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UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

GUTHRIE, OKLAHOMA:

AN ANALYSIS OF TOWNSCAPES, 1889 – 1910

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

Sherrilyn Reece
Norman, Oklahoma
1999

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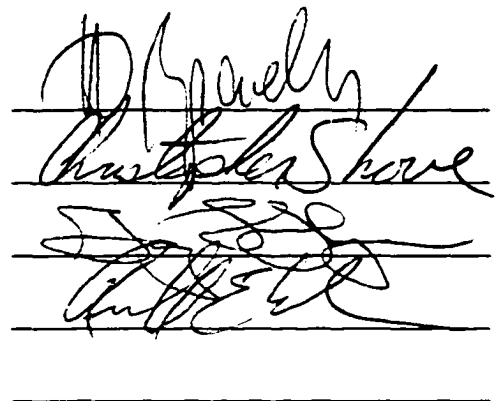
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GUTHRIE, OKLAHOMA:
ANALYSIS OF TOWNSCAPES, 1889 - 1910

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

"APPROVED FOR"

BY

The block contains three handwritten signatures written over four horizontal lines. The first signature is 'D. G. Smith', the second is 'Christopher Stone', and the third is 'J. H. [unclear]'. The signatures are written in dark ink.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

NLN	National Landmark Nomination
GNRHDF	Guthrie National Register Historic District Files

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the morphology of Guthrie, Oklahoma. It begins with an examination of the inception of the city as the designated capital of the Indian Territory and follows its development from an earlier concept proposed by Thomas Jefferson. It also includes conflicts that arose with the Native Americans, self-serving insistence of Congress to settle the area, Boudinot's discovery of the Unassigned Lands, the federal government's high handed orchestration of the land run and "contest" claims, and other vested interests. It utilizes an urban ecological framework to underscore the important effects of key elements operating within the confines of the systems approach - that being, "the whole is equal to all of its parts." These subsystems have been identified as physical, social / cultural, political, economical, and technological elements.

The next portion of the study discusses urban analysis in some depth and cites various studies and contributions -- i.e., theories and models -- made by particular urban geographers and sociologists over time. It begins with the work of Charles Cooley and early geographers at the University of Chicago and ties their research into the work of later systems analysts such as Kenneth Boulding, Richard Meier, Anthony Catanese, and Brian Berry. The key notion set forth is that all of the elements are tightly linked in the urban system, and that a change in any one of them causes alterations in any or all of the others. By applying this analytical construct directly to Guthrie, one can explain physical changes in growth and development that occurred over time.

Chapter Three is an in-depth study of the various Native American tribes that occupied the Oklahoma Territory over time – the initial nomadic people as well as the different Indian Nations that were forcibly settled in the area under federal proclamations. It discusses the economic and social relationships of these peoples with the early Spanish explorers, French trappers, American surveyors, and so forth. Considerable emphasis is placed on the political maneuverings executed by federal agencies and officers as well as high government officials and other vested interests.

The next part of the dissertation examines various federal documents (Congressional bills, treaties, contracts, etc.) that had severe impacts on the development of Guthrie. The data base for this part of the study includes newspaper editorials and articles, federal mandates, city council minutes, and excerpts taken from other historical documents – e.g., letters, journals, diaries, etc. Much of the chapter discusses political problems centering on definitions of “legal” settlers, legitimacy of land claims, efficacy of Indian rights, etc.

Chapter Five focuses on the actual development of Guthrie. It notes how the different townsites were established, who the initial claimants were, and subsequent conflicts that developed over land disputes. It also takes note of the operation of the Federal Land Office that was established for filing claims, overseeing registration procedures, and adjudicating conflicts of ownership. A large portion of this section focuses on Guthrie’s four separate townsites, each with their own mayor and city council. It provides documentation that gives insight to the phenomenal speed in which these city fathers’ produced a city with water systems, sewer systems, electricity, bridges, streets, etc. The early days of Guthrie being directed by the city council has been referred to as

“urban design without urban designers” producing a city of stability, continuity and culture in the middle of a prairie that would equal any eastern city.

Chapter Six describes the settlement of Guthrie in some detail examining the various plats, street patterns, neighborhoods, and significant architecture. It gives detailed accounts of the important buildings that were erected, and provides data as to their dates of construction, locations, owners, costs, and so forth. In describing the physical morphology of the community it tells of the removal of the State Capital and the subsequent disastrous effect that this action had on the city.

The last two chapters, Conclusions and Epilogue, summarize the utility of using an urban ecological framework in documenting the growth of a community, and note possible growth paradigms presently available to Guthrie.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Guthrie, the Santa Fe railroad hub, was the logical location of one of the two land offices of the new territory. It became within matters of hours on April 22, 1889, the territorial seat of government, “the Capital of Oklahoma Territory,” only to be stripped in 1910 of this prestigious distinction in the midst of intrigue and political mudslinging. Guthrie, plunged into political meaningless and economic despair through the years of the Great Depression, and continued its provincial economic and cultural “sleeping beauty” status for decades. The “Historic Capital of Oklahoma Territory” was rediscovered in the 1970s in the wake of the Historic Preservation movement, and finally, restored again as a modest historical architectural state treasure.

The purpose of this study was to determine what urban forces were responsible for the evolution of Guthrie’s 1910 townscape, and if there was a significant inheritance present in Guthrie from its 1910 townscape.

To recreate Guthrie’s longevity, it was decided that an urban ecology systems theory, a formalized method of urban analysis, would provide a method to study intrinsic details needed to identify, compare and understand the major sub-systems of Guthrie’s growth processes that lead to events contributing to her community development. The urban ecosystem contains five components – physical, social/cultural, political, economical, and technological. These components comprise the pulsating heartbeat of a

town or city. Never losing sight of the connections between them, the systems theory provides the needed framework to reproduce Guthrie from her conception as a station house, to the largest “Boom Town” in Oklahoma Territory, to the First State Capital of Oklahoma, and eventually, to becoming Oklahoma National Historic Landmark.

To be more specific, the ever-changing urban ecological framework would provide an avenue to investigate through time the evolution of Guthrie’s settlement patterns, morphology of Guthrie’s built environment (street, bridges, buildings, infrastructure), changes in the physical appearance of her townscapes, the integrity of key city districts and individual edifices of Guthrie.

Chronological settlement patterns bring life to the early development of Guthrie, as well as, a glimpse into the early architectural designs, materials used, historical significance and topography of the landscape. Settlement patterns also document the wealth determinant of residential districts such as house locations on streets determine its size and style. It will also give insight as to why the wealthier live on one side of town and the less fortunate live on the other side of the Cottonwood Creek with nuisances identified as freight yards, livestock pens, packing plants and the inconvenience of being away from the central business district.

Morphology of Guthrie’s built environment can be resurrected through the historical records of the City Council Minutes and the Territorial Museum Records. They provide the data to track the first streets to be established and occupied, where they were located, what professionals occupied the town lots, where business activity concentrated, etc. In essence, the changing physical characteristics of Guthrie’s individualistic townscapes.

Guthrie has had many articles and books written by distinguished journalists and historians documenting specific factual data concerning various events and activities. This study is using and categorizing such facts within the appropriate sub-system of the urban ecosystem, to analyze and interpret, as they collided, intermingled and competed to create the spatial system of Guthrie's 1910 townscape. Gordon Cullen The Concise Townscape described a townscape as "the art of giving visual coherence and organization to the jumble of buildings, streets, and spaces that make up the urban environment (Cullen 1996 [definition on book's back cover]." In other words, in previous works, there has been only the primary use of one variable or topic, this study focuses on a system of urban variables functioning in their entirety within a framework to recreate and identify over time the changing physical appearances of Guthrie's townscapes. The net result of this process is that we can discover the strength of the interrelationships among all the variables in the urban ecosystem.

The sequential time frames selected to correlate the dynamic urban ecosystem responsible for the evolutionary townscapes, ending with Guthrie's legendary 1910 townscape have been as follows:

- (1) Guthrie's First Beginnings, 1541 – 1889
- (2) Impending Activities Before the Run,
March 23, 1889 – April 22, 1889
- (3) Guthrie, Indian Territory's Largest Boom Town, 1889 – 1890
- (4) Guthrie, It's Legacy, 1890 -- 1910
- (5) Guthrie, "An Edge City," 1970s – 1999

This application of historical facts within the boundaries of the urban ecological framework makes this research original. Then, there is the question – Is this work

significant? Yes, given the fact that it explains for the first time the townscape evolution and examines whether today's Guthrie represents some of that historic inheritance.

This research is in the middle ground of inventory that looks at the factors of cause and effect. One could state that the hypothesis of this dissertation could be – if there has been a valid townscape created in Guthrie, then there might be a legacy of the final townscape of 1910 inherited and passed to present day Guthrie. Or, the hypothesis could be – if Guthrie's townscapes emerged in terms of being culturally and esthetically valid, then like in other cultures where the present builds on the past, Guthrie's present might benefit from this legacy.

CHAPTER ONE

WORKS CITED

Cullen, Gordon. The Concise Townscape. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971 [location of definition of townscape on back of book's cover].

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

When this method of research, Urban Ecology Systems Theory, was first considered for use in the dissertation, there was considerable debate about its application to analyze urban environments. This led to a careful examination of the history of scholarly applications of this concept by geographers and social scientists who practiced this model as a tool for urban research.

The investigation revealed the first documented professional to use the term ecology to apply relationships between environment and organism's heredity was in 1869 by the German zoologist (George 1974). In 1904, Patrick Geddes' observation of critical linkages between the sub-systems of the natural environment and sub-systems of urbanization were conceptualizing the systems theory. Charles Cooley expanded Geddes' theories to encompass urban ecology in that he made an analogy between human settlements [urbanization] to natural ecological systems. The Chicago Bunch, a well-known group of applied geographers and social scientists at University of Chicago, championed urban ecology systems theory and dedicated their study to the city and understanding the process of urbanization. Brian Berry furthering their work stated all communities' are dynamic organisms comprised of various sub-systems that interact in their operation. Christopher Exline, Gary Peters and Robert Larkin expressed that the complexity of these sub-systems represents the variety and level of activity within a

community and operate to change and re-shape it over time. And, in the 1990's Gideon Golany defined the city as a living organism containing a symphony of complex sub-systems. For Golany, all social, economic, physical, political, technological and natural systems interact to generate the life giving blood of the community. Carl George stated that the ecological processes could be understood to have originated in three steps: the appearance of Earth, as a *stage*, the provision of the stage with *actors*, and the *play* that then resulted.

With vindicating the notion that urban ecology was a recognized form of observation and method of research, the literature review discussion begins with this question, can something as complex as a city be truly studied?

Gideon Golany takes the position that the city is the largest and most complicated social system ever devised by man (Golany 1995). He defines it as a living organism containing a symphony of complex sub-systems each having its own set of in-puts, out-puts, and refinement processes. He states that the future of a city's relationships to its environment cannot be assessed or diagnosed effectively without first understanding its past. For Golany all social, economic, physical, political, technological, and natural systems interact to generate a community's form, sense of place, and growth potential.

Before attempting to analyze the historical development of Guthrie, Oklahoma, it would be worthwhile to review some of the models and/or analytical frameworks that have been applied to such tasks in the past. All communities are dynamic organisms comprised of various sub-systems that interact in their operation (Berry 1964; Boulding 1968; Catanese and Steiss 1969). The complexities of these sub-systems represents the

variety and level of activity within a community and operate to change and re-shape it over time (Exline, Peters, and Larkin 1982).

Urban analysis centers when trying to understand the growth processes and events that have contributed to a community's development examine the sub-systems independently in a piecemeal fashion, yet never lose sight of the connections and relationships between them. Like many other turn-of-the-century settlements in the American Great Plains, Guthrie, Oklahoma has undergone substantial changes and phases in its morphology. Begun as a remote settlement in the Indian Territory it rapidly evolved into a railroad town, a territorial capital, and eventually a county seat in the State of Oklahoma.

Even though the initial settlement was largely isolated in the central Great Plains of the American West, it was nonetheless part of a system of human settlements and urban centers that exerted influence and fostered change within it. In its totality, this larger system included elements of population, physical [territorial] imperatives, technological advancements, socio-political vectors, and perceptual imagery that generated different spatial patterns of development over time.

Population serves as the key element in the urban ecological system. The size and aggregation of demographic groups, their locations, command over resources, and ethnic fabric all contribute to the dynamics of urban places. Homogeneous groups living in discrete or unique social spaces are commonly referred to as ethnic communities (Sjoberg 1965). During the late 19th and early 20th centuries great waves of immigrants entered the United States locating in core areas of large urban centers or nucleating in rural communities where land or business opportunities were perceived to be available. Newly

formed ethnic communities frequently offered stability and buffering for new immigrants in making adjustments to their new homes (Petersen 1958). Petersen's migration-growth paradigm is aptly suited for studying demographic change in Guthrie as well as in the Indian Territory. Great waves of Irish, Welsh, Germans, and Italians swelled the ranks of settlers in the Oklahoma Land Rush only to aggregate in separate ethnic communities once they arrived.

A city's urban ecosystem cannot be separated from its physical environment of which it is a part. Thus, fixed spatial/territorial conditions of cities exert substantial influence on their development. Soil quality, topography, location, water availability, length of growing seasons, annual rainfall, mean temperatures, etc., constitute critical parameters that can either thwart or enhance community growth. In general, there are many sub-systems that can be placed under this overarching rubric of "environment" and each has its own set of complex effects that bear upon the growth and development of the city. As far back as the turn of the century, Patrick Geddes noted the ever widening conflict between urban and environmental systems [nature] and the urgent need for improved hygienic conditions among the poor (Geddes 1904, 1906). Geddes' regional concept of urban development demonstrated the critical linkages between natural processes, migration and urbanization. He literally revealed the impact and extent of their conflicts to his students through the *camera obscura* atop his Outlook Tower in Edinburgh (Geddes 1950).

A third element in the ecological paradigm is that of social organization, which takes notice of the ways in which, population aggregates are organized into particular social groups allowing them to interact in specific ways within the system. Life-styles

[behavioral patterns], life-cycles [age], and SES [socioeconomic status] are also critical demographic variables in urban analysis since they affect both household formation and land use. Corporate structures, labor groups [unions], families, political parties, and religious bodies all work as social vectors that have the potential to distend or alter urban growth patterns.

With marked improvements in the collection and arrangement of 1950 Centennial Census information, Shevky and Bell were able to apply new analytical strategies yielding much greater utility for aggregate demographic data (Shevky and Bell 1961). Their technique known as *social area analysis* evaluated census tracts in terms of income, race, and numbers of women in the labor force allowing them to develop taxonomies of social areas [census districts] in relation to racial segregation and employment opportunity.

Of all the elements however, technological innovation impacts the ecological system most swiftly and dramatically (Gist and Fava 1975; Holbert 1963). For example, improvements in transportation, communication, merchandising, building methods, and urban infrastructure have drastically attenuated the role and importance of the central business districts in most American cities in less than a decade. Analysis of traffic counts, origin and destination studies, shopping patterns, and other aspects of transport systems [modal splits, costs, convenience, etc.] reveals much about changes in spatial patterns in urban areas (Owen 1959, 1975; Kain 1961). Among others, Davies has estimated that nearly one-third of all the land in central business districts in most major American cities is now devoted to parking structures (Davies 1975). Such development not only stresses the increased concentration of people in the core area, but the changing

role of downtown from a retail center to a place of employment. Added improvements in telecommunications could distort or reduce land use patterns in the central city even further.

The final element in the urban ecological system can best be termed social/psychological effects. These are the cognitive processes (images) of human perception that subsequently mold attitudes about certain parts of cities having lasting effects upon their development. Those areas within the mosaic of urban land use activities that evoke a favorable imagery usually receive greater in-puts of market and municipal resources than do those that receive public disdain regarding their character (Lynch 1961, 1965). Thus, neighborhoods in this latter category are often referred to as being on the "wrong side of the tracks, crime-ridden, risky," or, at best, "unfashionable." Quite often words that evoke these stereotypical images of particular places and/or their inhabitants are referred to as *geographic identifiers*.

Systems theory can readily be utilized to study urban growth and change (Berry 1964; Catanese and Steiss 1969). Properly applied it can generate an analytical framework in which key urban ecological elements function as critical components within the dynamic urban system (Chapin 1968; Meier and Duke 1966; Feldt 1966). Begun with the work of Charles Cooley at the University of Michigan urban ecology likened human settlements to natural ecological systems focusing on organisms and their habitats. Cooley, expanding on the ideas and concepts of Patrick Geddes, Frederick Olmsted, and others, took the position that man too was a natural animal and existed within a habitat that required sustenance, shelter, and other critical in-puts for his well being and maturation. Based on the fund of urban data that was then becoming available,

his students and others soon generated new theories for understanding urban phenomena (Burgess [n.d.], Park 1961; McKensie 1927; Firey 1961; Ullman 1962, etc.).

Urban ecology soon found a new home under the leadership of Albion Small at the University of Chicago in the 1920's (Schnore 1965). This group of urban social scientists that included Nels Anderson and Louis Wirth as well as the urban ecologists Ernest Burgess, Robert Park and Roderick McKenzie soon became known as the "Chicago School [Bunch]." The work of this group was wholly dedicated to the study of the city and understanding the process of urbanization (Wirth 1938). Being interested in spatial arrangements of urban growth, Burgess, Park, and McKenzie theorized from their data that cities evolved in homogeneous rings in radial patterns (Blumenfeld 1949). They referred to this as the Concentric Zone Theory of urban development. In their model, the center comprised downtown as well as the industrial area and housed the laboring class [new immigrants] who readily found work there. The second ring contained the upper lower and middle classes [blue collar and white-collar workers who had better employment and consequently could pay higher rents]. The third ring was home to the managerial and professional classes while the fourth comprised the suburbs and the residences of the wealthy that commuted to the central business district.

The Concentric Ring paradigm was soon followed by a second theory developed by Homer Hoyt (Hoyt 1939). Hoyt maintained that urban areas grew in sectors as improved access [transit systems] made them available for occupancy. He labeled this the Sector Theory (Gist and Halbert 1963). Walter Firey later refined some of Hoyt's notions through his own research noting that interstices [open or low density areas]

between transit trunk lines or arterial streets were much slower to develop than other parts of the city better served by public transport (Davie 1961).

Hoyt first hypothesized in the dynamics of his model that high-rent areas expanded along established lines of travel and favored amenity areas [good views, green space, mature landscaping, etc.]. His theory followed that after these high-rent areas matured into highly desirable locations or neighborhoods, they began to dictate the use of surrounding land (Dewey 1956). He also contended that his data indicated that a “filtering” of housing stock occurred as the rich abandoned their homes in the central areas of the city and relocated in new housing on the urban periphery. In his opinion housing stock deterioration was a major causal factor in this process.

Vance explored urban growth further and identified several stages of the process (Vance 1971). He termed these sequential phases as *inception*, *exclusion*, *segregation*, *extension*, *relocation and adjustment*, and *redevelopment*. Although his research focused on urban centers many of these observations and theoretical constructs are germane to smaller communities such as Guthrie. *Inception* refers to the initial impetus that provides the germ for urban growth. In the case of Guthrie, it was the establishment of the Federal Land Office in the Indian Territory in 1889. This brought public attention to the place. *Exclusion* refers to the displacement of the original inhabitants [which in this case would be the Native American population] through the establishment of activities that are contrary or inappropriate to their interests. In Vance’s construct, *segregation* refers to both the separation of urban activities and the distribution of local residents. The term *extension* implies the outward [usually radial] pattern of development emanating from the urban center (Duncan and Duncan 1957). Guthrie as an urban typology definitely reflects

this spatial configuration (Stanislawski 1961). *Readjustment and relocation* are those growth responses that take place after the settlement adjusts to change while *redevelopment* refers to the new residential patterns that are formed.

Other models of urban growth echo much of what Vance posits in noting the city to be a vast mosaic of *flows, linkages, and diffusional processes* (House and Patterson 1972). *Flow* describes the extent of interaction between places, which would include people, goods and services, and even ideas. Movement is the essential component of the dynamic urban system. *Linkages* are construed to be the routes of interaction between phenomena such as social groups, commercial centers, industrial plants, and other such urban entities. They become strengthened or enhanced through improvements in transportation and communication systems. *Diffusion* is one of the most important aspects of spatial interaction. It is the process through which goods, services, and information are distributed throughout the system (Meier 1963). Information *diffusion* takes place in a number of ways through use of communication technology. Expansion *diffusion* exchanges knowledge directly from one source or individual to another. Hierarchical *diffusion* distributes information vertically from one central source downward through the ranks of places of diminishing size. Relocation *diffusion* describes the process through which information travels via individuals who bring the information with them (Meier 1962).

A third model developed in the early 1940's by Edward Ullman and Chauncy Harris at Harvard saw the city as growing in a more episodically fashion from a sub-set of nuclei or growth centers (Harris and Ullman 1957). As growth impulses emanated

from these centers, they expanded to fill in the open or lower density space surrounding them -- eventually "filling-in the metropolitan area. Harris and Ullman identified their concept as the Multiple-Nuclei theory of growth and development.

All of these models are ecological in their nature in that they deal with the spatial distribution of people, resources, land use activities, and the location of central community facilities. By way of explanation a model is generally defined as a hypothetical, stylized, or schematic representation of reality (Chorley and Haggett 1967). For the most part, they are highly subjective approximations in that they do not include all associated observations and measurements. In the study of land use, there are four principal types of models that are routinely used. The first are *static models*, which would include such documents as maps and diagrams that describe geographic areas at certain points in time. Next are *descriptive models* that provide stylistic descriptions of what is on the landscape. A third type, *normative models* are predictive tools. They are utilized to determine possible future development in accordance within certain stated conditions or parameters. A fourth type, the *dynamic model*, deals with motion and change. Gravity models, which incorporate elements of transportation, income, and aggregates of population -- e.g., neighborhoods, bedroom communities, etc. -- are prime examples of such models (Isard 1956).

Systems theory or the systems approach to urban analysis is essentially a formalized method of determining the part that even the most minute component plays in the operation of a community. Thus, the system is the collection of interrelated parts that form the integrated whole. General systems theory has evolved mainly in response to the increasing specialization and compartmentalization that has occurred in both the natural

and social sciences in the late twentieth century (Boulding 1968). Systems theory can be addressed to both open and closed systems. Closed systems are isolated phenomena. Open systems interact with their environments. For example, in a city, air pollution, solid wastes, and other toxins are returned to the natural environment in exchange for resources extracted to sustain urban life (Golany 1981). Cities are amongst the most complex of systems. They are comprised of numerous sub-systems -- e.g., neighborhoods, business districts, industrial areas, connected open spaces, and freeways and transit lines as well as complex health, education, and welfare systems. They are also open to penetration from external systems operating through state and federal governments, open markets, and the actions and operations of global phenomena -- international conflicts, multinational corporations, cartels, etc.(Easton 1965).

A somewhat more specialized, but related, analytical approach focuses on urban economic development and its relationship to spatial development. Often referred to as the urban growth paradigm, this view examines the effect of external in-puts to the local economy and their resultant spread effects on land use patterns (Chapin 1965). This method of analysis notes particular stages of economic development, resultant spatial patterns, and changes in levels of urbanization. Wilbur Thompson traces the development stages of a mid-western industrial city and identifies its subsequential stages of expansion as those of *export specialization*, *export complex*, *economic maturation*, *regional metropolis*, and *technical-professional virtuosity* (Thompson 1965).

In the beginning *export specialization* stage certain manufacturers aggregate to develop an industrial specialization within the urban settlement. Their amalgamation forms a specialized market for common suppliers [producers of items that the specialized

firms have need of]. At this stage the added growth results in a physical expansion of the central manufacturing and commercial area. In the second stage, *the export complex*, the city becomes a major exporter of local products and thus adds a substantial number of households to its existing population. This results in added residential and service commercial development through the creation of new neighborhoods. *Economic maturation* describes the third stage of regional development as the time when forward linkages start to take hold to generate new industries within the city. Forward economic linkages evolve either from by-products from the initial industries or new products from improved manufacturing processes. At this time, the city would experience more growth, as new land was developed to meet the increased demand for industrial space. In the *regional metropolis* stage, Thompson sees the added households employed in the new industries as demanding a broader selection of local goods and services. This has the consequent effect of generating demands for new space for retail trade and business services. In the final stage of *technical-professional virtuosity*, the city reaches a point in economic development where it offers a great array of personal services and begins to export them. In addition, it seeks to establish branch offices, manufacturing plants, and business subsidiaries in other regions and cities.

Although Guthrie's development hardly parallels that of the successful mid-western American industrial city, it does touch upon certain phases or stages of growth that Thompson identifies. Concentration of the Land Office and other federal agencies formed an initial nucleus for development. This resulted in the location of the first settlements and gave the city a strong "sense of place" in the Indian Territory as well as central United States. This image was further reinforced through the striking red brick

architecture of the central business district that was greatly influenced by the designs of the French architect Joseph Foucart. Rapid development of the railroad soon followed greatly improving access to the community while simultaneously expanding the local land market. For the most part Guthrie's economic base was generated primarily around being the Capital of Oklahoma. The topography of the landscape did not lend itself to long term agricultural and livestock usage. Guthrie prided herself on the many manufacturing, industrial and commercial establishments located in the metropolis.

METHODOLOGY

Therefore, to critique and analyze the *play* – an analogy to ecological processes used by Carl George -- data was collected that pertained to texts written on the “Ecological Framework” primarily on work by Brain Berry, Gideon Golany, Patrick Geddes, Luis Wirth, Christopher Exline, Gary Peters, Robert Larkin, Carl George, Mark Abrahamson and Jorge Arango. The work of these geographers and social scientists were put in context to one another in the evolution of the physical appearance of Guthrie and accompanying cultural makeup.

Guthrie had a wealth of data, but it was fragmented. For example, Lloyd Lentz's book Guthrie, A History of the Capital City and Phil Austin's book Oklahoma From Glorious Past to Present are primarily pictorial books offering generalized history and compilations documenting the location of certain records of Guthrie. Marion Rock worked for the *Oklahoma State Capital Newspaper* being responsible for publishing The Oklahoma State Capital Art Edition, a paperback book highlighting Guthrie's businesses and high society. City Council Minutes from 1889 to 1910 were reproduced from microfilm to document Guthrie's earliest city government political policies. The State

Historical Society provided on microfilm the two leading newspapers of Guthrie, *The Oklahoma Capital* and *the Guthrie Leader*. *The Washington Post* newspaper brought to life the anticipation and excitement of people in nearby states getting ready to make the run in Guthrie. Maps were collected and reviewed such as topographic ones from the Geology Library; original 1890 townplats from Logan County Courthouse; Sanborn Maps 1894 – 1926 copied from microfilm housed at the Bizzell Library; Guthrie's Planning Department from autocad provided maps of Guthrie, and also provided documentation on Guthrie's nomination as a National Historic Landmark.

These maps with other significant historical documents were researched that correlated and exhibited the morphology of Guthrie's built environment such as water systems, sewer systems, alleys, block re-definitions, street light placement, street grading and paving, transportation services, urban renewal, etc. Using these sources of information, allowed one to recover the past at the moment of conception of constructing buildings, laying water lines, negotiating sewer system contracts, electric streetcar systems, etc.

The use of this systems approach to urban analysis allows one to bring the fragmented historical facts together to analyze and determine the hierarchical position that each of the five sub-systems [physical, social/cultural, political, economical, technological] plays in the growth, development and operation of a community. Thus, the Urban Ecology Systems Theory provides the research methods to explain for the first time Guthrie's townscape evolution to 1910 and to examine whether today's Guthrie represents some of 1910's historic inheritance.

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CHAPTER TWO

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Figure 1. Commemorating the Great Homestead Race of April 22, 1889

CHAPTER THREE

GUTHRIE'S FIRST BEGINNINGS

To understand one's past is to understand ones beginning's. Guthrie, Oklahoma is in the center of a landmass that for years was the nucleus of many events and activities that collided, inter-mingled, inter-connected, and competed to evolve into another form. To understand the significance of this new entity, it is necessary to investigate the nature of these competing forces that reacted, blended, resisted, grew and multiplied to form a vibrant western settlement out of this piece of raw real estate. To probe within these social sectors of Guthrie, Mark Abrahamson states, "there is a hierarchy of sub-systems integrating and expanding within prescribed boundaries (Abrahamson 1980, 6)."

Geographers Christopher Exline, Gary Peters and Robert Larkin state that there are five forces which contribute and determine urban change. These urban forces - physical, social/cultural, political, economical and technological – thus determine not only the current status of an area, but in part gives definition to geography as a living, developing non-static entity, and a part of the evolving dynamic eco-system, sharing in the historical evolution of mankind (Exline, Peters, and Larkin 1982, xvii). Spiraling together, these forces are instrumental in determining landscape patterns, arrangement of activities, their spatial distribution and spatial interactions, providing the analytical

framework to study Guthrie's evolution – 'from her beginnings to becoming the starting gate for the largest horse race ever to be run in American history.'

Physical Forces

To discover these forces of Guthrie's evolution into an urban eco-system as stated by Gideon Golany, "the study of the past is needed for the benefit of the future (Golany 1995, 2)." One would be compelled to explore its first beginnings when this landmass called Oklahoma containing Guthrie as its center was discovered. The first inhabitants of this area were American Indians who in centuries past lived in a rich bountiful hunting ground with a pleasant climate, gently rolling prairies, thick forests with good foliage, edible berries and nuts of all description. The land also contained rich soils and possessed an abundance of clear streams and rivers. By the time the Spanish arrived in Oklahoma in 1541, it was already the home of several Indian tribes. The tribes as described by Wyatt and Rainey in their Brief History of Oklahoma were:

The Caddo which ranged over the valley of the Red River, in the southeastern region; the Wichita, who occupied the southwestern part of the region; the Quapaw, who journeyed across the eastern border along the valley of the Arkansas; the Osage, who occupied the valleys of the Grand and Verdigris rivers in the northwestern segment of the region; and the Comache, who traveled over the plains along the western edge of the region (Wyatt and Rainey 1919, 17) (see figure 2)."

Although, Coronado found neither gold nor silver, his expedition constitutes the first written record of the region and its people. The Spanish flag was the first to fly over this part of the country.

Soon, the French followed coming in from the north – the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes – and from the southeast – the Orleans territory. Juchereau de St. Denis explored the Red River watershed in 1714. And, Bernard de la Harpe led another expedition south from Orleans five years later to the Wichita and Caddo settlements along the Canadian River in eastern Oklahoma (Lewis 1924, 258). La Harpe was very impressed with the abundant game and quality of Indian furs, which influenced his recommendations to establish trading posts along the Arkansas, Grand, and Verdigris Rivers (see figure 3). Ferdinandina near Newkirk was the largest of these settlements. The French easily adapted to the life along the rivers, living in villages and becoming a part of the Indian culture. In an article by Anna Lewis, “Here beyond the pale of civilization, roamed the renegade Frenchman and the half-breed, who, under the name of hunters had become outlaws. This was the land of the bad men of America (Lewis 1924, 45).” Anthanase De Mezieries in 1770 described the settlers in this region as follows: “They have no other rule than their own caprice and the respect which they pay the boldest and most daring who control them, would that, limiting themselves like brutes, to so infamous a mode of living, they might not continually go beyond to disturb the peace of these territories (Lewis 1924, 46).” Perrin du Lac described the culture along the Arkansas, Grand and Verdigris Rivers in this manner:

The inhabitants, almost all originally French, who have emigrated here are hunters by profession, and only cultivate maize for the support of their houses and beasts of burden. Above half the years, only old men, women and children are seen in the village. The men hunt wild oxen, castors, and squirrels, etc. When at home they pass the time in dancing, drinking or doing nothing: similar in this respect to the savages, with whom they live the greater part of the year and whose tastes and manner they contract (Lewis 1925, 46).

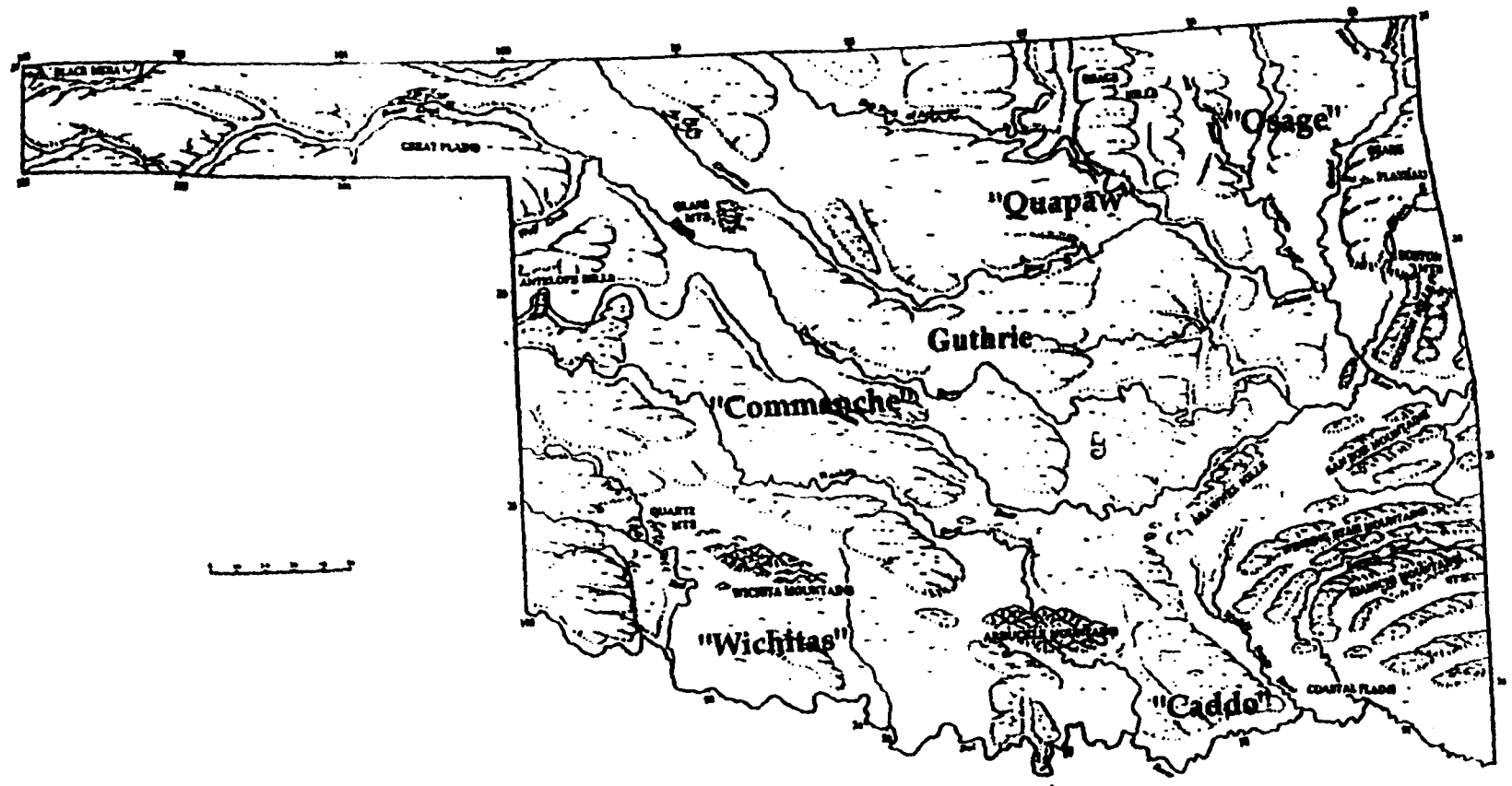


Figure 2. Location of Indians in Oklahoma, 1541

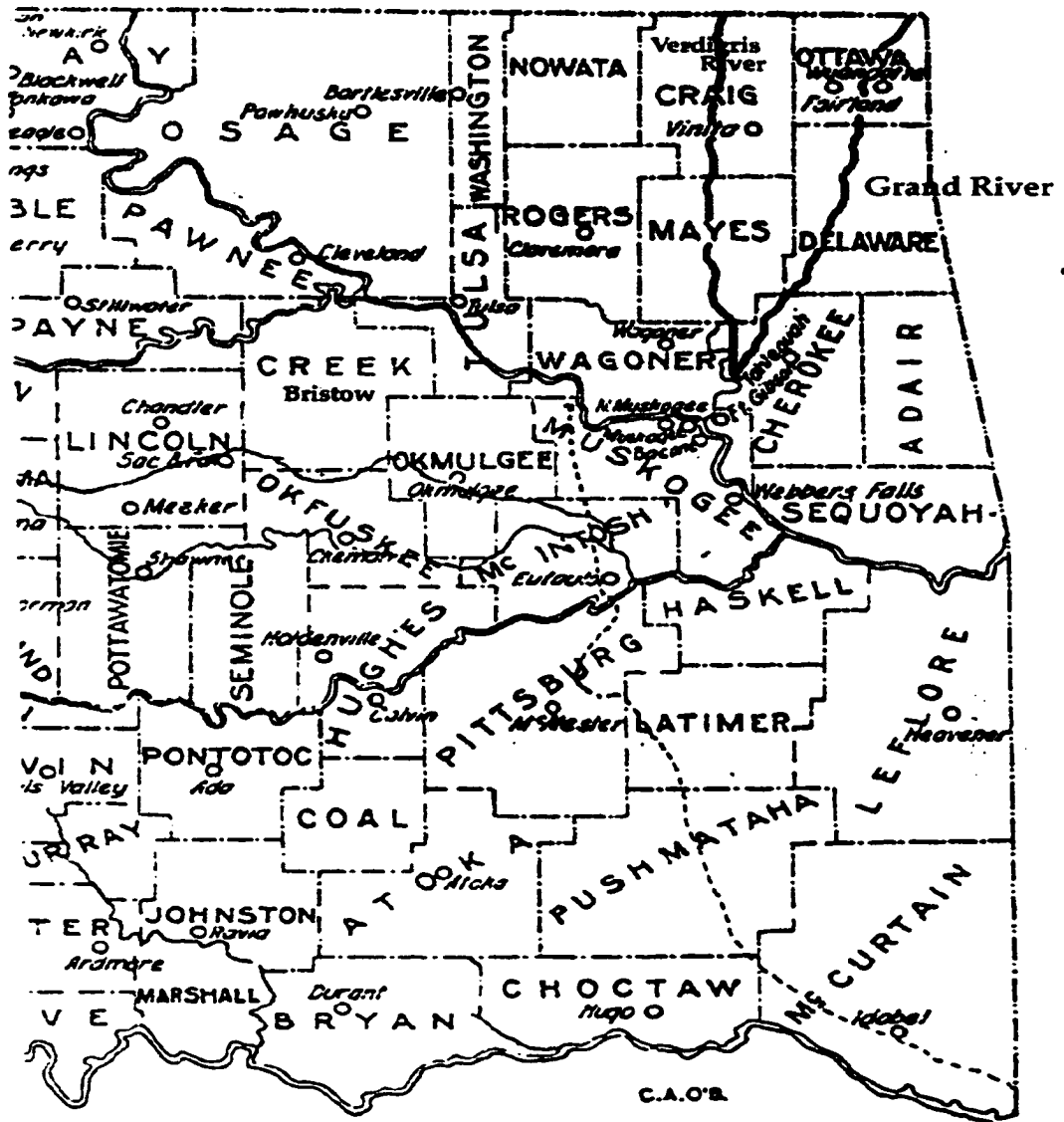


Figure 3. La Harpe's 1719 Expedition Route: Impressive Game on the Neosho (Grand) and Verdigris Rivers

When Louis XV offered this landmass to Spain through the treaty of Fontainebleau, it had been sorely neglected and misgoverned leaving it in a deplorable condition. Anna Lewis' 1762, Charles III refused the gift at first, because this territory under French rule had article explained the largest burden Spain had to face was the Indian tribes whom the French cultivated to hate them. These tribes being in the heart of Spanish territory were later identified as the Osage, Comanche, Wichita and Tonkawa. The Spanish believed that Indians, such as the Apache, either had to be expelled, exterminated or brought to allegiance (Lewis 1925, 47)."

