstra pointed to this broadly-based vigorous political activity as evidence of a healthy democracy. In an appendix to the book, Dykstra criticized Elkins and McKittrick for their views of frontier communities as homogeneous, and of participative democracy as peaceful. He concluded that in the cattle towns, neither case was true. Frontier towns, according to Dykstra, were indeed democratic; but democracy was based upon conflict, not cohesion.⁴

Another urban study which found rampant social conflict in a developing community is a 1977 article by Don Harrison Doyle. Entitled "Social Theory and the New Communities in Nineteenth Century America" the article modifies the conclusions drawn by Dykstra. Doyle, in his examination of Jacksonville, Illinois, from 1825 to 1870, found animosity between groups with divergent ethnic, regional, political, and religious backgrounds. For instance, the slavery issue rent the community. There was also bitter competition between real estate speculators who wished to promote their property. Nevertheless, in the midst of this social disorder, safeguards existed to protect the community. Political parties, churches and voluntary associations (such as fraternal lodges, literary clubs, and temperance and abolitionist societies) all served to perpetuate social order.⁵

A New England Town the First Hundred Years, by Kenneth A. Lockridge, published in 1970, noted the matamorphosis of Dedham, Massachusetts, from 1636 to 1736. Dedham was established as a Puritan village. As such, it was a corporate community. The residents, most of whom had migrated to North America to fulfill what they believed to be their covenant with God, perceived their village to be an organic whole. Therefore the good of any individual was superseded by the good of the community. Town meetings provided a semblance of democracy; but this democracy was based upon self-restraint, not self-interest. As Dedham matured and expanded, the attitudes of the residents changed. The town meeting became a forum in which residents asserted their self-interests. Thus the village changed from a corporate society, typical of early New England Puritans, to a pluralistic democratic, and individualistic society more characteristic of Jacksonian America.⁶

Two books by Charles N. Glaab represent the different interpretations by urban historians of social order in young communities. Factories in the Valley, coauthored by Lawrence H. Larsen, and published in 1969, is a study of the development of the paper industry in the Fox River valley of Wisconsin. Glaab and Larsen observed that there existed a great deal of intercommunity and intracommunity conflict. Adjacent villages fought to attract industry. And would-be industrialists attempted to compete with shrewd, experienced

capitalists for a piece of the paper industry. Several towns and speculators failed.⁷

Yet Kansas City and the Railroads, written by Glaab and published in 1962, recounts how businessmen in Kansas City, Missouri, largely through the efforts of town promoters such as the newspaperman, Robert Thompson Van Horn, acted in concert to attract railroads. These businessmen built bridges, and promoted the sale of bonds and subscriptions, thus insuring Kansas City's position as a regional transportation center.⁹

The above studies represent quality urban and frontier histories. From them we can learn a great deal about young communities and their promoters. But we cannot, from their contradictory findings, draw a definite conclusion on the competitive or cooperative characteristics of towns and people.

PREFACE END NOTES

¹Norman Transcript, June 7, 1890, p. 1. 1820 - 1900

(Norman: Cleveland County Historical Society, 1976), pp.

26 - 28

²See Norman L. Crockett, "The Opening of Oklahoma: A Businessman's Frontier," manuscript in author's possession.

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292 - 293; Dan W. Peery, "The First Two Years," Chronicles of Oklahoma 7 (September 1929), pp. 278 - 322.

³McReynolds, Oklahoma, p. 294; Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans: The National Experience (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), pp. 162 - 168; Dan W. Peery, "The Struggle for the Removal of the Territorial Capital," Chronicles of Oklahoma 2 (September 1924), 319 - 324; See Dorothy Gitten-ger Wardner, "The Territorial University of Oklahoma," (M. A. Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1939), pp. 1 - 3 for frontier communities and the philosophy of education.

⁴Interview with Georgetta Larsh Starzer, Norman, Oklahoma, December 6, 1977.

⁵Norman and Guthrie newspapers during this period sometimes published news of legislative bills, but no news, or even allegations, of political bargains.

⁶Two good sources exist for the first territorial legislature and the political battle for the location of the capital. Joseph B. Thoburn, A Standard History of Oklahoma (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1916); and Dan W. Peery, "The Struggle for the Removal of the Capital," Chronicles of Oklahoma 12 (September 1924), 319 - 324; and Peery, "The First Two Years," Chronicles of Oklahoma V. 7, No. 3 (September 1929), 278 - 322, V. 7, No. 4 (December 1929), 419 - 457, V. 8, No. 1 (March 1930), 94 - 128. Thoburn was a prominent Oklahoman during this period, and was later Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Peery was a representative from Oklahoma County in the first territorial House. His articles are colorful, but biased, accounts

of the capital location problem. They are particularly valuable for Perry's personal evaluation of each of the representatives; Thoburn, Standard History, p. 657; Notice that penitentiaries were considered desirable institutions. Today that concept has changed. In a growth management lecture, Norman, Oklahoma, November 30, 1977, Robert Freilich ridiculed penitentiaries as a poor contribution to any community.

