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JOSEPH SAMUEL MURROW: THE MAN AND HIS TIMES

The University of Oklahoma

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

JOSEPH SAMUEL MURROW: THE MAN AND HIS TIMES

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degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

H. GLENN JORDAN

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JOSEPH SAMUEL MURROW: THE MAN AND HIS TIMES

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TO THE

LORDS AND LADIES

OF CAMELOT

JULY 1, 1979 TO MARCH 31, 1981

PREFACE

This is the story of Joseph Samuel Murrow, Georgia-born and educated missionary, who spent seventy-three years as a religious, educational, fraternal and humanitarian leader among the Indian and white populations of what became the state of Oklahoma. When Murrow arrived in 1857, Indian Territory was a frontier environment, but in the years before his death in 1929 at the age of ninety-four, Oklahoma, its people and institutions had matured. As a participant, observer, and commentator, Murrow helped to found and mold many of the elements of that maturation process.

Murrow, always maintaining his first allegiance to the Indian whom he came initially to serve, struggled to defend that position and to insure that the Indian had an opportunity to determine his own destiny. Murrow perceived his activities in the expansion of the missionary efforts to the western tribes and the Mississippi Choctaws, the establishment of school, church, and fraternal groups, as well as the organizations to administer and coordinate those more effectively as a part of the Indian's progression toward the development of those skills necessary to determine his own destiny.

Yet in those endeavors, Murrow became involved in a struggle within Baptist ranks between the American Baptist Home Mission Society and the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention for domination in Oklahoma. That conflict, conducted in the meeting rooms of the national missionary boards, sanctuaries of local churches, assemblies of local associations and on the floors of Baptist territorial organizations, was only a microcosm of a much larger struggle in Oklahoma.

White settlers, rapidly becoming a dominant group in Oklahoma, by 1900, aided by federal legislation, sought to wrestle economic and political power and position from the Indian population and to insure that Oklahoma, when admitted into the union, would be controlled by whites. The influence of the Southern Baptist Convention and the creation of the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma was another facet of that struggle of whites against Indians.

Murrow labored for years to create and strengthen the institutions necessary for the Indian to be prepared to have a voice in his destiny. Then he struggled in vain to protect those institutions and the rights of Indians against predatory actions by both the government and white settlers.

He also came to realize that, in the struggle among the Baptists, the Indian was only a pawn. But if the Baptist cause in the new state was going to prosper, unification of efforts must replace suspicion and conflict. For that reason,

he worked diligently for the creation of the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma. He understood, however, that when the convention was created, because of his past position and activities, his role, if any, would be minor and those who were in sympathy with the rights of the Indian would be in a distinct minority. In that assessment, Murrow was clearly correct.

Yet the purging of Murrow went further than simply the removal of his influence within Baptist circles. It can be argued that, because of his resistance to the philosophy of the Southern Baptist Convention and its ultimate victory in Oklahoma, he was denied the recognition and honor that he justly deserved as an Oklahoma pioneer figure and defender of Indian rights.

It is the purpose of this study to resurrect Murrow from relative obscurity and carve for him a deserved niche in the state's history. In the process, using the recorded observations and comments of Murrow through his extensive manuscript collection as a "window on the past," new information, insights and interpretations will be presented in regard to events, activities and developments within Indian Territory, Oklahoma Territory and the state.

I first became aware of Joseph Murrow while working at the Western History Collections at the University of Oklahoma. Murrow's papers, deposited and forgotten at Bacone University Library, were discovered and the research value

of them quickly realized. It was agreed that the University of Oklahoma could acquire the papers temporarily for processing and microfilming. Over the next six months, while sorting, processing, and compiling the finding guide for the Murrow (Joseph Samuel) Collection, I became interested in the man and fascinated by his work as noted in his papers.

As the archival project was completed, I was somewhat surprised, as I did limited research for the biographical data necessary for the guide, to learn that, despite his accomplishments as noted in his personal papers, so little is known about Murrow. That discovery, coupled with my natural curiosity and the encouragement of Dr. A. M. Gibson, George Lynn Cross Research Professor of History at the University of Oklahoma, prompted me to pursue Murrow's pioneer course in Oklahoma.

Days were spent in southeastern Oklahoma roaming the back roads seeking the sites of early preaching stations. The waters of Lake Eufaula now cover the site of North Fork Town, but a motor trip from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to Eufaula today conveys the sense of isolation that Murrow and his bride must have felt in 1857 on their arrival in Indian Territory. The reconstructed site of Fort Washita and the surrounding area, as well as the bottom land of rivers like the Blue, Kiamichi, and Red, gave me a feeling for his Civil War years. A peaceful, October afternoon in Linden, Texas, made me appreciate the serenity Murrow found there after

war-torn Indian Territory. His portrait in the chapel of Bacone University is mute testimony to his activities there. Journeys to Saddle Mountain, Rainy Mountain and Deyo Mission implanted in my mind an awareness of the rigors and uncertainty of early missionary work among the western tribes.

But the foundation of any such study is the primary and secondary library research. Hours were spent in the Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library, the Oklahoma Historical Society Library and Archives and Oklahoma Baptist University Library examining collections and reels of microfilm. Numerous pieces of correspondence from curators of collections around the country answered my queries about Murrow.

No one completes such a study as this without a supportive graduate committee. Dr. A. M. Gibson, who prodded, encouraged and sustained me throughout the years, served as the epitome of the academic adviser, scholar and gentleman. Mere words cannot convey the gratitude that I owe to this man who was always there when I needed him. Dr. Russell Buhite, besides his appreciated counsel throughout my graduate program, was always a friend as well as a professor. Dr. Jonathan Spurgeon taught me to appreciate teaching as a companion to scholarship and surprised me with his knowledge of state and local history. Dr. Sidney Brown and Dr. Ted Hebert, a special companion and friend, encouraged and supported me in all aspects of my professional development.

People with whom I have been professionally involved over the past seven years have tolerated lengthy conversations centered around Murrow and offered support and advice. Vicki Sullivan, Bruce Joseph, Steve and Judy Day, John Heisch, Gary Roberts, John Ellisor, and John Caldwell each contributed to this study in his or her own manner and the efforts are greatly appreciated.

Actions of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society provided the inclination and time necessary for the completion of this study. Their summary stance, although unappreciated at the time, helped me to reaffirm values that I had forgotten.

My family encouraged my work and praised my efforts. My parents, Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Jordan, emphasized the value of education and supported and guided me. My inlaws, Reverend and Mrs. E. L. Tatum were models as to its value. My children, Troy and Sharon, always understood and responded to the demands of a father committed to his profession whether as an archivist, teacher, writer, or administrator. Their faith and love supported me many times when I felt rejected.

My wife, Martha, deserves the highest praise possible, but I will simply affirm that she made it all possible and worthwhile. Without her love and our life together, successes like this would be meaningless.

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JOSEPH SAMUEL MURROW: THE MAN AND HIS TIMES

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNING YEARS, 1835-1860

In 1856, Joseph Samuel Murrow, a young seminary student at Mercer College in Georgia, made the decision to become a missionary in Indian Territory. He and his young wife arrived at North Fork Town in November, 1857, to work with Henry Friedland Buckner, one of the first white missionaries in the Creek Nation. The next two years were filled with activity as Murrow became involved in the preaching ministry among the Indians by serving preaching stations, establishing new ones and assisting in the construction of several buildings. Despite an unfavorable reception from the more conservative elements within the nation, prolonged bouts with illness, and the death of his wife and infant child, he gained the acceptance of the people and the confidence of their leaders.

In addition, he made initial trips westward exploring the possibilities of opening new mission fields. Always observant, during those years Murrow became a prolific

correspondent with various newspapers and his letters illuminate numerous aspects of life in Indian Territory. In 1860, aided by additional missionary support from the east, Murrow was encouraged to move among the Seminoles and more fully develop a mission field he had opened a year earlier. Until the Civil War disrupted Indian life in the territory, he enjoyed successes among the Seminoles and the friendship of their leaders, notably John Jumper, principal chief.

Murrow's background was similar to that of other frontier youth of his time. His grandfather, John William Murrow, after service with Francis Marion during the American Revolution, settled in the Orangeburg District, South Carolina, where he and his wife, Elizabeth, had five children. Following John William's untimely death, his eldest son, John, who was to be Joseph's father, assumed responsibility for the family. He joined the Carolina Methodist Episcopal Conference and served as a circuit rider for a number of years moving annually from one small charge to another. On one occasion he served as a missionary to the Cherokees of South Carolina.

John Murrow, in 1821, married Mary Amelia Badger, a member of a respected Charleston, South Carolina, family. Mary's grandfather, a well educated and admired member of the community, was a Lutheran minister from Germany who came to the city to pastor a small congregation. Her mother, Amelia Dorothea Haunbaum, married Jonathan Badger, a propertied,

wealthy citizen whose father once held a British patent to Sullivan's Island. The couple lost a child in infancy before Mary was born on September 29, 1793. Unfortunately, both parents died young and Mary was left an orphan, but with a sizeable estate and under the guardianship of her uncle, James.

Although a prosperous merchant, James suffered financial setbacks in his business and, after attempting to use his niece's inheritance to recoup his losses, declared bankruptcy. Mary, young and almost destitute, assumed teaching responsibilities in a private school and remained there for eight years until her marriage.

The hardships of their earlier lives continued after marriage, as evidenced by the lack of family stability and meager existence. John continued to serve a succession of small, impoverished charges until the Conference finally dropped him from its regular list of itinerant ministers, leaving him a local pastor with no regular salary or appointment prospects.

Faced with the necessity of providing for his expanding family, John entered the mercantile business in Charleston and seemed to prosper until, upon the advice of a brother, he opened a second store in Orangeburg. That overextension, coupled with poor management by the brother, caused the new store to become so indebted that John was forced to sell both to satisfy his creditors.

John Murrow never recovered emotionally or financially from that setback and spent the remainder of his life moving from one small farm to another in South Carolina and later Georgia. On one such farm near Louisville, Jefferson County, Georgia, Joseph Samuel Murrow was born on June 7, 1835.

From birth, Joseph was clearly his mother's favorite child and that was reflected in many ways. Convinced that he was to have a special role in life, Mary Murrow sought to ensure that her son had the proper religious foundation through rigorous, daily Bible study and by assuring that despite the family's financial plight, educational opportunities were made available to the young boy.

When Joseph was of age, his mother enrolled him in a nearby school near Whitesville, Georgia, where he remained until he was fifteen. For the next three years, he attended Springfield Academy in Springfield, Georgia. The school, opened by Henry R. Hawley, had an excellent reputation and therefore attracted wealthier students, making the institution both exclusive and expensive.

Despite his lack of finances, Murrow was admitted mainly because of his ability and desire and the persistence of his mother. His progress so impressed Hawley that Murrow was first made a monitor and later an assistant teacher. Moreover, the Academy was near enough to home to allow frequent visits by which his mother maintained a close watch on his progress.¹

When he left Springfield Academy in 1854, Murrow was a well-educated young man for his time, but uncertain about his future. Deciding to forestall additional education until he was certain of the direction, he was able to secure a position as a teacher in Scriven, Georgia, where he began his first quarter in January, 1854. In that year, Murrow appeared as "a timid, sensitive man . . . [yet] a strange mixture of adolescent boy and mature man."² His ability and personality earned him the admiration and respect of both his students and the community.

Much of his spare time was spent out-of-doors and his diary for 1854 was filled with careful statistics regarding his successes and failures in pursuit of fish and game. He was extremely fond of food as reflected by diary entries recording the kinds, amount and opinion of the wide variety of dishes that he sampled. Naturally shy, he tended to avoid mixed groups, but noticed women as evidenced by a September diary entry: "O the ladies, my sakes, my sakes."

Despite those visible signs of a well-adjusted life, Murrow was experiencing severe inner disturbances. Although perhaps not a Christian in the strict sense of the word, he was deeply concerned about his spiritual life. Obviously that was due to the influence of his deeply religious mother and his prolonged exposure to religion through her. He did not attend church services regularly and expressed enjoyment in card games and other secular activities.

When he did, however, he often sank into periods of deep despair and his diary was filled with pleas of intercession to God for mercy and forgiveness. Various diversions such as regular attendance at religious services, additional attention to the study of the Bible and other religious tracts, prolonged visits with relatives, especially his brother, William, the pastor of the Green Fork Baptist Church, and participation in an evening writing class were attempted to relieve his troubled mind.

Still his trouble continued and the effect on Murrow became more noticeable. While seemingly in good health, he began to experience frequent and prolonged bouts with various illnesses. His thoughts were filled with death and his diary entries on that subject were alarming in number and intensity. His teaching career, which to that point seemed to be progressing well, became an additional point of concern. He complained frequently of disciplinary problems and that his students were not serious enough about their studies as evidenced by their lack of interest and preparation.³

Still somewhat hesitant, Murrow began to move toward the church as a possible solution to his problems. In September, 1854, he attended a revival and another in October. At the latter conducted in his brother's Green Fork church, Murrow made the decision to join the fellowship. As he noted:

Rose early. Went to church. Heard
some fine sermons. Found strength to join
the church of Christ. O Lord I thank thee

this day I joined the church of Christ.
Thanks be to God that hath given me the
victory through my Lord and Saviour Jesus
Christ. Feel very Solemn. To be baptized
tomorrow.⁴

Although a confessed and baptized Christian, Murrow did not find contentment and his diary entries for the remainder of the year reflected intense inner conflict, alternating between an enjoyment of the world's pleasures and seeking forgiveness and mercy for his actions. That conflict was evidenced in the following statements:

Feel very bad. Don't see my way
plain. Lord help me.
A very unprofitable day. O Lord
have mercy.
Have done nothing today but read.
Troubled in conscience very much. O Lord
have mercy.⁵

Murrow continued his religious and secular responsibilities while remaining somewhat despondent. He became more active in church affairs and regularly participated in communion, association meetings and church conferences and seemed well respected and accepted by his peers.

In December, 1854, despite strong misgivings, he agreed to return to Springfield Academy to serve Hawley as a regular instructor. With his personal problems still occupying his attention, teaching again was not satisfying as he complained about a lack of interest and enthusiasm among his students.⁶

In early 1855, Murrow decided that all of his inner conflict was due to his resistance to God's call to enter

the fulltime ministry and took immediate action to correct that. He confided his feelings to his brother William and was licensed to preach by the Green Fork congregation. Murrow then returned to Springfield to complete his teaching contract for the year. On February 1, 1865, he entered Mercer University⁷ near Penfield, Georgia, for his advanced education to more fully qualify himself for a ministerial position.

Although Murrow had never attended college, his early education, self-study discipline developed in a teaching position and his growing ambition allowed him to enter as a second semester sophomore.⁸ Although little is known about his years at Mercer University, Murrow often reflected upon them as being filled with happiness, contentment and hard work.⁹ Like those of other students, Murrow's letters home reflected a degree of homesickness.¹⁰ He and twelve other students boarded with a Mrs. Stow and Murrow paid thirteen dollars for the arrangement. He soon settled into a routine seeking to master Horace, Art of Poetry and Odes; Cicero de Oratore; Homer's Illiad; Plane and Spherical Trigonometry; and surveying.

Following a short vacation home in August, he enrolled in the fall as a first year student in the theological seminary where he studied Hebrew, Biblical Antiquities, Principles of Interpretation, Natural Theology and Evidences of Christianity. Tuition for college classes was twenty-

five dollars a term, but there were tuition exempt scholarships for theological students.¹¹ Murrow was a committed student and his work was noticed by Dr. N. M. Crawford, president of the university.¹²

Despite his strong academic record at Mercer, Murrow did not remain to conclude his education. Instead, at the end of his junior year, he responded to pleas from various Baptist elements and made the decision to enter fulltime Christian service as a missionary in Indian Territory.¹³

That decision was prompted by the urgent call for assistance from Henry Friedland Buckner,¹⁴ representative of the American Indian Missionary Association. Buckner and his wife, Lucy Ann Dogan, arrived in the Creek Nation in 1849 in response to an appeal for missionaries from Joseph Islands¹⁵ and settled in North Fork Town¹⁶ in 1853.

Despite considerable opposition from the Creeks, Buckner finally secured permission from the Council to preach within the nation. Using North Fork Town as a base, Buckner was successful in establishing several mission stations and an active missionary program. He felt, however, that his efforts were retarded by the absence of religious literature, especially the Bible in the native language. Yet his duties prevented him from performing the needed translations.¹⁷

In order to secure the necessary translation time, Buckner corresponded with several religious institutions, including Mercer University seeking an assistant. Crawford

explained the need to Murrow and earnestly recommended that he volunteer for the task. Continual urgings from Crawford, letters from Buckner and a promise of financial support from Georgia Baptists brought additional pressure on Murrow. A personal plea also arrived from the Creek secretary:

Dear Brother Murrow: A young man is needed in Indian Territory out West of Arkansas and you have been recommended as one suitable for that work to assist Buckner. Wish you would write a favorable reply as we are ready to make the appointment.

After weeks of resistance, Murrow, in December, announced his decision to join Buckner in Indian Territory.¹⁹

With the decision made, Murrow took steps to implement his plans. He wrote Buckner announcing his intention to travel west and sought advice on the necessary preparation. After receiving no response for several weeks, he wrote again.

Buckner's reply was filled with experienced advice to the young missionary. On the matter of salary, Buckner warned that "less than \$400 will not support you and justify you in giving your time" so "get the best salary you can." Murrow was encouraged, as to personal and professional preparation, to become thoroughly familiar with the scriptures, but to learn to impart his knowledge in clear, simple terms in such language as a Negro can understand." But above adequate salary and intellectual preparation, Buckner cautioned extreme patience and an absence of visible emotion except in preaching, "for the Indian will esteem it a weakness."²⁰

The matter of salary raised the question of sponsorship. Although the Board of Domestic and Indian Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention was willing to appoint Murrow, the necessary supportive funds were not available at the time. The secretary of the board, Joseph Walker, approached the Rehoboth Association²¹ which was already sponsoring a missionary in Africa, to enlist their support for a domestic missionary and was successful.

The preliminary arrangement provided for the appointment of Murrow by the Board, but with the provision that the Association would pay his salary. It was necessary, however, to await the annual meeting of the Association in the fall of 1857 to secure the final approval and appointment.²²

Throughout the spring and summer of 1857, Murrow continued his studies at Mercer, but was anxious to leave and assume his assignment in Indian Territory. He directed his last studies toward those areas which he saw as beneficial in Indian missionary work, particularly theology, Bible study and public speaking. He became involved in the activities of the Men's Missionary Society of the university.²³

Feeling that he would need a wife on the frontier, he advertised in several leading Baptist publications and allowed his sister-in-law, the wife of Reverend William Murrow, to screen the prospective brides. She, with Joseph's approval, selected Nannie Elizabeth Tatom and Murrow initiated correspondence with Miss Tatom.²⁴

On September 15, 1857, the final details concerning his appointment were concluded at the Rehoboth Association meeting at the First Baptist Church in Macon, Georgia. On that day, Murrow was appointed missionary to the Creeks and, the next day, ordained into the Baptist ministry. The ordination council reflected some twenty-five churches and some of the leading Baptist ministers and leaders of the church, including John Scriven, agent of the Domestic Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention; J. J. Toon, Financial Secretary of the Southern Baptist Publication Society; Reverend J. H. Campbell, agent of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention; and S. E. Sharp, agent of the Southern Baptist Sunday School Convention.²⁵

Much of the month of October, 1857, was spent in Fulton, Mississippi, where, following his marriage to Nannie Tatom, preparations were concluded for the trip to and eventual residence among the Creeks. Tatom, the daughter of John and Mary K. Tatom, was born on March 9, 1834, in Morgan, Alabama, but at an early age moved with her parents to Mississippi where her father became a successful farmer and active Baptist layman.

Nannie was converted to the Baptist faith at the age of fourteen and started to direct her life toward full-time missionary work. In January, 1857, she started to correspond with Murrow while he was still at Mercer University and,

through those letters, they agreed to be married on his way to his assignment in Indian Territory.²⁶

Nannie was well liked by her family and relatives in the area. Somewhat shocked by her decision to leave the settled, stable society of ante-bellum Mississippi for the frontier life among the "savage Indians," friends and relatives sought to bid the young couple farewell through a round of festivities and parties lasting several weeks. Moreover, that period was used to secure and pack additional items to augment those brought from Georgia by Murrow.²⁷

The couple finally departed Fulton on October 20 for the long, difficult trip to Indian Territory. After traveling by rail to Memphis, they boarded a large steamboat for a rather pleasant trip down the Mississippi River to the mouth of the Arkansas River. There a transfer was made to a small, shallow draft vessel for the trip up the Arkansas River to its navigation terminus at Fort Smith where a wagon was secured for the final leg of the journey.

The remainder of the trip gave Murrow and his bride their first view of Indian Territory where they "had been told that the Indians were savage, that they lived in wigwams, [and] that, with the exception of Brother Buckner and his family, there was no congenial society." In addition, "food would consist chiefly of parched corn and bear meat."

The first night was spent in Skullyville in a nice hotel with an abundance of good food. A cold rain for which

the couple was ill prepared made traveling the next day miserable until, later in the afternoon, they were welcomed into the camp of an Indian and Black from the Creek Nation. After being provided with a meal of corn bread and jerked beef broiled on a bed of coals and buffalo robes to supplement their meager blankets, the couple spent a restful, but watchful, night in front of the fire. Murrow later remembered that, throughout the night, he feared for his life and that of his young wife.²⁸

The trip made Murrow keenly aware of the absence of religious influence on the frontier. At Pine Bluff, Little Rock and Fort Smith, Arkansas, he asked for, but could not find, Baptist congregations and buildings. The concern that he felt about that absence was reflected in his first report dated December 10, 1857, in which he sought to make the Domestic Board aware of the situation and to recommend that additional missionaries be sent at once.

In the report, Murrow commented that the best way to secure missionaries for the western field was

to pick out anyone whom they [the Domestic Board] might deem suitable and pay his expenses out here and back (if he should want to go back) just to look at the country, its wants, its destitution, etc.--I do not believe there would be one in ten who would ever return, less it was to settle up his business.²⁹

The Murrows' arrival at the Buckner residence in North Fork Town on November 14, 1857, was somewhat disappointing. Exhausted from their gruelling trip and anxious to meet

with Buckner in order to become involved in his work, they learned that he had gone to Kentucky and would not return for three months. Moreover, his wife, Lucy Dogan, was very ill and therefore of little assistance to them in getting settled.³⁰

Murrow, under instructions from Buckner to take charge of the mission in his absence and encouraged when Lucy began to respond to his wife's care, assumed his position immediately. With the assistance of an interpreter, he preached his first sermon on Sunday, November 15, taking as his text I Corinthians 2:2 "For I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and Him crucified."³¹ The first service, although awkward since it was Murrow's initial experience preaching through an interpreter, remained a vivid memory, yet he often referred to it as "mighty poor preaching."³²

In the initial two months, Murrow remained near the Buckner station at North Fork Town. Not only was he hesitant about venturing too far without Buckner to serve as guide, but a recent Creek payment from the federal government for some of their eastern lands resulted in inflation causing the price of a good riding mount to reach fifty dollars, a sum far beyond the financial ability of Murrow. Yet between the main church in North Fork Town and a mission station four miles away, Murrow was able to preach several times a week and to perform his first sacraments as a minister.³³

Soon afterwards, Christian Indians involved in the North Fork mission were coming to greet the new missionaries. One such visitor was Moty Kennard, a principal Creek chief, who became Murrow's unofficial sponsor and close personal friend. When the regular church business meeting of the North Fork congregation was held a week later, the Murrows attended as guests of the Kennard family.

Worshippers camped around the meeting house, a log structure on Baptizing Creek some three miles from the settlement. There was a larger than usual crowd because many came to see and hear the new missionary and the camp was "alive with men, women, children and dogs." Murrow noted that most were dressed in Anglo clothing except for the young men in brightly colored hunting shirts and the older men with woolen turbans.

The services were extremely interesting to the young missionary. Following the blowing of a horn, the people congregated in the log meeting house where the services were begun with hymn singing. Most of the hymns were simple choruses with devout expression continued again and again:

Brothers, we are going to a town on high,
Where our Father is sitting down,
Sisters, we are going to a town on high,
Where our Father is sitting down . . .³⁴

There were a few translated hymns like "Chesvs Purki Hylwen, Mon pofeke enuikeyes [Jesus My All to Heaven is Gone], translated by Reverend Lee Compere.³⁵ The most

popular translated hymn used by the Creeks at the time was "puyvfekev herat vhtet, Vven vevpvkvs" [Come, Holy Spirit, Heavenly Dove].

For his text as a basis for the evening sermon, Murrow used II Corinthians 12:14 "For I seek not yours, but you" which became his motto for his missionary service among the Indians. After the sermon, as was customary, those who had sinned since the last meeting came before the congregation, confessed and sought restoration to the fellowship and confidence of the church. Several came forward and confessed to all sorts of misdoings and were promptly forgiven. Murrow was somewhat concerned about that procedure because it could be carried to excess and it seemed that the forgiveness was coming from the congregation when actually "who can forgive sins but God only?"³⁶

When that was completed and the "back-sliders" or, as an old Black man referred to them, "black-siders," were forgiven, the invitation to baptism was given. A young Creek woman approached the altar and requested baptism despite obvious and bitter opposition from her relatives.

Murrow, aware that many Creeks "were against Christianity--they had been treated so cruelly by the whites in Mississippi and Georgia" and that application for baptism was recognized evidence of regeneration among the Creeks, proceeded very carefully and under close scrutiny of hostile Creeks in the audience.

He examined the girl who confessed that although many of her people were opposed to Christianity, she felt a need to join the church. As Murrow later commented, "the girl was white as a sheet, but I was whiter." The next day, he baptized the woman, the first of several thousand to follow over the years.³⁷

Following the services, Kennard suggested that the congregation come forward and welcome the new couple. The Creeks and their reception of the young missionary couple impressed Murrow greatly. Later he commented:

It seems to me that here, if anywhere in the world, is God worshipped in spirit and truth. I will not say that Christians in the States do not worship him in this manner, but I will say that there is in a great many places at least, a great deal of outward form and ceremony mixed up with their worship.

These Indians do everything in the spirit. They sing in the spirit. They all sing, too, the whole congregation, and if there is not as much regularity and order as your choir singing, it is certainly as well calculated to raise the heart in praise to God. They pray in the spirit, too. Brother Walker,³⁸ I just wish you could hear some of these poor Indians pray. It comes bubbling, gushing up from a full soul. Another fact worthy of serious consideration of many Christians in the States is this: An Indian is never known to refuse to pray when called upon. The first meeting we attended after I had preached, General Chilly McIntosh,³⁹ himself a minister, told me that the people wanted to give Mrs. Murrow and myself the hand of welcome. We stood before the pulpit, and while they sang a most soul-stirring hymn, each one came forward and shook our hands warmly. Oh, but our souls were almost lifted out of the poor mortal clay. Mrs. Murrow was almost overcome. I just felt that if my work had even then been finished that I would have

been richly repaid for all the sacrifices which I had made in coming here.⁴⁰

Murrow's position was clearly enhanced with his appearance and acceptance at a Creek tribal council in December, 1857, at North Fork Town. At the council presided over in the absence of Roly McIntosh, Principal Chief of the Creeks, by the second chief, Tookabatchie Micco, Murrow, who attended as a spectator to view the proceedings, was standing to the rear of the assembly.

His friend Moty Kennard, saw him and called "Mullow Elkinnokucke ahtus cha [Murrow, young preacher, come here]," and then introduced him to the group as a new missionary who came from the east to preach and teach among the Creeks. Murrow was then seated next to Kennard who patiently explained many parts of the remainder of the meeting.⁴¹

At a later, notable intertribal council held in North Fork Town in November, 1859, to discuss continued white intrusion into Indian Territory and possible ways to halt it, Murrow had the opportunity to listen to the Creek chief, Opothleyahola. The large man, with a blanket draped over his shoulders like a Roman toga and a brightly colored shawl encircling his head like a turban, had few equals as an orator and impressed Murrow with his plea for Indian education.⁴²

During those initial months, Murrow began extensive correspondence with a number of religious and secular publications including the Christian Index, the Arkansas

Baptist and the Mississippi Baptist, a practice that he continued for the remainder of his life. His letters were factual and informative, treating a myriad of subjects. The following description of a thunderstorm reflects both a literary talent and an awareness of nature:

I never saw such a sublimely, terrific sight in my life before. There was not a tree in miles, nor anything else to afford my protection. The cloud, which was at first toward the west and of an inky blackness, suddenly began settling down and gathering around the points of a high hill, just as I reached its summit, and enveloping me in its murky folds. Then the lightning began to flash, darting through the heavens, but as if not finished its course, descending to earth and tracing in a glowing, fiery track the whole hillside. It increased so much in rapidity and vividness that in a few minutes not only the air but the very earth seemed a perfect blaze of fire. The thunder seemed bellowing a perfect hurricane, driving the rain in sheets before it--went howling by, threatening destruction to everything. In one moment after the first drop struck me I was drenched through. It was an awful though sublime sight. I was entirely alone and knew not what to do, but in half an hour it was as calm and tranquil as ever.⁴³

Murrow, because of his strategic position, noted an unusually heavy influx of travelers through North Fork Town. The California Road, opened for the argonauts in 1849 by the United States Army, ran westward from Fort Smith while the Texas Road intersected it near the Creek town. With the Colorado gold rush of 1858-1859, traffic increased greatly.

Those who came down the Texas Road to North Fork Town could either turn west up the Canadian River or continue southward to El Paso and take the southern route then to

California and the gold fields.⁴⁴ " . . . met yesterday six trains of wagons," Murrow commented, "besides at least 1,000 head of cattle in different droves on their way to Pike's Peak gold region." The travelers were "in high spirits Most of them [the travelers] were from Texas, a great many however from Arkansas are continually passing the road."⁴⁵ The isolation of North Fork Town would be further diminished with the beginning of regular mail service on the St. Louis-California mail route around October 16, 1858.⁴⁶

Annuity payments, money given either in settlement for land sold or by terms of treaties, and the activity surrounding them caught Murrow's attention. The Creek payment in the summer, 1859, like others, took on a carnival atmosphere. "Circuses, shows, theaters, gamblers, jockeys, traders and even dentists and artists--all intent upon getting the Indians' money and successful to a great extent" gathered at the payment site.⁴⁷ Whiskey in great quantities was smuggled in and "disorder, drunkenness and gambling perpetuated by Arkansas gamblers became the order of the day."⁴⁸

The result of such activity was a complete disruption of the Indian lifestyle and considerable disagreement among the Indians. Many neglected their farms in anticipation of the money and sold "head-rights" for immediate cash. Merchants laid in heavy stocks in anticipation of a buying

spree and raised prices accordingly causing great inflation. Many leaders, realizing that the payment was to be the last large one and that only annuities in lesser amounts would follow, argued for investment of the money in sound stock and bond instruments with the interest designated for internal improvements and education. Others contended that it was better for all that the money was paid on a per capita basis because, when it was all gone, the Indians would be forced to resume their normal lifestyle and return to work.

Murrow was in complete agreement with the former argument and often commented on the adverse effect that large monetary payments had on the Indians. With the per capita payments, the money was simply wasted on a brief period of riotous living; wise and careful investment, on the other hand, could generate revenue to meet basic tribal needs for an indefinite period of time.⁴⁹

Murrow's recorded observations testify to the fact that many of his ideas about the new mission field were misconceptions. Clearly the Creek Nation was fine country with excellent water, soil, scenery and forests of oak, hickory and a few pines. Its inhabitants were not savages existing on "parched corn and jerked meat," but individuals much like their white contemporaries on the frontier who lived in a semi-civilized state in that many of the old ways and customs had been laid aside; considerable adoption of

white practices in education, agriculture and the manual arts was evident.⁵⁰

The Creeks lived in simply, but comfortably finished rude log cabins ranging in size from twelve to twenty-five feet square. The more enlightened copied white dress. Others dressed in the old style with men wearing buckskin leggings and moccasins; a shirt hanging loose over it; a coat or gown, generally made of calico; and a large shawl or handkerchief tied around the head leaving the top bare. The women rarely wore any type of shoes, but only a simple dress, a handkerchief over the head tied under the chin and as much jewelry as possible. Moreover, "they were excellent cooks, but unfortunately . . . not always as clean as they might be."⁵¹

Most Creeks were involved in self-sufficient farming and stock raising, while some were merchants, and others practiced log cabin carpentry, although seldom was that followed as an occupation. A variety of table crops including potatoes, corn, peas, beans, pumpkins and even rice and Chinese sugar cane were grown on plots of between five and fifteen acres.

Since no mills were available, the Creeks pounded the cane in sof-ky mortars, placed the crushed mass into sacks and squeezed the juice which was then boiled into syrup. The resulting syrup or molasses was called ne-ha-chum-puh or sweet grease.

A considerable number of horses, cattle and even sheep grazed on the grassy prairies while hogs feasted on mast in the hardwood forests. Much of the livestock was sold to traders or drovers who walked them to markets in Arkansas and Missouri. There were numerous slaves in the nation but because of the prices--between \$900 and \$1200 for men and \$700 to \$900 for women--only the more wealthy were able to afford them.⁵²

With the availability of crops and livestock, the Indians lived well enough; many, however, often had a difficult time simply surviving. Bread, meat and coffee were the chief ingredients of their diet as well as sof-ky, a native dish made by pounding corn, husking it by winnowing and boiling it in water to which a little lye was added to leech the grain hulls.

Nature supplied welcome additions to the table. Berries and nuts were found in great quantities in the woods. Small game was abundant while large game was scarce. Murrow observed:

There are probably more deer in five miles of Penfield, Georgia, than in all of the Creek Nation. I have seen only four deer in two years and two of those were tame. I have never tasted bear meat and buffalo only once on a trip one hundred miles west.⁵³

Murrow found that politically, the Creeks were wards of the federal government; the Creek Nation, however, was a quasi-independent political entity, adopting its own laws and regulations. Initially the government was through the

old system of chiefs. The nation was divided into the Upper and Lower Chiefs and each had its own officials--Head Chief, Town Chief, Lawmakers and Lighthorsemen. The two districts met in General Council annually, but laws were few and poorly enforced.

Then at a General Council in 1859, the Creeks, following the example of the Cherokees, Chickasaws and Choctaws, adopted a more progressive form of government. The nation was divided into four districts and a new constitution was devised which provided for the popular election of officers, the creation of courts and custom houses for each district, the affirmation of trial by jury and an annual meetings of the Council. Several Creeks immediately sent east for law books which they diligently studied.⁵⁴

Primitive beginnings had been made in education among the Creeks funded by both federal and tribal money. Annually the federal government provided eight thousand dollars to the Creeks for the purpose of education. Another amount, never less than ten thousand dollars, was applied as a general school fund by the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs out of interest from an old orphan account, but that expired in 1861. By the treaty of 1856, the Creeks themselves set aside two hundred thousand dollars for educational purposes which would yield two hundred thousand dollars annually in interest. That plus the eight thousand dollars would suffice to educate all children, but few were able to obtain a good education there.

Two classes of schools functioned--fourteen neighborhood or government schools, seven in each district, and two mission schools, one in each district. Annually seven thousand dollars was appropriated to be divided between the two districts. Every four years the General Council selected a Superintendent of Public Schools whose duty was to locate school sites, obtain teachers and needed materials and supervise the educational process through monthly visits to each school. In addition, the Superintendent was annually to report to the United States Indian agent the statistics of each school. For those tasks, he was paid annually four hundred dollars; the teachers, most of whom came from the states and were of uneven competence, earned three hundred and fifty dollars.

The mission schools were operated by missionaries from the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, North, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Their structure was the manual labor system with eighty students per school. The cost was sixty-five hundred dollars annually of which four thousand dollars was provided by the government and the remainder by the Boards of the two denominations. To assist in the educational efforts, a blacksmith and workshops were available at each school.

The curriculum consisted of reading, spelling, writing, mental and written arithmetic, history, geography and grammar. The Mission schools offered additional and more advanced courses.

While the Indian students were capable intellectually, neither type of school was successful because of irregular attendance of the children, lack of suitable teachers and insignificant energy and interest of the administrators. Some discontented persons, including Henry Buckner and Chilly McIntosh, hired Reverend Moses Green, a graduate of Union University, to teach students in a private situation. Green, in return for his eight hundred dollar annual salary, provided an outstanding education to his students, but the school was private and the cost made it prohibitive to most Indian children.⁵⁵

In February, 1858, Buckner returned from Kentucky and Murrow turned his total attention to creating an active, successful partnership with the more experience missionary. Buckner and others were concerned about Murrow's hard work and long hours and soon became convinced that he could not continue at such a pace. Throughout the spring, Murrow and Buckner worked closely together. Under Buckner's guidance, the young missionary gained additional knowledge about the Creeks and their land and, through alternating preaching responsibilities at the services, was able to improve and refine his abilities as a missionary preacher.

Murrow's initiative and talents enabled him rapidly to assume more of Buckner's duties, especially the longer circuits, releasing Buckner for his translation efforts. Murrow's success was reflected in the organization of a new

mission station at Hlop-klok-ko, one of the Creek towns, and the erection of a new building in June, 1858. Soon afterward, Murrow assisted in the construction of a new mission station at Tulum-chus-ee, another of the Creek towns. Later Murrow assisted in the construction of another new structure at the town of Me-Ku-suk-kys. At the Took-a-bat-che church where Jacky-Lah-ney [Yellow Jack] was the leader, Murrow performed his first marriage.⁵⁷

Two elderly people appeared and listen patiently while the missionary explained the vows of marriage and its place in the Christian religion. After joining hands, Murrow asked whether the man would take the woman as his wife. The groom honestly replied:

Yes, bludder (sic) Murrow, I take. Long time I have been hunting one woman to cook my pot and I can't find her. Now this old woman say she cook my pot and I mighty glad. Yes, sir, I take her for my wife for true and thank God.⁵⁸

The bride's reply was certainly as startling:

I heard what the book say about marriage. My heart tells me that it is right. But I have heard that this old man beat his other wife and abused her. I have concluded that I will marry him for awhile and try him. If he treats me right I will remain with him but if he beats me I will leave him, sure. The Bible does not say a man may beat his wife, does it?

During that period, Murrow became interested in two areas of service that would become increasingly important later in his life. Through their horse trading activities with the Creeks, Murrow first became aware of the western

tribes and remarked that he "would like to see missionaries among the Wichitaws [sic], Osages and Comanches."⁶⁰

The plight of the Indian orphans caught Murrow's attention and he corresponded with friends back in Georgia seeking adoptive parents. He urged that the children be transported to his native state, allowed to grow up and learn as other children in Georgia and then be sent to secondary schools. Hopefully, a child might want to return to his people after his education was completed. If that were the case, he would be more valuable than "a dozen white missionaries and his presence would be a blessing to all concerned."⁶¹

The Murrows made their home with the Buckners in North Fork Town, but had plans to construct a dwelling of their own. Personal tragedy, however, struck the Murrow family in the summer, 1858, preventing plans for a new home. Murrow was stricken with malaria on several occasions and, despite his insistence on continuing to work, was bedridden for days at a time. Throughout the entire summer, Murrow, although not constantly bedridden, was not in good health.

Nannie Murrow gave birth to a premature daughter in early July which did not survive. In her weakened condition, she too fell ill to malaria. Throughout July and August, her condition worsened despite care from the Buckners and Murrow who himself was very ill. Finally on August 18, 1858, she died and was buried beside her daughter in the

garden behind the Buckner home. Her death was certainly a terrible blow to the young missionary.⁶²

Following the death of his young wife, Murrow became more than ever immersed in his work in spite of his lingering illness and the fact that his presence was not always welcomed by the Creeks. In early September, he was involved in raising funds and assisting in the construction of an addition to the North Fork Church. A month later, he was again preaching as before, releasing Buckner to return to his translation work.⁶³

As religious activity in the area increased, the work became more demanding and somewhat dangerous. There were some fifteen native preachers, thirty preaching stations and two thousand Baptists in the Creek nation prior to the Civil War and those required close supervision and assistance. Murrow often rode many miles through inclement weather to keep an appointment. On one occasion, Murrow's inexperience almost got him into serious trouble.

While traveling to a preaching appointment, he stopped to view a strange structure erected on a hillside. Later he was informed that the building was a *hil-lis-hu-te* or "medicine house" and if his presence had been noted, his life would have been in grave danger.

Neither was the missionary activity always welcomed by the Creeks. Often when the missionaries left a Creek town, water was sprinkled where they had been to remove evil

spirits. Illustrative of his life in the period is a diary entry for November 11, 1858, which records that Murrow "had a hard chill, followed by a high fever, yet rode twenty-four miles and preached at Hlop-hlock-ko town on the North Fork of the Canadian River."⁶⁴

That determination would reap benefits. At the station near the home of Echo Harjo, chief of the Canadian district and an opponent of Christianity, Murrow, preaching in the place of Monday Durant, a Creek-Black minister, under threats of his life, baptized six converts. As he left, the active persecution of local Creek Christians ended. At Tulmu-chu-se town, a leading persecutor was admitted into the congregation. Successful meetings were conducted at the Creek towns of Attuses, Me-Ku-suk-Kys and Tul-we-hlok-ko-che resulting in several conversions. At Hitch-it-u town, a different dialect was spoken, but Murrow simply located an interpreter and that too became a regular preaching station.⁶⁵

In October, 1858, Murrow made his first visit to the Choctaw Nation. The occasion was the annual meeting of the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Creek Associations held at Bushy Creek church. Some three hundred were in attendance including the Choctaw Christian leaders such as Peter Folsom, William and Lewis Cass, Simeon Hancock and Mea-Sho-hub-bee, although Murrow and R. J. Hogue, another Georgia missionary who came in 1858 to work among the Choctaws, were the only white missionaries present. Since evangelistic services were conducted

along with the business meeting, Murrow preached several times and assisted in the rite of baptism.⁶⁶

That was the first of somewhat regular trips into the Choctaw country to confer with either Hogue or Willis Burns, who came into the territory as a missionary in late 1858. As a result of those trips, Murrow became acquainted with Clara Burns, the daughter of Willis, and on October 27, 1859, the two were married at her father's house and returned to Murrow's work in the Creek Nation.⁶⁷

When Murrow returned to North Fork Town, he learned that an administrative change had occurred in his relationship with the Rehoboth Association. Since his appointment to the mission field, he had been an agent of the Domestic and Indian Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention with the Rehoboth Association providing his financial support. In September, 1858, however, the Rehoboth Association resolved:

. . . with a view of simplifying the machinery of our missionary operations and curtailing expenses, a committee of seven will be appointed to inquire into the experience and practicability of managing our missions--foreign and domestic,⁶⁸ without the interference of either board.

T. A. Reed, Rehoboth missionary to Africa, and Murrow both supported the administrative shift. As Murrow commented, under the old arrangement, the missionary was too far removed from his supportive body; there was a tendency for the missionary to feel less responsibility to his supporting group

when its business was transacted by a "foreign" body; it was difficult to be completely responsible to two bodies; and it was unnecessary for someone to use an overseer or intermediary to do something that he could do better himself. So until 1885, Murrow was a missionary solely for the Rehoboth Association who accepted his reports and provided the financial assistance needed for his work.⁶⁹

By 1859, the Baptist mission field in Indian Territory was well established. Through the efforts of Buckner and Murrow among the Creeks and R. J. Hogue and Willis Burns among the Choctaws and the addition of new missionaries-- A. E. Vandiver of Alabama and James A. Preston of Georgia-- the mission field was more adequately staffed than ever.⁷⁰

With the addition of new personnel, the increase in converts and the creation of new preaching stations, the Indian Association at its annual meeting at the Took-a-batchie church in the Creek Nation held in September decided to divide into the Choctaw-Chickasaw and Creek-Seminole Associations.⁷¹ The Cherokees already had their own association.⁷²

Both Buckner and Murrow agreed that the western edge of the Creek Nation deserved greater attention, especially the Seminoles, in order to develop more fully initial contacts that had already been made. Although the Seminoles claimed that "we do not want the ways of the white man, such as schools, preaching, fiddle playing, card playing and the like,"⁷³ they accepted the missionary.