In 1800, the land now known as Louisiana Territory was returned to France under the rule of Napoleon Bonaparte. Three years later, with an empty treasury, the United States purchased the entire area for \$15,000,000 – approximately three cents per acre (Wardell 1927, 288) (see figure 4).

The Louisiana Purchase was first organized into two territories. The United States took possession of the southern province called "Orleans" on December 20, 1803, and on March 9, 1804, it acquired the northern province at St. Louis referred to as the Louisiana District (Gittinger 1939, 2). Therefore, the Orleans region was the territory south of the thirty-third degree latitude, while the, Louisiana District later designated "Louisiana Territory" lay north of the thirty-third degree latitude. Thus, Louisiana Purchase became the center of the United States', Indian Territory, in turn, was the center of the Louisiana Purchase; and Guthrie, was the center of Indian Territory (see figure 4).

In 1804, President Thomas Jefferson sent two geographers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to explore the land along the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains. Two years later, another geographer, Zebulon Pike, along with army officer, Lt. James

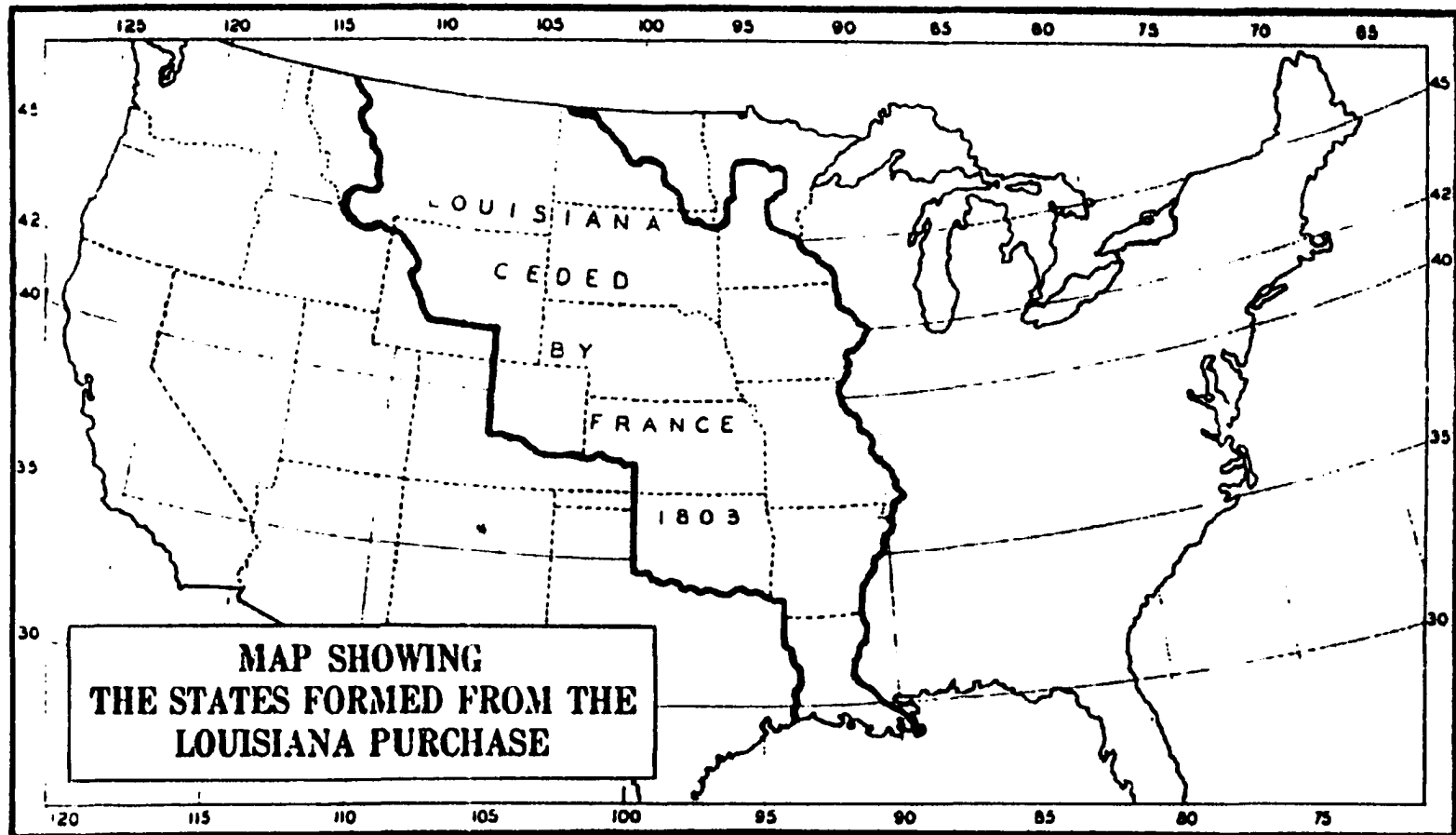


Figure 4. Guthrie: Center of the Louisiana Purchase, Indian Territory and United States

Wilkinson, was commissioned to explore other regions within the purchased territory. Pike headed west across Kansas to the Rocky Mountains. While, Lt. Wilkinson traveled down the Arkansas River starting from the central part of Kansas.

Cultural and Social Forces Leading To the Future Site of Guthrie

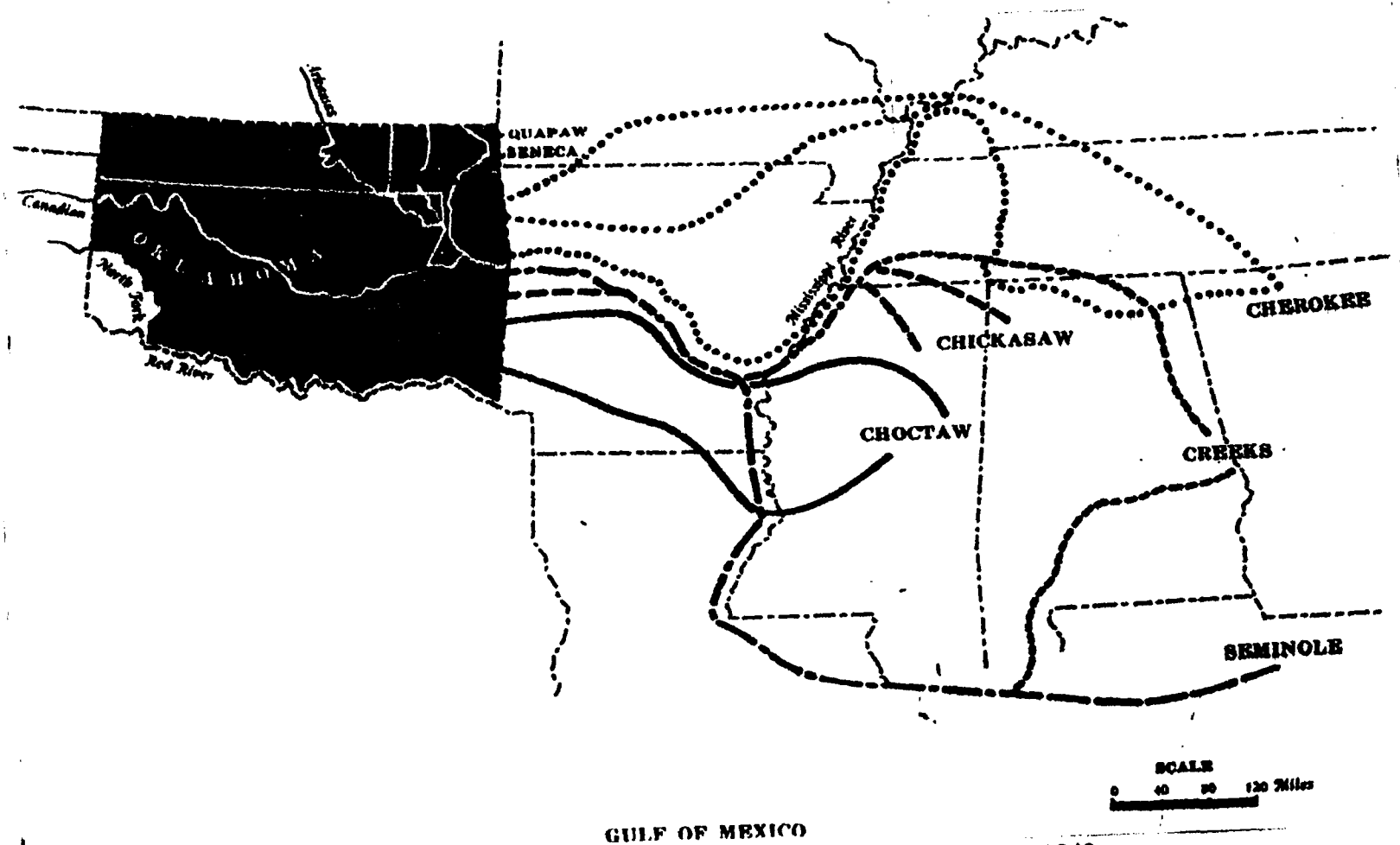
The Southern Indians known as the Five Civilized Tribes were becoming a threat to the eastern white settlers in two ways. The United States passed legislation in 1793 to educate the Indians. With this help, the Indians, primarily the half bloods, were becoming well-educated, prosperous, living in elegant plantation houses, and becoming vast land and slaveholders. The second threat concerned the Indians at large, principally the full bloods, who occupied what may be described as the strategic regions. Holding as they did the passes through the Southern Appalachians, and also the lower reaches of the Mississippi, as well as the headwaters "of many of its tributaries and the streams that flow into the Gulf (Dale 1923, 170)." Thus, the fear of their economic power and the desire for their land holdings by white immigrants presented problems of no small consequence to President Jefferson (Finger 1984, 8). As a resolution, he contemplated the possibility of relocating the Indians living east of the Mississippi in the newly purchased southern "Orleans" and northern "Louisiana" provinces which included the area that later became Guthrie (Gittinger 1939, 3).

President Jefferson held a conference with certain delegations of Cherokees who wished to move west. After reaching an agreement in 1817, approximately, one-third of the Cherokees left their homes in Georgia and settled in what is now Northwest Arkansas. The "Cherokee West" Indians or sometimes called "Old Settlers," and the reports from the Secretary of War, Calhoun, to President Monroe that recommended for

“the general removal of the eastern Indians to the “worthless” Great Plains region where the game was plentiful (Wardell 1927, 290) (see figure 5).” This gave impetus for Congress in 1830 to pass legislation that created the area known as Indian Territory (Wyatt and Rainey 1919, 34). During the next ten years, through persuasion of the Intercourse Act of 1834 and the use of a great deal of force, the five tribes were settled west of the Mississippi River with the understanding that the land would be theirs – “as long as grass grows or water runs.” And, it was further stipulated if the Indians would organize their individual tribal governments into a political unit, they would be forever free in Indian Territory from the white man’s intrusion (Holden 1933, 641) (see figure 6).

The territory given the five tribes was immense, consisting of approximately forty-six million acres consisting of some tracts in Nebraska and a solid block of reservations along the eastern and southern boundary of Kansas. On the whole the five – great tribes owned all of Oklahoma except the Panhandle and a small tract in the northeast corner. Guthrie, Oklahoma is located in this area near the banks of the Cimarron River on the original Creek reservation (see figure 7).

During the years prior to 1835, the remaining eastern Cherokee Nation under the leadership of Chief John Ross resisted leaving their homelands. But, with the continuous invasion of white settlers, devious federal legislative actions, and finally with the election of Andrew Jackson whose platform was based on the removal of all Indians west of the Mississippi, the Cherokees had to leave (Gittinger 1939, 26). Chief John Ross saw the westward migration as the only hope for the survival of Indian culture, and tribal government as well as a barrier to impede the migration of white intruders. Thus, Chief



GULF OF MEXICO

Figure 5. Removal of Southeastern Indian Tribes, 1830-1842

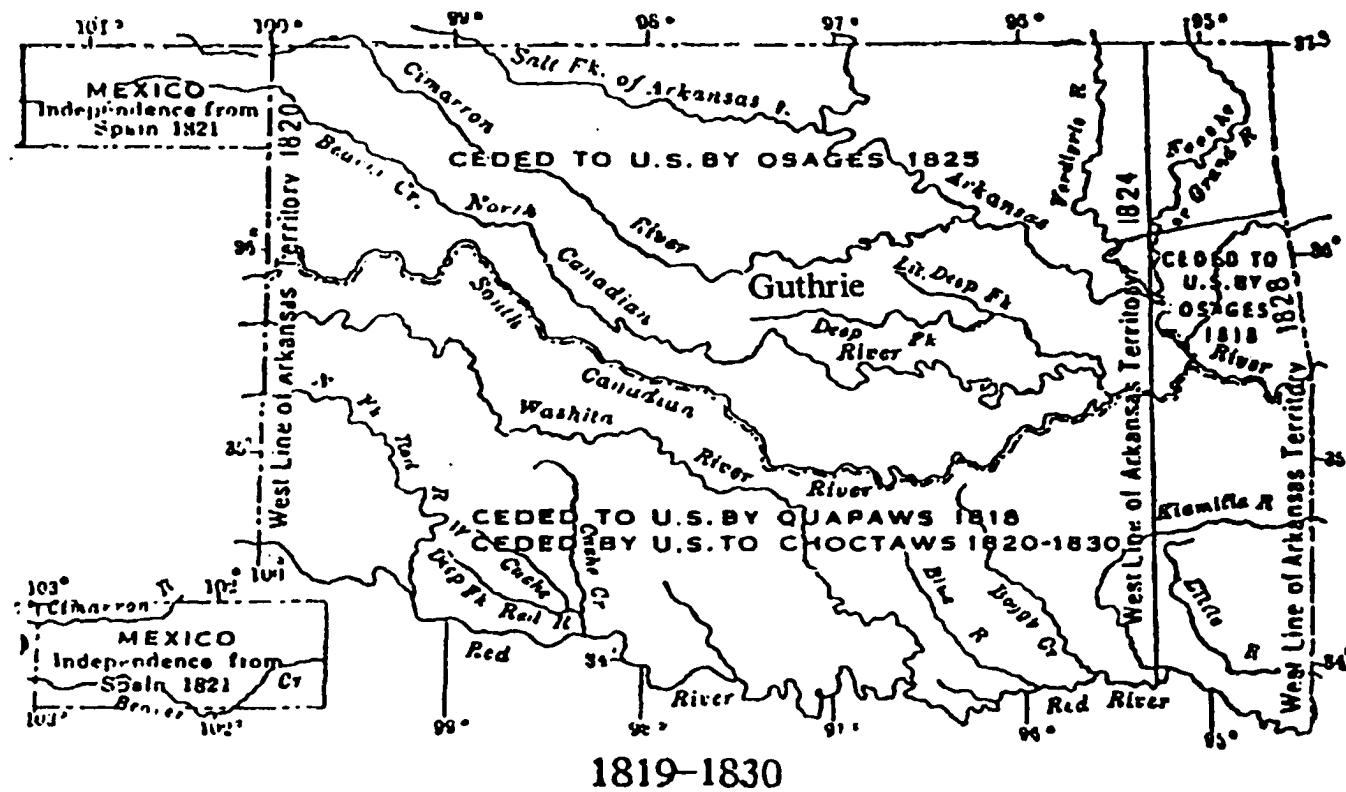


Figure 6. Rivers Crossing the Land Ceded to the U.S. Between 1819-1830

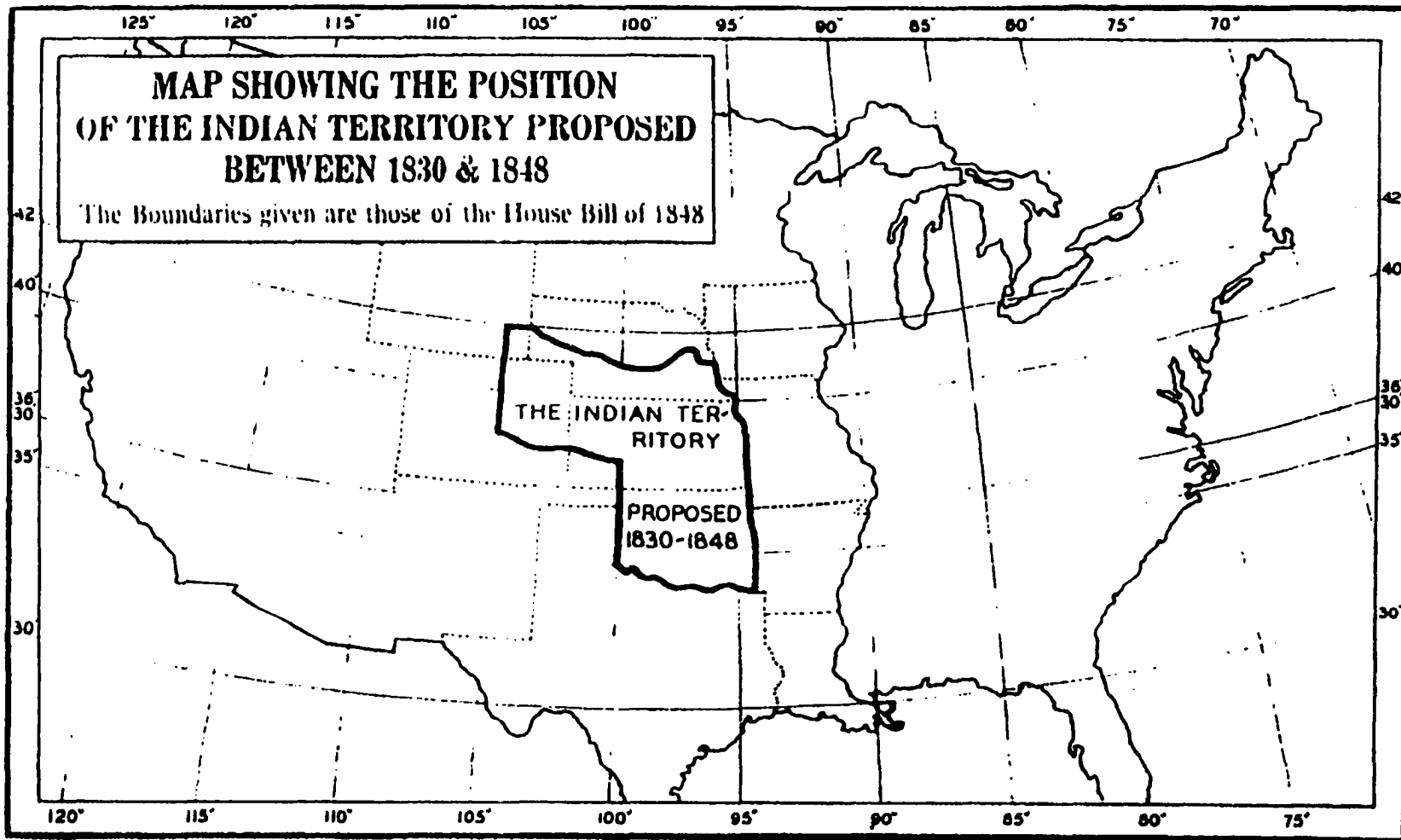


Figure 7. The Position of the Indian Territory Proposed Between 1830-1848

Ross went to Washington proposing to sell the Cherokee land for \$20,000,000 dollars (Debo 1971, 107) (see figure 8).

The federal government refused and exercised a different option. On Chief Ross' return home, he was arrested and put in a jail with the decaying body of a Cherokee Indian hanging overhead. After two weeks, he was released and discovered that a "Treaty Party" comprised of three families – Ridge's, Boudinot's, and Watie's - and their friends had signed the 1835 Treaty of Echota (Debo 1971, 107). John Rollin Ridge was Elias Boudinot's cousin and Stand Watie was his brother. The treaty called for the complete removal of the Cherokees to a certain parcel of land west of the Mississippi in return for the sale of their homeland for \$5,000,000 dollars. According to the Cherokee tribal government, this was an illegal treaty because these three men did not have the official capacity to represent their nation. The U.S. Senate totally disregarding the public outcry of its citizens against the work of the fraudulent pact approved the Treaty of New Echota (Debo 1971, 107) (see figure 9).

Mary Jane Warde documented the secret collaboration that existed between the federal government, state officials, and these three men (Debo 1971, 107). She stated that the estates of Major Ridge, Stan Watie, and Elias Boudinot estates were withheld from the lottery wheel while the elegant plantation home of the Chief John Ross was lost to the lottery. Also, more proof of their collaboration became apparent when it became known that these three families were allowed more leisure and facilities for collecting and carrying their personal effects on the boat that transported them to Indian Territory. Because of their special privileges, the "Treaty Party" upon arriving in the West

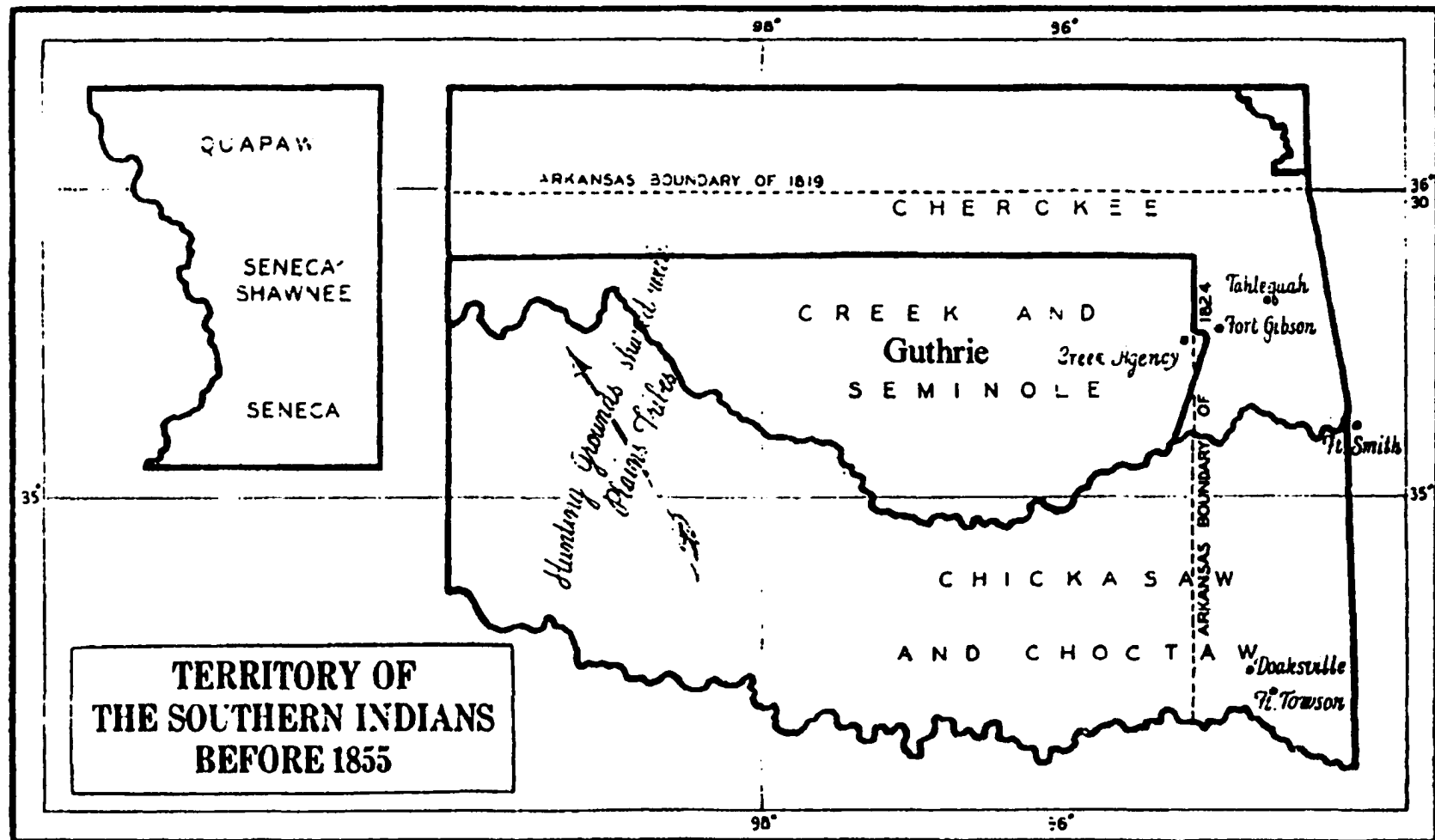


Figure 8. Territory of the Southern Indians Before 1855

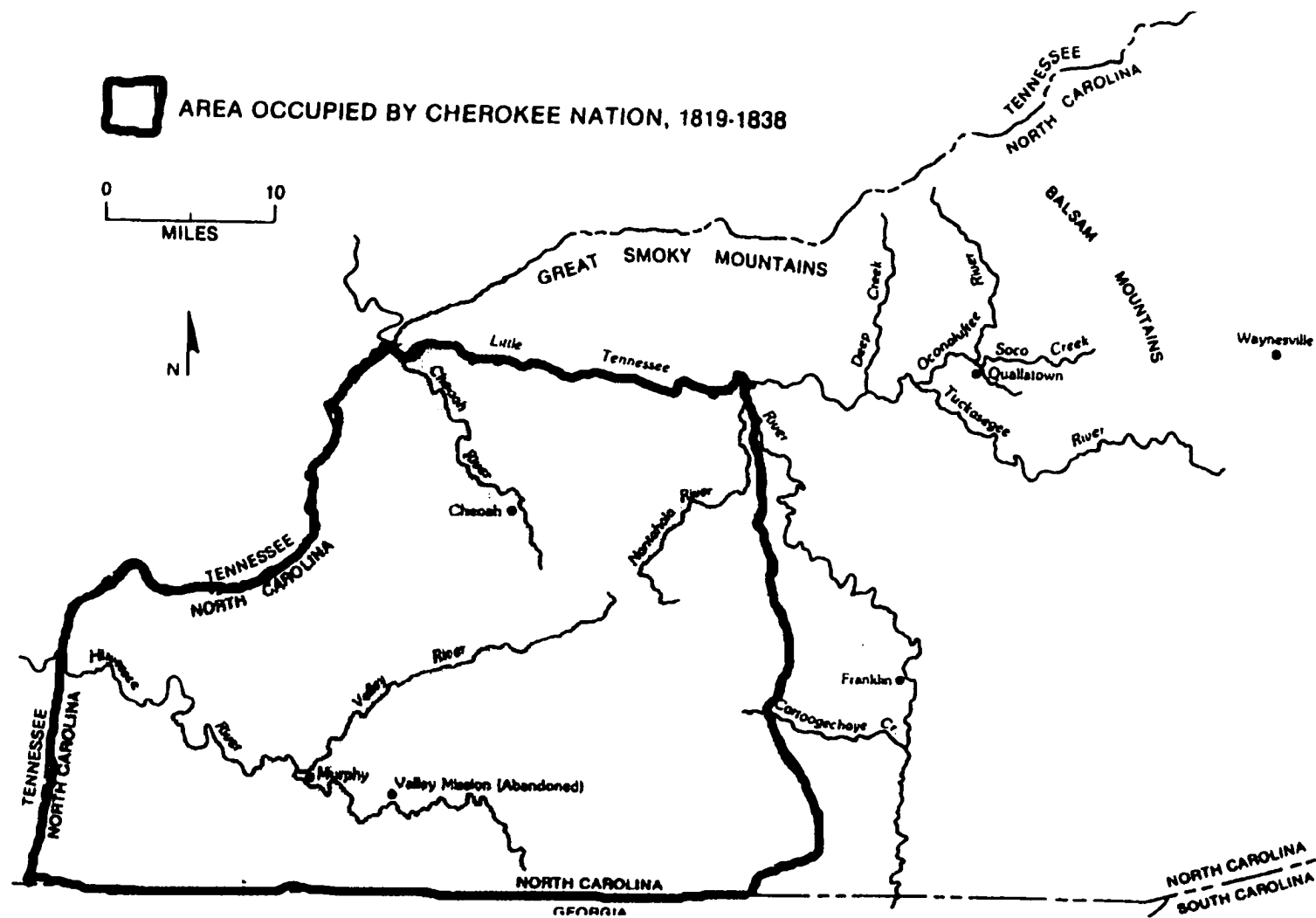


Figure 9. Illegal Land Sold by Treaty of New Echota

possessed some degree of affluence. For example, the Ridges brought considerable money with them, and immediately engaged themselves in merchandising and trade.

On June 22, 1839, John Ridge along with his father Major Ridge and Elias Boudinot were assassinated by an alliance of emigrants who met at Double Springs near Tahlequah to uphold the Cherokee law that “provided that who-so-ever should agree to sign an agreement to sell their lands should forfeit their lives (Ross 1934, 20).” And, it was believed it was through the influence of these men that the Cherokee people were viewed as having a difficult time forming a “Union.” Thus, the next day, after the Double Springs meeting, John Ridge was forced out of his home and stabbed to death. His father, Major Ridge was ambushed on his way to Vineyard, Arkansas, and three men killed Elias Boudinot near his Park Hill home. One month later, July 1839, the “Act of Union” was established between the Eastern Cherokees and Western Cherokees (Ross 1934, 19).

Economic Forces Play a Role in the Birth of Guthrie

Elias Cornelius Boudinot was five years old, some research suggests two years old, when his father was murdered (Dale 1928, 330) (Debo 1971, 248). His mother immediately left the Cherokee Nation to go to her home in Connecticut. Elias C. Boudinot studied to become an engineer with the Ohio railway, but after one year of employment, he entered the law office of A.M. Wilson of Fayetteville, Arkansas to prepare for the legal profession. He was a strong advocate for the abolition of the tribal land system. He also wished to have the land owned in severalty, for the establishment the United States Court system in Indian Territory, and the early abandonment of tribal governments. After the Civil War and the Treaty of 1866, Boudinot’s unpopular views

forced him to leave the Cherokee Nation. He returned to Fayetteville to resume his law profession. Eventually, Boudinot was admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States and spent a great deal of his time in Washington working as a clerk of the Committee on Private Land Claims. In 1877 Boudinot and T.C. Sears, a railway attorney, claimed to have discovered that there was a large area of government land in the central part of Indian Territory subject to homestead entry. The land in question that they discovered was the "Unassigned Lands" or the future site of Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Boudinot and Sears published an article in the Chicago Times newspaper announcing their find, and many newspapers followed with editorials causing great excitement among many white immigrants coveting Indian lands. Hamilton Wicks stated in his article "The Opening of Oklahoma" that:

It was quite appalling for the average American farmer to contemplate, only having a homestead of one hundred and sixty acres when the five civilized tribes own a territorial empire. It renders these Indians not only 'wards of the nation,' but veritable *American barons*, to be classed with our railway barons and our petted cattle barons, the only difference being that the former resemble more closely the barons of the middle ages, because they are supremely indifferent to labor, patronizing war and the chase principally (Wicks 1926, 133).

For example:

There are only eighty-nine Indians of the Iowa tribe in existence, and yet they have two hundred and twenty-eight thousand four hundred and eighteen acres of reservation. There are only ninety-two Tonkawas, and they own one hundred thousand acres of reservation. The Sacs and the Foxes number four hundred and fifty-seven, and have a reservation of four hundred and seventy-nine thousand six hundred and sixty acres. The Chickasha number less than five thousand, and own nearly five million acres of land. The Cherokees are the most populous of all the tribes, numbering nearly twenty-two thousand, but they have five million thirty-one thousand three hundred and fifty-one acres to divide among them. And with all other tribes and nations, both civilized and barbarous, they are among the richest landed aristocrats on the globe (Wicks 1926, 133).

These articles in newspapers on public lands in Indian Territory attracted young, strong, virile, and aggressive immigrants. Letters of inquiry flowed to Boudinot "from all

directions of the compass (Debo 1971, 248).” In response, he prepared a letter and a map of the location of what is now Guthrie within Indian Territory. The map indicated that the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache reservation, the area occupied by the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, and the territory in dispute with Texas, as well as the Oklahoma district were all in the public domain without any incumbency. The letter stated that the Oklahoma district included nearly all of the Creek, the Seminole, and the Chickasaw-Choctaw land cessions of 1866, but it did not include the Cherokee Outlet. Boudinot stated explicitly that the Cherokees had not ceded any land in the territory to the United States in 1866 (Warde 1989-90, 34; Gittinger 1939, 118). Thus, the underlying forces for the “*Boomer invasions*” were launched.

Simultaneous Events Co-Mingling, Connecting, Giving Form to the Boomer Movement

The Homestead Act of 1862, the Treaty of 1866 and the efforts of Elias C. Boudinot were major factors in the early settlement of Guthrie. The treaty created the land, the railroad provided the monies for Washington lobbyist, Congress passed the laws and Boudinot provided the niche in the system for potential settlement.

To discuss in greater detail the Treaty of 1866, referred to by Boudinot, was a treaty of punishment from the United States against the Five Civilized Tribes for their allegiance to the Confederacy during the Civil War. The terms of the treaty called for the reconstruction of their land holdings by ceding roughly twenty million acres to the government. And, probably of even greater importance, the document gave explicit consent for the construction of railway lines across the respective tribal reservations. Of

the railroad lines, the first one to pass through Guthrie was the Santa Fe Rail Way (Holden 1933, 643).

Boudinot professed his proof of authenticity concerning the unoccupied lands came from the last annual report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office. This report had contained a statement in tabular form of the total number of acres of public land, surveyed and unsurveyed in each state and territory. Boudinot claimed the amount of surveyed public land in Indian Territory was 27,000,000 acres, but he “modestly scaled it down to 13,000,000 acres and mildly criticized the commissioner for his inaccuracy.” The report of the commissioner was quite correct in this, as the Indian country was technically apart of the territory of the United States *set aside by law for the use of the Indians*. Roy Gittinger in The Formation of Oklahoma stated:

Boudinot evidently hoped by an agitation about the unoccupied land in the Indian Territory to direct public attention to its condition and to bring about ultimately the chief object of ‘the Oklahoma Bills.’ These bills proposed for individual instead of community ownership of land by the Indians, the organization of the Indian Territory, and its opening to white settlers (Gittinger 1939, 120).

As discussed earlier, Boudinot’s notice in the *Chicago Times* on February 17, 1879, is considered the first step toward opening up Indian Territory and later, the Guthrie settlement. But, as early as 1876, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, J.S. Smith, questioned whether, “an extensive area of fertile country is to be allowed to remain ‘an uncultivated waste’ a very general and growing opinion that the strict letter of the treaties with the Indians should be disregarded (Debo 1971, 259).” Boudinot and the railroads were not the only entities probing the question of the unassigned lands because on January 30, 1878, the Senate had asked for information regarding the unoccupied land. And, on May 14, 1879, the Senate adopted a resolution introduced by George G. Vest of

Missouri “renewing his inquiry with an added question as to the use that the government expected to make of the land in the Indian Territory not occupied by Indians and he gave his opinion that it was time to take the preliminary steps leading toward reorganization (Gittinger 1939, 124).”