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¹John Womack, Norman: An Early History, 1820 - 1900 (Norman: Cleveland County Historical Society, 1976), pp. 26 - 28.

²John Alley, City Beginnings in Oklahoma Territory (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), pp. 73 - 87; Edwin C. McReynolds, Oklahoma: A History of the Sooner State (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), pp. 292 - 293; Dan W. Peery, "The First Two Years," Chronicles of Oklahoma 7 (September 1929), pp. 278 - 322.

³McReynolds, Oklahoma, p. 294; Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans: The National Experience (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), pp. 162 - 168; Dan W. Peery, "The Struggle for the Removal of the Territorial Capital," Chronicles of Oklahoma 2 (September 1924), 319 - 324; See Dorothy Gitten-ger Wardner, "The Territorial University of Oklahoma," (M. A. Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1939), pp. 1 - 3 for frontier communities and the philosophy of education.

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⁷Peery, "Struggle for Removal," p. 320.

⁸Ibid.; First Territorial Census of Oklahoma, 1890, p. 684, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Alley, City Beginnings, pp. 75-87; Norman Transcript, July 13, 1889, pp. 2-3; Lexington Leader, June 11, 1891, p. 4.

⁹In a 1938 interview with Dorothy Gittinger Wardner, D. L. Larsh claimed that he and Waggoner had decided before the opening that Norman should receive the University. Wardner, "Territorial University," P. 4, n. 4; Daily Oklahoman, February 8, 1931, "The Daddy of O. U.," p. 1D; Perry, "Struggle for Removal," p. 320.

¹⁰Peery, "First Two Years," p. 443.

¹¹Ibid., p. 455; Thoburn, Standard History, pp. 670 - 671; See n. 6 above.

¹²Peery, "First Two Ypears," pp. 104, 442; First Territorial YCensus, p. 662; Peery, "Struggle for Removal," p. 322.

¹³Peery, "Struggle for Removal," pp. 332 - 323; Peery, "First Two Years," pp. 100 - 116.

¹⁴Ibid.; A Guthrie newspaper reported that Peery had overstepped "the bounds of genteel legislation" in his attempt to enroll the bill, and that he had taken the bill and "[run] for the door like a startled deer." Weekly State Capital, October 4, 1890, p. 3; An interesting variation of Peery's account was given by Albert Columbus Couch, the son of William L. Couch, the Boomer leader. When he was thirteen years old, Couch worked as a page for the first territorial legislature. He claimed that Perry had handed the bill to him--not to another representative--to deliver to the chamber. He supports Peery's story of the chase through Guthrie and the butcher shop sanctuary. See the Indian-Pioneer Papers, V. 21, pp. 94 - 96. Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma.

¹⁵Peery, "Struggle for Removal," pp. 322 - 323; Peery, "First Two years," pp. 110 - 116; Weekly State Capital, October 4, 1890, p. 3.

said, "You damned Oklahoma fellows just steal land all the time."

- ¹⁶ Ibid., The Americans, p. 159.
- ¹⁷ Journal of the First Session of the Legislative Assembly (Guthrie: Oklahoma News Publishing Co., 1890), p. 406.
- ¹⁸ First Territorial Census, p. 671; Peery, "First Two Years," p. 313, 442; Womack, Norman, p. 58.
- ¹⁹ Journal of the Legislature, pp. 531, 817, 984.
- ²⁰ See no. 10 above; see no. 18 above; Ibid.
- ²¹ Norman Transcript, July 13, 1889, pp. 2 - 3; Norman Transcript, November 15, 1890, p. 1.
- ²² Norman Transcript, November 16, 1889, p. 1; Norman Transcript, December 6, 1890, p. 1.
- ²³ Norman Transcript, December 20, 1890, p. 1; Norman Transcript, December 27, 1890, p. 1.
- ²⁴ Norman Transcript, April 25, 1891; Norman Transcript, May 16, 1891, p. 1; For another example of conflicts between towns and rural areas, see Don Harrison Doyle, "Chaos and Community: The Social Order of a Frontier Town, 1825 - 1870," (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1973), pp. 82 - 90; Wardner, "Territorial University," p. 21.
- ²⁵ Norman Transcript, May 22, 1891, p. 1.
- ²⁶ Norman Transcript, April 22, 1893, pp. 8 and 10; Board member's counties of residence are given in the First Territorial Census.
- ²⁷ Norman Transcript, April 22, 1893, pp. 8 and 10.
- ²⁸ Ibid.; Oscar A. Kinchen, "Oklahoma's First College, Old High Gate at Norman," Chronicles of Oklahoma 14 (June 1936): 312 - 323.
- ²⁹ Norman Transcript, April 22, 1893, pp. 8 and 10.
- ³⁰ See minutes of the University of Oklahoma Board of Regents, December 6, 1893, University of Oklahoma; Norman Transcript, May 30, 1891, p. 1; Norman Transcript, March 21, 1892, p. 1; Kinchen, "High Gate," p. 316.
- ³¹ Daily Oklahoman, February 8, 1931; When Bird McGuire, congressional delegate from Oklahoma, discussed the school lands proposal with Speaker of the House, Joe Cannon, Cannon said, "You damned Oklahoma fellows just steal land all the time."