In 1843, Reverend John Douglas Bemo, a Seminole Indian educated among the Presbyterians, came west to minister to his people. By March, 1844, he added a school to his list of responsibilities. Reverends John Lilley and James Ross Ramsey further strengthened the Presbyterian cause among the Seminoles by 1850.⁷⁴

Baptist contact dates from the arrival of Joseph Smedley, a general Indian missionary of the American Indian Mission Association, in 1842. Four years later, he was planning the establishment of a church of thirty to forty members called the Deep Fork or Seminole Church. The American Indian Mission Association in 1847 announced that Reverend Joseph Islands from North Fork Town organized a Seminole Baptist church of fifty members but needed additional assistance for his work.⁷⁵ Around 1852, Buckner noted that Monday Durant, a Creek-Baptist minister, "preaches on Little River to the Seminoles every fourth week; and had baptized four the last time I saw him."⁷⁶

Murrow himself visited the Seminole country for the first time in 1859. After leaving Buckner's residence on February 12, on a twelve day preaching tour, he first visited Tul-mu-chu-se church on Saturday and Sunday where he perhaps preached to his first congregation composed totally of Indians and then traveled westward to visit Bemo and his interpreter. He reported that services were being conducted to over one hundred members. Considerable excitement among

the Seminoles on their move to new lands was also observed as well as respect and admiration for John Jumper who would soon replace Billy Bowlegs as the Seminole chief.⁷⁷

To further strengthen the Baptist cause among the Seminoles, on January 2, 1860, Murrow left North Fork Town with his wife, Clara, for an assignment on Little River some sixty miles to the southwest. In doing so, Murrow expressed mixed emotions:

My heart felt heavy when I bid adieu to friends amongst whom I had lived for more than two years. 'Twas there that I felt more affliction than in all my life before, and there I met with friends who were good and kind--and when I stood by the graves of those once so dear and whose memories still were hallowed--my own wife and infant--I almost wished that I could remain.⁷⁸

After a trip of three days--"a tedious, tiresome journey"--which exposed the already frail Clara Murrow to exposure from the harsh elements, they arrived at their destination and were received. As Murrow noted:

We board in [with] a family of Indians. Both speak English and are very kind. The house is comfortable and the 'bill of fare' will compare favorably with many of your well-to-do Alabama farmers. Our chief inconvenience here is getting mail. We have had letter mail twice since our arrival and papers once.⁷⁹

In late January, 1860, Murrow announced the creation of a mission station in the Seminole territory and his intention to organize a church.⁸⁰

The Little River Station prospered immediately despite some initial difficulty. Murrow's early efforts among

the Seminoles were hindered by the lack of an interpreter, a horse (since he had been forced to sell his original mount to pay traveling expenses when he left North Fork Town) and the presence of two Presbyterian ministers who resented his intrusion into the mission field.⁸¹

Yet with the assistance of Bemo, the former Presbyterian missionary turned Baptist, the Ash Creek church,⁸² the first Seminole congregation, was organized in early February composed of seven charter members with "two . . . [more] added to its fellowship the same day." Clara Murrow soon opened a neighborhood school which attracted several children.⁸³

The congregation continued to grow as new members were added, including John Jumper, the principal Seminole chief. Jumper, one of Osceola's lieutenants and himself a participant in the Seminole war, was opposed to whites and their customs but became aware of the existence of Christianity in the Creek Nation. Determined to know more about it, he sent his friend and chief interpreter for the Seminole tribe, James Factor, to investigate.

Factor came under the influence of Black preachers operating in the area and was baptized. That action raised a storm of protest in the Seminole nation resulting in Factor's arrest with the threat that severe punishment would be administered. Jumper secured his release, however, and came to discuss religion with his friend. Soon afterward,

Jumper joined the Presbyterian church through the mission station located near his home.

In early 1860, Murrow and Bemo conducted a Baptist meeting near Jumper's home, which the chief attended, but expressed little interest until the new converts were baptized by immersion in the Canadian River. Intrigued and puzzled by that, Jumper questioned Lilly and Ramsey, the Presbyterian ministers, for an explanation as to why that was not also done to him when he became a Christian. Not satisfied by the explanation, Jumper continued to consider the matter until Factor arranged an interview with Murrow on the subject.

Murrow, concerned about a possible offense to the Presbyterians and realizing the delicacy of the situation, used the Presbyterian interpreter, Thomas Cloud, as well as Factor in the day long conference. Murrow not only read and explained biblical passages on baptism, but patiently answered all questions on the issue raised by Jumper. At the end of the day, Jumper departed, but returned within a few days to be baptized as a member of the Ash Creek congregation. Clearly the addition of Jumper, one of the more respected members of the Seminole Nation, strengthened the cause of the Baptists and Murrow in the area. Moreover, it marked the beginning of a great and lasting friendship between John Jumper and Joseph Murrow.⁸⁴

Despite a new, but highly successful, mission field among the Seminoles based, in large part, upon the trust and confidence of Jumper, Murrow's missionary labors would be disrupted. The long, bitter debate over slavery was threatening to erupt into a conflict engulfing both Murrow and his Indian parishioners. Although southern in sympathy, Murrow hoped that if war came, the Indians would not be disturbed.

In March, 1860, he pleaded:

The relations of the Indian Territory toward the United States are beginning to excite considerable interest among political men. Already are the eyes of both the North and South turned toward this country and we fear the day is not far distant when scenes similiar to the Kansas conflict will be enacted here upon this Indian soil. Should this be so (and it will be so) and the United States dispossesses the poor Red Man of this last resting place, then Justice must cover her head in sackcloth, and foul robbery be branded on the bright escutcheon of the stars and stripes. But if this must come, then the South should be on the watch. If this country belongs to any part of the Union, that portion is the South. The Indians are all slaveholders and their feelings and sympathies are all southern. The soil and climate are both together suited for slaves. Negroes are much healthier here, and there are more cases of longevity among them than either whites or Indians.

Let Southern champions stand ready then to defend their just title to this territory, when the time comes that defense is necessary; but we beseech you, do not come with robbery and violence and take it 'vi et armies' from those to whom it rightfully belongs.⁸⁵

Murrow's concerns were warranted because before the end of the year war did come to Indian Territory and it affected all of the tribes. When the Seminoles made the

decision to go to war, Murrow found new areas of service. He contended that the mission cause must not be allowed to suffer greatly because the responsibility to the Indians was just as great in war as in peace. Moreover, one's duty to his country was sacred, but not more so than his duty to God.⁸⁶

CHAPTER II

THE WAR YEARS, 1861-1865

The Civil War was a difficult time for Joseph Murrow, although it did present new opportunities for service to the Indians. Opposed to the war, but fiercely loyal to the Confederate cause, Murrow did not take an open stance until John Jumper led a portion of the Seminoles into an alliance with the southern forces.

From that point, Murrow served as a military chaplain with Jumper's regiment, was appointed the Confederate agent to the Seminoles and saw that position expanded to include commissary duties toward the Confederate refugee Indians, in addition to a continuation of his missionary responsibilities. He and his family moved often as they sought to avoid the ravages of war, and adverse conditions cost him a young son while affecting the health of his wife to the point that she died soon after the war was concluded.

At the conclusion of hostilities, Murrow journeyed to Fort Smith with a Seminole delegation to deliberate on the treaties to terminate the conflict. Once that task was

completed, Murrow, fearing for the welfare of himself and his family and upon the advice of white missionaries and Seminole leaders, moved to Linden, Texas, to assume a teaching position. While enjoying the fellowship of other exiled missionaries, his new association with the Masonic fraternity and the security and safety of northern Texas, Murrow was anxious to return to Indian Territory and resume his labors.

As the drift toward war became evident in Indian Territory in the early 1860s, Murrow urged Indian neutrality as the most feasible course of action to pursue.¹ The Indians' situation as independent nations coupled with the results of their past participation in white conflicts, notably the Creek allies who aided Andrew Jackson in the Creek War only to suffer removal as payment, seemed to prove the wisdom of such a recommendation.

Yet the strategic location of Indian Territory and the importance of its control prevented those factors from guiding the Indians along the path of neutrality. Union control of Indian Territory could open invasion routes into Texas and Arkansas, allow the maintenance of communication with the western territories and open the vast natural resources of the area to Federal utilization.

If the Confederates, on the other hand, could secure the advantage in Indian Territory, not only would it allow a better defensive posture in the west, but the offensive potentials through Kansas would be increased. Further, the

south could use the raw materials and agricultural possibilities of Indian Territory and northern Texas.

The sentiment of the Five Civilized Tribes was divided on the impending crisis. It seemed that neutrality might be the course of action simply because neither side of the argument among the Indians seemed able to secure domination. Leaders like John Ross of the Cherokees, Opothleyahola of the Creeks and Peter Pitchlyn of the Choctaws were openly opposed to an alliance with the Confederacy if secession did come; full bloods, especially in the Cherokee and Creek tribes, loudly echoed that feeling.

The argument was that relations with neither the southern states nor the Federal government had been advantageous, since each group espoused and practiced removal. Moreover, northern Republicans threatened additional attacks on the Indian position even in Indian Territory, while the Federal government controlled large amounts of money that would certainly be lost if the tribes cemented an alliance with the Confederacy.³

Yet the southern sentiment ran strong and several factors were working for ultimate Indian support for the Confederate cause. Whites in positions of importance throughout the territory were pro-southern. Those included Elias Rector, Superintendent of the Southern Superintendency; Indian agents like Douglas Cooper of the Choctaws and Samuel Rutherford of the Seminoles who were responsible for federal

appointments of civil servants, the requests by traders for licenses and the selection of even minor agency personnel in accordance with the individual's view on slavery; and missionaries like Cyrus Kingsbury among the Choctaws, Henry F. Buckner with the Creeks and, to a lesser extent, Murrow serving the Seminoles.

The Federal government, in addition, seemed reluctant to meet its treaty obligations to the Five Tribes. Major outstanding complaints included the Choctaw Net Proceeds Claim, the determination by the Choctaws to reduce the size of military reservations in their nation, the inability of the Cherokees to obtain a settlement out of the Cherokee Neutral Lands and the failure on the part of the Seminoles to collect their promised annuities.

Another event that drove the Five Civilized Tribes into the open arms of the Confederacy was the Federal abandonment of military installations in Indian Territory. To the Indians, Forts Smith, Washita, Arbuckle and Cobb were stipulated in their treaties with the United States to protect the Indian nations from the threat of attack. On August 23, 1861, Captain Samuel Sturgis abandoned Fort Smith.

The Federal commander in Indian Territory, Colonel W. H. Emory, united the Fort Smith troops with those at the other forts and led the combined forces northward to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, arriving there on May 31, 1861. Confederate troops moved in and occupied the three posts in

southern Indian Territory proper while Arkansas forces assumed control over Fort Smith.

Other factors that caused the Indians to enter into a Confederate alliance were the desires on the part of the Indians to protect their territorial integrity against a federal government oriented and responsive to fulfilling demands of land-hungry settlers and the social and economic relationships that existed between Indian mixed bloods and southern whites.⁴

The impending crisis spurred some of the tribes to take independent action. The Chickasaw legislature, on January 5, 1861, passed a resolution calling for a general inter-tribal council to be held at the Creek agency for the purpose of seeking a common policy respecting both individual and tribal rights should secession occur. On February 7, the Choctaws, not waiting for a common policy, announced their intent to ally with the Confederacy if the Union were dissolved.

That action by their immediate neighbors, coupled with strong pro-southern sentiment, prevented the Chickasaws from attending the very council they initiated. When the council convened on February 17 with Creek, Cherokee and Seminole delegates, the Cherokees, particularly John Ross, dominated and the result was an agreement to remain quiet and neutral for a time while insisting upon compliance with existing treaties.⁵

By late spring, the Confederacy, acting partially upon advice from three Texas commissioners who visited Indian Territory in April, took steps to press their advantage among the Five Civilized Tribes. The provisional Confederate Congress authorized preliminary diplomatic advances toward the Indian tribes. A Bureau of Indian Affairs was created under the auspices of the War Department.

To further implement the Confederate schemes, Albert Pike⁶ was sent to visit the tribes, assuring them of Confederate sympathy and attempting to create formal alliances. Secretary of War LeRoy P. Walker assigned Brigadier General Benjamin Walker to command the military district including Indian Territory and authorized Douglas Cooper, former United States Indian agent for the Choctaws and Chickasaws and an avid southerner, to raise two regiments of volunteers. Confederate Superintendent of Indian Affairs David Hubbard was ordered to journey to Indian Territory and meet with the tribal leaders. And the Confederate States of America formally annexed Indian Territory on May 17, 1861. That annexation placed all tribes under the protection of the Confederacy.⁷

By late May, Pike arrived in Indian Territory. While still at Fort Smith, he secured agreements with Rector, Cooper and Rutherford to continue their duties under the Confederate government and met with a group of anti-Ross Cherokees assuring them of Confederate protection if they

declared for the southern cause. Those Cherokees, in addition, were invited to meet with Pike at the Creek agency after he conferred with Ross. Pike immediately made overtures to Ross and the other Cherokees in June, but was rebuffed when the Cherokee Council affirmed Ross's stand of neutrality.⁸

At the Creek agency in June, Pike's fortunes improved greatly following a cordial reception from the Creeks. That acceptance was due in part to the absence of leading neutral Creeks like Opothleyahola who were at the western edge of the Leased District participating in the Antelope Hills Council. That meeting, lasting from June 22-24, produced a general declaration of neutrality from the anti-slave Seminole, Creek and Cherokee delegates.

Meanwhile, at the Creek agency, prior to the meeting with Pike, the mixed bloods of the Creek, Chickasaw, Choctaw and Seminole tribes drafted a constitution creating a United Nations of Indian Territory. Under the constitution, the union was administered by a Grand Council composed of six delegates from each member tribe with the authority to request member tribes to supply troops when necessary.

With such a favorable environment, enhanced by the support of Henry Buckner, on July 10, 1861, Pike signed a treaty with the Creeks, and the Principal Chief, Moty Kennard, and Echo Harjo, the Principal Chief of the Upper Creeks, affixed their names to the document. Two days later, similiar

treaties of alliance were concluded with the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes.⁹

Throughout 1861, Murrow remained active as a missionary in the face of personal trouble, and, despite his southern sympathy, remained somewhat aloof from sectional turmoil manifesting itself in Indian Territory. In December, 1860, he left his family on Little River and returned to North Fork Town to nurse the ailing Buckners.

Soon after Murrow's arrival, Buckner's wife died and Murrow not only presided over the burial services, but filled the grave. For almost a month he remained, until Buckner was sufficiently recovered. Upon his return to Little River, Murrow found that both his wife and infant son were ill and he spent several days caring for them while battling a severe case of measles himself. His son, a sickly child, never recovered and died later in the year.¹⁰

His work, as always, was of paramount importance and time consuming as evidenced by his summary report of 1861:

1318 sermons; 752 prayer meetings;
652 other religious meetings; 799 visits;
57 baptisms; 3 churches constituted; 5
stations organized; 2 buildings erected.¹¹

He continued his work among the Seminoles. In late 1860, the church was split into Black and Indian congregations each with its own structure. That was an obvious response to the continual drift toward war, as the reason for the split was "to benefit . . . the church in its church capacity, and also . . . the community in its social relationships." A

drought plagued Indian Territory in 1860 resulting in poor harvests in the summer and early fall, followed by suffering and starvation in the winter. With monetary inflation and the uncertainty of federal annuity payments caused by the developing sectional crisis, the situation worsened.

Murrow himself was unable to secure payment of his two hundred dollars a quarter salary, since the drafts of the Rehoboth Association were drawn on northern banks and could not be cashed following the secession of Arkansas and Texas. In May, 1861, he returned to Georgia and spent most of the summer visiting and reporting to Association churches.¹²

Murrow returned to Indian Territory in the late summer to become involved in the Seminole decision to support the Confederacy. Pike, after initial successes with the Creeks, Choctaws and Chickasaws, along with Indian Superintendent Rector and agent Rutherford, traveled to confer with the Seminoles.

A latecomer to Indian Territory and with a large full-blood population that was rather conservative, the Seminoles were reluctant to sever relations with the United States. On March 10, 1861, the Seminole Council not only openly opposed a treaty with the Confederacy, but refused to appoint an official delegation to confer with the Confederate commissioners. To counter that strong sense of neutrality, Pike had already entertained several Seminoles at the signing of the Creek treaty and invited Rutherford and Rector to

accompany him to the Seminole agency for the discussion on a formal treaty of alliance.¹³

Upon arrival, John Jumper first pretended astonishment at Pike's visit, but easily moved into discussions. After initial consultation with his advisors who still opposed any involvement, Jumper, despite southern sympathies, refused to negotiate with Pike; he was somewhat unsure of his strength and feared the consequences that could result from action opposed to tribal wishes.

After thinly veiled suggestions that unless the Seminoles declared for the Confederacy, the invading Union would seize their lands, Jumper agreed to discuss the matter with the visitors. After receiving a promise of troops to quell opposition to their actions, Jumper and twelve other Seminole leaders entered into a treaty with Pike on August 1, 1861, and Murrow witnessed the signing of the document at the Seminole agency.¹⁴ United States agents later claimed that Jumper was opposed to the treaty, but was swayed by the persuasive words of Albert Pike; persuasion no doubt came, but from those individuals much closer to Jumper than Pike.¹⁵

Seminole agents and Murrow had the ear of Jumper and probably used it for the benefit of the Confederacy. Former Seminole agent Josiah W. Washbourne, because of his long associations in Indian Territory and his respect among the tribes, influenced the decision with his argument "that the Union treasury was bankrupt and could not pay the annuities,

that the European powers would support the Confederacy and that only the South would guarantee the political independence of the Indian nations."¹⁶ Washbourne's successor, Rutherford, pointed out that since the Seminoles "were slaveholders, were of Southern origin, and were inhabitants of a Southern geographical area," it was in their best interests to support the Confederacy.¹⁷

Murrow, a Georgian, supported the Confederate cause because "its policy toward the Indians at the outbreak of the Civil War" as reflected in the Seminole treaty and those with the other Five Civilized Tribes "was [sic] the most far seeing and just that had ever been conceived or proposed."¹⁸ Until the summer of 1861, Murrow had not taken an active part in attempting to influence the Indians' decision. Yet when the stipulations of the treaties were made public, and since his motivation was just and equitable treatment for the Indians, it was natural that he would favor the southern cause.

Particular evidence of his influence is that when the Seminole Nation split over the Civil War alliances, the split came along religious lines; Baptists tended to support the Confederacy while Presbyterian Seminoles allied with the Union. And, of course, Murrow was not only the sole Baptist missionary among the Seminoles at the time, but pastor and personal friend to John Jumper.¹⁹

By early October, Pike's successful negotiations with the other tribes and Confederate victories at Bull Run and Wilson's Creek drew the Cherokees into the Confederate camp. During the week of October 7, Pike signed treaties with the Osages, Quapaws, Senecas, Shawnees and Cherokees; the Cherokee treaty allied the last major nation of the Indian Territory with the Confederacy.

By late November, 1861, Pike returned to Richmond with the treaties seeking approval from the Confederate government. President Jefferson Davis suggested changes which were incorporated and by early January, 1862, all of the Pike treaties were ratified and the Confederate banner flew over the Indian Territory.²⁰

The Confederate alliance, however, was not unanimously supported. Seminole masses, for example, did not support the treaty of August, 1861, and Seminole support for neutrality was quite strong. If the federal government had offered encouragement or the hint of military support to thwart a Confederate alliance, the Seminoles probably would not have supported the Confederacy.

Still a major loyalist faction led by Halleck Tustenugee, John Chupco and Billy Bowlegs, realizing that Jumper's decision could not be reversed easily from within the tribe, moved to join forces with Opothleyahola, the Creek chief who opposed an alliance with the Confederacy and a leader of those who opposed a Confederate alliance.²¹

During late 1861, preparations were made for the coming conflict as four regiments were organized for Confederate service. A Choctaw-Chickasaw regiment rallied under the command of Colonel Douglas H. Cooper. The followers of John Ross led by Colonel John Drew organized a Cherokee regiment, while Stand Watie and his supporters organized still another. Colonel Daniel N. McIntosh was the commander of a Creek-Seminole regiment; Major John Jumper was given the command of the Seminole battalion within that regiment. The strength of those four regiments varied from five to ten thousand men during the duration of the war.²²

When Jumper's First Seminole Battalion Mounted Volunteers was organized on September 21, 1861, the Seminole leader appointed Murrow to serve the unit as chaplain. Although he did not participate in combat, Murrow, while continuing his missionary efforts at Rehoboth Station, his missionary outpost in the Seminole Nation, often traveled with the regiment.

In his capacity as chaplain, he administered to the troops' needs, spiritual and otherwise; visited the sick and dying; and offered encouragement to the men. Often the first action in a new military encampment was the erection of a brush arbor, and on only one Sunday "while fleeing from the Yankees," were religious services not held. Murrow's continual devotion to his religious responsibilities despite the war is evidenced by the baptism of more than two hundred

persons in the period. Such activity was in addition to his efforts to continue the development of his missionary work in and around Rehoboth Station.

In addition, Murrow visited other camps officiating at various ceremonies, especially the funerals of those who died from wounds and diseases. On one occasion toward the end of the war, he united General Cooper's daughter and a young officer in marriage. For that service, Murrow was paid his highest marriage fee ever--five hundred dollars; at the time, however, Confederate currency was so inflated that it was actually worth only two dollars and fifty cents.²⁵

In the summer, 1862, at the recommendation of John Jumper, Murrow was appointed by the Confederate Congress to serve as the Seminole Indian agent.²⁶ He went

. . . to the Seminole agency near Wewoka in September, 1862. . . . The buildings, archives, etc, were then in charge of a free mulatto man. He had done all he could to preserve them, but everything was in confusion, the old agent having been absent almost a year. . . . [I] found no financial papers in the office, at least none showing what monies had been received or paid out, except one or two old payrolls.²⁷

For over a year, until the Union invasions seemed imminent and attacks from the western Indians threatened, Murrow administered the Seminole tribal affairs from the agency while continuing to serve the Ash Creek congregation as minister and Jumper's military forces as chaplain. Much of his time with agency business was spent in seeking compliance from the Confederate government with the treaties

signed with the Seminoles, but, due to more pressing issues demanding Confederate attention, he enjoyed little success and was thrown upon his own resources time and again to provide adequate clothing, food and shelter for his Seminole charges.²⁸

While Murrow was serving as chaplain to Jumper's troops, war came to Indian Territory. When the fighting did erupt, it was first in a classic "brother against brother" struggle in an effort by the Confederate Indians to force Opothleyahola and neutral followers including the Seminole chiefs Billy Bowlegs and John Chupco to ally with the Confederacy. The Creek chief, urging neutrality and especially opposition to any Confederate alliance, gathered his supporters mostly from the Creek and Seminole tribes on the Deep Fork River. When threatened by the Confederates, Opothleyahola made preparations to lead his people northward into Union territory and out of danger.

In November, 1861, in an effort to thwart the tactics of Opothleyahola, Confederate units, including Jumper's Mounted Volunteers along with Murrow and commanded by General Douglas Cooper, advanced against the neutral Indians. Opothleyahola moved his people to temporary safety, but the Confederates followed and engaged them at Round Mountain on November 19, only to be repulsed. Cooper withdrew, secured reinforcements and additional supplies and resumed the chase.

A second battle was fought on Bird Creek at Chusto Talasah or Caving Banks and again the Confederates were defeated. Cooper regrouped his forces once more and on December 26, 1861, routed Opothleyahola's forces at the Battle of Chustenalah. The survivors fled northward and Cooper's forces pursued them to within ten miles of the Kansas border.²⁹

Murrow, in letters describing the campaign, justified the Confederate actions, including the destruction of houses and barns and the killing of livestock, as necessary to dispel an internal Creek rebellion. Murrow expressed little sympathy for the neutral Indians as he ascribed their suffering to actions of leaders like Opothleyahola who had rebelled against a tribal decision.³⁰

With the defeat of Opothleyahola, the Confederates enjoyed a vastly superior position in Indian Territory. They had virtually unopposed military control of the area, diplomatic alliances with the Five Civilized Tribes, as well as many of the minor ones, and no real opposition as evidenced by the fact that dissenting neutral or Union factions were either driven from the territory or quieted to the point that they offered no real threat.

Yet unrest was evident, as considerable numbers of Seminoles and Creeks had fled to Kansas, and there was constant fear that with Union support, those refugees would return to take their revenge. "May God preserve us," Murrow

prayed, "from invasion, rapine and plunder at the hands of Black Republican Kansasites."³¹ Moreover, the ease with which the Confederates gained superiority bred overconfidence and allowed potential problems in leadership and the delicacy of the Indian alliances to be overlooked.³²

Albert Pike, appointed a brigadier general partly as a reward for his diplomatic successes with the Indians, was assigned to command the Indian units in the territory. He returned from the east and immediately constructed Fort Davis near present day Muskogee for use as a command post and supply depot. The immediate need for Confederate troops, however, was not in Indian Territory, but in Arkansas.

In March, 1862, in an attempt to thwart a Union invasion from Missouri, Pike was ordered to move Indian troops to Pea Ridge, Arkansas, to reinforce the positions of Generals Sterling Price and Ben McCulloch. Despite the fact that such an order was in direct violation of Indian treaty provisions requiring their consent to fight outside of Indian Territory, Pike and two Cherokee regiments fought and suffered a major defeat with other Confederates on March 6-8. The defeat was in spite of hard fighting by the Indian troops. As Pike and his forces fled westward toward sanctuary in Indian Territory, Colonel Cooper's Choctaw-Chickasaw and Colonel McIntosh's Creek-Seminole regiments moved to cover their retreat.³³

With the Union victory at Pea Ridge, Confederate fortunes in Indian Territory started to decline. The loss in

men and material severely sapped the Confederate ability to protect the territory and to fulfill the treaty provisions of 1861. The Seminoles, for example, were to receive twenty-five thousand dollars in perpetual annuities annually, two thousand dollars for agricultural implements, two thousand two hundred for blacksmith facilities and one thousand dollars for the building of two schools.³⁴

Yet by the summer, 1862, the Confederate government was defaulting on those provisions. Later attempts to pay any annuities were diminished because payment was in worthless script or cotton, for which there was no market. The Confederate Indians, therefore, were thrown back on their own resources and ingenuity to protect and provide for themselves. In normal times, that perhaps would have been possible because of the productive natural environment which could yield subsistence. During 1862, however, Indian Territory became a battleground as the Union launched its invasion, further disrupting the life of the Indian inhabitants.³⁵

Moreover, the Confederate defeat at Pea Ridge resulted in command changes and actions involving Pike which adversely affected the Confederate Indian cause. General Earl Van Dorn, Confederate commander of the Trans-Mississippi District, was replaced by General T. C. Tindman.

Pike, angry because of Confederate neglect, sought to draw attention to the conditions when he reported:

The Cherokee country is lost; the reserve is broken up and abandoned. The loyal Creeks are fleeing into Texas; the Choctaw troops disgracefully routed under Colonel Cooper are disbanding; the Chickasaws will soon do the same; their troops remain unpaid, unshod, half naked. The people all over the Indian country are destitute of food, and to ascertain how many need to be fed we may take the whole census.³⁶

Disappointed and disillusioned at the lack of response by the Confederate government, Pike assumed a defensive position at his new command post on the Blue River, Fort McCulloch. Cooper was left at Fort Davis with a small detachment while the remaining Choctaw and Chickasaw troops went south with Pike. The Cherokee regiments were ordered to remain in the north and protect against invasions from Kansas, while the Creeks and Seminoles were to patrol within their own countries. Eventually Pike's continued criticism forced his removal, and Cooper replaced him as commander-in-chief of the Confederate Indian forces.³⁷

The Confederate defeat and accompanying retreat from Pea Ridge and the military indecision allowed the Union to launch an invasion into Indian Territory. In the spring, 1862, Colonel William Weer led the Indian Expedition consisting of troops from Ohio, Kansas and Indiana, as well as two regiments from Opothleyahola's refugee camps, southward,

The Union encountered Confederate troops and won an engagement at Locust Grove on July 13 which opened the Cherokee Territory to further penetration. At that point, Weer divided his troops and sent one unit to capture Fort

Gibson and another toward Tahlequah. By the middle of July, it seemed that the Indian Expedition would sweep the Confederate defenders southward to the Red River, but dissension in the Union officer corps resulted in Weer's arrest and the Indian Expedition retreated northward to Kansas.³⁸

Obviously the first Federal invasion was not successful in re-establishing Union control over Indian Territory; it was not, however, without results. It proved the Union could organize and deliver a major offensive expedition and that an inferior Union effort was clearly superior to the best that the Confederacy could muster. Moreover, the attitude of forgiveness displayed by the invading army toward the Confederate Indians drove an early wedge into Confederate-Indian relations creating a schism that would never be fully bridged.³⁹

With the Union retreat, the Confederate forces again reoccupied the Cherokee Nation, but never again would the control be as complete as it had been before the invasion. That would be influenced both by an increase in Union sorties southward and dissension within the Confederate Indian ranks, particularly among the Cherokees. A proposed Confederate offensive stalled because of personnel and supply shortages, and it seemed inevitable that the Union would again move southward.⁴⁰

In October, 1862, Colonel William A. Phillips defeated Cooper at the Battle of Fort Wayne. Encouraged by the

increase in Union strength and daring, the Union Cherokees in Indian Territory took bold action. Three regiments were organized into the Indian Home Guard under Colonel Phillips and, in February, 1863, the Cowskin Prairie Council convened.

At the meeting, the Union Cherokees repudiated the pro-Confederate actions of the Stand Watie faction and organized a pro-Union Cherokee government. Colonel Phillips sought to give the new government additional legitimacy by recapturing the Cherokee Nation.⁴¹

In the summer, 1863, the second Union invasion of Indian Territory was launched. By April, Phillips recaptured the area evacuated in the Union retreat following the first invasion. A Confederate effort under Cooper to repulse the Union advance was thwarted at the Battle of Honey Springs on July 17, 1863.

With the advantage clearly in the hands of the Union, efforts were taken to increase the Union strength. In August, 1863, General James G. Blunt, after learning of a Confederate concentration near Perryville, marched southward, destroyed cached supplies and dispersed the defenders remaining after Cooper and Watie moved the bulk of the forces southward toward Boggy Depot. From Perryville, Blunt easily marched into and captured Fort Smith on December 1. The fall of Fort Smith, for all practical purposes, ended the Civil War in Indian Territory. Thereafter Stand Watie and other Confederate commanders resorted to guerilla warfare to prolong the conflict.⁴²

With the Union invasions and accompanying guerilla activities, central Indian Territory became a wasteland. Life of the non-combatant was severely disrupted as " . . . houses were burned . . . fields laid waste . . . and the country was again a wilderness."⁴³ The once lovely landscape "presented a tragic picture of blackened chimneys rising from the ruins of charred homesteads, of unfenced fields overgrown with weeds and brambles, and a very destitute population, reduced to the very verge of despondency."⁴⁴ Outlawry flourished as "Kansas Jayhawkers and Texas Bushwackers raided the Territory, terrorizing, murdering . . ."⁴⁵

Vicey Marshall, a young Creek girl at the time, remembered:

The house was so situated that anyone could be seen coming at a great distance away. When men were sighted in the distance, one day, all the family took the valuables . . . and hid them. The flight was made in a wagon. Little food was taken because of the hurried departure. The only drinking water to be found was in the imprints made in the dirt by the hoofs of horses and cattle. When the family returned a few days later, the valuables had been dug up, money and jewelry taken, other articles broken or smashed. The bushwackers, as this group of men were called, had even killed the few remaining poor cows, taken what they could and left the rest.⁴⁶

Another recalled that "it was a fearful time so that most of the women who had been left without the protection of the men were scared to say anything as the raiders often had no mercy."⁴⁷ With that increase in violence, most white missionaries left the area for safety in the states. Buckner

went to Texas in November, 1862, and Murrow was left alone, one of the few white missionaries to remain in the territory throughout the Civil War.⁴⁸

Faced with such conditions, Indians of the Cherokee, Seminole and Creek Nations began to flee as well and many migrated southward toward sanctuary in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations along the Red River.⁴⁹ In many ways that movement was reminiscent of the Trail of Tears that brought the Five Civilized Tribes to Indian Territory thirty years earlier.

One Cherokee refugee spoke of being "burned out" and fleeing southward with all of his remaining possessions in a hack.⁵⁰ Another reflected upon the confusion among the people as they prepared for the trek and remembered traveling "to the south on a horse and a mattress which had been placed on the horse and tied with cowhide ropes."⁵¹

Lizzie Winn, a young Creek refugee, recalled the flight and the special hurt that came to her family:

Father and Mother . . . were living near Shawnee at the outbreak of the Civil War so they started to Hanna where their people lived but the father, Joe Si Benson, was taken sick on the way and they had to stop in an old house with him and while they were there one day some men came and took all their food, clothing and everything. . . . These thieves started to leave and then came back. Lizzie was standing by the bed holding her father's head when one of the men shot her father in the head.⁵²

For several months, Lizzie, her mother and three sisters wandered southward taking shelter and food where it

was available and doing without when it was not. Eventually they were found by some southern soldiers and taken to Boggy Depot where Lizzie lived with some white women for the duration of the war.⁵³

The migration southward continued as more refugees sought to escape the harsh realities of border warfare and, by August, 1863, few Confederate Indians were left in the occupied area. Initially the refugee Indians moved into the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations where refugee camps were formed on the Blue, Boggy, Red, Washita and Kiamichi rivers, and even into Texas near the towns of Sherman and Bonham. Many of the wealthier Cherokee families like that of Stand Watie sent their women and children into northern Texas where they rented farms or lived with relatives. Soon, however, Texas placed a head tax on refugees seeking to cross the Red River, resulting in heavier concentrations in the Indian Territory refugee camps.⁵⁴

Dwellers in such camps faced constant adversity in an attempt to survive. "The people made shelter in any way," one refugee recalled, "and out of anything that could be used, but most . . . made their crude houses out of bark. . . . Some covered their shelter with twigs and covered it over with cowhides." Such houses were furnished with the bare necessities. Beds were made " . . . by driving four forked sticks into the ground, into a square or oblong size, and upon these were laid two strong poles that were a support to

other shorter poles laid crosswise and all securely tied, making a firm smooth support for bedding."

Such bark dwellings were arranged on either side of a street-like clearing. In the center of the clearing, a long ditch, running the length of the street, was dug and in that, a fire was made for cooking. Stout poles were placed into the ground on either side of the ditch and a long pole fastened or laid between the forks of each stick so that cooking utensils could be arranged for slow cooking.

Often ill with malaria and facing acute shortages of food, clothing and medicines, the refugees struggled to survive. While the men hunted for food, women worked to provide clothing both for their families and soldiers; and Confederate leaders, Indian and white, sought to find ways and means to assist the people.⁵⁵

Indian leaders took the first steps to provide relief for their indigent citizens. The Confederate Cherokees in May, June and July, 1863, attempted to organize the relief work through the appointment of Captain J. L. Martin as Commissioner of Relief. He was instructed to create refugee camps safe from Union threats. Martin also secured cooperation from Brigadier General William Steele who agreed to furlough troops to assist in the relocation of their families.

Watie, leader of the Cherokees allied with the Confederacy, appealed to Texas citizens for aid by reminding them that Confederate Indians were protecting the northern

Texas frontier from Union invasion. Elias Cornelius Boudinot, Cherokee representative to the Confederate Congress, struggled in efforts to secure a loan from the Confederate government for relief work. While the Confederate government was sympathetic and provided aid whenever possible, Confederate troops and refugees faced similar conditions. Moreover, disorganized administrative efforts by both Confederate and Indian governments and depreciated Confederate currency adversely affected efforts to aid the refugee Indians.⁵⁶

Those large numbers of refugees were a major problem for the Confederate government. Not only was their plight a humanitarian concern, but a diplomatic one as well. The Five Civilized Tribes had pledged their allegiance and loyalty to the Confederate cause and supported that pledge with soldiers. As a result, their families, without husbands, fathers and sons to provide properly for them, were destitute.

Indian leaders interpreted that as another example of empty Confederate promises. Confederate Brigadier General Steele warned that "the people feel themselves rejected." Others suggested that the refugee problem might further widen the rift between the Confederacy and its Indian allies and that widespread defections to the Union cause could result if adequate provisions were not made for the indigent Indians.⁵⁷

Responding to the needs of the more than fourteen thousand needy Indians. Major General Thomas Hindman, commander of the Confederate forces in Indian Territory, issued supplies from his own commissary without waiting for authorization from the Confederate government. When Major General Samuel Bell Maxey assumed command of Indian Territory forces in December, 1863, he not only continued Hindman's practice, but expanded it despite his belief that the system of distribution was badly abused. Maxey soon realized that for the needed relief to reach the destitute, a formalized structure was necessary.⁵⁸

Conditions in the refugee camps continued to deteriorate despite efforts by the Confederate officers. Supplies of food were scarce, inflation increased and diseases spread often unchecked resulting in death from sickness, exposure and starvation. The Confederacy continued to offer minimal aid and the loans secured by Boudinot helped to alleviate the situation somewhat.

Tribes such as the Cherokee sought to obtain supplies directly from Louisiana, but the Union control of the Mississippi River after 1863 retarded the flow of supplies to the western reaches of the Confederacy. With those conditions compounded by the daily arrival of more refugees, southern Indian Territory was in a state of confusion, suffering and chaos in 1864.⁵⁹

Roswell W. Lee, Assistant Superintendent of Indian Affairs of the Arkansas and Red River Superintendency, was instructed to study Indian Territory conditions and suggest improvements. In his report, Lee recommended that the Texas practice of taxing the refugee Indians be abolished and reported on the lack of inter-tribal cooperation among the Five Civilized Tribes on the refugee problem. He felt that was due, in large part, to the unusual circumstances created by the large numbers of refugees relocated in Southern Indian Territory and the accompanying burden placed on the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes.⁶⁰

Regarding the supplying of refugee Indians through the army commissariat, he suggested specific changes. First, he reported that the Red River Superintendency was responsible for over ten thousand men, women and children displaced by the ravages of war. Some 4,671 Creeks were encamped along the Washita and Red Rivers while some 2,906 Cherokees were located on the Blue River and at Goodland, west of Fort Towson. While the Choctaws and Chickasaws had not been forced to leave their homes, some 1,984 were dependent upon Confederate agencies for subsistence. Near Oil Springs, 1,051 Seminoles and Creeks were located and supplied by private contractors.⁶¹

To supply those indigent people, Lee suggested that a supply train operate between Warren, Texas, and supply depots in southern Indian Territory. To dispense those

supplies, he created a relief organization with appointed officials to administer the relief work. L. C. Eliason was appointed to serve as Superintendent of Issues with the responsibility for enrolling all families including dependents to determine those eligible to receive rations and for supervising the procurement and distribution of rations. The rolls, compiled with the assistance of both Indian agents and tribal leaders, were to be amended monthly and kept on deposit at the commissary where each tribe drew its rations.

Each rationing depot was under the direction of an issuing agent charged with the immediate responsibility for the rations. Those officials were to provide for the transportation and actual distribution through a provision ticket system. Such tickets contained a listing of all rations issued to the holder and entitled a person to receive one and one-eighth pounds of flour or one and one-quarter pounds of cornmeal and one and one-half pounds of beef. Two quarts of salt were issued with each one hundred rations. Each issuing agent submitted quarterly reports to the Superintendent.

Several men were appointed to serve as agent for the various tribes. O. L. Graham and F. R. Young were to serve the Creeks while Joe L. Martin, Q. Crump, G. W. Gunter and J. M. Adair were to serve the same function for the Cherokees. For the Chickasaws, J. C. Robinson was selected and Basil LeFlore, J. P. Kingsbury and Mitchell McCurtain were appointed for the Choctaws. Charles R. Ricketts was named issuing agent

for the Seminoles, but served only a short period. To check on the work of the issuing agents, an Inspector of Camps, J. S. Stewart, visited each refugee camp monthly.⁶²

With the creation of the system and the resignation of Ricketts, Murrow, besides his role as Seminole agent, was given additional responsibilities as issuing agent for the Seminole, Osage and Comanche refugees as well as a group of Creeks encamped with the Seminoles. He established a commissary near Fort Washita where he received money from the Confederate government which he used for the purchase of supplies for distribution. The commissary was located at Hatsboro, a small settlement that grew up around the fort.⁶³

Murrow's charges were located in two places. Some 1,051 Creeks and Seminoles were encamped near Oil Springs, some fifty miles west of Fort Towson, while some five hundred Caddoes, Anadarkoes, Osages and Comanches held an agency eighteen miles west of Fort Arbuckle under the supervision of the agent, Captain L. C. Harmon.

Murrow was constantly occupied with providing for the people under his care. Many erected shelters, concentrated those into camps and, under the guidance of the inspector of camps, sought to be as self-sufficient as possible by farming and manufacturing wagons, spinning wheels and looms.

The Indians seemed reasonably content with their lot if kept supplied with rations to supplement what they could

produce, but that was often difficult. As economic conditions worsened, the availability of foodstuffs from northern Texas was no longer dependable and, if available, a shortage of oxen and wagons made distribution difficult.

Another problem was that of ineligible persons obtaining rations. Colonel Tandy Walker, commander of the First Choctaw Regiment, drew his salary of two hundred and ten dollars a month and was also accused of soliciting rations for his family and some ten to twelve Blacks belonging to him which were listed as "indigent Indians." Yet because of the difficulty in purging the rolls of the ineligible without discord, Murrow and other issuing agents sought to feed all who applied.⁶⁴

In his position as Seminole agent and issuing agent for the refugees, Murrow compiled an excellent record. As agent, he was the liaison for cash payments from the Confederate government to the tribe, and the money, often in gold and occasionally in amounts exceeding forty thousand dollars, was always dispersed as specified with the accounts balanced. In fact, when the war was over and Murrow surrendered the affairs of the Seminole agency to the federal government, not a single accusation was levied against him for misconduct.

He tried to be aware of the needs of the Seminoles by maintaining regular contacts through visits into the military camps as he did during the winter of 1862-1863.

During the winter of the next year, an epidemic of measles struck the Confederate Indians' encampment near Atoka, and Murrow moved among the sick administering the few medicines available while helping to bury those who did not survive.⁶⁵

As issuing agent, he provided food and shelter to the Indians and did so in an honest manner. At a time when men in similar positions with the Indian refugees in Kansas were practicing graft and corruption to fill their own pockets at the expense of their charges, Murrow could say: "I never took as much as the wrappings of my finger."

Others were not as honest and Murrow was faced with contractors' offers of bribes to take inferior supplies and divide the profits yet he always refused. On one occasion, angered at what he felt were clear violations of contracted agreements, he simply issued formal complaints against the contractors, Johnson and Grimes, who were to provide food and other supplies to the Indians. An investigation was completed by the inspector of camps which cleared the contractors of "intentional" wrongdoings, but Murrow's diligent observation of the situation was noted.⁶⁶

As Confederate fortunes worsened and shortages in supplies became more acute, various schemes were devised to alleviate the suffering. On July 6, 1864, Murrow forwarded to Roswell W. Lee an application for John Jumper and the Seminoles to sell two hundred bales of cotton in Mexico in order to purchase needed items at home.