On May 28, 1879, a detachment of cavalry from Arkansas City, Kansas arrested James M. Bell, who established a settlement of fifteen or twenty persons on the Chikaskia River, just south of Caldwell, Kansas. Bell was a Cherokee citizen, and half of his band were Cherokees. They had departed from Vinita [northeastern area of present-day Oklahoma] in the Cherokee country, and traveling under the pretense of an organization at Chetopa, Kansas, calling itself “The Indian Territory Colonization Society.” Bell and Boudinot belonged to the same faction of the Cherokees, and they were close friends. Bell was also a partner with Boudinot in the hotel adventure in Vinita. Evidently, this proposed settlement was a scheme to bring attention to Boudinot’s cause. The May incident was used by General John Pope in his annual report of 1879 that “the government should consider seriously the reorganization of the Indian Territory on the ground that it could not remain much longer even though May invasion had been checked but that pressure would henceforth become greater all the time (Gittinger 1939, 125).” Also, in late May 1879, the Pottawatomie and Kickapoo Indian agent reported, “that the Indians were annoyed by a band of at least one hundred lawless men, many of them fugitives from justice who drove off their livestock from the reservations and supplied the Indians with whiskey. And, these men were making the unoccupied lands their protected hideout from the law (Gittinger 1939, 126).” In response to this and many other

invasions into Indian Territory, President Hayes issued a second proclamation warning all persons that the law would be enforced, even if military power had to be employed.

In 1879, Boudinot was in Washington working on *the unassigned land movement* while David L. Payne was close-by trying to be reinstated in a position he had lost on December 1, 1879, as an assistant doorkeeper of the House of Representatives and messenger for the House Committee on Invalid Pensions. During his stay in Washington beginning in 1878, Payne filed two petitions for more pay for himself. He also secured the introduction of a Senate bill to grant a pension for his services as a volunteer soldier. And, just before leaving Washington presumably for failure of being reinstated, he had a new private pension bill introduced during March 1879, also for his own benefit. All of Payne's petitions and Senate bills were turned down. The significance of Payne and Boudinot being in adjacent committee rooms was that it offered a new field for Payne's persistent character and a new method for "making money." Boudinot and Payne became friends, town site developers of the unoccupied lands and champions of the "Boomer" movement (Gittinger 1939, 128).

Technical and Economical Forces of Railroads Pertinent to the Location of Guthrie. It took four years after the Treaty of 1866 for railroads to begin to set rail inside Indian Territory. The first railroads to acquire rights of way were the Missouri, Kansas & Texas [Katy] and the Atlantic & Pacific later known as the Frisco. Congress made a stipulation that a conditional right-of-way across the Indian Territory from Kansas to Texas would be granted to the railroad company that was the first to complete its track to the state boundary line in the valley of the Neosho (Holden 1933, 643). The two companies began a very competitive race in the early part of the 1870's with the

Missouri, Kansas & Texas line victorious. Thus, on June 6, 1870, the Katy was the first railway to enter Indian Territory starting from the Kansas border laying its tracks southward. Construction was rapidly pushed southward and southwestward, across the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw Nations and finally it crossed the Red River into Texas.

Later, the Atlantic and the Pacific built its line across the Shawnee and Wyandotte reservations, entering the Cherokee Nation and connecting with the Missouri, Kansas, & Texas at Vinita in 1872. Ten years later in 1882, the Atlantic & Pacific [Frisco] extended its line southwestward to Tulsa and Red Fork (see figure 10).

The Santa Fe started its line farther west across Indian Territory from Arkansas City, on the Kansas border, in 1884, building its line along the Ponca Trail through Guthrie [Deer Creek] south to Texas. In 1886, the Frisco [A&P] moved through the Choctaw Nation into Paris, Texas extending its Fort Smith line to the southwest. Holden stated:

The Iron Mountain – now a part of the Missouri Pacific – in 1887 to 1880 built a line up the valley of the Arkansas River from Van Buren, Arkansas, to Fort Gibson, and thence to Coffeyville, Kansas. The Santa Fe built its Panhandle Division from Kiowa, Kansas, southwestwardly across the Cherokee Strip to Canadian and Amarillo, Texas, in 1887 and 1888. The Rock Island built south from Caldwell, Kansas, to El Reno in 1889 and 1890. And the Choctaw Coal & Railway Company's line was projected over a route extending eastward from Fort Reno to a point on the Arkansas boundary south of Sugar Loaf Mountain, and active work began on its construction in 1889 (Holden 1933, 644-45; see figure 10).

The Southern Kansas Railroad laid tracks south from Arkansas City, Kansas. Beginning in August of 1886, its crew built bridges, laid ties and placed rails. By February 1887, the line had reached the Cimarron River just north of the present site of Guthrie. Simultaneously, the Gulf, Colorado, and Santa Fe rail way line was laying tracks north from Fort Worth, Texas. And on April 26, 1887, they intersected at the

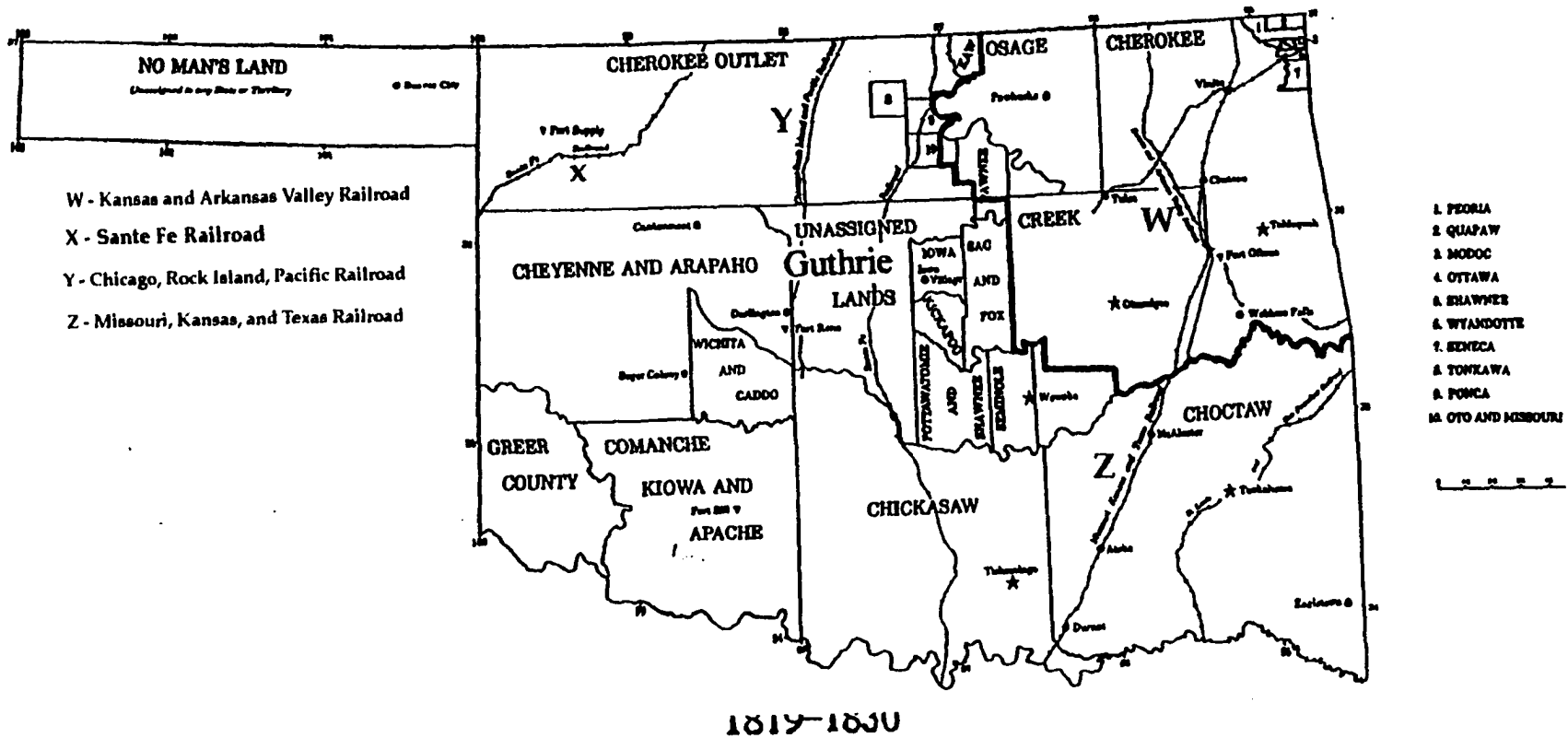


Figure 10. Railroads Across Indian Territory

South Canadian River on the southern boundary in the territory known as the Chickasha Indian Nation. "At that time, there were approximately 630 miles of railway within the Indian Territory, all of them lines which were parts of through routes (Holden 1933, 644)."

On April 26, 1887, *the Arkansas Weekly Republican Traveler* exclaimed -

"United! Kansas And Texas By The Strong Bands of Steel
Arkansas City And Galveston Shake Hands Across The Great Indian Territory."

From his Washington office, Boudinot was and had been in communication with attorneys for the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas railroad, although it did not approach within forty miles of the area designated as public land. In his return correspondence concerning the public land issue, he included circulars that told of the facilities offered by the different railroads, directions to get there, and a description of the landscape. Other collaborations by Boudinot with railway companies were indicated when the Boudinot Hotel [part owner with Bell] was constructed in Vinita, Oklahoma where the railway lines intersected. He had illegally staked off an area of land in the vicinity of the interchange and had begun to sell lots before the railroad ever appeared. So, it is understandable that the Cherokee people considered Boudinot as a man on the make, lobbyist for the railroad interests, and an aspiring townsite developer (Debo 1971, 249).

Railroads were given contingent grants of rights-of-way of two hundred feet width, but they also wanted a section of land every ten miles for stock yards, depot buildings, etc., so that they would not be trespassing on Indian lands. This was turned down, but they did receive intervals of four hundred feet for depots, buildings, and water tanks. The railroad promoters of the Katy had issued fourteen million dollars in bonds to finance the building, securing them by a mortgage on the railroad property and the contingent land grant. The Katy traversed the main north-south trail across the Territory where important coal deposits were discovered. This put great pressure on the railroad promoters to have the land grants validated so that they could participate in the revenues of the coalmines and dispose of their mortgage debt (Holden 1933, 646).

The Atlantic and Pacific had issued bonds of more than one million dollars on the railroad and one-half million on the land along its short stretch of track. These bonds had dropped to about five cents on the dollar, and the company brought suit against the government in Court of Claims to compel validation of the grant so the A&P could continue with its construction.

During the whole time, railroad officials and bondholders of both roads worked on Congress to break down the Indian regime. As mentioned earlier, they conspired with Boudinot to force the opening of the unassigned lands. As witnessed by the article in the *Chicago Times* written with Katy railroad attorney T.C. Sears who had knowledge of the intersect location of the Katy and A&P railroads. And, the Boomer invasion movement into the Oklahoma district was led by Bell, but organized in conspiracy with Boudinot and the railroad companies who had as their platform to seek individual rights of title to

Indian lands. Acquiring lands in severalty would have the resulting effect of relinquishing Indian title to the railway's rights-of-way grant (see figure 10).

Other Aspects of Railroad Development on The Ensuing Settlement of Guthrie

There were many reasons the railroads doomed the self-governing free life of the Indian Nations. The one reason that pertained most directly to Guthrie was the establishment of temporary station houses along the tracks (Debo 1971, 258). These station houses often served to collect immigrant people of shady character who worked on the railroads. As construction moved on, ambitious little towns sprang up populated by railroad laborers, railroad construction deserters who lived illegally in Indian Territory, and skilled people who had work permits issued from a particular Indian Nation. Added to these groups who congregated at the station houses, for business or pleasure, were the whites that had inter-married with Indians. One passenger detained at the station house in Muskogee subscribed to a Creek newspaper with this remark, "I want to keep the run of things in this Territory so that if the government is going to get possession of this land, I want to know it. I want to get hold of some (Debo 1971, 171)." With Guthrie being one of these station houses, known as Deer Creek, and being designated to house a federal land office, they worked hand-in-hand as the catalyst to Guthrie's overnight status as– the largest "Boom Town" in Indian Territory.

In September 1880, the Union Agent, John Q. Tufts, reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that he estimated there were about 60,000 Indians in his jurisdiction and about 6,000 intruders. He stated that ". . . these white intruders – pale-faced cut-throats, the terror of the country – go armed to the teeth continually (Warde

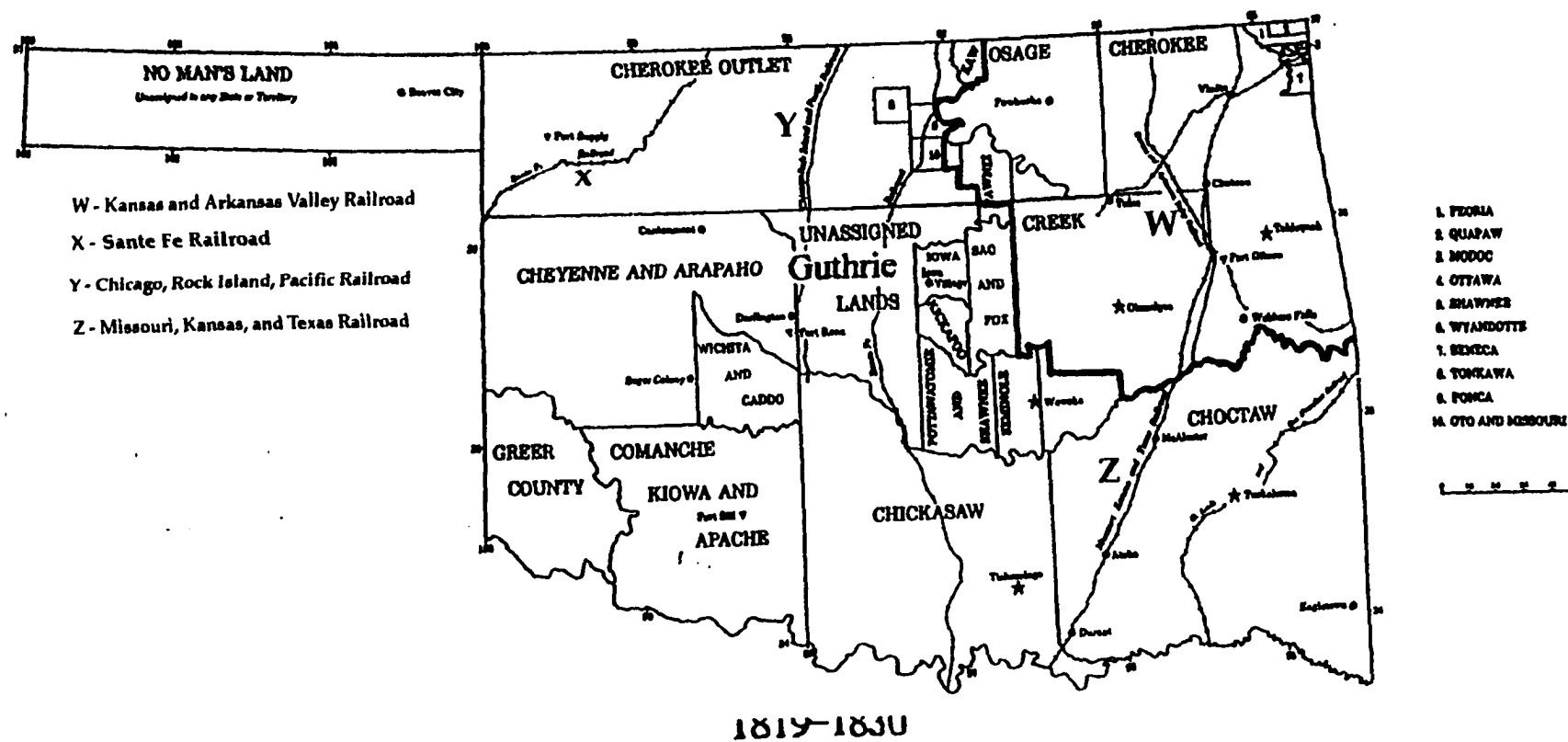


Figure 10. Railroads Across Indian Territory

1989-90, 32).” These intruders enter the territory everyday. They include cattlemen, farmers, saw mill operators, miners, doctors, ministers, merchants, gamblers, prostitutes, and liquor dealers. – The list of unlicensed residents was endless. The legally permitted whites were miners, carpenters, school teachers, horse shoers, blacksmiths, etc (Debo 1971, 171).

The Railroads spent twenty years trying to lay siege to the Indian Territory by constantly agitating and supporting legislation aimed at extinguishing the Indian title and opening the land for non-Indian settlement (1989-90, 31). In such sources as, “The Indian Response to the Boomer Movement,” Angie Debo’s A History of Indians, Frank Wyatt and George Rainey’s A Brief History of Oklahoma, and the book, The Formation of the State of Oklahoma by Roy Gittinger, all concur that David Payne was probably the railroad companies’ most ardent financially supported conspirator.

David Payne’s Persistence Another Economic Force

David Payne had a tremendous effect on the opening of the unassigned lands. He first appeared in Indian country as captain in the Eighteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, summoned in 1867 to assist the regulars in clearing western Kansas of hostile Indians of the Plains Tribes. As discussed earlier, after meeting Boudinot during his stay in Washington [1878 – 1879], Payne went to Wichita Kansas to organize a colony in Oklahoma calling it the Oklahoma Colony. Payne was President of the Boomer colony, Honorable J.M. Steele was treasurer, and W.H. Osborn was secretary. Most of the time the membership cost two dollars and a half. Payne kept two dollars for the colony, while the fifty cents went to the secretary for keeping the books. This certificate of

membership in the colony was supposed to secure for the holder the protection to retain his homestead. It was also understood that the certificate holder would be required to register with the federal government and pay fees as soon as the settlement had been opened under the homestead law (Harris 1927, 366-67). Also, there was evidence that if a person did not wish to enter the land until it was legally opened, he could pay a fee of twenty-five dollars to have a claim chosen and protected until he could take possession of it.

According to Colonel Edward Hatch, Commander of the military district of Oklahoma, "the income from these sources must have been fairly large especially as the fee for active membership was later raised to six dollars. It has been estimated that Payne collected one hundred thousand dollars in fees of one sort or another between 1880-1884. So, it only makes sense that he should not want the Oklahoma district opened (Foreman 1942, 217)." In an article written by Grant Harris, Secretary to David Payne and editor of the boomer newspaper "The Oklahoma Chief" located at Rock Falls near Hunnewell, Kansas in Indian Territory. He stated:

The membership fee for joining was ten dollars and there was a three dollar fee for surveying, but Captain never turned down an applicant simply because he did not have the thirteen dollars. 'He would take what he had.' That night, he would try to remember who had paid him during the day, and I would set down the amounts as he gave them, but there was generally more money than he could account for and frequently he could not remember names, so the books were of very little practical use (Harris 1929, 366-67).

This statement coincides with the description given of the Boomers camped at Caldwell, Kansas by four members of the Indian's Committee of Prosecution - Duncan, Overton, Grayson, and Cloud who stated, "instead of the several hundred Boomers newspaper reports had led them to believe were encamped along the border, they saw

about seventy-five hungry, half-clad, backwoods white men, than whom a more worthless horde [sic] hardly be found in all the balance of christendem ‘the most degraded and ignorant specimens of human society’ ‘evidently the dregs of the white population of Kansas and adjoining states’ - deluded and shamefully imposed upon by Payne and other leaders.” The three men also described Payne as a man of little account who spent his time in the local saloons and other places of dissipation (Warde 1989-90, 42).”

Although Colonel Hatch’s description of Payne depicted him as a scheming opportunist, William H. Osborn his long time secretary stated, “Captain Payne was not only a likeable man but also an aristocratic man. ‘He was of that class that you believed in and followed in spite of every thing and, while with him you would do as he desired. He could borrow the last dollar a man had, let it be one or a hundred.’ . . . “Captain Payne was just as willing and ready to loan as to borrow and just as slow to ask for its return.” ‘He was a better manager in camp by far than any man I ever met in that capacity.’ . . . He invariably did his part always satisfied with anything for himself but let some one impose upon another and Payne was right there to see fair play (Osburn 1929, 264).” Osborn had met Payne when making application to the Payne colony in Wichita. The trip was to start in October, but due to weather and Captain Payne’s meetings in Washington with Senator Plumb of Kansas who had promised him faithfully that something would be done before the close of the session, the trip was called off until next spring. [Senator Plumb was an ardent persistent legislator presenting bills to open up the unassigned lands for homestead. Maybe he was in conspiracy with Payne by his legislative bills being financed by the boomer movement. But, this would counter

Colonel Hatch's statement that Payne's townsite entrepreneurial enterprises were making so much money that he really did not want the unassigned land opened to settlement].

Guthrie, the Main Thoroughfare for Boomer Invasions

On April 26, 1880, David Payne led twenty-one followers southward toward a location in the center of the "Unassigned Lands." The destination was the North Canadian River where it crossed the Arbuckle Cattle Trail [just north of the present junction of Interstate-40 and Interstate-35 east of downtown Oklahoma City]. On this initial intrusion into the Oklahoma country, Payne and his men would blaze a new trail, towards Guthrie, one which would become a thoroughfare for Boomer caravans during the next five years (Hoig 1980, 152; Gittinger 1939, 215).

Harry Hill, the chief guide for Payne described the trail in an interview with a New York Sun correspondent in early 1889. He stated the Payne Trail:

Was a route from Arkansas City to a point on Bitter Creek, a few miles south of Winfield, Kansas. Then, it moved down stream to where it was crossed by a trail leading from Caldwell to the Ponca Reservation. Since soldiers were camped at the crossing, Payne continued on south to the Chikaskia River. From there, the trail cut southwestward to Thompson Creek at the northwest corner of the Nez Perce' Reservation. At this point, the trail continued southward to the Salt Fork of the Arkansas, crossing it and going into camp three miles to the south of the river and six miles west of the reservation. From the Salt Fork continue south to the sixth standard parallel, then turn southeasterly to Pawnee Creek, thence to Red Rock Creek, across the Black Bear, and to the head of Beaver Creek (Hoig 1980, 152).

Upon further discovery Stan Hoig identified that the trail crossed the Cimarron north of Guthrie at a location called Payne's Crossing, identified on an 1885 military map near the northwest corner of Section 2, Township 17 North, Range 2 West. Then, it continues south past the eastside of Guthrie, then cutting westward around the head of Coffee Creek

and heading south past present City of Edmond until striking the Arbuckle Trail near Britton. Hoig states:

The first Oklahoma Colony camped on the north bank of the North Canadian, possibly at 'Payne's Springs,' near the present location of 12th Street and Lindsay in Oklahoma City. On the following day, May 3, Payne began his search for a site to locate his planned *capital city* for Oklahoma. Following Crutch Creek to the southwest, he selected a choice spot on a wooded hilltop some two miles south of North Canadian. Payne named the site 'Ewing' after his old army commander and benefactor, General Tom Ewing, Jr. The homestead is clearly designated in U.S. vs Payne where Payne gives his homestead as Section 14, Township 11 North, Range 3 West. Payne, in fact, sought to establish a township on six sections [now bounded by 15th, High, 59th, and Bryan streets] (Hoig 1980, 153-54).

On July 1880, approximately two months after being arrested in the Oklahoma district, Payne again took a small group of colony members to the Oklahoma district following the original route as far as the Deep Fork. Instead of going to the Ewing site, he traveled southwestward along the Deep Fork to its head, establishing camp in the Council Grove area along the North Canadian. From there, he took the men downstream to Ewing, the first site now called "*Oklahoma City*." He was once again arrested, but this time he was taken to the federal court at Fort Smith (Hoig 1980, 154; Gittinger 1939, 216).

Payne passed through Guthrie a third time on his way to Kansas from Texas during the month of July 1881. In December 1881, he led a third group of colony members from Gainsville, Texas to a site close to Oklahoma City known as Payne's Springs next to the timbered area called Round Grove (Hoig 1980, 155).

The fourth time Payne passed Guthrie was February 1882. He was with thirteen Oklahoma Colony members crossing the Nez Perce' Reservation when he met three men on a hunting trip in the territory. Payne and his men, as well as Lon Whorton and his two

friends crossed the Cimarron “about six miles north and east of where Guthrie now stands (Hoig 1980, 155).” The two parties agreed to meet at Payne’s headquarters at Payne’s Springs on the North Canadian. Hoig described it as located in the present day Maywood Addition of Oklahoma City. The Boomers also knew the place as Round Grove.

Payne’s fifth time passing Guthrie was with his gambling buddy Tom Craddock during this same month of February 1882. They came by wagon down Payne’s Trail accompanied by Payne’s two hounds. But, at Coffee Creek or Spring Creek near Edmond, the pair turned their wagon east to the Deep Fork somewhere near present Arcadia. In Payne’s diary dated March 13, he wrote, “Left dugout 8 a.m. went south until we come to the Deep Fork then west to old trail and then north and E until dinner to go within eight miles C River.” Hoig believes Payne may have gone from the Arcadia site westward along Spring Creek to Edmond, then up the trail north and east to a point southeast of Guthrie. In the diary Payne also had an entry for his common law wife which read – “R.A. Haines [Rachel Anne Haines], NE1/4, Section 20, Township 14 North, Range 1 East (Hoig 1980, 155).”

On May 9, 1882, Payne came near Guthrie for a sixth time leading another group of members to the Deep Fork site. They were removed by troops. Then again on August 1882, Payne passed Guthrie for the seventh time. He was with a group of twenty Boomers traveling to Coffee Creek – “Deep Fork junction, then south to the northerly bend of the North Canadian, establishing a settlement on the river’s bank at Section 26, Township 12 North, Range 2 West.” They were also removed by federal troops. On January 1883, Payne left Kansas with 250 to 300 Boomers, passing Guthrie for the eighth and last time. He encountered a detachment of troops who by mere numbers could not

stop the group. They accompanied them to the North Canadian where Payne established “Camp Alice” named in honor of a little girl in the company. Camp Alice was located at Section 16, Township 12 North, Range 2 West. When another detachment of troops arrived, the boomers were sent out of Oklahoma district (Hoig 1980, 156).

One of Payne’s lieutenant’s, William L. Couch left Arkansas City, Kansas with 150 colonist on August 7, 1883. The group traveled southward across the Ponca Reservation to Payne’s Crossing northeast of Guthrie. This trail became known as the “Ponca Trail.” It was used for Couch’s next two intrusions into the unassigned territory. Couch was removed with his followers from Payne’s Crossing by federal troops and taken to Fort Reno. Couch’s next expedition left in mid-April, 1884 from Arkansas City following the Ponca Trail to Payne’s Crossing [northeast of Guthrie], then down the Old Payne Trail passing Guthrie on the east as they headed south to Council Grove, and then down river to Payne’s Springs or Round Grove (Hoig 1980, 157; Gittinger 1939, 216). The Boomer settlements were broken up by federal troops, but Couch escaped capture and returned directly to Arkansas City.

Soon, “Camp Russell” a military camp was established south of the Cimarron River just northeast of Guthrie. When Couch arrived with one hundred colony members they were totally surprised, and after a near confrontation, the colonists returned to Kansas. Camp Russell successfully stopped boomer caravans using the Payne or Ponca Trails until the opening of Oklahoma to settlement on April 22, 1889 (see figure 11).

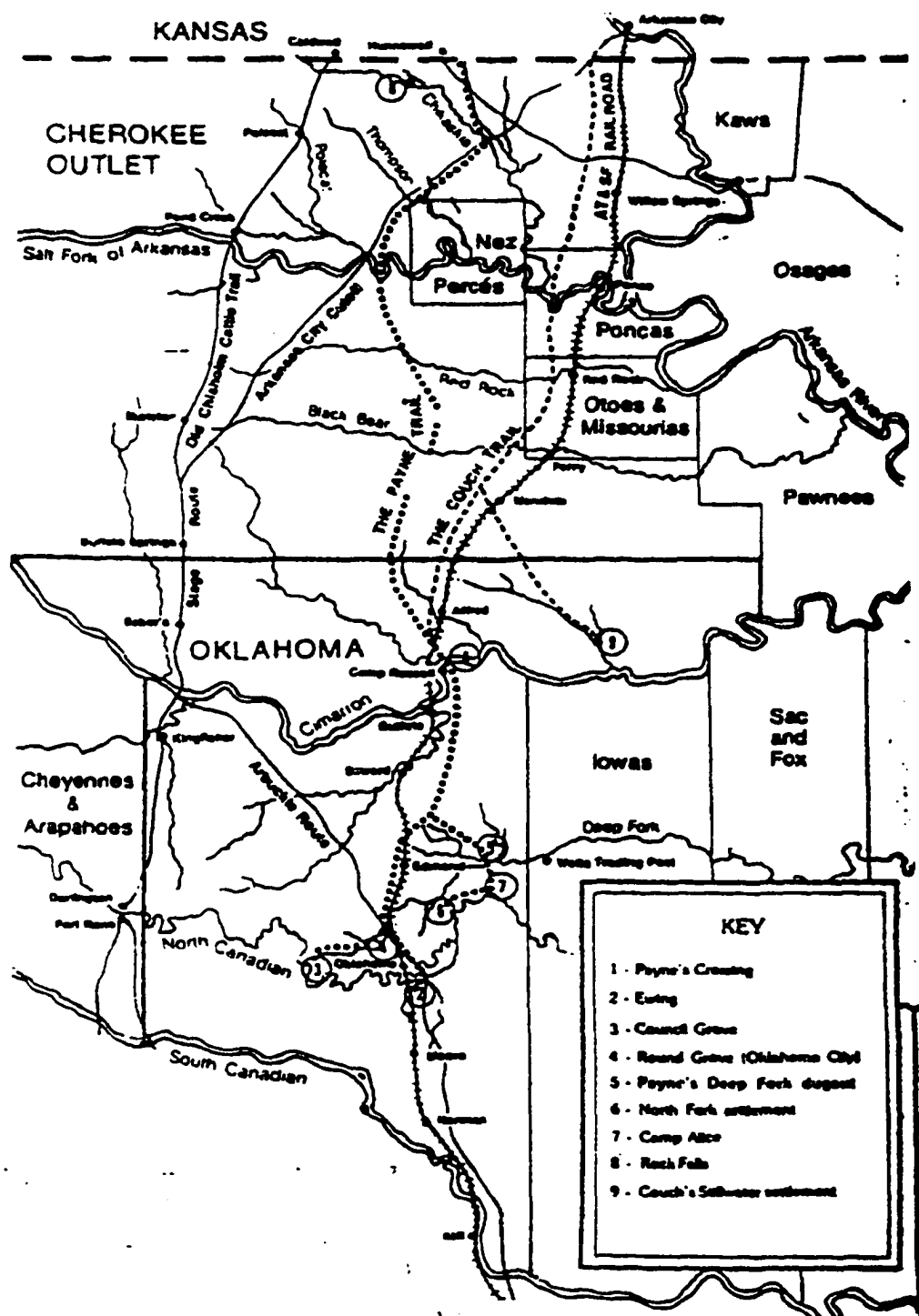


Figure 11. Guthrie: Main Thoroughfare for Boomer Invasions

The Significant Boomer Invasion That Forced Federal Legislation

Payne died of a heart attack on November 28, 1884, at Wellington, Kansas in the old Hotel de Barnard eating breakfast with six of his leaders (Harris 1927, 370; Gittinger 1939, 218). William Couch now in command colonized a large company of people who left Arkansas City and moved down the Ponca Trail cutting southeastwardly to Stillwater Creek where they founded the settlement of "Stillwater." By the December, it was reported to the War Department that the intruders numbered four hundred, which included a few women and children who were sheltered in small excavations in the sand hills on the north side of the Cimarron River. A detachment of thirty troops was sent from Camp Russell to arrest Couch and his men. The detachment found two hundred determined settlers armed with rifles and double-barreled shotguns, and a retreat was hastily ordered. By the middle of January, three hundred and seventy-five men were gathered at the Boomer camp. There were three -hundred and fifty soldiers of the Ninth Calvary stationed at Camp Russell and three-hundred soldiers were ordered to the Kansas border from Fort Leavenworth. The War Department had sent word on Jan. 20, 1884 "to arrest the intruders even if it should be necessary to shed blood." Couch was notified and he replied, "he had 400 men and they expected to fight (Gittinger 1939, 218)." The Boomers maintained a determined show of resistance for several weeks, but as additional infantry from Fort Gibson, Ft. Leavenworth, Fort Lyon, Fort Wingate, and three troops of cavalry from Fort Riley arrived, closing in and cutting off their supplies, the hungry invaders, on January 27, 1885, surrendered to General Hatch and they were marched back to the Kansas line (Foreman 1942, 218). This was the last major intrusion into the unoccupied lands because on March 3, 1885, Congress past legislation that would mean

the ultimate opening of the unoccupied lands of the Indian Territory. See map 9 for location of Camp Russell in relation to Guthrie.

Guthrie's Significant Location In the Unassigned Lands. Guthrie was not an unknown location on a prairie in the middle of nowhere before the land opening on April 22, 1889. It had been transversed many times by many people who were parts of the Payne and Couch colonies for five years from 1880 to 1885. The soldiers at Camp Russell were also familiar with the countryside of Guthrie due to their activity of removing Payne's Boomers. As mentioned earlier, the Santa Fe laid its tracks through Guthrie's future townsite as it followed the Ponca Trail from Arkansas City to the Cimarron River and beyond to the Canadian River. Guthrie was a familiar landscape. It was known in towns near the Kansas border such as Winfield, Kansas where Frank Greer published interviews with prominent people who had visited the proposed area of Guthrie. Refer to figure 11 for location of Payne Trail and Ponca Trails in relation to Guthrie.

The Settlement of Guthrie

The government failed to stop the invasion of the Oklahoma district because the statutes intended to protect the Indian country, as interpreted by the courts, were found to be practically without a penalty for their violation. President Hayes recommended the passage of an act that would authorize criminal prosecution of trespassers on Indian land. Each time the bills passed the Senate, but not the House of Representatives. Vice President Arthur, who became president at the assassination of President Garfield, made a recommendation for criminal prosecution to intruders on March 29, 1882. This bill passed the Senate on April 24, 1884. The second bill was recommended on December

10, 1883, and passed the Senate on February 24, 1885. These bills were also turned down by the House of Representatives. The first bill by President Cleveland was recommended on December 21, 1885, and passed the February 17, 1886. The second one was recommended on January 4, 1888. It never went any further than the House Committee on Indian Affairs (Gittinger 1939, 141).

Therefore, the Boomers who were characterized as intruders under the Intercourse Act of 1834 under Title XXVIII could now be prosecuted under civil law. Payne and Couch had disposed of all their assets that enabled them to face with equanimity a civil judgement in favor of the United States. The members of Payne and Couch's townsites colonies really believed that their leaders had justice on their side because the courts always failed to hold them. Couch later commented, "the trifling of the authorities" convinced them "that the government did not have a good case (Gittinger 1939, 142-43)." Payne sued the officers who arrested him at Camp Ewing [Oklahoma City] and even applied for an injunction to protect his colonists in their rights. According to Gittinger, "the Boomers thought the government should be able to stop the invasions if they were really illegal. Most of the boomers were farmers who wanted free land, and as a rule they were industrious, well-meaning people (Gittinger 1939, 142)."

Starting with Senator Preston B. Plumb of Kansas on January 21, 1885, numerous bills were introduced in Congress to open the unoccupied territory to homesteaders. On March 3, 1885, Congress passed the Indians Appropriation Act that contained a section that authorized negotiations with the Creeks, the Seminoles, and the Cherokees for the outright purchase of the unoccupied lands to which they had claims. The Indians

understood that Congress had the power, whether it had the moral right or not, to take their land by forced sale or seizure (Foreman 1942, 219).

Subsequent Political Struggles of The Indians to Hold Their Land

The Indians took great care in their own political affairs until 1879 when they had to become a United Republic in attempt to protect their lands. The Indians primarily the southern ones, had learned early the art of diplomacy and political intrigue. The training was received in playing off one European against another and still further developed, in negotiations with the United States relative to their removal to Oklahoma. And even after, they had reached the territory, the constant struggle to retain provisions of treaty agreements and to prevent new legislation by Congress unfavorable to what they considered their best interests. The Indians found they must be advanced in political ability in order to gain or hold by negotiations what they found they could not gain or hold by force of arms. Edward Everett Dale was of the same opinion when he stated in the article "The Spirit of Sooner Land" that, "Interest in political ability was greatly fostered by the fact that these tribes were virtually independent nations, small enough for any citizen to aspire to the highest office in the gift of his people. In time, the Five Civilized Tribes were nations of diplomats and skilled politicians (Dale 1923, 171)." In March 1879, Creek Principal Chief Ward Coachman wrote to Cherokee Chief Thompson that a *Chicago Times* correspondent, passing through from the Sac and Fox Agency, reported that he had seen two companies of troops removing settlers from the western part of the territory. Chief Coachman suggested the convening of an intertribal council in late May to discuss the possible invasion of intruders. He also wrote to the Chiefs of the Sacs and Foxes, the Shawnees, and the Kickapoos telling them to be on their guard as to

waves of intruding settlers, and to immediately notify, the Department of the Interior upon seeing them (Warde 1989-90, 35).

Governor B.C. Burney of the Chickasaw Nation eloquently and most poignantly in a letter to Chief Thompson explained his opinions as he perceived the invasions:

The great schemes set on foot by Rail Road sharpers and land grabbers which has been organized by the formation of well organized colonies and at present settling upon the border of our country known as the ceded land . . . is a question that demands immediate attention by the five Nations interested. As such occupation if permitted must ultimately force the opening up of our country; which will destroy our form of government and our Nationality as a people This perhaps is the most critical period of our existence . . (Warde [Burney to Thompson, May 19, 1879, Western History Collection]1989-90, 35).

Governor Burney also stated, “my people are willing almost to a unit to repel the invaders by force of arms, and abide the consequences let that be what it may.” To prevent any altercations between the Chickasaw Indians and the invading settlers, the Creek and Cherokees delegates in Washington protested to Congress in alarm. Where upon as previously discussed, President Rutherford Hayes promptly issued the Proclamation of April 25, 1879, which forbade homesteading in the Indian Territory (Warde 1989-90, 35).