³²Boorstin, The Americans, p. 159.

³³Indian-Pioneer Papers, V. 26, p. 153, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma; Norman Transcript, April 22, 1893, pp. 8 and 10.

CHAPTER 2 END NOTES

¹Edwin C. McReynolds, Oklahoma: A History of the Sooner State (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), pp. 331-332. This standard survey allocates only one paragraph to the Green Corn Rebellion, and the demise of the Socialist party.

²Sherry Harrod Warrick, "Antiwar Reaction in the Southwest During World War I" (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1973), is the best discussion of the WCU.

³Warrick, "Antiwar Reaction," p. 46; Sherry H. Warrick, "Radical Labor in Oklahoma: The Working Class Union," Chronicles of Oklahoma 52 (Summer 1974): 189.

⁴Charles C. Bush, "The Green Corn Rebellion," (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1932), p. 19; Donald Kenneth Pickens, "The Principles and Program of Oklahoma Socialism, 1900-1918," (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1957), p. 78, n. 12, p. 84; Some very good studies have discussed the violent summer of 1917 as precipitating the demise of the Socialist party in Oklahoma. See Howard L. Meredith, "A History of the Socialist Party in Oklahoma," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1969); Oscar Ameringer, If You Don't Weaken: The Autobiography of Oscar Ameringer (New York: H. H. Holt and Co., 1946); Garrin Burbank, When Farmers Voted Red: The Gospel of Socialism in the Oklahoma Countryside, 1910 - 1924 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976).

⁵Jones Family Grandchildren vol. 1, no. 1 (May Day, n.d.); Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library.

⁶James R. Green, "Socialism and the Southwestern Class Struggle, 1898 - 1918: A Study in Radical Movements in Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas," (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1972), p. 358; Kieth L. Bryant, Jr., Alfalfa Bill Murray (University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), pp. 130-150; Ada, the home town of McKeown, became by 1917 one of the most militantly pro-war communities in Oklahoma.

⁷For the best account of this manipulation of public opinion, see H. C. Peterson, Propaganda for War: The Campaign Against American Neutrality, 1914 - 1917 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939); Norman Transcript May 4, 1917, p. 7.

⁸Green, p. 355; Norman Transcript May 3, 1917, p. 3. Lexington Leader

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⁸Green, p. 355; Norman Transcript May 3, 1917, p. 3. Lexington Leader August 31, 1917.

⁹O. A. Hilton, "The Oklahoma Council of Defense and the First World War," Chronicles of Oklahoma 20 (1942): 18-42.

¹⁰Hilton, pp. 18-22; Harlow's Weekly 14 (June 12, 1918): 7.

¹¹Hilton, p. 33; Interview with John Womack, Noble, Oklahoma, October 23, 1978; The term "slacker" was used to describe any lack of enthusiasm for the war effort. It was applied to towns which did not raise their quota in fund drives, and to individuals who were lagging in financial contributions. Its most serious, and emotion provoking application was to a young man who refused to enlist for service, or register for the draft.

¹²Harlow's 14 (April 24, 1918): 17; Cleveland County Enterprise, June 14, 1917, p. 1.

¹³Harlow's 14 (April 3, 1918): 8-9; Harlow's 14 (April 17, 1918): 6-8; Harlow's 14 (December 12, 1917): 9; The ban on the German language was not universal. The Oklahoma Staats-Zeitung, a German newspaper in Garfield County, continued publication. The paper was as much in support of the war as any English paper. For instance, on September 21, 1917, p. 4, an article encouraged readers to attend a showing of "The Slacker," at a theatre in Enid. Before the showing the audience was to salute the flag and sing the national anthem.

¹⁴Harlow's 14 (April 3, 1918): 9; Harlow's 14 (May 22, 1918) pp. 11; Harlow's 14 (April 17, 1918): 6; H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, Opponents of War, 1917 - 1918 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968), pp. 173-174.

¹⁵Peterson and Fite, p. 79.

¹⁶Peterson and Fite, pp. 248-264; Green, p. 355; Harlow's 14 (January 2, 1918): 8-9; See n. 4 above.