The request was forwarded on to General Edmund Kirby Smith, commander of the Confederate Department of the Trans-Mississippi West, but no reply was received.⁶⁷ It can only be assumed that the delay was such that, with the decline of the Confederate war effort, it was too late to complete the transaction.

While serving as issuing agent for the refugee Indians, Murrow had his first prolonged exposure to Indians other than those in eastern Indian Territory. Those refugee Indians, notably To-Sho-Way's Comanches and an Osage band led by Black Dog, also received their first contact with Christianity. Some watched timidly while others took part in Murrow's religious services; a few expressed an interest in learning more about the white man's religion. Yet Murrow knew that when the war was over, the Indians would return to their homes and no provision existed to extend missionary activity to them. He was greatly distressed by that fact and vowed such neglect would not continue.⁶⁸

Conditions for the Confederate Indians worsened throughout 1864 and 1865. Union superiority in northern Indian Territory was clearly established, and guerrilla activities of Stand Watie and other Confederate leaders--although a hindrance--had little effect on the Union armies beyond prolonging the war. Efforts to provide for the refugee Indians were sincere and energetic, but wholly inadequate. Doctors were available, but medicines continued to

be in short supply. Cotton was grown on a reduced scale throughout the war even around the refugee camps, but a shortage of cotton cards made it impossible to make the necessary clothing. With the agricultural potential of Indian Territory adversely affected by the ravages of war and supplies from northern Texas not always dependable, hunger often stalked the refugee camps. By the time of Stand Watie's surrender on June 23, 1865, the Confederate Indians were a defeated, demoralized lot awaiting retribution from the victorious federal government.⁶⁹

The initial federal response was a humanitarian one. Following contributions of food and clothing from charitable Texans, federal authorities assumed the burden of providing for the refugees whose ranks swelled as Confederate veterans rejoined their families. By summer, 1865, almost fourteen thousand Cherokees, Creeks and Seminoles applied for aid.

The federal government, realizing that it was easier to feed the Indians than attempt to control the deprivations resulting from shortages of food among them, appointed a special agent to provide for the feeding of destitute Confederate Indians. In addition, steps were taken to return the refugees, both Union and Confederate, to their former homes, and by 1866, large numbers of Indians were resettled.⁷⁰

Murrow, almost constantly on the move since abandoning the Seminole agency headquarters at Wewoka in 1863, was located at Fort Washita when the war ended. Local residents,

fearing that the abandoned post would become a haven for outlaws, destroyed the structure. Murrow advised against the action, but was ignored and watched the smoke of the burning buildings from his residence at Hatsboro.

With the war over, Murrow's duties as Seminole Indian agent and issuing agent for the Confederacy came to an end. He assembled the records relating to his work in the two positions and left them in Hatsboro to be collected by the new Seminole agent. Most of those records, however, would be destroyed in the wake of the destruction of Fort Washita.

His relationship with the Seminoles was not terminated by the end of the Civil War. Through his long association with John Jumper and James Factor and his years of service to the tribe, the Seminoles came to see him as a trusted "unofficial" advisor. Therefore, during September, 1865, when the Seminoles, along with other tribes, traveled to Fort Smith to meet with United States Commissioners to negotiate new treaties necessitated by the conclusion of the Civil War, Murrow accompanied them.⁷¹

On September 8, 1865, the Fort Smith conference convened to initiate a new relationship between the United States and the various tribes in Indian Territory. Dennis N. Cooley, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, opened the meeting by announcing that those tribes who supported the Confederacy had, by their actions, "forfeited all rights to annuities, lands and protection by the United States" and presented to

the assembled tribal representatives terms upon which any new treaties would be negotiated.

Those included permanent treaties of peace and amity among the Indian tribes and with the United States; assistance in the creation and maintenance of peaceful relations among the eastern tribes, Plains Indians and the United States; the abolition of slavery and incorporation of former slaves into tribal membership; affirmation that slavery, except as punishment for crime, should never again exist in Indian Territory; surrender of a portion of Indian Territory lands for resettlement of Kansas Indians upon terms stipulated by the United States government; consolidation of all nations and tribes into one government following a plan presented by the Senate; and prohibition against white residence, except for certain types of persons, in Indian Territory unless formally incorporated into some tribe.⁷²

Most delegations, including that of the Seminole, were composed, at that point, totally of former Union sympathizers, but were somewhat perplexed that the work of the conference would proceed without Confederate Indians who were not due to arrive for three days. The Seminole delegates were John Chupco, recently elected principal chief of the Union faction of the tribe; Pascofo, Fohutshe, Fos Harjo and Chutcote Harjo, leaders of the Union faction; and Robert Johnson and Caesar Bruner serving as interpreters. Pascofo, serving as the major spokesman, answered Cooley's statements by affirming

that the delegation perceived the purpose of the meeting was to reconcile differences within the tribes, not immediately to negotiate and ratify new treaties.⁷³

Yet on September 12, the Seminoles accepted the Cooley terms, but argued that the cession of tribal lands was punishment levied against the entire tribe for the actions of dissident Confederates. Moreover, the Seminoles insisted that only resident Seminole freedmen and free Blacks would be admitted to citizenship within the tribe.⁷⁴

While Unionist Seminoles' objections were still echoing, the Confederate Seminoles including John Jumper, Pahsuch Yaholo, Fooshatche-Cochuehue and James Factor along with Murrow arrived and began to assert their presence without repudiating the leadership of Chupco. The newly arrived Seminoles suggested further consideration and discussion on the tribal adoption of Blacks and a united Indian Territory proposal and requested subsistence until crops could be planted and harvested.

Working together, on September 18, the Seminoles, both Union and Confederate, agreed to permit friendly Kansas Indians to settle within their domain. Within days, the Seminoles and other tribes signed treaties of allegiance with the United States. On September 21, the Fort Smith council adjourned having agreed to meet again at the call of the Secretary of the Interior to sign formal treaties settling all issues arising from the war, defining tribal lands and

reestablishing Indians on their lands under specified treaty provisions.⁷⁵

It is difficult because of the absence of complete documentation to ascertain Murrow's role at the Fort Smith conference, as it is in relation to the Seminole support for the Confederate cause. It is known that Murrow became a trusted adviser of John Jumper prior to the Civil War and remained in that role for the duration of the conflict, as evidenced by Jumper's support for Murrow's appointments to various positions of responsibility and authority.

Murrow joined Jumper and Factor in the summer of 1865 and was in attendance at the meeting of Confederate Indians at Armstrong Academy on the first of September. Furthermore, Murrow traveled to Fort Smith at the request and in the company of Jumper and Factor. Although his name does not appear in the reports of the meeting, it is believed that he continued unofficially to advise Jumper and other Confederate leaders as he had done in the past.

Later Murrow commented that he believed that the Indians were pawns in a war they did not want and suffered more than any people as a result of the conflict. Moreover, he realized that the terms of any new treaties would be dictated by the United States government and that the Indians would be virtually voiceless in the negotiations. Yet it was necessary officially to end the conflict so that the Indians could attempt to rebuild. Thus, in light of those

opinions, Murrow no doubt supported, perhaps encouraged, the Seminole actions at Fort Smith and later in Washington.⁷⁶

With the Civil War over and his immediate obligations to the Seminoles fulfilled, Murrow faced a dilemma in an unfavorable environment. He wanted to renew his missionary efforts, but the obstacles seemed insurmountable. Not only was the pre-Civil War missionary structure for Indian Territory totally destroyed after four bloody years of conflict marked by continual military movement and activity, but lawlessness was rampant throughout the territory and no one was safe.⁷⁷

Besides the physical destruction brought upon the land and its inhabitants, the war produced mental uncertainty as well. To the Indian, the entire affair and its aftermath represented still another betrayal at the hands of the white man. United States troops had abandoned Indian Territory and, in doing so, created conditions that led the Indians into an alliance with the Confederacy which promised much, but delivered little.

When the war was over, harsh reconstruction treaties were forced upon the Indians and a portion of their lands was demanded as punishment for the Confederate support despite the fact that such support was far from unanimous. As a result, an attitude of indifference, if not open hostility, was displayed toward whites, including missionaries. Murrow, because of his southern sympathies and official position with

the Confederate government, was repeatedly threatened by Unionist Indians and warned to leave the territory.⁷⁸

His family, moreover, deserved consideration and care. During the war, they followed him in his service to both the church and the Confederacy, and Katherine Murrow's already poor health steadily worsened. Another infant son was lost and their daughter, five years of age, had been a sickly child from birth. Murrow felt that he needed some financial security, proper medical care and rest for both himself and his family.

That attitude was prompted in part by the fact that not only had he received neither word nor money from the Rehoboth Association for over two years, but also that there were no assurances whether the Association had either the funds or inclination to renew his work among the Indians. Buckner and Hogue, fellow missionaries, were living in Linden, Texas, where Buckner was the pastor of the Baptist church. Both assured Murrow that he could secure a position as a teacher in the neighborhood school. After careful thought and advice from Jumper and Factor, he decided to move to Linden for a time before making a final decision about the mission field and his future role in relation to it.⁷⁹

Therefore, in the late summer, 1865, Murrow and his family journeyed southward. His work among the Seminoles had been productive. Not only had he faithfully served the Confederate government as Seminole agent, but his Ash Creek

congregation which moved often during the war had increased from a membership of thirty in 1861 to over one hundred and fifty by the end of the war.

Before he left for Texas, an ordination service was held and both Jumper and Factor were delegated to continue the work in Murrow's absence. That allowed Murrow to leave more contented, yet he believed that despite the abilities and commitment of those and other native missionaries and preachers, white missionaries would still be needed not only among the Seminoles, but with the other tribes of Indian Territory as well.⁸⁰

CHAPTER III

THE BUILDING YEARS, 1865-1885

In the two decades following the Civil War, Murrow, after a brief sojourn to Texas, returned to Indian Territory, settled in the southern Choctaw Nation and renewed his commitment to missionary work among the native populations. His activities in those building years were directed in several areas.

He became a Freemason while in Texas and, upon his return to the territory, was a leader in the rebirth of the fraternity in the region. Although initially opposed to the creation of the Grand Lodge of Indian Territory, Murrow's leadership as Grand Master certainly helped to ensure its survival and growth in the formative years.

His energies, however, were directed mainly toward the renewal of missionary work disrupted by the Civil War. He not only assisted in that renewal by establishing congregations, mission stations and churches and training native preachers, but also brought organization to the work with the creation of the Choctaw-Chickasaw Association, and later

the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention of Indian Territory.

The latter group united and solidified the Southern Baptist cause among the Five Civilized Tribes. Using those, Murrow actively promoted an expansion of missionary efforts to both the Mississippi Choctaws and the Plains Indians settled on western reservations. Always interested in education as a logical companion to missionary work, Murrow established schools among the Choctaws and assisted in the founding of Bacone College, an educational institution exclusively for Indian students.

To broaden the financial foundation for those efforts, Murrow was instrumental in enlisting the support of the American Baptist Home Mission Society for Indian Territory work. Clearly the entrance of that group enhanced the institutional work among the tribes, but it also sowed the seeds of dissension and turmoil which would have a profound effect on Murrow and his work in later years.

The months in Texas were a safe and refreshing change for Murrow and his young family. Physically and mentally exhausted after four years of fleeing from the fortunes of war, they found shelter and protection among friends, many of whom were from Indian Territory. Murrow was able to rent a small house for his family and to secure the promised employment as a school teacher, a position that he held for several months.

Although happy in their new home, the Murrow family content would be disrupted in July, 1866, as Katherine Murrow lost another son at birth.¹ The months in Linden, Texas, would always hold a special meaning for Murrow, for while there he became associated with Freemasonry, a fraternal union he continued for the remainder of his life.²

That affiliation with Freemasonry was motivated by a combination of several factors. When Murrow first came into Indian Territory, he found no Baptist congregations in either Little Rock or Fort Smith, Arkansas. When later relating that to Henry Buckner, he was assured that a similar circumstance confronted his predecessor upon his arrival and, without assistance from a brother Mason while stranded in Little Rock, Buckner would have found it very difficult to initiate his missionary work.

The idea of a worldwide brotherhood connected by fraternal ties appealed to Murrow as one personification of Christian ideals in practice. Moreover, during the Civil War, Murrow came into contact with and worked quite closely with Albert Pike, one of the more influential Masonic leaders in America. That association helped to convince Murrow of the integrity of Masons as a group. And finally, many of the leading men of Indian Territory with whom Murrow worked and held in high regard were members of the fraternity, including Peter Pitchlyn, John Jumper, John and William Ross and Opothleyahola.³

Murrow probably would have joined the Masonic order in Indian Territory, but initially his work claimed most of his time and deprived him of the opportunity. Later the Civil War disrupted the work of established lodges and scattered their members. By 1863, most of the lodges ceased to hold regular communications, many were physically destroyed and individual members were fighting in the bitter conflict. By the conclusion of the war, all of the lodges had surrendered their charters or fallen into disarray and organized Freemasonry ceased to exist on any recognized scale in Indian Territory.⁴

In Texas and in the company of encouraging Masonic friends like Henry Buckner and R. J. Hogue, Murrow petitioned the lodge at Linden, Texas, and, with the recommendation and assistance of his close associates, was quickly recommended for membership. On September 15, 1866, he was initiated as a fellowcraft Mason, passed to the interapprenticed degree and raised as a Master Mason on December 15 into Andrew Jackson Lodge No. 214.

With the elementary degrees behind and at the insistence of Buckner, Murrow decided to probe more deeply into the secrets of the fraternity. During February and March, 1867, he took the prescribed steps necessary to enter St. John's Chapter No. 60 of the Royal Arch Masons at Douglasville, Texas, near Linden. Murrow also took the degrees of the Council of Royal and Select Masters and the Eastern

Star, memorizing the rather extensive and complex secret work of all degrees perfectly.⁵

Yet even in the company of friends and enjoying the security and safety of Linden, Murrow was anxious about the future. He desperately wanted to return to Indian Territory and felt that he had come west to accomplish more than teach school in northern Texas. The opportunity came in the fall, 1866, when B. F. Tharp, clerk and treasurer of the Rehoboth Association, wrote that the Association was ready to assume its missionary support whenever Murrow felt that it was advisable to return to the mission field.⁶

Despite the insistence of Buckner that the time was still not right to return because of the lawlessness and unsettled conditions in Indian Territory, Murrow resigned his secure teaching position. Then, leaving his family among friends in Texas, he started northward to investigate conditions among the Creeks and Seminoles in anticipation of a renewal of his missionary efforts there.⁷

Murrow passed through the Choctaw Nation and observed both a need for assistance among the Indians and an opportunity to make a contribution. He also heard that the Choctaw Reconstruction Treaty of July 10, 1866, was much more liberal toward missionary activity than the one signed by the Creeks in August. He was also aware that when Buckner made his decision to return to his work in Indian Territory, it again would be among the Creeks. With such a vast area to serve

in the territory and so much to be done, it would be very difficult to justify two or more missionaries within the same geographic area.⁸

After having made the decision to work in the Choctaw Nation, Murrow carefully examined several sites seeking a place to live and renew his missionary efforts. Boggy Depot, a small hamlet of three hundred persons containing a prosperous trading post, first attracted his attention. However, it was rumored that the proposed railroad through Indian Territory would miss the town completely, so Murrow continued his search.

In March, 1867, he stopped with Mrs. E. A. Flack who operated an inn and stage station on the banks of Muddy Boggy Creek. Upon hearing that the railroad would cross the stream near the Flack residence, Murrow was impressed with both the location and with the reception resulting from his first church service there.

Murrow offered this vivid description of that service:

Mrs. Flack was a Baptist and sent out word that a preacher had come. The first regular service was held in the leafy woods. Two good-sized trees had been felled, the limbs cut off and the trunks pulled up together in a triangular shape. The congregation sat on these logs, and the minister stood in the opening and preached.⁹

Murrow returned briefly to Texas and moved his family on April 6, 1867, to the Flack residence where they obtained room and board until the Rehoboth Association resumed financial support. On a direct trail and mail route, the little

community on the banks of the Muddy Boggy continued to grow and received a post office through the efforts of Murrow on January 23, 1868. The name Atoka was given to the new community after a Choctaw, Captain Atoka.¹⁰

Murrow was determined to renew his missionary activity as soon as possible, but provision for his family took precedence. The Rehoboth Association, naturally more concerned with the immediate post-war situation in Georgia, sent letters of encouragement, but little else in those early months in Atoka.¹¹

That situation, coupled with the destruction and displacement in Indian Territory, threw Murrow back upon his own limited resources. By July, he erected a crude cabin and his family was " . . . happy but very uncomfortably fixed." To provide adequately for his family's needs, Murrow planted necessary crops, but was often forced to assume part-time employment as a store clerk during inventory or as a field hand at harvest time. Naturally, he was not pleased at having to do such activity because it took precious time away from his missionary work which he was struggling to reestablish.¹²

Personal tragedy continued to plague Murrow. He especially enjoyed children and a deep regret of his life had been the death of his two infant sons during the Civil War. Understandably, he experienced great joy at the birth of another son, Samuel, in June, 1867. That child, as opposed to the others whom he " . . . took for his own and was making

idols of them, hence, God in his kindness . . . removed them" was to be God's child.

Although healthy at birth, the child was always sickly and the Murrows were easily alarmed at the slightest illness. Their surviving child, Clara, also in poor health, almost died of a fever in January, 1868. She recovered while Samuel remained in poor physical health until his death at the age of five.¹³

Before losing his son, Murrow suffered a much greater loss with the death of his second wife. Although the daughter and wife of a frontier missionary and accustomed to the harsh existence, Clara Murrow's frail constitution was greatly weakened by hardships endured during the Civil War and the birth of four children in six years. In August, 1868, she became gravely ill and, despite constant care, died on October 7.

Two months later, a letter from his brother John in Georgia reported the death of both parents. And less than two years later, John wrote of the death of Badger, another brother. Murrow himself was weakened as a result of the war years and often gravely ill with lingering headaches. In June, 1869, that condition, combined with sore eyes, became a problem that was to plague him for the remainder of his life.¹⁴

Faced with sustained personal adversity, Murrow patiently resumed his labors. He was often deeply discouraged

by the amount of work to be done and his inability to perform to the level of his expectations:

Another month has expired and its labors have been so few that I wonder why I am not cut down like a cucumber of the ground. O Lord, help me to be more useful in Thy service.¹⁵

The small group under Murrow's influence in Atoka continued to grow. On May 5, 1869, the Rehoboth Mission Baptist Church was organized with six charter members-- Murrow, Flack, Dr. Goldsby, his Chickasaw wife and two daughters.¹⁶ Murrow later remarked that the first congregation borrowed the Goldsby family for "they had their letters and we begged them so hard for them to put them in our church that they finally did, so you see we borrowed four."¹⁷

The first building, only fourteen by sixteen feet, swelled with the addition of seventy-seven new members within three months. In 1871, a new structure was completed at a cost of eight hundred dollars, but before that sum could be paid, another building program was already launched.

Since the original church site, located across Sandy Creek, was built some distance from the railroad station, the third structure was relocated because Murrow was determined to build the new facility in a more central location. The new facility was dedicated in the spring, 1874, and the name changed to "The Atoka Baptist Church" on April 1, 1876. In addition to his missionary labors, Murrow pastored the church for twenty-three years and, under his leadership, it

became the center of the Baptist revival in postwar Indian Territory.¹⁸

Using the Rehoboth mission at Boggy Depot as a base, Murrow began to expand his missionary activity. Within months, he was keeping regular preaching appointments at Boggy Depot. Those were continued until June, 1869, when R. J. Hogue resumed his labors in the Choctaw Nation.¹⁹ Murrow preached on an irregular basis at such stations as Limestone Gap, Bloomfield Academy and Mount Pleasant to congregations of varying sizes and composition. On numerous occasions, Choctaw citizens like John McKinney, an attorney, and Amos Fitch-ut-bres offered their homes as meeting places if Murrow would provide preaching services. And as was the case on the frontier, Murrow frequently officiated at funerals and performed marriages.²⁰

Appalled at the lack of educational facilities in the immediate area, Murrow started a school with plans for his wife to serve as teacher. Murrow insisted that "none will be refused who strive to learn and do right. Charity scholars will be taught as faithfully as those who pay--though at best the pay is small--\$2.00 per month--and is not the inducement."²¹

Initially classes were held in the open air, but with the completion of a Choctaw courthouse, classes were moved inside. Its rough construction of logs and clapboards not only allowed sunlight and air to enter the building, but also

mesquitos from nearby Boggy Creek. The problem was so acute that small smudge pots, offering temporary relief from the pesky insects, were lighted and passed from child to child. The enrollment continued to grow and, by the end of the first quarter, more than twenty students were attending classes. After the death of his wife, Murrow continued to operate the school while looking for an assistant.²²

In July, 1869, with support from the Rehoboth Association and the Atoka congregation, Murrow returned to his native state and attended the annual meeting of the Association held in September at the Zion church, Pike County, Georgia. The Association hoped that a personal visit from Murrow would demonstrate to the Association's members the fruits of their sacrificial giving. It was further hoped that increased financial support would be forthcoming because assistance to even local religious work was deficient in the postwar South and distant missionary work often went begging.

Their hopes were realized, for when Murrow reported in person on his labors and the desperate situation in Indian Territory, the Association immediately pledged additional support. Moreover, the Association adopted Clara Murrow, who traveled with her father to Georgia, and agreed to pay for her education at Monroe Female College. Murrow enjoyed the opportunity to renew old acquaintances and visit friends and numerous relatives, but the mission call remained strong. By October, he was back at work in Atoka.²³

Later in the year, Murrow returned to Georgia and while there, he married Jane Henrietta Davidson, Murrow's new wife was born in Selkirk, Scotland, on October 20, 1825, and migrated as a young woman to the United States with her parents. After making the decision to work among the Indians as a missionary teacher, she taught at Goodwater Choctaw Mission School until its suspension and was baptized by A. J. Hogue. She and Murrow were married in Savannah, Georgia, by Reverend Sylvanus Landrum, an old friend of Murrow. Upon their return to Atoka, Jane Murrow found immediate acceptance among Murrow's friends. She was an able assistant to her husband for eighteen years and was the first wife of Murrow to be lovingly called "Aunt Row" by those among whom she served.²⁴

After he returned from Texas in 1867, Murrow continued for several years to work in all areas where he was needed and to make frequent visits to old preaching stations among the Creeks and Seminoles. When Buckner and other Baptist missionaries renewed their positions, it was agreed that missionaries would assume responsibilities for specific geographic areas and tribes. That in part was in response to the feeling that the work of one sponsoring agency should be kept separate from that of another. Such a new posture allowed individual missionaries to develop their own field of endeavor.²⁵

While Murrow continued to cooperate fully with his colleagues as requested, he enjoyed the autonomous arrangement

very much. His experiences with Moty Kennard, James Factor and John Jumper convinced him of the importance and value of utilizing Indians as religious leaders whenever possible. That philosophy, however, was not shared by all of his colleagues.²⁶

Numerous reasons existed for Murrow's views. The goal of a missionary, according to Murrow, should be to create an environment in which his presence eventually would no longer be needed. In order to do that, it was necessary to train Indians to assume leadership roles. Indian preachers would receive a more cordial reception from tribal members, especially if they were recognized and respected individuals within the tribe. And with native clergy, Murrow would be freed from many of the routine tasks and allowed more time to train and supervise the developing leaders.²⁷

The Rehoboth church was in complete agreement with their minister for in July, 1869, it employed James Williams, a native Choctaw preacher, to serve in the more remote areas to the southeast. He was paid one hundred dollars annually and reported directly to Murrow and the Rehoboth congregation. Murrow also agreed to support one native preacher from his own salary and convinced the Rehoboth Association to fund three others, giving him a total of five fulltime preaching assistants.²⁸

Murrow believed that the expanding missionary field, especially with inexperienced Indian preachers, needed a

formalized structure to provide needed supervision and training and to maintain a sense of unity and purpose. Such an organizational structure was available with the Baptist association and, at the invitation of Murrow and the Rehoboth church, several Baptist congregations from southern Indian Territory met in Atoka to conduct a religious meeting and organize an association. Out of the meeting came the Choctaw-Chickasaw Association, the oldest Baptist association holding continuous sessions in Oklahoma.²⁹

At the sessions, steps were taken to organize Baptist missionary work in the area. Murrow, along with Peter Folsom and Simon Hancock, two Choctaw preachers, constituted a committee that examined delegates' letters and enrolled sixteen churches as members. A minister and a deacon were ordained and thirteen ministers, including ten Indians, were enrolled to serve within the association. G. J. Johnson of St. Louis, Missouri, a guest preacher, "made a brief, appropriate address and proceeded by invitation of the pastor, to administer the ordination of baptism to the brother who was received Sabbath night."³⁰

Using the association and his base of missionary support from both the Rehoboth Association and the church, Murrow sought to expand his missionary work beyond the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations. While serving as commissary agent during the Civil War, he met members of several of the western tribes, notably the Wichitas, Caddoes and Comanches in the

refugee camps. Some of those Indians attended religious services and expressed an interest in Christianity. Yet when they returned to their homes in the west, there was no provision to insure that access to the missionaries could be continued. Murrow was determined to initiate a missionary effort to the western tribes.³¹

While on one of his trips to Georgia, Murrow corresponded with Major I. C. Vore, an ardent Baptist and a tribal representative for the Comanches, Wichitas and other western tribes, and proposed sending missionaries to the Plains Indians. At the same time, the proposal was offered to Buckner and southern Baptists through the Christian Index.

Vore replied enthusiastically and agreed upon the need, encouraged Murrow to pursue the idea and suggested that he contact Black Beaver, a respected member of the Indian community and former Delaware Indian scout for the United States Army. Black Beaver responded favorably to Murrow's inquiry. He promised to discuss the Murrow proposal with local Indian leaders, prepare them for the arrival of a missionary and to offer all possible assistance to the missionaries when they arrived.³²

Such work would be extremely difficult. The Plains Indians had been cruelly treated by the whites for so long that the missionary was often viewed as another agent of the United States government. "He [the Indian] did not know the difference between the soldier and the saint, and why

should he?" remarked one observer.³³ Many agents were enthusiastic and aided the missionaries, but others sought not only to retard missionary efforts, but also discouraged any attempt to expose the Indians to any aspects of white civilization.

Few of the Plains Indians understood English so missionaries either had to learn the native language or make extensive use of interpreters. Since there were so many tribes to be visited, it would not have been practical to master the many, diverse languages. Yet the interpreter, if not also a Christian, found it difficult to interpret for the preachers. And finally, the enlistment and support of missionary personnel was especially difficult for the western missions because of the bleak physical environment and the total isolation from any other whites.³⁴

Yet the conditions were favorable for Murrow's proposal to be initiated. With the Treaty of Medicine Lodge of 1867, the Plains Indians were isolated on reservations, making organized missionary efforts easier. President U. S. Grant's "Quaker Policy" of appointing Christian men as Indian agents and encouraging evangelism as a possible solution to the "Indian problem" was in full operation and received both public and private support.

Several appeals from Plains Indians had been sent to members of the Five Civilized Tribes, including John Jumper, who had passed the requests to Murrow. And in 1873, John

McIntosh, a Creek preacher, was secured and appointed to the mission field by the Texas Baptist State Convention. Texas Baptists were particularly interested in the work because it offered a possible solution to the periodic, devastating raids conducted by the western tribes on the settlers of northern Texas.³⁵

With Murrow's enthusiastic support and a promise of additional financial assistance from eastern Indian associations, McIntosh rode to the Wichita Indian agency in July, 1874, to begin his ministry. With a warm welcome from the resident Quakers and the capable assistance of Black Beaver who served as guide and interpreter, McIntosh preached his first sermon in August, but was soon discouraged. New converts did not come rapidly and neither did promised financial aid from either Texas Baptists or Indians in eastern Indian Territory.³⁶

Murrow visited McIntosh in April, 1875, and found him "discouraged and homesick," for "his support was difficult and his task formidable."³⁷ While in the area, Murrow visited Fort Sill, Darlington and other sites among the Comanches, Cheyennes and Kiowas. Without words of encouragement and support, as well as a small amount of money from Murrow, McIntosh could well have returned home, abandoning the newly established mission field.³⁸

Progress, although limited, became more visible among the western Indians and resulted in a strong foundation

for future work. Black Beaver and his daughter, Ketchie Joe, were converted along with fourteen others and the Rock Springs Baptist Church, the first Baptist church organized among the Oklahoma Plains Indians, was founded in late 1875. A Seminole preacher, Tulsa Micco, joined McIntosh among the western Indians at the urging of Murrow. He lived with them in tipis, but encouraged them to build homes, cultivate the land and "to take on gradually the ways of civilization."³⁹ The addition of another volunteer, particularly another member of the Five Civilized Tribes, raised McIntosh's morale considerably and reassured him that his work was not forgotten.

In 1876, A. J. Holt, a Texas Baptist preacher, missionary to the Seminoles and nephew of Henry Buckner, visited the Wichita agency and became so interested in the work that he secured an appointment from the Texas Baptist State Convention. That was provided despite that organization's previous commitment to McIntosh. The action represented the view of Southern Baptists that white missionaries should be the most active in the mission field. Murrow and Vore both bitterly opposed the action and warned that Holt would not be able to expand the work initiated by McIntosh. Holt's time of service was brief, confirming Murrow and Vore's predictions.⁴⁰

Conservative Indians who had at least listened to McIntosh and Micco turned a deaf ear to the new, white

missionary living among them. In 1879, Baptist missionary leadership realized the mistake, reassigned Holt and returned McIntosh to his work among the Plains Indians. Although the first attempt to appoint a white missionary failed, it did not totally disrupt the activities of McIntosh. Those who followed would be able to continue and expand the mission field among the Plains Indians that had been opened through the efforts of Joseph Murrow.⁴¹

Another mission field credited to Murrow involved the Choctaws of Mississippi. When the Choctaws were forced to remove to Indian Territory, some fifteen hundred to two thousand refused to migrate. Those people and their descendants chose to remain and were considered as harmless dwellers outside of the mainstream of Mississippi society.⁴²

Missions established there in pre-removal times continued. In 1878, some Blacks organized a Baptist church a few miles northwest of Carthage, Leake county, in a region known as the Government Hills. The church, named Tribulation, attracted Choctaws and services were conducted on the first Sunday of the month for Blacks and on the second for the Choctaws.⁴³

An appeal was made to Murrow in 1880 by Mississippi Baptists for assistance. It was reported that the Mississippi Choctaws were mostly uneducated, little exposed to Christianity and highly suspicious of white attempts to work among them.⁴⁴

Murrow brought the matter to the attention of the Choctaw-Chickasaw Association which voted to send Peter Folsom, a converted Choctaw and licensed preacher, to Mississippi to investigate the needs and desires of the Choctaws there.⁴⁵ In 1881, the General Association of Regular Baptists of Mississippi met at Salem church, Jasper County. A previously appointed committee reported that a western missionary, Folsom, was on his way to the state and that funds were available in Mississippi to support his proposed work.⁴⁶

Folsom was well received and made progress. Initially his efforts were directed toward those Choctaws in the Tribulation church who, after increasing their numbers through baptism, withdrew and formed the Mt. Zion Church which joined the Harmony Association on October 20, 1882.⁴⁷ After three months, Folsom returned to the Choctaw Nation, reported to Murrow and the Choctaw-Chickasaw Association on the conditions among the Mississippi Choctaws and recommended strongly the appointment of a permanent missionary.⁴⁸ Folsom was excited about the opportunity but declined a permanent appointment because of his advancing age.⁴⁹

Folsom's successor was Jesse Baker, a young Choctaw and long time friend of Murrow, who was strongly recommended by the missionary. Some years earlier, Murrow was approached after leaving church services in Atoka by a young man, who asked for assistance. The lad, Baker, was taken into the

Murrow home for his early education and was attending Shurtiff College in Alton, Illinois, when the need for a Mississippi missionary was announced. Although his work prospered and a new church was organized under his leadership among the Mississippi Choctaws, he became ill with pneumonia within a month and died three months later, leaving the missionary field again vacant.⁵⁰

Through the efforts of Folsom and Baker, with the support of Murrow, the Choctaw-Chickasaw Association, and later the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention of Indian Territory, the Mississippi Baptist State Convention assumed direction of the work. Elder Jack, another western Choctaw, followed Baker in 1884 and was also successful. N. L. Clark, prominent Baptist preacher in Mississippi, reported that while there was a "class of Choctaws that adhere to their old customs, ball playing, etc. . . . there is at the same time evidence that the Gospel is gradually advancing its influence over them."⁵¹ Clark was especially interested that "the number that can read is advancing" and that with missionary efforts, Choctaws could talk with white Baptists on a common subject and secure information.⁵²

By 1891, Mississippi Choctaws had nine churches, eight ordained ministers and a membership of three hundred, about sixteen percent of the estimated Choctaw population. Whites acknowledged that missionary work resulted in changes in Choctaw character and habits. Clark commented that "some

whites told me that they had not seen a drunkened Indian this year. Several have purchased land, built homes and created farms; others work rented lands."⁵³

Clark was appointed by the Choctaw-Chickasaw Association and the Mississippi Baptist State Convention in 1888 to supervise the Indian work among the Choctaws. Despite the fact that many Choctaws moved to Indian Territory by 1902, Clark continued to work with assistance from both Indian and white ministers. In 1902, the work was assumed by the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention and support continued until July, 1930, when debt and depression ended active assistance. In 1931, the Mississippi General Association resumed its administration of the work and that relationship continues.⁵⁴

Despite the efforts of Clark and others, most Mississippi Choctaws chose to migrate westward to join relatives and friends. To those who remained, little real change resulted, for those Indians had no political rights and little social or economic opportunity; discrimination continued. There was little social intercourse between the whites and even the educated Choctaws.⁵⁵ Perhaps the real value of the Baptist missionary work among the Choctaws of Mississippi, according to Murrow, was to encourage them to move westward and reunite to form a stronger Choctaw nation in Indian Territory.⁵⁶

With initial missionary activity among the western tribes and the Mississippi Choctaws as well as a continuing effort in southern Indian Territory, Murrow and others were pleased with the work of the Choctaw-Chickasaw Association in guiding and directing these activities. When the Association met in 1874, a new building in Atoka, the Rehoboth church, was dedicated. The next annual meeting, on August 11, 1875, under the leadership of Murrow, resulted in the Association taking bold steps that would affect both Murrow and the missionary work among the Indians in the territory.⁵⁷

For several months prior to the meeting, Murrow was in communication with the American Baptist Home Mission Society in New York, seeking to enlist their interest and support for the work in Indian Territory. The Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention was practically destitute as a result of the Civil War and committed the bulk of its meager resources to the restoration of the Baptist cause in the former Confederate states.

That meant that less energy, emphasis and financial resources could be devoted to the Indian missionary work. To obtain desperately needed assistance from the Home Mission Board, the Association, by resolution, invited the Home Mission Society to enter Indian Territory by sending missionaries and supporting native preachers. The Association, however, strongly affirmed that the action was not motivated by a desire to sever relations with the Home Mission Board, but

" . . . to save [the] work from injury and to supply the destitute with the Word of Life."⁵⁸

The communication with the American Baptist group continued and the Association's annual meeting in 1875 opened with the strong hope that the desired results would be achieved; in addition, there was an attempt to convince the American Baptist group that the adoption of the Indian missionary field would be a wise course of action.

The meeting was held on August 11, 1875, at the Nunny Chaha church near McAlester. Murrow was very ill, but had great expectations for the meeting and, despite advice from his physician, insisted upon attending the meeting. Visitors from the American Baptists who attended were Dr. and Mrs. C. R. Blackall of Chicago, representing the American Baptist Publication Society, and Major G. W. Ingalls, District Secretary of the American Baptist Home Mission Society of New York. Reverend S. W. Marston, United States Indian agent, also traveled with the party. The group was to attend, observe and collect information that would be used by officials of the Home Mission Society in making its final decisions regarding support for missionary work in Indian Territory.⁵⁹

When the sessions opened, Murrow, in a move to offer a better organizational structure for the missionary work and to impress the visitors with the professional approach to the problems, proposed the creation of a general convention or association that would include at least ninety

churches with more than five thousand members. The resolution, along with an invitation to the Cherokee, Creek and Seminole Associations to unite with the Chickasaws and Choctaws in such a body, was unanimously and enthusiastically passed. While the action was certainly noticed by the visitors, it was perhaps too ambitious, for the proposal, because of tribal and individual missionary rivalry, was not realized for some time.⁶⁰

Later in the meeting, a group of Indian women took action that impressed and helped to convince the American Baptist representatives that their initial positive evaluation of the missionary field was correct. Mrs. C. R. Blackall gathered a group of Indian women and, through the assistance of Mrs. C. Bond of Atoka serving as interpreter, sought to explain the work of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society. One of the audience, after patiently listening with interest, responded: "If the women of the states can do so much for the needy women so far away, why do they forget us? Don't we need help as much as any?"⁶¹ The solemn challenge to Christian intentions produced an immediate, painful silence, but prompt action soon followed.

When Murrow and other association members heard of what happened at the women's meeting, they insisted upon another meeting so they could add support. On August 15, the assembled women, aided by their men, organized the Choctaw-Chickasaw Women's Baptist Missionary Society whose goal was

to give the gospel to their people and spread it to the western Indians. A leading Choctaw woman, Sallie Holston, the widow of a native preacher and an active lay person, was selected as the first president. Mrs. C. R. Blackall was so impressed by what she witnessed among the Indian women that when she returned to Chicago, she organized the Women's Baptist Home Mission Society of the United States on February 1, 1877.⁶²

With the results of that meeting, the Indian mission cause in Indian Territory certainly appeared much improved. With the work of the association and the promise of greater support from the regional Baptist organizations, Murrow was pleased with the possibilities. He continued, however, to work diligently toward more centralization of activity, especially with the potential of attracting increased financial support from the American and Southern Baptist organizations. Both of the groups were interested in securing the maximum results from monies expended and preferred to work through centralized bodies for administrative efficiency. In the 1880s the Southern Baptist Convention, for example, discouraged the sending of missionaries and support from churches and associations independent of the Home Mission Board.⁶³

Finally on June 2, 1883, delegates from the various Baptist churches in Indian Territory met in Tahlequah and organized the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention for the Indian Territory. The following officers were

selected: President, Murrow; Vice-President, C. F. Ross; Secretary, W. P. Blake; and Treasurer, Daniel Rogers. The Convention sought to unite all Baptist churches in Indian Territory (1) by aiding weaker churches and spreading Christianity through missionary agencies; (2) by educating Indian men for the Christian ministry; and (3) by seeking and assisting in the education of Indian men and women as Christian teachers and missionaries. To achieve those goals, the Convention announced its willingness to cooperate with both the American Baptist Home Mission Society and the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.⁶⁴

The convention immediately undertook several actions to strengthen and expand the Baptist cause in Indian Territory. Emphasis was placed on securing additional native preachers to serve the growing number of preaching stations and, since such preachers were uneducated, to provide continuing education and assistance to enable them better to serve their congregations.

The lack of formal religious training necessitated close supervision, especially in matters of church management and finance. Murrow and other white missionaries were able to provide that, since native preachers freed them from extensive pulpit service. The Sunday school movement was initiated as a means of teaching the scriptures to church members as an integral part of their Christian development. Thought was given to the creation of schools to train and educate

not only prospective ministers and church workers, but also their children.⁶⁵

The Convention was concerned about a means to inform and indoctrinate the people. In August, 1884, the publication of a newspaper, the Indian Missionary, was initiated " . . . to accomplish much to the glory of God. . . . Above all other uses the paper shall be used to give the pure word of God to our Indian people."⁶⁶ That was the continuation of a Baptist tradition started in the territory by Isaac McCoy, who published the Annual Register of Indian Affairs in the 1830s and Joseph Meeker, who had a press at Shawnee Mission station in the early 1830s, which was continued in the 1840s by Evan Jones with his Cherokee Messenger, published near Westville.⁶⁷

W. P. Blake of Eufaula and A. Frank Ross of McAlester were chosen to serve as the first editors of the new publication. Ross, however, became dissatisfied with his relationship with the Convention and relinquished editorship. Murrow, having served five years as assistant editor and part owner of the Vindicator, a secular paper published first at Boggy Depot and later at Atoka, assumed the editorship in December, 1886, and retained that position until 1891.⁶⁸

Murrow and other Baptist missionaries and laymen were distressed at the lack of religious training available in the territory and the need for general educational facilities. Those men were convinced that education was the means by

which new Indian leaders and, in turn, their people would be assimilated into the dominant society. Moreover, they believed that the education should be reinforced by a new moral and spiritual philosophy to replace the old tribal superstitions that dominated for generations. An Indian university was needed in the territory to educate and train future secular and religious Indian leaders.⁶⁹

The first actions toward that objective were taken at the meeting of the Cherokee Baptist Association on October 10, 1879, when Almon Clematus Bacone suggested the establishment of a Literary and Theological School for Indians. Bacone, a New Yorker, served as principal teacher at the Cherokee Male Seminary at Tahlequah for over a year, but, at the urging of Murrow, resigned to join the movement among Indian leaders and missionaries to create a new educational institution.⁷⁰

The Association responded by appointing a committee composed of Murrow, Rev. A. L. Lacie, Major G. W. Ingalls and Bacone to "prosecute such measures as might be useful in obtaining such a school." That committee became the Baptist Educational Board with the authority to act for the church in all matters relating to the proposed university and, with the exception of Ingalls, composed the first Board of Trustees. The board, thoroughly dominated by missionary members, was motivated by a desire "to perpetuate and extend, with increased efficiency, civilizing influences" by preparing

native teachers and preachers for more effective work among all Indian tribes.⁷¹

On February 9, 1880, in a room of a mission building owned by the American Baptist Home Mission Society in Tahlequah, Indian University held its first classes. Though established and in operation, the new school still had pressing needs including adequate salaries for the instructors, financial assistance for students and a suitable, permanent location. Again the American Baptist Home Mission Society provided support for the cause in Indian Territory and agreed to pay Bacone an annual salary of twelve hundred dollars to serve as principal of the university.⁷²

In October, 1881, supported by the provisions of the Creek Reconstruction Treaty of 1866 which allowed up to one hundred and sixty acres of land to be granted to "every religious society or denomination, which has erected, or which, with the consent of the Indians, may hereafter erect, buildings within the Creek country for missionary or educational purposes,"⁷³ the board of trustees appealed to the Creeks for land and permission to erect and operate a permanent facility. The initial response was negative, but the Principal Chief of the Creeks, Samuel Checote, refused to allow the proposal to die and strongly defended the benefits of the university to Indian citizens. By a narrow majority, the Creek Council granted the American Baptists permission to establish and maintain a school upon Creek land.⁷⁴

Bacone, Murrow and Reverend Daniel Rogers constituted a site committee to study and evaluate several recommended locations. On an autumn day in 1881, those three men knelt on a hillside three miles northeast of Muskogee and dedicated the spot as the future home of Indian University.⁷⁵

With support gained from a trip east by Bacone, including a ten thousand dollar grant from John D. Rockefeller, a building was constructed and dedicated in June, 1885. Rockefeller Hall provided space for educational activities and living facilities for students and faculty as well as the location for commencement exercises for the third graduating class, the first at Indian University's new location. While years of struggle lay ahead, Indian University, renamed Bacone College in 1910 in honor of its founder, continued to grow and provide educational opportunities for Indians of numerous tribal affiliations and whites as well.⁷⁶

Murrow remained an active and enthusiastic supporter of the college and its students until his death. As a member of the Board of Trustees, he often visited the campus, talked to the faculty, addressed the students and preached in the chapel. His voice on the Board, as one of the founders, was consistently strong for the best possible education for the students. While continuing to stress the college's mission to the Indians, Murrow realized the lack of educational facilities in the territory for the increasing number of whites and often encouraged capable whites to enroll in the

Indian University. He often provided limited financial assistance in addition to able encouragement.⁷⁷

One such student was Patrick J. Hurley, son of Irish immigrants, who was working at the age of eleven as a mule driver for the Atoka Coal and Mining Company. Murrow urged Hurley to enroll at the university because he was impressed with his potential. Upon Hurley's graduation in 1905, he first served as national attorney for the Choctaw Nation, but soon entered national politics where he held positions of importance under Presidents Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Hurley was a strong supporter of the university and never forgot his debt to either the institution or Murrow. He often returned to the campus for speaking engagements and credited the university with much of his success.⁷⁸

During those years, Murrow traveled extensively throughout much of Indian Territory. In March and April, 1883, he "traveled for two weeks and two days--275 miles, 10 sermons and several discussions." A few weeks later, he journeyed three hundred and seventy-five miles through the Cherokee, Creek and Seminole Nations. He preached at the Sac and Fox Agency and was "encouraged at the prospect" for the "Saux seem to be gradually breaking away from their old ways." In May, 1884, he visited the Delawares and Ottawas finding the church "in a cold, backward condition." Some days later, he traveled to Parsons, Kansas, where he preached and organized a Sunday school at Crittenden schoolhouse.