On May 27, 1879, at a meeting in Eufaula of the Five-Civilized Tribes with the Sacs and Foxes, the tribal delegates unanimously agreed that the interested individuals and corporations having failed to acquire the necessary legislation to open the territory are now trying another tactic of settlement. The delegates present wrote:

Doubtless the miserable conspiracy recently developed to seize the so-called ‘ceded lands’ was undertaken with the expectation that the Indians of the Territory would be awed into submission or provoked to such acts of resistance as would make imperative the interference of both the civil and military branches of the government . . . The movement was to be but the initial step in overrunning and seizing by fraud or violence the entire Territory. . . . Instigated by the worst class of adventurers, accepted by ignorant dupes and sprung suddenly upon the

people of the Territory, the "Invasion" of the country threatened consequences of the most serious and far-reaching character . . . (Ward [Proceedings of the International Conferences of the Tribes of the Indian Territories, May 27, 1879]).

The delegation meeting in Eufaula the following July 2, 1879, thought there should be stiffer punishments to the Boomers by the federal government. They asked their delegates in Washington to propose an amendment to the Intercourse Act that would send definite messages to prospective land seekers that the lands of the Indian Nations were unavailable for settlement by unauthorized people. They thought the punishment should befit the crime as American citizens guilty of conspiracy against the Indians. And, the council voted on a resolution seeking approval from the various tribal councils to give this *international* congress legal status before its next convention organized for next May 1880 (Warde [The Indian Journal, July 17, 1879]1989-90, 36).

The newly inaugurated Principal Chief of the Cherokees, Dennis Wolfe Bushyhead, wrote to Chief Samuel Checote, Principal Chief of the Creeks warning, "Intrusion on an extended scale which should endanger one of our Nations would endanger all; and due vigilance is required at the hands of each head of the Nations to curb and check intrusion when it begins, so as to prevent *extension* (Warde 1989-90, 37)." He then sent this message to the tribal delegates in Washington asking for *great diligence* in procuring information, bringing great cause against the territorial bills in Congress concerning white settlement.

Court Case and Legal Actions in
Support of Treaty of 1866

The next Eufaula Convention met in January 1880 attended by delegates representing thirty-four tribes whose main concern was the Vest Bill before Congress. It was for the formal territorialization of the Indian nations.

The Indians felt a little more secure in their legal position in the spring. The Vest Bill died due to the adjournment of Congress, and two squatter movements, one led by C.C. Carpenter and the other one by freedman, J. Milton Turner, dissipated. They also felt due to President Hayes' second proclamation issued on February 12, 1880, that intruders in Indian Territory would be removed by military force if necessary. And, has been discussed in earlier accounts of Paynes' boomer settlement history, he left Washington in the spring of 1880 after conferring with his new friend, Elias Boudinot, to lead a Boomer movement in April using the "Payne Trail", leaving south from Caldwell, Kansas, passing Guthrie headed to Oklahoma City to claimed a homestead. When Payne was arrested he stated the arguments proposed by Boudinot that the unassigned lands were public domain. Therefore, he had the legal right to stake claims and to lay out towns under the homestead laws. On October 13, 1880, the editor of the *Cherokee Advocate* wrote, "He is the tool in the hands of others, who see in the scheme a chance for a big steal (Warde 1989-90, 39)."

When Payne was arrested a second time from the same homestead claim, he was escorted to the Federal District Court of the Western District of Arkansas. Judge Issac C. Parker set his trial date for March 1881. In the mean time, Judge Parker wrote to Chief Bushyhead and to Cherokee Assistant W. P. Ross to ask them to prepare a statement of their views regarding the various treaties and land cessions involved in the case. William H.H. Clayton, the United States Attorney, also wrote Chief Bushyhead that he welcomed

any information, documentation or suggestions in the prosecution of Payne and the question on the legality of white settlement in Indian Territory. The Committee on Prosecution – Cloud, Thompson, Overton, Duncan, and Grayson - welcomed the invitation and in the ensuing months spent a great deal of time in Ft. Smith with the district and the judge. B.F. Overton, Governor of the Chickasaw Nation and one of the committee, wrote to Bushyhead that he felt their presence would “produce a good effect among the whites that are ever ready to gobble up our lands. It will show them that we are united and determined to meet them on every point that they may make in that direction (Warde 1989-90, 47).”

On March 7, 1881, “the trial took place with committee member Duncan aiding District Attorney Clayton with his prosecution. Payne was seconded by Elias C. Boudinot and represented by three attorneys, including James B. Baker, president of the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad (Warde 1989-90, 47).” After the trial, the Indians declared Boudinot as, “the Benedict Arnold of the Indian race.” Judge Parker decided the case in favor of the Indians. He ruled that neither Payne nor the Boomers had any right to homesteads in the unoccupied land and any non-Indians without tribal permits that were in Indian Territory would be liable to arrest, expulsion, and fined. As mentioned earlier, Payne having neither the \$1,000 dollar for the fine nor any assets that could be confiscated, escaped punishment for his intrusions (Warde 1989-90, 44).

The Committee of Prosecution was very pleased with the decision of Parker expressed by committee member Grayson when he wrote the Creek National Council that:

It is pleasant to know . . . that in this decision of the United States Court, the Indians have become possessed of one of the strongest levers yet placed

within their grasp for compelling a just recognition of their rights and the integrity of our whole Indian Territory (Warde 1989-90, 48).

The Indians continued to retain able delegates in Washington for the purpose of protecting their legal rights of illegal entry [*Vest Bill*] into their lands. DeWitt Clinton Duncan, a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Dartmouth, and George Washington Grayson, General Secretary of the Okmulgee and chairman of the Committee of Prosecution continued to write articles for newspapers and journals, and the intertribal conventions continued to meet to discuss policies and procedures to protect their lands from invasion until the fatal passing of the Indians Appropriations Bill on March 3, 1889.

Chronological Events and Legislative Maneuverings
Comprising the Political Issues Responsible
For the Future Site of Guthrie

On May 2, 1884, Preston Plumb of Kansas introduced a bill in the Senate to open to homestead entry certain unoccupied Indian lands. And, on December 8, 1885, at the same time Couch was establishing Camp Stillwater, Thomas Ryan of Kansas introduced Plumb's bill to the House of Representatives. On January 21, 1885, when the news was spreading across the country that Colonel Hatch was facing an invasion of 400 armed Boomers at Stillwater, Senator Vest proposed to substitute for the Plumb resolution a formal statement authorizing negotiations for the purchase of the Oklahoma district free from restrictions. The difference between the two resolutions was that Plumb defended the right of the United States to extend the laws of homestead immediately over the unoccupied land without negotiations. While, the Vest resolution declared the federal government was morally bound to negotiate with the Indians for the removal of the restrictions on their lands. The Vest Bill incorporated within the Indian Appropriations

Bill passed both legislatures by February 24, 1885. It authorized negotiations for the Oklahoma district and the Cherokee Outlet, and it authorized the criminal prosecution of intruders on Indian land.

In October 1885, Couch starting from the Kansas border traveled his familiar trail south past Guthrie with a group of boomers to the Canadian River and camped near a site close to Oklahoma City colony location called Council Grove. It was stated later that they only wished to remind the Congress that they had not begun negotiations on the unassigned land. Unknown to Couch, the executive branch had a plan designed to provide a permanent solution to the Indian question. The plan began with the Attorney General ruling that the system by which the Indians leased their lands was illegal and all leases were void in July 1885. Thus, the government began phasing out the old policy of fostering tribal organizations.

The military had played an instrumental role in the new policies being determined for the Indians. General Nelson A. Miles, Commander of the Department of the Missouri, in which the Indian Territory lay, made recommendation in his report for 1885 that the Indian Territory should be abolished:

It is a block in the pathway of civilization . . . a dark blot in the center of the map of the United States. He also recommended a commission of three to allot lands immediately. . . . General Sheridan, Commander of the Army, disapproved of the plan to do away with Indian Territory. Although, he was in agreement to the allotment of lands in severalty to the Indians, and offering the surplus to settlers. . . . Secretary of the Interior L.Q.C. Lamar and Commissioner J.D.C. Atkins thought the allotments should be kept in a body, preferably in the eastern part of Indian Territory (Gittinger 1939, 161).

The President being made aware of the opinions of the military and their associated departments, recommended in a message to Congress in December 1885 to pass a law providing for the appointment of a six members commission to study the

Indian question. When the Forty-ninth Congress met in the same month, there were five proposals presented all dealing with plans for the reform of the judicial system; the opening of the unoccupied land; the organization of Indian Territory; the concentration of the Indians in the eastern two-thirds of the Territory; and the allotment of lands in severalty (Gittinger 1939, 162).

“The bill to declare the unoccupied lands in Indian Territory open to homestead entry was renewed by Senator Plumb at the beginning of the session, while a like bill was simultaneously initiated in the House. Neither one received further consideration (Gittinger [Senate Bill 393, Dec. 10, 1885; House Bill 749, by Perkins, Dec. 21, 1885] 1939, 163).”

During this session of Congress, a flood of petitions arrived asking Congress to open the unassigned lands for settlement. The states sending the largest amount of petitions were identified as Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, and Missouri. In response, five to six bills were introduced to provide for the organization of the Territory and the public land strip. The bills purposed to allot land in severalty to Indians, but their chief purpose was to open the unoccupied lands to settlement. Some of the bills proposed were:

Senate Bill 717 made by Charles Van Wyck of Nebraska, Dec. 21, 1885; House Bill 315 drafted by James Weaver of Iowa, Dec. 21, 1885; House Bill 584 drafted by James Weaver of Iowa, Jan. 28, 1886; House Bill 7217 made by William Hill of Ohio, Com. on Territories, Mar. 25, 1886 and Tom Bowen of Colorado presented a plan for removal of all Indians to I.T., January 13, 1886 (Gittinger 1939, 164).

On December 8, 1885, Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts introduced a bill for allotment of lands in severalty to the Indians. By the terms of this act, the President could authorize the allotments of lands in severalty to the Indians of any tribes whenever he thought that such allotment would be to their benefit. Each head of a family was

entitled to one hundred and sixty acres of land; half as much might be assigned to each single person over eighteen and to each orphan under that age. Other persons under eighteen were entitled to forty acres each. The owner of an allotment could not sell or mortgage the land for twenty-five years. But, the President could extend the restriction period. Finally, it was a form of a naturalization law for the Indians, since citizenship was given as soon as the patent for the land was made. The President could authorize to negotiate with the tribe for any surplus land left after the allotment had been completed. The Dawes bill also provided that any land secured in this way should be sold, in tracts of one hundred and sixty acres each, to actual settlers who could secure title only after five years' residence. And, this act applied to the western half of the Indian Territory, although it did not apply to the greater part of the eastern half (Gittinger 1939, 169-70).

A sub-committee of the House Committee on Appropriations had been authorized in the closing days of the Forty-eighth congress to investigate *expenditures* for the Indians. The committee's report was submitted to the Secretary of the Interior approximately one year later. He drafted a bill incorporating the recommendation of the President's message of December 1885. The report and accompanying bill were presented to congress on March 16, 1886. The bill proposed to have a six-member commission. Three members were recommended to be army officers with the authority to negotiate with the Indians and to make any disposition of them or of their lands, not contrary to law or to previous treaties, without reference to Congress. The primary task of the committee would be the formation of an Indian policy. The chairman of the majority report on this bill was William S. Holman of Indiana. He presented the desire of the administration for a gradual concentration of the Indians in its eastern two-thirds of

the Indian Territory, and opening the remaining surplus for settlement. The allotment of the Indians was to be done in severalty, but nothing was to be done without their consent. The minority report signed by Thomas Ryan of Kansas and Joseph Cannon of Illinois criticized the plan. The minority wanted a policy that would produce rapid development, and objected to any further concentrations of Indians as detrimental to the interest of Indians. Also, one of the members of the minority group, James Weaver of Iowa, opposed the Holman Bill because he felt the sub-committee was acting in harmony with the wishes of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs who wanted to move some of the western Indians of Indian Territory directly to the Oklahoma district. The Holman Bill was not allowed to come to a vote during the session. Holman made an effort during this forty-ninth session to obtain a hearing for it, but he did not succeed.

On April 15, 1886, the Committee on Territories presented their recommendations. They were as follows (Gittinger 1939, 164-66):

The reservations of Five Civilized Tribes were to be included nominally in the Territory of Oklahoma, attached only for judicial purposes.

The Committee proposed the public land strip and the Oklahoma District be opened to settlement at once.

A commission provided by the bill would determine if the Creeks and Seminoles should be given additional compensation on account of the failure of the United States to observe the restrictions of the treaties ceding the Oklahoma district.

The Cherokee Outlet should be transferred to settlers if this commission and the Cherokees could agree upon the terms of transfer.

One section of the bill authorized the commission to treat with other Indians for any land in excess of their requirements.

All sales of grazing rights were to be forbidden in the future.

Dawes' previously presented bill, known as the Dawes Bill, passed the Senate on February 26, 1886. After the house members had many heated debates over the measure in conference, the House approved it on December 16, 1887. The Dawes Bill became law after the President signed on February 26, 1886. This proposal to establish a "Territory of Oklahoma" did not receive much attention during the second session of the Forty-ninth Congress that ended March 1887 (Gittinger 1939, 169). Senator Dawes, according to Angie Debo, was, "one of the most active of the well-meaning opponents of Indian nationality (Debo, 1971, 259)."

The Indians expressed so much opposition to this alien concept of "head of a family" because in their marriage society women and children had property rights. Due to pressure, the act was amended in 1891 to provide equal shares to all – 80 acres of agriculture land and 160 for grazing. The allotment amounts varied with tribes. The Osage, Peoria, Miami, or Sac and Fox and the Five Civilized Tribes were exempt from the Dawes Act due to their land being held under patent. All other tribes – Pottawatomie, Shawnee, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte, Ottawa, Modoc, Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Indians – were immediately under its provisional laws to be allotted individual holdings (Gittinger 1939, 170).

A minority report of the House Indian Affairs Committee stated that even the Indians' well-wishers would have to admit – "It does not make a farmer out of an Indian to give him a quarter section of land . . . the real aim of this bill [Dawes] is to get at the Indian lands and open them up to settlement . . . If this were done in the name of greed it would be bad enough; but to do it in the name of humanity, and under the cloak of an

ardent desire to promote the Indian's welfare by making him like ourselves, whether he will or not, is infinitely worse (Debo 1971, 252)."

The strip of land known as No Man's Land [the three western-most counties of present-day Oklahoma] was first designated on official maps as a part of the Indian Territory, but since that time it had appeared as a separate division. The first survey enacted by congress was on March 3, 1881. The survey read, "the Cimarron Meridian was established on the One Hundred and Third Meridian of Longitude, and a base line was established on the parallel of thirty-six thirty. The cattlemen were using this strip of land as an undisturbed possession until 1884 when settlers began to squat the land, and an instant competition for its use ensued. Since this area was not opened legally to settlement and not even attached to any judicial district, it became known as No Man's Land.

Senator Preston Plumb of Kansas on January 24, 1888, proposed a bill to incorporate this troublesome area to Kansas by extension of its borders. The Senate passed the proposal on March 29, 1888. A companion recommendation had been passed by the Senate on February 23, 1888, to open No Man's Land to settlement. William Springer chairman of the Committee on Territories and James Weaver actively led the "Friends of the Oklahoma Bill" to block further progress of Senate Bill 1080 that proposed homestead entry into No Man's Land. They were afraid the passage of this bill would delay or possibly stop the Oklahoma bill. Also, the people living in the strip did not want it to become a part of Kansas (Gittinger 1939, 174).

Starting early during the Fiftieth Congress, the Committee of Territories was busy trying to get renewed interest in the organization of the Territory of Oklahoma. The

chairman William Springer introduced House Bill 1277 on January 4, 1888, that called for the districts west of the present reservations of the Five Civilized Tribes to be the land included in the Territory of Oklahoma. On the very same day, Representative Townshend introduced House Bill 1285 and Representative Weaver introduced House Bill 1350 recommending that Indian Territory be organized into the Territory of Oklahoma. All three bills prescribed the same land boundaries. Springer introduced House Bill 10614 on June 25 (Gittinger 1939, 176). The House reported it on July 11, 1888. It was the same as House Bill 1277 with a few minor amendments. The most important factors of the Springer bill proposed land boundaries and the name "Oklahoma" was used for the first time. Since Congress had passed the Dawes Act of land allotment in severalty, it was unnecessary to be included in the Springer bill, but all other aspects of the bill closely followed its predecessor, "the Oklahoma Bill (Gittinger 1939, 176-79)."

At the same time Congress was being bombarded with bills for organization of Indian Territory, W.L. Couch, the boomer agitator, had organized a convention for all interested people of the bordering states of Indian Territory. The Memorial Convention was held on February 8, 1888, in Kansas City. The convention set forth as it declaration that only "chiefs, squawmen, and half-breeds" were in opposition to any alterations to the treaties of Indian Territory, and that the real Indians were in favor of allotments. The convention also stated, "The Indian Territory lies in the center of southwestern civilization, an obstacle to trade development and an injury to every state which borders upon it." The resolutions adopted by the convention and presented to Congress were:

- The opening of the Indian Territory, or at least of its western part, to settlement, with payment to the Indians for their lands.
- These lands should be disposed of in small holdings to actual settlers and that no leases or other forms of monopoly should be tolerated (Gittinger 1939, 176).

The Springer bill was kept “on the top burner” of the House of Representatives at the second session of the Fiftieth Congress which met in December 1888. On February 1, 1889, the Springer bill passed the House by a vote of 147 to 102. Lobbying for the bill now shifted to the Senate. And, many petitions were continually being presented by representatives of states asking for the immediate opening of Indian Territory to settlement. Businessmen organizations interested in the Southwest such as “the Council of Cimarron Territory” were making presentations to the Senate to urge them to pass the Oklahoma bill. They made their last presentation in February to the Senate as the House of Representatives were passing the House bill to establish the Territory of Oklahoma. The Senate was compelled to urge its consideration, but the session was drawing to a close, and the Indian Appropriation Bill needed attention.

The historical factors that led to the Springer Bill being signed by the House of Representatives on February 1, 1889, began with the Creek Nation sending a delegation to Congress in January 1889, headed by Pleasant Porter to offer to relinquish to the United States the Creek Claim to the unassigned land [1,392,704.70 acres] in the Oklahoma district that lay North Fork of the Canadian River – [Guthrie, Oklahoma’s future was being established]. An agreement was signed on January 19, 1889, in which the Creeks for a consideration of two million two hundred and eighty thousand dollars released the United States from all restrictions on the use of the entire Creek Cession of

1866. The Creek legislature ratified the agreement on January 31, 1889, and on February 6, 1889, the President submitted it to Congress.

On February 15, 1889, the Senate passed a bill approving this compact. Before the necessary provisions had been made to finalize the agreement, Senator Dawes was able to attach a section to this bill that stated, "a person entering the Creek cession of the unassigned land prior to its opening by law will forfeit his right to make a homestead." The Senate signed the bill on February 23, the House signed it immediately and the President signed it on March 1, 1889.

On the same day, February 15, 1889, that the Senate approved the agreement with the Creeks. The Seminole delegation submitted a formal communication asking the government to enter an agreement with them concerning their land cession as prescribed by the Treaty of 1866, and for it to be similar to the Creek agreement. The Seminoles cession in 1866 contained 2,037,414.62 acres. The remaining land left in 1889 that had not been assigned was 495,086.87 acres, located in the Oklahoma district that lay south of the North Fork of the Canadian.

The Secretary of the Interior William F. Vilas submitted the Seminole proposal to the President with this side note that since the restrictions in the Seminole treaty were implied rather than expressed as the Creek treaty, he concluded that they should not be treated in similar fashion. The President in a special message to Congress placed the entire proposition before them.

On February 21, 1889, Senator Dawes introduced Senate Bill 3984 to accept the Seminole's offer and to make an appropriation of one million nine hundred and twelve thousand dollars as additional compensations for the land ceded to them in 1866.

The members of the House Committee of Indian Affairs agreed to put this bill as an amendment to their Indian appropriation bill, knowing that this bill as a separate measure did not have time to follow bureaucratic procedures before Congress adjourned.

To this amendment, the Committee agreed to add additional sections:

- Representative Ryan inserted a section authorizing the President to establish two land offices in the Oklahoma district.
- Representative Springer inserted a section that authorized a commission to treat directly with the Indians of this region for their surplus lands and with the Cherokees in particular for the outlet.
- An insertion that authorized the President to open the Oklahoma district for immediate settlement, in accordance with the terms of the homestead law.
- Setting of a date by the President for the proposed opening to be issued thirty days in advance (Gittinger 1939, 69).

On February 26, 1889, Chairman of the Committee of Indian Affairs Samuel W. Peel offered the amendment as it had been agreed upon in committee. It was passed by the House on the next day, February 27, 1889. And in a slightly modified form, the Senate adopted the Indian Appropriations Bill on March 2, 1889. President Grover Cleveland approved it on the same day as the Senate (Gittinger 1939, 181).

In their book Formation of Oklahoma, Frank Rainey and George Wyatt stated during this particular space of time 1885-1889, the delegation of the Five Civilized Tribes were so diligent in their efforts to form a state on behalf of all the Indians at large that they were gaining an incredible amount of influence in Washington. This Indian Delegation with the steady increase of sympathy in the form of petitions presented to congress by citizens across the United States concerned the friends of the Oklahoma Bill. They were

afraid these two factors could cause delay or postponement of their much desired bill. Therefore, they felt compelled to insert the sections mentioned above to the amendment of the Indian Appropriations Bill. This guaranteed the immediate opening of the Oklahoma district (see figure 12).

The Creeks on January 19, 1889, and Seminoles on February 15, 1889, who proposed the purchase of their tribal lands to the United States was the deciding factor that prompted the hesitant legislators of the House and Senate to pass legislation to open the unoccupied lands to settlement. Therefore, the Springer Bill was not approved by the House of Representatives until February 1, 1889.

The Creeks and Seminoles went against their unified Indian Nation who were refusing to sell any of their lands. They were afraid of the Springer Bill being past that had as one of its provisions the question of whether the Creeks and Seminoles had the rights to their lands per the Treaty of 1866.

Greed, philanthropy, and public opinion were thus united to break down the tribes' defenses. What might have been advocated as a measure of cold-blooded realism was represented as a holy crusade (Debo 1971, 251).

The importance of reviewing the boomer movement, the devious motives of the railway corporations, the opportunists conspiring within their legal confines of federal legislation, and the acts of desperation by the Indians, primarily during 1879 through 1889, set the activities in motion to collide, inter-connect, and compete to evolve from a rolling prairie with a station house and land office to the largest boom town in Indian Territory – Guthrie, Oklahoma.

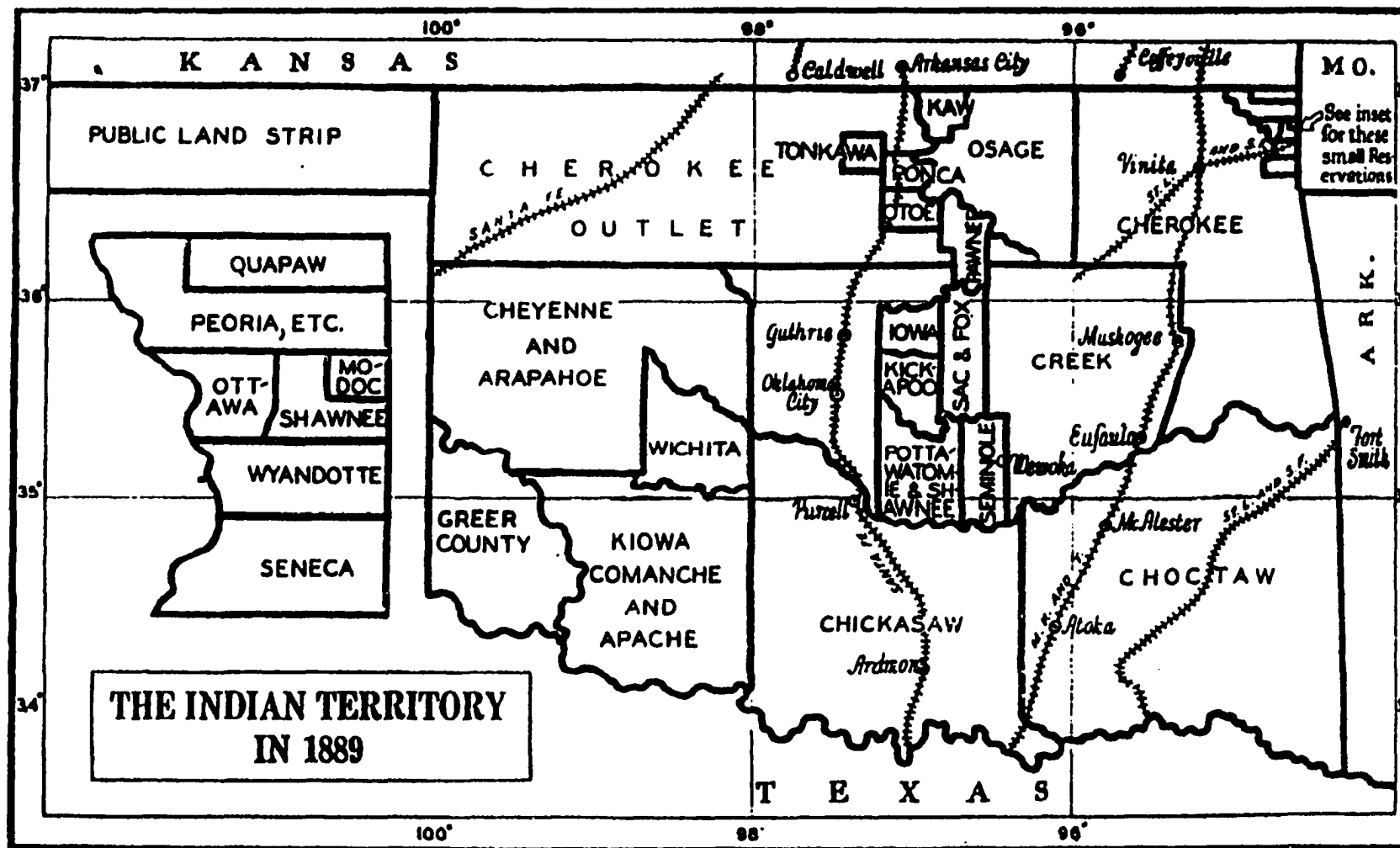


Figure 12. Guthrie: 1889 Location in the Unassigned Lands of Indian Territory

Viewing Guthrie Through The Ecological Framework. Throughout this phase of Guthrie evolution, there have been continual and dynamic changes associated with growth in the five facets of its eco-system. *Physically*, Guthrie was a hunting ground of rich rolling prairies with bountiful game. *Socially/Culturally*, Guthrie's celestial landscape enjoyed by a few occasional hunting parties became a busy thoroughfare used by boomers and railroad companies. *Economically*, it was the hottest piece of real estate that was sought by using any means of possession. *Technically*, the only way to reach its central location was by horseback, wagon, and eventually railroad. And *politically*, it was the topic of many heated conversations that kept the federal government busy for years trying to pass legislation to obtain it. Accordingly Gideon Golany states, "the evolution of a city is as a living organism that introduces a symphony of complex-sub-systems. Sub-systems of environs that need not ignore the achievement of our ancestors (Golany 1995, 2)."

The evolution of Guthrie's historical development was necessary to guarantee a successful journey through the second phase of Guthrie's destiny. This phase opens with land run activities generated from passage of the Indian Appropriations Bill that lead to the historic gun shots heard across Oklahoma district at high noon on April 22, 1889. The signal that opens the "Unassigned Lands" of Indian Territory, is also the event that symbolizes the resulting phenomena thus far evolved from inter-mingling, inter-connecting and competing forces of the urban ecological framework responsible for the birth of Guthrie, Oklahoma.

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Figure 1. Provided by Guthrie News Leader from Guthrie Daily Leader

Figure 2. Wyatt, Frank and George Rainey. Brief History of Oklahoma, pp. 33. Oklahoma City: Webb Publishing Company, 1919.

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CHAPTER FOUR

IMPENDING ACTIVITIES BEFORE THE RUN

Guthrie's "impending activities" have been researched in the approach used by most geographers in that distance, direction, and linkages between places have been recognized as important determinates in the urban ecology system (Exline, Peters, and Larkin 1982, 20). These forces were an intricate part in the lives of the Oklahoma land seekers. It was their journeys and experiences with structured and non-structured events and activities that produced history as we know it during the preceding days of the Oklahoma Land Run, 23 March – April 22, 1889.

Forces of distance described linear miles from bordering states to the unoccupied lands or distance in miles from Washington, D.C., etc. to Guthrie, Oklahoma. And more importantly, distance was conceived in terms of time, it took three days to travel across the Cherokee Outlet from the southern border of Kansas to the northern boundary of the unassigned lands. Finally, distance was measured in terms of the monetary cost of travel, the Boomer hardships traveling by wagon versus Easterners leisure travel by railway (Exline, Peters, and Larkin 1982, 21).

Forces of direction referred to patterns of movement of people, goods, and services. Such as, the direction people traveled and the distances they were willing to cover were important elements in creating circulation patterns to Guthrie. And then, the third factor, linkages, was used in this instance to personify the location of one place in

relation to other places – Guthrie’s townsite in relation to New York, Winfield, Kansas, or Oklahoma City (Exline, Peters, and Larkin 1982, 18-21).

Also, other aspects basic to geography were the use of certain arrangements of activities and their spatial distribution. The activities of spatial distribution range from being random to highly structured and from appearing clustered to widely dispersed. For example, the federal troops were very structured patrolling the unassigned lands borders. Where as, the “moonshiners” slithering passed the boundaries by the light of the moon were assembled in one area or sporadic throughout the territory (Exline, Peters and Larkin 1982, 17).

Also, primary to the investigation of Guthrie was the application of the geographic term spatial interactions. Its terminology contained such words as flow, migration, linkages, and diffusion that were important in giving definition to this phase of Guthrie’s evolution. Flow describes the amount of interaction between places, people, goods, or ideas that were epitomized by, the flow of Boomers, Sooners, and legal entrymen migrating to Guthrie, Oklahoma linking their past to their future destiny. Exline, Peters and Larkin referred to movement of “people” between places as migration, and linkages as the communication and transportation systems, or perhaps simply, the routes of interaction between phenomena [telegraph, stage coaches, boats, newspapers, railroads, etc.] transporting people and their futures. And, they further stated that, “this constant movement was the essential components of the dynamic urban ecosystem – physical, social/cultural, economical, political, and technological (Exline, Peters, and Larkin 1982, 18) (see figure 13).”

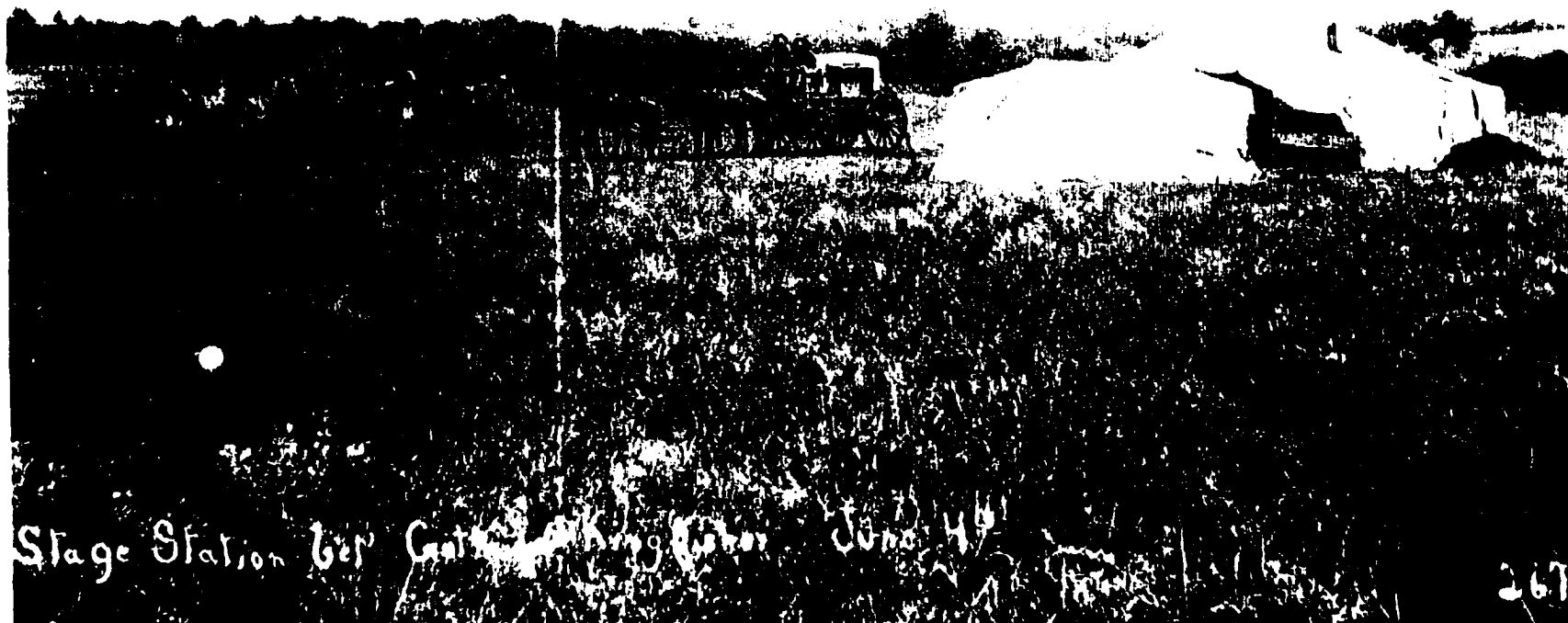


Figure 13. The Routes Determining Distance, Direction, and Linkages

Probably, in Guthrie's study, the most important element in spatial interactions was diffusion. Spatial diffusion is the process of ideas and information spread over space, and through time, traveling along specific channels of communication. There are three basic ways to accomplish the diffusion of information. *Expansion diffusion* is one way illustrated by one person telling another. A second way is *hierarchical diffusion*, the spread of information from some central source downward through the ranks of smaller and smaller places. And, the last one, *relocation diffusion* amply applies to Guthrie. It is defined as moving information to a new location with the people who have acquired the knowledge (Exline, Peters, and Larkin 1982, 20).

Diffusion also describes barriers or restrictions. Barriers of information or innovation can be the result of political, economic, social, technological, or physical motivations (Exline, Peters, and Larkin 1982, 20). Soldiers blockading the borders illustrated physical barriers faced by immigrants traveling to Guthrie, and once the race was started there were ravines, overflowing rivers with floating debris, wagon wheel ruts, etc. Technological barriers were identified by types of conveyances whether by fleet horses, pulling loaded wagons, railroad passages, etc., which were all barriers to the "time of arrival" to the Guthrie area. And once settled, there were social/cultural barriers such as poor sanitation, poor water facilities, shortage of food, fear of smallpox epidemics, etc. Economic barriers were such things as five to six claimants to one piece of property, and political barriers were illustrated by inappropriate government legislation that did not make provisions for townsites or their city governments.

The undercurrent forces of spatial distribution symbolized by direction, distance and linkages, and spatial interactions exemplified by flow, migration linkages and

diffusion were ever present within the urban ecological system defined as political, cultural/social, physical, economical, and technological. The constant inter-action and movement of these forces within prescribed boundaries [bordering states to unassigned lands; Washington, D.C. legislation to Guthrie, Indian Territory] were responsible for this phase of Guthrie's evolution toward an urban landscape.

Political Forces Behind the Scenes
Determining – Distance, Direction and Linkages
Of the Forth-Coming “Land Run”

“No other state in the Union was built upon such a history of territorial accretions – legislative, administrative, and judicial – as Oklahoma (Foreman 1942, 238).” Having successfully *negotiated* the unconditional purchases of the Creek and Seminole lands, it set in motion immediate legislative enactment's concerning settlement by white landseekers. As discussed earlier, the legislative bills concerning the “unassigned lands” presented by Congressmen Springer, Weaver, Dawes, Plumb, Ryan, etc were slipped in as amendments [sections] to the Indian Appropriations Bill. These bills, “Oklahoma Bills” with the long awaited bills for a court system in Indian Territory, all became legislative laws on the same day, March 2, 1889, when the Senate and President signed the Indian Appropriations Bill (Foreman 1942, 238).

With much regret President Grover Cleveland signed the Indian Appropriations Bill. He felt if the bill was vetoed it would cause havoc to Indian financing. Then, two days later, President Benjamin Harrison followed President Grover Cleveland as the President of the United States (Foreman 1942, 239).

Loose and Indefinite Language Incorporated in
The Creek and Seminole Legislative Bills
Known as the “Sooner Claus”

The Federal Creek Cession became law on *March 1, 1889* to which Dawes’ attached his Senate Bill 3920. As mentioned in Chapter Three, the Act provided that the lands became a part of the public domain disposed of in accordance with the laws regulating homestead entries, and only 160 acres to each qualified claimant. Senator Dawes Bill stated that no persons who might, *“enter upon any part of said lands”* prior to the time of executive proclamation, *“should be permitted to occupy or to make entry of such lands or lay any claim thereto* (Gittinger 1939, 180).”

Section 12 of the Indian Appropriation Bills dated *March 2, 1889*, authorized the purchase of Seminole lands for the purpose of being public lands disposed of mainly to homesteaders. Section 13 stated, “until lands secured from the Seminoles were opened for settlement by proclamation of the President, ‘*no person should be permitted to enter upon and occupy the same; and, no person violating this provision should ever be permitted to enter any of said lands or acquire any right thereto*’.” This came to be known as “the Sooner Clause (Chapman 1957, 383).”