¹⁷ A novel which portrays the poverty, ignorance, and helplessness of the tenant farmers is William Cunningham, The Green Corn Rebellion (New York: Vanguard Press, 1935); Sherry Warrick, "Antiwar Reaction," is the best account of the radical organizations; Green, p. 372.

¹⁸ See Cunningham, Green Corn Rebellion; Bush, Green Corn Rebellion; Warrick, "Antiwar Reaction," and "Radical Labor,"; and Burbank, When Farmers Voted Red.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Lexington Leader, September 21, 1917, p. 1; Norman Transcript, August 4, 1917, p. 1; Green, p. 374.

²¹ Norman Democrat-Topic, August 10, 1917, p. 1, the poem was written by George Ellsworth, managing editor.

²² Shawnee Daily News-Herald, July 22, 1917, p. 1; Norman Transcript, August 1, 1917, p. 1; Norman Democrat-Topic, August 3, 1917, p. 1; Cleveland County Enterprise, August 2, 1917, p. 1.

²³ Daily Oklahoman, August 4, 1917, p. 1; I am uncertain about the origins of the name "Jones Family." There was an antivigilante organization in Southwest Missouri in the nineteenth century known as the Jones Family, but I have found no connection with the Oklahoma group. See Richard Maxwell Brown, "The American Vigilante Tradition," in The History of Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives, ed. Hugh David Graham and Ted Robert Gurr (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), pp. 186, 213, n. 92, n. 93; "Jones Family" was widely used by the press to refer to the defendants of this trial, and also as a name for terrorists thought to be lurking in the countryside. See McAlester News-Capital, August 4, 1917, pp. 1, 4; Norman Transcript, August 4, 1917, p. 1.

²⁴ U.S.A. v. Clure Isenhour, et al. U.S. District Court, Western District, Oklahoma, #1553 (1917), Hereafter cited as Fed. Ct. Rec.; Harlow's 14 (June 12, 1918): 9.

²⁵ Fed. Ct. Rec.

²⁶ Fed. Ct. Rec.; Enid Daily News, September 22, 1917, p. 1; Enid Daily News, September 26, 1917, p. 1.

²⁷ Enid Daily News, September 23, 1917, p. 1; Enid Daily News, September 25, 1917, p. 1.

²⁸Norman Transcript, September 28, 1917, p. 1; Enid Daily News, October 4, 1917, p. 1; McAlester News-Capital, August 6, 1917, pp. 1, 3.

²⁹Norman Transcript, September 28, 1917; Enid Daily News, September 23, 1917, p. 1; Enid Daily News, September 26, 1917, p. 1; Enid Daily News, September 27, 1917, p. 6; Enid Daily News, October 4, 1917, p. 1; Daily Oklahoman, September 25, 1917.

³⁰Enid Daily News, September 26, 1917, p. 1; Enid Daily News, October 4, 1917, p. 1.

³¹Daily Oklahoman, September 23, 1917, p. 4a; Fed. Ct. Rec.

³²Fed. Ct. Rec.; Approximately midway through the trial, September 28, was "Liberty Day" in Oklahoma. "Members of the war organizations of Oklahoma, editors of the state and hundreds of other patriots" convened at Oklahoma City for a day of speech making and flag waving. The influence of Liberty Day upon the trial cannot be ascertained. Still, its occurrence during the trial should be noted, and its impact considered. See Enid Daily News, September 26, 1917, p. 6.

³³Enid Daily News, September 28, 1917, p. 1; Enid Daily News, October 2, 1917, p. 2; Enid Daily News, October 4, 1917, p. 4; Norman Transcript, September 28, 1917, p. 1.

³⁴McAlester News-Capital, August 6, 1917, pp. 1, 3; Enid Daily News, October 4, 1917, p. 1.

³⁵Enid Daily News, September 26, 1917, p. 1; Enid Daily News, September 27, 1917, p. 6; Enid Daily News, October 3, 1917, pp. 1, 5; Enid Daily News, October 4, 1917, p. 1; Norman Transcript, September 28, 1917, p. 1.

³⁶Norman Transcript, September 28, 1917, p. 1; Enid Daily News, October 2, 1917, p. 2.; Enid Daily News, October 3, 1917, pp. 1, 5; Enid Daily News, October 4, 1917, p. 1.

³⁷Fed. Ct. Rec., Clarence Roberts was listed as a defendant in the trial, yet he was neither convicted nor acquitted.

³⁸Fed. Ct. Rec., I know of no connection between the defendant, J. C. Harrod, and the attorney, J. Q. A. Harrod.

³⁹Enid Daily News, October 2, 1917, p. 2; Fed. Ct. Rec.

⁴⁰Shawnee Daily News-Herald, July 22, 1917, p. 1; Norman Transcript, September 28, 1917, p. 1; Daily Oklahoman, September 27, 1917, pp. 1, 3; Enid Daily News, October 4, 1917, p. 1; First Territorial Census of Oklahoma, 1890, p. 569.