He organized a church and ordained Lick-Eater, a fullblood Cherokee as minister in the Coowescoowee district of the Cherokee Nation. When the Webber Falls church was dedicated, Murrow preached the sermon and presented a stove and pipe to the congregation.⁷⁹

While Murrow was actively engaged in his missionary work and its many facets, he still found time to pursue and strengthen his Masonic affiliation. Throughout his life, Murrow was consumed with the missionary and educational thrust among the Indians and the expansion of Freemasonry throughout the territories and later the state of Oklahoma. Murrow saw no conflict in those two activities, as both were attempts to promote the Kingdom of God. He often remarked that he was particularly overjoyed when he witnessed an Indian enter the fraternity.⁸⁰

When Murrow settled in Atoka in 1867, he inquired about Masonic lodges, but discovered that all in the entire territory ceased operations during the Civil War and were still inactive. He was delighted, however, to find two members of the fraternity living nearby. Murrow, James D. Davis and George Downing carefully tested each other according to ancient Masonic traditions and, upon satisfying themselves of each other, started meeting together.

At those meetings, Murrow carefully drilled the two men in the work and lectures of the Blue Lodge degrees. News of Murrow's proficiency soon spread and a group of Masons

invited him to Boggy Depot to hold an informal school of instruction. Over the next two months, brethren from Atoka and Boggy Depot met together frequently, testing and practicing with each other in Masonic law, procedures and ritual.

By the summer, 1868, an organized, but still unrecognized, lodge was formed with Murrow as Worshipful Master; George B. Hester, Senior Warden; and James B. Davis, Junior Warden as officers. It was suggested that recognition from the Grand Lodge of Arkansas be sought and a petition to that effect was signed by thirteen men, the most wealthy and influential leaders in the area.

Those included Allen Wright, Choctaw governor; Robert Jasper Hogue, Baptist missionary; Joseph Riley, delegate to Congress; J. J. Phillips, merchant at Boggy Depot; and George Colbert, rancher and member of the most prominent Chickasaw family. Wright suggested Oklahoma as the name for the proposed new lodge. Murrow, Hester and Davis were delegated to deliver the petition to the Masonic lodge at Fort Smith.

When the party arrived, the Fort Smith Belle Point Lodge soon filled as Arkansas Masons gathered to observe and judge their reported brethren from Indian Territory. In three rigorous sessions, the Indian Territory delegation, under the watchful, critical eyes of Dr. E. R. Duval, Worshipful Master of the Belle Point Lodge and soon to be Grand Master of the State of Arkansas, endured a thorough examination

into their knowledge and accuracy of all aspects of Masonic work. That included not only the opening and closing of a lodge of free and accepted Masons, but the esoteric work in all three degrees.

Afterwards, Duval, on behalf of all gathered, congratulated the visitors on their performance, but explained that Arkansas procedures and ritual differed from that of Texas, where each of the three had entered the fraternity. Moreover, a dispensation to form a lodge in Indian Territory could not be granted unless conformity was made to the Arkansas work to the satisfaction of the Belle Point Lodge.

Duval, a physician, suggested that if the party could remain in Fort Smith for a few days, Murrow could travel with him on professional calls, receive the necessary instructions and satisfy the requirements for the dispensation. Four days later, the task completed, the trio returned to the Choctaw Nation and on July 22, Grand Master of Arkansas, E. H. English, granted the promised dispensation to Murrow and others to establish a lodge at Boggy Depot.

The activity at Boggy Depot was not isolated because Freemasonry was experiencing a rebirth throughout the territory. The survivors of Doaksville Lodge reorganized under a charter issued November 23, 1870, to Chapel Hill Lodge U. D., but a year later, the Grand Lodge of Arkansas approved an order by the Grand Master moving the lodge to Sevier County, Arkansas. The brethren who remained received another

dispensation and on November 7, 1871, Doaksville Lodge No. 279 was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Arkansas.

Caddo, a thriving terminal of the M. K. & T. railroad, grew rapidly in size and importance attracting numerous residents. Granville McPherson, an Arkansas Mason and friend of Albert Pike and E. H. English, prominent, state, regional and national Masonic figures, established a newspaper and led a movement resulting in a charter from Arkansas for Caddo Lodge No. 311.

Alpha Lodge No. 122 received its charter from the Grand Lodge of the State of Kansas on October 17, 1872, and was located at Fort Gibson, the same location as Fort Gibson Lodge No. 35 which lost its charter in 1867 by action of the Arkansas Grand Lodge.

Flint Lodge, like others, had declined during the war, but was allowed to move to Wilsonville, Arkansas, in 1867. It functioned at that location until July 18, 1873, when the Arkansas Grand Master, E. R. Duval, granted a dispensation allowing the lodge to return to Flint Station, near Stilwell.

Chartered by the Arkansas Grand Lodge, the Muskogee Lodge No. 90 lost its charter in 1867 for failure to pay assessments to the Arkansas Grand Lodge. Unaware of its dismissal, the Lodge functioned periodically, but finally, after learning of its default, applied for formal reinstatement to the Arkansas Grand Lodge in 1874. Grand Master G. A. Dannelly

issued the necessary dispensation, but added " . . . it may not be of much moment as I learn that the Lodges of Indian Territory have established a Grand Lodge."⁸²

Almost with the chartering of those postwar lodges, sentiment emerged to establish a Grand Lodge for Indian Territory. It was motivated by a desire among certain men seeking to lead or to be involved in potentially successful enterprises; economic considerations related to the distance to Little Rock, headquarters for the Arkansas Grand Lodge; and a conscious feeling among Indian Territory Masons that significant differences existed between them and their Arkansas brethren because of their environment.

Granville McPherson, former resident of Arkansas and Worshipful Master of Caddo Lodge, led by his ambition to be an important leader in the new Grand Lodge instigated the separatist movement by initiating contacts with the six lodges in Indian Territory in late 1873 and suggesting the wisdom of such action. Murrow, active leader of the Boggy Depot lodge and southern Indian Territory, urged caution.⁸³

The issue divided the small number of lodges evenly. Alpha Lodge, located at Fort Gibson under a charter from the Grand Lodge of Kansas, rejected the idea as inappropriate at the time. A similar negative reply was given by the Flint Lodge. Murrow, serving as Worshipful Master of Oklahoma Lodge No. 217, also opposed the movement. He advised that the action was premature considering the youth, inexperience

and financial uncertainty of Indian Territory Masonry; observed that the Indian Territory lodges were clearly and evenly divided on the proposal; and reminded that not only were relations with the Arkansas Grand Lodge excellent, but Indian Territory Masonry enjoyed certain benefits as a result of the affiliation. He also sent letters seeking advice on the situation from Arkansas brethren and replies cautioned against hasty action.⁸⁴

Yet the die was struck. In October, 1874, representatives from Muskogee, Doaksville and Caddo met in Caddo and created the Indian Territory Grand Lodge.⁸⁵ Murrow, as he promised, " . . . if it is the wish of the majority of the Brethren in the different lodges, I will cheerfully yield and do all I can to promote the same,"⁸⁶ joined the movement.

Murrow's change in attitude was due in part to his treatment from the Grand Lodge of Arkansas. A group from Pauls Valley, Chickasaw Nation, asked the Oklahoma Lodge to exemplify their performance so that a petition for a charter could be made to the Arkansas Grand Lodge. The Oklahoma Lodge complied and certified the petition, but the Grand Lodge of Arkansas responded that it no longer had jurisdiction over Indian Territory and suggested that Oklahoma Lodge and the Pauls Valley group should look to the new Grand Lodge of Indian Territory for guidance and direction.⁸⁷

On May 12, 1875, Oklahoma Lodge affiliated with the Grand Lodge of Indian Territory and was assigned number four

as its official designation. At the first annual meeting of the body on September 7-8, Murrow was elected Grand Lecturer, a tribute to his skill in the craft of Freemasonry. In that position, he visited and drilled subordinate lodge officers seeking proficiency in their work.⁸⁸

In 1877, at the third Grand Lodge session in Vinita, Murrow was selected as Grand Master and proved to be an active, able leader. In that formative period, he was the central Masonic figure and his decisions shaped and molded Indian Territory Masonry. During his tenure, he faced and weathered severe internal and external problems, but his firm hand aided in the survival and growth of the Grand Lodge of Indian Territory.⁸⁹

Murrow, as Grand Master, immediately became embroiled in a controversy surrounding the admittance of new members to territorial lodges. McPherson, the first Grand Master, was naturally concerned with the desire and need to increase membership and his zeal in that endeavor was attractive to individual lodges. Some lodges, while not openly recruiting members, an action strictly forbidden by the tenets of Freemasonry, did allow some to affiliate without properly certifying their eligibility.

Such actions were certainly due in part to the frontier isolation and the unreliability of communication necessary to investigate a prospective member's claim that he was a regular member of a lodge elsewhere in the United States.

Much of that disregard for tradition, however, was created by the unbridled desire to increase membership.

Murrow was emphatic on the issue and reminded each lodge that "no man can become a Mason except in a certain way, i. e., (in brief) by being initiated, passed and raised in a just and legally constituted lodge." In several situations, Murrow ordered certain members to be dropped from lodge rolls and severely reprimanded and/or suspended certain lodges for their conduct regarding membership. Murrow insisted that it was better than ninety-nine good men should be turned away wrongly than to allow one bad man to enter.

The external problems stemmed from McPherson's action toward Alpha and Flint lodges as a result of their failure to affiliate immediately with the Grand Lodge of Indian Territory. McPherson, in violation of old, practiced and well-established international Masonic law, was determined to coerce affiliation or to designate the lodges as "clandestine" and forbade Masonic communication with any members. Because of that stance, other Grand Lodges withheld recognition of the new Grand Lodge of Indian Territory.

It was Murrow who removed the McPherson ban on the two lodges; initiated communication, reconciled differences and secured recognition from the Grand Lodges of Arkansas and Kansas for the infant Indian Territory body; reconciled Grand Lodge feelings within the territory toward Alpha and Flint Lodges; and ultimately welcomed those lodges into the Grand

Lodge of Indian Territory. Murrow's role as peacemaker and mediator clearly brought an aura of stability and respectability to the new Grand Lodge and its members.

Murrow's two years as Grand Master were significant in other ways. Always keenly interested in books, Murrow reported in 1877 that he had accumulated a number of books, magazines and documents related to the craft of Masonry. A year later, however, he reported that "I have made no effort to gather contributions to the Masonic Library, because of the want of a suitable place of deposit." Murrow was very visible as Grand Master and laid cornerstones at Masonic buildings in Vinita, the Creek Capitol in Okmulgee and McAlester. Under his direction, a Grand Lodge Committee on Education recommended and the Grand Lodge passed a resolution declaring that educational expenses of all orphans of Masons would be assumed by the Grand Lodge.⁹⁰

At the sixth meeting of the Grand Lodge, Patrick J. Byre of Alpha Lodge was selected as Grand Master and Murrow became Grand Secretary, a position he held as active or emeritus for nearly fifty years. His years as Grand Master, however, were vital and his reputation was widely acclaimed in Masonic circles. John D. Vincil, Chairman of the Committee on Correspondence of Missouri observed:

I take great pleasure in commending the bold, fearless and independent style, and Masonic bearing of Grand Master Murrow. The tenor of his address shows him to be a capable and faithful leader. His decisions are sound expositions of Masonic law. The

Grand Lodge will need such an officer for years to come, and cannot do better than retain such a leader.⁹¹

Murrow, as a member of a Royal Arch Chapter near Linden, Texas, was also extremely interested in capitular Masonry and was instrumental in its foundation in Indian Territory as well. On February 16, 1878, a group including Murrow petitioned General Grand High Priest M. E. John Frizell of Kansas for permission to convoke a chapter of the Royal Arch Masons at McAlester, Choctaw Nation.

Supported by a resolution from Bellevue Chapter, Fort Smith, Arkansas, consenting to the organization of a chapter in their jurisdiction, Frizell issued the dispensation on February 23, 1878, for the McAlester group. Colonel Edward J. Brooks, Past High Priest, Bellevue Chapter, Fort Smith, an army officer on duty in Indian Territory; George W. Stidham, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Choctaw Nation and Grand Treasurer of the newly created Indian Territory Grand Lodge; and Joseph Murrow were the first officers. The Indian Chapter as it was designated became a "Mother" Chapter and her members or companions promoted the spread of the craft in southern Indian Territory.

The newly organized chapter soon learned that its strength in the craft was dictated by the convenience to the members; better accessibility insured greater support for the activities of the Royal Arch movement. Therefore, on September 11, 1879, Murrow petitioned for a chapter at Atoka

known as Ok-la-ho-ma Chapter. On February 14, 1880, Frizell issued the necessary dispensation. The new chapter was chartered, along with the Indian Chapter, at the General Grand Chapter in Detroit, Michigan, in August, 1880. On October 11, 1880, the new chapter was finally constituted with Murrow serving as High Priest or principal officer.

Both new chapters flourished initiating the spirit of capitular Masonry in the territory. A third chapter was organized at Burneyville, Choctaw Nation, and received its dispensation on March 2, 1885. The new group, although very enthusiastic, was inexperienced and only through the support and efforts of Murrow and others from Atoka, a day's hard journey away, did the group fulfill the necessary qualifications to retain their dispensation.⁹²

By 1885, Murrow was considered to be an elder statesman in the area and had already lived a full, active life. His guiding hand helped to stabilize life in the Choctaw Nation after the Civil War and his leadership helped to create several essential social, educational and religious institutions. Yet years of intense struggle and difficulty lay ahead that would challenge his endurance and patience.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHALLENGING YEARS, 1885-1891

The last two decades of the nineteenth century marked a distinct change in Indian Territory Baptist life and the experiences of Joseph Murrow offer an opportunity to view those changes in microcosm. It was a period of maturity as evidenced by the creation of the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention of Indian Territory. Murrow served as that organization's president. The establishment of a general circulation newspaper, the Indian Missionary, and the founding of the Indian University were additional signs of that maturity. Again, Murrow was heavily involved in those efforts.

That maturity is further witnessed by the decision to seek assistance from the American Baptist Home Mission Society, without whose aid the Indian University could not have been founded, as well as a continuation of the existing relationship with the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.

Yet with the entrance of the Home Mission Society, a drama would commence that would last into the initial years of the twentieth century. That drama would be divided into two acts with a brief intermission in 1891. The cast of players included Murrow, President of the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention and an employee of the Home Mission Board; E. L. Compere, President of the Baptist General Convention of Western Arkansas and Indian Territory and the rival of the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention; Dr. H. L. Morehouse, Corresponding Secretary of the Home Mission Society; and Dr. I. T. Tichenor, Corresponding Secretary of the Home Mission Board.

The first act set the stage for the entire drama and allows one to witness the development of the actors, the clash of their personalities and philosophies and the events leading up to the major scene of the act. That was the resignation of Murrow, one of the most respected, admired and visible of the Indian Territory missionaries, from the Home Mission board and his affiliation with the Home Mission Society.

The ramifications of Murrow's realignment and the increasing conflict between the Home Mission Society and the Home Mission Board created the scenes of the final act. Both major Baptist groups, aided by individuals and groups within the territories, struggled for domination with almost as much enthusiasm, energy and fervor as each directed respectfully

toward the expansion of the kingdom of God. The final curtain did not fall until 1914 when the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma voted to ally itself solely with the Southern Baptist Convention.

Murrow's resignation was a critical and visible event and a clear result of the emerging and developing conflict within Baptist ranks in the territory. While it is important to understand that event and the reasons that prompted it, it is equally important to set the stage by noting the fallacies of previous reasons offered for Murrow's actions. Those include a long and pronounced Northern bias, and early and solid alliance between Murrow and the Home Mission Society, Murrow's prolonged opposition and disloyalty to the Home Mission Board and financial rewards for the veteran missionary.¹

Murrow did not hold deep Northern sentiments and sympathies. He was a southerner by birth, exhibited strong sentiments toward the South and its institutions and would have been pleased to finish his career affiliated with the Home Mission Board. "I am a loyal Southern man," Murrow remarked, "'found and bled and died' for the Confederacy."²

In 1888, upon learning that the Home Mission Society would not follow through on a promised appointment because the Home Mission Board was reluctant to sever connections with Murrow, the missionary happily exclaimed: "Good, very good. I am so glad. It is the will of God."³ Later he

stated that he could not accept another promised appointment from the American Baptists because he had "been with the Southern Board for thirty-one years."⁴ When offered the pastorate of the Baptist church at Tahlequah at a sizeable increase in salary and the provision of living quarters, he again refused the Society's offer because of his loyalty to the Home Mission Board.⁵

It has also been suggested that Murrow himself was the cause of friction within Indian Territory because of his alliance with the Home Mission Society. Along with that premise, Murrow was supposed to have organized the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention intentionally to rival the Baptist General Convention of Western Arkansas and Indian Territory because of the latter group's open affiliation with the Southern Baptist Convention.⁶

Murrow, however, had been urging a general body of territorial Baptists as early as 1867, nine years before the Arkansas group came into being. Even after its creation, the Arkansas convention found little support in Indian Territory as evidenced by the small number of territorial churches that affiliated with the organization.

It is equally false that the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention was informally allied with and constituent to the Home Mission Society.⁷ Murrow, in all of his projects and programs to meet territorial needs, turned first to the Home Mission Board for assistance. That was

true in relation to subsidies for additional missionaries and their support and monies to assist in church construction projects, as well as in the founding of both the Atoka Baptist Academy and the Indian University. It was only after the proposal had been first ignored or rejected by the Home Mission Board that Murrow made an appeal to the Home Mission Society.⁸ And Murrow affirmed again and again that

when it comes to my Master's cause in this Indian mission work I welcome with all my heart, mind and body a brother Baptist, who loves and works for Christ and His truth whether he comes from North--South--East or West.⁹

Another erroneous charge levied against Murrow in terms of his resignation was that "Murrow was disloyal to the board that supported him for more than thirty-five years."¹⁰ When Murrow came on the mission field in 1857, he was supported by and responsible to the Rehoboth Association, an independent affiliation of Georgia Baptist churches.

That relationship remained unchanged until 1885 when the Rehoboth Association, at the insistence of the Southern Baptist Convention, allowed its missionary work, including that of Murrow, to be assumed by the Home Mission Board. The policy applied to all independently supported missionaries only in terms of supervision and responsibility; independent churches and associations were still encouraged to maintain financial support of such missionaries.

As an employee of the Board, Murrow differed with its policies as applied to Indian Territory because of his

experiences and sought unsuccessfully to convince the Board of its errors. Yet when it became clear that the policies he opposed would be continued and that his advice would be ignored, Murrow realized he must either acquiesce in policies he believed to be incorrect and damaging to Indian Territory Baptists or resign. He chose the latter course, even though it hurt bitterly.¹¹

Neither is it accurate that Murrow "sold himself for Northern gold" or "left the Southern Board for greener pastures."¹² While a significant increase in salary and benefits is a legitimate reason to change positions, that was not the case with Murrow. His salary for the first year with the Home Mission Society was only seven hundred and fifty dollars.¹³

With the fallacies addressed, it is a simple matter to move forward and address the reasons for the conflict that permeated the period. It evolved around two men, Tichenor and Murrow, and the clash of their personalities, philosophies and ideas concerning Baptists and their work in Indian Territory. The two men differed strongly on territorial Baptist organizations and their national affiliations, territorial missionary goals, value of supervisory agencies and the past and future role of the Home Mission Society in the territory.

As early as 1876, the Choctaw and Chickasaw Association, under the leadership of Murrow, was urging a general convention of all Baptist churches in Indian Territory. It was not until June, 1883, however, that the proposed

organization evolved as the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention of Indian Territory composed of the Cherokee, Choctaw and Chickasaw and Creek and Seminole Associations. The new association, representing Indian Territory Baptists, refused to affiliate with either the American Home Mission Society or the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, but expressed an interest in cooperating fully with both.

According to Murrow, for the Territorial Convention to unite with either the Home Mission Board or the Home Mission Society would have been detrimental to the Baptist movement in the territory. At that time, there were Baptist churches composed of whites, Indians and Blacks with strong, active laymen involved in each and working together in harmony. Those Baptists had already displayed a commitment to continue a working relationship as evidenced by the creation of the convention.

To enforce an allegiance with either the northern or southern Baptists would antagonize some within the territory, disturb deep sectional feelings resulting from the Civil War that were best left buried and display ingratitude to the organization not chosen for permanent alignment. The best course of action was to display missionary needs, offer advice and information and cooperate fully with both groups, but to avoid a firm commitment with either group.¹⁴

Yet another organization claimed to represent Indian Territory Baptists as well. On November 24, 1876, at Charleston, Arkansas, the Baptist General Association of Western Arkansas and Indian Territory was formed. It was not, as has been alleged, "the first convention in what is now Oklahoma"¹⁵ because it was an Arkansas organization. A group of disgruntled churches from the Concord Association, under the leadership of E. L. Compere, local Baptist leader, conceived and birthed the association with neither consultation nor representation from an Indian Territory Baptist church.¹⁶

Two years later, however, the General Association sent Reverend Henry Harvey to the annual meeting of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Association proposing a union, but he was politely rebuffed. The Association respectfully listened to the Arkansas minister's proposal, but stated that "no important benefit could to either body from an organic union." It was further strongly recommended that the term "and Indian Territory" be dropped by the Arkansas group from its name because it suggested a relationship that did not exist. In a gesture of friendship and recognition, the Choctaw and Chickasaw Association did suggest "that a fraternal correspondence be opened with the General Association," as existed between the Choctaw and Chickasaw Association and other Baptist associations.¹⁷

The General Association until affiliation with the Southern Baptist Convention was little more than a name and had little support in Indian Territory. Baptists in southern Indian Territory, with the exception of some white churches in the extreme southeast, were affiliated with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Association. As a result of aggressive activity by Arkansas ministers, those white churches including Prairie Grove, Liberty Hill and Short Mountain, withdrew from the Choctaw and Chickasaw Association and formed the Short Mountain Association.

When the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention was formed, all territorial associations except that of Short Mountain, affiliated with the new body. The new convention comprised seven of the eight territorial associations, one hundred and fifty of the one hundred and seventy churches and eight thousand of the nine thousand Baptists in Indian Territory. Approximately ten percent of the churches and members were in the Short Mountain Association. Within five years, several churches from that association were sending regular messengers to the sessions of the Territorial Convention.¹⁸

In 1885, when Murrow's work was assumed by the Southern Baptist Convention, a volatile environment clearly existed in terms of organizational goals and loyalty. The Territorial Convention, under the leadership of Murrow, was willing to cooperate fully with both the American and Southern

Baptist groups. However, it was opposed by the General Association in Indian Territory.

The Arkansas group was firmly allied with the Southern Baptist Convention and opposed to the American Baptists. Such a stand earned the unqualified support of Dr. I. T. Tichenor, Corresponding Secretary of the Home Mission Board, and Murrow's immediate supervisor. Tichenor, firmly opposed to a "neutral" or "double alignment," was unable to understand the Territorial Convention's stance and unwilling to listen to or accept Murrow's explanation for the course of action.¹⁹

In addition to differing or organizational affiliations, Murrow and Tichenor had more fundamental disagreements. Murrow, "a missionary among the Indians," was totally committed to the evangelization and education of the Indians. He felt that white missionaries, regardless of their affiliation, should devote their full energies to Indian work. "What is needed is [sic] consecrated white missionaries to lead consecrated native preachers," urged Murrow, because "our native preachers are too inexperienced to effect much by themselves."²⁰ White missionaries should fill pulpits, conduct revivals, organize new congregations and lead in erecting churches.

More importantly, Murrow argued that it was a "necessity to educate Indian preachers and laymen."²¹ Native preachers should be trained through an apprenticeship program

and congregations taught their responsibilities so eventually Indian Baptists could stand without assistance from whites. Elementary, secondary and higher educational facilities had to be initiated, constructed and maintained. It was the duty of the white missionary, aided and supported by religious organizations, to initiate, encourage, supervise and sustain such activities for the benefit of Indian people.

Tichenor, an administrator of a large Baptist organization, obviously desired to advance the Baptist religion, but also the cause of the Southern Baptist Convention. He realized, as did others, that eventually Indian Territory would become a state. He knew that the white population of the region was sizeable and increasing rapidly; moreover, he understood fully that the white influence in the territory was considerable and would certainly hold sway after statehood.

In order to exert influence in a new state, it was essential that the white population should be converted and allied with the Southern Baptist Convention. Tichenor, therefore, contended that "missionaries in Indian Territory" should concentrate their total efforts toward the white population. Once the white population was "in the fold," and their churches established and prospering, those could become agents for work among the Indians.

That basic philosophical difference further divided the two Baptist leaders. Murrow, deeply committed to

fulfilling Indian needs, was willing to cooperate with any group to achieve his goals. Tichenor, oriented toward the growth and expansion of the Southern Baptist Convention, found a willing and supportive ally in Compere and the General Convention.²²

Murrow was opposed to the missionary support structure of agencies, boards and commissions. When Murrow first ventured into the mission field in 1857, his sponsor was the Rehoboth Association. For nearly thirty years, he operated as a virtual independent entity; he made decisions and conducted his work in the manner he believed best for the situation. Recognizing Murrow's extensive experience as a field missionary, the Rehoboth Association relied heavily on his judgment, paid his salary and other support monies and, in turn, received from him regular correspondence, reports and periodic visits.²³

In Murrow's mind, that was the "scriptural plan." The only Christian organization mentioned in the Bible was the church. Its members, as an extension of the church, assumed responsibility for spreading the Gospel without any "uselessly expended" money by a bureaucracy. While conceding that a large organization structure "may now be necessary to successful missionary work," he felt that "money can be sent all over the world . . . safely and promptly by individuals and churches as well as by boards." He argued that if more efforts were directed toward encouraging individuals and

churches to support individual missionaries and less to collect money for agencies, boards and commissions, the result would be twice as much money collected and hence twice as many missionaries in the field.²⁴

Murrow understood, after the Rehoboth Association relinquished their relationship in favor of the Home Mission Board, that additional supervision and direction could be expected. He believed, however, that his long and successful record would serve him well with the Home Mission Board. An advantage would be that along with that supervision would come additional assistance and support for the work that had to be done. To his chagrin, that simply was not the case.²⁵ Murrow remembered in 1891:

When I was transferred from Rehoboth to the [Home Mission] Board, I entered upon my work with enthusiasm, and wanted to help make the Board's Indian mission work successful. I frequently wrote the Cor. Secty. giving information, making suggestions and modestly giving advice. My letters were either not replied to at all or I was given to understand that the board knew more about the work here than I did and did not need my advice.²⁶

Murrow was further disappointed to learn that anticipated increases in support for the missionary work by Southern Baptists would not be forthcoming, at least through the Home Mission Board. To his pleas for more aid, Tichenor and the Home Mission Board responded that missionary expenditures were already in "much larger amounts, in proportion, on the Indian field than elsewhere,"²⁷ that the Indian

missions "should help themselves"²⁸ or by simply offering "no encouragement or help."²⁹

Those differences might not have been insurmountable if Murrow and Tichenor could have reached a mutual agreement on the role and relationship of Indian Territory Baptists to the American Baptist Home Mission Society. Murrow was keenly aware of the response that American Baptists had made to territorial needs, their commitment to future aid and the debt owed to Northern Baptists by Indian Territory Baptists.

Tichenor, on the other hand, was opposed to the American Baptists. He argued that the Indian Territory was "the undisputed mission field of the Southern Baptists until after the War Between the States had begun" and that their [American Baptists] entrance was "an aggressive movement upon the field long occupied by our missionaries from the South."³⁰

The facts tend to refute Tichenor's assertions. Indian Territory from 1832 to 1854 included parts of Kansas and Nebraska as well as that region which later became the state of Oklahoma. The Baptist Triennial Convention, representing both Northern and Southern Baptists, worked in Indian Territory from 1833 to 1845 and administered to the needs of Indians removed and relocated from both the North and South.

When the Baptists split in 1845 as a prelude to the Civil War, the Missionary Union continued for some twenty

years, without objections or opposition from the Southern Baptist Convention, the missionary work among several tribes that had been initiated by the Triennial Convention. In that period, the Indian Territory was jointly served by both the Southern Baptist Convention and the Missionary Union.

After the Civil War, the Missionary Union transferred all of its responsibilities for Indian work, both within and without Indian Territory, to the American Baptist Home Mission Society, the agency through which all Northern Baptists maintained and supported their commitment to Indian missionary work. That transfer and assumption of responsibilities required no consent of the Southern Baptist Convention, since it was simply a continuation of Northern Baptist work in a continuum through the Missionary Union back to the Baptist Triennial Convention.³¹

While the Northern Baptists had a commitment to Indian Territory, it was through Murrow's action that the commitment was significantly increased. The Southern Baptist Convention had strongly supported the territorial missionary work prior to the Civil War, but afterwards, the impoverished South simply lacked the resources to continue that support. Missionaries like Henry Buckner and Murrow understood the realities of the situation, but faced with their own responsibilities in the territory, made repeated pleas to the Home Mission Board for desperately needed assistance to save what

had been accomplished prior to the war and to expand in order to confront new challenges.³²

Out of desperation, Murrow appealed to the Home Mission Society. Although it was involved among the Cherokees, Delawares and other tribes, the Society was reluctant to become more fully involved in the area because of the strong ties to the Home Mission Board held by territorial missionaries and the past relationship between the territory and the Board. Murrow was persistent and continued to write and visit churches and northern Baptist leaders spreading the message of need within Indian Territory.³³

At the Choctaw and Chickasaw Association meeting in 1875, an official plea was raised to the American Baptists, yet couched with reassurances to the Southern Baptist Convention as well. While affirming the good work done by the Home Mission Board, the Association recognized the financial realities facing the Southern Baptist Convention and the resulting inabilities to provide needed assistance.

For that reason and because of the glaring needs in postwar Indian Territory, the Association invited the Home Mission Society to enter the Indian Territory mission field more fully, send missionaries, provide monies for construction of facilities and give support for the native preachers. It was further stated that such action was necessary "to save our work from injury and to supply the destitute with the Word of Life," but the invitation did not represent an

official severing of relations with the Southern Baptist Convention. The Home Mission Board was encouraged to "continue to aid . . . according to the means which God in His good providence may afford."³⁴

Even with an official invitation from the Choctaw and Chickasaw Association, the American Baptists moved with caution. In 1876, Murrow attended the Anniversaries of the Northern Societies, which later became the Northern Baptist Convention, in Buffalo, New York. Through his presence, enthusiasm and presentations, he generated an interest in the issue of Indian missions and secured a commitment that the Northern Baptists would provide three missionaries for Indian Territory.

While at the meeting, Murrow dined with Dr. and Mrs. C. R. Blackall, prominent workers in the Women's Foreign Mission Society, and spent the evening discussing the Indian mission work and the critical need in Indian Territory. Before his departure from the meeting, he convinced the Blackalls to attend the Choctaw and Chickasaw Association meeting later in the year.³⁵

The Blackalls kept their promise and visited the Association meeting in August, 1876. Visibly impressed, they vowed upon their return northward actively to seek assistance for Indian Territory. Dr. Morehouse slowly became convinced that aid from the Northern Baptists was truly needed and that it would receive a warm reception from

territorial Baptists. Moreover, because of either indifference or tacit approval from the Southern Baptist Convention, he thought no resentment existed and that the American Baptists would be viewed by the Southern Baptists as partners, both striving to meet obvious needs in Indian Territory.³⁶

Although the impending conflict with the Home Mission Board and Tichenor concerned Murrow, it did not prevent him from continuing and expanding his wide range of activities. As early as 1885,³⁷ the need for a school in Atoka was recognized, but it was Murrow who led the Choctaw and Chickasaw Association and the Atoka Baptist Church to create the institution. A board of trustees was created in 1887, a building was obtained with plans drawn for an expansion project and a contract at a cost of sixteen hundred dollars was let for the construction. Physical progress on the building was noticeable immediately, but the finances came in more slowly. Murrow, again, came to the front to organize efforts to pay for the work.

He contacted the Home Mission Board seeking money and offered for his salary to be withheld until it was repaid. The Board responded with five hundred dollars. The Home Mission Society gave money to clear the note on the land leased from the Choctaws. Two thousand circulars were mailed to churches, associations and Baptist laymen across the country extolling the virtues of the school and enlisting aid and support.

The response was excellent and donations flowed in for the Atoka Baptist Academy. The Rehoboth Association, Murrow's old sponsor, sent a contribution of one hundred dollars. Other Georgia associations responded as well, as a result of Murrow's carefully cultivated friendships on his visits to his native state. A womens' society group in Boston pledged to support a teacher for a year. In his travels in and out of the territory, Murrow never failed to mention the school in his speeches and talks and secured pledges from various groups.³⁸

The 1887 minutes of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Association advertised the school prior to its opening. It listed F. B. Smith as principal, a curriculum of thirty-seven subjects and a "school building just erected . . . of two very large lower and four upper rooms all nicely furnished, and furnished with new patent and other conveniences" located "on high ground in the heart of the town."³⁹

The school officially opened on September 3, 1888, with an enrollment of forty-eight pupils, the majority being Choctaw and Chickasaw children.⁴⁰ In 1890 one hundred and seventy-four were enrolled and the next year, with E. H. Rishel as superintendent, the school boasted "a good faculty and property worth \$7500."⁴¹

Modeled after the industrial and educational concept, the school was a success and, over the years, hundreds of Indian children went through its doors. A representative of

the Womens' American Baptist Home Mission Society visited the school in 1899 and reported

The school is a beehive of activity indeed. The girls cook, mend, wash, iron and care for the sick. . . . The farm is well stocked with poultry--guinea hens, Plymouth Rocks, ducks, and fine turkeys awaiting Thanksgiving; also cows affording plenty of milk for the fifty children in school; hogs and horses to do the work needed.⁴²

Murrow enjoyed traveling and that was indeed fortunate because he had ample opportunity to engage in much of it. In his role as missionary and supervisor of native preachers, he traveled constantly throughout the territory. His itinerary could include a journey to Pleasant Hill "for a protracted meeting and to organize a church,"⁴³ a Cherokee Baptist Association meeting in Tahlequah,⁴⁴ a trip to heal a schism in the church at Richland,⁴⁵ a camp meeting at Hebert where he "tramped upon the toes of some full-bloods" with a sermon against liquor⁴⁶ and numerous trips to Muskogee as a member of the Indian University Board of Trustees.⁴⁷

He often went into western Indian Territory to inspect the work among the Plains Indians. In 1889, he traveled by train through Gainesville, Texas, Ardmore and Oklahoma City to visit G. W. Hicks and his mission at Anadarko. Murrow stopped overnight at Silver City where the Chisholm Trail crossed the Canadian River and preached a sermon which "converted several cattlemen including Lindsey and Tuttle."⁴⁸

During the visit, Murrow was impressed with Hicks and his work, the interest of the Indians in the gospel and their intense desire to construct a church building. On the return trip, he traveled through such small communities as Pauls Valley, where he preached in a Presbyterian church, Wynnewood and Thackerville. In each, he was appalled at the lack of Baptist churches which again reminded him of the great need for additional missionaries for Indian Territory work.⁴⁹

Often he was able to attend regional and national religious meetings such as the Baptist Preachers Conference in Springfield, Missouri, and the Southern Baptist Convention meeting in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1887. On the trips to and from such meetings, Murrow, as an experienced and noted field missionary among the Indians, was always invited to address local congregations. Murrow wisely used such occasions to promote and solicit assistance for the missionary work in which he was involved.⁵⁰

In early 1885, it was suggested that a team of Choctaws be assembled to perform an Indian ballgame at the New Orleans Exposition. Murrow was "astonished and opposed" and able to prevent the Choctaws' appearance, but he and the McBride family did travel by train to the Crescent City. They were able to spend a week, visiting the Exposition and seeing all of the sights including the French Quarter, St. Louis Cathedral. "How many poor would this feed,"

wondered Murrow after viewing the extravagant Exposition, "and how many churches would it build?"

As was his custom almost annually, Murrow returned to Georgia in 1888 to visit relatives. After a short visit with his brother, John, in Bryan County, he traveled to Gainesville, Florida, to visit his nephew, William, and his family. The nephew treated his uncle to all of the interesting sites in northern Florida including St. Augustine, the Sub-Tropical Exposition in Jacksonville and Lake Alto. From there, Murrow journeyed through much of Georgia and South Carolina visiting friends and relatives, seeing the tourist sites and speaking to interested groups on Indian missions.⁵²

Occasionally business trips allowed excursions to places he would normally have been unable to visit. In November, 1888, Murrow and his wife attended the Editors Convention in San Antonio, Texas. After the conference, they were able to enjoy a side trip to Mexico City via Laredo, Texas. Murrow was especially impressed with the reception given by President Diaz in Mexico City, but appalled at the poverty contrasted with what he perceived as the wealth and visual excesses of the Roman Catholic Church.⁵³

As an outgrowth of his missionary work, Murrow became a newspaper editor and publisher. The Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention recognized the need for a Baptist newspaper and established it in 1884.⁵⁴ A. Frank Ross, newspaperman and Baptist layman, served as the first editor.

Soon after the creation, Ross, with headquarters at Muskogee, initiated a regular monthly publication schedule.⁵⁵

Within a few months, however, Ross became dissatisfied both with the attitude of the Convention toward the paper and the publication itself. Ross hoped that the Convention would provide a subsidy for the newspaper, which he owned and operated at his own expense; that subscriptions would come in rapidly; and that news and other information would be readily obtainable for printing.⁵⁶ Murrow claimed that the establishment of the paper was "too immature" and that the people of the territory were simply not ready to support the publication.⁵⁷ Regardless of the reason, Ross soon desired a change.

He approached Murrow who had experience both as a publisher and journalist. Through his correspondence, Murrow had for years reported to several newspapers, notably the Christian Index, on events in Indian Territory. He had also been editor and part owner of the Vindicator, a secular newspaper published at Atoka.⁵⁸ Ross's first proposal was for a partnership, but Murrow asserted that he would accept the paper only as a sole proprietor.⁵⁹ With that settled, on December 1, 1886, with the unqualified support of the Convention, Murrow assumed editorship of the Indian Missionary.⁶⁰

As editor and publisher, Murrow hoped to use the publication "to assist every Baptist interest in the

territory--Red, White, and Black, and to afford correct information to the friends of the Indian mission work in the States."⁶¹ Moreover, it would be a means "to reach Indian reading people--fullbloods . . . and give them thirstful reading and some information. They will encourage their children to study English now."⁶²

Murrow insisted that the Indian Missionary should be a religious paper dedicated to the interests of Christianity, especially the Baptists, and non-controversial, in matters of religion, if possible. He contended that church disagreement and conflicts were destructive enough without a public airing in the press. He also advocated a non-involvement stance in relation to politics and, despite close friendships with many Indian leaders, steadfastly refused to comment on or become involved in tribal politics. Aware of his responsibility to the Indian community, especially the fullblood segment, he refused to accept liquor advertisements or others of "a misleading nature."⁶³

The new editor soon found that he was terribly overworked with "mission work--Academy here--pastoral work--missionary paper--help for so many."⁶⁴ With the paper, operated with his own resources and revenue generated by the newspaper, he was responsible for selling both subscriptions and advertising necessary to maintain the paper's viability.

To gather news, he served as both a clearinghouse for news from all over the territory and roving reporter

covering newsworthy events of a religious nature. His correspondence load, as would be expected, increased dramatically as he became the source of information throughout the territory and country on Indian missionary work.⁶⁵ All of the minor details involved in publishing a newspaper required strict attention. In March, 1887, the office of the Muskogee Phoenix burned. As a result, the April issue of the Indian Missionary had to be printed in Denison, Texas.⁶⁶

Murrow found that being a publisher was both frustrating and demanding. "This little paper," Murrow lamented, "requires a good deal more time and labor than I thought for."⁶⁷ At one point, he expressed dissatisfaction with the quality of paper and wished for the resources with which to improve it.⁶⁸ Another time, he lamented the bulk of information submitted for publication and confessed his financial inability to include it all.⁶⁹ Other times he wondered "if this paper is worth the trouble and expense it gives" for "it is not read by the fullbloods as I desire nor sustained by leading Baptists as it ought to be."⁷⁰

In January, 1888, Murrow was fortunate to secure the services of Kate Ellet as assistant editor.⁷¹ She came to the Indian Missionary from a teaching position at the Indian University. With her assistance, the newspaper was organized into several departments, including one printed in the Choctaw language to appeal more to the fullblood population. In the Correspondence Department, edited by Murrow, letters

relating to religion in the territory were published. Often a letter generated a lively debate over a particular question, as evidenced by the exchange between R. M. Loughridge, Presbyterian minister and missionary, and Murrow over the issue of infant baptism.⁷² The Choctaw and Chickasaw Department reported news, notes and announcements relating to that mission field, while the Temperance Department carried information opposing the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages.

Ellet used the Womens' Missionary Society Department to communicate and inform Baptist Indian women and the Sunbeam Department to address and instruct children in religious matters. Tips and general information of use to housewives were offered through the Household Department. Ellet took her newspaper responsibilities seriously and was involved in the establishment of the Indian Territory Press Association in 1888. She served that organization as its first treasurer.⁷³

Kate Ellet became more than a business associate for Murrow when they were married on June 20, 1888. Ellet was born in Bedford, Ohio, March 20, 1848, and received education as a teacher. Deciding that she should pursue a missionary career, she studied for two years in the Baptist Missionary Training School in Chicago before receiving her appointment as a teacher at the Indian University under the auspices of the Womens' Baptist Home Mission Society. She taught at that

institution for five years before becoming the assistant editor of the Indian Missionary. Murrow and his fourth wife were married after commencement exercises in the Indian University chapel. Their marriage lasted for twenty-seven years and Kate Murrow gave her husband a happy personal life which he had not always enjoyed in the past.⁷⁴

Murrow's first two wives, Nannie Elizabeth Tatom and Clara Burns, died young, simply worn out by the rigors of frontier life and susceptible to the diseases that eventually took their respective lives. Of the five children born from those two wives, only one, Clara, daughter of Murrow and Clara Burns, survived to maturity.