The provisions for the opening of lands ceded by the Creeks and Seminoles were tied together by a sentence in Section 13 of the Indian Appropriations Bill dated 2 March. It stated, “all the above provisions with reference to lands to be acquired from the Seminole Indians, including the provisions pertaining to forfeiture, should apply to and regulate the disposal of these lands acquired from the agreement negotiated with the Creeks on January 19, 1889, and signed in to law March 1, 1889.” Thus, the provisions of Section 12 and Section 13 of the Indian Appropriation Bill related to the Creek lands

north of the Cimarron River, and to the Seminole lands south of the Cimarron River as one entity (Chapman 1957, 383).

Hindsight being better than foresight, Congress could have provided the language that read, “all persons within Oklahoma District during the prohibitory period, or any part thereof, should be disqualified to acquire lands under the homestead or townsite laws.” But instead, Congress chose the language of the more loose and *indefinite expression*, “*enter upon and occupy*.” From settlers’ camps to the highest court the expression, “enter upon and occupy,” was debated and construed in various ways. Judge James Layman Brown described the “Sooner Clause” as, “This was the one clause in the law that made more contention, I honestly believe, than any other statute that was ever written on earth (Chapman 1957, 384) (see figure 14).”

Other language problems making settlement of Guthrie and other townsites difficult, were the words, “*any part of said lands*” found in the 1 March Land Cession Bill with the Creeks. For example, these words had a direct bearing on the Atchinson, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company who was the successor in interest to the rights-of-way across lands in Indian Territory granted by Congress in 1884 to the Southern Kansas Railway Company. The right-of-way was an easement by which their trains crossed Indian Territory. The interpretation of the words effected some of the company’s officers and employees who legally resided on these easements. Other persons lawfully and legally residing on such ceded lands were internal revenue officers, Indian agents and traders, deputy marshals, army teamsters, mail carriers and many other white persons. The ambiguity of the language left open a wedge for many interpretations as to proper



Figure 14. Boomer Diffusion of Relocation: Flow, Migration, and Linkages

procedures for these people and often prevented legal title to land for years (Chapman 1957, 384).

Chapman believed the difficulty of interpretation was caused by not forbidding communication of information relative to the character, location and the best means of travel from the boundaries of Oklahoma district to any tract therein. And, he further stated that the acts did not forbid anyone from receiving such information after 2 March, or they did not disqualify anyone who had acquired the information before that date. For example, the acts did not disqualify a person, regardless of how much examination he had made of lands in Oklahoma district prior to 2 March, with the intention of selecting a future homestead there (Chapman 1957, 384).

After consulting with his cabinet, President Benjamin Harrison issued a proclamation on March 23, 1889, to open the lands of Oklahoma District to settlement on April 22, 1889. The proclamation expressly warned that, “ *no person entering upon and occupying lands* in Oklahoma District before ‘twelve o’clock, noon’ on 22 April, would ever be permitted to enter any of said lands or acquire any rights thereto,” and that, “the Officers of the United States would be required to enforce strictly the provisions of the Act of Congress of March 2, 1889 (Chapman 1957, 385).”

The General Land Office had no power to modify the troublesome language of the Act, “*no person entering upon and occupying lands.*” Thus, there were no concessions made for people living on railroad rights-of-way through Guthrie and Oklahoma Station. Other notes of ambiguity in the President’s Proclamation were the words “twelve o’clock, noon” which meant from their inception the middle of the day when the sun was in the Meridian. Guthrie’s standard time or railway time was a half

hour earlier than Meridian time. Donald Green stated in his article "The Oklahoma Land Run of 1889," he had no doubt after carefully reading the proclamation that the administration did not fully understand the implications that would be caused by giving one month's notice to prospective settlers or the unfair disadvantages of the method chosen for the opening." Congress thought the fairest and simplest procedure for opening the Creek and Seminole lands would be to provide the equal opportunity for all land seekers to depart into the territory at the same exact moment in time. Thus, the precedent was established for the 22 April, land opening to be known as "Harrison's Horse Race (Green 1989, 118)."

In regards to the early changes in judicial and administrative matters in the Territory, the *Winfield Courier* Newspaper noted some of President Harrison's activities regarding the pending Oklahoma Land Run. On March 26, 1889, it had an editorial from Washington describing some of President Harrison's activities since the 23 March proclamation. It discussed the President telegraphing Mr. A.T. Walroad of Osborne, Kansas to come to Washington and qualify for the attorneyship of the new federal court of Muskogee. The article further stated:

Judge Shackleford of Evansville, the new judge of the court had been sent for, and Mr. Thomas B. Needles of Nashville, Illinois, the marshal of the court, was in Washington waiting the arrival of the other two. Then, the three will probably get away from Washington the end of the week and go to Muskogee to organize the court early in April. The attorney and marshal places will be worth \$6,000 yearly and the judge's salary will be fixed at \$3,500 yearly.

The editorial also described the President as anxious to have the judicial machinery in operation as soon as possible due to the expected rush of settlers to Oklahoma. It also explained that the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Muskogee court extended over the

whole Indian Territory, but capital and penal offenses must be tried in the federal courts of neighboring states (*Winfield Courier* 1889).

Political Projects, Activities and Events: that Played A Role in Determining Spatial Distribution and Spatial Interaction

In planning the scheduled land run, the government authorized certain committees to be in charge of particular projects, activities and events. The five most important ones pertained to building the land offices, appointing a Register and Receiver for each; patrolling the Oklahoma district's borders; appointing postmasters and mail carriers; and answering pertinent questions dealing with legalities of certain "articles" of the Land Cession Acts, Race Day procedures, etc.

Four days after the Presidential Announcement, March 27, 1889, the *Winfield Courier* wrote an editorial about one of the upcoming projects, the territorial land offices.

The article stated:

The Commission of the General Land Office issued an order today establishing two land offices in the Oklahoma Territory opened by the President's proclamation. The land office of the western district to be located at Kingfisher, stage station and for the eastern district at Guthrie. The two districts are divided by range lines running through the Territory north and south, between range 3 and 4, west of Indian Meridian. Each district contains approximately the same number of townships (*Winfield Courier* 1889).

Then, on 12 April, John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior requested the U.S. Attorney General, H.H. Miller, to appoint as many deputy marshals as he thought would be necessary to work with the military to preserve the peace. Chapman documented a letter between Congressman William M. Springer [Springer Bill fame] and John Noble that discussed the legality of a person who was concerned if becoming an United States Marshal would prevent him from being a legal claimant for a homestead. Noble's written

reply was “to advise this person to accept the position and he [Noble] would see to it that his rights to acquire a homestead would be protected (Chapman 1957, 385).”

Also on 12 April, Strother M. Stockslager, Commissioner of the General Land Office, wrote Senator John J. Ingalls of Kansas in regard to a question submitted to Ingalls on March 29th by C.T. Sommers of Oklahoma Station concerning the prohibitory period. This letter stated:

The statute makes no exceptions to this provision. I am inclined to think, however, that when a person was already within these lands at the date of the approval of the act by proper authority his presence there should not be regarded as violation of this provision of the act. The primary jurisdiction to act upon applications to enter rests with the district land officers, and Mr. Sommers may present his application for entry to them with proper proof of his allegations. Should they refuse to permit an entry he may appeal from their action, which would bring his application and proofs before this office for its adjudication of the case (Chapman 1957, 386).

This letter and the letter between Nobel and Springer illustrate the trouble with interpretation of the language of Section 12 and Section 13 in the Indian Appropriations Bill. One letter was from a prospective claimant who was already residing legally within the ceded lands seeking answers to the proper procedure to qualify as an entrymen. And, the Springer and Noble letter illustrated a case about a person who was concerned with his “legality” should he enter the territory before the prescribed date, even if he had license to do so. As would be suspected, these letters were later greatly referred to during ensuing legal battles concerning land titles [“contests”] of ownership in Guthrie’s first years of existence.

In Washington during the first weeks of April, John Noble, Secretary of the Interior instructed the Inspectors of Public Land Service, John Alfred Pickler and Cornelius MacBride as head of the project to build the land office buildings. He also

notified them that they would be responsible to direct everything pertaining to the effectual establishment and peaceful preservation of general law and order. Pickler arrived in Arkansas City on 13 April, and immediately sent Secretary Noble the following telegram: "Will have to build for both land offices. There is nothing at either point. Can contract here. Can build two buildings, each eighteen by thirty feet, suitable. Total \$1,075. Shall I do so? Answer early." Responding on the same day, Noble replied: "If buildings can be put up for occupancy by twenty-second contract for them. Push things. Land officers, clerks and inspectors will be at Arkansas City of the seventeenth (Chapman 1957, 386)."

Pickler hired Robert S. Baird to build the two land offices. Unknown to Baird and Pickler, Secretary Noble had selected the Kingfisher's one-acre land office site in a ravine. The Guthrie location was one acre on a gentle slope east of Santa Fe's railroad station house (Green 1989, 120). Baird's employees entered the territory by means of a prearranged pass on 17 April. The buildings were identical single-story two-room wood-frame buildings and both buildings were incomplete on the morning of 22 April. Guthrie's land office was almost complete and Kingfisher's was so far from completion that it did not open its doors until 24 April, two days later, possibly due to problems with maneuvering a ravine (Moore 1987, 57) (see figures 15-16).

Noble requested a pass on 3 April, from the War Department for U.S. Commissioner John M. Galloway to enter the territory for the purpose of establishing a building on the one acre reserved in the President's proclamation for government use at Guthrie and Kingfisher. Noble said, "it was highly desirable that such an officer should be present." The request was approved on 15 April, and on 19 April, Noble asked for a



Figure 15. The United States Land Office Known as the "Big Court"



telegram to be sent to Arkansas City authorizing “four men and three teams to enter Oklahoma to transport office outfits and personal effects of officers and clerks from Guthrie to Kingfisher (Chapman 1957, 387).”

President Harrison appointed Cassius Barnes as Receiver and John Dille as Register at the Guthrie Land Office, and at the Kingfisher office, Jacob Admire was selected Receiver and J.C. Roberts was the Register (Moore 1987, 57). Land Office procedures had the settlers filing their claims in the large room, and the smaller office was to be used by the Receiver of public moneys [Barnes/Admire] and the Register of Deeds [Dille/Roberts].

Prior to 22 April, acting upon orders from John Noble, U.S. Attorney General authorized U.S. Marshal Needles to deputize as many capable men as necessary to maintain order and peace. Needles arrived in Guthrie on 16 April, and on 20 April, he met Dille and “Cash” MacDonald Barnes, at Arkansas City. Needles appointed three deputies for the exclusive use of Dille and Barnes at the Guthrie land office. He appointed Benton J. Turner, James H. Huckleberry, and Orion Eli Mohler. And, on the morning of the land opening, Needles sent four more deputies to Guthrie with only a total of fourteen in the entire Indian Territory (Chapman 1957, 385).

From these political events, projects and activities, the term “legal Sooner” was coined. It’s definition was applied “to persons who entered Oklahoma District as employees of the government, or under special permit, or because of their occupation such as employees of the railroad company, and initiated a claim to land by using an advantage not available to persons who entered the district after the lawful hour of opening.” Moses Standley successfully challenged [“contested”] the “Legal Sooners

Concept.” In his litigation, he wrote, “there are two gangs of Sooners who settled on the Cottonwood in O.T. the ‘Cowboy or S.H. Foss gang,’ and the ‘Lumber haulers,’ or the men who entered O.T. April 17, 1889, and hauled the lumber for the U.S. Land Office at Guthrie and Kingfisher. . . .(Chapman 1957, 387-88).” Also, Dille made reference to legal Sooners when he stated, “there were hundreds of people at Guthrie on 20 April.” And, MacBride and Pickler reported there were 300 people at Guthrie before 12:00 M., 22 April. They said, “this body of men was composed of deputy marshals, land officials, railroad employees, railroad stowaways brought here in freight trains, deputy internal-revenue collectors, and a host which cannot be classified.” Public Land Inspector Pickler stated, “he saw men finish a survey of town [Guthrie] before 11 a.m,” and his colleague, Public Land Inspector MacBride described, “the atmospheric condition of things on and before 22 April, seemed to impel men, previously honorable and honest, to grab, catch, and hold everything in sight (Chapman 1957, 387-88).”

Wesley Merritt, Commanding General of the troops in Oklahoma commented, “so great were the numbers of people gathering on the borders of the Territory during the early days of April that it was considered desirable to increase the troops in Oklahoma to preserve the peace and to maintain good order. . . .” Donald Green’s article “The Oklahoma Land Run Of 1889” documented that General Merritt did not receive orders for increasing the troops to police the borders until just a week or so prior to the opening. He then ordered three battalions of infantry [twelve companies] to proceed to the territory, some by rail and some by forced March.” Green believed this scenario indicated President Harrison did not foresee the burgeoning crush of humanity on the

borders and that was why he ignored Merritt's original request for more troops (Green 1989, 118).

Legislators Failed to Provide Townsite Provisions

The stage was now set for this great dramatic event. The President was well ensconced in the director's chair. The Indian Appropriations Bill was now the playwright's final script. The military functioned as the stage crew, and the maddening crowd of land – hungry settlers were the cast of actors about to pounce upon the stage of the biggest United States production ever to be produced. But, the extravaganza was not without its problems! In the haste to complete this large production encompassing such a large stage area in so little time of preparation, it was forgotten to plan for what came after the curtain came down and the dust settled. Thus, it was soon discovered that the amendments to the Indian Appropriations Bill, did not provide policies for establishing any kind of government: territorial, township, county, or town. It also failed to give the administration the authority to set aside townsites at the obvious locations, the land offices and the railroad station houses. The Bill did give the Secretary of the Interior the authority under existing federal law to “permit entry” of townsites by chartered townsite companies. This became a real “catch twenty-two” problem in that the townsite companies could only be chartered where a state or territorial government already existed, and the newly ceded opened lands did not have a territorial government. Secretary Noble's following letter documented his judgement on eligibility of townsite development companies before the appointed land run date:

Sir: I am in receipt of your communication of the fifteenth instant, relative to the application of the Oklahoma Capital City Town-site and Improvement Company, asking permission to locate and enter certain

lands in Guthrie and King Fisher land districts, for town sites in the Indian Territory – seventeen in number – said application having been referred by the Department to your office on the eleventh instant. I concur in the views expressed by you in your said communication that there is no authority in the department to grant the application of the Oklahoma Capital City Town-site and Improvement Company to enter lands, as now presented; and I am also of the opinion that the provisions of the act of March 2, 1889, providing for entries of lands for town sites, under section 2,387 and 2,888 of the Revised Statutes, does not apply to corporations of this character. Although the President might have the power to reserve lands for town site purposes under section 2,380 of the Revised Statutes, such reservation could not be made for the benefit of a corporation of this character, but would be disposed of in the manner now provided by law.

Very respectfully, John W. Noble, Secretary.

The forces of “the political powers that be” have been identified as federal legislative laws, Executive Cabinet orders, Presidential appointments, and Congressional Chairmen. They orchestrated and organized committees to determine, negotiate, authorized, interpret, and facilitate the events and projects necessary to open the Oklahoma district lands. These political forces performing a pertinent role within the urban ecosystem thus gave definition and resolution to the underlining current forces of spatial distribution and spatial interactions of the forthcoming race.

Public Land Ordinance of 1785 Gave Definition To Guthrie’s Future Legal System Known as The “Big Court” or “the United States Land Office.” Before exploring activities along the borders before the land run, it would be beneficial to explore the history of an entity that played a prominent role in Guthrie’s provocative settlement. It was the early day court or the “big court” known as “*the United States Land Office* (Bierer 1930, 3). ”

The public land seekers were able to identify their claims around Guthrie from federal legislation passed in 1785. It was the Land Ordinance of 1785 that created the

provisions to survey land by using a rectangular system. According to Horace Hibbard, public lands were referred to as western lands, and “the western land obtained by common sacrifices, was the common logic applied to western lands.” Hibbard stated in his book The History of the Public Land Policies, “the states, even before they were properly called states, in order to form the Confederation, beginning with New York, 1781, and ending with Georgia, thirteen years after the adoption of the Constitution, ceded their western claims.” Thus, a great public domain was formed consisting of approximately 1,400,000,000 billion acres of land. The cost in money payment, including interest, was \$59,758,000 million, or about four and a quarter cents an acre (Hibbard 1924, 37).

The Land Ordinance of 1785 originated from an act of Congress passed on October 10, 1780. The 1780 Act provided for the disposal of the western ceded territories, the formation of states out of these territories, and the regulation by Congress of the granting and selling of these lands. This legislation prompted Congress in 1784 to appoint a committee, chaired by Thomas Jefferson, to prepare an ordinance for ascertaining and disposing of the lands in the western territory. Jefferson’s committee studied the two land systems in vogue in the colonies, the New England and the Southern. The New England was a method of “township planting” in which a new area was laid out, surveyed, plats prepared and recorded by the colony before any one could obtain a foot of land in the new tract. It contained provisions that each settler had to build a house one story high eighteen feet square, improve at least four acres, and had three acres in grass (Hibbard 1924, 35-42).

The Southern system favored scattered settlements. Location warrants gave the holder a right to select any part of a parcel in unappropriated lands. Surveys did not usually precede location, claims often overlapped and errors were common, causing endless litigation. Of the two systems, even with all its disadvantages, the Southern system prevailed and expressed the spirit of the frontiersman (Hibbard 1924, 35-42).

On June 16, 1783, Pelatiah Webster's suggestions, were presented in a letter by Putnam to Washington, to provide the smaller settler [farmer] financial access to land by surveying land into squares [townships], and then, divided the squares further into "lots" or sections.

Jefferson's Land Ordinance committee presented its report on May 7, 1784, which became the Land Ordinance of 1784. It was a combination of the New England and the Southern land systems. The 1784 Ordinance stated that surveys were to precede land sold and all grants had to be carefully recorded. The land surveyed was to be divided into "hundreds" of ten geographical miles square, and the hundreds into square mile "lots," all lines to run due north and south, east and west. Surveyors and *registers* were to be appointed by Congress. The land was to be sold in exchange for warrants, by "lots" or by "hundreds": and the settler could locate his holdings where he chose. This Ordinance was carried over to 1785 when the Land Ordinance committee, chaired by Grayson, presented a new Ordinance on April 14, 1785, which was finally passed by Congress on May 20, 1785 (Hibbard 1924, 36).

The 1785 Ordinance provided for surveys to precede land sales. The system of surveying was modified to provide for townships seven statute miles square. In each township were reserved section 16 for schools, one section for religious purposes and

sections 8, 11, 26, and 29 for future disposition of Congress. One-third part of gold, silver, and lead mines was also reserved. Lands were to be sold at auction with a minimum price of one dollar per acre with the purchaser paying for the survey and the deed was to be made out for a specific tract of land. The Secretary of War was first to draw one-seventh of the whole area for the Continental Army, thereafter *the rest was to be sold in various states [instead of at the seat of Congress]*. Land was to be sold by whole townships, the sales to begin as soon as five ranges were surveyed [later changed to seven] without reference to the formation of states. But, there was considerable opposition to the plan and the first aim was to get the size of the tracts reduced to prevent the sell of full townships to speculators instead of individual settlers. A compromise was effected to reduce the size of the *townships to six miles square*. Thus, the plan agreed upon was that one half of the townships were to be sold in their entirety, and the other half in sections of 640 acres with alternating applications (Hibbard 1924, 39).

Washington said of the Ordinance that:

Settlement ought not be too diffusive. Compact and progressive settling will give strength to the Union, admit law and good government, and federal aids at an early period. Sparse settlements in the several new states, or a large territory for one, will have direct contrary effects; and whilst it opens a large field to land jobbers and speculators, who are prowling about like wolves in many shapes, will injure the real occupiers and useful citizens and consequently the public interest (Hibbard 1924, 39).

The Ordinances of 1784, 1785, and 1787 were passed by Congress to make good the promises of land in satisfaction of services referred to soldiers in the Revolutionary War. While at the same time, the officers of the Continental Line were especially interested in the possibilities of settling the wilderness since almost all of the lands East of the Appalachians were in private hands. The war veterans viewed the

move West to land reported as first class, and obtainable at a low price, as an opportunity to reinstate themselves into the business world to once again be recognized and accepted by “society.” Also, Congress was in desperate need to supplement the U.S. Treasury from the sale of public lands. Thus, the Public Land Ordinances offered an avenue of resolution to both concerned entities (Hibbard 1924, 45).

Guthrie’s Land Office
Evolving From
The Original Land Ordinance

On May 28, 1789, at the first Congress under the Federal Constitution, Thomas Scott, of Pennsylvania, introduced a bill to handle problems dealing with the public domain. He stated, “the Congress of the Confederation had sold land by the million acres; the surveys had not kept pace with the sales; the money was not yet paid in for the land; it was doubtful whether the selling price would exceed the cost of survey and transfer. Therefore, land should be sold in small tracts; *a land office should be created* [italics mine].” He advocated the establishment of *a land office in the vicinity of the land to be purchased* because settlers could not afford long journeys to secure title to their property (Hibbard 1924, 56).

Scott was a friend to the pioneer promoting sale of public lands in small tracts at *low prices*. And, at the same time, he was also an advocate for government advising that such men of the wilderness would be impossible to keep out. Then, it would be to the benefit of both parties to negotiate a feasible resolution. Scott’s definition of individuals who settle in a wilderness between savages and the borders of civilization as men of enterprising, violent, discontented and turbulent spirits. He stated, “they serve as pioneers to clear the way for the more laborious and careful farmers (Hibbard 1924, 58).”

Accordingly, a Congressional Committee on July 13, 1789, *recommended the establishment of a land office.*

On January 20, 1790, Congress requested Secretary Treasurer, Alexander Hamilton [recognized as an expert financier], to submit a general plan for the disposition of the public domain. On July 22, 1790, Hamilton made his well-known report in which he recommended that the *main land office be established at the capital, with branch offices within the territory where the land will be purchased.* He also recommended that a Surveyor General be appointed and given power to appoint deputies for the western governments and that three commissioners, either *ex officio* or appointed, be given general charge of the whole matter (Hibbard 1924, 60).

General Land Office Policies

The General Land Office was soon one of the most important government agencies for the frontier. Within the agency, the commissioner of the General Land Office served as the chief official, with divisions to handle a variety of duties. As mentioned earlier, field officials called Registers of Deeds and Receivers of Public Moneys were appointed by the President to staff the district land offices. Every state with public domain had at least one office to supervise registration and distribution of land. As new areas became available for entry, additional land offices were created. When the land office in that particular area declined, the office was closed, and accordingly, when lands in districts fell below a certain minimum, the district land offices were closed. The business of the district was handled from the Washington, D.C. General Land Office headquarters (Moore 1987, 56).

The General Land Office was publicly criticized due to controversy surrounding grants to railroads and fraudulent claims filed under the Homestead, Desert Land, Timber Culture, and mining laws. Congress responded by updating procedures and initiating new regulations that were still primarily in an infant stage due to inadequate funding at the time Guthrie's land area was opened. The General Land Office published policy manuals and circulars detailing the necessary steps for each portion of the filing process.

The filing procedures began with the applicant paying a four dollar general fee required by the office in Washington. This fee plus additional ten dollars was due at the local land office prior to processing the applicant's paper work. The ten dollars was split between the Receiver and Register who used the funds to employ clerks, staff and to pay for incidental costs of the office. The applicant paid the receiver, who entered the paid receipt number, applicant's name, and date into the Register of Receipts ledger. The Receiver placed the fees in the office safe and passed the applicant to the Register (Moore 1987, 58).

The Register upon seeing the receipt had the entryman [applicant] testify under oath that he had not entered the district prior to the official entry time. This completed this portion of the filing procedure. One form required applicant to entry the land office, date, their name and mailing address prior to filing and legal description of the claim. The applicant and the Register signed the form and a copy was maintained in the file. Next, a second affidavit was sworn that declared the applicant's ability to file a homestead claim. Under the provisions of the Homestead Act, an entryman was required to be twenty-one years of age and a citizen of the United States [or required to have declared intention to naturalize prior to filing the claim]. This completed the application process per the

applicant. Then, the Register entered the applicant's information into the Register of Entries and Tract Books. In the Register of Entries book, the entries were listed in order of application number, date, property's legal description, applicant's name, place of residence, and amount paid in fees and commissions were included. Tract Books were organized by legal descriptions of property - the legal description, entryman's name, date, plus any pertinent remarks. Land office employees with the documentation recorded in these books were able to keep accurate information on which claims were available for entry and those that had been previously claimed (Moore 1987, 57-59).

One note of real interest to geographers, surveyor's plat maps were used as an additional aid to the land offices. These maps showed watercourses, the extent of timber, and general topographical features of the land. They also indicated quarter sections that were fractional [containing more or less than 160 acres]. Meandering streams could increase or decrease the size of a quarter section. Applicants' fortunate enough to acquire tracts of more than 160 acres were required to pay additional entry fees. Moore stated, "in 1889, upset entrymen waited for days while land office employees learned the ropes of their business. Fortunately, few disturbances occurred and those which did were quickly attended to by the United States troops or deputy marshals on duty at the offices (Moore 1987, 59)."

Once the applicants had filed their claim, they were required by the Homestead Act to return to their property to reside for five years and cultivate in a manner to permit survival for the entrymen and their families. There were two other occupancy options available: one specified twelve months required on the land, pay \$1.25 per acre, plus additional fees and commissions would guarantee transfer of title from the government to

the claimant early. The other option concerned veterans of the Union Army and Navy. They had access to a provision that allowed deduction of service time from the five-year residency requirement if the veterans had served ninety days in federal service. If so, the veterans were required to file a declaratory statement with the land office. This benefit was not available to Confederate veterans (Moore 1987, 60).

After the Homestead Act requirements had been met, three months prior to making final proof, the applicant returned to the land office to file additional papers. The land office published notice of intention of applicant to file final proof and called for any contest. On the date set for final proof, the claimant appeared before the Register with two witnesses. After the witnesses were sworn in, they testified that the applicant had made the improvements on the land that were required by law. Then, each witness and the claimant were questioned separately by the Register regarding the applicant and his/her family, length of residency, nature of improvements, use of the land, and its potential value. If the answers satisfied the Register, a final certificate number was entered in the Register of Final Certificates book, and the applicant progressed to the Receiver. A final fee of four dollars in addition to charges for transcribing testimony was paid, and the Receiver filed a copy of the final receipt (Moore 1987, 60).

The district land office, after processing the paperwork, forwarded it to the filing clerks at the General Land Office in Washington. The process at Washington was executed immediately and then mailed the patent to the applicant. The final step consisted of the applicant filing the patent at the respective county clerk who placed the property on the tax rolls. The patent owner was then free to mortgage or sell their property without restriction (Moore 1987, 60-61).

Oklahoma District's land run was well known for its many contests. Moore described the legal "contest" procedures as follows:

Claimants contesting a claim could follow one of two courses. They could file a contest affidavit, after which the staff scheduled a hearing in which the contestants produced testimony concerning their respective claims, or the applicants could simply file a claim. When it was rejected by the register on the basis that claim to the tract had already been entered, the second entryman requested the register to state the reason for the rejection and to order a hearing on the contest. Once the contest was filed, notices of the hearing were published in the newspapers nearest the location of the claim. Contestants hired legal counsel and arranged for the testimony of witnesses, either in person or by affidavit. On the date of the hearing, evidence was presented and a decision rendered by the register and receiver. The standard land office rule concerning contests appeared simple. If neither party had improved the land, the right of entry was awarded to the highest bidder. This provision did not apply in Oklahoma, however, as the act of driving a claim stake was considered an improvement. If one had made actual settlement and the other contestant had not, the land was awarded to the actual settler. If both claimants had made substantial improvements, the one presenting the predominance of evidence was awarded the claim. After the land office rendered its decision, the winning claimant followed through with the claim procedure. The loser could appeal the decision to the land office commissioner. A ruling ultimately could be appealed to the Secretary of the Interior and the federal court system (Moore 1987, 61).

An editorial in the *Washington Post* dated April 19, 1889, gave insight to some of the abuses of the law encountered by the General Land Office:

The General Land Office officials have information that persons will attempt to evade the law of homestead entry in Oklahoma. The method is to procure from soldiers' powers of attorney authorizing them to file the soldiers' "declaratory statement," which will operate to reserve the lands for a period of six months. They will also obtain from the soldier at the same time a relinquishment of his rights thereunder. The "sharps" may then be able, at any time within six months, to sell their claims to persons desiring homes, and by filing the relinquishment the purchaser obtains a preference right in the land located. Every possible effort will be made by the General Land Office officials to prevent the consummation of these frauds, and, when found, the guilty parties will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law for perjury. The law upon this subject permits soldiers to make their entries through attorneys, who ever must swear that they have

no personal interest in the claim and that the filings are not made with a view to relinquishing the claim.

Legislation Passed Establishing 160 Acre Lots

During the years between 1790 and 1796, Congress did very little in respect to disposition of western lands. Then, in the early months of 1796, Congress seriously took up the question once again of disposing of the public domain. Hibbard stated, "it was hard to determine which idea was uppermost, that of accommodating the settler, or that of filling the public treasury." Two major points were discussed that lead to the eventual settlement of Guthrie. One was to dispose of public land to its original settlers presented by Rutherford of Virginia, and the second point recommended by Findley of Pennsylvania was to sell part of the land in *one-hundred-sixty-acre lots*. It was passed by the Committee of the Whole (Hibbard 1924, 60).

Referred too earlier, the law passed by Congress on May 18, 1796, incorporated Alexander Hamilton's 1790 recommendation for a Surveyor General who should appoint a corps of surveyors. It adopted definitely the rectangular system of survey and gave directions for applying it. Half of the townships were to be *divided into sections of 640 acres tracts and sold at the local land offices*. The remaining half of the townships were to be left undivided in quarters at the seat of government, excluding always the four sections at the center for future disposition. This law provided Guthrie's future settlers the method of identifying their claims, and it established the location of Land Offices known as the "early day court systems."

Legislative Forces Bringing Resolution to Free Land Seekers –
“The Homestead Act of 1862”

People on the borders awaiting 22 April, were a conglomerate of war veterans, European immigrants, sight seers, Easterners escaping poor working conditions and living accommodations, and there were farmers from Nebraska, Kansas and other surrounding states attempting to transplant themselves from existing failed homesteads. Hibbard also discussed land speculators preparing for the run under the guise of being homesteaders, etc. The main theme inherent in all of their destinies was “free land.” All of their hopes for the future began in 1796, 1800 and 1804, when credit features on Legislative Acts were passed giving a voice to the frontiersmen. These Acts began a long succession of proposed legislation that finally ended in 1862 with the Homestead Act. The Homestead Act was the vessel through which the land seekers could qualify for the free land around the Guthrie area.

Federal legislation not only passed successional laws in 1796, 1800, and in 1804 known as the “credit system laws” that eventually led to the Homestead Act. There were also “relief laws” passed in 1806-1832 to help destitute farmers, laws in 1841 to use public lands for public and quasi-public improvements [grants for internal improvements, mainly transportation facilities], the Graduation Bill was passed in 1854, and the first Homestead Act passed in 1860. These laws all pertained to disposition of public lands to needy homesteaders (Hibbard 1924, 92).

For many years there were movements for free public lands especially in the Ohio, upper Mississippi, and Missouri River valley. These regions contained the strongest supporters of the movement calling for a “free homestead” law. Farmers in

these areas allied with the infant Republican Party, organized in 1854, which established an integral plank of the Republican Party's platform, the passage of a free homestead law.

The "credit systems laws"[1796, 1800, 1804] began the legislative acts that gave hope to the frontiersmen for free public land for homes. These acts through the years provided the method of payment to be a fourth down with four annual installments for the balance, and land could be bought in smaller pieces, mainly in half-section tracts at approximately two dollars per acre, from their local land offices. These bills were not satisfactory for most people concerned in that they could make the initial down payment, but through poor crop yield, grasshoppers, drought, etc., they were unable to make the annual installments. The credit system laws became the footholds that planted the seed that provisions should be made in order to make land available to all people.

The Relief Laws, 1806 – 1820 were passed to help these landholders not to lose their lands. The laws extended the time of payments to settlers whose land would have been otherwise forfeited. From 1806 until 1820 eleven such relief laws were passed due to the credit system. Starting with a debt due from purchasers of over \$21,000,000 million in 1820, it took twelve years, and eleven separate relief laws, to bring the matter to a successful conclusion. The credit system had proved a failure in the sense of its original purpose, but it had initiated undercurrents of forces to change political minds from viewing public lands as revenue to providing homes free to qualified homesteaders. Hibbard stated, "the credit system had not been a source of great revenue for the treasury, it had not promoted the interests of the settlers, and it had not prevented speculation. It had created a large class of landholders so hopelessly in debt to the government that it took the government twelve years to clear away the wreckage." Therefore, on April 2,

1820, the most important piece of land legislation since the Ordinance of 1785 was passed. In short, the new law provided for the sale of tracts as small as 80 acres at a cash payment of \$1.25 per acre. This legislation ended the ill-starred system of selling government land on time (Hibbard 1924, 98).

The attitude change toward public lands began to be seen with the passage of the Pre-emption act of 1841. It was a positive step in favor of the settler as opposed to the speculator. During the first years following 1841 no pronounced change occurred in the amount of land sold or in the prices received for it. There was a gradual increase of over a million acres in 1841, two and a half million in 1847, followed by a decrease back again to the million mark in 1853, just before the passage of the Graduation Act (Hibbard 1924, 103).

Then, 1854, the Graduation Act was another legislative act paving the way for free land policies. It provided for certain lands to be sold for less than the old minimum of \$1.25 causing the sale of land to increase considerably due to demand for all types of land. Thus, in 1855, 7,009,050.34 million acres sold at \$1.25 per acre and 8,720,474.54 million acres sold at an average of twenty-seven cents per acre. Beginning with 1857, there was a decrease of sales each year until the passage of the Homestead Act of 1862. The decrease of sales of public lands between 1857 to 1861 according to Hibbard was caused by the disappearance of lands that could be purchased below \$1.25 per acre. And, in part by the fact, it seemed more and more probable that Congress would soon pass a law providing homesteads for *settlers free of charge*. Thus, sentiment had almost entirely changed from the 1785 Land Ordinance to 1861 Congress no longer looked upon it as a

source of revenue but as a place to establish homes for homeless citizens (Hibbard 1924, 104).

Forces of Change In the Perception of the Public Domain That Led to the Settlement of Guthrie. The Homestead period logically followed the period of appropriation of great tracts of land. For many years, the possibility of exhausting such a vast supply of land was not appreciated. After many millions of acres had been bestowed lavishly on states and companies, it slowly dawned upon those responsible for such plans that the supply was not inexhaustible. And, now with almost all the land gone that could have been easily turned into farms without much expense, the new vision was for the remaining land to be free to settlers. One of the main themes of the “friends of free land” was expressed in Senator Thomas Benton’s speech:

Tenantry is unfavorable to freedom. It lays the foundation for separate orders in society, annihilates the love of country, and weakens the spirit of independence. The tenant has, in fact, no country, no hearth, no domestic altar, no household god. The freeholder, on the contrary, is the national supporter of a free government, and it should be the policy of republics to multiply their freeholders as it is the policy of monarchies to multiply tenants. We are a Republic, and if we wish to continue so: then multiply the class of freeholders; pass the public lands cheaply and easily into the hands of the People; sell for a reasonable price to those who are able to pay; and give without price to those who are not. I say give without price to those who are not able to pay; and that which is so given I consider as sold for the best of prices; for a price above gold and silver; a price which cannot be carried away by delinquent officers, nor lost in failing banks, nor stolen by thieves, nor squandered by an improvident and extravagant administration. It brings a price above rubies – a race of virtuous and independent farmers, the true supporters of their country, and the stock from which its best defenders must be drawn. And, Thomas Jefferson stated, ‘the small landholders are the most precious part of the state (Hibbard 1924, 142).’

The statements of Benton and Jefferson were typical sentiments of the many petitions concerning free lands reaching Congress starting in 1796 until the passage of the

Homestead Act in 1862. The intense campaign for free lands began in 1841, and by the 1860s, it had become a major alienating factor splitting the Northerners from the Southerners. The votes in the Senate and the House were an analogy of what was to become a Civil War. The Southerners believed in large farming, large tracts of land. Where as, the northerners were advocates of small landholders. Thus, the party alignment on the subject was clear: free homesteads became a part of the anti-slavery struggle (Hibbard 1924, 385). “*The Courier and Enquirer* [New York City] complained that this whole question is argued on its merits not as a political, but as a philanthropic measure. The masses in the North and West are favorable to it, as naturally they should be, inasmuch as these sections embrace nine-tenths of the *needy population* [italics mine], for whose benefits the donations would be made. The South opposes the movement, and to our mind, correctly denounces it as a fraud, and as a scheme that could proceed from no other source than demagogism itself (*New York Tribune*, 1852).”

The Homestead Act, the legal procedure used by the government in “the 1889 Land Run” to get title to the lands ceded from the Creek and Seminole Indian Nations was signed into law twenty-seven years earlier on May 20, 1862, by President Abraham Lincoln. The law made provisions for settlers to finally acquire farms of 160 acres free of all charges, except a minor fee to be paid when filing the claim. To insure permanency of settlement, the law specified that before title to the land was gained the individual must live on the homestead for five years (Moore 1987, 56; Hibbard 1924, 385).