⁴¹Norman Transcript, September 19, 1917, p. 4; Interview with John Womack, Noble, Oklahoma, November 1, 1978. Williams' reputation was so great that Norman residents often went to the courthouse to observe his performances; Williams also represented Lt. Gov. Martin E. Trapp in his impeachment proceedings in 1921. Norman Transcript, March 31, 1921, p. 5.

⁴²Fed. Ct. Rec.; Norman Transcript, September 19, 1917, p. 4; Norman Transcript, September 28, 1917, p. 1; Interview with John Womack, Noble, Oklahoma, November 5, 1978.

⁴³The following lists were compiled from the Federal Court Records. The spelling of the names varied. I have used the most prevalent spellings from the court records. Defendants--Banning, Frank - acquitted; Bohanon, John L. - acquitted; Ellis, William - unaccounted for; Henry, French "Daddy" - never apprehended; Isenhour, Clure - convicted; Isenhour, Daniel - acquitted; Isenhour, Obe - convicted; Morris, C. W. - convicted; Phillips, Walter - convicted; Roberts, Clarence - unaccounted for; Shirey, John - convicted, pardoned in 1936; Simons, Tobe - convicted; Snyder, John - granted severance petition for insanity; Sparkman, J. R. - convicted; Whitten, Earl - convicted. Defense Witnesses--Banning, Alice; Banning, Frank; Banning, Myrtle; Barker, L. B.; Bohanon, John L.; Brinnel, H. P.; Brockhaus, John; Gunter, C. J.; Hess, W. J.; Hutchin, S. W.; Larsh, S. P.; McGuire, J. D.; Miller, F. O.; Pickard, Claud; Pounds, George; Sellers, H.; Shirey, Jared; Stogner, Jim; Synatt, Wm.; Thompson, John; Thompson, Mrs. John; Williams, Ben F. Plaintiff Witnesses--Adams, Jim; Aldrich, Charles; Barton, D. O.; Calvert, Bird; Dardee, L. J.; Duff, W. T.; Dutton, J. J.; England, J. W.; Fortson, Dr. J. L.; Frost, Albert; Gray, Eli; Harrod, George; Harrod, J. C.; Harrod, John; Harrod, Sydney; Henson, L. H.; Holmes, J. O.; Hoobler, Will; Huckabee, Fred G.; Huckabee, G. O.; Lewis, A. B.; Little, Walter R.; Martin, Floyd; Mitchell, Scott; Murkle, Elsie; Synder, Fred; Stevens, Joe; Welsh, James; West, O. B.; Wyatt, B. B.

⁴⁴Norman Transcript, August 4, 1917, p. 1.

⁴⁵Norman Democrat-Topic, October 6, 1917, p. 1;
Norman Transcript, October 7, 1917, p. 1.

⁴⁶Norman Transcript, August 18, 1919, p. 1.

CHAPTER 3 END NOTES

¹The Depression has left a deeper impression upon Oklahoma than any other period of the state's history. This can be attributed partly, of course, to the economic and ecological turmoil of the thirties. But a good deal of the trauma of the Depression has been caused by a defensive attitude of Oklahomans about Dust Bowl migrants, or Okies. John Steinbeck, The Grapes of Wrath (New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1939) is the classic fictional account of the migration. The Grapes of Wrath caused a furor in Oklahoma, even though many of the critics had not read the book. The finest scholarly work is Walter J. Stein, California and the Dust Bowl Migration (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973). Stein discusses the different geographic regions of the state, and argues that most of the migrants were eastern tenant farmers driven off the land by New Deal agricultural programs rather than western farmers succumbing to the drought. An interesting document of the Depression is Carolyn A. Henderson, "Letters From the Dust Bowl," Atlantic Monthly, (May, 1936), pp. 540-551; In 1934, more than 30% of the population of Cleveland County was dependent upon federal relief. For comparison, 93% of Latimer County, in eastern Oklahoma, was on relief roles. Judith A. Gilbert, "Migrations of the Oklahoma Farm Population, 1930-1940," (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1965), pp. 81-82; interviews with V. C. Bratton, Norman, Oklahoma, April 19, 1979; Phillip C. Kidd, Jr., Norman, Oklahoma, April 20, 1979; John Womack, Noble, Oklahoma, March 14, 1979; See also the photographs of Norman in the WPA Collection, Oklahoma Archives, Oklahoma State Library, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

²Susan Akright Stanton, "Oklahoma Newspapers and International Crises, 1937-1941," (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1968).

³The lack of nativist excesses in Cleveland County at the outbreak of World War II can be explained by the absence of a Japanese-American population. The German-Americans seem to have kept any anti-war sentiments to themselves. Furthermore, leftist political organizations were almost

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non-existent in Oklahoma. Thus, the association of "aliens" with radical politics could not easily be made.