At the death of her mother in 1868, Clara returned to Georgia to attend Monroe Female College at the expense of the Rehoboth Association. When her education was completed, Clara returned to Atoka, where her father, aware that she was his only child, sought to provide her with every advantage in life.⁷⁵

When Clara married C. A. McBride on January 16, 1879, Murrow was determined that her wedding would be the social event of the season in the Choctaw Nation. Much of the food was catered by rail from Dallas. Delicacies such as commercial ice cream from Denison, Texas, and oysters on the half shell were served to the amazed guests. A strip of red velvet was spread across the street from the Murrow home to the church steps so that the young bride's satin slippers

would not be ruined before the ceremony. While standing in the vestibule, however, one of the attendants noticed that, in the midst of all of the excitement, Clara had never put the new slippers on her feet. Instead, she was prepared to go down the aisle in old house shoes.⁷⁶

The marriage seemed to prosper, yet Murrow worried about his child and her growing family. McBride, in the mercantile business with his brother, Hiram, was in a position to become prosperous, but success seemed to elude him. Often the two brothers engaged in questionable ventures such as buying and developing coal leases, rather than carefully developing the mercantile business. On occasion, Clara, or Murrow himself provided money to compensate for errors in business judgment made by the McBrides. Clara, involved in the social swirl of young married people in the Choctaw Nation and raising her family, was not as interested in her religious life as Murrow hoped. Happily for her father, she later became a stalwart in the Womens' Baptist movement and the Order of the Eastern Star, holding positions of importance and responsibility in both organizations.⁷⁷

The real personal sadness to Murrow was his third marriage. Widowed for slightly over a year when he married Jane Henrietta in 1869, Murrow later commented that the marriage should not have occurred because they were "utter strangers and thoroughly incompatable [sic] in temperament."⁷⁸ In later years, Jane Murrow and her step-daughter

Clara, had differences to the point that Jane Murrow refused to reside with her husband in the McBride house. Instead she maintained her residence in a room located under Murrow's second floor office. Murrow became estranged from his wife "for she is so unpleasant" and continued to live with his daughter.⁷⁹

Apparently the victim of a mental disorder and "very much distressed in mind," Jane Murrow constantly complained of real or imagined illness. "She is a source of constant concern, anxiety and expense," Murrow dispaired, "not a particle of help or comfort."⁸⁰ Murrow, with "no thought of taking her to an asylum," attempted to provide constant care and attention because he did "desire to be true and faithful to her."⁸¹ On one of her regular visits to relatives in Canada in early 1888, she became seriously ill and, upon examination by a physician, was diagnosed to have throat cancer. Before Murrow even knew of her illness, she died suddenly on January 14 in Jerseyville, Canada.⁸²

During the entire period, as Murrow was involved in his public and private affairs, the shadow of the emerging Baptist conflict remained a present source of danger. From time to time, like a smoldering fire, it would suddenly burst into a bright flame over a particular issue, but quickly burn itself out as potentially combustible materials were pulled away, but never totally eliminated. Yet a volatile situation remained within Baptist ranks and all that was necessary for

a raging fire was irresponsible actions by any of the involved parties. By the end of the 1880s, because of Tichenor's actions, the smoldering situation burst into bright flame.

Tichenor, having failed to achieve an organization of territorial Baptists allied with the Southern Baptist Convention through E. L. Compere and the General Association, turned again to Murrow. The missionary was strongly urged either to organize such a general Baptist body or to spearhead an alliance between the Territorial Convention and the Southern Baptist Convention in order to accomplish the intended purpose of expanding Southern Baptist influence in the territory more rapidly.⁸³

Murrow was unwilling to take such a step. He continued to argue politely that such an alliance was unnecessary because intense sectional feelings would again emerge and discord and strife would replace unity and harmony among the territorial Baptists. Tichenor, however, had endured long enough the reluctant missionary. He took steps to insure compliance with his suggestions or the removal of Murrow from his positions.

In June, 1891, the Home Mission Board, at the suggestion of Tichenor and with the complete agreement of Murrow, invited the territorial missionary to Atlanta, Georgia, the headquarters of the Southern Baptist Convention, to discuss his work in general and the controversy between himself and Tichenor in specific.⁸⁴ Tichenor was out of town on other

business for the June 25 meeting, but the Assistant Corresponding Secretary, Dr. J. William Jones, read a letter from Tichenor to the Executive Board of the Convention in which specific charges were levied against Murrow.

Those included: "absolutely refusing" to comply with Board instructions to organize Indian Territory Baptist churches into an organization affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention; improper actions and a "general temper and disposition . . . of complaint"; absence from his assigned post for three months without prior permission from his supervisors; attendance at the Southern Baptist Convention meeting in Fort Worth, Texas, in the company of a dissident Home Mission Board employee; and malicious and false attacks upon the character and integrity of E. L. Compere.⁸⁵ Murrow was instructed to return to Indian Territory with the charges, consider them carefully and draft specific answers to each.⁸⁶

M. C. Kiser, Atlanta businessman and chairman of a special Board committee to consider the matter, summarized the conflict in a letter to Murrow on July 11. "The real issue," wrote Kiser, "between the Board and yourself is whether you will obey its instructions" regarding territorial affiliation with the Southern Baptist Convention. "If it were adjusted no doubt other matters could be settled," he predicted. If not, the committee would have no choice but "be compelled to recommend the dissolution of the relationship existing between yourself and the Board."⁸⁷

Murrow, as instructed, returned home and, within two weeks, answered the charges levied against him. To the major charge of refusing to organize territorial Baptists into an organization affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention, Murrow reiterated his previous statements. Based on his field experiences, he argued that such a move "would result in great injury, if not ruin, to Baptists' interests" as well as "rivalry, strife and loss of power and perhaps even failure."⁸⁸

He also challenged Tichenor's statement that all of the Baptist churches in the territory were "in hardly accord with the Board and the Southern Baptist Convention."⁸⁹ It was Murrow's contention that if forced to choose between the two major Baptist bodies, many churches would ally with the American Baptists. Such a decision would be motivated by a preference based on prior relationships, as in the Cherokee Nation where many churches were established by either an agency of the American Baptists or ministers supported by or in current association with it. The Home Mission Society was currently supporting ministers, schools or church construction projects in many parts of the territory.⁹⁰

Tichenor asserted that an independent organization such as the Territorial Convention "can be little more than an obstacle in the way of effective work."⁹¹ Angered, Murrow claimed that the Territorial Convention was organized partly in response to the Southern Baptist Convention's

insistence that Indian churches should do more to help themselves. And "what better way to do this than to organize for the work?" questioned Murrow. The Territorial Convention had been successful in establishing and developing churches, supplementing financial needs of preachers, stimulating a missionary spirit within and without church bounds and encouraging all sorts of religious activity within the territory.

In return, the Convention asked nothing, including funds, of the Southern Baptist Convention. "If the glory of Christ and the good of His cause," promised Murrow, "and not the glory of the Southern Baptist Convention is the great object of the Board the little Indian Territory Baptist Convention will never be an obstacle but a helper."⁹²

Murrow refuted Tichenor's statement that "an agent or employee of this Board who should politely refuse to obey the instructions of his employer should be dismissed 'instantly'"⁹³ A missionary, argued Murrow, unlike other employees, is answerable to a supreme authority, God. While he respected the lines of authority and the subordination to supervisors, Murrow steadfastly denied the Board's right to compel him to violate his conscience in such matters and injure the cause of God.⁹⁴

Murrow offered a partial confession to the charge of improper actions and conduct, but pleaded extenuating circumstances as a reason. Murrow admitted that he had been

critical of the Home Mission Board, but his "complaints had been those of a father crying out for a starving child, himself helpless but believing there was bread and water if the attention of friends could be secured." Other mission fields had been aided and strengthened, but the Indian Territory had been ignored time and again. Despite repeated and persistent pleas for aid, the Board committed its resources to other areas like Cuba and offered only excuses to Indian Territory Baptists.⁹⁵

Murrow responded specifically to Tichenor's reference to a letter from Murrow printed in The Religious Herald, a periodical whose purpose was "to create a public sentiment against the Cor. Sect'y and the Board."⁹⁶ In the questioned letter, Murrow was alleged to have levied severe criticisms against the plan to form a single organization in Indian Territory affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention. Murrow admitted having written the letter, but protested that it was private, written to a friend in confidence and never meant for public consumption. He expressed shock, surprise and regret to hear that its contents had been published.⁹⁷

Murrow admitted his absence from the field, but for "very much less than three months" and that prior permission should have been obtained. He suggested that restitution of salary money be considered as a possible remedy to the situation.

Yet in thirty-two years, with the exception of six months, he had always been on duty and needed an extended rest. He had never visited his wife's aged parents and the trip offered an opportunity for that activity. On the trip, moreover, Murrow "expected to work for my Lord's cause among the Indians . . . which I did" through visits and speeches to Northern Baptist leaders, laymen and churches. Such contacts were made in an effort to enlist more aid for the Baptist cause in the territory.⁹⁸

In defense of the payment of his salary while he was absent, Murrow claimed that he continued to work while absent from the territory and that he had for years shared his salary with less fortunate ministers "whose labors I have never reported as my own." He resented Tichenor's allegation that Murrow had falsely represented his work during the three months in question as all having been done in the territory. An emphatic denial was given for ever having made or suggested that was the case. Yet to settle the matter, Murrow volunteered to surrender two months salary which would more than compensate for his absence.⁹⁹

Murrow strongly asserted that his sole reason for attending the Southern Baptist Convention meeting in Fort Worth, Texas, was to represent and present the interests of the Lone Wolf mission to the Baptist assembly, especially in Texas, since the Texas Baptists had been an early and enthusiastic supporter of the work among the Plains Indians.

He denied any association with the problems between the Southern Baptist Convention and one of its employees in Indian Territory, but did feel that "her cause was just and a disgrace to the Board and to Christian missions."¹⁰⁰

The veteran missionary saved his strongest statements for the last charge, of the malicious and false attacks upon E. L. Compere and the activities of the General Association of Western Arkansas and Indian Territory. He emphasized that the statement attributed to him in the Indian Missionary "were written in the interest of truth and right" and that he stood solidly behind each one. He denied his public exposure of Compere by asserting that all of his statements to Tichenor and the Home Mission Board regarding the matter had either been ignored or received with the reminder that the Board was well acquainted with conditions in the territory and needed no additional information or advice on the subject. Thwarted by official channels, Murrow was left no choice except to attempt to air the matter in public.¹⁰¹

With his responsibility to the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention completed with an official answer to the charges, Murrow understood his dilemma clearly: "Obey the commandments of the Board without qualifications or off goes my head."¹⁰² He mailed his resignation on July 15, but made his decision retroactive to June 30, 1891. Obviously Murrow took the step with regret, "but the issue was well defined--obey the commandments of my Board and thus

dissolve to conscience, go back upon a life's work, disloyalty to God and His cause or resign and trust God for his support."¹⁰³

After a long and faithful career as an Indian missionary first with the Rehoboth Association and later with the Home Mission Board, Murrow was suddenly a missionary without an appointment or a field of endeavor. The American Baptist Home Mission Society took immediate steps to remedy the situation.

For several years, Murrow had been offered positions with the Society, but had rejected each because of his loyalty to the Southern Baptist Convention. When he was rejected by that body, Dr. H. L. Morehouse offered to appoint Murrow as general missionary to the Choctaws and Chickasaws at an annual salary of seven hundred and twenty dollars plus necessary traveling expenses. Murrow immediately accepted and launched another phase of his missionary career.¹⁰⁴

CHAPTER V

THE MATURE YEARS, 1891-1902

For eleven years, Joseph Samuel Murrow was employed by the American Baptist Home Mission Society in three positions. He served as missionary to the Choctaws and Chickasaws and the western tribes from October 1, 1891, to September 30, 1894. In that capacity, he continued the work he had initiated and directed since he settled in the Choctaw Nation in 1869. He traveled extensively, holding preaching services, establishing churches, encouraging congregations and ministers and promoting Baptist missionary work, especially among the fullbloods.

From his office in Atoka, Murrow corresponded with persons to promote the needs of Indian missionary work in the territories, encouraging and sustaining missionaries and laymen and discussing a myriad of topics with a variety of people. He retained his involvement in activities radiating from his missionary commitment, such as the Atoka Baptist Academy and the Indian University. He visited each often in an official capacity as a member of the Board of Trustees

and in an unofficial capacity as a friend to both the institution and the people it served.

Of particular satisfaction to Murrow was the realization of the potential among the western tribes. From his initial contacts with those tribes during the Civil War to the initial missionary contacts that failed, he maintained an avid interest in the missionary possibilities among them. Reinforced by a financial commitment from the American Baptist Home Mission Society and a promise of additional personnel, a strong, permanent Baptist foundation was laid among the Wichitas, Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes and Arapahos. In addition, Murrow aided in the creation of a sense of order and purpose to those new missions and united a potentially fragmented field into an organized effort.

When he assumed additional duties as Superintendent of Indian Missions in Indian and Oklahoma Territories for the Home Mission Society on October 1, 1894, Murrow added the development of administrative skills and responsibilities to his tasks. His efforts, until September 30, 1900, were directed toward a solidification of the Society's work in the territories. He received many recommendations and reports on Indian missionary activities from his field missionaries which he submitted to his supervisors. From suggestions on the expenditure of appropriated Society funds, through providing advice and reconciliation support to troubled congregations, to encouraging disheartened missionaries, Murrow

traveled throughout both territories as the envoy of the Home Mission Society.

Of true significance in that period were the initial steps taken toward and the final resolution of the conflict that raged within territorial Baptist ranks. As mentioned earlier, the resignation of Murrow from the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention offered only a respite in that struggle.

The second act of the drama, lasting into the early twentieth century, reflected the hypocrisy and absurdity of the struggle to the point that Baptists themselves began to seek a solution. The solutions and realignments that came out of the conflict eventually were solidified into two Baptist organizations, one for each territory, and finally a Baptist General Convention for the territories. Through all of that conflict, realignment and unification, Murrow pleaded for peace and unity among the Baptists.

By 1900, Murrow was sixty-five years of age and a forty-three year veteran of the territorial mission field. At his age in that era, he was an elder statesman and entitled to an honorable retirement. Also, the period of conflict and Murrow's involvement in that was an embarrassment to many Baptists and they would have preferred him to assume a less visible position among Baptists.

The first step toward Murrow's retirement was his resignation as Superintendent of Indian Missions and his

reassignment as General Missionary to the Indians, with primary responsibility for the fullbloods. He served both the Society and its field missionaries as an adviser, a position considered by many to be an honorable one prior to total retirement.

His appointment as missionary to the Choctaws and Chickasaws by the American Baptist Home Mission Society in 1891 initially brought few changes in Murrow's life. He continued to reside in Atoka and remained involved in the types of missionary work that had occupied his life for the past twenty-three years. Those activities included preaching in various churches, initiating and aiding in church construction projects and serving as adviser to both the Society on missionary matters in the territory and native preachers on all aspects of their work. And, of course, Murrow maintained his active involvement in educational efforts represented by the Indian University and the Atoka Academy as well as his fraternal connections.

Murrow's report to the Home Mission Society for the year 1892, his first full year as a missionary for the Society, are reflective of his work load. He visited sixty-seven churches, white, Black and Indian, including those at Atoka, Coalgate, South McAlester, Krebs, Rock Creek, Ardmore, Leon, Mount Zion, Anadarko, Guthrie, Colbert, Salem, High Hill, Delaware, Boiling Springs, Talihina and South Canadian. In addition, he took three extended inspection trips among the

newly established Plains Indian missions. In that work, he traveled over seven thousand miles in twelve months.

Speaking and writing continued to occupy most of Murrow's time. He reported, in 1892, that he preached one hundred and fifty-six sermons, gave two hundred and three addresses, conducted or participated in one hundred and seventy-seven prayer meetings and was involved in seven hundred and seventy-three religious visits and conversations. He wrote nine hundred and forty-six individual notes, letters and cards, addressing a variety of matters to persons both within and without the territory.¹

As a missionary for the Home Mission Society, one of the areas to which Murrow turned his attention was missions among the western tribes. From his first contact with western refugee Indians in the camps along the Red River during the Civil War, he affirmed that it was a needy missions field and was, of course, instrumental in opening it with John McIntosh as the first missionary in 1876. McIntosh preached his first sermon at the Wichita Agency near Anadarko in that year.² A church was organized through his efforts at the agency on June 24, 1877.³

Despite encouragement from first the Choctaw and Chickasaw Association, and later the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention and visits of support and encouragement from Indian and white religious leaders from the eastern part of the territory like Murrow, John Jumper and A. J.

Holt, nephew of Henry F. Buckner, the missionary field was temporarily discontinued in the 1880s.⁴

That was the result of two factors. The first was the Indian discontent and dissatisfaction caused by the replacement of the Indian missionary, McIntosh, with a white missionary, Holt, who became unpopular with the native population; and also a shift in Southern Baptist policy toward Indian missions. The Home Mission Board, in 1885, decided that the Wichita mission, like churches among the Five Civilized Tribes, should support their own preachers.

The policy, while causing difficulty among the Five Civilized Tribes, was not devastating because Christianity was established among those tribes and the churches were better able to accept the change. The result at the Wichita mission was that "the field was neglected and the church went into a decline, and through deaths, loss of interest on the part of many, and the lack of leadership, became almost extinct."⁵

The Home Mission Society, strongly influenced by Murrow's desire to initiate permanent work among the western tribes, supported the renewal of the Wichita mission. Reverend George W. Hicks, a Cherokee missionary and graduate of Colgate Theological Seminary, visited in 1884 and observed that there were excellent opportunities for mission work in the area. While several tribes were located on the reservation, only the Wichitas had been exposed to Christianity and then only on a limited basis. Hicks started his labors

as a free missionary supported by Reverend Daniel Rogers, a Cherokee preacher, Almon Bacone, the president of the Indian University, and Murrow.⁶

In July, 1887, Hicks received an appointment from the Home Mission Society to serve as missionary to the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Agency, embracing those tribes as well as the Apaches, Caddoes, Delawares and Kechis.⁷ Hicks noted:

The Wichitas and Caddoes are farther along than the rest in civilization. . . . The Kiowas and Comanches, formerly very hostile to frontier settlers, are now settled down in peace and making good progress in civilized pursuits. . . . Quanah Parker, principal chief of the Comanches, and Lone Wolf, principal chief of the Kiowas, are intelligent, progressive men, and . . . desire churches built and missionary work done among their people.⁸

From 1887 to 1893, Hicks labored extensively among the Wichitas. When he arrived, he found a congregation of sixty-three members left over from the McIntosh and Holt era. Under his leadership, a church building was constructed, seventy-five additional Wichitas were converted and a school was started by Hicks' wife which was maintained for several years by the Home Mission Society.⁹

"To Reverend G. W. Hicks," said Murrow, "is due the credit for establishing the church on a firm basis and building it up."¹⁰ Hicks founded the first permanent Baptist missionary work among the western tribes and the Wichita mission, like the Atoka church in eastern Indian Territory, became the center of additional activity toward other western tribes.

Hicks soon became interested in the Kiowa Indians and desired to expand initial Baptist contacts with them. In 1886, Murrow and his wife visited the area and Murrow preached a sermon to the Kiowas at the Wichita mission and found Lone Wolf receptive to Christianity and missionaries. William Lancaster, a Baptist carpenter, supported by the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention, opened a mission among the Comalty band of Kiowas on the north fork of the Red River in 1888.¹¹ The next year, W. F. ReQue of the Home Mission Society started Lone Wolf mission and school seventy-five miles from Anadarko. "Some fifteen to twenty Kiowas are ploughing land and fencing small farms by the influence of our mission," he wrote.¹²

Yet it was Hicks again who brought permanence to the Kiowa work. In the winter, 1892, Hicks observed the Kiowas while they were encamped at Anadarko awaiting their grazing payments from Texas cattlemen. He and A. A. Boston erected a tent and alternated in holding religious services for those who would attend. Success came on the second day when Ome-Boke, wife of Big Tree, Kiowa chief, and her brother Go-te-bo, and ten others, accepted baptism.¹³

During that meeting, a medicine man predicted that if the Kiowas accepted baptism by the missionaries, blood would flow from their nose and ears before sundown. Later in the day, the medicine man, while lying down, began to hemorrhage from the nose and ears and was dead before sundown. "The effect

on the Indians was tremendous," reported Robert Hamilton, who received a firsthand account from Hicks. "Ome-boke went throughout the camp, proclaiming that the Great Spirit had turned the curse upon the man for opposing the Jesus Road, and exhorted them to walk with her and her brother in it. They were baptized and many followed."¹⁴

In 1892, after alternating between the Wichitas and Kiowas for several months, Hicks relinquished the Wichita mission to D. Noble Crane, another appointee of the Home Mission Society, in order to devote full time to the Kiowas. Marietta J. Reeside and Laretta Ballew were appointed to the same field by the Women's Baptist Home Mission Society of Chicago. With Hicks' transfer and reinforcements, the organized work among the Kiowas also gained a degree of permanence. The cooperation on that field marked a joint effort by the Home Mission Society and the Women's Baptist Home Mission Society.¹⁵

In April, 1892, on an inspection trip of western missions, Murrow sought out the major Indian leaders as requested by Thomas J. Morgan, Corresponding Secretary of the Home Mission Society. Morgan, through conversations with government officials, reported that the Indians "seem anxious to have missionary and educational advantages and we should seize the opportunity for establishing schools and sending them missionaries."¹⁶ Murrow visited in the home of Quanah Parker and later addressed the Comanche, Kiowa and Arapaho council

convened under the order of the United States Indian agent Amos Kitchfield.

At the meeting, Murrow made an eloquent plea for an acceptance of the expansion of Baptist missionaries among the represented tribes. He pointed out that Indians should accept missionaries because they were good friends to the Indians and good whites were their best friends, while bad whites are their worst enemies. His wife was also allowed to speak on the necessity for and advantages of religious work among the Indian women. Murrow later reported that the agent said that was the first time that a white woman had been allowed to speak in the councils of those tribes.¹⁷

In April, 1893, Murrow again visited and talked with Quanah Parker about the possibility of opening a permanent mission among the Comanches. Parker gave his permission to select any site desired for the construction of a chapel in the Comanche country. Discussions with Kiowa leaders were just as promising because Chiefs Lone Wolf, Big Tree and Comalty wanted at least one chapel constructed among the Kiowas as soon as possible.¹⁸

In July, 1893, Murrow and L. J. Dyke, General Missionary for Oklahoma and Indian Territories for the Home Mission Society, inspected the western field. They visited with the field missionaries, talked with tribal leaders and selected three sites of one hundred and sixty acres each for chapel construction. One site was among the Comanches near Quanah

Parker's settlement. The other two sites were among the Kiowas: one was on Elk Creek, near Lone Wolf's encampment and the other near Big Tree's camp on Rainy Mountain creek.¹⁹

Once the Comanche site was selected, however, it was discovered that opposition existed in the Comanche council. Some members were opposed to the allocation of land because it would mean additional white intrusion into the Comanche territory. After a major debate in which Lone Wolf and other Kiowas argued the Baptist cause, the council ratified the earlier decisions made by Parker. Later the government representatives also affirmed the donation of three chapel sites.²⁰

The missionaries moved rapidly. On January 17, 1894, near the camp of Big Tree, Hicks, assisted by Reeside and Ballew, organized the Rainy Mountain church. Ten months later, on November 11, a chapel was dedicated which had been financed through collections from "penny boxes" placed in Illinois Baptist Sunday School classes. The Women's Baptist Home Mission Society contributed the necessary funds to construct a dwelling for the missionaries on the site.²¹

In early 1894, Hicks and his assistants established Elk Creek mission on land donated by the Kiowas and dedicated by Murrow in April, 1893. The church building was dedicated in November and a parsonage constructed in 1895. Hicks remembered that much of the construction material for both buildings was hauled from Vernon, Texas, on Indian wagons. The missionaries paid thirteen dollars for each load.²²

E. C. Deyo, a graduate of the University of Rochester and Colgate Theological Seminary and another appointee of the Home Mission Society, moved among the Comanches in October, 1893. From a chapel and small parsonage near Fort Sill, he started a mission on a site selected by Murrow. The location, however, proved unsatisfactory and the mission was relocated eight miles west of Lawton. The First Comanche church was founded November 17, 1895, and N. B. Rairden, Superintendent of Missions and District Secretary for Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma and Indian Territories for the Home Mission Society, L. J. Dyke and Murrow, with his wife, were present for the dedication services.²³

New missionaries strengthened and expanded the initial work among the Kiowas and Comanches. In 1895, Murrow visited northern churches and, while in Iowa, made a strong plea for missionaries. When the meeting concluded, the suggestion was made in jest that the local association send H. L. Crouse, pastor of the Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Baptist Church. Crouse took the suggestion seriously and in April, 1896, he and his wife, supported by the Home Mission Society, reached Rainy Mountain mission. His arrival marked the beginning of a career that lasted twenty-seven years and freed Hicks to devote full time to the new mission at Elk Creek.²⁴

Isabel Crawford, a graduate of the Women's Baptist Missionary Training School in Chicago, and Hattie Everts, both supported by the Women's Baptist Home Mission Society,

arrived at Elk Creek. Everts soon left the field, but Crawford, after a brief time with Hicks and, deciding that the Elk Creek mission was too crowded, moved into the Wichita Mountains. There she established a new mission at Saddle Mountain, seventeen miles from Rainy Mountain and thirty-five miles from Elk Creek.²⁵

She also organized a Women's Missionary Society and admitted the men as honorary members. The Society made many quilts which were sold when the Kiowas traveled to Fort Sill for their grazing payments. The proceeds were equally divided, with one-half going to the mission headquarters in Chicago and one-half being retained for the construction of a church building. In 1910, the church was dedicated.²⁶

Deyo and the Comanche mission also received additional support through new personnel. Two women from the Women's Baptist Missionary School, Ida M. Schofield and Lydia Birkholz, located with Deyo. While their original purpose had been to assist with the work among the Comanches, they became concerned with the condition of Geronimo's band of Apaches held prisoner near Fort Sill. Out of that concern, they initiated educational work among the Apache children.²⁷

The Home Mission Society reached out to the Cheyennes and Arapahos as well. Soon after the Cheyennes were settled on a reservation, in 1875, Murrow visited them with the intention of initiating permanent missionary contact. He found them, however, so embittered toward whites that he

left after concluding that it was not yet the time for such action. No formal Baptist contact was made with the Cheyennes for twenty years.²⁸

Robert Hamilton, a businessman in Kingfisher, Oklahoma Territory, appealed to Rairden on several occasions for an appointment as a missionary to work among the Cheyennes. At the time, the only Christians among the Cheyennes were some boys who had been educated at a government school near Lawrence, Kansas, and some Mennonites who had worked among them for years, but with no success.

Hamilton worked for a time on a volunteer basis. But on July 1, 1895, he received an appointment from the Home Mission Society and was the first permanent Baptist missionary among the Cheyennes and Arapahos. Mary P. Jayne and Emma J. Spanswick, after training at the Missionary Training School, arrived on the Cheyenne and Arapahoe mission field in the fall of 1896. Since Hamilton resided at Kingfisher some twenty miles away and was preaching at Watonga only twice a month, they assumed the fulltime work at Watonga. Spanswick first transferred to Kingfisher and later left the service to marry. Hattie Everts, formerly of Rainy Mountain, was at Watonga for a year, but was replaced by Abigail Johnson.²⁹

For some time, Arapahoes were considered by the Society as a part of the Cheyenne mission field because of the natural affiliation between the two tribes. But even as

Hamilton and Mary Jayne developed the work among the Cheyennes, the Society believed that a fulltime missionary should be appointed for the Arapahoes. In July, 1898, F. L. King was appointed and, in September, he and his wife settled among them. The next year an appropriation was made by the Home Mission Society for a tract of land and building near Greenfield.³⁰

The work of the missionary outposts among the Plains Indians offered a variety of experiences, especially for missionary personnel from more settled areas, who were unaccustomed to Indians. Regular contact with the Indians was difficult for the missionaries because many of the Indians wandered from place to place. Only with the establishment of reservations and the tendency among the Indians to camp around specific leaders did focal places of assembly develop. Yet those places, generally far removed from white settlement, were extremely isolated. Such isolation, in primitive conditions and among unfamiliar people speaking a strange language, caused some missionaries to abandon their work and retreat eastward.³¹

The characteristics of the Plains Indian people caused problems and hindered effective missionary work. The Indians, proud and resistant to white culture and angered at their treatment by the United States government, viewed all whites, even missionaries, with suspicion and resentment. Such feelings were intensified by tribal medicine men who

viewed missionaries as a threat to their traditional position and power within the tribe.³²

In approaching those people, "the pride of the Comanches," according to Lydia Birkholz, assistant to Deyo, "makes it necessary for the missionaries to exercise a great deal of tact in suggesting changes or improvements."³³

Murrow often counseled missionaries "to be more patient [and] to cultivate patience and forbearance" [because] they [the Indians] are like big children and must be so regarded."³⁴

The introduction of peyote hindered the missionary effort. Peyote was a dried cactus fruit imported from Mexico. Users hallucinated and saw visions which they attributed to the work of the Great Spirit. The use of the drug and its effect on the Indians and the potential danger to the missionaries stationed among them concerned Murrow. He realized that the Indians' reliance on peyote and its effect represented a continuation of their old ways and hindered their acceptance of Christianity. He also feared that the people, while under the influence of the drug, could be incited to violence against missionaries.³⁵

Another brief, but significant, hinderance to the missionary effort was the Ghost Dance that swept across the plains in the early 1890s. Under the leadership of a Pauite Indian, Wovoka, the Ghost Dance was a belief that if abstemious living, sacred paint, garments and ceremonies were used, dead Indians would rise from their graves, white men

would disappear forever from Indian lands and the cherished old ways would return.

The movement, as it spread into the southwestern Indian Territory, produced mixed responses from the tribes. The Kiowas and Comanches were affected little, but the Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Wichitas embraced it. Members of those tribes dressed in the regalia and danced themselves into an unconscious state. When they regained their consciousness, they told of conversations with dead relatives and a view of the world that was returning.³⁶

One of the more interesting observations on the phenomenon was given by Mary Jayne, missionary to the Cheyennes. Her reaction, perhaps better than any other, was a typical late nineteenth century Protestant response. Jayne described a particularly beautiful night that was suddenly interrupted by lovely, but haunting, music from over a nearby hill. In her description, she found the music a natural companion to the night. The next day, however, when she learned that the music had come from a Ghost Dance ceremony, she was horrified and remarked how important it was for missionaries to redouble their efforts to save the Indians from their pagan and heathen traditions.³⁷

The missionaries' concern for the Ghost Dance was needless, however, because when the spring of 1891 came and the promised resurrection failed to materialize, the movement in Indian Territory faded. An Arapaho Ghost Dance leader

summed up his feelings about the movement when he said: "My father's brother, I hope you won't talk about these things now. I have put them all behind me and I pray now only to the Sprit above and go to the white man's church."³⁸

Another hinderance to effective work by the missionaries was the interaction between representatives of the government and the missionaries. At the Wichita agency, D. H. Crane became involved in a conflict with the Indian agent because he, as a preacher, married an Indian girl to a white man in violation of the agent's orders. Murrow made haste to mediate the situation and remind Crane that the missionaries, as guests of both the Indians and the government agents, had to obey the regulations.³⁹

Other rules and regulations disrupted the missionaries' work. "The best work cannot be done among these Indians until the government ceases to entice them from their homes every few days to stay one, two, three or four days at a time," observed Kate Murrow.⁴⁰ "For not only are their homes neglected, but the whites from Texas and the Cheyenne country make it a business, when the Indians are away from home, to go through the country and steal all they can."⁴¹

Yet "a few white missionaries . . . struggling to teach them [the Indians] of Christ"⁴² were viewed by the government as beneficial. Through their educational, vocational and religious efforts, the missionaries were aiding the army in pacifying the Indian and removing him permanently

as a menace on the southern plains. The "United States agent visited the mission (Rainy Mountain) and was delighted and greatly impressed," commented Murrow in 1894. He "said our missionaries had done more to civilize the Kiowas in one year than the United States army had done in twenty-five."⁴³

But the disillusionment was the greatest problem to many missionaries. Filled with the enthusiasm and zeal of late nineteenth century Protestantism to preach the gospel and convert the heathen, the missionaries were often discouraged when their reception was not what they had anticipated. Often the missionaries were intimidated by the Indians and on one occasion, Murrow instructed Hicks to seek a promise from the Kiowa chiefs that they would use their influence to prevent the men from insulting the female missionaries.⁴⁴

The results were often equally discouraging. Deyo and his wife served the Comanche field for over a year without recording a single convert.⁴⁵ After hard and dedicated work, one missionary reported remorsefully, "the Comanches do not desire the gospel."⁴⁶ Murrow, the seasoned Indian missionary, visited his missionary outposts often, gave praise and encouragement to the missionary and wrote letters of advice and patience. Still some of the missionaries, discouraged and disillusioned, simply abandoned their work and returned to their homes in the east. Fortunately, the dedicated ones like Hicks, Deyo, Hamilton, Jayne and Clouse remained and served as teachers for new ones as they arrived.

With the work of those missionaries and the support of the Home Mission Society, the field of endeavor survived and prospered. Murrow, however, was able to give it less attention. As an alternative to his presence and supervision, he was supportive of the organization of the Workers' Conference of missionary workers in 1895 that sought to plan and encourage the work and the proposed Indian Baptist Association in 1897.⁴⁷

He continued to maintain an interest in the work, especially after the turn of the century, when he concentrated exclusively on the fullblood missionary work for the Society. His files reflect correspondence with missionaries like Jayne and Hamilton and he continued to offer guidance and advice, as well as make periodic visits to their mission stations. Yet his major contribution was to initiate the missionary work among the western tribes and, with new positions in the Home Mission Society, he found less time to devote to a particular area, like the western missions.

For three years, Murrow worked at maintaining the work among the Choctaws and Chickasaws and was instrumental in establishing permanent missionary stations in the west. In 1893, the Home Mission Society began to reorganize its efforts in the territories mainly as a result of the creation of Oklahoma Territory. It was suggested that Murrow consider an appointment as Superintendent of Indian Missions and the matter was discussed for several months both among the

territorial workers and the Society's leadership in an effort to determine what was best for the work in the territories.⁴⁸

Murrow announced that he would assume the position and in July, 1894, the Home Mission Society affirmed the promotion at a salary of seven hundred and twenty dollars annually with traveling expenses.⁴⁹ News of the appointment was well received in the territory. At the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention in August, 1894, the delegates adopted a resolution of appreciation to the Society for its actions. Dozens of convention participants passed Murrow at the close of the meeting "with expressions of love, esteem and gratitude."⁵⁰ On October 1, 1894, Murrow officially assumed the new position, but noted that "I dread it greatly."⁵¹

Murrow's duties as Superintendent of Indian Missions included supervision of personnel which required rather constant attention. Recruitment was a continual problem as Murrow, faced the limited support from the Home Mission Society and struggling congregations with little potential to supplement the Society's appropriations, struggled to retain his staff. Although requests for appointments to the Indian mission field were abundant, they were received from men and women "totally unqualified from past experience, to deal with difficult problems."⁵²

Moreover, occasionally appointees did not satisfy parishioners and Murrow, in the strongest Baptist tradition,

refused to interfere with the right of a church to call its own pastor."⁵³ Difficulties often developed when placements were made. Murrow secured a minister from Iowa who was accepted by the South McAlester church and all seemed well. Later Murrow made a visit to the church and discovered that the new minister "had left bag and baggage."⁵⁴ The pastor had told the parishioners that Murrow had misrepresented the charge and its responsibilities and that the parsonage was "unfit to live in."⁵⁵

The next Sunday, Murrow preached at the church and held a conference to resolve the matter. He warned the congregation that if the pastor's departure was their fault, "it would seriously injure them with the Board [Home Mission Society]."⁵⁶ He discovered, however, through conversations with church members, that the blame lay with the pastor.⁵⁷ Alex Turnbull, Corresponding Secretary of the Society and Murrow's supervisor, wrote praising Murrow's appraisal and solution to the situation. He agreed with Murrow that the pastor "acted hastily and was not the man for this work."⁵⁸

One reason for the shortage of personnel was the low salaries for missionaries and local pastors. Salaries ranged from one hundred to five hundred dollars annually from the Society with some supplemental support from the congregation. While Murrow believed that "no man ought to pretend to be a preacher and not have clothes . . . he should work and buy clothing."⁵⁹

Ministers, while agreeing that they should work to supplement their salaries, felt themselves underpaid. Albert Folsom, Choctaw preacher, complained about his salary, but Murrow, convinced that he was ineffective, noted that "I think it is best to drop him next year."⁶⁰ Of another, Murrow judged him to be "a very unwise man. We carried him for three or four years and he did our cause no good."⁶¹ Another wrote that he needed a raise, but Murrow replied that "it is impossible to grant."⁶²

With limited support, some ministers complained and then simply resigned. In 1899, J. R. Brown, disappointed with his appointment and the conditions at Chickasha, wrote "a pitiful letter" to Murrow who responded with encouragement and a "promise . . . that he shall have money to get back home to Virginia if he chose to resign."⁶³

Often Murrow was called upon to investigate complaints about Home Mission Society employees and either take direct action or make recommendations to his supervisors. In 1892, a serious charge of "unbecoming conduct and with untruthfulness" was levied against Reverend G. W. Dallas, pastor at Kulli Inla.⁶⁴ After extensive travel, investigation and conversations with parishioners, Murrow concluded that the charges were false.⁶⁵

Thomas J. Moran wrote to Murrow and charged, based on reports from local citizens, that D. H. Crane had denounced the Home Mission Society and its secretaries

politically from the pulpit of the Muskogee church. Murrow investigated and refuted the charges.⁶⁶ When a pastor suddenly left the Coalgate church, Murrow discovered that his ministry had been ineffective and he had left the church in debt.⁶⁷ When a parishioner complained, Murrow went to the South McAlester church and found the pastor had gone to conduct a protracted meeting in Arkansas. Murrow reported the facts to his supervisors and concluded that the pastor "was paid by the Home Mission Society to stick closely to work here. Too bad!"⁶⁸ In 1895, he held a conference with M. MacVicar, Superintendent of Education for the Home Mission Society, and the Superintendent of the Tahlequah Academy. As a result, staff members were criticized for spending in excess of the appropriations.⁶⁹

Another major responsibility of the Superintendent of Missions was the maintenance of official relations with churches for the Society. In Chickasha, Murrow organized a building committee,⁷⁰ "laid the cornerstone of two new Baptist churches . . . at Wisner,"⁷¹ organized a church at Wewoka⁷² and "went to Poteau to check the progress of the church . . . [and] advised and encouraged the trustees."⁷³ He "declined to provide \$100 for the Choctaw church,"⁷⁴ but wrote Morgan for seventy-five dollars to assist the Zion congregation in completing their building⁷⁵ and "wrote ten letters to friends begging for help to buy a bell for Coalgate."⁷⁶

Unusual local situations required his attention and action. In 1900, an observant parishioner informed Murrow that a man had seized and fenced church lots in Rush Springs for his own use. Murrow calmly wrote asking the man to remove the fences and vacate the premises.⁷⁷ The head of the Tahlequah Academy wrote Murrow and suggested that the Society construct eight rental houses near the school and allocate the rental income for the maintenance and operation of the school. Also, he requested a grant of fifteen hundred dollars to move water from a spring uphill for use at the school. "I must consider these," Murrow thoughtfully replied, "before recommending it."⁷⁸ A pastor wrote asking Murrow's advice about some of his members who were committing adultery. "I reply at length quoting passages of scripture," noted Murrow. "The sin of adultery must be denounced, but the sinner must be saved."⁷⁹

In the face of so many pleas for assistance and so little money, Murrow offered advice and "wrote letters of encouragement."⁸⁰ To Josiah McClure, Murrow offered: "My heart goes out to you in your work for Jesus. . . . You work hard for him. . . . You are holding up the cross of Jesus."⁸¹ "I almost wish," lamented Murrow in 1898, "that I did not have this appointment."⁸²

One of Murrow's continual problems as supervisor was the reconciliation of local church conflict and he commented that "I am so tired of being a peacemaker."⁸³ The situations

he confronted are reflected in his writings. "The church at Ardmore [is] in a sad condition,"⁸⁴ he noted, while there is "a church trouble at Wisner,"⁸⁵ the "affairs at Pauls Valley are not good"⁸⁶ and a "big fuss at Norman."⁸⁷ A parishioner at Chickasha wrote to prefer charges against the minister and Murrow "advised him to be reconciled to the church and pastor by a humble Christian conduct."⁸⁸ Often those conflicts were serious, as when he reported "the Baptist church in Durant is again divided and in a law suit"⁸⁹ which was similar to the situation in a Miami church.

Murrow first became aware of the matter in Miami when he discovered that the "Indians [had] left the church . . . and organized another. Whites are in control. Too bad!"⁹⁰ He initiated an investigation by letter and, after a report that the trouble was due to the Indians' refusal to work in harmony with the whites, he concluded that he "must visit these little tribes."⁹¹

In October, 1894, he visited the church and warned "that the board [Home Mission Society] could not continue appropriations for strife and dissension" and instructed "Brother [J. M.] Payne [the minister] to give attention to the Indians--Ottawas, Peorias and others."⁹² He also observed that "Brother Payne does not strike me as being a first-rate man for this work--too slow--heavy--no tact"⁹³ but "all seemed impressed with our spirit and counsel."⁹⁴

Upon his return to Atoka, he communicated fully with N. B. Rairden and Thomas Morgan about the matter which he felt had been fully resolved.⁹⁵ That conclusion seemed accurate when he "received a letter from Brother Payne and matters are working out in Miami."⁹⁶

Two months later, the trouble flared up again, "the church in Miami is in a fearful condition"⁹⁷ and Murrow concluded that Payne was the source of the conflict. He wrote Morgan for a replacement for Payne and won his point, despite Morgan's desire to reappoint Payne. He followed that with "a long letter to the Miami church and begged them to seek peace and harmony."⁹⁸ As the pastoral change was made and the reconciliation completed, Murrow wearily concluded that "he had consolidated the two factions in the Miami church"⁹⁹ and was "so tired of writing and things about the Miami matter."¹⁰⁰

Murrow, as would be expected with his position, maintained a heavy travel schedule. Besides his regular visitations to churches in Indian Territory, he averaged two trips a year to the western work. Such trips were generally a week or two in duration and numerous visits and side trips were made to churches and mission stations along the way and near the destination.

In 1893, during one of those trips, Murrow and his wife went to Hennessey to observe the land opening of the Cherokee Outlet. "A grand site. 25,000 people--5,000 on

train, 20,000 on horseback, wagons, buggies, on foot," recalled Murrow. "Promptly at 12:00 off they went, the whole crowd. A wonderful sight. For miles horses, wagons, bicycles, buggies and foot."¹⁰¹ On another, he "witnessed the issue of beef [to the Plains Indians]. They [the Indians] shoot the beeves in a great race just like a buffalo chase."¹⁰²

With the primitive travel conditions in a frontier environment, such trips were extremely difficult and occasionally dangerous. "This has been a hard, tedious trip. We are worn out. Hot, dusty, dry," he noted after an 1898 trip to the western missions. "Bad weather, sandstorms, wife sick, self sick, got horse ruined costing me \$30 and more to come."¹⁰³ The semi-lawless environment added an element of personal danger. In 1894, on a trip to Tahlequah and Wagoner, Murrow recalled there was "danger from bandits nearly all the way. There outlaws have been holding up the stage and other parties frequently. Hid money all about in clothes, valice, etc."¹⁰⁴

Murrow also continued to travel extensively outside of the territories, either to attend religious meetings or, at the request of the Home Mission Society, to promote Indian missionary work. On a trip to a Society annual meeting in Philadelphia, Murrow had his first opportunity to tour the nation's capital nearby and was not greatly impressed. While in awe of the capital as the seat of government and especially

its architecture, he "saw the House [of Representatives] in session. A perfect bedlam. No order--all confusion. I was disgusted."¹⁰⁵

His most extensive trip, at the request of the Society and H. L. Morehouse, was in the 'spring of 1894. He was asked to bring his rather extensive collection of Indian curios and artifacts and conduct an extended lecture tour of New England enlisting support for the Society's work among the Indians. From February to late May, he spoke nightly except Saturday to audiences in Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania and "tried to present the Lord's missionary work acceptably."¹⁰⁶

He had the occasion for numerous side trips to view the historical and cultural sites of the regions and was favorably impressed. The museums and libraries specializing in the American Indian captured and held his attention. On more than one occasion, Murrow lamented the fact that he had only a couple of hours to tour a particular museum or to examine the books of a library containing Indian sources.