Wanting to better understand the undercurrent of forces concerning Guthrie’s settlement led to two books in particular, History of Public Lands Policies and The Formation of the State of Oklahoma from which certain questions began to crystallize. If

the western states of the newly formed Confederation gave up their western lands totaling 1,400,000,000 billion acres starting in 1781 with New York and ending in 1794, thirteen years later, with the Southern states, why was there a need for land openings in Indian Territory? Gittinger and other reference books document the Treaty of New Echota in 1835 between the United States and the Cherokees because the white immigrants were pulsating against the Indians lands and the Southern states thought the Southern Indians were becoming too powerful (Finger 1992, 8). In 1835, the federal government still had a total of 1,349,925,603 billion acres in public domain ceded to them by the very states demanding from Congress the removal of the Southern Indians. Now, according to research, a better scenario of the New Echota Treaty would be that after the states had ceded their western lands to the United States to form the Confederation, they looked at the Indian lands as a resource to recapture revenues for their states. Hibbard stated that the states were in competition with the federal government's public lands [once their lands] to gain revenues for their treasuries by selling state lands to speculators and private individuals (Hibbard 1924, 209).

The Treaty of 1866 between the United States and the Five Civilized Tribes was to provide homes for Indians across the United States. Researching Guthrie's faceted evolution led to the history of public lands that provided a more probable theme behind this treaty, one that was used to refurbish the dwindling public land reservoirs. The reason being, in 1862 there were 108, 088,041 million acres left from the 1,400,000,000 billion acres ceded in 1794 for public lands. With so much public lands available in 1794, why did the new government need the Indian lands west of the Mississippi River, and why did squatters continually seek the Indian lands? Between Gittinger and

Hibbard's books, it became evident that the federal government's dispersal of public lands primarily were sold generally on time payments to land speculators in large tracts who then sold the cheaply acquired lands so overpriced that the individual land seekers were forced to become squatters. It was also noted a majority of the land speculators failed to pay the government (Hibbard 1924, 110).

Hibbard documents that the purpose of the Homestead Act of 1862 was to provide free land to farmers although most of all the good farmland was not available. He also mentioned that the planners of the Public Land Commission realized there was not much land left and recommended it be free to white Homesteaders. The planner recognized a considerable reduction of public lands in 1862 the second year of the Civil War. Four years later, one year after the Civil War was over the Treaty of 1866 was signed. It makes one wonder if the conditions negotiated by the Union government, now the United States government, with the Five civilized Tribes in the Treaty of 1866 was really for more lands for settlement of Indians. And, the reason, the Union government forced railroads to be allowed through Indian Territory in the treaty was to repay them for being a major contributing factor to the North winning the world.

The decrease of available lands recognized in 1862, the Treaty of 1866, and the incessant legislative proposals by Congressmen Ryan, Plum, Weaver, Springer, Dawes, etc., plus the unwise handling [grants, minimum price-selling, time-payments] of the public domain to large tract speculators were according to extensive research the driving forces behind the spatial distribution - direction, distances, and linkages, and the spatial interactions – flow, migration, linkages and diffusion setting the stage for the future settlement of Guthrie. To be more specific, according to Exline, Peters and Larkin, the

stage of performance was built by the physical, economical, political, social/cultural and technological movement of forces colliding, intermingling, connecting, and competing to evolve to the position in time to offer free homesteads in the Guthrie area.

Forces of Spatial Distribution – Cluster to Widely Dispersed
Forces of Spatial Interactions – Expansion and Hierarchical Diffusion

The Land Run was highly publicized in the *newspapers* in the states bordering the unassigned lands. In the *New York Herald* very few articles were written, and the *Herald* referred to the week of 22 April, as a “dull week.” The *Washington Post* began articles on 1 April, and ended approximately May 6, 1889. European Newspapers ran very few articles before the 22 April, and very few after the land run.

The Times Newspaper of London, April 22, 1889, editorial:

The caravan of settlers, having crossed the Cherokee Strip to the northern boundary of Oklahoma, are spreading for miles along the boundary line where they will camp till noon tomorrow. Thousands last night paraded along the edge, singing, firing their arms, and making a deafening din to mark their arrival. The troops guard the entire stretch of boundary for miles in order to prevent any premature crossing. All wagons are permitted to be hauled to the line, ready for instant entrance when the starting signal is given, and they fringe the boundary for a hundred miles. The Atchinson railway runs southwards through the center of Oklahoma and the officials are massing rains filled with goods and settlers ready to enter tomorrow, when their means of transportation will be tested to the utmost extent (Petersen 1939, 22).

Le Figaro Newspaper, Paris, France, Monday, April 22, 1889 article:

Today, Monday, at exactly mid-day there will take place in the United States an event which could not possibly be imitated in old Europe in spite of her desire to imitate America: it is at that hour that President Harrison has set for the opening of the reservation of Oklahoma. . . . For some years white people have attempted to seize Oklahoma and for weeks bands of armed adventurers, foreseeing the intention of the American Government and being aware of the strength of claims of first occupants, have tried to enter the territory of Oklahoma, a territory which extends over 1,800,000 acres. . . . The settlers are anxious to be there on time and to get as close to

the boundary line as possible. All the country that borders on the reservation is flooded with caravans and processions of all kinds. More than twenty thousand people have come from the South, more than fifty thousand from the East, and all this crowd is armed to the teeth; a general fight is inevitable . . . There will be fights especially in those localities which appear suitable for the location of towns [Guthrie]. . . . There is also a convey of a hundred wagons filled with wooden coffins of various kinds – a real American touch. Financiers are also not lacking. Two companies have been formed in New York City for the purpose of building the capital city of the new state: the one wished this to be ‘Oklahoma City,’ the other ‘Reno City.’ . . . But what appears to be most American is that in each group of immigrants one will find at least two lawyers who are entrusted with the task of defending all claims to and regardless of the means by which the land was obtained. . . . One must not think that these farmers making the run intend to take up a permanent residence; they want to take possession of a country where possession gives title and the right to sell to those who follow. . . . Pioneers of civilization are an outrageous bad lot, capable of anything and afraid of nothing (Petersen 1939, 22).

Le Temps Newspaper, Paris, France, April 22, 1889 –

The railroad company, which has received from congress title to some hundreds of thousands of acres of land on both sides of its line in this fertile territory – a concession which would only have value with the opening of the territory to farmers from the East and North – is now going to reign where formerly there wandered the poor tribes of Apaches, Comanches, Seminoles, Creeks and other noble savages whose names awaken a familiar echo in all our imaginations. . . . All these sturdy adventurers with their brawny arms, rude and simple manners, after a century or more, by a sort of providential irony, are still wherever they go. the pioneers of that complicated and penny pinching civilization and legality which they are attempting to escape by constantly moving farther and farther away (Petersen 1939, 25).

Editorials from the *Washington Post* began appearing on April 6, 1889. The heading of the first article dated 5 April read, “UNCLE SAM’S ARMY COULDN’T DO IT.” It discussed thousands of Boomers concealed in the brush, and that the whole United States Army could not drive them out. One note of interest talked about a party of four Hoosiers with a balloon camped near Antelope Hills who were planning to ascent

the morning of the 22 April, drift in mid-air till 12:00 M. and then descend hours in advance of teams and speedy horses.

“A PLOT OF THE BOOMERS” was the editorial heading on April 6, 1889. The article stated a reliable source from Oklahoma said the Boomers, hundreds of them that are hid in the thickets and along many streams, have decided to burn all bridges on the Santa Fe Railway on the night of 21 April, so trains cannot get into Oklahoma on 22 April (*Washington Post* 1889).

Washington Post, Friday, April 12, 1889, “WAITING ON THE BORDER/ OKLAHOMA BOOMERS EVERY MOMENT ON THE ALERT/READY TO FIGHT FOR THEIR RIGHTS.” This article was telegraphed from Kansas City, Kansas on 11 April, describing two thousand Boomers on the line at Kansas City and at least one thousand Boomers south of there. It discussed the Boomers were becoming very impatient ready to march before 22 April, to seize their claims because, “they don’t propose to have the land they fought and bled for jumped by recent arrivals A panicky feeling prevails all around and threats of a very sanguinary character are being made by old Boomers. . . .They claim they developed the agitation that led to the opening and that now land sharks are trying to get possession of their property.” The article also told about Secretary Noble recommending that settlers bound for Oklahoma be allowed to cross the Cherokee strip, provided they journey in good faith and in a quiet, peaceful, and orderly manner along the public highway, post, or military roads.

Washington Post, April 14, 1889 – “THE OKLAHOMA SCRAMBLE” –

There are going to be brawls and fights without end. ‘The land offices at Guthrie and Kingfisher will be deluged and swamped with applications, and counter-claims innumerable will be set up.’ With only some 10,000

quarter-sections and not less than 100,000 immigrants, what is the prospect? Anarach [sic.]!

Washington Post, April 15, 1889 - "BOOMERS ARE SURGING TO THE PROMISED LAND." Editorial came from Wichita, Kansas:

Reports reached here late last night of a new danger confronting the boomers. The Cimarron River is rising rapidly and sweeping everything before it. A Boomer named Gordon, concealed in the bushes near Kingfisher, was caught in the quicksand and drowned as his team and wagon was [sic.] swept down the river. Two railroad employees were reported to have drowned at Guthrie. There is now but one place that the river can be forded, and that is Guthrie. This is important when it becomes apparent there are no bridges in Oklahoma.

Washington Post, April 16, 1889 - "A BLOODY WAR IMMINENT."

Editorial from Kansas City, Mo.:

In the freight yards, crowded on the tracks, and under moving orders, are about thirty huge freight trains loaded with the anticipated necessities of the coming community. There are houses in sections, ready to be bolted together and entered for habitation within sixty minutes after their delivery. There are completed stocks of every conceivable sort of merchandise, and with each carload of stock, there is packed away the building required to harbor it. In this manner, drug stores, drygoods stores, boot and shoe stores, saloons and groceries, are drawn up in readiness to be launched forward upon the favored center. . . .The passenger business to Oklahoma is not yet commensurate with the freight movement. . . . W.P. Thompson, recently managing editor of the *Kansas City Times*, and for fifteen years connected with the *New York Tribune*, has joined the Oklahoma cohort and will locate in Guthrie (*Washington Post* 1889).

Washington Post, Springfield, Ill., April 16, 1889, Editorial:

Mr. David T. Littler, ex-member of the Republican national convention, and of the Pacific Railroad Commissions, and ex-state Treasurer John Tanner, will lead a party of ten from Springfield to Oklahoma, starting Tuesday evening next. They have shipped a complete portable hotel and outfit to be pitched at Guthrie, or the nearest available site, where they can lay out a town and open a bank. The whole combination is composed of prominent Illinois Republican politicians, and it is assumed here that they will have much to do in shaping the politics of the new country (*Washington Post* 1889).

Telegraph from Wichita, Kansas, 16 April, in the *Washington Post* – “It has become necessary to increase the patrol along the Santa Fe Railway, and troops E. and H., Fifth Cavalry, under Captain Michler, have been ordered from Fort Elliot for the duty (*Washington Post* 1889).”

Wellington, Kansas, sent a telegraph to the *Washington Post*, April 16, 1889. It told about Pawnee Bill's colony of 3,000 people encamped around Hunnewell, Kansas. Pawnee Bill had told the correspondent that the soldiers had been withdrawn from the State line permitting the settlers to go to the borders of the promised land (*Washington Post* 1889).

On April 17, 1889, The *Washington Post* had five editorials about the Oklahoma Run. The lead heading read “ALL READY TO START.” The first editorial discussed the objectives for making the land run of the Washington Cooperative Company of Oklahoma. Mr. William Prince, the secretary, read the company's constitution which stated qualifications for membership, information regarding the funds, the arrangements for procuring townsite lots, farms, and their improvement, the laws for the government of the colony, and etc. He read a list of thirty-three trades that would be engaged in the erection of homes and thirty-six different businesses wherein female help could be employed. Proposed plans of homes to be built were shown, and maps of the territory and general specifications were exhibited at the colony meeting.

Mr. Prince explained the travel arrangements had been made with the Boston and Ohio Railroad for a special train to leave Washington on Friday night at eleven o'clock. The train will run straight through to Guthrie and Oklahoma City in first class style for \$33.00, including sleeper.

Mr. Prince also gave a landscape description of the territory. He said:

There was never a day in Oklahoma when the thermometer reached 10 below zero or 110 in the shade. There was all over the Territory a loamy soil, twelve or fifteen feet deep, made by the burning of the prairie grass and the consequent manure during many years. The streams were full of black bass, flocks of wild turkeys, and pigeons abounded; in fact, forest and field, brooks, and river would give an inexhaustible supply for their own rods and guns. . . . the Post Office Department was contemplating establishing two post offices in Oklahoma, one at King Fisher [sic] stage station and the other at Guthrie. For the present all mails will enter the territory from the north and be carried to the southern terminus of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad, from whence it will be forwarded over routes hereafter to be established. Assistant Postmaster General Clarkson said yesterday that probably twenty-five post offices would be established within the next month (*Washington Post* 1889).

Second editorial under the central heading, "All READY TO START," was telegraphed from Arkansas City, Kansas dated April 17, 1889. It announced Captain Hayes, who is in command of the cavalry to guard the borders, stated that settlers would be allowed to cross the line into the Cherokee Strip immediately after mid-night, Thursday. It also reported a terrible wind and rainstorm passed over Arkansas City 16 April, that played havoc with the boomers' tents, and the women and children were drenched and badly frightened (see figure 17).

From Kansas City, Kansas came the third editorial telegraphed to the *Washington Post* on April 17, 1889 – ". . . the capacity of the Union Depot in this city is taxed more and more everyday. The settlers come from all over the country. Today thirty Italians, fresh from Castle Garden, were among the motley crowd."

The fourth editorial from Wellington, Kansas talked about the Boomer wagons and teams were of the best class and the Boomer people were ruddy and strong. And, in contrast, the fifth article telegraphed from Purcell, Indian Territory dated April 17, 1889, described:



Figure 17. "Moonshiner" Ready to Slither Ahead by the Light of the Moon

Boomers south of the Canadian River are in a desperate and deplorable condition, sickness and destitution are widespread, and hundreds of men, women and children are in a pitiable plight. They are scantily clothed, have scarcely enough food to live on and are practically helpless. Many have either mortgaged or pawned their camp outfits and personal effects during the months of waiting, until about all they have left is a Winchester rifle and a supply of ammunition. They tenaciously cling to the hope of pre-empting homesteads in Oklahoma. They know every foot of the country, and in many instances have claims staked off and are ready to shed blood to keep them.

The article continued with information about the United States Marshal Jones, of Southern Kansas, arrived at Guthrie with a force of deputies, even though, their force will not be able to cope with the inevitable claim-jumping collision (*Washington Post* 1889).

There were three other editorials in the *Washington Post* that gave further insight into the many faceted forces of activities, events and people evolved in the spatial distribution between the dates of 23 March and April 22, 1889. On April 18, 1889, Mr. H.H. Lusk, editor of the *Sun* newspaper of Parsons Kansas wrote:

He had been through the territory and that there was some good land there, but it won't average with the land in Kansas. A good portion of it was not fit for agricultural purposes. The soil was sandy soil, and had a good deal of rock. Fifteen years ago he said he heard about the beautiful Indian Territory, the garden spot of the West – in newspaper advertisements, but he was disappointed when he went there. Mr. Lusk further stated, 'the majority of people who go there, especially from the East will be disappointed. Kansas always favored the opening up of the territory, because the overflow will benefit our State. We look upon it in this light, that the better class will be disappointed. And, after having passed over Kansas and seen for themselves the wonderful crop outlook as it is now – the finest at this season of the year ever known in the State – and not liking the appearance of things in Oklahoma, they will come back to Kansas and take up our vacant lands. 'We have many good farmers whose lands are heavily mortgaged and who are consequently poor. Dazed by this Oklahoma fever, they are willing to give up their equities and seek lands in the new territory. Then, a more thrifty class will take advantage of the movement, come to Kansas and buy these farms.' There's no question that the man who goes to Oklahoma and gets in on the ground floor will make a bonanza especially shrewd lawyers. Then there are hundreds of speculators who aim at securing town lots. No doubt the growth of Oklahoma will be wonderful. Towns will spring up in a day or night. At present King Fisher

and Guthrie have not even a tent, but hundreds of houses, stores, offices, and other buildings are already completed in sections ready to be moved in on short notice. In ten days what is now a wild stretch of prairie will be covered over with thrifty communities. The towns near the points of entry are reaping a harvest. Fortunes are being made by the shopkeepers in Winfield, Wichita, and Caldwell. Frank Greer, of Winfield, Kansas, has already published the *Oklahoma Capital*. He has built an office and has a complete plant and printing force, ready to be moved, and the third issue will be published in Guthrie the second day after they land (*Washington Post* 1889).

The editorial from Forth Smith, Arkansas, April 20, 1889, stated:

A greasier, dirtier, or more contemptible crew of vagabonds than the Poncas, Otoes, and Osages would be hard to find. They are too lazy to hunt for the game with which their country abounds, and beyond stealing from neighboring tribes and drawing their quarterly allowances from the Government, they will do nothing. The rich soil of their reservations is still unimproved. Their chief ambition in life is to get to Arkansas City two or three-times a year, and while there drink whisky until their squaws have to load them bodily into wagons and drive them home. These are the kind of neighbors the Boomers will have on the north (*Washington Post*).

Undercurrent Forces Determining Spatial Interactions – Hierarchical Diffusion Along the Borders of Indian Territory

The newspapers north of Indian Territory starting 30 March, kept busy writing articles appearing everyday to inspire, encourage, and inform the anxious people on the borders waiting for the eventful race day. The leading newspaper person was Frank Greer city editor and manger of the *Winfield Courier*, Winfield Kansas. He was young, intelligent, ambitious, and wanted to establish a newspaper of his own. Frank's brother, Edwin and owner of the *Winfield Courier* agreed to financial support the new enterprise after he had carefully canvassed the entire matter. Some men, connected with the legal department of the Santa Fe company, were citizens of Winfield, and Edwin's position enabled him to glean inside information. Because of Edwin's position. The information

divulged that along the Santa Fe Railroad there would be one or two good towns, for it was the only line crossing the area designated for settlement. One of those towns would receive the favor of the railroad, giving it distinction over towns being established. And, Guthrie had been chosen that town (Grant 1980, 35).

The embryonic town stirred magical images within Frank's mind. He imagined empty prairie land into a bustling productive metropolis. Greer knew he needed more than dreams to create this "magic city" – it took people, particularly those with ambition, capital, and profession. Within his reach, the *Winfield Courier* would be the means to encourage such people to Guthrie. Using his brother's presses, Greer printed the first issues of his own paper, the *Daily State Capital* beginning on March 30, 1889 (Grant 1980, 36).

March 30, 1889, was a Saturday. *Daily State Capital*, volume one documents the newspaper as the first one published in Indian Territory, Guthrie, Oklahoma. It listed four editorial titles: The President's Proclamation Issued: The Territory of Oklahoma will be opened for Settlement on 22 April, at 12:00 M.; Two Million Acres of Rich and Beautiful Land to Blossom with American Civilization; and All Who enter Before the Date Forfeit All Right of Homestead.

Frank Greer, the editor wrote the following as the Capital's Platform:

The Oklahoma Capital is here to stay. It starts in Guthrie because it believes it will be the biggest city in Oklahoma and the capital of the new territory. This will be the first paper published in the new territory. . . . It's publishers were born and raised in the news paper business and they will expend their best abilities at building up Guthrie and Oklahoma. The Capital will be for the Republican Party first, last and forever. Allowing nothing to interfere with its main objective the advancement of Oklahoma and Guthrie as the Oklahoma Capital. . . . Guthrie in two weeks after 22 April, will have 5,000, within one year 10,000 people; in six months 15,000

people; within a year it will have 25,000 people and be the Capital of the Territory of Oklahoma. . . . In two years, Oklahoma will be a state. Guthrie's, its capital, will have 50,000 people. . . .It takes no ethereal imagination to know this [sic] Guthrie and Oklahoma will be the phenomenal of the world (*Daily State Capital* 1889).

On April 6, 1889, Frank Greer wrote an article about an interview that he had in Winfield, Kansas with Honorable Horace Speed of Indianapolis. He stated:

Mr. Speed is an attorney of wide influence and large wealth and he will be an important feature in the building of Guthrie into a phenomenal metropolis. Mr. Speed began his legal career in the office of Benjamin Harrison and W.H.H. Miller for fifteen years. Mr. Speed is a member of the U.S. Circuit and Supreme Court bars. He is charmed with the West and has selected Guthrie as the nearest suitable to this future. He believes Guthrie will be the wonder of the nineteenth century in town building, grow more in a month than other great cities have in years: that it will be a commercial metropolis as well as the capital of the State of Oklahoma. He will at once open a law office and his perfect knowledge of the land laws and rulings of the Interior Department will be of great value to the settlers.

Horace Speed had an advertisement in Frank Greer's paper stating he would prepare applications and act as an agent in filing at the land office (*Daily State Capital* 1889).

Frank Greer published another editorial in the April 6, 1889 newspaper. The column heading was "OKLAHOMA LEADER." Frank Greer stated that he enjoyed the hospitality of Captain W.L. Couch, the well-known lieutenant of the late David Payne. Greer said he interviewed Couch Saturday night at the section house in Guthrie. It seemed that they both ignored the President's Proclamation, or they were using the ambiguity of the language "to enter and occupy" to enter the prohibitory lands. Couch told Greer, the Boomers had left their concealed camps and were staying out of the territory until the run, and that he planned to settle in Guthrie where he could heap the bountiful reward of his intrepid labors (*Daily State Capital* 1889).

An article from the *Topeka Journal* appeared in April 6, 1889, *Daily State Capital*. The editorial stated, “a number of saloons are already at the freight house ready for shipment into Oklahoma. You may depend on it that the murder factories will be in the van-guard. But, we believe that Kansas sentiment will soon get the upper hand in Oklahoma and drive them out (*Daily State Capital*, 1989).”

In the same newspaper on the same day, April 6, 1889, the *Daily State Capital* published another editorial:

No liquor in Oklahoma, without running great risk of being a few months in the guardhouse. This country is under the laws governing the Indian Territory and heavy fines are attached to a conviction.

April 6, 1889, *Daily State Capital* published an article from the *Kansas City Star*. It told about B.F. Stroub of Independence, Missouri who had just returned from Oklahoma where he had selected Guthrie as a place to erect a fifty-thousand dollar hotel. The *Star* said, “Mr. Stroub had raised the money in conjunction with Ex-Governor Crittendon, Sam Scott, and participation by the *Star*.” The group had purchased the lumber and hired the mechanics to be in Guthrie the morning of 23 April, and they expected the hotel to opened for business ten days later (*Daily State Capital* 1889).

April 3, 1889, an article from Arkansas City, Kansas appeared in the 6 April issue of the *Daily State Capital*. The editorial stated:

The employees in the freight department of the Santa Fe in this city are beginning to realize what the opening of Oklahoma means. The force was recently increased ten men, but it is now inadequate to perform daily duties which devolve upon them. Nearly all-household goods, implements and stock owned by persons intending to move into Oklahoma on the 22nd, will only be shipped to this point where it will remain until the opening. The agent expects to have seventy-five men in the freight department before the 20th of this month. All freight is new being refused for stations in Oklahoma unless it be [sic] for Indian traders or agents. Over forty

boomers wagons arrived here today and a colony of thirty men from Utah came in on the morning train (*Daily State Capital* 1889).

Another article from Wellington, Kansas dated March 29, 1889, concerning information on railroads was also in the April 6, 1889, *Daily State Capital*. It stated that the chief beneficiary at the beginning of the Oklahoma Land Run will be the Atchinson, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad whose Texas extension of the Southern Kansas runs right through the heart of the country. It will receive the full benefit of the rush of immigration.

The *Arkansas City Dispatch* wrote an editorial for the *Daily State Capital* that also appeared April 6, 1889. The article stated:

The boys Greer and Winton printed in red, dated Guthrie, Oklahoma and published in Winfield. It is enterprise of this kind that pays. The *Capital* represents a town that in three weeks will be twice as large as Arkansas City and in a year will have 30,000 people. Guthrie will be the greatest phenomena of town building the world has ever saw [sic]. And many Arkansas City men will help produce the wonder (*Daily State Capital* 1889).

Newspapers are excellent examples of the most important element in spatial interactions - diffusion. Newspapers in 1889 and one hundred – eleven years later function as spatial diffusion, the process of ideas and information spreading over space, and through time. Of the three basic ways to accomplish diffusion of information, newspapers would be hierarchical diffusion. The method of spreading information from one central source through the ranks to smaller and smaller ranks. It was this “constant movement” represented by the flow of information and its movement through its ranks that Exline, Peters and Larkin stated as the essential component in the urban ecosystem. It was information forces being a apart of the urban ecology system working through the component of technology that brought new phenomena within the framework causing all

other elements of the ecosystem [physical, political, social/cultural, economical] to respond by developing into a new state of being. The inter-related parts of the urban ecology system are at all times responding with one another. When there is a change, it produces a chain reaction in the others, such as the forces of information. The new evolved state of being created by hierarchical diffusion of information were factors such as changing departure dates for Oklahoma, deciding to ride the train into the unassigned lands due to editorials describing the conditions of the Cimarron River being prohibitive for wagons to cross, or deciding to stake a claim in Guthrie because newspaper articles stated it's the new metropolis of Oklahoma Territory.

Spatial Interactions –Relocation Diffusion Movement of People to Guthrie

Frank Greer published in his newspaper that the *Capital* was law abiding therefore, it would not locate until 22 April, in Guthrie. Then, in an article written by Frank Greer, "Early Romance of Oklahoma," he described himself as an illegal Sooner (Greer 1936, 274). This would be considered social/cultural forces influenced by economical, physical, political, and technological forces. Social/cultural forces of Frank Greer's moral character were influenced by the other four elements of the urban ecosystem. The economical forces understood the need to be in Guthrie, physical forces saw the importance of staking a town lot, political forces could only be achieved in the capital city, and technological forces could only reach their potential in a large metropolis. The five forces always in motion, connecting, inter-mingling, and competing evolved to the rationalization that persuaded Frank Greer to defy law and become an illegal Sooner. Political forces in this situation would be considered the

propelling component within the urban ecological framework because previous knowledge of Guthrie as a chosen townsite impacted the necessity of a townsite location (see figure 18 for a more privileged Runner).

Frank Greer wrote in his article that he and three friends went to Arkansas City, where they saw thousands of “Boomers” ranged along the line of the Cherokee Strip. It was also the location where he negotiated with the engineer and brakeman of a freight train to travel through the Cherokee Strip. He stated they mounted a carload of telephone poles Saturday night about twelve o’clock and concealed themselves in crevices that had been prearranged. Frank Greer talked about sharing his secret compartment with a man from Ireland whose feet hit him in the head each time the train braked. And, this Irishman talked to another Irishman throughout the journey, which could only have meant the engineer and brakeman had an underground business of sneaking people into the prohibited territory. On Easter Sunday, 21 April, the train passed Guthrie a little after daylight. Greer said that he saw Captain H.G. Cavanaugh, U.S. Army, with a few enlisted men standing on the Guthrie station platform, looking for “Sooners.” So, he and his friends, Millspaugh and Bruington talked to the brakeman who slowed the train to ten miles an hour two miles south of Guthrie where they jumped the train. After recovering, the group walked through the woods and made a camp by a beautiful pool of crystal water. They built a small fire and ate lunch at 12:00 M. Afterwards, they went up a hill to discover from the use of Millspaugh’s spy-glass about 500 people were walking around over Guthrie’s townsite. Greer stated, “it was humiliating for us to realize that, while we were skulking around in the brush, others



Figure 18. Miss Lillian Laux, A More Privileged Land Runner

were right out in the open sizing up the choice lots upon which to pounce and claim the next day (Greer 1936, 274).”

In the same article, Greer talked about another group of illegal Sooners, the Winfield, Kansas group that had hired an engineer to go to Guthrie a week before the opening to choose the best site for the town. The engineer looked over the ground and picked East Guthrie as being the most available site and not too far from the railway station. Blueprints were prepared of the proposed townsite that designated Broad Street as the principal business thoroughfare of the town. The “Winfield Crowd” positioned themselves as far as the western edge of the Iowa Indian reservation that was eight miles east of Guthrie. Greer stated in his article, “the whole Winfield crowd became very anxious and uneasy because of the Sooners who were continuously slipping by them on the border and disappearing in the direction of Guthrie, so they finally crossed the line themselves and came within one mile of Guthrie to await the appointed hour (Greer 1936, 275).”

During the days that the Oklahoma District was being infiltrated by illegal Sooners, there were many “Legal Sooners.” Such people were identified as railroad crew and some of their families gathered along the railroad rights-a-way, deputy marshals acting in official capacity, political appointees, and people of political and railway influence using their position as an advantage to layout townsites [Guthrie] and select choice lots. For example, in the vicinity of Oklahoma City about 15 April, Rachael Anna Haines, the common law wife of David L. Payne, being employed by William L. Couch [Boomer fame] as a cook for his railroad graders. She remained in the district until 22 April, seeking unfair advantage for homestead position. Ransom

Payne Deputy U.S. Marshal met Frank Greer in East Guthrie before the run and told Greer he was on his claim (Thorburn/Greer 1936, 275). It was reported by the *Kansas City Daily Journal* on 25 April, that a reporter saw U.S. Marshal William Clark Jones, known as “By God Jones,” U.S. Marshal Thomas B. Needles, John Ichabod Dille, Register of the Guthrie land office, and others make an “unauthorized and unwarranted settlement” of Guthrie before Oklahoma District was legally opened to settlement (Chapman 1957, 382).” There were also reports that Judge Guthrie and other men of his status had been in Guthrie previous to 22 April, and had chosen a townsite lot. Legal Sooners has been discussed earlier and it will be discussed later after Guthrie’s settlement. The insertion was to emphasize that people of all “walks of life” were taking advantage of “the lawful claimants” waiting on the borders.

Distance, Direction, Linkages Spatial Distribution – Random to Highly Structured Spatial Interaction – Flow, Migration, Linkages. Opening of the unassigned lands was the largest race ever orchestrated by the federal government. People came from all directions, distances, and brought with them linkages to the present from the past. The race was the epitome of spatial distribution and spatial interaction. All types of people with all types of conveyances, possessing all types of reasons for settlement characterized spatial distribution. They entered the territory at all locations and at all time’s – legal or illegal. But, the race’s best theoretical analogy was found in the terminology of spatial information - flow, migration, linkages, and diffusion. It seemed that all aspects of the race whether activities before the race, preparation for the race, or during the race were expressed through spatial interactions. James K. Hastings,

Oklahoma land run pioneer, made a statement in his article "The Opening of Oklahoma" that encapsulates spatial distribution and spatial interactions. He stated, "there was an immense gathering of the land hungry from every state in the Union, that flocked to the towns like Arkansas City for weeks before the opening date. Here the cavalry attempted the hopeless task of holding back the overly zealous ones and keeping all men out until the legal date for entering (Hastings 1949, 71) (see figures 19-20)."

Another land run pioneer, Hamilton Wicks wrote an article titled the same as Hastings' "The Opening of Oklahoma." He told of being in common with many others in every part of the land by being seized with the Oklahoma fever. He packed his valise, including maps and charts of the new Eldorado, and stepped on the "Penn Limited" in New York City to find himself by evening nine hundred miles west in Chicago. He rode on the "C.B.& Q. Fast Express" overnight to arrive in Kansas City, five hundred miles southwest. On the same evening, a pullman car awaited him aboard the "A.T.& S. F. Road," and when he awakened on Easter morning, 21 April, he was in Kansas. Later in the morning, he arrived at Arkansas City, Kansas, three hundred miles still further in the heart of the great southwest. He was immediately hurled from the peaceful confines of a mere traveler into the conflict for personal supremacy with a seething mass of "Boomers." Wicks described it as being interjected into a confused Fourth-of-July celebration, where the procession had resolved to a mob. The streets were thronged. tents were pitched in every open space. There was no place to sleep, and around the extemporized eating places it became a veritable "struggle for existence." On 22 April, Wicks stated, "the congestion of people was the greatest about the depot where I found five trains were made up on the adjacent tracks, and were in readiness to start southward

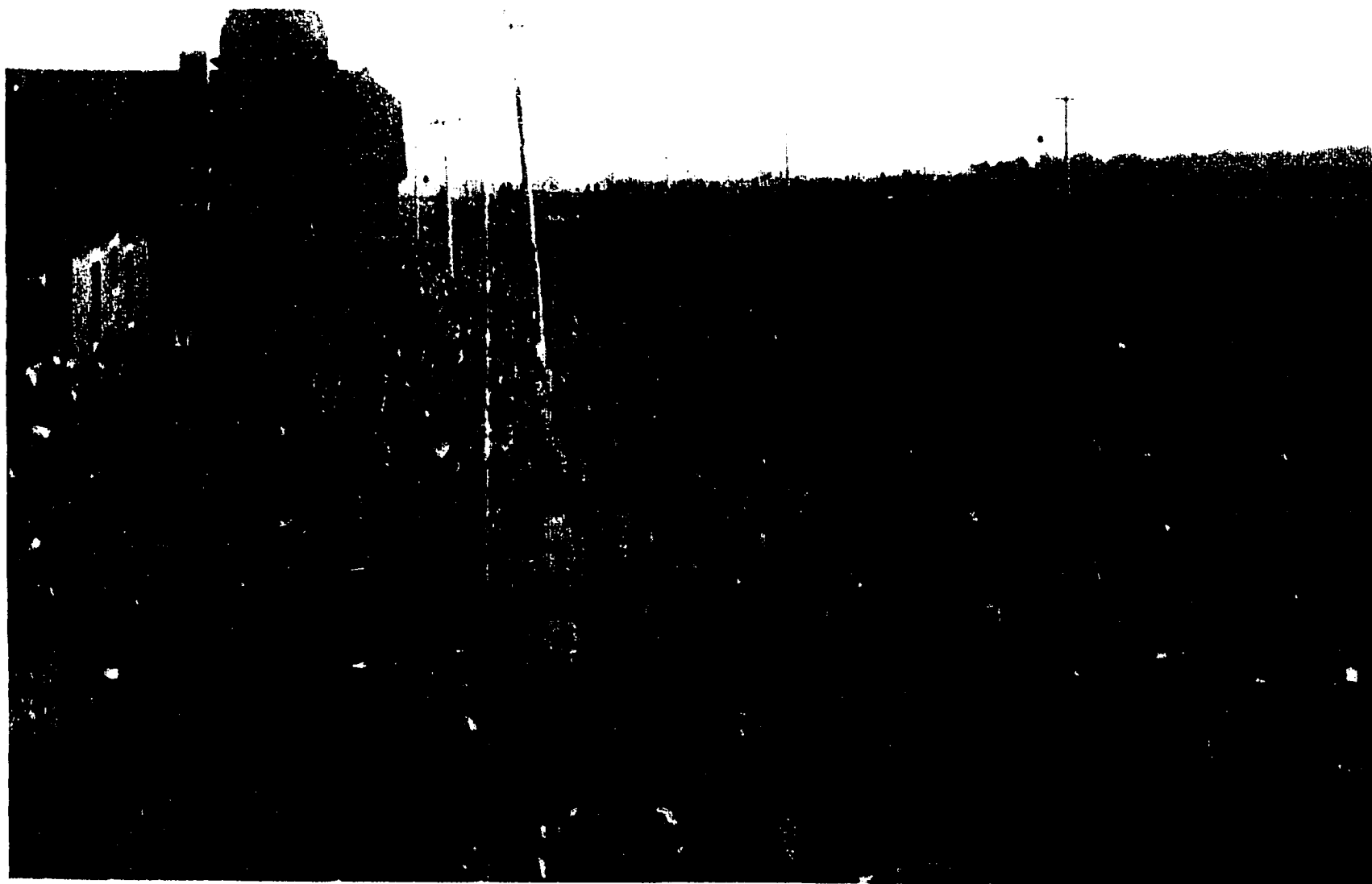


Figure 19. Arkansas City, Kansas: Day of the Run



Figure 20. Guthrie Train Station: April 22, 1889, Day of the Run

into the Indian Territory. Hundreds and hundreds of people from Arkansas City and neighboring towns, and thousands from every part of the United States, surged in wildest confusion about the depot. Everyman was armed like a walking arsenal, and many also constituted themselves walking commissaries. The problem that filled the minds of the multitude of men just at that time was, which of the five trains standing in readiness, with full head of steam on, would be the first to start, as everyone was eager to be on the first train." Wicks' finding all the trains already loaded offered a brakeman some money and to his amazement, he was led to a caboose with comfortable accommodations that contained a number of prominent Western men. He stated:

Among them was Colonel D.B. Dyer, who has since become Mayor of Guthrie, and who was for many years Indian Agent in the Territory; Judge Guthrie [large, pompous, and genial], after whom the city of Guthrie was named; C.R. McLane, one of the shrewdest bankers of Kansas, who was to establish the first bank in Guthrie; Jim Geary, an old scout and plainsman, as cool-headed a rustler as ever drew bead on a redskin; and a number of other men well posted on the territory, we were exploiting (Wicks 1936, 131).

As the train slowly traveled through the Cherokee Strip, Wicks from his window saw a vast procession of "Boomers" moving across the plains headed to Oklahoma using a wagon road that ran parallel with the railway. Wicks stated:

The procession illustrated the characteristics of western American life. For instance, there was a party consisting of a 'prairie schooner' drawn by four scrawny, rawbone horses, and filled with a tatterdemalion group, comprised of a shaggy-bearded man, a slatternly-looking woman, and several girls and boys, faithful images of their parents, in shabby attire, usually with a dog and coop of chickens (see figure 21). . . . In contrast, a couple of flashy real-estate men from Wichita would come jogging on a short distance behind, driving a spanking span of bays, with an equipage looking for all the world as though it had just come from a fashionable livery stable. There were innumerable single rigs and double rigs; there were six-mule teams and four-in-hands, with here and there parties on horseback, and not a few on foot, trudging along the wayside. The whole procession marched, rode, or drove, as on some gala occasion, with smiling faces and waving hands. For many, alas, the anticipations were 'April hopes, the fools of chance (Wicks 1936, 131-32).'