⁴Interview with Savoie Lottinville, Norman, Oklahoma, April 9, 1979; George Lynn Cross, manuscript in press, by permission of the author.

⁵Norman Transcript, March 22, 1942, pp. 1, 8.

⁶Interview with Savoie Lottinville, Norman, Oklahoma, April 9, 1979; George Lynn Cross, manuscript in press.

⁷George Lynn Cross, manuscript in press; Interviews with Savoie Lottinville, Norman, Oklahoma, April 9, 1979 and V. C. Bratton, April 9, 1979; Norman Transcript, March 22, 1942, p. 1.

⁸See Neil R. Johnson, Chickasaw Rancher (Stillwater, OK: Redlands Press, 1961); Interviews with John H. Casey, Norman, Oklahoma, April 5, 1979; Harold Belknap, Norman, Oklahoma, April 9, 1979; Phillip Kidd, Jr., Norman, Oklahoma April 20, 1979; Norman Transcript, April 8, 1942, p. 5; Foster made and lost several fortunes in his lifetime. After the war, he acquired an automobile parts distributorship in Tulsa. He became involved in pumice mining operations in New Mexico. During the Korean War he dealt in real estate and constructed military housing in El Paso, Texas, and Fort Ord, California. Foster continued in the construction business in Salina and Topeka, Kansas, and San Diego and San Jose, California. In Honolulu, Hawaii, he built Foster Village, a 500-home development, and the Foster Tower Hotel, then the tallest building on the Waikiki skyline. In the mid-1960's Foster bought and filled in 2,600 acres of San Francisco Bay, and built Foster City, California. He was awarded the Horatio Alger Award in 1964 along with Pearl S. Buck and Gene Autry. And in 1965, he was inducted into the Oklahoma Hall of Fame. See Norman Transcript, September 11, 1960, p. 20; Norman Transcript, April 19, 1964; May 22, 1964; November 16, 1965; T. Jack Foster file, Oklahoma Hall of Fame, Oklahoma Heritage Association, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

⁹Norman Transcript, March 22, 1942, p. 1; Interviews with Savoie Lottinville, Norman, Oklahoma, April 9, 1979; George Lynn Cross, Norman, Oklahoma, April 16, 1979; V. C. Bratton, Norman, Oklahoma, April 19, 1971; Minutes of the University of Oklahoma Regents, February 11, March 27, 1942, Office of the President, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

¹⁰Norman Transcript, March 7, 1942, p. 1; March 25, 1942, pp. 1, 6; May 17, 1942, p. 1; April 19, 1942, p. 1; March 29, 1942, pp. 1, 2; April 8, 1942, p. 6.

¹¹ Interviews with Savoie Lottinville, Norman, Oklahoma, April 9, 1979 and V. C. Bratton, Norman, Oklahoma, April 19, 1979.

¹² Interviews with Savoie Lottinville, Norman, Oklahoma, April 9, 1979; George Lynn Cross, Norman, Oklahoma, April 16, 1979; The Navy was more concerned about the trainees of the technical center which accompanied the flying school than it was about the air cadets. One officer, a renowned balloonist, wanted the technical center established twenty miles south of Norman to keep the trainees out of trouble. The concerns about the dangers of Oklahoma City were well founded. Not only trainees fell into trouble there. For instance, a lieutenant junior grade from the Norman air base suffered a fractured skull from an altercation in the Golden Pheasant Cafe, in Oklahoma City. Daily Oklahoman, January 12, 1946, p. 7.

¹³ Norman Transcript, March 20, 1942, p. 1; March 22, 1942, p. 5; March 23, 1942, p. 1; March 31, 1942, p. 1.

¹⁴ Interview with Savoie Lottinville, Norman, Oklahoma, April 9, 1979; Norman Transcript March 22, 1942, p. 1; March 29, 1942, p. 4; April 1, 1942, p. 4.

¹⁵ Norman Transcript, April 27, 1946, p. 1; September 24, 1978, pp. 15D, 17D; April 8, 1942, p. 6; April 27, 1942, p. 8; April 16, 1942, p. 1; April 22, 1942, p. 1; April 23, 1942, p. 1; May 3, 1942, p. 1; April 21, 1942, p. 1; September 13, 1942, p. 1; September 15, 1942, p. 1; September 24, 1942, p. 1; the NAS, locally called the North Base, was a flying school primarily for officers. The NATTC, or South Base, provided technical training in aircraft and weapons mechanics for enlisted men.

¹⁶ Norman Transcript, April 8, 1942, p. 1; April 10, 1942, p. 1; April 19, 1942, p. 1; Interviews with Savoie Lottinville, Norman, Oklahoma, April 9, 1979 and V. C. Bratton, Norman, Oklahoma, April 19, 1979.