Other sites, however, simply appalled him. In May, he "visited the Stock Exchange on Wall Street." A disgusting sight. Perfect bedlam, shouting, pushing, almost fighting . . . men acting like madmen over money."¹⁰⁷ As a reward for his diligent labor, the Society, at their expense, allowed Murrow and his wife to return home on a steamer from

New York via Key West, Florida, to Galveston, Texas. The ten day trip, his only ocean voyage, thrilled Murrow, but not his wife who was seasick during most of the trip."¹⁰⁸

Yet, as in the earlier period, despite his intense professional activities and the successes they generated, the central issue of the period was a continuation of the drama acted out within Baptist ranks for control of the territories. The second act in that drama started almost with Murrow's resignation. Concluding that Murrow's resignation from the Home Mission Society would reduce his influence in the territories considerably, Dr. Tichenor sent a circular letter on July 13, 1891, to all Baptist churches in the territories requesting them to organize a new territorial association allied with the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.¹⁰⁹

The unexpected response signaled an intensification of the developing split within the Baptist ranks and a struggle that would continue throughout the rest of the century. "We have no Northern or Southern Baptists in the territory," replied a group of territorial ministers who were largely southern in background, "but are striving to be one in Christ."¹¹⁰ Resolutions affirming southern sympathy, but registering protests against the treatment of Murrow and the attitude toward the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention of Indian Territory by Tichenor and the Home Mission Board were passed by several associations and sent to

Atlanta, Georgia.¹¹¹ Obviously, the circular letter did not produce the overwhelming support for a new territorial association allied with the Southern Baptist Convention as was predicted by Tichenor.

Faced with such visible and vocal opposition to his plan, Tichenor had no choice but to surrender to the wishes of the territorial brethren. To many, Tichenor's actions were wholly unacceptable and intolerable, but to others, particularly those affiliated or in sympathy with the General Association of Western Arkansas and Indian Territory, Tichenor's actions were welcomed and affirmed. Regardless, considerable damage was done within Baptist ranks.¹¹²

That conflict led to the realignment of Baptist organizations within the territory. In 1895, pastors and churches formerly allied with the General Association met in Lexington, Oklahoma Territory. Under the leadership of E. L. Compere, the assembly organized the Oklahoma Baptist State Convention. It was not, for the most part, composed of representatives from Oklahoma Territory, but elements of Compere's supporters from Indian Territory determined to secure and maintain early control over the Baptists in Oklahoma Territory.

Its primary objective was to have an organization in Oklahoma Territory to represent Compere and the Southern Baptist Convention in opposition to the Home Mission Society which was quite influential in the new territory. Part of

that influence was a result of the work of Murrow and others among the Plains Indians and the contacts made and maintained in traveling from Indian Territory to and from those western mission outposts. Unfortunately for the new convention, Compere, its leader and major spokesman for the Southern Baptist Convention in the territories, died in 1896.¹¹³

Three years later, churches in Indian Territory, formerly allied with the General Association, broke with that organization and formed another restricted solely to churches in Indian Territory that preferred an alliance with the Southern Baptist Convention. The new organization, the Baptist General Association of the Indian Territory, soon attracted several white churches into its membership.¹¹⁴

A similar realignment of Baptist organization occurred among those in sympathy with the Home Mission Society. The Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention, in 1891, in reaction to the creation of Oklahoma Territory, changed its name to the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention of Oklahoma and Indian Territory. Within a few years, the Convention met in Oklahoma City and split into two conventions along territorial lines. The original organization became the Baptist Convention of the Indian Territory and the other was the Oklahoma Baptist Convention.¹¹⁵

The realignments that occurred were only one form of evidence of the split within Baptist ranks. Another was the intense conflict between the representatives and supporters

of the Home Mission Society and the Home Mission Board. At stake, of course, was control of the Baptist future in the territories and potentially new state. Many felt that the end certainly justified the means. "I regret to have to say," wrote Charles H. Black, a historian of the period, "that the work of the representatives of . . . outside boards and societies partook of, and actually aggravated . . . feelings in many cases."¹¹⁶

"No cooperation was allowed," reported Murrow. "Churches belonging to the General Association were not permitted to call as pastors, ministers connected with the Territorial Convention."¹¹⁷ Neither side was blameless in the conflict. Murrow noted that a promising minister from Louisville desired an appointment at Tahlequah, but "a Southern man [and] I fear he will not be acceptable to the Home Mission Society."¹¹⁸ Later he noted that the Home Mission Board was attempting to get the South McAlester church to disband and reorganize which was an effort to remove the pastor who was friendly to the Home Mission Society."¹¹⁹

The resulting duplication in relation to churches was ludicrous. In some towns, two churches existed, with one cooperating with the Home Mission Society and the other with the Home Mission Board. J. C. Stalcup, another historian of the era, reported " . . . the Hartshorne church was in sympathetic cooperation with the Southern Baptist Convention, while the McAlester church only fifteen miles distant was in

cooperation with the societies in the North."¹²⁰ That needless duplication extended to associations as well. The Central Baptist Association was composed of churches in Oklahoma City and the immediate vicinity. It was affiliated with the Home Mission Board, while the Baptist District Association, serving virtually the same territory, cooperated with the Home Mission Society.¹²¹

Individuals, as well as organizations, were caught up in the conflict. Old friends used words like "Yankee," "Negro Equalizer," "Unsound Baptist" and "Rotten Baptist" as terms of derision for each other.¹²² Depending upon a particular perspective, blame was quickly allocated for the situation from one person to another. "The General Association has pursued a shameful course in this territory backed by the Southern Baptist Convention," charged Murrow, and "Dr. Tichenor and E. L. Compere [are] the cause of it all."¹²³ "Brother Murrow is to the Home Mission Board what Judas Iscariot was to the Church of Christ," alleged another who took the opposite view.¹²⁴

By the middle of the decade, the conflict was so blatant and disruptive that it had become an embarrassment not only to Baptists within the territory, but those in the rest of the United States as well. The unification of all Baptist forces was discussed as a potential solution, but the existence of dominant personalities like Murrow and Compere made it impractical. It was suggested that the major protagonists

could simply be removed. Murrow was asked first unofficially and then officially to consider resigning his position with the Society. The proposal was made with the understanding that if Murrow resigned, Compere would follow suit.¹²⁵ "If it will unify the work and stop the quarreling," replied Murrow, "I am willing to be sacrificed for Christ's cause."¹²⁶ Yet when the proposal was considered by the board of the Society, its members were unwilling to retire Murrow in order to bring peace to the territory.¹²⁷

It was also suggested that a binding decision be made at the national level between the two competing organizations and then applied to the territories. Tichenor proposed to Morehouse in 1899 that if the Northern Baptists would simply withdraw, peace and harmony would prevail in the territories. He suggested that withdrawal could be initiated by a division of areas between the two organizations. He proposed that the Home Mission Board cede Puerto Rico and the two eastern provinces of Cuba to the Home Mission Society if the society would relinquish its claims in Indian and Oklahoma Territories, Arizona and New Mexico.

Such a division, according to Tichenor, would have its greatest application in the United States and would be equitable to both bodies. The Home Mission Society would have jurisdiction over two-thirds of the nation's population and one-third of the Baptists while the Home Mission Board would control one-third of the population and three-fourths

of the Baptists. Moreover, it would unite those areas having a common climate, productions and populations. And finally, it would restore to the Southern Baptist Convention "Indian Territory, which then embraced Oklahoma, had been a mission field of the Southern Baptist Convention for many years before the war."¹²⁸ In the interests of harmony, that which had originally belonged to the Southern Baptist Convention should be restored.

Tichenor affirmed that the division need not be dramatic. Arrangements could be made for the gradual withdrawal of the Society's influence in the territorial associations and churches. Society schools, on the other hand, could be retained and maintained by agreement. Tichenor felt that his proposal was the only plausible solution. Otherwise, "as long as both Boards occupy this field," reasoned the Corresponding Secretary of the Home Mission Board, "there will be contention, and division and animosity between some of the adherents of each."¹²⁹

Morehouse, for the Home Mission Society, rejected both Tichenor's proposal and his contention that "no other way [existed] by which an adjustment can be brought about by your Board or ours." He dismissed the suggested shift of Puerto Rico and Cuba, since both were neutral areas in the initial development stage, and neither agency should negotiate their church future. In terms of the western territories, Morehouse pointed out that the proposal was weighed

decidedly in favor of the Home Mission Board, since the western areas were twelve times as large as that of Puerto Rico and Cuba. In addition, those areas had already been developed considerably by the Society.

He carefully refuted each of Tichenor's arguments for the proposal. He reminded Tichenor that the Southern Baptist Convention had never organized under or sought an equal territorial division. If the Convention suddenly had the resources to assume the totality of the western areas, perhaps it could assume a larger share of the Home Mission Society's work among the Southern Blacks.

He dismissed the argument of "a common climate and productions" as having no relevance and suggested that sectional antecedents should not be considered in terms of religious expansion. "We believe," affirmed Morehouse, "that Baptists therein should be neither narrowly Northern nor Southern but broadly American; that the West should furnish a new type of Baptist, neither Northern nor Southern, but a happy blending of both." And lastly, Morehouse carefully reconstructed a history of Baptist missionary work in the western territories to show that Northern Baptists had a definite claim in those areas and had expended considerable resources in developing the regions. With that history of commitment, the Home Mission Society had no intention of surrendering it.

Instead of Tichenor's proposal, Morehouse countered with "another and a better way for the adjustment of existing troubles in Indian and Oklahoma Territories." He suggested that the Home Mission Board and the Home Mission Society unite to create strong convictions in both territories that would "aim to unify and combine for effective work all Baptist forces in those fields." To achieve that goal, each convention should be "independent and unaffiliated with either of our organizations." The General Association should withdraw and allow the Indian Territory Convention to manage its own affairs without interference. Each church in the territories should be free to contribute to and cooperate with either Board without pressure, according to its own desires. To maintain such an agreement, a formal plan of cooperation should be developed between the conventions and boards in order "to induce brethren there from all parts of the land to dwell together in love and show the world how the grace of God can conquer sectional feelings."¹³⁰

Tichenor's response, in light of his past feelings and actions, was predictable. "We differ so widely in regard to many points in the subject we have been considering," he replied, "that I see no reason for a continuation of the present correspondence."¹³¹

Despite the verbal battles that were waged among the leadership, the movement toward unification was evident. It was aided by the retirement of Tichenor in 1899. As a result,

Murrow predicted a major change in Southern Baptist thinking toward the territory and "great changes are coming in our missionary work."¹³² Tichenor's replacement as Corresponding Secretary was F. H. Kerfoot. Although he died in office in 1901, his administration, contrary to that of Tichenor, took a more conciliatory attitude toward affairs in Indian Territory and relations between the Northern and Southern Baptists improved greatly. Moreover, a vast majority of Baptists within the territory wanted to eliminate the quarreling and realized the distinct advantage in unity.¹³³

On October 31, 1899, the Oklahoma Baptist Convention, descendant of the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention of Indian Territory and affiliated with the Home Mission Society, took a significant step toward unification. It "resolved, that the president of the Convention appoint a committee of five to confer with a like committee of other bodies looking for a unification of Baptist forces in Oklahoma."¹³⁴

The Oklahoma Baptist Convention appointed the requested committee and a meeting was held in Oklahoma City on March 9, 1900. It was decided that a second meeting would be necessary and agreed that it would be held in Blackwell, Oklahoma Territory, on October 11-13, 1900. At Blackwell, representatives of both conventions met separately to conduct business and adjourned sine die. The delegates immediately reconvened as one convention which called itself the Oklahoma

Baptist State Convention.¹³⁵ With that step, thoughts turned significantly toward the possibility of unification.

The two Indian Territory conventions soon followed suit. In February, 1900, the Executive Board of Directors of the Baptist Convention of Indian Territory, descendant of the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention of Indian Territory and affiliated with the Home Mission Society, met and selected a committee of five to work with committees from the General Association, the Home Mission Society and the Home Mission Board to effect a union. Murrow chaired the committee representing the Baptist Convention of Indian Territory, while L. W. Wright led the General Association delegation. Obviously committed to the movement toward unification, Corresponding Secretary Kerfooot represented the Home Mission Board, while Corresponding Secretary Morehouse led the Home Mission Society delegation.¹³⁶

On March 6-7, the four committees met in South McAlester and, after affirming that "the unification and organized combination of our Baptist forces in the Indian Territory into one convention is . . . of highest importance to the upbuilding of our denominational interests in this Territory," adopted a plan of union.¹³⁷

Under the proposal, the Baptist General Association and the Baptist Territorial Convention would merge into a single organization. It was decided that in creating the new body, "officers and members of its Board of Managers

shall be taken fairly and equally from the two existing organizations . . . and upon the consummation of this organization, existing bodies shall cease to exist as separate organizations." It was also proposed and accepted that the two Home Mission organizations would contribute four dollars each into the work of a new convention for each dollar raised by that convention in the territory.¹³⁸

Forces in the territories in early 1900 marshalled their resources to eliminate opposition and to bring about unification. Less visible ministers, with no strong connection with either the Home Mission board or the Society, were urged to work with both sides toward unification.¹³⁹ Meetings were held by the forces of unification to plan strategy and gather support for what was felt would be a difficult struggle.¹⁴⁰ Murrow "sent off 500 circular letters in the interest of a united convention."¹⁴¹ Morehouse sent letters to Baptist friends explaining the situation and expounding the virtues of unification.¹⁴²

Murrow was in a peculiar position through the months leading to final unification. He desperately desired it because he sincerely felt that unification was best for the territories. Unification of forces would cause "our Baptist people . . . to cease dividing and quarreling and work together in peace and harmony."¹⁴³ Yet, of the major protagonists in the conflict over the past two decades, only Murrow was left following Compere's death in 1896 and Tichenor's

resignation in 1899. To many, he was an unwanted reminder of an unpleasant past and some even viewed him as an obstacle to unification.

Initially efforts were made to neutralize any negative influence Murrow might bring to the movement toward unification. In January, 1900, Morehouse warned Murrow not to become involved in any conflict with General Association members at any of the unification meetings.¹⁴⁴ L. W. Wright, Corresponding Secretary of the General Association, wrote requesting Murrow to "straighten up" certain things published about the Short Mountain Association before final unification.¹⁴⁵

Toward all of that activity, Murrow took a conciliatory posture and declared that he did not want to make any statement or take any action that would retard the unification movement. he replied to Wright seeking a clarification of the things to which he referred and promised to publish a correction if they were correct.¹⁴⁶ When an uncomplimentary article appeared in the Indian Missionary about Compere's background and attributed some of the information to Murrow, he immediately issued a letter of apology.¹⁴⁷ When others gathered information on Compere's activities in Arkansas and his relations in Indian Territory with the General Association, Murrow accepted it as "potential ammunition in the battle for unification but prayed that it will not be needed."¹⁴⁸

The final attempt to neutralize Murrow came in September, 1900. The Home Mission Society did not reappoint him to his position. It has been suggested that Murrow's removal was a condition set by Kerfoot and other representatives of the Southern Baptist Convention as a prerequisite for unification. "I expected and anticipated this," noted Murrow, "and am not troubled by it. Someone must be sacrificed and I am willing to become the victim."¹⁴⁹

In September, 1900, the Territorial Convention and the General Association met at the First Baptist Church in Durant. The Territorial Convention convened on September 6, conducted its business, adopted the proposed agreement on unification and adjourned. Two days later, the General Association followed suit. Once the General Association had adopted the proposal and adjourned, the Territorial Convention delegates entered the church. In an emotional display, including the singing of the hymn, "Blest Be the Tie That Binds," the Baptist General Convention of Indian Territory was born.¹⁵⁰

For six years, two united conventions, the Baptist General Convention of Indian Territory and the Oklahoma Baptist State Convention, served their respective territories. That service was under an arrangement of "dual alignment" by which each body could cooperate with either the Home Mission Society or the Home Mission Board. While the arrangement worked satisfactorily, more leaders called for a single

convention of all territorial Baptists as the movement toward Oklahoma statehood became more evident.¹⁵¹

In November, 1906, the two conventions met in Shawnee for the purpose of complete unification. The Baptist General Convention of Indian Territory met at the First Baptist Church, conducted its business, held its last session and adjourned while a similar procedure was followed by the Oklahoma Baptist State Convention at the First Methodist Church. The delegates of the two conventions assembled and marched in two lines to the opera house where they officially united into the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma. It was indeed appropriate that Murrow offered the first prayer to the new convention.¹⁵²

After a bitter period of conflict, unification was completed. All leaders were gone except for Murrow who had been tainted by sectionalism, personality conflicts and a reputation for involvement in the bitter struggle. Time had erased the bitter memories of the Civil War and Reconstruction. New individuals, dedicated to a strong, united Baptist cause for Oklahoma instead of viewing Oklahoma as a colony of a national board, assumed leadership. "The marriage of the two conventions," as J. C. Stalcup later recalled, "was really a delightful experience. . . and we lived happily together ever afterward."¹⁵³

The concept of dual alignment, however, was retained by the Baptist General Convention. Oklahoma churches and

associations still retained the choice of cooperation with national Baptist groups. That arrangement continued until 1914 when the Convention voted single alignment with the Southern Baptist Convention.¹⁵⁴

One of the casualties of the unification movement was Murrow who, after forty-three years of missionary service, no longer had an appointment. "They [Home Mission Society and the Baptist General Convention] do not want me," said Murrow, and "I did not desire to serve under them any longer."¹⁵⁵ But, he promised, "I trust it is of the Lord" and "I shall work with all of the missionaries and officials cordially and pleasantly."¹⁵⁶ Many of the territorial Baptists however, rose to his defense. The western tribes announced their oppositon to the treatment he had received¹⁵⁷ and the Cherokee Association passed a resolution asking the Baptist General Convention, the Home Mission Society and the Home Mission Board to reappoint Murrow.¹⁵⁸

In response to displayed Baptist sentiment, first the General Convention and later the Home Mission Society offered Murrow an appointment which he accepted in December, 1900. The new position was as General Missionary to the fullbloods. to aid the work, the General Convention appropriated twenty-five hundred dollars which the Home Mission Society and the Home Mission Board supplemented with five hundred dollars each for a total of forty-five hundred dollars and assigned three fulltime missionaries specifically for

the fullblood work throughout the territories. The new assignment clearly appealed to Murrow.¹⁵⁹

Murrow welcomed the reduced appointment and also the opportunity to devote more of his attention to the status of the fullblood community. As he became more aware, involved with and concerned about the plight of the fullbloods, he became an advocate of Indian rights and over the next decade, that occupied the major part of his time.

CHAPTER VI

THE BENEVOLENT YEARS, 1902-1910

In 1902, Joseph Murrow was in the twilight of his career. His resignation from the Home Mission Society was a recognition of that fact. Yet his resignation allowed him the opportunity and time to devote to a new endeavor. Initially, he became an advocate of the rights for Indian full-bloods, but quickly narrowed that cause to the protection of Indian orphans. That protection would be achieved through the establishment and operation of an Indian orphanage.

As one who lived among the Five Civilized Tribes for half a century, Murrow was apprehensive about the plight of the uneducated, fullblood Indian in the new century. Such changes as the Dawes Act, which required allotment of tribal land in severalty, eventual statehood for the territories and elimination of prohibition on alcoholic beverages, did little to threaten educated Indians, many of whom were mixed bloods. However, the uneducated, without the protection of treaties and federal laws, were extremely vulnerable to the schemes of unscrupulous whites.

Murrow bitterly opposed the allotment of tribal lands in severalty. He lamented that many otherwise good people believe "that a full-blood Indian has no rights that a white man need respect; that it is not a sin to cheat a fullblood."¹ Such feelings existed because nearly forty thousand fullblood Indians lived in the territory in self-chosen isolation and deplorable conditions. Many believed that lifestyle was maintained because Indians were shiftless, lazy and ignorant. Moreover, Indians had failed to properly utilize the abundant resources available to make themselves educated, prosperous and independent. Therefore, according to existing social doctrines, whites were entitled to acquire and develop the resources for their own benefit.

While admitting the truth of such charges against the Indians, Murrow argued that the conditions were the result of extenuating circumstances. Fullbloods in their native eastern lands had been prosperous and progressive, but greedy whites, using bribery, intimidation and force, removed them from their ancestral homelands to Indian Territory. When they arrived, immediate steps were taken to recreate their tribal way of life. They carved farms out of the wilderness and erected schools and churches. With such effort and dedication prior to the Civil War, the Five Civilized Tribes had been successful in their efforts to establish both a personal and a national identity.

With the coming of the Civil War, the results of thirty years of effort were destroyed in a matter of months. The population was scattered, homes and farms destroyed and the territory made barren and desolate by the horrors and ravages of war. Yet the Indians returned from the battlefield and refugee camps, collected their families and again set to work to rebuild their lives and homes.

The promised peace, however, did not come. Instead bandits and marauders swept across the country leaving death, terror and devastation in their wake. Crops, cattle and horses were stolen and all sorts of crimes were committed against the population while federal marshals failed to protect the lives and property of Indian inhabitants. That was quickly followed by the arrival of the railroads which brought a flood of whites into the Indian's last domain. Initiated by the Reconstruction Acts of 1866, the process of separating the Indian from his landed heritage was completed by the Dawes Act.

The result was a disillusioned, disheartened, discouraged and demoralized fullblood population that sought isolation from the whites, spoke little English and seemed pitifully lazy and ignorant. Such was due, however, to their treatment at the hands of the whites over the years.²

One woman said:

It is useless for us to work, for the white man will take it away from us, they will steal it or take it away from us no matter what we do. It is perfectly useless for us to

attempt to do anything. If we work with our hands and our bodies what does it avail us if the white man comes and takes it away? No matter what we do or how we try it is always the same way. We work and nothing is ours. We are slaves to the white man, and all that was ours is theirs.³

Another prophesied, "our only hope is in poverty."⁴

In that condition, the Indians were not prepared to meet the final and absolute onslaught of the dominant white society. Although the Dawes Act of 1887, designed to extinguish tribal identities and create individual allotments from tribal holdings, did not apply to the Five Civilized Tribes, continual efforts were made annually afterwards to extend its provisions to those tribes as well.

In 1893, a commission was appointed to reach agreements with the Five Civilized Tribes leading to allotment in severalty. Congress in 1895 directed that Indian lands be surveyed, a prerequisite to allotment, and the next year, that citizenship rolls be compiled. The Curtis Act of 1898 suspended the functions of tribal governments, called for the incorporation of tribal towns and required allotment in severalty of Indian lands.

The act, however, allowed negotiated agreements with the tribes to replace the harsh provisions required in the legislation. As anticipated, the tribes immediately sought to enact agreements that would allow some measure of control over the application of allotment. Those agreements, considered collectively, required the survey, appraisal and

equal individual allotment of the tribal domain and were the final attempt on the part of the Indian community to exercise some control over their destiny.⁵

The allotment process began in 1900 and the following period of deception, graft and corruption as practiced against the fullbloods was unparalleled. With all of the available land allotted to Indians and none left for the land-hungry whites, unscrupulous agents sought to obtain the desired land by facilitating the sale and leasing of Indian land. Such operators were called grafters and their presence was soon widespread. "Scores of speculators," reported Murrow, "are here robbing the Indians out of their land."⁷

The most simple scheme was land-leasing. A grafter found an unsuspecting fullblood who was unaware of the allotment process. He would then persuade him to select a predetermined plot and sign a long term lease by which the allottee surrendered the use of his land for a pittance.⁸ Murrow noted that a Choctaw man signed a five-year lease on one hundred and sixty acres for fifty dollars and his closing comment was "isn't it awful?"⁹ He also reported that "the Choctaws have gone wild in leasing their lands."¹⁰

Another common plot to evade alienability was a lease to guarantee a deed when restrictions were lifted and a will to make the grafter an heir to the deceased's estate. An infinitely simple but effective, tactic was to induce fullbloods to sign over their power of attorney to a grafter.

That gave the grafter full control over the allotment, including the right to sell when restrictions were lifted.¹¹ Moreover, such arrangements were binding on the estate's heirs. "The coils are tightening around the fullbloods," predicted Murrow and eventually all lands of value and minerals will pass into the hands of whites."¹²

Murrow decried the injustice of what was occurring and questioned if "the steals now going on in this Indian Territory will not be allowed to stand?"¹³ He made efforts at the territorial level to check the influence of the grafters.

On February 22, 1900, he attended a meeting in South McAlester seeking to petition Congress for a more stable territorial government. Most of those present were whites and the purpose of the meeting, according to Murrow, was "to take possession of the territory with little regard for the Indians."¹⁴ Murrow returned home disgusted and confessed that "the poor fullbloods are as lambs led to a slaughter."¹⁵

In March, 1902, Murrow attended another gathering that was to memorialize Congress to close the citizenship rolls, to hasten completion of the allotment process and to investigate the reduction in coal royalty, as well as other excesses. He eloquently pleaded the cause of the fullbloods.¹⁶ "The day will come when the Indians will have nothing and can't be robbed," he promised, "and the world will justly condemn the United States government and its people for

this crime."¹⁷ That meeting seemed to convince Murrow that a defense of Indian rights on the territorial level was useless.

Murrow soon realized that positive actions by the federal government would be needed to curb abuses practiced against the fullblood population. No further restrictions should be removed from Indian lands or property. Murrow pleaded in a letter to President Theodore Roosevelt for a law that would make it impossible for an Indian to ever lose title to his property in any manner. Such action, he contended, would offer proper assurances of protection to the fullblood and would restore his confidence and ambition. The result would again be a prosperous and productive population that would cause the territory "to bloom like a rose."¹⁸

Murrow was equally insistent about the importance of maintaining a prohibition against liquor in the territory. Often he witnessed whites using liquor in the territory as a tool by which to gain control over Indians. Alcoholic addiction causing untold financial, emotional and social misery within the Indian community would result. "If their Territory is open to free whiskey," Murrow cautioned, "then the destruction and extinction of the fullblood Indian will be swift."¹⁹

Murrow's greatest condemnation, however, was levied against the grafters plundering the estates of innocent Indian children. Murrow said:

It is bad enough, God knows, to rob a poor ignorant man, though he may be a full-blood, that it is bad enough to rob the ignorant adult man; it is worse to rob a woman, it approaches the devilish to do that; but to rob a poor helpless little orphan, I say that is worse than devilish, it is hellish.²⁰

Since the tribal property had to be divided equally among the members, the result was an extremely wealthy group of children with property ranging in value from an average farm to an oil allotment. Naturally such wealth, protected with limited knowledge and experience, attracted grafters in large numbers.

Initially, with the common law precedents relating to the rights of parents to make binding decisions on their childrens' interests, a grafter dealt directly with the parents. Indian parents generally displayed strong parental concern, but were totally irresponsible in dealing with their childrens' estates and especially when confronted by the professional grafter. Far too many parents were willing to approve a long-term lease on a child's allotment in exchange for a small sum of money. However, they were as willing to lease their own as quickly and cheaply as those of their children.²²

Enterprising grafters quickly realized the potential among Indian orphans. Children, absent from even the limited protection of Indian parents, easily fell prey to those plunderers. Often "professional grafters" employed agents to locate orphan children so that guardianship could be

established, giving the guardian complete control of his ward's property.²³

As a result of judicial decisions and administrative regulations, a legal guardian had to be appointed by the federal court in order to lease the land of a minor, since that land was inalienable before statehood. In regard to the sale of timber from allotments of Choctaw children, for example, parents could not enter into binding lease agreements without an appointment from the court granting guardianship. If the parents failed to qualify or if the child were an orphan, the court could simply appoint a guardian. Moreover, a court appearance and the posting of a bond was required for the descent of Indian estates.²⁴

No longer could leases of minors be secured through the parents or by a simple local court appointment as a guardian. A potential guardian had to be appointed by a federal court, but once designated, the guardian had sole control over his ward's estate.²⁵ The result, sarcastically reported by Murrow, was "the most spontaneous unprecedented blossoming forth of philanthropists . . . whose hearts were bubbling over with love and sympathy for the poor little wards whose existence they had never before noticed."²⁶

Such a system obviously offered enormous potential for grafters. Federal judges, overloaded by the sheer number of cases, relied upon the advice of local, influential citizens in selecting guardians for minors. Indians,

especially fullbloods, with their suspicion and distrust of the United States legal system, failed to appear at designated times for the awarding of guardianships, were financially unable to post the necessary bonds or lacked the experience to qualify as guardians of their own children. Sufficient numbers of honest people could not be found who were willing to administer thousands of acres belonging to Indian minors for philanthropic reasons. The grafter, on the other hand, was very willing to become a minor's guardian because the potential to profit from his position was so great.²⁶

As the appointed guardian, each person was paid for his services from any revenue derived from the minor's estate, even before any additional monies were expended for the care and support of the minor. Moreover, as administrator of the estate, the individual would allow a fellow grafter to lease the ward's estate, usually for a small sum. The leaseholder would then sublease the estate to a third party, usually a farmer or rancher, at a much greater price. Since the guardian was responsible for reporting to the court only the small sum collected for the first lease, the guardian and original leaseholder could then split the profit. Because the guardian's fees and expenses were deducted from the first lease, there remained little or no profit.

The guardian, therefore, collected double, both from the court for his services and from his fellow grafter for the lucrative lease arrangement. Nothing, of course, was

left for the child and his support came either from parents, if living, or from an orphanage maintained at tribal expense.

And finally many people functioned as speculators in Indian orphan guardianship cases. Since the Indian distrust of the courts and the law was well known, it was fairly easy to acquire guardianship over children when known relatives failed to appear at the legal proceedings or when the relatives were declared by the court to be unfit to serve as guardians.

Others blatantly sought out orphan children with sizeable estates. Once the orphan children were located, the unscrupulous whites applied for and generally received guardianship over them. Murrow reported that a prospective guardian and Kansas City lumber dealer appeared in United States court in Durant seeking the guardianship of one hundred and sixty-one children at one time. He made no secret that he desired the allotments of his wards in timber country so his crews could quickly remove all of the marketable timber.

Once under a guardian, a minor had limited protection. While a guardian was prohibited from selling the allotments under his direction, he could sell the timber, abuse the land and collect and spend the per capita payments and lease money. In the case of allotments in the timber-rich Kiamichi Mountains in the Choctaw Nation, a minor's land, administered by a guardian, was often stripped of timber long before the

child was ready to assume control of his estate. Still the title remained with the minor because of restrictions that remained on such allotments throughout the territorial period.

Guardians, however, were allowed to sell inherited land. Myriad examples of such occurrences exist. A grafter determined the names of enrolled citizens who had died before receiving their allotments, contacted the heirs and secured their consent to appoint a prospective purchaser as administrator of the estate. The administrator then selected an allotment on which the grafter had already secured an occupancy title from an excess holder or rejected citizenship claimant. The administrator authorized the sale of the land, through the courts, to the grafter who immediately passed it to the administrator for a fee.³⁰

Numerous examples depict the abuse of the entire system surrounding the leasing of minors' estates. Addie Foster, a Choctaw orphan and heir to five estates, was boarded with an Indian family for ten dollars a month, while her guardian collected six hundred to one thousand dollars annually in rents from her property.³¹ The Johnson Pickens estate was used by a Mr. Majors for five years and, at the end of that time, the account reflected a balance of six dollars and ninety-one cents and an indebtedness of one hundred and five dollars. Another orphan child was the ward of a white man in the Chickasaw Nation who collected fifteen

hundred dollars annually from her estate evaluated at twenty-five thousand dollars. The child, however, was poorly clothed, inadequately supervised and boarded at a Choctaw school as a charity pupil.³³

Such a callous system survived because of the lack of effective supervision and the attitude of court officials charged with its administration. Courts were too overloaded with cases and unable to provide the close scrutiny necessary to thwart the diligent grafters. Moreover, at least one official, Nelson H. McCoy, chief clerk of the federal court charged with the guardianship process through the courts in the Choctaw Nation, admitted that the protection of the minors and their property rights were not his concern. He stoutly proclaimed that he was aware of the activities of the grafters, but argued that the role of the courts was to insure that the estates of those minors were commercially developed and not to guarantee equitable treatment of the children and fair rents for the use of their estates.³⁵

Confronted with those glaring abuses and genuinely concerned about the real and potential plight of the Indians, Murrow became a staunch defender of the rights of Indians, especially the fullblood community. When the United States Senate Select Committee to Investigate Matters Connected with Affairs in Indian Territory held hearings in Atoka in November, 1906, Murrow was invited to speak. The members of the committee were Clarence D. Clark, of Wyoming, chairman;

Chester I. Long of Kansas; Frank B. Brandegee of Connecticut; Henry M. Teller of Colorado; and William A. Clark of Montana. They worked hard in the territory through January, 1907, day and night, taking testimony from a variety of interested people and accumulated a mass of evidence, opinion and propaganda relating to the events in Indian Territory.³⁶

During Murrow's appearance before the committee, he stressed the plight of the Indian fullbloods, with an historical commentary on their conditions. He spoke against the abuses of liquor and urged Congress to retain a prohibition against alcoholic beverages in the territory. He carefully described the abuses against Indian children through the activities of the grafters and detailed the procedures through which those children were being systematically stripped of their lands. He pleaded that the restrictions placed on allotted lands not be removed "any further from these Indian lands or the property of the fullbloods." If such a stance were to be taken by the federal government, Murrow predicted, it would offer encouragement to and instill new confidence in the Indian fullblood.³⁷

Toward the conclusion of his remarks, Murrow and Senator Teller of Colorado became embroiled in a dispute out of which the missionary issued his final prophetic view of the future for the committee. After Murrow had completed his remarks about the abuses perpetuated against the fullbloods and offered his suggestions to alleviate them, Teller

offered his rebuttal. The Senator stated that if such abuses did exist, they were obviously a temporary condition. With statehood for Oklahoma to become a reality within a matter of months, the new state government could enact the necessary legislative solutions to the abuses.

"I know we will have a State government in a short time, and that is what I fear," asserted Murrow. "That is where the danger lies. . . . If we look to the people who will be running the State of Oklahoma, we will be looking to people who don't care a snap about Indians." Teller expressed doubt as to the severity of conditions described by Murrow, so the veteran missionary continued and espoused the theory that the fullblood was simply the victim of raw racial prejudice as practiced by a dominant white society. And unless halted by the federal government, "inside of a year . . . fullbloods would be deprived of every bit of their property." Only federal action was a potential solution because the laws of the new state of Oklahoma would be drafted and enforced by those guilty of the same abuses they would be charged to address.³⁸

Murrow also put his journalistic talents to work in defense of the fullbloods. He inserted the mistreatment of the fullbloods as a theme of letters he continued to send to both secular and non-secular publications. He published a pamphlet, Why the Indian Is Poor and Disheartened, to expose his views further.

In the pamphlet, he again presented his thesis that the fullbloods' condition and attitude were the results of the abuse and mistreatment they had been forced to endure over the years from white society. Using numerous examples drawn from stories related by abused Indians, Murrow built a strong case against allotment because it promised to be the supreme example of white mistreatment of the Indian. "As long as the land was held in common the fullbloods felt that they had a home," he concluded. "The whites could not get legal possession of it because the United States government stood between them and the Indians, but when they [the Indians] are made United States citizens," he predicted, "and the lands are individualized the whites will rob them in detail."³⁹

Although opposed to the activities of the grafters toward the fullbloods in relation to the allotment of tribal lands and the elimination of prohibition in the territory, Murrow realized that he could do little to prevent it or to reform the system. He would continue to state his views emphatically, both in person and in the press, but those views were political areas in which a single person would have little influence, either with the federal government or the new state government in Oklahoma.

In relation to the abuses directed toward Indian orphans, however, he concluded that he could have a visible and positive impact. He decided that a partial solution

could be to establish an orphanage for Indian children exclusively, open to any and all tribes in the United States and founded solely on benevolent principles. "The Lord seems to have impressed me with a conviction," he noted, "that we ought to turn our school here [Atoka Baptist Academy] into an Indian Baptist Orphans Home for Indian orphan children of all tribes."⁴⁰ No such institution existed in the United States, yet the need was evident particularly in Indian Territory.

Throughout early 1902, Murrow continued to refine his ideas on an Indian orphan home. He viewed the home as a practical necessity, restricted to children of one-half Indian blood. It would use the child's allotment for maintenance and make it available to him when he became of age.

The home, as envisioned by Murrow initially, would serve to care for the physical needs of the child and to protect his interests. Shelter, food, clothing and education, basic and vocational, would be provided. Moreover, the home, as an incorporated entity with a board of trustees, could be designated by the courts as legal guardians for those children entrusted to its care. With that guardianship, a child's allotment, when leased and properly administered, should provide a child's essential needs annually with some surplus to be deposited in a local bank in the child's name.

When the child became of age, not only would his allotment and that of his deceased family be intact, but he

would be educated, skilled and have sufficient money available in a bank to assume a place in the world. Murrow also envisioned that the minor's allotment, while he was residing in the home, could be cleared, fenced and ready for agriculture, with a dwelling constructed on it as well. If all of that could be accomplished, the child would also have a farm and dwelling ready for immediate use and occupancy when he became of age.⁴¹

As the concept crystallized in his mind, Murrow lamented that "we cannot see how to start it," but affirmed "if we can establish that Indian orphan home, we shall feel our work is finished."⁴² Immediately he began to share the idea with those he knew and the response was good.

He corresponded with N. B. Rairden, his supervisor with the Home Mission Society, who responded quickly with an endorsement. The Choctaw-Chickasaw Association meeting in Ada also endorsed the idea and appointed a committee to "push it." A month later, at its annual meeting in McAlester, the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention praised the idea and added its endorsement to the one given by the Choctaw-Chickasaw group.⁴³

Murrow, in a letter, also presented his concept to H. L. Morehouse, Corresponding Secretary of the Home Mission Society, along with the proposal that the Atoka Baptist Academy, owned by the Society, either be donated or sold as a site and initial building for the orphans' home. Morehouse

declined involvement on the part of the Society suggested by Murrow, but, like Rairden, thought the idea had merit.

Later, however, Morehouse corresponded with Murrow again and agreed to allow the proposed orphans' home to purchase the Atoka property for "what the Society has put into it."⁴⁴

On September 27, 1902, at the call of Murrow, a group of interested persons met in South McAlester to investigate in greater detail the creation of such a home for Indian orphans. The first decision of the meeting was to honor Murrow by naming the proposed institution the Murrow Indian Orphans' Home. A board of trustees, consisting of twenty men and women prominent in territorial Indian missionary work, was elected with Murrow serving as president and A. Frank Ross, former editor of the Indian Missionary, as secretary. The board of trustees included white missionaries such as Murrow and his wife; Edwin H. Rishel, headmaster of the Atoka Baptist Academy; Daniel Rodgers, Cherokee missionary serving among his people; Alfred Folsom, Choctaw missionary serving the Choctaws; and others.⁴⁵

Murrow was given the responsibility for drafting a proposed charter of incorporation and investigating the procedures required to secure official incorporation for the institution. Only one issue was somewhat controversial. It was proposed that only children of Choctaw and Chicksaw descent should be admitted because of its proposed location in the Choctaw Nation, but Murrow and others successfully argued

that the home should be open to all Indian children of one-half or more Indian descent.⁴⁶

Murrow immediately contacted and arranged to visit R. C. Buckner, director of an orphanage with Baptist affiliations in Dallas, Texas, for advice and assistance. Buckner and Murrow toured those facilities, but Murrow was "unimpressed." Buckner was enthusiastic and supportive of the idea of an Indian orphans' home and advised Murrow that the key to success was careful organization and vigorous promotional activity. He supplied the territorial missionary with a copy of the constitution and bylaws of the Buckner orphanage and made several suggestions regarding the process of incorporation.⁴⁷

After he returned to Atoka, Murrow completed a tentative charter. He sought the advice and approval of Judges Spencer B. Adams and Henry S. Foote, members of a special tribunal appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt to hear appeal cases arising from controversy surrounding the implementation of the Dawes Act, especially in regard to the proper format necessary for submission.

The board of trustees met again, discussed the progress made and affirmed Murrow's actions. The document was also reviewed by several local attorneys and finally submitted to William H. Clayton, Judge of the Central District United States Court, on October 20. Five days later, the court approved the incorporation papers and the Murrow

Indian Orphans' Home was officially established on a firm legal base.⁴⁸

Under the document, the goals of the Home were:

. . . the founding, building and maintaining of a benevolent institution, the purpose of which is to provide a home for destitute orphan children, of fullblood parentage, from any and all tribes of Indians, residents of the United States, including Indians of such tribes of not more than one-half white blood; to maintain and educate them; to instill in their hearts and minds moral and religious instruction; to train them practically in various industrial pursuits; and to possess the right to become the legal guardians, if the courts so will; and, when practical, to establish an infirmary and provide hospital accommodations for the sick, and a home for destitute, old and helpless Indians belonging to such tribes. The great object of the institution is to glorify God in the salvation, spiritually and temporally, of these Indian orphan children.⁴⁹

To supervise the attainment of those goals, a self-perpetuating nine member board of directors was created. The directors would be elected for staggered three year terms, with at least two-thirds having to be members in good standing of Baptist churches and all members of the board having to affirm the goals and objectives of the home. The board had the authority to employ and supervise persons needed to operate the institution, including a general manager who was also one of the officers of the corporation. The work of the board was to be conducted during its annual meeting, but the official domicile of the corporation would be Atoka, Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory. Operational

expenses would be met by "donations and gifts from charitable people everywhere."⁵⁰

The bylaws contained more stringent rules which applied to the orphans admitted to the home. "Dictation, intimidation, or improper influence of any kind" to change or influence the religious preference of any child were prohibited. White, Black or Indian children of more than one-half Indian blood were denied entrance into the home. "Whites, and those more than half-white are excluded for the very good reason that, if admitted," Murrow explained, "they would soon monopolize the institution, as they have every good thing established for the Indians."⁵¹

Specific restrictions were applied to children assigned to the home. All children, upon entrance, were required to stay at least six years, unless they reached the age of majority. Those over five years of age at the time of admission would be retained until at least the age of fourteen. All transfers, for whatever the reason, required the written consent of the president or the board of directors.⁵²

Murrow, remembering the advice of Buckner, launched an active promotional campaign, but received mixed responses. He explained the home to the Commerical Club, Pioneer Womens' Club and the citizens of Atoka. All expressed interest and support, "but they did not want to give money or work."⁵³ He continued to speak before church groups on the project

whenever the opportunity arose. In July, 1903, he addressed a Creek preachers' meeting, but "they did not take hold of it [Murrow Indian Orphans' Home] with enthusiasm. O the poor Creeks are so selfish."⁵⁴ In June, he started a newspaper, the Indian Orphan, as a promotional device and mailed it to those who had expressed an interest in or provided some sort of support for Indian missionary work through the years.⁵⁵

In November, 1902, N. B. Rairden wrote to Murrow and reported that the Home Mission Society was ready to transfer its property in Atoka, including the land and buildings of the Atoka Baptist Academy, to the orphanage. The school, initially established through the efforts of Murrow, had been assumed by the Society some years earlier, but was returned in an effort to assist the new orphans' home with badly needed facilities.