Figure 21. Schooners, Chicken Coops and "Boomers" Moving Parallel to the Railway

When Wicks' train reached the borders, he described the immigration as even more dense with Boomer camps in all directions. With the coming of twelve o'clock, many of the Boomers were mounted on high-spirited and fleet-footed horses, and had arranged themselves along the territorial line to take primary position. The better class of wagons and carriages were in line with the horsemen, and sporadically, mule teams attached to canvas-covered vehicles stood in the front ranks, with the reins and whip grasped by the "Boomers" wives (Wicks 1936, 134-35).

Wicks stated:

All was excitement and expectation. Every nerve was on tension and every muscle strained. The great event for which these brawny noblemen of the West have been waiting for years was on the point of transpiring. Suddenly, the air was pierced with the blast of a bugle. Hundreds of throats echoed the sound with shouts of exultation. The quivering limbs of saddled steeds, no longer restrained by the hands that held their bridles, bounded forward simultaneously into the 'beautiful land' of Oklahoma; wagons and carriages and prairie schooners and a whole congregation of curious equipages joined in this unparalleled race. . . . Away dashed the thoroughbreds, the bronchos, the pintos, and the mustangs at a breakneck pace cross the uneven surface of the prairie. It was amazing to witness the recklessness of those cow-boy riders; they jumped obstacle; they leaped ditches; they cantered with no diminution of speed through waterpools; and when they came to a ravine too wide to leap, down they would go with a rush, and up the other side with a spurt of energy, to scurry once more like made over the level plain (see figure 22). This reckless riding was all very well at the fore part of the race, but it could not prevail against the more powerful and speedy horses. . . . It took but a short time to solve this question of speed among riders, and after a neck-and-neck race for half a mile or more they spread like a fan over the prairie. . . . Where every starter was bound to win a prize – the "Realization Stakes" of home and prosperity (Wicks 1936, 135).

Wicks said his train was the first train from the north to arrive in Guthrie at one thirty in the afternoon, and in the article "RECOLLECTIONS OF APRIL 22, 1889"

written by Frank J. Best, an employee of the Santa Fe Railway, stated:

The first passenger train that came into Guthrie after 12:00 M. was a train from the south. The coaches were either empty or were carrying only one or two persons, the trainmen stated they had dropped off all along Shortly after



Figure 22. Dashing Thoroughbreds: Diffusion of Relocation, the "Oklahoma Land Run"

two o'clock trains from the north began to arrive. They were behind schedule, the reason being that men were jumping off continuously, necessitating running slow to avoid injuring them. To watch them approach, being plainly visible for more than two miles, the 'homeseekers' could be seen to throw off their personal effects, then to jump off. A small cloud of dust was created by the sprawling landing, from which would quickly emerge the man running his best, going for a claim and a hoped future home. All too many found each claim taken, not only by one man, but usually from two to a half dozen. Those who could not get land drifted into Guthrie so that by nightfall the town had a population of vigorous citizens . . . nothing else, not even food or water, except such as they may have brought with them (Best 1943, 29) (see figure 23).

Hamilton Wick's stated:

All there was of Guthrie when the first train from the north drew up at the station and unloaded its first instalment [sic] of settlers was a water -tank, a small station house, a shanty for the Wells Fargo Express, and a Government Land Office - a building twenty by forty feet, hastily constructed five hundred feet from the depot, on the brow of the gently-sloping acclivity that stretches eastward from the railway track. It is true that a handful of enterprising United States deputy marshals, a few railroad boys, and one or two newspaper correspondents had already surveyed and staked out several hundred acres of town site, and had, by way of maintaining their claims to this extensive property; erected a few tents here and there in the neighborhood of the Land Office building.

He also said the race was not over when the claimant selected a lot. The contest was who should drive their stake first, who would erect their tents soonest, and then, who would build the quickest wooden shanty. Wick's said, "The situation was so peculiar that it . . . reminded me of playing blind-man's- bluff. One did not know how far to go before stopping; it was hard to tell when it was best to stop; and it was a puzzle whether to turn to the right hand or the left. Everyone appeared dazed, and all for the most part acted like a flock of stray sheep. Where the boldest led, many other followed (Wicks 1936, 137)."

To contrast different people's experiences encountered on the day of the run, Frank Greer's account as an illegal sooner will be reviewed. He had landed in Guthrie illegally 21 April, from passage on a freight train. After he and his friends jumped off,



Figure 23. Santa Fe's Depot, Union Station

they made camp, ate and then surveyed Guthrie. Almost being trampled by a galloping trooper's horse, he hid in a gully until morning. Greer stated, "on Monday morning we came out far enough to see people moving around on the Land Office hill. The only man we met to speak to was one who caught Millspaugh with his head far enough out of the brush to be seen. The stranger drew down his Winchester on Millspaugh and ordered him to come up to the bank, which he did. Millspaugh was a good jollier, so he soon had the man mollified and in a talking mood. This man said that his name was Ransom Payne and that he was a deputy U.S. marshal. This was about ten o'clock, Monday morning, 22 April, and Payne was on the land he afterward tried to hold as his homestead and for which he tried to establish a valid claim through years of litigation in the courts! At 12: 00 M. "high noon," Millspaugh put up a stick on the bank, having marked it "This is my claim. R.L. Millspaugh." He thus regarded himself in a position to contest Ransom Payne, but he soon afterward abandoned all hope of securing a claim (Greer 1936, 274.)"

Greer staked his homestead claim to the south half of East Guthrie, and said, "he remembered standing there, about half past twelve o'clock, looking west, there was not a soul in sight." Then he stated, "at about ten minutes after twelve o'clock, I located on the corner of Broad and Cleveland avenues. That afternoon, I put up the tent office of the State Capital, which had been brought from Winfield in a mule-wagon, by "the Winfield crowd." They had made the run at the appointed hour – theoretically covering eight miles in fifteen minutes (Greer 1936, 275)."

Frank Best, the Santa Fe railroad employee, said, “when the noon hour arrived, from the timber along the streams emerged hundreds of horsemen, wagons, buggies and other on foot, going pell-mell in all directions (Best 1943, 29) (see figures 24-27).”

The *Washington Post* dated April 22, 1889, stated it best:

OKLAHOMA IS WIDE OPEN

AND EVERY QUARTER SECTION HAS CLAIMANTS TO SPARE

WILD SCENES, BUT YET NO BLOODSHED

The Guthrie Land Office Besieged by Impetuous Settlers and Speculators
Townsite Animosity Engendered - Desperate Effort to Steal the Cherokee Strip

Chapter Three and Chapter Four have provided the way to better understand, to analyze, to synthesize, and to bring focus to urban patterns shaped by the five component forces merging together during these two designated time frames. They have prepared the way to appreciate Guthrie in the past, the present and the future as one continuum (Golany 1995, 6).

Viewing “Impending Activities” Through the Ecological Framework

Throughout the evolution of Guthrie, there have been continual and dynamic changes associated with its birth from a railroad station house to its overnight boomtown status. This phase of Guthrie’s historical layer provided insight into the undercurrent forces of spatial distribution and spatial interactions working within the ecological framework. As mentioned earlier, according to Gideon Golany, the urban ecosystem was likened to a living organism, it was constantly moving, inter-weaving, and competing for position (Golany 1995, 2). Geographers, Exline, Peters and Larkin stated that it was this

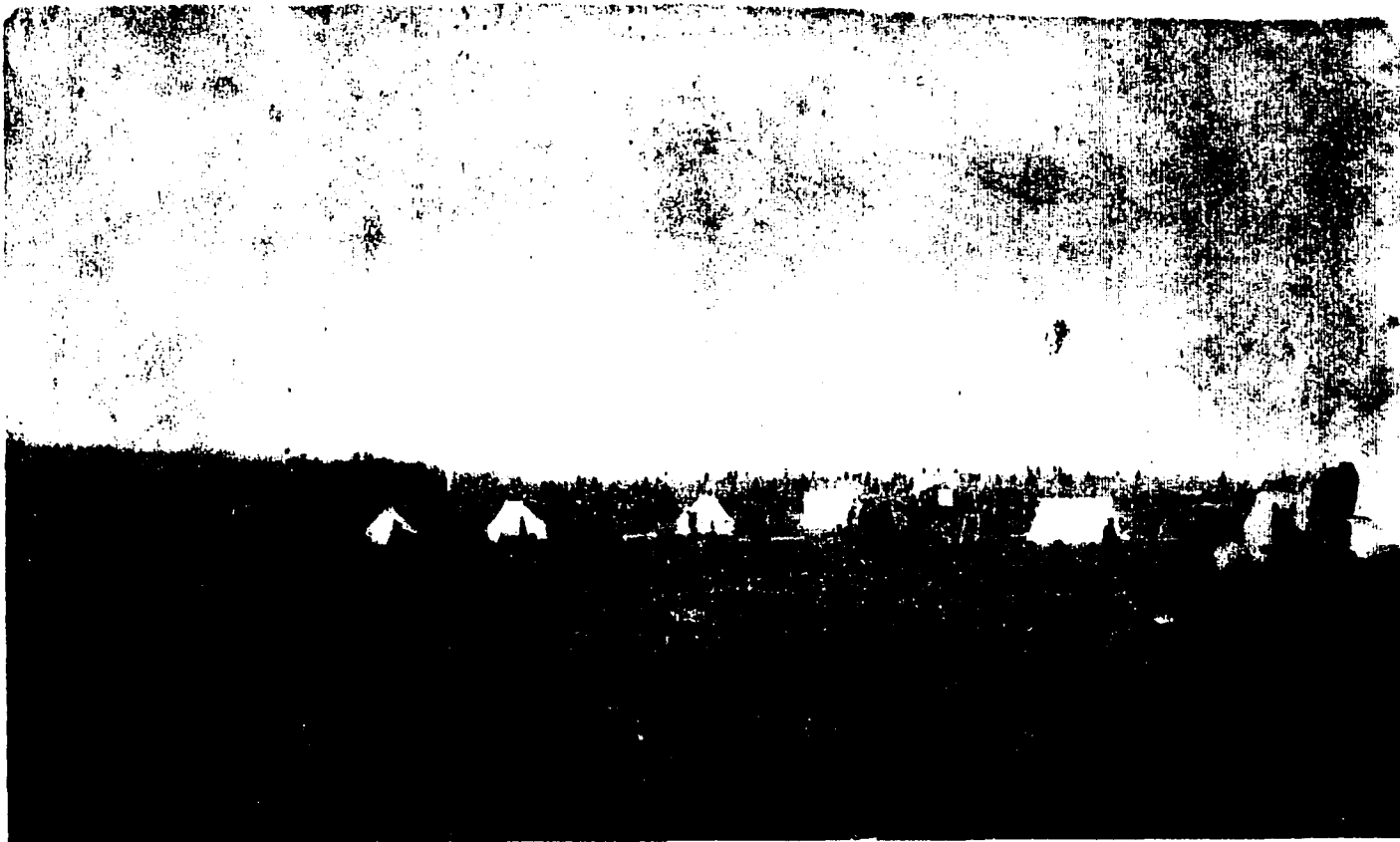


Figure 24. "Going Pell-mell in All Directions," Hundreds of Horsemen, Wagons, and Buggies



Figure 25. Pregnant Woman Holding a Town Lot in Guthrie



Figure 26. Guthrie's Commercial Bank, One of the First Wooden Structures



Figure 27. One of Guthrie's Many Lumber Yards

constant movement of people between and within locations as one of the essential components of the dynamic urban ecosystem which they identified as physical, political, social/cultural, economic, and technological forces working within a prescribed boundary (Exline, Peters and Larkin 1982, 18).

The movement of landseekers from all directions, from all different distances, to the bordering states of Indian territory establishing linkages from their past location to their present one exemplified the undercurrent force of spatial distribution. Migrating in large colonies or traveling alone further identified this force, as well as, structured orders of patrolling troops as opposed to illegal Sooners sporadically slipping across the territorial lines. These activities were propelling forces within the urban ecosystem.

Spatial interaction forces working within the ecosystem were identified by flow of immigrants, migrating from all localities, using all types of conveyances, and being influenced by all types of diffusion – expansion diffusion, hierarchical diffusion, and relocation diffusion.

President Harrison's "Land Run Proclamation" set in motion the political component of the ecosystem. The spatial distribution working within the *political* forces was propelled into motion when Secretary of the Interior, John Noble, prescribed the *physical* forces of activities [spatial distribution of activities] directed the projects [land office], committees, procedures, law interpretations, and scheduling of events, etc. to the greatest horse race ever run.

The immigrants brought with them their forces of *social/cultural* heritage. *Technically*, they traveled by railroad, wagon, and fleet horse. And, they were influenced by diffusion of information – newspapers, word of mouth, telegraph, etc. *Economically*,

some landseekers were searching for a better life with nothing left except a wagon with a chicken coop hanging off the back, a Winchester rifle, and a pet dog trailing behind. And, in contrast, there were land seekers who had their pre-fabricated structures costing \$40,000 dollars waiting at the depot.

This was the final scene that had evolved from the forces of the urban ecosystem in collaboration with the dynamic forces of spatial distribution and spatial interaction as the shot was fired and Guthrie was given birth.

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ILLUSTRATIONS:

Figure 28. Chapman, B.B., Ph.D. "Guthrie: From Public Land To Private Property."
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Figure 29. Author

Figure 36. Guthrie Planning Department

Figure 48. Guthrie Planning Department

INTERVIEWS:

Ron Ford, Guthrie Planning Director – October 1998.

Bobby Hinkle, Guthrie Planning Department Code Enforcement – January 1999

Don Odum, Guthrie Author and Historian – October 1998 / recorded

Helen Stiefmiller, Curator of Collections, Guthrie Museum Complex – October 1998

Charles Scott, Guthrie Architectural Historian – October 1998 / recorded

CHAPTER FIVE

GUTHRIE, INDIAN TERRITORY'S LARGEST BOOM TOWN

The city is composed of historical layers whose physical formation and evolution have been shaped, interwoven, and entangled by diversified social/cultural, economical, political, physical, and technological components of the ecological framework. As such, the city represents a synthesis of these forces. From its inception the city has been shaped and reshaped by the human vitality that orchestrated the formations of the synthesis of these diversified forces. Moreover, every urban resident, by virtue of his or her existence, contributed at least a fraction to the city's creation, shape, and atmosphere (Golany 1995, 10).

Accordingly, Gideon Golany stated in Chapter One, "the city is the largest most complicated project ever conceived and produced by human-kind. It is a living organism that introduces a symphony of complex sub-systems. Sub-systems of environs that need not ignore the achievement of our ancestors as well as the inherent complex social values on which the community rests." Golany also stated, "the future of a city's cohesiveness with its environment cannot be effectively diagnosed without studying and understanding past practice. This applies to the social, economic, physical, political, technological, and natural environments that are responsible for shaping the city." Golany further believes that the socio-cultural values of past historical experiences rather than technological

achievements stand as the great lessons of environmental norms and needs that will guide in establishing the ethics of the city's future (Golany 1995, 2).

Throughout history, it has been the community's social identity, and its ethics that shaped, along with the natural environment, the urban form and configuration. Thus, the social setting came first and later determined the function and the form of the settlements. This process was guided by society's ability to adapt the physical form of the settlement to the natural environment and its constraints. Guthrie's urban form was greatly influenced by it being designated as the state capital. Therefore, its gently rolling landscape was a configuration of businesses, residential areas, and central business districts being shaped to fulfill Guthrie's proposed dynasty (Golany 1995, 2, 92).

Guthrie's overnight success needed cohesiveness of harmony. Individual members and groups thought collaboration and adoption of certain inherited social values and norms would accomplish the desire for the enhancement of continuity, safety, and social order. This approach provided a community of many diverse backgrounds the assurance, security, self-confidence, and social identity that strongly guaranteed positive responsiveness from its new citizenry. These ethics or social values, dealing with the code of what is good and what is bad were reflected in Guthrie's first citizens responding to the natural environment and further expressed through their human-made physical environment (Golany 1995, 93).

Guthrie did not have an evolutionary process of sequential stages of growth, identified as migration, continued with the rise of the village and then, the town before producing and adopting the city form of living. Guthrie started with a horse race and became a city overnight. The immigrants brought their strong sense of the environment

and their inherited ethics of social values, norms, standards, conduct and behavior that introduced socio-cultural ethics, which determined the physical configuration of Guthrie. The fusion of these inherited ethics took the form of physical design in streets patterns, dead-ends, alleys, parks, houses, neighborhoods, buildings, business districts, and etc. This was “architecture without architects” and “urban design without urban designers.” It was predetermined socio-cultural ethics that sequentially led to the preconceived ethics of Guthrie’s urban design and the rise to Guthrie’s first townscape. For example, a form of government was enacted the next day, 23 April, street patterns were laid out, tents covered the four townsites, and wooden framed buildings were already being erected whether for business or residential occupancy (Golany 1995, 5, 93).

Thus, the culture of the urban residents by which they conducted their behavior throughout their urban life gave Guthrie its ethics of urbanity. And, it is from generations of urban ecological forces fused together, working within the prescribed boundaries of Guthrie’s townsite that developed a city of extraordinary culture, arts, politics, theatres, palatial castles, and palatial homes within a very short time frame (Abramson 1980, 6).

April 22, 1889 – “High Noon”-- the Bugle Sounds:
The Starting Gates Open The Greatest Horse Race
Ever Recorded In History Began

Editorial from Bluff City, Kansas, *Herald Newspaper*, April 6, 1889, *Daily Oklahoma Capital*:

When “High Noon” is reached on the twentysecond day of the month, the hour fixed for the opening to settlement the heart of the Indian Territory, what a swift and magical change will come over her beautiful hills and valleys. The indolence and inactivity of redman, will be succeeded by the mighty and resistless rush of improvement and business enterprises. Instead of the guttural whoop of the redman, will be heard the sound of the saw and hammer and the merry ring of the anvil. The village of the prairie dog will be occupied by beautiful and stately cities, and the holy chimes of

the church bells will call the people to the Church of God. "Poor Lo" will have before him the example of industry, education and refinement, instead of the companionship of wild beasts, well cultivated farms and thrifty orchard's will take the place of weeds and prairie grass. Oklahoma will bloom and blossom with luscious fruits and beauteous flowers.

Special to the Gazette, April 22, 1889, "THE FATAL DAY":

A new state is born. What its extent will be cannot now be foretold, its christening also will come later, but this is the date of its birth. And never was [sic] state born amid more excitement; never was livery looked forward to with such expectancy or accouchement attended to by so many nurses and doctors. At high noon, the engines poked their noses over the north and south borders, and soon train after train crossed into the new territory freighted with living packages of expectant enthusiasm piled in as closely as possible. It is estimated that some 20,000 people were brought in from the North by the Santa Fe road. They ran fifteen trains, and claim to carry 1500 people on each. A great many got off at each station above here, and yet when they reached here every train seemed to be chuck full. As soon as the trains began to slow up for Guthrie the boomers jumped off and ran in all directions.

Guthrie Claimed By
Legal and Illegal Forces

At "High Noon" on 22 April, special Deputy Marshal, Orion Eli Mohler, hired for the exclusive use of the Guthrie land office, walked onto the Land Office porch and moving forward swung open its double doors. The first applicant to enter was Mark S. Cohn the best friend of Cassius McDonald, Receiver of Moneys, for the Guthrie Land Office (Chapman 1955, 64). Cohn was forty years old and a naturalized citizen from Fort Smith, Arkansas who made homestead entry for the northwest quarter of section eight at Guthrie. Acting as agent, he filed a Soldier's Declaratory Statement for Perry Twichel for the southeast quarter of section five; and for Deputy Marshals James H. Huckleberry and Benton Turner, he filed similar statements for the west half of section nine. Identified in the first tract book was this notation: "W2 T.S.[west half of section,

townsite] application, April 22, 1889, at 12 noon (Chapman 1955, 64).” This was the beginning evidence that proved the statement from a Kansas City correspondent that on 21 April, he saw Government Officials participating in laying off Guthrie’s townsite. Secretary of Interior, John Noble, brought credibility to the statement by issuing a reprimand to Dille that stated, “by the first acts of your office a townsite had been fixed and almost surrounded by the filings made by your brother and Mr. Cohn, before the law-abiding people could arrive (Chapman 1957, 390).”

Even though the townsite had been laid off the night before and made claim to the day of the race, Hamilton Wicks’ stated:

When the hundreds of people from our train and the thousands from following trains arrived, they ‘coppered the situation,’ to speak in Western parlance, with very little consideration for the privileges, interests, or rights of the deputies and their friends. . . . I remember throwing my blankets out of the train car window the instant the train stopped at the station. Then, I joined the wild scramble for a town lot up the sloping hillside at a pace discounting any ‘go-as-you-please’ race. There were several thousand people converging on the same plot of ground, each eager for a town lot that was to be acquired without cost or without price, each solely dependent on his own efforts, and animated by a spirit of fair play and good humor. . . . Where the boldest led, many others followed (Wicks 1926, 137).

Mr. Wicks said that he found himself midway between the government building and the depot, and as he stood there, it occurred to him that a street would probably pass by the depot. Thereupon, he accosted a man who looked like a deputy and asked if this location was to be a street. The man replied that it was one corner of the four lots being claimed by a lumberyard. Wicks ignoring the man’s claim on that corner hammered in his stake and stated, “I propose to have one lot at all hazards on this townsite, and you will have to limit yourself to three, in this location at least.” Wicks immediately made his first improvements by turning his cot on end and throwing his blankets on top of this

make shift center-pole to establish a tent. After staking the blanket ends securely in the ground, he said that he waited for his brother who arrived on the third train. After his brother reached the claim, they hired a man for one dollar to plow around their lot after stepping off twenty-five feet in front and one hundred and forty feet in depth. Thus, Wicks and his brother had a claim unjumpable because of substantial improvements (Wicks 1926, 138).

At dusk, they had a large wall tent erected with a couple of cots inside and a liberal supply of bedding. Feeling secure, they walked toward the Land Office and surveyed Guthrie's first cyclorama townscape consisting of ten thousand people "squatted" upon a square mile of virgin prairie with their tents resembling a vast flock of huge white-winged birds settled down upon the hillsides and valleys. Wicks said, "here indeed was a city laid out and populated in half a day" and he continued by describing thousands of campfires sparking upon the dark bosom of the prairie as far as the eye could reach. And, that a subdued hum arose from this huge camp declaring that this almost innumerable multitude of brave and self-reliant men had come to stay and work, and build in that distant Western wilderness a city that should forever be a trophy to American enterprise and daring (Wicks 1926, 139).

The first night Wicks said, "there was a fusillade of shots on all sides from Winchesters and Colts, and Remingtons, disturbing the stillness, mingled with halloos, and shouting, and the rebel yell and the imitated war-whoop of the savage. 'I expected on the morrow to see the prairie strewn with gory corpses, but not, a single corpse appeared.' And, I was not slow in making up my mind that nine-tents of all the shots

were fired in a mere wanton spirit of bravado to intimidate a few such nervous tenderfeet as myself (Wicks 1926, 139)."

Frank Greer was, as stated in Chapter Four, an "illegal Sooner." Using the information of the engineer hired by the "Winfield Group" in early April as to the best location for a townsite, he staked his homestead claim described as the south half of East Guthrie and staked his business townsite lot at the corner of Broad and Cleveland. This was within minutes after high noon. Soon, the Winfield group appeared with their blueprints of the proposed townsite platting East Guthrie as the preferred landscape with Broad Street as the principal business thoroughfare of the town. Meeting with Greer, they soon took possession of what they supposed would be the most valuable property in the new town, very quickly, quietly and in good order. The group had taken precautions to protect each other's claims by organizing a system of signals to be executed by police whistles. Each Winfield man had a whistle in his vest pocket. One blast of the whistle meant, "I am in trouble," two blasts meant, "Get Ready" and three blasts sounded the call to "Come Quick (Greer 1936, 276)!"

Frank Greer stated, "The first men that I met after locating on my lot was a big, broad-shouldered westerner with a fractured left ear, armed with a Colt's six-shooter and a Bowie knife, and a little, thick-set, red-headed man who was likewise armed and equipped. Each had his coat on his arm. The tall man came up on the run, out of breath, with the redheaded fellow about twenty feet behind. The tall man said: 'What are you doing here?' This is my lot. I took it half an hour ago and went off to get a drink.' Then he drew down his coat on my lot and the redheaded man threw his down immediately north of mine. I expostulated with the tall man but he would not listen. I told him he

would have trouble soon. Then, I took out my police whistle and gave one shrill blast, followed by a second blast of the same sort. When the third signal sounded, forty of the Winfield crowd appeared like a flash, whereupon the tall man and his red-headed companion gave up their bluff and started over toward the Land Office. The tall man was Volney Hoggett, who was prominent afterward as a candidate for mayor of Guthrie in the first election held under the provisional municipal organization. The red-headed man was Paddy Moran, subsequently a rather conspicuous lawyer in the community for a time (Greer 1936, 276)."

As soon as the men left, Greer hung his signs on his tents – "*The Oklahoma State Capital*, the first paper published in Oklahoma." Then, Greer, later in the same article, referred to the *Daily State Capital* going on sale at four o'clock in the afternoon by several Winfield men selling them among the tents. He stated, "the newspapers went like hotcakes and those who sold them received half. It was great sport for the big fellows who playfully laid aside their dignity for the occasion. Some of them proved to be splendid salesmen, stentorian-voiced and acute (Greer 1936, 277)."

Albert Daniel Wright rode the train from Arkansas City arriving in Guthrie at 5:00 P.M. He threw his "grip out" out of the train window and jumped. Wright proceeded up the hill from the depot about two blocks when he stopped to look north, east and south. He stated, "it was a mass of humanity milling about and many tents were up and many going up and many frame buildings were being built." Looking west, Wright saw people wading across Cottonwood Creek to get lots over on the West Side of the townsite. He followed the procession and staked a claim that proved to be on Noble Ave (Wright 1947, 3).

When he returned to the Eastside, it was dark so he decided to go to the depot where there was a big bonfire surrounded by a large crowd. Wright said he tried to sleep on the depot platform, but there was too much traffic and the ring of the hammer and ripping sound of the saw never stopped the entire night (Wright 1947, 3). A story "Cupid a la Carte" by O. Henry described the situation (Odom 1979, 27):

'Twas when the Oklahoma country was in first bloom. Guthrie was rising in the middle of it like a lump of self-raising dough. It was a boom town of the regular kind – you stood in line to get to wash your face; if you ate over ten minutes you had a lodging bill added on; if you slept on a plank at night they charged you board the next morning.

About 2:30 P.M., 22 April, U.S. Marshal Jones claimed a lot in Guthrie just across Second Street from Government Acre, identified as Lot No. Six in Block Fifty-five. Jones erected a tent and his agents kept intruders away. While at the same time, legal claimant Thomas D. Hance [hotel owner] made claim to the same lot. Subsequently, Jones erected a frame house twenty-five feet by thirty-five feet for the purpose of renting the property. Dr. B.B. Chapman reported that since Jones was a Democrat he had heard for two months prior to the race that he was soon to be replaced, and he felt justified in claiming a lot (Chapman 1957, 396).

It was actions such as Marshal Jones that led to the editorial in the *Kansas City Daily Journal* on April 24, 1889:

Here in Guthrie all is confusion, and the feeling that an imposition has been practiced grows stronger and stronger, and the bitterness is now intense, as full import of the action of the government officials becomes better understood. Public meetings are being constantly held by states and unitedly, [sic] at all, of which the question is raised how to best overcome the present situation.

The unauthorized and unwarranted settlement of the best portion of this town by government officials and others has complicated the situation, although no feasible plan has yet been proposed by which they can be

ousted from their possessions. As stated yesterday, the choice portions of this town were staked out Sunday night and by ten o'clock Monday they were taken possession of.

Among those who took part in these unlawful proceedings were United States Marshals [W.C.] Jones and [Thomas B.] Needles, with at least fifty deputies each; United States Attorney Waldron; United States Commissioner Galloway; Register Dillon [John I. Dille] of the land office; Judge Guthrie of Topeka, district judge; Hirman Dillon, master of chancery in the Topeka district, for the *Kansas City Times*; the Commercial Bank officers from Newton, and others as prominent, all of whom had clerks for this occasion only. This is what causes the dissatisfaction that now exists. As the *Journal* representative saw the unlawful squatting done, there is no hearsay about it.

A letter from Marshal W.C. Jones, written on the letterhead stationary of John Galloway, to his wife Etta Jones was written on April 26, 1889, from Guthrie. From this communication, it reveals that Marshal Jones probably built the house on his lot to rent:

My Dear Etta

I know you feel that I have neglected writing too long but my excuse is that things have been in such a terrible confusion and not having any place to write that it was almost impossible. I have almost all over the territory, and witnessed the scramble for homes both in the towns and in the country. This town [Guthrie] is one of the typical western towns. There is [sic] over 50 gambling houses. The town only one week old and claims 15,000 inhabitants. Tents and Shanties are their residents. Little houses no larger than our kitchen rent for \$10.00 per day. One house that cost about 600 dollars rents for \$145.00 per month or \$1,850.00 per year. . . W.C. Jones (Jones 1957, 233).

The Washington Post on May 5, 1889, had an article titled "OKLAHOMA LAND FRAUDS" that discussed an interview with George Cole of Chicago. Mr. Cole told about his meeting with U.S. Attorney General Miller in regard to the conduct of the Government Officers on the first three days of the opening of Oklahoma district. He stated that Marshal Jones of Kansas and nearly all of his 700 deputies took illegal advantage of their position to get choice land. Mr. Cole said, "he was on the spot and was prepared to substantiate his charges."

On 8 May, Land Inspector Pickler filed this following report concerning Jones' claim:

The people feel that Marshal Jones, a resident of Kansas and not a bona-fide settler, with his deputies and with influential parties in the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, and other speculators, unfairly gained entrance to the forbidden territory and fraudulently gained great advantages over the honest settler, and thus secured the most valuable property, while those who obeyed the law are beaten by the law-breakers in the race. And to this conclusion all fair-minded, honest men are forced.

Department of Interior's Land Inspector MacBride telegraphed Secretary Noble on 8 May, that the Oklahoma Homestead and Town Company was a private company corporation formed under the laws of Colorado early in 1889 and Marshal Jones and C.S. Rogers had been on their Board of Directors since early 1889. MacBride further stated, "Marshal Jones has been active in dealing with all the real estate brokers of Guthrie. He and his deputy, C.S. Rogers, had about three dozen tents consigned to them (Chapman 1957, 396)."

The position of Jones was set forth in his letter to the Attorney General Miller on 9 May, in which he stated:

I believe that a few of my deputies have attempted to file on as many tracts of land in the territory, but I know many of them have not; and while I instructed them not to do so, when they saw themselves surrounded by about 500 to 700 persons at Guthrie and at least one half that number at Oklahoma Station waiting for the hour of twelve to come, I do not wonder that some of the deputies, who were serving without pay and only there in the interest of good order, took the fever and attempted to get them a home. As to myself, I never attempted to homestead a foot of land either in Oklahoma or any other territory or state (Chapman 1957, 397).

As discussed earlier, Jones did claim a lot across from government acre. This above statement leads one to believe that he viewed a townsite lot claim not an attempt to homestead and he did not think it as an act of injustice to other legal claimants.

The Initial Claimants To The Four Guthrie Townsites

In response to these allegations of illegal claimants, a detailed research was executed into the initial settlement of Guthrie. The legal description of Guthrie during April 22, 1889, pertained to Section Eight and Section Nine of Township Sixteen North, Range Two West of the Indian Meridian. Each Section contains its own legal description in that a section being six hundred forty acres can be divided into three hundred twenty acres described as one-half West, East, North or South of Section Eight or Section Nine. The three hundred twenty acres can be divided into one hundred sixty acres identified as one-quarter West, East, North or South of Section Eight or Section Nine. In one instance, the legal description referred to the Northeast one-quarter of the Southwest one-quarter of Section Eight. This was describing one of the forty acres contained within a one hundred sixty-acre quarter section of land. In other words, the Section is a square, divided into four equal parts. Each part contains one hundred sixty acres that can be further divided into four equal parts of forty acres each, and etc.

On Monday, April 22, 1889, at "high noon," Mark Cohn made a homestead entry for the Northwest one-quarter of Section Eight. Acting as agent, he filed two Soldiers' Declaratory Statements. One was for Perry Twichel located at the Southeast one-quarter of Section Five and the other one was located at the West one-half of Section Nine for two Deputy Marshals, James H. Huckleberry and Benton Turner. Cohn's quarter section homestead claim became the northern half of West Guthrie. Perry Twichel's quarter section claim adjoined the northern boundary of Guthrie Proper [Northeast one-half of Section Eight]. The southern boundary of Perry Twichel's quarter section began at the

corner of Division Street and College Avenue, moved west along College to Seventh Street, then turned north to travel one hundred sixty acres.

Deputies Huckleberry and Turner's quarter section [West one-half of Section Nine] was to become East Guthrie. It started at Division Street and University Avenue traveled north on Division to College, east on College Avenue to Walnut Street, right or south on Walnut Avenue to University Avenue then, west on University to Division Street, comprising 160 acres.

At 12:00 M. on 22 April, Deputy Ransom Payne made a claim for the Northwest one-quarter of Section Nine [upper one-half of East Guthrie] and immediately dug a well. The next day he made a homestead entry subject to the Soldier's Declaratory Statement by Huckleberry. Payne claimed the land by right of prior settlement (Chapman 1955, 65).

Xenophon Fitzgerald arrived in Guthrie from the borderline at 12:55 P.M. He staked his claim to the Northwest one-quarter of Section Nine [upper one-half of East Guthrie] and proceeded to ride over the area to see if there were any other claimants. Discovering no other claimants, he went to get something to eat and when he returned, there were townsite adventurers on his homestead, staking off lots, and otherwise acting in disregard of his previously staked rights. Fitzgerald rode around among them notifying them of his claim, but they chose to ignore him and persisted in asserting their claims to the Northwest one-quarter of Section Nine [upper one-half of East Guthrie] (Chapman 1955, 65).

Within fifty-five minutes, there were four claimants, three of which were Deputy Marshals and one who had actually made the run all claiming homesteads for the

Northwest one-quarter of Section Nine [upper one-half of East Guthrie]. And, within an hour and a half past high noon, there were an estimated two hundred people staking off townsite lots in the Northwest one-half of Section Nine. This area was soon to be referred to as the northern half of East Guthrie. The Southern half of East Guthrie according to the article "The Legal Sooners of 1889 in Oklahoma" was claimed by Deputy Marshals Huckleberry and Turner. But, in the article "Guthrie, From Public Land to Private Property," the southern half of East Guthrie was claimed for a homestead by Veeder Bertrand Paine at 12:40 P.M. There was no mention of Huckleberry or Turner having a previous claim to Paine (Chapman 1955, 70; Chapman 1957, 395).

Veeder Bertrand Paine had started from the west line of the Iowa Reservation between eight and nine o'clock. Paine stated:

At that time, there was no one on the land, nor was there anything to indicate its prior selection by any other person. 'He immediately proceeded to drive some stakes into the ground with a written statement thereon, that he claimed the land as his homestead, giving the number with his name signed to it.' He then went to a tree standing conspicuously on another part of the land, blazed it on four sides and wrote the same notice upon them; he remained there in the undisturbed possession of his claim, for about three quarters of an hour, when a train from the north arrived at the depot, and a large number of men disembarked and hurried to the land in question and commenced staking off lots, where upon Paine went among them giving notice as far as he could, that he had selected and claimed that quarter section as his homestead.

And afterwards, when a committee had been appointed to watch over the interests of the townsite men, Paine said he also notified them of his rights, and *they antagonized him by mere force of numbers to over-ride and drive him from his claim* (Chapman 1955, 73).

The men who tried to force Paine off his claim have been identified as the Winfield Group and the townsite men of the Southwest one-quarter of Section Nine

[lower one-half of East Guthrie]. The Winfield Group had hired N. A. Haight to survey and plat the West Half of Section Nine in early April. Each member of the group had paid ten dollars into a fund and selected a townsite lot or lots from the plat. At 12:00 M. on 22 April, about two hundred members of the group were "about a mile east of the west half of section nine," and thereupon with blue print in hand, occupied this section as a townsite. The Winfield Group reported that when they arrived there were already prospective settlers upon the land, and by 2:00 P.M., more immigrants numbering between one to two thousand had located on the subdivisions proposed by the townsite plat. The townsite settlers banded together that evening and decided the best procedure to ensure their claims was to meet the next day and organize a city government (Chapman 1955, 74).

The statement by Frank Greer in his article "Early Romance of Oklahoma" that he staked a homestead for the south half of East Guthrie was never mentioned again. Later, in the same article he does say he sold his lot for one hundred dollars to buy the printing equipment of the newspaper called the "*Get Up*." A lot twenty-five feet by one hundred forty feet versus one hundred sixty acres was a great deal of land to never be documented again. Maybe the unspoken "state of affairs" was Frank Greer at 12:10 P.M. staked the quarter section to hold it in safe keeping until his friends, "The Winfield Group," arrived fifteen minutes later bringing his tent. Then, the Southwest one-quarter of Section Nine was laid off in townsite lots of which Frank Greer was a claimant. This would coincide with Greer's statement that he sold his lot on April 25, 1889.