¹⁷ Norman Transcript, July 9, 1942; July 10, 1942.

¹⁸ Norman Transcript, March 22, 1942, pp. 1, 5; March 25, 1942, p. 1; April 10, 1942, p. 1; Interview with Savoie Lottinville, Norman, Oklahoma, April 9, 1979; For a discussion of Oklahoma's preoccupation with alcohol, see Jimmie Lewis Franklin, Born Sober: Prohibition in Oklahoma, 1907 - 1959 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971).

- ¹⁹Norman Transcript January 3, 1946, p. 1.
- ²⁰Interview with George Lynn Cross, Norman, Oklahoma, April 16, 1979.
- ²¹Bull Horn, December 10, 1942; November 4, 1943; Marbh 23, 1944; May 25, 1944; The Bull Horn was the newspaper of the NATTC. The only collection is owned by the Norman Transcript, Norman, Oklahoma.
- ²²Norman Transcript, March 31, 1942, p. 1; October 5, 1945, p. 1; October 16, 1945, p. 1; May 28, 1945, p. 1.
- ²³Norman Transcript, January 9, 1946, p. 1; Interviews with V. C. Bratton, Norman, Oklahoma, April 19, 1979 and George Lynn Cross, Norman, Oklahoma, April 16, 1979; and George Lynn Cross, manuscript in press, Minutes of OU regents, January 9, 1946.
- ²⁴Norman Transcript January 1-31, 1946, OU was beginning to build its football team into a national power in order to diminish the state's Depression image. See George Lynn Cross, President's Can't Punt (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977), pp. 7-13; Interviews with V. C. Bratton, Norman, Oklahoma, April 19, 1979, Phillip C. Kidd, Norman, Oklahoma, April 20, 1979 and George Lynn Cross, Norman, Oklahoma, April 16, 1979.
- ²⁵Syndicated cartoons also addressed the veteran housing shortage. Daily Oklahoman, January 24, 1946, p. 14; Interview with Nancy Phillips, Fort Worth, Texas, February 10, 1979; Minutes of OU regents, January 9, 1946; Norman Transcript, January 28, 1946, p. 1; January 29, 1946, p. 1; On registration day, in the classified advertisements of the Norman Transcript, there were twelve ads requesting living quarters. Most were from veterans with families. On the same page, there were only four ads of rooms to rent, and two of them were from hotels. Norman Transcript, January 28, 1946, p. 5.
- ²⁶Norman Transcript, January 16, 1946, p. 4; Daily Oklahoman, January 13, 1946, p. 13C; George Lynn Cross, manuscript in press; Interview with George Lynn Cross, Norman, Oklahoma, April 16, 1979.
- ²⁷Interview with George Lynn Cross, Norman, Oklahoma, April 16, 1979; George Lynn Cross, manuscript in press; Minutes of OU regents, January 9, 1946.
- ²⁸Norman Transcript, January 31, 1946, p. 1.

²⁹Norman Transcript, January 10, 1946, p. 1; January 11, 1946, p. 1; January 13, 1946, p. 1; January 22, 1946, p. 1; The \$1,000 Club seems to have been a good effort, but I have found no evidence that the money was ever put to use. Probably there was a problem with the implementation of the Mead Act.

³⁰Norman Transcript, January 10, 1946, p. 1; January 16, 1946, p. 4.

³¹Norman Transcript, January 15, 1946, p. 6; January 18, 1946, p. 1.

³²The satirical letter from the woman caused some embarrassment for the Transcript. As it was published on Friday, January 18, it was somewhat difficult to understand what the writer was saying. The letter contained statements such as: ". . . what coed would not be humiliated beyond words to be whistled at, or even spoken to by a person so degrading as a dunagree-clad sailor who has no higher ambition than to be a well-trained aircraft mechanic?" On Sunday, January 20 (there was no Saturday Transcript) there was an editorial note on page 10 of the paper which stated that the Transcript had neglected to publish the last paragraph of the letter, which had changed the meaning. The woman had, in fact, been sarcastic and felt that sailors were as good as university students, and that the university position on continuance of the base was wrong. On Monday, January 21, there was a front page apology for the omission of the last paragraph of the Friday letter, and the reaffirmation that the woman supported the Navy and opposed the University. Obviously, the issue was important enough in the community for the paper and the woman to go to great lengths to be certain she was not misunderstood. Norman Transcript, January 16, 1946, p. 4; January 18, 1946, p. 9; January 20, 1946, p. 10; January 21, 1946, p. 1.

³³Norman Transcript, January 15, 1946, p. 4; January 29, 1946, p. 1.

³⁴Minutes of OU regents, January 23, 1946; Norman Transcript, January 23, 1946, p. 1.