On December 27, 1902, a contract was signed between the board of trustees and the Home Mission Society transferring the property worth more than ten thousand dollars for the sum of twenty-five hundred dollars. The board of the orphans' home merged the Academy with the orphanage and operated the two as a single unit.⁵⁶

Since the goal of the home was to be a self-sufficient industrial and educational facility, it was understood that occupancy of the Atoka Baptist Academy was temporary. A permanent location had to be secured for the erection of

permanent buildings and land had to be acquired for agricultural purposes.

Murrow himself purchased forty acres near Duncan, Chickasaw Nation, in July, 1902, for the sum of one hundred dollars.⁵⁷ In January, 1903, Marshall Colbert, an influential member of the Chickasaw tribe and business community, aware that the home was being established and perhaps seeking a permanent site, announced that Tishimingo, Chickasaw Nation, would like to submit a bid. Murrow visited the town and discussed the potential with leaders, both in a sincere effort to locate a possible site and to raise money for the home.⁵⁸

The problem of a permanent location for the home was solved with the acceptance and implementation of Murrow's plan for the maintenance and support of the home. Using the natural Indian love for children, Murrow proposed in 1903, that as the allotment process was underway, adults be encouraged to make small grants of land--ten, twenty or more acres--directly to the home for the care of the orphans.

The plan was submitted to the Dawes Commission, Union Agency and the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Creek Councils, where each gave their approval. E. A. Hitchcock, Secretary of the Interior, also approved the proposal and ordered that five sections of land in the Choctaw Nation should be reserved for the home. Moreover, he authorized individual Indians to donate a part of their allotment, file on it in the segregated lands and surrender all future claims to it.⁵⁹

The reserved land, some thirty-two hundred acres, was located nine miles east of Coalgate, in Coal County, but on the boundary between Coal and Atoka counties. A later survey confirmed it as prime land. Approximately one-half was forest growth and the remainder prairie land. The topography consisted of rolling hills, with the soil ranging from slightly sandy to clay loam, and with gumbo in the bottoms and sandstone on the hills.⁶⁰

To facilitate the donation procedure, the board of directors authorized the appointment of its first land agent, Reverend Alred Folsom, a Choctaw preacher, at a salary of twenty dollars a month, to canvass the Choctaws seeking donations of land.⁶¹ Over the next five years, the home employed numerous agents including Silas McFarland and Solomon Baker, Choctaw citizens, "to get donations of land for the home."⁶²

Using the promise of hospital facilities and other care for elderly Indians, Murrow sought to persuade some to donate their allotments to the home in exchange for perpetual care.⁶³ On occasion, if available at the right price, the board of directors authorized the outright purchase of land. Initially some small purchases were made and approved by the board. "I fear it is the beginning of a great many Indians wanting to sell us land," observed Murrow. "We have no money to buy. The land must largely be donated."⁶⁴

From 1903 to 1906, the holdings of the home swelled to thirteen hundred and ninety-five acres as a result of small donations made by numerous persons or sales of land.⁶⁵ One such donor was Murrow himself. In recognition of his long service to the Choctaw people, the council allotted Murrow eighty acres, forty of which he immediately donated to the orphanage.⁶⁶ The largest single grant of land came from the Choctaw council. To show their approval of the proposal for the orphanage, at the recommendation of Chief Green McCurtain, the council gave seventeen hundred and ninety acres in one parcel to the home.⁶⁷

Besides the use of thirty-one hundred and eighty-five acres, another source of assistance for the operation of the home would be revenue derived from allotments of orphan residents. "With the exception of some of the last Cherokees and Seminoles to receive allotments," Angie Debo asserted, "there was hardly an Indian child in the Territory, whether orphaned or not, who could have not been supported from his own estate if it had been properly administered."⁶⁸ Murrow simply planned to utilize the income from orphans' allotments to provide for their expenses while residents of the home.

In order to obtain access to that source of revenue, the home would be appointed guardian of a child and the executor of his estate by the courts, bonded and with the authority to rent or lease the land. Often guardians, already appointed by the courts, could elect to place their

charges in the home and, after the collection of limited fees and expenses for their services, allow the remaining revenue from a leased allotment to go to the home and the child. The income from such leases and rents would be paid directly to the home and, after the cost of the orphan's support and maintenance was subtracted, the balance would be deposited in a bank account in the child's name. As a result of that procedure, the child would be safe and provided for while his property would be preserved for his future use.⁶⁹

Indian leaders expressed support for Murrow's efforts and voiced their sentiments. Green McCurtain, the principal chief of the Choctaw Nation, pledged that "if I had it in my power, I would give your Home, under your [Murrow] supervision, the authority to represent every orphan child in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations."⁷⁰ The Choctaw Council passed a resolution in 1903 "endorsing it [Murrow Indian Orphans' Home] and commending it to the confidence and assistance of the Choctaw people."⁷¹ The principal chief of the Chickasaw Nation, D. H. Johnson, offered "an unqualified endorsement."⁷²

President Theodore Roosevelt, on a visit to Atoka, said: "I am glad to see the children of the Indian Orphans' Home. In this Territory now, and when it becomes a state, you must take care of the Indian children and see to it that everything necessary is done to bring the Indians . . . up

to the highest level of citizenship."⁷³ Tams Bixby, Commissioner of the Five Civilized Tribes, commented that "the institution . . . so far as I am informed, is the only one of its kind in existence, is highly commendable and fills a long felt want of the surrounding Indian tribes, being the only means of caring for their Indian children."⁷⁴ Other political leaders such as C. N. Haskell, later Oklahoma's first governor, Captain A. D. McDennon of the Dawes Commission and J. Blair Shoenfelt, United States Indian agent, were highly supportive. Baptist leaders including Daniel Rodgers, J. C. Stalcup, J. B. Rounds, H. L. Morehouse, N. B. Rairden, R. C. Buckner and C. R. Blackall spoke loudly for the home wherever possible.⁷⁵

Although the plan was proposed and widely accepted, final approval was required by officials in Washington because the tribal governments were being dissolved. In December, 1905, at the request of Green McCurtain, Murrow traveled to the capital. The purpose of his trip was three fold: to present the Murrow Indian Orphans' Home as a project worthy of government recognition and support; to explain the need for and to urge the approval of the seventeen hundred and ninety acre grant to the home from the Choctaw and Chickasaw councils; and to plead the cause of the full-blood Indian population in the soon-to-be state of Oklahoma.

Although he was unable to see President Theodore Roosevelt as planned, the trip was a success. He contacted

the Oklahoma delegation as soon as he arrived and, after conversations as to his wishes and reasons behind them, those legislators agreed to sponsor a resolution commending the orphanage to the favor of both the President and Congress. He had an audience with and was given the "unqualified support" of the Secretary, Assistant Secretary and the Chief Clerk of the Department of the Interior.

Later, Secretary Hitchcock assured Murrow that he was aware of the home and the need for the land grant from the two Indian nations and that he would give it a final approval as soon as it reached his desk. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis E. Luepp endorsed the home in conversations with Murrow, as did several individual legislators with whom he talked in the halls of Congress.

While he was there, Murrow was able to witness a meeting of the Committee on Territories. The subject of discussion was the prohibition clause in the Oklahoma statehood bill. When members of the committee discovered that a long-time resident of the territory was in attendance, they asked Murrow to comment on the subject. In a span of less than ten minutes, the veteran missionary and observer witnessed to the evil effect of liquor on the Indian population and explained how corrupt whites used it as a weapon to abuse and rob the native population. The next day, numerous persons complimented Murrow on the thoroughness of his address and the visible conviction he held on the subject.

Although in the capital city only a few days, Murrow, as was true on other trips, still found time to satisfy his natural curiosity. He visited the headquarters of the National Geographical Society, as well as the Smithsonian Institution. Like others who have visited before and since, Murrow was upset that he was able to see only a small percentage of the collections. A highlight of the trip, according to Murrow, was the Library of Congress and he lamented that he would never have the opportunity to read many of the books housed there.⁷⁶

Murrow's visit to Washington was successful. With the passage of the Five Tribes Bill in April, 1906, his plan for the utilization of donated Indian land was enacted into law. Section fourteen of that legislation affirmed that:

In all cases where enrolled citizens of either the Choctaw or Chickasaw Tribe have taken their homestead or surplus allotment and have remaining over as unallotted right to less than \$10.00 on the basis of the allotment value of said lands, such unallotted right may be conveyed to the owners thereof to the Murrow Indian Orphans' Home, a corporation of Atoka, Indian Territory.⁷⁷

At the recommendation of Rairden, and strongly seconded by Murrow, the decision was made to transfer the functions of the home which had been in operation since 1903 in the facilities of the Atoka Baptist Academy to the donated land known as Unchucka (Our Home). To acquire the needed buildings, part of the Academy buildings were demolished and their materials used to construct two new buildings at the farm.

Each of the two new structures were twenty by fifty feet with twelve by fourteen foot wings. One of the buildings was a girls' dormitory, with the large room accommodating forty-four girls and the smaller rooms providing space for the teachers and matron. The main room of the other building was for the main school and recitation room, with the smaller rooms being used for library and class facilities.⁷⁸

The home, as established at Unchucka, was an educational and vocational institution designed with the maximum of self-sufficiency in mind. The educational department would provide a rudimentary education with emphasis on the basic skills of communication and mathematics. Each pupil was required to spend one-half of each day acquiring and refining those skills under the supervision of teachers. To assist in staffing that area, a womens' group from Boston, Massachusetts, which had paid the salaries of two teachers at the Academy agreed to continue that arrangement with the home.

The remainder of the day was spent in vocational and technical training, the results of which would benefit both the home and the student. The girls would be instructed and supervised in the development of the domestic homemaking skills of cooking and sewing, as well as the raising of poultry and the care of dairy animals. A major emphasis was placed on the preservation of agricultural products grown on

the farm for consumption by the students. Male students would be exposed to a variety of vocational opportunities.

A printing press was purchased with a four hundred dollar donation from a woman in Boston and it was used both for the school printing needs and as a teaching tool. It was anticipated that, as the students refined their printing skills, the print shop could be used for local commercial printing and generate revenue for the operation of the home.

The same philosophy was applied to both the woodworking and blacksmith areas. Students would receive technical training and, as their skills increased, small-scale production of wood and metal items would be initiated to meet home needs, with any surplus sold locally.

A major part of the vocational training was given in the agricultural department. Under a skilled agriculturist, the male students would be exposed to all aspects of small farming and ranching. By 1906, using student labor, a part of the land had been fenced and over two hundred acres were in cultivation with corn, cotton, oats, millet cane and potatoes raised as the major crops. A nursery of several thousand scions was established to grow small trees for local sale. The eighteen-acre orchard of fruit and nut trees would generate a crop for home consumption with the surplus being available to the general public. A farm house and barn were constructed and two stock ponds were dug and allowed to fill. Sixty head of donated cattle, horses, mules, hogs and

goats grazed the land providing meat, dairy products and draught service.⁷⁹

Although an administrator and staff were present, Murrow was actively involved in all aspects of the home. He was greatly occupied with students' relations. After one of the students became pregnant in late 1904 and had to be transferred to a home for unwed mothers in Oklahoma City, Murrow was concerned about the reputation of female students. On one occasion, he "went to the home and talked to the girls about going downtown. [They] must not do [that] so very much."⁸⁰ Annie King, a female student, expressed dissatisfaction and wanted to leave the home. Murrow counseled "that if she was determined to leave that she should not return."⁸¹

The boys were a source of concern as well. In 1905, a sum of money was reported stolen from a woman at the home and Murrow questions "did one of our Indian pupils do it?"⁸² "Henry Byington, one of the boys at the home, was troublesome," reported Murrow. "He is a hard boy to do anything with. . . . I advise him to go to the farm and work for wages."⁸³ One wanted "to go to his people to be idle and vicious"⁸⁴ while another was "dissatisfied and wants to go home."⁸⁵ Murrow "got him pacified [and] he will remain until school is out."⁸⁶

Relations with the administration and staff were a continual problem as some failed to perform as diligently or in the manner which Murrow expected. In 1905, L. J. Dyke,

former employee of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, was employed by the home at seventy-five dollars a month and traveling expenses to promote and raise money for the home.⁸⁷ He and Murrow had a difference of opinion on how to achieve those objectives. Dyke wanted to remain in Unchuka, correspond with wealthy individuals and seek the few, but large, donations by mail. Murrow, on the other hand, wanted considerable travel in order to contact communities, local churches and civic leaders. While he appreciated the large gifts, he felt that small donations, coupled with support within the territory, offered a stronger foundation.⁸⁸ Dyke "wants to do big things," said Murrow, "and cannot get down to little things."⁸⁹ Dyke persisted in his methods, but brought in little money, placing more of that responsibility on Murrow.

In 1905, Murrow employed B. F. Wood to serve the home as Superintendent of Farm and Stock. Despite repeated conversations, Murrow quickly accepted the fact that "Brother Wood [is] a failure as a farmer."⁹⁰

E. H. Rishel, the headmaster of the Atoka Academy, while a strong supporter of the home, resisted strongly the physical removal of all facilities to Unchuka.⁹¹ Moreover, he was a poor financial manager and, despite repeated requests from Murrow, accurate financial reports were not provided to the board of directors. In January, 1907, when Rishel severed his connection with the home, the depth of

his fiscal mismanagement was clearly evident and his successor had little money with which to work. Of course, the burden to raise the necessary money was, as always, thrust upon Murrow.⁹²

The home and Murrow were also, to some degree, subjects of criticism. When the home was initially being discussed, some Indians, with their natural distrust of whites, opposed its creation because they felt, in some way, it was just another way to cheat the Indian. In 1903, both the Caddo Herald and the Bartlesville Mercury editorialized against the white exclusion policy of the home and suggested that it should admit needy white children as well as Indians.⁹³ But the major criticism levied against Murrow was his involvement with the Southern Trust Company.

In 1904, the Southern Trust Company, organized by whites and mixed blood Choctaws, proposed to manage the estates of Indian orphans. Officials discussed its goals with Murrow who agreed to allow the company to administer the estates of those orphans under both his and the home's guardianship. In addition, he recommended the company to others as a reputable operation.

Within months, the estates of some eight hundred orphans were controlled by the company, but it fell into disrespect because of its failure to perform as promised. Some challenged Murrow's intentions, charging collusion and alleging that the Murrow Indian Orphans' Home was actually

controlled by the Southern Trust Company. Murrow admitted that he had been hasty and incorrect in his judgment and "suffered the loss of confidence of a great many Indians because I endorsed the company." He withdrew any connection with the Southern Trust, but had expended considerable energy over that issue as well as other attacks on the home and his own integrity.⁹⁴

Despite his early insistence that "I want to work at my orphans' home and give it all of my time and attention," in 1907, Murrow, at the age of seventy-two, was exhausted and somewhat disillusioned.⁹⁵ "All commends the effort but no one gives me anything," he moaned in 1903.⁹⁶ Three years later, he reported that "I have to carry the financial burden of the whole thing."⁹⁷ Including property, time, money and expenses, he estimated that he had contributed personally well over ten thousand dollars to the home in five years.⁹⁸

Also his health had been declining for several years and he sought less responsibility. Since so much, however, depended on his activities for the home, including promotion and fund-raising, and because so many felt loyalty for the institution only through Murrow, he was concerned about the impact his retirement or death would have on the home's future. As was true with other institutions he helped to establish, Murrow was convinced that the home must be affiliated with some denominational agency to obtain needed stability and permanence.

Again, as he had done in the past, Murrow turned first to the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. He had maintained an active correspondence on Indian mission work with F. C. McConnell, Corresponding Secretary, so he suggested that the Board might assume the operation of the home. He and other missionaries such as G. Lee Phelps and J. G. Brendel wrote often to Dr. J. F. Love, Assistant Corresponding Secretary, suggesting that he visit the home and discuss the matter with the board of trustees. The Home Mission Board, however, never expressed any genuine interest in accepting the orphans' home and Love never visited the institution. Murrow was forced to turn elsewhere.

The Home Mission Society, when contacted by Murrow, expressed interest not only in obtaining control over the home, but also in becoming involved in a critically needed capital improvement program. Formal correspondence was exchanged between the officials of the Society and the board of trustees for the home. Representatives of the Society visited Oklahoma to discuss assumption of control with Murrow and the board of trustees.⁹⁹

The Choctaw and Chickasaw Association, in an effort to aid Murrow with the problem of the home's future, appointed the Committee on the Murrow Indian Orphans' Home. In August, 1908, it recommended

that the Choctaw and Chickasaw Baptist Association petition the American Baptist Home Mission Society to take over the Murrow Indian Orphans' Home and to forward the great work

for which it was designed to the utmost of its ability and power, to establish it on a firm foundation for the salvation of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indian children and of helpless and needy Indians.¹⁰⁰

"If it [Home Mission Society] adopted the home," the report continued, "the result will be capital improvements along permanent lines that are needed--adequate dormitories, school building, a hospital for sick children and old and infirm people, and houses for the accommodation of old and broken down Indians."¹⁰¹

In August, 1908, representatives of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, the Murrow Indian Orphans' Home board of trustees and spokesmen for the Choctaw and Chickasaw Association met and decided on the provisions of the transfer document. The Society assumed general supervision, maintenance and operation, as well as the authority to determine "the character and scope of instruction of the institution . . . solely after submission to its Executive Committee of the views of the [Murrow Indian Orphans' Home's] Board of Directors." Proper financial records were to be maintained and an annual report was to be submitted to the Home Mission Society. The Society carefully explained that while it could not be responsible for the support of orphans, it would seek to solicit aid for their care.

The home's board of trustees was retained but with a change in composition and a curtailment of its powers. The number of board members was retained, but it was agreed that

a majority would be selected upon the recommendation and approval of the Society's Executive Committee. Title to the home's land would be retained by the board of trustees, but executive committee approval was necessary to sell, lease or mortgage any of the property. That same approval was required to alter the character or cost of any buildings to be erected. The board was allowed to retain the right to supervise daily operations, including the recommendation of prospective employees for the Society's appointment. Yet executive committee approval was required for alterations in the terms of employment or dismissal.¹⁰²

The final papers were signed in December, 1908, and the Home Mission Society assumed management on April 1, 1909. The news was warmly received among the supporters of the home. "Hallelujah! Praise God From Whom All Blessing Flow" was the headline in the Indian Orphan. The newspaper offered a summary of what the Society's assumption of the home meant. It editorialized that

this adoption means everything to the Home. It means permanency and life. Never again can anyone say--as has been said so often heretofore: "When Old Brother Murrow dies, that Indian Orphans' Home will go to pieces."¹⁰³

Within a year of operation, the Home Mission Society realized that Unchuka was not a good location for the home. Despite repeated and costly efforts, an adequate water supply could not be obtained. The area was isolated from both markets and populated areas. Moreover, the two institutions

operated by the Society, the Indian orphanage and Bacone University, were separated by a considerable distance which made adequate supervision more difficult.

H. L. Morehouse suggested that the home simply be moved to the campus of Bacone University. In terms of education, there were distinct advantages. It would allow a child to continue an education through the college course. Bacone could furnish needed teachers and instructors for the home's educational program, while the home would be a ready source of prospective college students. Also there were sufficient land and facilities on the Bacone campus to continue the industrial and vocational thrust of the home. The land at Unchuka would be retained and, under the administration of the board of directors, the lease revenue would be pledged to operate the home.¹⁰⁴

Murrow, while extremely supportive of the Society's assumption of the home, was opposed to its removal to the campus of Bacone at Muskogee. He noted that he could not "understand the removal of the orphans to Muskogee."¹⁰⁵ After a visit to Bacone later, he noted severe criticisms of the allocated facilities for the children.¹⁰⁶ However, he either kept his opposition quiet or it was not sufficient to halt the consolidation, for in February, 1910, the board of trustees voted to move the home from Atoka.¹⁰⁷ In July, the Choctaws approved the transfer and "on August 10, 1910, the children and their belongings of the Home were removed to

their new quarters on the campus of the college without an accident, and domiciled in their new home."¹⁰⁸

While Murrow continued to maintain a personal interest in the home and often visited both the college and the home, once it was assumed by the Home Mission Society and located in Muskogee, he had less active, direct involvement. In many ways, the period 1902-1910 was a watershed in Murrow's life and seldom is one so pronounced. His years of active service as a missionary ended, but he simply directed his efforts toward a defense of Indian rights and the creation of the Murrow Indian Orphans' Home, a crowning achievement. He regarded the full implementation of the Dawes Act and statehood for Oklahoma as the final blows to Indian rights and the removal of the orphans' home to Muskogee took the last major responsibility from him. At age seventy-five, Murrow, in 1910, faced total retirement.

CHAPTER VII

THE FINAL YEARS, 1910-1929

In 1910, at the age of seventy-five, Joseph Samuel Murrow, retired from fulltime missionary service, relieved of duties at the Murrow Indian Orphans' Home at Atoka, and the only one of his contemporaries still alive, went into more complete retirement. The remaining nineteen years of his life, until his death in 1929, were spent in his home in Atoka. Over those years,¹ while he retained a declining interest in some of his past activities, he was understandably less active and vocal because of his advancing age.

The plight of the fullblood Indian occupied his attention and concern until his death. Despite his activities as a missionary to the Indians and as an arch defender of Indian rights, his prophesy that "if we look to the people who will be running the state of Oklahoma, we will be looking to people who don't give a snap about Indians" was correct.² The full implementation of the allotment process and the dissolution of tribal governments, coupled with a government for the new state of Oklahoma permeated by the "boomer" mentality,

spelled an end to the Indian civilization, as Murrow had known them. "The United States and its people," promised Murrow in 1916, "will have a sinful account to answer for at the judgment bar of Almighty God" for their actions toward the Indian people."³

His activities with Baptist missionary efforts among the Indians, as reflected in the creation of the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention of Indian Territory, and his work through the American Baptist Home Mission Society was also for naught. The Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma was a creation of the ever-expanding and dominant white population and, especially after single alignment with the Southern Baptist Convention, it would be molded by and receptive to the needs and wishes of whites, not Indians. In that vein, the Baptist experience and response was a view of Oklahoma in microcosm.

As a result of that development, Murrow became highly critical of the administration of later Baptist efforts toward the Indians. In 1916, he charged that the Superintendent of Indian Missions "does nothing for the Indians. A shame."⁴ The Murrow Indian Orphans' Home continued to occupy a special place in his heart and he promoted it among the Oklahoma Baptists as his energy permitted, unsuccessfully. On one occasion, after a promotional trip to a Baptist meeting in Oklahoma City, he concluded that the "[Baptist General] Convention will not help."⁵ "Whites of the state contribute

to the white orphanage," he later commented, "but not a cent to the Indian orphanage though they live on land taken from the Indians."⁶

For many years, Murrow had been concerned about the declining emphasis placed on Indian students at Bacone University. "They [the Indians]" he charged, "are only sought because the board [Home Mission Society] in New York demands it."⁷ When Benjamin D. Weeks, with whom Murrow developed a fond relationship, became president in 1918, Murrow wrote numerous letters complaining that whites were taking over Bacone as they had done to all other good things created for Indians. He reminded Weeks that a sacred pledge had been made to the Creeks when the land for Bacone was donated that the Baptists planned to build and maintain an outstanding Indian institution of higher learning. Weeks again and again assured the old missionary and educator that he was well aware of the agreement that created Bacone and that the emphasis under his administration would certainly be the Indian students.⁸

Murrow retained contact with his missionary work in the state even after he retired from active service. He continued a regular correspondence with missionary associates like Robert Hamilton, Mary Jayne, G. Lee Phelps and others in which he discussed, commented on and advised them on various situations in which they were involved.⁹ He, and it became more difficult certainly in his later years, visited

churches and association meetings reminiscing with old friends, preaching and conducting revivals when asked to do so.¹⁰ He continued to be supportive of such work, especially with his financial resources. In 1916, he offered G. Lee Phelps "for the glory of God and the salvation of the Indians (for use in Five Tribes mission work)" property around Atoka which he evaluated at fifteen hundred dollars.¹¹

Murrow, always a prodigious student of the Bible, but often too busy to savor it during his active days, devoted more time to reading and studying the Bible as well as other literature during his retirement and found it satisfying. In 1918, he reported having "finished reading carefully the whole Bible through since January 1" and commented that "it is rich food for the soul."¹² Another time he noted having "read in Luke and John . . . God's word is delightful"¹³ and "my Bible reading [is] precious."¹⁴ Murrow also reported that he "read a book loaned to me that [suggested the] English speaking people are the twelve lost tribes of Isreal. Not convincing."¹⁵

In his biblical studies, coupled with a comparison of current events, Murrow became convinced that the "second coming is not far off."¹⁶ In 1916, he noted the resignation of J. C. Stalcup as Corresponding Secretary of the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma. To him, that event seemed "to be one of the signs of the early coming of the Lord. Good Men will be laid aside and bad men will take prominent places."¹⁷

That event was welcomed by Murrow, who prayed: "O my soul do thou live for reunion with Christ at His second coming"¹⁸ and "the early coming of the Lord grips me."¹⁹ He felt that "nothing [could] hinder His coming at any time unless it is the ignorance and indifference and skepticism His coming on the part of His people."²⁰ With that conviction, he warned that "we are living in the last days"²¹ and "The Lord is coming. Be ready!"²²

World War I he believed was another example of the preliminary to the second coming of Christ and that explained his preoccupation with it in 1918. A strong supporter of the Allied position, he regularly noted the process of the war in his diary. When Ralph McBride, his grandson, enlisted, Murrow remarked with mixed emotions that he was "glad and sad that I have a grandson going to fight autocracy--those wicked Germans."²³

As a result of that war, Murrow became aware of the refugee program, which struck a receptive cord in the old missionary. He sent numerous contributions to the "Hebrew Palestine Colony,"²⁴ "Armenian Starving,"²⁵ "Armenian and Syrian Relief Fund,"²⁶ "Armenian, Syrian and Jewish Sufferers in Jerusalem and Palestine"²⁷ and the "United Jewish Fund."²⁸ After the war, he remained involved and worked with the Committee for the Rehabilitation of the Jewish.²⁹ In 1918-1919, for example, out of a net income of nineteen hundred and nine dollars and fifty-three cents, he contributed

one hundred and fifty dollars to the cause of refugee relief.³⁰

Murrow, not a wealthy man in his last years,³¹ was extremely generous with his money. In 1916, he donated twenty dollars to the Muskogee General Hospital³² and, three years later, the Salvation Army was the recipient of his one hundred and forty dollar gift.³³ Just prior to his death, he made sizeable contributions to educational institutions. He gave a check for one hundred dollars to Des Moines University in 1927,³⁴ but was more generous to Simmons University in Texas. Numerous letters were exchanged between Murrow and J. D. Sandefer, president of that institution. As a result, Murrow made several small contributions to the general fund and later, a gift of one hundred dollars to aid in a chapel construction project.³⁵

In his generosity toward the end of his life, he did not forget Bacone University and the Murrow Indian Orphans' Home. Concerned about the future of his library--reported to be one of the most extensive in the state, especially in terms of the American Indian--and his artifacts and curios, he felt such trust toward President Weeks that he made arrangements for those items along with the contents of his study, including the furniture, to be transferred to the college at his death. He specified that all of his good, useable personal clothing should be given to the children at the orphanage, while his wife was to retain cash, securities and all of

the household furnishings. He was most concerned that his meager possessions should support, after his death, the two institutions of which he had been the most proud.³⁶

In his retirement, Murrow reflected on many aspects of his life including his service in the Civil War, and others remembered as well. In 1910, he was appointed Chaplain General with the rank of Major on the staff of A. S. McKennon, Brigadier General Commanding, Choctaw Brigade, Oklahoma Division of the United Confederate Veterans.³⁷ Two years later, in a public ceremony held in Atoka, the United Daughters of the Confederacy paid public tribute to the old chaplain of John Jumper's regiment for his actions in the Civil War.³⁸ In 1916, a "Reverend Mr. Bruce came to discuss [the] organization of a camp of the Sons of the Confederacy" with the old veteran.³⁹

Murrow developed other interests as well. Always interested in missionary work, he became committed to the cause of foreign missions. In 1916, he contributed fifty dollars to the Northern and Southern Baptist foreign mission boards for Asian work, donated fifty dollars for native Chinese preachers and initiated correspondence with a missionary from Oklahoma on assignment in China.⁴⁰ Two years later, he donated fifty dollars for "African Inland mission work."⁴¹

In his last years, Murrow lost the two women most precious to him, but married his fifth wife who remained with him until his death. On January 7, 1917, after twenty-nine

years of marriage, his fourth wife died.⁴² On several occasions throughout 1918, he mentioned visiting her grave, planting flowers and "weeping because he missed her company."⁴³ He also lost his daughter Clara in 1918. After her hospitalization for an undisclosed disease in Sherman, Texas, Murrow was notified that she had taken a turn for the worse, but before he could reach her, she died. Her body was returned to Atoka and buried in the cemetery with Kate.⁴⁴

For the next three years, Murrow lived alone in a house across the street from the Atoka Baptist Church. Yet he was seldom alone because the house was filled with visiting friends and neighbors. Murrow loved company and hated to be alone.⁴⁵ Perhaps that explains why in 1921 he employed Jeannie Ragel of Fort Worth, Texas, to serve as his nurse and companion. Soon, however, that relationship became more serious for on September 6, 1921, in the Murrow home with Judge J. M. Humphreys presiding, Murrow married Ragle, his fifth wife.⁴⁶

One of the more difficult things for Murrow to release was his active involvement in his fraternity, although he struggled throughout his life with those who used Masonry as an alternative to the church. From his initiation into the craft in 1867, he was firmly committed to the lodge and compiled a most illustrious history of achievement.

As the founder and master of the first Blue Lodge in Indian Territory after the Civil War, he also served as Grand

Master of the Indian Territory Grand Lodge A. F. & A. M. in 1877-1878 and became the Grand Secretary in 1880, a position that he filled with national distinction until 1909. As a member of the Royal Arch, he served as the first Grand High Priest of the Grand Royal Arch Chapter in 1890 and then Grand Secretary until 1912. When the Grand Council, Royal and Select Masters, was organized in 1894, he was elected Grand Recorder, a position he retained until his death except for a year when he served as Grand Master.

From his knighthood in the Commandery in 1880, he was the prelate of the first Commandery, Knights Templar, in Indian Territory; was the first prelate when the Grand Commandery was created; and served as the Grand Recorder of the Grand Commandery from 1879 to 1909. He also organized the first chapter, Order of the Eastern Star, in Indian Territory and served one year as Grand Patron of the Grand Chapter, Order of the Eastern Star.⁴⁷

Of his activities, Murrow himself reported to the Grand Lodge in 1909:

During the years of service as Grand Secretary, I have signed 585 Blue Lodge charters, a large number of which, however, were duplicates. I have also signed sixty-five Royal Arch Chapter charters, fifteen Council charters and five Commandery charters. Probably not many Grand Secretaries can exceed this record.⁴⁸

Because of his numerous accomplishments in all levels of Freemasonry, upon his retirement as Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge in 1909, that body officially designated Murrow

by unanimous resolution, as the "Father of Masonry in Oklahoma."⁴⁹

Murrow was allowed to retire from his Masonic work in 1910 with the provision that he apply his talents to one additional task. Although Oklahoma sought consistency in its fraternal ritual, there was no official handbook or Monitor for the state lodges. Some of those from the surrounding states were in use, but the absence of a standardized one for Oklahoma resulted in confusion in numerous Masonic ceremonies. There was an obvious need and it was the feeling of the Grand Lodge that Murrow, whose official retirement allowed him time to devote to the project, was best suited for the task.

The preparation, production and distribution of the Monitor would fill an obvious need; allow Murrow to secure perpetual recognition through the title of the completed volume, the Murrow Monitor; and give the old man profitable employment. For two years, he committed virtually all of his energies to that job. Through extensive correspondence, he collected copies of other state monitors, solicited advice from Masonic scholars and accumulated much needed information. In June, 1912, citing reasons of health and age, he asked to be relieved of his assignment. The Masonic Monitor was later completed as another monument to the "Father of Masonry in Oklahoma."⁵⁰

Other honors came to the veteran Masonic leader. He was elected Honorary Grand Commander and presented with the Grand Commander's jewels. In October, 1909, he was made a Knight Commander of the Court of Honor by the Supreme Council of the 33^o degree. Two years later in October, 1911, he received the 33^o of the Scottish Rite, one of the most coveted awards that can be given to any member of the fraternity. In April, 1913, to assist him with an income until his death and as still another honor, Murrow was elected Grand Secretary Emeritus in the Oklahoma Grand Lodge, Grand Council and Grand Chapter.⁵¹

Murrow died at his home in Atoka September 8, 1929, at 10:30 P. M., at the age of ninety-four years, three months and one day. Two funeral services were conducted in the First Baptist Church in Atoka: at 10:00 A. M., the Eastern Star ceremony was held in a most impressive manner; at 1:00 P. M., the church services were held and conducted as nearly as possible in accordance with Murrow's requests.

The order of services was as follows: song by the congregation; prayer by J. B. Rounds, State Secretary of the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma; funeral sermon by B. D. Weeks, President of Bacone University; short remarks by A. R. Mitchell, pastor of the Colored Baptist Church of Atoka, and I. S. Wright, moderator of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Baptist Association; a tribute by Honorable Henry S. Johnston, former Governor of the state of Oklahoma;

addresses by Rabbi Blatt of the Jewish faith from Oklahoma City and J. B. Rounds; and the benediction by Reverend H. O. Morris, pastor of the First Baptist church of Atoka.

After the conclusion of the church services, the Masonic order conducted graveside services under the leadership of W. W. Anderson of Guthrie, Grand Secretary of the Oklahoma Grand Lodge. The Deputy Grand Master represented the Grand Master of the State of Oklahoma who was unable to attend. A large number of visiting Masons from all over the state were present and participated in the ritualistic farewell to their brother Mason.⁵²

Perhaps the best tribute to Murrow was that offered by former Governor Johnston. Among his remarks praising the accomplishments and life of the religious leader, he stated:

Father Murrow, I am coming today to give you a tribute. I come to reverence your power to execute in the hearts of men. . . . A father to hundreds of people and in all things and to all persons extended the friendly feeling. . . . I come today as one who loved and reverences his past, as one of his sons, as one of those whom he has taken into his heart. A father because he was a father to me in love. He was father to so many. Father of good; Father of love; Father of Christianity; Father of Institutions and Establishment. But now the working tools have been laid down. You have built a temple of service, a temple of love and piety.⁵³

At the conclusion of the ceremonies, the remains of Joseph Samuel Murrow, Oklahoman, were lowered into the soil that he loved so dearly.

CHAPTER VIII

EPILOGUE

When Joseph Samuel Murrow came to Indian Territory in 1857, it can be argued that he came as a Christian missionary fired with the religious zeal to take the word of God to the Indians. That duty was evidenced by the motto that guided him throughout his years of service: "For I seek not yours, but you." In that work, Murrow served diligently and was highly successful. From his initial assignment as assistant to Henry Friedland Buckner, and with the support of Indian leaders and citizens, he established regular preaching stations, baptized hundreds of converts, helped to erect numerous churches and traveled thousands of miles preaching the gospel.

After the brief, but tragic, interlude of the Civil War that totally disrupted life in Indian Territory, Murrow renewed his missionary activities, but among the Choctaws and Chickasaws of southern Indian Territory. Using the Atoka Baptist Church, which he organized in 1867, as a base, he founded and stabilized the Baptist cause throughout Indian

Territory in the years after the Civil War. In addition, through his vision and efforts, he, with the aid and support of Indian Baptists in eastern Indian territory, spearheaded efforts to convey the Christian gospel to the Choctaws who remained in Mississippi after the removal period and tribes settled on reservations in western Indian Territory. Under his direction and counsel and often supplemented with his personal funds, a solid missionary base was created in both areas. That Baptist foundation, especially among the western tribes like the Kiowa, Comanche and Cheyenne, flourished and expanded.

In such activities, Murrow felt that he had a duty to prepare the Indian for eventual assimilation into white culture. To achieve that goal, but also to bring a sense of order as he perceived it, Murrow became one of the premier institutional founders on the Indian Territory frontier. His efforts in establishing local schools, the Atoka Baptist Academy and Bacone University speak loudly for his commitment to education as a prerequisite for Indian survival. As a member of the Masonic fraternity, he assisted in the founding of many Masonic lodges at a time when the church and Masonic lodge were the dominant cultural units for stability in the local area. He established dozens of churches, served by native preachers, as bastions of Anglo-American civilization in a frontier land.

Once such institutions were created, Murrow used his ability and talents to bring organization to their efforts. He was a motivating force behind the creation of higher echelons of Masonic administration and served many of those organizational units in an administrative capacity until his death. Murrow molded isolated churches first into regional associations and later, the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention of Indian Territory. In both fraternal and religious organizations, the initial leadership was shared between whites--generally missionaries, businessmen or educators--and Indian leaders. It was Murrow's belief that through such associations, Indians could learn and develop the communication and administrative skills necessary to prosper in white society.

By the 1880s, however, Indian Territory was viewed not simply as a laboratory in which to isolate and prepare the Indian for eventual, natural assimilation into white society, but as a potential final frontier for land-hungry settlers. Significant numbers of whites and Blacks had settled in eastern Indian Territory and scores of others, aided by federal legislation toward the end of the decade, invaded and settled what became Oklahoma Territory.

Coupled with that was a similar development within Baptist ranks. The Southern Baptist Convention leadership was not overly concerned about Indian Territory until significant numbers of whites began to settle there and raise

the possibility of eventual statehood. Southern Baptists did not want the area under the Northern Baptist domination and decided that any state created out of Indian Territory should be allied with the Southern Baptist Convention.

As the recognized leader of the Baptist cause in the territory and an employee of the Southern Baptist Convention, Murrow was selected to lead the Southern Baptist effort. Murrow, however, already disillusioned by Southern Baptist response to Indian Territory refused, resigned his appointment by the Convention and affiliated himself with the American (Northern) Baptist Home Mission Society in a supervisory capacity.

Murrow, supported by the resources of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, redoubled his efforts among the Indians. The opposition, once disjointed and without purpose, united against him. Whites in Indian Territory began to demand more and more identification with Baptist structures. Northern and certain Southern Baptists, embarrassed at the raging conflict within the territories for dominance and reflective of the Christian desire for procedures to Americanize the Indian and benefit the white population in their quest for Indian land, sought unification of Baptist efforts. Murrow supported unification, but feared what it meant to both his position in Baptist ranks and that of the Indian community.

When the Baptist General Convention was created, it, like other institutions in which Murrow was involved, fell under white domination at the exclusion of Indian participation. Murrow struggled vainly against the exclusion of Indians and other discriminatory practices. As a spokesman for the Indian community, he argued against the application of allotment in severalty and fought to protect both the personal and property rights of Indians.

Murrow, discredited for his position in regard to Indian rights and because of his lengthy affiliation with the American Baptist Home Mission Society in a state moving quickly toward single affiliation with the Southern Baptist Convention, had few supporters outside of the Indian community. Accepting that rejection, Murrow, isolated from the mainstream of the Baptist movement in the state, directed his efforts toward missionary work among the fullbloods with token support from both the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma and the Southern Baptist Convention. One expression of that new direction was the creation of the Murrow Indian Orphans' Home, a sanctuary for Indian orphans where they would be protected and secured in both their person and property against the aggressive white population.

Yet that institution and even the views of Murrow that produced the home were simply "out of step with the times." White humanitarians and reformers by 1910 believed that the completion of allotment in severalty had finally

solved the Indian problem and, besides that, new mission fields in exotic places like Africa and Asia drew their attention and resources. Moreover, despite the presence of federal officials, the Indians of Oklahoma became a state problem in 1907. Oklahomans, caught up in the "boomer mentality," were too busy "making the wilderness blossom" to be concerned with that which did not produce useful blooms.

In Murrow's last years, Oklahoma Baptists probably viewed him with mixed emotions. He had outlived two generations of contemporaries and was the last of the original frontier missionaries still alive in Oklahoma. For that reason and because of his years of service, he was accorded considerable respect. Yet, in another vein, he was a reminder of an age and events that most Oklahomans earnestly desired to forget. It would seem logical that many Baptists, genuinely sorrowed by his passing, also breathed a sigh of relief when the old missionary was lowered into his grave in Atoka on that September day because it marked the final passage of an era.

Oklahoma history has not been kind to Murrow. In fact, he has been virtually ignored except for passing references in religious and secular publications. It can be argued that this is because of the dominance of the Southern Baptist Convention in Oklahoma and the view that supporters of that organization took toward Murrow. He has, however, been dead more than half a century and he did lead a

fascinating and important life in the evolution of the state. That life was made even more valuable by the observations and comments he left.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER I

¹William A. Carleton, Not Yours But You (Berkeley: By the Author, 1954), pp. 15-21.

²Ibid., p. 22.

³Ibid., pp. 22-25.

⁴Joseph Samuel Murrow, Personal Diary, October 8, 1854, as quoted in Ibid., p. 25. Due to the fact that many of the earlier diaries were destroyed by fire in El Reno, Oklahoma, references containing those early years were obtained from the Carleton study. William A. Carleton to H. Glenn Jordan, May 2, 1974, Joseph Samuel Murrow Collection, Box 1, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma.

⁵Murrow, Diary, October 18, 27; November 2, 1854, as quoted in Carleton, Not Yours, 26.

⁶Ibid., p. 27.

⁷Mercer College was established in January, 1833, partly from the estate of Josiah Penfield of Savannah, Georgia, and Jesse Mercer, as a Literary and Theological Institution with a department of manual instruction. It was elevated to university status in 1838 and the course of theological instruction was added in 1844 as the manual instruction was discontinued. When Murrow enrolled, the campus had six buildings including a three thousand five hundred volume library and laboratory and two halls for literary societies; three departments including a Theological Seminary, a college and an academy; and one hundred and thirty-four students. Mercer College, Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Mercer College, 1855-1856 (Penfield: Christian-Index Office, 1856), pp. 2-4, Murrow Collection, Box 1, University of Oklahoma.

⁸Joseph Samuel Murrow, "Reminiscences of Joseph Samuel Murrow," Joseph Samuel Murrow Collection, Oklahoma Historical Collection, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Joseph Samuel Murrow to Mary Murrow, n. d., Murrow Collection, Box 1, University of Oklahoma.

¹¹Mercer Catalogue, pp. 12, 20-21.

¹²Murrow, "Reminiscences," Murrow Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴E. C. Routh, The Story of Oklahoma Baptists (Oklahoma City: Baptist General Convention, 1932), pp. 32-35.

¹⁵Joseph Islands was a converted Creek and pastor of the North Fork Baptist Church. J. B. Rounds, Oklahoma Baptists (Oklahoma City: Baptist General Convention, 1943), pp. 35, 50, 64-65.

¹⁶The Creek settlement prior to the Civil War was located two miles east of present Eufaula in McIntosh County. Named for the north branch of the Canadian River, it grew in importance because of its strategic location at the intersection of the Texas Road running north and south and the California Road from Fort Smith, Arkansas, toward Little River. George Shirk, Oklahoma Place Names (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), pp. 160-172; Carolyn Foreman, North Fork Town (Muskogee: By the author, 1938), pp. 1-2, 16.

¹⁷Routh, Oklahoma Baptists, p. 41; Carleton, Not Yours, p. 31.

¹⁸Secretary of the Creek Nation to Joseph Samuel Murrow, n. d., quoted in Murrow, "Reminiscences," Murrow Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

¹⁹Carleton, Not Yours, p. 32.

²⁰Henry Friedland Buckner to Joseph Samuel Murrow, March 19, 1857, cited in Ibid., pp. 33-36.

²¹The Rehoboth Association was formed in 1838 by the union of ten churches from the Itchaconnah Association. Those churches, strongly missionary in their views, felt restricted in the former association and withdrew taking the name Rehoboth--room-space. History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia (Atlanta: James P. Harrison and Company, 1881), p. 213, cited by Ibid., p. 32.

²²Ibid.; Murrow, "Reminiscences," Murrow Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

²³Murrow, "Reminiscences," Murrow Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

²⁴Joseph Samuel Murrow Collection, Box 1, Oklahoma Baptist University, Shawnee, Oklahoma.

²⁵Christian Index, 23 September 1857; Rehoboth Association, Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Rehoboth Association, 1857.

²⁶Murrow Collection, Box 1, Oklahoma Baptist University; Henry Friedland Buckner, Words of Comfort to All Who Sorrow for the Pious Dead (Charleston: Southern Baptist Publication Society, 1860), pp. 40-45.

²⁷Carleton, Not Yours, pp. 36-37.

²⁸Joseph Samuel Murrow, "My First Year in Indian Territory," Twin Territories Magazine 3 (April, 1900), p. 65.

²⁹Christian Index, 6 January 1858; Rehoboth Association, Minutes, 1858.

³⁰Carleton, Not Yours, p. 30.

³¹Murrow, "First Year," pp. 65-66.

³²Murrow, "Reminiscences," Murrow Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

³³Carleton, Not Yours, pp. 40-41.

³⁴Murrow, "First Year," p. 66.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid.; Alice Hurley Mackey, "Father Murrow: Civil War Period," The Chronicles of Oklahoma 12 (March, 1934), p. 60.

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³⁹Chilly McIntosh, Creek chief and Baptist minister. John Bartlett Reserve, "The McIntoshes," The Chronicles of

Oklahoma 10 (September, 1932), p. 319.

⁴⁰Christian Index, 6 January 1858.

⁴¹Murrow, "First Year," 67.

⁴²Personal information secured from Joseph Samuel Murrow in Joseph B. Thoburn, A Standard history of Oklahoma, Vol. I (Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1916), p. 251.

⁴³Christian Index, 4 August 1858.

⁴⁴Grant Foreman, Down the Texas Road (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), p. 42.

⁴⁵Grant Foreman, Marcy and the Gold Seekers: The Journal of Captain R. B. Marcy with an Account of the Gold Rush over the Southern Route (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), p. 104.

⁴⁶Mississippi Baptist, 30 October 1858.

⁴⁷Southwestern Baptist, 22 June 1859.

⁴⁸U. S., Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Department of the Interior, for the Fiscal Year Ended 30 June 1859, p. 60.

⁴⁹Arkansas Baptist, 12 May 1859.

⁵⁰Christian Index, 23 November 1859.

⁵¹Baptist Messenger, 15 October 1859.

⁵²Mississippi Baptist, 22 October 1859.

⁵³Christian Index, 3 January 1860.

⁵⁴Ibid., 18 April 1860.

⁵⁵Ibid., 17 May, 29 June, 15 October, 23 November 1859.

⁵⁶Carleton, Not Yours, p. 42.

⁵⁷Murrow, "First Year," p. 69.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 70-71.

⁶⁰Christian Index, 24 March 1858.

⁶¹Ibid., 7 September 1859.

⁶²Carleton, Not Yours, pp. 45-46; For interesting observations on the life of Nannie Tatom Murrow as well as excerpts from her personal diary which has since been lost, see Buckner, Words of Comfort.

⁶³Carleton, Not Yours, pp. 45-47; Murrow, Diary, November 11, 1858, quoted in Murrow, "First Year," p. 71.

⁶⁴Carleton, Not Yours, pp. 45-47; Murrow, Diary, November 11, 1859, quoted in Murrow, "First Year," p. 71.

⁶⁵Carleton, Not Yours, pp. 47-48.

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⁶⁷Arkansas Baptist, 28 October 1859, cited in Joseph Samuel Murrow, Scrapebook, Bacone College Library, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

⁶⁸Rehoboth Association, Minutes, 1858; Christian Index, 3 November 1858.

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¹³Franks, "Confederate Relations," pp. 18-19; U. S., Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Department of the Interior, for the Fiscal Year Ended 30 June 1861, p. 46; Edwin McReynolds, The Seminoles (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 192.

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CHAPTER III

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³Ibid., pp. 128-130.

⁴Organized Freemasonry in Indian Territory dates back to November 9, 1848, when the Grand Lodge of Arkansas issued a charter to Cherokee Lodge No. 21 at Tahlequah. By 1861, five lodges were chartered and active in Indian Territory including Cherokee Lodge, Fort Gibson Lodge No. 35 (November 5, 1850), Doaksville Lodge No. 52 (November 4, 1852), Flint Lodge No. 74 (November 9, 1853) and Muskogee Lodge No. 93 (November 9, 1855). Daily Oklahoman, 6 March 1927; M. E. Grand Chapter, Royal Arch Masons of Oklahoma, History of Free Masonry in Oklahoma (Muskogee: by the author, 1935), pp. 20-36.

⁵Carleton, Not Yours, pp. 130, 140.

⁶B. F. Tharp to Joseph Samuel Murrow, Rehoboth Association, Minutes, 1866.

⁷Rehoboth Association, Minutes, 1866.

⁸Murrow, "Autobiography," Murrow Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society; Atoka Baptist, 24 March 1944.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Shirk, Place Names, p. 13; Carleton, Not Yours, pp. 67-68.

¹¹Diary, May 10, October 1, 1867, Murrow Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid., June 21, 1867; January 17-22, 1868; August 13, 1868; October 7, 1868; December 28, 1868; May 15, 1869; June 15, 1869.

¹⁴Ibid., June 1, 1867.

¹⁵Ibid., May 2, 1869.

¹⁶Murrow, "Autobiography," Murrow Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

- ¹⁷Ibid., p. 10; Carleton, Not Yours, p. 68.
- ¹⁸Carleton, Not Yours, p. 68.
- ¹⁹Murrow, "Autobiography," Murrow Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.
- ²⁰Ibid.
- ²¹Carleton, Not Yours, p. 68.
- ²²Rehoboth Association, Minutes, 1869.
- ²³Ibid.; Carleton, Not Yours, pp. 71-72.
- ²⁴Carleton, Not Yours, p. 78.
- ²⁵Ibid., p. 74.
- ²⁶Ibid.
- ²⁷Ibid.
- ²⁸Ibid.; Rehoboth Association, Minutes, 1869, 1870.
- ²⁹Murrow, "Autobiography," Murrow Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society; Choctaw-Chickasaw Association, Minutes, 1872.
- ³⁰Ibid.; Smith, "Reminiscences," Murrow Collection, Reel 3, University of Oklahoma.
- ³¹Christian Index, 26 February 1874.
- ³²Smith, "Reminiscences," Murrow Collection, Reel 3, University of Oklahoma.
- ³³Bruce Kinney, Frontier Missionary Problems (New York: Fleming H. Revill, 1918), p. 80.
- ³⁴Ibid., pp. 80-81.
- ³⁵J. P. Dane, "A History of Baptist Missions Among the Plains Indians of Oklahoma (Ph. D. dissertation, Central Baptist Theological Seminary, 1955), pp. 36-37.
- ³⁶Ibid.; C. Lee Phelps, Tepee Trails (Atlanta: Home Mission Board, 1937), pp. 90-95.
- ³⁷Murrow, Diary, April 25, 1875, Murrow Collection, Reel 6, University of Oklahoma.

- ³⁸Ibid., April 26-31, 1875.
- ³⁹Smith, "Reminiscences," Murrow Collection, Reel 3, University of Oklahoma.
- ⁴⁰Dane, "Baptist Missions," pp. 36-37; Phelps, Tepee Trails, pp. 90-95; Robert Hamilton, The Gospel Among the Red Men (Nashville: Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1930), pp. 173-174.
- ⁴¹Phelps, Tepee Trails, 95-98.
- ⁴²Debo, Choctaw Republic, pp. 273-276.
- ⁴³Eugene Ijams Farr, "Religious Assimilation: A Case Study--the Adoption of Christianity by the Choctaw Indians (Th. D. dissertation, New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 1948), p. 28.
- ⁴⁴Carleton, Not Yours, p. 77.
- ⁴⁵Choctaw-Chickasaw Association, Minutes, 1880.
- ⁴⁶General Association of Regular Baptists of Mississippi, Minutes, 1881.
- ⁴⁷Farr, "Religious Assimilation," pp. 29-30.
- ⁴⁸Baptists of Mississippi, Minutes, 1882.
- ⁴⁹Murrow, "Reminiscences," Murrow Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society; Carleton, Not Yours, pp. 77-78.
- ⁵⁰Carleton, Not Yours, p. 77.
- ⁵¹Baptists of Mississippi, Minutes, 1884.
- ⁵²Indian Missionary, August, 1885.
- ⁵³Farr, "Religious Assimilation," p. 32.
- ⁵⁴Indian Missionary, September, 1884.
- ⁵⁵Farr, "Religious Assimilation," pp. 36-48.
- ⁵⁶Indian Missionary, September, 1884.
- ⁵⁷Choctaw-Chickasaw Association, Minutes, 1874, 1875.
- ⁵⁸Loren James Belt, "Baptist Missions to the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma (Th. D. dissertation, Central Baptist Theological Seminary, 1955), pp. 117-118;

L. W. Marks, "The History of Oklahoma Baptists" (unpublished typewritten manuscript, Oklahoma Baptist University, 1932), p. 125.

⁵⁹Marks, "Oklahoma Baptists," p. 130; Belt, "Baptist Missions," p. 119.

⁶⁰Belt, "Baptist Missions," p. 122.

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 119-120.

⁶²Ibid., pp. 120-121.

⁶³Carleton, Not Yours, pp. 81-82.

⁶⁴Belt, "Baptist Missions," p. 148; Baptist Territorial Convention of Indian Territory, Proceedings, 1883.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Indian Missionary, August, 1884.

⁶⁷Routh, Oklahoma Baptists, pp. 75-76.

⁶⁸Carleton, Not Yours, p. 82; Belt, "Baptist Missions," p. 149.

⁶⁹Bacone Indian Papoose, August 1943.

⁷⁰Marks, "Oklahoma Baptists," p. 138; First Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Teachers of the Indian University, 1880-1881 (New Bedford, Massachusetts: Knight and Howland Printers, 1881), pp. 3, 14.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Ibid.; E. C. Routh, The Story of Oklahoma Baptists (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Baptist University Press, 1932), p. 91.

⁷³Coeryne Bode, "The Origin and Development of Bacone College (M. A. thesis, University of Tulsa, 1957), pp. 21-23.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Bacone Indian, 22 August 1933.

⁷⁶Bode, "Bacone College," pp. 26-27; Indian Missionary, June, 1885; Hamilton, Red Men, p. 230.

⁷⁷Murrow, Diary, May 21-23, 1883; June 3, 1885; April 15-19, 1886, Murrow Collection, Reel 6, University of Oklahoma.

⁷⁸Patrick J. Hurley, "Why Educate the Indians?" The Chamber of Commerce, 9 (July, 1931), p. 227; Carleton, Not Yours, p. 113.

⁷⁹Murrow, Diary, March 1-April 23, 1882, Murrow Collection, Reel 6, University of Oklahoma.

⁸⁰Carleton, Not Yours, pp. 127-128.

⁸¹Ibid., pp. 131-133; Joseph Samuel Murrow, "Indian Territory Masonry" in Roy M Johnson (compiler), Oklahoma History South of the Canadian (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1925), pp. 396-397; J. Fred Latham, The Story of Oklahoma Masonry; The Five Seventy-Five Years of Symbolic Masonry, 1874 to 1949 (Guthrie: Masonic Print Shop, 1978), p. 14.

⁸²Latham, Oklahoma Masonry, pp. 15-17; M. E. Grand Chapter, Royal Arch Masons of Oklahoma, History of Free Masonry in Oklahoma (Muskogee: Muskogee print Shop, 1935), pp. 37-40.

⁸³Latham, Oklahoma Masonry, pp. 18-19.

⁸⁴Murrow, "Indian Territory Masonry," pp. 397-398; Joseph Samuel Murrow to Granville McPherson, July 8, 1874, in Royal Arch Masons, Free Masonry, p. 44.

⁸⁵Latham, Oklahoma Masonry, pp. 18-24; Royal Arch Masons, Free Masonry, pp. 41-49.

⁸⁶Murrow to McPherson, July 8, 1874, in Royal Arch Masons, Free Masonry, pp. 44-45.

⁸⁷Latham, Oklahoma Masonry, p. 60.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 22.

⁸⁹Royal Arch Masons, Free Masonry, pp. 52-53.

⁹⁰Latham, Oklahoma Masonry, pp. 62-73.

⁹¹Ibid., pp. 72-73.

⁹²Royal Arch Masons, Free Masonry, pp. 61-67.

CHAPTER IV

¹Carleton, Not Yours, pp. 86-88.

² Joseph Samuel Murrow to Reverend H. C. Woods, November 17, 1890, in Carleton, Not Yours, p. 102.

³ Diary, December 30, 1888, Murrow Collection, Reel 3, University of Oklahoma.

⁴ Ibid., October 26, 1888.

⁵ Ibid., November 14, 1889.

⁶ Carleton, Not Yours, p. 87.

⁷ Ibid., p. 88; Baptist Messenger, 13 August, 1944.

⁸ Murrow to Woods, in Carleton, Not Yours, p. 103.

⁹ Indian Missionary, 17 September 1885.

¹⁰ Baptist Standard, 18 July 1895.

¹¹ Carleton, Not Yours, pp. 87-88.

¹² Baptist Beacon, 29 March 1899.

¹³ Carleton, Not Yours, pp. 87-88.

¹⁴ Murrow to Woods, in Carleton, Not Yours, p. 103.

¹⁵ Baptist Messenger, 31 August 1944.

¹⁶ Marks, "Oklahoma Baptists," p. 142; Gaskin, Baptist Milestones, p. 114.

¹⁷ Choctaw and Chickasaw Association, Minutes, 1878.

¹⁸ Murrow to Woods, in Carleton, Not Yours, p. 103.

¹⁹ Carleton, Not Yours, p. 92.

²⁰ Diary, July 6, 1885; December 19, 1885, Murrow Collection, Reel 6, University of Oklahoma.

²¹ Ibid., September 8, 1885.

²² Texas Baptist Standard, 11 July, 1895; Carleton, Not Yours, p. 93; Gaskin, Baptist Milestones, p. 142.

²³ Carleton, Not Yours, p. 93.

²⁴ Indian Missionary, June, 1887.

²⁵ Carleton, Not Yours, p. 93.

- ²⁶ Joseph Samuel Murrow to the Home Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention, July 11, 1891, in Carleton, Not Yours, p. 93.
- ²⁷ Diary, October 8, 1885, Murrow Collection, Reel 6, University of Oklahoma.
- ²⁸ Ibid., July 8, 1886.
- ²⁹ Ibid., August 16, 1888.
- ³⁰ I. T. Tichenor to H. L. Morehouse, March 6, 1899, in Carleton, Not Yours, pp. 156-158.
- ³¹ Ibid., pp. 162-163.
- ³² Gaskin, Baptist Milestones, p. 141.
- ³³ "Reminiscences of Mrs. Joseph Samuel Murrow," in Gaskin, Baptist Milestones, p. 113.
- ³⁴ Choctaw and Chickasaw Association, Minutes, 1875.
- ³⁵ "Reminiscences of Mrs. Joseph Samuel Murrow," in Gaskin, Baptist Milestones, p. 113.
- ³⁶ Choctaw and Chickasaw Association, Minutes, 1876; Carleton, Not Yours, p. 93.
- ³⁷ Diary, October 2, 1885, Murrow Collection, Reel 6, University of Oklahoma.
- ³⁸ Ibid., May 20, 1887; June 8, 1875; July 5, 1875; August 1, 1887; September 20, 1887; September 26, 1887; October 22, 1887; October 23, 1887; July 10, 1888; September 3, 1888.
- ³⁹ Choctaw and Chickasaw Association, Minutes, 1887.
- ⁴⁰ Diary, September 3, 1888, Murrow Collection, Reel 6, University of Oklahoma.
- ⁴¹ Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention, Annual, 1890; Hamilton, Red Men, p. 223.
- ⁴² Home Mission Echoes, January, 1899.
- ⁴³ Diary, July 6, 1884, Murrow Collection, Reel 6, University of Oklahoma.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., October 16, 1884.

⁴⁵Diary, February 19, 1889, Murrow Collection, Reel 7, University of Oklahoma.

⁴⁶Ibid., May 4, 1889.

⁴⁷Diary, June 6, 1887; July 14, 1888, Murrow Collection, Reel 6, University of Oklahoma.

⁴⁸Diary, July 20, 1889, Murrow Collection, Reel 7, University of Oklahoma.

⁴⁹Ibid., July 18-August 3, 1889.

⁵⁰Diary, April 29-May 14, 1887, Murrow Collection, Reel 6, University of Oklahoma.

⁵¹Ibid., February 13-24, 1885.

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⁵³Ibid., November 24-31, 1888.

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⁵⁵Carleton, Not Yours, p. 82.

⁵⁶Indian Missionary, March, 1885.

⁵⁷Diary, January 26, 1885, Murrow Collection, Reel 6, University of Oklahoma.

⁵⁸Vindicator, 14 September 1872.

⁵⁹Diary, November 19, 1885, Murrow Collection, Reel 6, University of Oklahoma.

⁶⁰Ibid., December 1, 1885; Indian Missionary, December, 1885.

⁶¹Indian Missionary, November, 1889.

⁶²Diary, June 3, 1887, Murrow Collection, Reel 6, University of Oklahoma.

⁶³Indian Missionary, July, 1888.

⁶⁴Diary, March 31, 1887, Murrow Collection, Reel 6, University of Oklahoma.

⁶⁵Ibid., June 23, 1887.

- ⁶⁶Ibid., March 30, 1887.
- ⁶⁷Ibid., August 12, 1887.
- ⁶⁸Diary, February 1, 1889, Murrow Collection, Reel 7, University of Oklahoma.
- ⁶⁹Diary, August 1, 1888, Murrow Collection, Reel 6, University of Oklahoma.
- ⁷⁰Ibid.
- ⁷¹Indian Missionary, January, 1888.
- ⁷²Ibid., March, 1888.
- ⁷³Ibid., April, 1888.
- ⁷⁴Ibid., July, 1888; Diary, June 20, 1888, Murrow Collection, Reel 6, University of Oklahoma.
- ⁷⁵Carleton, Not Yours, p. 72.
- ⁷⁶Ibid., p. 84.
- ⁷⁷Diary, November 23, 1901, Murrow Collection, Reel 8; January 13, 1903, January 16, 1903, February 19, 1903, Murrow Collection, Reel 9, University of Oklahoma.
- ⁷⁸Diary, January 27, 1885, Murrow Collection, Reel 6, University of Oklahoma.
- ⁷⁹Ibid., February 3, 1885.
- ⁸⁰Ibid., August 17, 1885.
- ⁸¹Ibid., September 1, 1885.
- ⁸²Indian Missionary, February, 1888.
- ⁸³Diary, April 9, 1891, Murrow Collection, Reel 7, University of Oklahoma.
- ⁸⁴Ibid., June 9, 1891.
- ⁸⁵I. T. Tichenor to the Home Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention, July 11, 1891, in Carleton, Not Yours, pp. 106-107.
- ⁸⁶Carleton, Not Yours, p. 106.

⁸⁷M. C. Kiser to Joseph Samuel Murrow, July 11, 1891, in Carleton, Not Yours, pp. 106-107.

⁸⁸Joseph Samuel Murrow to the Home Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention, July 11, 1891, in Carleton, Not Yours, p. 150.

⁸⁹Tichenor to Board, June 18, 1891.

⁹⁰Murrow to Board, July 11, 1891.

⁹¹Tichenor to Board, June 18, 1891.

⁹²Murrow to Board, July 11, 1891.

⁹³Tichenor to Board, June 18, 1891.

⁹⁴Murrow to Board, July 11, 1891.

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⁹⁷Murrow to Board, July 11, 1891.

⁹⁸Ibid.; Diary May 15-July 19, 1890, Murrow Collection, Reel 7, University of Oklahoma.

⁹⁹Murrow to Board, July 11, 1891.

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¹⁰²Diary, July 14, 1891, Murrow Collection, Reel 7, University of Oklahoma.

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¹⁰⁴Ibid., September 8, 1891, October 16, 1891.

CHAPTER V

¹Joseph Samuel Murrow, Quarterly Reports, 1892, American Baptist Home Mission Society, Murrow Collection, Reel 4, University of Oklahoma.

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³Carl Coke Rister, Baptist Missions Among the American Indians (Atlanta: Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1944), p. 101.

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⁷G. W. Hicks, Home Mission Monthly 14 (October, 1892), p. 17.

⁸Ibid.

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¹³H. H. Clouse, Home Mission Monthly 18 (December, 1896), p. 415.

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¹⁵Dane, "Baptist Missions," p. 45.

¹⁶Thomas J. Morgan to Joseph Samuel Murrow, March 30, 1892, Murrow Collection, Reel 12, University of Oklahoma.

¹⁷Diary, April 19-22, 1892, Murrow Collection, Reel 7, University of Oklahoma.

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- ²³Robert Coffee, A Brief History of the Deyo Mission (n. p.: n. d.), p. 2; Diary, November 17, 1895, Murrow Collection, Reel 8, University of Oklahoma.
- ²⁴Hamilton, Red Men, pp. 205-207; Diary, September 11, 1895, Murrow Collection, Reel 8, University of Oklahoma.
- ²⁵N. B. Rairden, Our Work Among the Kiowas (Philadelphia: American Baptist Home Mission Society, 1909), pp. 15-16; Hamilton, Red Men, pp. 206-207.
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- ²⁹Ibid., p. 179; N. B. Rairden, Home Mission Monthly 22 (July, 1900), p. 34.
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- ³²Rairden, Our Work, p. 10.
- ³³Hamilton, Red Men, p. 200.
- ³⁴Diary, June 5, 1895; June 16, 1900, Murrow Collection, Reel 8, University of Oklahoma.
- ³⁵Ibid., December 12, 1894; Rairden, Our Work, p. 10.
- ³⁶Angie Debo, A History of the Indians of the United States (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), p. 241; H. H. Clouse, Home Mission Monthly 19 (December, 1897), p. 262.
- ³⁷Mary Jayne Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma.
- ³⁸Debo, History of the Indians, p. 242.

³⁹Diary, June 5, 1900, Murrow Collection, Reel 8, University of Oklahoma.

⁴⁰The requirements on the part of government representatives to travel to Fort Sill for various official reasons such as to receive annuities or payments from Texas cattlemen for grazing privileges on Indian land often resulted in Indians residence at the fort for weeks. The period of extended Indian encampment was usually due, however, to the decision on the part of the Indians to camp and await the completion of official business rather than to leave and return later.

⁴¹Murrow, "Visit," p. 29.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Diary, December 12, 1894, Murrow Collection, Reel 8, University of Oklahoma.

⁴⁴Ibid., November 13, 1893.

⁴⁵Hamilton, Red Men, p. 208.

⁴⁶Diary, June 16, 1900, Murrow Collection, Reel 7, University of Oklahoma.

⁴⁷McDonald, "Western Oklahoma," pp. 58-65.

⁴⁸Thomas J. Morgan to Joseph Samuel Murrow, June 9, 1893, Murrow Collection, Reel 12, University of Oklahoma.

⁴⁹Diary, July 9, 1894, Murrow Collection, Reel 8, University of Oklahoma.

⁵⁰Ibid., August 8, 1894.

⁵¹Ibid., July 9, 1894; October 1, 1894.

⁵²N. B. Rairden to Joseph Samuel Murrow, July 27, 1895, Murrow Collection, Reel 12, University of Oklahoma.

⁵³Diary, May 3, 1899, Murrow Collection, Reel 8, University of Oklahoma.

⁵⁴Ibid., February 2, 1894.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid., February 4, 1894.

⁵⁷Ibid.

- ⁵⁸Ibid., February 8, 1894.
- ⁵⁹Ibid., January 1, 1900.
- ⁶⁰Ibid., June 9, 1898.
- ⁶¹Joseph Samuel Murrow to John Welch, March 19, 1897, Murrow Collection, Reel 11, University of Oklahoma.
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- ⁶³Ibid., June 22, 1899.
- ⁶⁴T. J. Morgan to Joseph Samuel Murrow, June 29, 1892, Murrow Collection, Reel 12, University of Oklahoma.
- ⁶⁵Diary, October 15, 1892, Murrow Collection, Reel 7, University of Oklahoma.
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- ⁶⁷Ibid., July 18, 1895.
- ⁶⁸Ibid., September 1, 1894.
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- ⁷⁰Ibid., April 25, 1893.
- ⁷¹Ibid., July 31, 1894.
- ⁷²Ibid., April 1, 1900.
- ⁷³Ibid., July 11, 1894.
- ⁷⁴Ibid., June 25, 1895.
- ⁷⁵Ibid., December 12, 1895.
- ⁷⁶Ibid., January 1, 1897.
- ⁷⁷Ibid., January 25-26, 1900.
- ⁷⁸Ibid., December 8, 1894.
- ⁷⁹Ibid., June 27, 1900.
- ⁸⁰Ibid., May 22, 1899.
- ⁸¹Joseph Samuel Murrow to Josiah McClure, March 9, 1897, Murrow Collection, Reel 11, University of Oklahoma.

⁸²Diary, June 23, 1898, Murrow Collection, Reel 8, University of Oklahoma.

⁸³Ibid., January 5, 1894.

⁸⁴Ibid., April 5, 1899.

⁸⁵Ibid., April 29, 1899.

⁸⁶Ibid., August 6, 1899.

⁸⁷Ibid., January 20, 1894.

⁸⁸Ibid., February 23, 1900.

⁸⁹Ibid., May 23, 1900.

⁹⁰Ibid., February 19, 1894.

⁹¹Ibid., September 14, 1894.

⁹²Ibid., October 7, 1894.

⁹³Ibid., October 9, 1894.

⁹⁴Ibid., October 7, 1894.

⁹⁵Ibid., October 18, 1894.

⁹⁶Ibid., October 26, 1894.

⁹⁷Ibid., December 26, 1894.

⁹⁸Ibid., January 18, 1895.

⁹⁹Joseph Samuel Murrow, Quarterly Report, October 1, 1895, Murrow Collection, Reel 4, University of Oklahoma.

¹⁰⁰Diary, March 11, 1895, Murrow Collection, Reel 5, University of Oklahoma.

¹⁰¹Ibid., September 16, 1893.

¹⁰²Ibid., November 3, 1893.

¹⁰³Ibid., September 18, 1898.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., October 16, 1894.

¹⁰⁵Diary, May 21, 1892, Murrow Collection, Reel 7, University of Oklahoma.

¹⁰⁶Diary, February 22, 1894, Murrow Collection, Reel 8, University of Oklahoma.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., May 26, 1894.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., May 26-June 6, 1894.

¹⁰⁹Carleton, Not Yours, p. 107.

¹¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹¹Enon Association, Minutes, 1891.

¹¹²Jesse Hodges, "Periods of Controversy in Oklahoma Baptist History," Oklahoma Baptist Chronicle 10 (August, 1967), pp. 14-15.

¹¹³Ibid., p. 17; Charles H. Black, "One Hundred Twenty Years of Baptist Missionary Administration in Oklahoma (Th. D. dissertation, Central Baptist Theological Seminary, 1950), p. 51.

¹¹⁴Hodges, "Periods of Controversy," p. 18.

¹¹⁵Ibid., pp. 18-19.

¹¹⁶Black, "Baptist Missionary Administration," p. 51.

¹¹⁷Baptist Beacon, 29 March, 1899.

¹¹⁸Diary, December 17, 1895, Murrow Collection, Reel 8, University of Oklahoma.

¹¹⁹Ibid., January 7, 1899.

¹²⁰J. C. Stalcup, "Early Baptist Mission Work in Oklahoma," Baptist Messenger 16 (June, 1928), p. 9.

¹²¹Routh, Oklahoma Baptists, p. 68.

¹²²Baptist Beacon, 29 March, 1899.

¹²³Diary, January 13, 1899; February 1, 1899, Murrow Collection, Reel 8, University of Oklahoma.

¹²⁴Joseph Samuel Murrow to H. L. Morehouse, September 29, 1892, Murrow Collection, Reel 12, University of Oklahoma.

¹²⁵Diary, November 1, 1895, Murrow Collection, Reel 8, University of Oklahoma.

¹²⁶Ibid., November 30, 1895.

- ¹²⁷Ibid., December 9, 1895.
- ¹²⁸I. T. Tichenor to H. L. Morehouse, March 6, 1899, in Carleton, Not Yours, pp. 156-158.
- ¹²⁹Ibid.
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- ¹³²Diary, May 17, 1899, Murrow Collection, Reel 8, University of Oklahoma.
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- ¹³⁵Oklahoma Baptist State Convention Annual, 1900, pp. 38-39.
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- ¹³⁹Diary, January 16, 1900, Murrow Collection, Reel 8, University of Oklahoma.
- ¹⁴⁰Ibid., February 7, 1900.
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- ¹⁴⁹Ibid., June 20, 1900.
- ¹⁵⁰Baptist General Association of Indian Territory, Minutes, 1900; Gaskin, Baptist Milestones, pp. 147-148; Diary, September 4-10, 1900, Murrow Collection, Reel 8, University of Oklahoma.
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- ¹⁵⁶Ibid., October 14, 1900.
- ¹⁵⁷Ibid., October 29, 1900.
- ¹⁵⁸Ibid., October 14, 1900.
- ¹⁵⁹Ibid., October 26, 1900; December 21, 1900; December 31, 1900; Seventieth Annual Report of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, 1902, pp. 86-87.

CHAPTER VI

- ¹U. S. Congress, Senate, Report of the Select Committee To Investigate Matters Connected with Affairs in the Indian Territory, with Hearings, November 11, 1906-January 9, 1907, 59th Cong., 2d sess, Rpt. No. 5013, Vol. I, p. 861.
- ²Joseph Samuel Murrow, Why the Poor Indian is Poor and Disheartened (n. p.: Indian Territory Baptist Press, n. d.), pp. 1-11.
- ³U. S. Congress, Senate, Report, p. 861.
- ⁴Ibid.
- ⁵Danney Goble, Progressive Oklahoma; The Making of a New Kind of State (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), pp. 72-73.
- ⁶Ibid.
- ⁷Diary, April 8, 1903, Murrow Collection, Reel 9, University of Oklahoma.

- ⁸Goble, Progressive Oklahoma, p. 73.
- ⁹Diary, May 19, 1903, Murrow Collection, Reel 9, University of Oklahoma.
- ¹⁰Ibid., July 15, 1903.
- ¹¹Goble, Progressive Oklahoma, pp. 78-79.
- ¹²Diary, January 5, 1900, Murrow Collection, Reel 8; July 4, 1902, Murrow Collection, Reel 9, University of Oklahoma.
- ¹³Diary, July 29, 1903, Murrow Collection, Reel 9, University of Oklahoma.
- ¹⁴Diary, February 22, 1900, Murrow Collection, Reel 8, University of Oklahoma.
- ¹⁵Ibid., February 23, 1900.
- ¹⁶Diary, March 18, 1902, Murrow Collection, Reel 9, University of Oklahoma.
- ¹⁷Ibid., March 4, 1902.
- ¹⁸U. S. Congress, Senate, Report, p. 865; Muskogee Phoenix, 12 January 1903.
- ¹⁹U. S. Congress, Senate, Report, p. 883; Murrow, Why the Indian, pp. 10-11.
- ²⁰U. S. Congress, Senate, Report, p. 866.
- ²¹Angie Debo, And Still the Waters Run (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940), p. 104.
- ²²Ibid., pp. 103-104.
- ²³Ibid., p. 102.
- ²⁴Ibid., pp. 104-105.
- ²⁵Ibid., p. 106.
- ²⁶U. S. Congress, Senate, Report, p. 866.
- ²⁷Debo, And Still the Waters Run, p. 106.
- ²⁸Ibid., pp. 106-107; U. S. Congress, Senate, Report, pp. 868-870.
- ²⁹U. S. Congress, Senate, Report, p. 868.

- ³⁰Debo, And Still the Waters Run, pp. 112-113.
- ³¹Ibid., p. 113.
- ³²U. S. Congress, Senate, Report, p. 869.
- ³³Report of S. W. Bulter, Office of the Board of Control, Masonic Childrens Home, Atoka, Oklahoma, Murrow Collection, Reel 12, University of Oklahoma.
- ³⁴Indian Citizen, 7 June 1906.
- ³⁵U. S. Congress, Senate, Report, pp. 1052-1073; Goble, Progressive Oklahoma, p. 82.
- ³⁶Debo, And Still the Waters Run, p. 114.
- ³⁷U. S. Congress, Senate, Report, p. 865.
- ³⁸Ibid., pp. 882-883.
- ³⁹Murrow, Why the Indian, p. 11.
- ⁴⁰Diary, November 23, 1901, Murrow Collection, Reel 9, University of Oklahoma.
- ⁴¹Ibid., June 27, 1902.
- ⁴²Ibid., June 23, 1902; July 7, 1902.
- ⁴³Ibid., July 3, 1902; August 23, 1902; Choctaw-Chickasaw Association, Minutes, 1902; Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention, Minutes, 1902.
- ⁴⁴Diary, July 22, 1902; August 25, 1902; Murrow Collection, Reel 9, University of Oklahoma.
- ⁴⁵Carleton, Not Yours, p. 120.
- ⁴⁶Diary, September 27, 1902, Murrow Collection, Reel 9, University of Oklahoma.
- ⁴⁷Ibid., October 6, 1902; January 27, 1903.
- ⁴⁸Ibid., October 15, 1902; Carleton, Not Yours, p. 121; Debo, And Still the Waters Run, p. 39; Petition Submitted to William H. Carleton, Judge of the United States Court, for the Central District of Indian Territory, October 20, 1902, Murrow Collection, Reel 12, University of Oklahoma.
- ⁴⁹Constitution and Bylaws of the Murrow Indian Orphans' Home, Murrow Collection, Reel 12, University of Oklahoma.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Diary, July 7, 1903, Murrow collection, Reel 9, University of Oklahoma.

⁵⁴Ibid., July 18, 1903.

⁵⁵Ibid., June 9, 1903.

⁵⁶Ibid., July 23, 1902; January 22, 1903; January 28, 1903.

⁵⁷Ibid., July 23, 1902.

⁵⁸Ibid., January 22, 1903; January 28, 1903.

⁵⁹Ibid., January 16, 1904; January 23, 1904; Indian Orphan, 1 July 1908.

⁶⁰R. L. Rogers, Report on Examination of Land of Murrow Indian Orphans' Home, Unchucka, Oklahoma, June, 1909, Murrow Collection, Reel 12, University of Oklahoma.

⁶¹Diary, February 5, 1903, Murrow Collection, Reel 9, University of Oklahoma.

⁶²Ibid., January 18, 1904.

⁶³Ibid., June 12, 1903; December 19, 1903.

⁶⁴Ibid., November 16-17, 1903; January 7, 1904.

⁶⁵Commission of the Five Civilized Tribes to D. N. Robb, May 23, 1904; List of Citizens of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations Who Selected Allotments on the Segregated Lands, January 6, 1905; List of Persons Who Pledged Land to the Murrow Indian Orphans' Home, n. d., Murrow Collection, Reel 12, University of Oklahoma.

⁶⁶U. S. Congress, Senate, Report, p. 871.

⁶⁷Diary, October 22, 1903; November 21, 1903; November 23, 1905; November 25, 1905, Murrow Collection, Reel 9, University of Oklahoma; U. S. Congress, Senate, Report, p. 870.

⁶⁸Debo, And Still the Waters Run, p. 109.

⁶⁹U. S. Congress, Senate, Report, pp. 870-871; Indian Orphan, 1 July 1908; Diary, February 3, 1903, Murrow Collection, Reel 9, University of Oklahoma.

⁷⁰J. E. Wolfe, A Plea for the Indian Orphan (n. p., n. d.), p. 4.

⁷¹D. H. Johnson to Joseph Samuel Murrow, n. d., Murrow Collection, Reel 12, University of Oklahoma.

⁷²Diary, November 21, 1903, Murrow Collection, Reel 9, University of Oklahoma.

⁷³Theodore Roosevelt, Speech in Atoka, Oklahoma, April 5, 1905, Murrow Collection, Reel 12, University of Oklahoma.

⁷⁴Tams Bixby to Whom It May Concern, July 21, 1905, Murrow Collection, Reel 12, University of Oklahoma.

⁷⁵Carleton, Not Yours, p. 120.

⁷⁶Diary, December 5-20, 1905, Murrow collection, Reel 9, University of Oklahoma.

⁷⁷34 United States Statutes 137.

⁷⁸Diary, June 2, 1906, Murrow Collection, Reel 9, University of Oklahoma; Indian Orphan, August 1907; Contract between Murrow Indian Orphans' Home and George Miller, June 25, 1907, Murrow Collection, Reel 12, University of Oklahoma.

⁷⁹Wolfe, Plea, pp. 5-6; Carleton, Not Yours, p. 122; Diary, May 21, 1903; July 16, 1903, Murrow Collection, Reel 9; Report to the Baptist General Convention; Report to the Choctaw and Chickasaw Association, Murrow Collection, Reel 12, University of Oklahoma.

⁸⁰Diary, September 25, 1906, Murrow Collection, Reel 9, University of Oklahoma.

⁸¹Ibid., September 22, 1906.

⁸²Ibid., October 31, 1905.

⁸³Ibid., March 8, 1906.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Ibid., March 27, 1906.

⁸⁶Ibid.

- ⁸⁷Ibid., April 1-3, 1905.
- ⁸⁸Ibid., July 11, 1905.
- ⁸⁹Ibid., October 7, 1905.
- ⁹⁰Ibid., October 2, 1905; October 28, 1905; April 25, 1906.
- ⁹¹Ibid., March 1, 1906; April 8, 1906.
- ⁹²Indian Orphan, 1 February 1907.
- ⁹³Diary, February 6, 1903, Murrow Collection, Reel 9, University of Oklahoma.
- ⁹⁴Indian Orphan, 1 October 1908.
- ⁹⁵Diary, April 22, 1904, Murrow Collection, Reel 9, University of Oklahoma.
- ⁹⁶Ibid., January 6, 1903.
- ⁹⁷Ibid., January 25, 1906.
- ⁹⁸Financial Statement, Joseph Samuel Murrow, March 28, 1910, Murrow Collection, Reel 12, University of Oklahoma.
- ⁹⁹Carleton, Not Yours, pp. 123-124.
- ¹⁰⁰Report of the Committee on the Murrow Indian Orphans' Home, Endorsement and Petition of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Baptist Association, August, 1908, Murrow Collection, Reel 12, University of Oklahoma.
- ¹⁰¹Ibid.
- ¹⁰²Indian Orphan 1 November 1908; Transfer Agreement Murrow Indian Orphans' Home and the American Baptist Home Mission Society, August, 1908, Murrow Collection, Reel 12, University of Oklahoma.
- ¹⁰³Indian Orphan, 1 October 1908.
- ¹⁰⁴Ibid., 1 October 1910.
- ¹⁰⁵Diary, February 3, 1910, Murrow Collection, Reel 10, University of Oklahoma.
- ¹⁰⁶Ibid., March 13, 1910.
- ¹⁰⁷Ibid., February 5, 1910.

¹⁰⁸Indian Orphan, 1 October 1910.

CHAPTER VII

¹The primary sources for the years 1910-1929 are severely limited for Murrow. As a retired person, with the opportunity to reflect on his life, his diaries and correspondence files could have been virtual treasure troves of information. Those sources, except for a few scattered letters and his diaries for the years 1916 and 1918 were all destroyed in the El Reno fire mentioned earlier.

²U. S. Congress, Senate, Report, p. 882.

³Diary, April 6, 1916, Murrow Collection, Reel 10, University of Oklahoma.

⁴Ibid., January 9, 1916.

⁵Ibid., January 29, 1916.

⁶Ibid., March 4, 1916.

⁷Ibid., June 1, 1904.

⁸Benjamin D. Weeks Files, Murrow Collection, Reel 12, University of Oklahoma.

⁹Indian Citizen-Democrat, 29 August 1912; Diary, April 5, 1916; April 21, 1916, Murrow Collection, Reel 10, University of Oklahoma.

¹⁰Diary, April 5, 1916, Murrow Collection, Reel 10, University of Oklahoma.

¹¹Ibid., January 10, 1916.

¹²Ibid., March 21, 1918.

¹³Ibid., November 3, 1918.

¹⁴Ibid., August 30, 1916.

¹⁵Ibid., July 30, 1916.

¹⁶Ibid., September 6, 1916.

¹⁷Ibid., August 26, 1916.

¹⁸Ibid., September 21, 1918.

- ¹⁹Ibid., September 8, 1918.
- ²⁰Ibid.
- ²¹Ibid., June 3, 1918.
- ²²Ibid., June 12, 1918.
- ²³Ibid., May 1, 1918.
- ²⁴Ibid., May 31, 1918.
- ²⁵Ibid., March 11, 1918.
- ²⁶Ibid., December 5, 1918.
- ²⁷Ibid., July 9, 1918.
- ²⁸United Jewish Fund to Joseph Samuel Murrow, March 15, 1925, Murrow Collection, Reel 4, University of Oklahoma.
- ²⁹Ibid.
- ³⁰Financial Statement, Joseph Samuel Murrow, 1919, Murrow Collection, Reel 4, University of Oklahoma.
- ³¹For an analysis of Murrow's financial condition in his later years, see Financial Statements, Joseph Samuel Murrow, Murrow Collection, Reel 4, University of Oklahoma.
- ³²Diary, April 19, 1916, Murrow Collection, Reel 10, University of Oklahoma.
- ³³Financial Statement, Joseph Samuel Murrow, 1919, Murrow Collection, Reel 4, University of Oklahoma.
- ³⁴Edith W. Rebeum to Joseph Samuel Murrow, October 21, 1927, Murrow Collection, Reel 4, University of Oklahoma.
- ³⁵J. D. Sandefer to Joseph Samuel Murrow, August 3, 1927; J. D. Sandefer to Joseph Samuel Murrow, September 15, 1927, Murrow Collection, Reel 4, University of Oklahoma.
- ³⁶Joseph Samuel Murrow to Benjamin D. Weeks, July 20, 1928, Murrow Collection, Reel 4, University of Oklahoma.
- ³⁷Indian Citizen-Democrat, 15 September 1910.
- ³⁸Ibid., 25 January 1912; A. S. McKennon to Joseph Samuel Murrow, January 18, 1912, Murrow Collection, Reel 4, University of Oklahoma.

- ³⁹Indian Citizen-Democrat, 11 April 1916.
- ⁴⁰Diary, May 25, 1916; June 20, 1916; September 5, 1916, Murrow Collection, Reel 10, University of Oklahoma.
- ⁴¹Ibid., July 20, 1918.
- ⁴²Ibid., January 7, 1918; Indian Citizen-Democrat, 7 January 1917.
- ⁴³Diary, February 14, 1918, Murrow Collection, Reel 10, University of Oklahoma.
- ⁴⁴Ibid., March 29, 1918; Indian Citizen-Democrat, 28 March 1918.
- ⁴⁵Carleton, Not Yours, p. 83.
- ⁴⁶Indian Citizen-Democrat, 8 September 1921.
- ⁴⁷Oklahoma Mason, October 1929.
- ⁴⁸Royal Arch Masons, History of Free Masonry, p. 238.
- ⁴⁹Ibid., p. 224.
- ⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 239-240.
- ⁵¹Oklahoma Mason, october 1929.
- ⁵²Indian Citizen-Democrat, 9 September 1929; Funeral Notice; Funeral Sermon, Benjamin D. Weeks, Murrow Collection, Reel 4, University of Oklahoma; Carleton, Not Yours, pp. 125-126.
- ⁵³Indian Citizen-Democrat, 9 September 1929.

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