³⁵Norman Transcript, January 24, 1946, p. 1.

³⁶Norman Transcript, January 23, 1946, p. 1; January 30, 1946, p. 1.

³⁷Norman Transcript, January 28, 1946, pp. 1, 2.

³⁸Norman Transcript, January 28, 1946, p. 1; January 30, 1946, p. 1; George Lynn Cross, manuscript in press; Interview with George Lynn Cross, Norman, Oklahoma, April 16, 1979.

³⁹Confidential interview; George Lynn Cross, manuscript in press; Interview with George Lynn Cross, Norman, Oklahoma, April 16, 1979.

⁴⁰Norman Transcript, January 28, 1946, p. 3; January 29, 1946, p. 1.

⁴¹Norman Transcript, January 28, 1946, p. 1; January 31, 1946, p. 1.

⁴²Norman Transcript, January 30, 1946, p. 1.

⁴³Norman Transcript, January 30, 1946, p. 1; January 31, 1946, p. 1; February 7, 1946, p. 1.

⁴⁴Norman Transcript, February 3, 1946, p. 10; February 4, 1946, p. 1; February 7, 1946, p. 1; February 8, 1946, p. 1; February 11, 1946, p. 1.

⁴⁵The military left land, POW camps, schools, hospitals, and airports in Oklahoma after the war. The value of this property is staggering. For instance, the NAS in Norman was worth over \$7 million, and provided the community with water wells, buildings, swimming pools, and a large airport. Norman Transcript, February 5, 1946, p. 5; May 28, 1946, p. 1; June 10, 1946, p. 1.

⁴⁶Norman Transcript, January 13, 1946, p. 1; January 13, 1952, p. 1; January 16, 1952, Section B.

⁴⁷Interviews with Harold Belknap, Norman, Oklahoma, April 9, 1979 and Phillip C. Kidd, Jr., Norman, Oklahoma, April 20, 1979.

⁴⁸Norman Transcript, December 21, 1958, p. 1.

⁴⁹Norman Transcript, December 28, 1958, p. 1.

⁵⁰Norman Transcript, September 24, 1978, p. 17D; The motto, "Tomorrow Is On Our Side" was adopted by the Chamber of Commerce during Norman's 90th anniversary celebration, in 1979. The motto speaks just as eloquently for the same business community two decades earlier.

CHAPTER 4 END NOTES

¹Daniel Boorstin, The Americans: The National Experience (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), p. 121.

²Kenneth Lockridge, A New England Town: The First Hundred Years (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1970), pp. 170-174; In this respect, boosters of Cleveland County are not unlike Sinclair Lewis' fictional real estate dealer, George F. Babbitt. Babbitt welcomed the industrial development and population growth of his city, Zenith. Yet he was also confused by the social changes which accompanied the rapid growth, and often privately wished for a simpler, more stable, environment. See Sinclair Lewis, Babbitt (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1922).

³The need to justify art by proving its economic contribution is well illustrated in "The Paying Arts," an editorial which placed a dollar value on the arts in the Oklahoma City metropolitan area. See the Norman Transcript, January 9, 1980, p. 6.

⁴The academic community has been an important factor in this trend.

⁵William H. Rouse, "The Nineteenth-Century America," Western Historical Quarterly 8 (April, 1977): 151-165; See also Don Harrison Doyle, "Chaos and Community: The Social Order of a Frontier Town, 1825-1870," (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1973).

⁶Kenneth A. Lockridge, A New England Town: The First Hundred Years (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1970), pp. 4-7, 135-138, 178.

⁷Charles Nelson Glaab and Lawrence H. Larson, Factories in the Valley: Neenah-Menasha, 1870-1915 (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1969).

⁸Charles Nelson Glaab, Kansas City and the Railroads: Community Policy in the Growth of a Regional Metropolis (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1962), pp. 94-

96; See also, Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans: The National Experience (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), pp. 131-133.

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¹Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier of American History," Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1893, pp. 221 - 223; Ray Allen Billington, America's Frontier Heritage (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), pp. 143 - 148, 150 - 157.

²Richard C. Wade, The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790 - 1830 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959).

³Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, "A Meaning for Turner's Frontier," Political Science Quarterly 69 (September, 1954): 326-330.

⁴Robert R. Dykstra, The Cattle Towns (New York: Atheneum, 1970) pp. 207-238; See also William W. Savage, Jr., "Newspapers and Local History: A Critique of Robert Dykstra's The Cattle Towns," Journal of the West 10 (July, 1971): 572-577.

⁵Don Harrison Doyle, "Social Theory and New Communities in Nineteenth-Century America," Western Historical Quarterly 8 (April, 1977): 151-165; See also Don Harrison Doyle, "Chaos and Community: The Social Order of a Frontier Town, 1825-1870," (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1973).

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