Mark Cohn first staked the northern half of West Guthrie as a homestead on 22 April, at twelve o'clock, "high noon." He claimed the Northwest one-quarter of Section

Eight. Described later as commencing at the corner of Seventh Street and Oklahoma Avenue, heading west on Oklahoma Avenue to Fourteenth Street, north on Fourteenth Street to College Avenue, east on College Avenue to Seventh Street, then right or south on Seventh Street to Oklahoma Avenue (Chapman 1955, 64).

James W. Feagins claimed the southern half of West Guthrie, Southwest one-quarter of Section Eight. He was foreman for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company stationed at Guthrie and stepped on to his claim at 12:30 P.M. Feagins stated, "he was the first settler on the land." The only documentation relating to townsite settlement of West Guthrie referred to a mass meeting being planned for West Guthrie on April 23, 1889, probably for the same reasons as East Guthrie, to ensure their claim of the land. The southern half of West Guthrie had three claimants excluding the townsite claimants. The other two Erza Maples and Henry Bockfinger will be discussed later in the chapter, and also, West Guthrie's instigating procedures that organized committees to make the necessary steps to form a city government (Chapman 1955, 78).

Guthrie Proper described as East one-half of Section Eight was claimed for a townsite by Mark S. Cohn on April 22, 1889, at a little past "high noon." Cassius Barnes, Receiver of Moneys at the Guthrie Land Office, had a good friend who within ten minutes had claimed four hundred eighty acres of public land which was one hundred sixty acres for a homestead [Northwest one-quarter of Section Eight] that adjoined his three hundred twenty acre townsite entry [East one-half of Section Eight] (Chapman 1955, 64). Cohn had claimed without making the run, the choicest land available in the Guthrie area. This land included the Depot, Land Office and the Post Office on

Government Acre, not to mention his homestead had one hundred sixty acres of frontage to the proposed townsite.

Guthrie Proper divides from West Guthrie at Seventh Street and East Guthrie at Division Street. Its northern boundary is College Avenue and Southern limits reaches University Avenue.

Two people claimed the East one-half of Section Nine that was soon to be known as Capital Hill. Herbert W. Wolcott entered the Northeast one-quarter of Section Nine on April 22, 1889, and Henry N. Baker filed a Soldier's Declaratory Statement for the Southeast one-quarter of Section Nine on April 22, 1889. Capital Hill's boundaries are described as commencing at the corner of Walnut Street and University Avenue on its southern border, turning north at Walnut Street and traveling to College Avenue. At College Avenue, turn east proceed to Pine Street, then at Pine, turn south and connect again to University Avenue (Chapman 1955, 86).

Other areas of Guthrie claimed on 22 April, that abutted to the primary four townsites were as follows: The southwest one-quarter of section four by Michael Schortz. Street boundaries are described as Division Street on the west [Division runs into Cottonwood Creek bed and abruptly ends], College Avenue on the south, Walnut Street on the east, and Cooks Drive on the north; Jehu E. Dille entered the northeast one-quarter of section seventeen. This quarter section connected to Guthrie Proper on its southern boundary between Seventh Street and Division Street. Dille's claim contained the ox bowl of Cottonwood Creek with Division Street becoming Sooner Road on the East, University Avenue on the north with the south and west boundaries having no

distinguishable landmarks except the A.T. & S.F. Railroad runs through it at the northwestern corner. This area was Island Park later to become Mineral Wells Park; George B. Dyer [Mayor of Guthrie Proper] filed a Soldier's Declaratory Statement on April 22, 1889, for the southeast one-quarter of section seven. This quarter section borders the south half of West Guthrie with Fourteenth Street as the eastern boundary and Oklahoma Avenue as the northern boundary, and if this quarter section had a southern boundary, it would be University Avenue. The western boundary has no arterial main thoroughfare, it can without the use of a map be identified as the western edge of Guthrie where a small residential development is located in the upper northwest corner; Thomas B. George filed a Soldier's Declaratory Statement to the northeast one-quarter section of section seven. It adjoins the northern half of West Guthrie on its westside. The streets are identified as Oklahoma Avenue on the south, Fourteenth Street on the east, College Avenue on the north, and with no main thoroughfare on the west. The western boundary can be identified as the line where the residential development comes to an abrupt halt; Frederick Augustine filed a Soldier's Declaratory Statement to the southwest one-quarter of section five. He had the quarter section that abutted Twichel's claim of the southeast one-quarter of section five. Augustine's land can be identified as College Street on the south, Fourteenth Street on the west, Seventh Street on the east and there are no landmarks of any kind to identify the northern boundary (Chapman 1955, 84-86) (Townsite Claimants, see figures 28-29). The follow organizes the four townsites of Guthrie into a table that identifies the section claimed by the original claimants:

Table 1.

WEST GUTHRIE

Section 8 – NW $\frac{1}{4}$ = Mark S. Cohn, Legal Sooner, Gov't Manipulated
SW $\frac{1}{4}$ = James Feagins, Legal Sooner, Railway Manipulated

GUTHRIE PROPER

Section 8 - NE $\frac{1}{4}$ = Mark S. Cohn, Legal Sooner, Gov't Manipulated
SE $\frac{1}{4}$ = Mark S. Cohn, Legal Sooner, Gov't Manipulated

EAST GUTHRIE

Section 9 - NW $\frac{1}{4}$ = Huckleberry, Deputy Marshal, Gov't Manipulated
NW $\frac{1}{4}$ = Turner, Deputy Marshal, Gov't Manipulated
NW $\frac{1}{4}$ = Ramson Payne, Deputy Marshal, Gov't Manipulated
NW $\frac{1}{4}$ = X. Fitzgerald, Legal Claimant
NW $\frac{1}{4}$ = Townsite claimants who ignored Fitzgerald's stakes
SW $\frac{1}{4}$ = Huckleberry, Deputy Marshal, Gov't Manipulated
SW $\frac{1}{4}$ = V. B. Paine, Legal Claimant
SW $\frac{1}{4}$ = Winfield Townsite Group, Illegal Sooners

CAPITAL HILL

Section 9 –NE $\frac{1}{4}$ = Herbert W. Wolcott, Legal Claimant
SE $\frac{1}{4}$ = Henry Baker, Soldier's Declaratory Stment, Legal Claimant

Capital Hill was claimed by two "Legal Entrymen"; *East Guthrie* was claimed illegally by four "Legal Sooners." one townsite group of "Illegal Sooners," two "Legal Entrymen," and townsite claimants who were "Legal Entrymen" who illegally ignored the legal claims of another; *West Guthrie* was illegally claimed by two "Legal Sooners"; and *Guthrie Proper* was claimed for a townsite illegally by a "Legal Sooner." This documentation coincides with the front-page headline editorial written on April 23, 1889, by The *Washington Post* that read, "BAD BLOOD IN OKLAHOMA: A Bitter Strife For

Chronological Order

- | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Cohn, NW ¼, Sec 8 | 2. Twichel SE ¼, Sec 5 | 3. Huckleberry/Turner W ½, Sec 9 |
| 4. Payne NW ¼, Sec 9 | 5. Fitzgerald NW ¼, Sec 9 | 6. Town Trustees Sec 9 |
| 7. Paine SW ¼, Sec 9 | 8. Feagins SW ¼, Sec 8 | 9. Maples SW ¼, Sec 8 |
| 10. Bockfinger SW ¼, Sec 8 | 11. Eight settlers claimed NE 40 of SW ¼, Sec 8 | 12. Mass Meeting claiming SW ¼, Sec 8 |

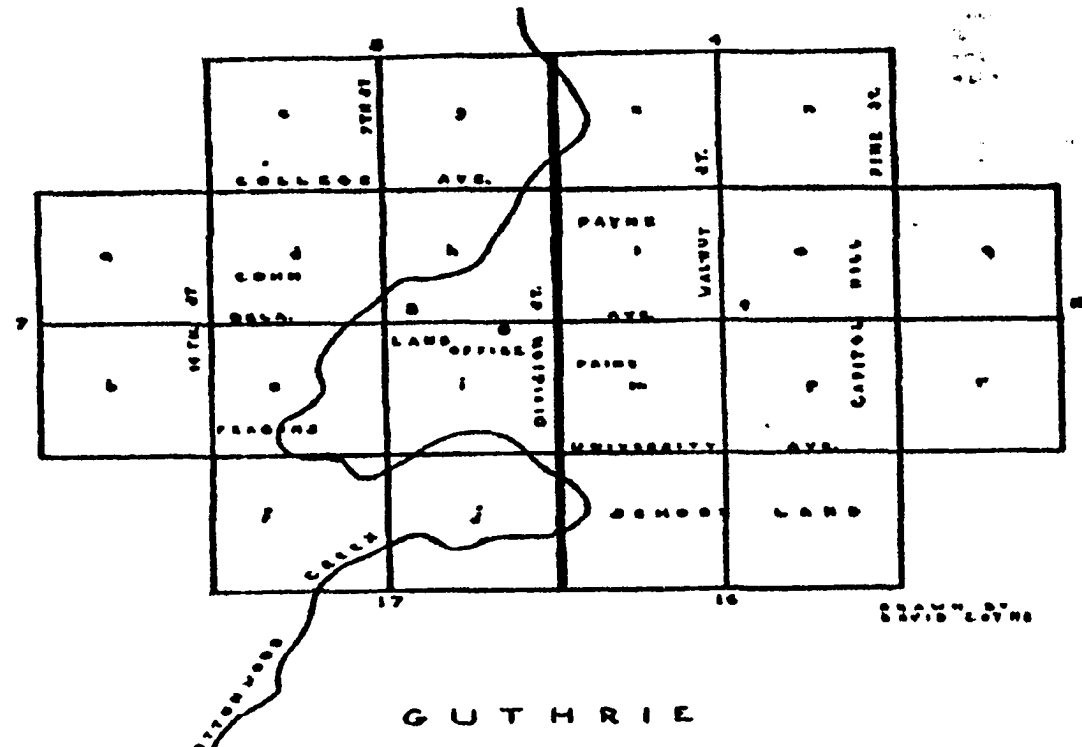


Figure 28. Guthrie's Original Claimants in Chronological Order

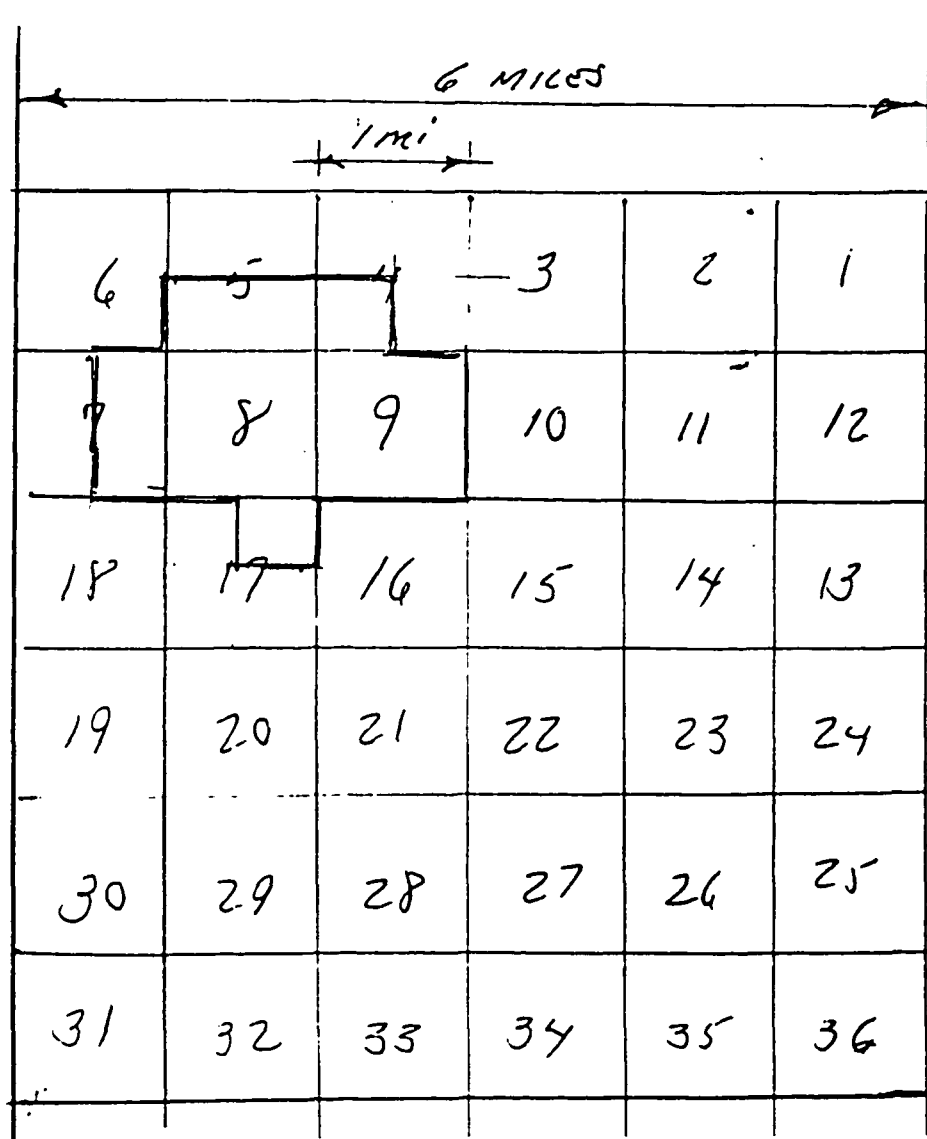


Figure 29: Location of Guthrie, Township 16 Range 2 West

Town Sites At Guthrie.” It stated, “some of the overflow from Guthrie have gone over to sections in range 2 and organized a town to be called West Guthrie. It is a question whether this can legally be done without satisfying the previous squatters. There are already four or five contestants for this claim, and several Boomers had already squatted on different portions.”

The Kansas City Daily Journal on April 24, 1889, said of Guthrie:

If ever the government opened the way to trouble and difficulties, this has been the time. No town was ever built under greater difficulties nor so quickly, nor has ever been so many disappointed men in so short a time. The anticipated bloodshed over quarter sections will not be recorded, as the farmers seem disposed to peaceably adjust all difficulties, and when they find one quarter occupied move on until they find others.

The Washington Post editorial dated April 23, 1889, reported that when the first train arrived in Guthrie on 22 April, the townsite had been selected. It was on the eastside of the track, and already the wooden land office and one hundred tents were standing, while twice as many more town lots were staked out. A rude post office was opened, a lunch tent was going at full blast, and two meetings for the purpose of securing lots through municipal organization, had been held. The article further stated:

Three or four hundred men had done all this, and they had been on the scene two or three days. They pretended to have complied with the law, and declared that they did not take up their lots until 12:00 M. They had no right, by the special laws under which Oklahoma was opened, to be in the territory at all until 12:00 M. today. ‘On a sidetrack stood a Santa Fe director’s car. In it were Judge Guthrie, for whom the town is named. Judge Foster, the United States Marshal, and other Officers of the Federal court at Wichita and some Topeka men. They had been there ostensibly upon Government business, but really to secure town lots, which they did in wholesale quantity.’ There were 500 Deputy Marshals on hand, and each had a lot. Not only is this true, but the same crowd, having its eyes on a fine piece of bottom land, lying across the track from the town, have been, in the most open mockery of justice, scouring the brush for Boomers that they might occupy it themselves. Whether the judges are parties to the schemes or their Topeka quests, who are more or less connected with the Santa Fe, is, of course, not known.

The same article also said that yesterday [22 April] there were three townsite entries, those of Guthrie, Oklahoma City, and Edmunds [sic], and twenty-one Soldier Declaratory Statements were filed. The article also stated that at 12:15 P.M., the first paper presented at the Land Office was a rough draft or chart of Guthrie and filed as a townsite by William Johnson. In two articles written by Dr. B.B. Chapman, he documented the first person at the Guthrie Land Office was Mark Cohn who filed a homestead entry, a townsite entry and two Soldiers' Declaratory Statements for Huckleberry and Turner. Marion Rock in her 1890 History of Oklahoma said the first townsite applicant at the Guthrie land office was an Arkansas Group. Also, an article written by Hamilton Wicks "The Opening of Oklahoma" disagrees with this editorial pertaining to Judge Guthrie because Wicks stated he rode from Arkansas City on the morning of 22 April, in a special railway car with Judge Guthrie and other influential people. The article insinuated that Judge Guthrie and others had been sitting in their car overnight for the purpose of handling business. What does agree between the two accounts was Judge Guthrie was at the land run sitting on a sidetrack in a special [commodious] railway car with influential people and had clerks to represent them in the run (*Washington Post* April 23, 1889).

During the early morning hours of 23 April, it was reported by a *Washington Times* correspondent that the click of the hammer never stopped. The homesteaders began to assemble at the Land Office at 2:00 A.M., and by five o'clock, three hundred people were waiting in line to make filings for claims. Chapman in his article, "The Legal Sooner Of 1889 In Oklahoma," told about Marshal Jones at 7:30 A.M. on the morning of the 23 April, taking approximately thirty-five of his deputies and placing

them in front of the awaiting line with Jones heading his group. The large crowd camped around the land office had to do with Guthrie being one of the two Land Offices in Oklahoma district, but it was also due to the many people who came to the Guthrie area from the northern boundaries of Kansas and others who were influenced by the prospect of a Capital City being located there. Lieutenant Waite in charge of the Caldwell trail, Colonel Ware located at the Hunnewell trail, and Captain Hayes stationed at the Black Bear trail stated to the same *Washington Post* correspondent on 23 April, "it seems like a fairy story, but there's scarcely a doubt that from 20,000 to 30,000 entered by these trails, while the six trains that came in from Arkansas City to Guthrie brought at least 6,000 people. Marion Rock's book History of Oklahoma: Land of the Fair Gods stated:

Fully ten thousand people were clamoring to be allowed to board the first train. It was a typical Bull Run from daylight until the last of the fifteen trains *for* the south had left the depot, at 11 A.M. As each of these fifteen trains passed the southern boundary of Kansas and entered upon the beautiful prairies of the Cherokee Strip the human freight in every coach uncorked its exuberance in shouts of cheers that fairly shook the ground. As the first train reached the northern boundary of Oklahoma, it was halted until remaining trains reached the same point, as near as the track would permit and where they remained until signaled by the commanding officer of the troops stationed at that point to cross the line into the promised land.

Thus, a newspaper correspondent April 23, 1889, reported 6,000 people entered on trains from the north and Marion Rock a resident of Guthrie and a newspaper editor for the *Daily State Capital* wrote in her 1890 book fifteen trains carrying 10,000 people.

Forces Pressuring The Claimants To Organize The First Townsite Meeting

An article, "The Early Settlers of Oklahoma," written in 1931 by Chronicles of Oklahoma editor stated:

. . . On April 22, 1889, starting at "High Noon," tens of thousands of people in a single day went into Oklahoma Territory, and for more than a

year there was no law to govern them except the rules adopted by each community separately. They laid out cities, platting them into lots, blocks, and streets, after every inch of land had been taken possession of, removing people from the land wanted for streets, with fewer crimes of violence than are committed in the ordinary village of twenty-five hundred people in any one month at the present time. . . . Neither were the early settlers illiterate or deficient in intelligence. They did not use expressions attributed to them by some novelists and storywriters, such as “whar,” “thar,” and other similar expressions. The ignorant, illiterate and unambitious do not go to new countries and build great States. . . . The young, intelligent, and energetic people with a vision are the pioneers who accomplish this. It is they who go to new countries and build States.

The Washington Post dated April 24, 1889, published an editorial from Guthrie that discussed a meeting held the evening of the 22 April, where Ex-Mayor Constantine of Springfield, Ohio was selected to preside. There were approximately a half dozen speeches made by prominent men from different parts of the country against the premature settlers, which the editor speculated will lead to the forfeiture of their claims. The article further stated that preliminary steps were taken toward surveying the land and laying out the streets of “*Guthrie & c.*” And, on the evening of April 22, 1889, the editorial discussed several dispatches were sent to Secretary of the Interior John Noble in Washington asking him what would be done to correct the injustice performed by the premature settlers. This was his reply: “I cannot, of course, say anything as to special cases, I am likely to be called upon to decide them, but I will say this, that no evasion of the law will be permitted to succeed. The man who obeys the law shall not be punished because he obeys it, and the man who has violated the law will not gain by it.” The same editorial also discussed that Secretary Noble had received on 22 April, telegraphic reports from Department Inspectors stationed at Guthrie, Oklahoma, and Arkansas City, Kansas that stated, ‘everything quiet here, a good class of people in charge of affairs. Guthrie Land Office in full operation. King Fisher will open about Thursday. The people will

settle the townsite question quietly and await legislation to perfect their titles. There are no grounds for administrative uneasiness.' A public meeting here tonight [22 April] was as orderly and conservative in character as it would be in New York. The Arkansas City inspector further stated, "large crowds came on trains. Land Office at Guthrie opened at noon. East half of Section Eight occupied as townsite. Everything remarkably quiet and orderly. Have heard of no quarrels or altercations.

On the evening of 22 April, Hamilton Wicks stated in his article, "The Opening of Oklahoma," that the City of Guthrie acting upon the suggestion made by Congressman Springer proceeded at once to organize a local municipal government. The same Congressman Springer was reported in *The Washington Post* on 25 April, to have met in Guthrie with the disappointed land seekers mostly Boomers. He told them to head to the Cherokee Strip, break land, and begin other permanent improvements. And, when asked to leave by the U.S. Government, they need to just lay down their shovels and plows, humbly bow their heads and reply that they would leave when the cattlemen evacuate the same lands. He was giving them a wedge to control an outcome in the Strip so it only seems probable that he also told the townsite claimants the best procedure to follow to secure their present unlawful hold of townsite property was to form a city government.

Conflicting Sources of Guthrie's First Town Meeting. On the evening of 22 April, there was a "call of states," and it was found that representatives from every State and Territory in the Union were on the ground. From this representative body, committees were chosen, and they in turn selected what might be called a "Governing Committee," the members of which were offered the following day [23 April] in an open

meeting, for the franchise of the people, and were elected by a *viva voce* vote. This committee soon became the first City Council of the City of Guthrie (Wicks 1926, 141).

An editorial in the *Washington Post* dated April 24, 1889, contained information on the events taking place as to Guthrie forming a City Government on the eve of 22 April. The article began with describing the choice portions of Guthrie being staked out Sunday night [21 April], and by ten o'clock, Monday, they were taken possession of. It was decided unanimously by the townsite claimants to hold meetings that evening [22 April] to discuss how to proceed with ousting, in their opinions, the illegal claim holders. The meetings lasted until a late hour and finally representatives from several states were elected who met and appointed a sub-committee to prepare a "plan of action." The article further stated, "today [23 April] another meeting was held, which adjourned until noon tomorrow without action."

The article in the *Washington Post* and the article written by Wicks, in my opinion, are discussing the same meeting. They both took place on the same night, for the same reasons, by the same people, and elected a Townsite Committee to represent the people. But, further research made it very apparent that there were conflicting statements from creditable authorities on the order of events and activities that took place from 22 April to 25 April, concerning the organization of Guthrie's City Government. Therefore, it seemed unfair to just pick one person's account without first bringing to focus the convoluted account of Guthrie's first town meeting or Guthrie's "First Convention ."

The Washington Post had an editorial dated April 23, 1889, referring to a meeting held last night that had to be 22 April, which 2,000 persons attended and Ex-Mayor of Springfield, Ohio, Constantine was selected to preside. It further stated, "addresses were

made by half a dozen or more prominent men from different parts of the country, and a strong feeling was manifested against the premature settlers. . . . Preliminary steps were taken toward surveying the land and laying out the streets of *Guthrie, & c.*” The same article discussed, “when the train arrived here yesterday [22 April], the townsite had been selected. It was on the eastside of the track. . . . and two meetings looking to organization, had been held.”

The Washington Post dated April 24, 1889, stated:

Until a late hour last night [23 April], meetings were held. Finally representatives from the several States were elected, who met and appointed a sub-committee to prepare a ‘Plan of Action.’ Today [24 April], another meeting was held, which adjourned until noon tomorrow [25 April] without action. . . . At a town meeting in Guthrie yesterday [23 April], it was resolved to make all town lots 25’ x 140’, all streets eighty feet, and all alleys twenty feet. A motion to resurvey all lots and streets and apportion them among bona fide settlers was carried.

The Washington Post dated April 25, 1889, discussed:

West Guthrie held an election yesterday [25 April]. James Dooley, of Iowa, was elected Mayor, and a full ticket, including Councilmen, was chosen. . . . At a meeting of the Committee of Citizens yesterday [24 April], three ladies requested that before proceedings be held a prayer might be offered. . . . The most important resolution was that all persons who, in good faith and legally, who have taken lots be allowed to take their relative positions under this survey. . . . Opponents of this movement were the street jumpers, men who located in the streets. . . . Guthrie is without form. The original streets have disappeared and new sections are being plowed every hour [25 April].

James Thoburn’s article “Frank Greer” stated:

The Editor of the State Capital was Secretary of the first townsite meeting held in Guthrie. Its chairman was Major Constantine, of Wisconsin, a man of fine character and excellent presence. . . . He stood in a wagon and nearly 15,000 people were present, nearly all men. There were but five women then on the townsite and one of the women was Frank Greer’s mother who said: ‘Mr. Chairman, we are about to open the chief City of a great, new commonwealth.

We are to have a country here, rich in resources and full of possibilities. We should not start such a City or begin life in such a country without first asking for the blessing of God upon our doings (Greer 1936,281).'

An article by Valerie Grant, "The Editor and The Magic City" stated:

Faced with an unprecedented situation, the citizens of Guthrie met en masse on the evening of April 22, 1889, to consider possible solutions. Finding no acceptable proposal, the meeting adjourned until the following morning. At 9:30 A.M. on 23 April, representatives of thirty-two states and territories answered a roll call. Each of the thirty-two groups designated a spokesman, these forming a 'Committee of Thirty-Two.' This committee chose Charles W. Constantine, former Mayor of Springfield, Ohio, as Chairman, and Robert A. Hill as Secretary. Federal law permitted 320-acres to constitute a townsite. Because Guthrie contained four townsites, Chairman Constantine advised each townsite to establish a separate town government. Agreeing to the recommendation, the settlers of East Guthrie, West Guthrie, and Capitol Hill left and elections for officers of Guthrie Proper commenced (Grant 1980, 43).

The article by James Thoburn said that Constantine was from Wisconsin not Ohio and Greer was selected Secretary not Hill when Constantine was appointed Chairman on the evening of the 22 April. Valerie Grant's article stated that Secretary Hill and Chairman Constantine from Springfield, Ohio were appointed on 23 April. An article written by Hamilton Wicks, an 89er stated:

The first night [22 April] of occupancy saw Guthrie well on the road to the perfection of such an organization. The call of States was made that first evening, and it was found that representatives from every State and Territory in the Union were on the ground. From this representative body committees were chosen, and they in turn selected what might be called a governing committee, the members of which were offered the following day [23 April], in open meeting, . . . This committee soon afterward became the first City Council of the City of Guthrie (Wicks 1926, 141).

The article "Guthrie, From Public Land to Private Property" documented C.H. Griffith made an affidavit for James Feagins in which he stated, "while he was a member of the City Council from 24 April to June 5, 1889. . . ." and when the same article discussed settlement of East Guthrie, it stated that the townsite settlers on 23 April, held a

public meeting and organized a City Government. It further described on 24 April, T. H. Soward was elected Mayor of East Guthrie (Chapman 1955, 81).

“Early Day Court And Lawyers” by 89er A.G. C. Bierer stated, “. . . one and all they were people who had been use to good government, and so their Americanism prevailed, and their adaptability to order led them into what was termed “provisional governments,” the organization of which began before the sun went down on the very beautiful and balmy day of April 22, 1889 (Bierer 1930, 3).” Lloyd Lentz’s book stated, “a general assembly was held S.E. of the Land Office the next day [23 April]. Declaring themselves citizens assembled to organize the City of Guthrie and to elect officers, nominations for Mayor were requested and that the City Council was chosen the same day.”

Lula Pratt’s Master’s Thesis stated, “everything was confusion and bedlam, but on the morning of 23 April, a mass meeting was called where thousands assembled on the highest point of the land in the townsite and proceeded to organize a regular old-fashioned town meeting. . . . a call of states and a Committee of Thirty-two was chosen. . . Charles W. Constantine, ex-mayor of Springfield, Ohio was elected permanent Chairman and Robert Hill as Secretary (Pratt 1930, 16).”

Don Odom wrote an article in the The Logan County History stating, “the next day, 23 April, riders circulated through the townsite area announcing a mass meeting to be held 100 yards southeast of the Land Office (Odom 1980, 417).”

There are two other very reliable sources that between the two of them describe similar accounts pertaining to the first meeting to organize a provisional government for

Guthrie. Marion Rock's, society editor for the *Daily State Capital*, book History of

Oklahoma: Land of the Fair Gods stated:

On Monday, 22 April, the day of Guthrie's settlement, there was little done towards an organization. Groups of men could be seen during the evening discussing the question of organizing the town, but just how such a result was to be reached no one seemed to have a definite idea. So, the afternoon and evening of Monday was largely consumed in making acquaintances On the morning of 23 April, a mass meeting was called, notices of which was given by criers, who mounted on horses, rode over the townsite, notifying the people to meet at the big tent then situated near the northwest corner of Division Street and Harrison Avenue, to organize a city government and to elect officers (Rock 1980).

The other well-known source, Fred Wenner, an April 22, 1889, newspaper correspondent stated:

As it seemed certain there would be trouble the next day between the settlers and the Sooners who were attempting to illegally hold many of the best lots, at a conference lasting well into the night between officers from the military camp on the Cottonwood, the United States Marshal for Kansas, and leaders among the settlers, it was decided to call the people together at once to organize a provisional government So at daybreak, before the sun was up or the settlers had even begun to wonder where they would get breakfast, criers were abroad calling for an assembly of the people. . . . At ten o'clock that morning in response to the call, settlers in the central area of the Guthrie town site assembled at a tent a hundred yards southeast of the land office to organize a city government (Wenner 1939, 18).

Marion Rock said that after the opening prayer, the first order of business was a selection of a committee on organization, composed of one member from each state or territory represented at the meeting. Wenner said that after the "call of states," there were thirty-two states, two territories, and two foreign countries that responded with nominees for membership. Rock and Wenner both stated that on recommendation of the committee, the crowd voted unanimously to repudiate the townsite plats prepared and officers elected by the companies from Ft. Smith, Arkansas and Winfield, Kansas [the Winfield Group] who had been identified as Sooners. Also acting under the suggestion

of the Convention, a townsite company was formed on the East One-half of Section Eight, Township Sixteen, Range Two West naming it Guthrie. Then, according to Wenner and Rock, after the assembly of people declared themselves citizens to organize the City of Guthrie, they wanted to elect city officers so the floor was opened to accept nominations for Mayor (Wenner 1939,18; Rock 1890, 32). In the article, "The Editor and the Magic City" by Grant, she stated that after the Mayor and City Council were elected on 25 April, they appointed a Survey Committee headed by Colonel Ross of Ft. Smith who hired C.C. Howell an engineer to plat the town (Grant 1980, 36).

Almost every source described a crowd of at least four thousand claimants came to the meeting called on Tuesday morning, 23 April, except Fred Wenner who stated that several hundred people were present at the start of the meeting on 23 April, but soon it grew to several thousand drifting in from all over the one thousand two hundred eighty acres and they all participated in voting for the Mayor which leads one to believe that the other half section claimants did not leave immediately to form their own townsite and city governments as insinuated by Valerie Grants' article when she stated after the other townsite claimants left, elections were held in Guthrie proper.

The book City Beginnings written by John Alley gave an explanation of chronological meetings that tie together the above-convoluted activities as explained by their authors. Alley stated that on the first day, 22 April, groups of men assembled spontaneously to discuss obtaining legal claim to their lots and purposed the question of municipal organization. Eventually, it was decided that citizens should hold a meeting for the purpose of arriving at some solution of the problem. The next morning horseback riders circled through the Guthrie area announcing a meeting on Division Street, east of

the Land Office (northeast corner of the southeast one-quarter of section eight). He said, "it was estimated that four thousand people eventually gathered at a meeting called a 'Convention' due to the fact there was a roll call of states." The roll call was the first activity of the convention that produced a "Committee of Thirty-Two" acting as spokesmen for their respective states. This committee named Charles Constantine Chairman and then the campaign for city organization was launched. Constantine opened the convention with a discussion on the difficulties facing the settlers on townsite claims. He advised the settlers who were occupying the four - three hundred twenty acre tracts - to proceed with a separate organization for townsite and municipal purposes, and the present meeting proceeded at once with the selection of officers for the townsite of Guthrie. This statement insinuates that the people proceeded to their own townsites. But, remembering Wenner and Smith's discussion that stated, "they all voted for the mayor." The sentence was then interpreted to mean that the best procedure to follow was for all townsite settlers to organize their own governments and at once they proceeded with Guthrie Proper's elections. Alley described the political battle between the candidate ensued narrowing the candidates to three with one of them being Volney Hoggatt, the redheaded friend of the lawyer who tried to jump Frank Greer's claim the day before. The rivalry was so bitter and becoming intense [pistols and rifles positioned on every settler] that the chairman called a halt to the futile voting and devised a new method of voting. Three farm wagons were drawn up in a row and the candidates each mounted a separate wagon. The voters then formed in three lines, each line passing the wagon of his favorite, and a teller counted heads as they passed. It was soon discovered that a form of "ballot stuffing" was taking place. As the voters would pass the voting wagons, they

would return to the rear of the line to pass the voting wagons again to be counted. In despair, the convention was adjourned until the next day, 24 April, at nine o'clock in the morning. The next morning, Alley reported that the voting proved to be just as disheartening, and without a decisive action, the convention was adjourned again until the morning of the following day, 25 April. Alley then said that the night of 24 April, a meeting almost lasted all night which coincides with the *Washington Post* article dated 24 April, that stated a meeting was held into the long hours of the night. Thus, there were two night meetings lasting into the wee hours of the morning. The second meeting [24 April] was held in the interest of harmony. Senator Kelley, of Kansas, having already withdrawn from the Mayor's race, the two remaining candidates, Hoggett and Hill, were advised to select three representatives each and they in turn selected a seventh member. This group was to constitute a committee of selection, which was to propose a compromise candidate. On the morning of 25 April, the candidates announced the agreement of the night before which was not well received by the assembled convention of a reported 5,000. This seven-man committee retired and selected Colonel Reese, of Illinois, and Col. D.B. Dyer [reported as a Sooner], of Missouri. After considerable disputes, the seventh member U.S. Marshall Jones [Sooner] sided with Hoggett's group and voted for Colonel Dyer. With the choice of the mayor resolved the gathering turned its attention to the selection of the members of the council. This group of seventeen men was chosen later in the day, each from a different state. Emily Smith entered a footnote in her thesis that stated, "interesting fact, that although this election was for the Mayor of Guthrie, sometimes designated as South Guthrie, people from other townsites participated (Smith 1931, 51)."

In summarizing the above documentation concerning when the first town meeting commenced, there was one article by the *Washington Post*, one article each by Hamilton Wicks, Frank Greer and Valorie Grant that stated the first town meeting was on the evening of 22 April, with Constantine appointed Chairman; A.G.C. Bierer, John Alley and Fred Wenner documented the first town meeting was on the evening of 22 April, with no mention of Constantine as Chairman; One *Washington Post* correspondent, Lloyd Lentz, Don Odom, Lula Pratt, and Marion Rock documented the morning of 23 April, was the first town meeting with Constantine appointed Chairman. They all agree that Mayor Dyer was elected Mayor on 25 April, and a survey was begun to plat the town of Guthrie.

Don Odom's article "Guthrie – The State Capital" referred to the four towns coming together to form five wards with a board member elected from each ward [educational board], but the other reference to wards was in the book City Beginnings by Alley when he stated that the city was divided into five wards and the membership for the new council was reduced to ten, two from each ward. Alley also stated that a "city charter" commission was to be chosen from the five wards. Each ward was to select five representatives composing a committee of twenty-five. These two sources provided the only documentation from all of the sources reviewed that strongly suggested that Guthrie had a governing body over all four-townsites. After researching the City Council minutes of Guthrie Proper, it is my opinion that Guthrie did not have one central governing body. Each of the four Guthrie's divided their townsites into representative wards from which members were elected to serve on committees, collect taxes, petition the council, etc. Dennis Flynn was elected on June 4, 1889, from his ward to chair a City Charter

Committee for Guthrie Proper. Months later, it was mentioned that the other Guthrie's elected to use the City Charter of Guthrie Proper, but they did not participate in its creation. According to the City Council Minutes, the four Guthrie's did come together to form a school board, only the members were selected from each of the four Guthries' City Councils. What became apparent concerning the source materials was that very few made a distinction as to which of the four Guthrie's was being discussed. If not knowing, the researcher will automatically assume Guthrie means Guthrie Proper, but that was not always the case, Guthrie sometimes referred to elections, meetings, committees, etc. in East Guthrie, West Guthrie or sometimes in Capitol Hill. In my opinion, this was the reason the source materials were rather convoluted.

Townsite Surveys and Plats

Townsite surveys and plats of Guthrie were referred to by many sources with many differing accounts of enactment. Frank Greer told about the Winfield Group hiring an engineer to plat East Guthrie and as soon as the group arrived they started laying out the plat and those already upon the east section agreed to the plat (Greer 1936, 275). Chapman reported the first person to file for a townsite with no mention of a plat was Mark Cohn for the East One-half of Section Eight (Chapman 1957, 64). Marion Rock documented there were fifteen townsite plats filed for Guthrie and the first one to be filed in the land office at one minute past twelve o'clock was a plat and survey for Guthrie Proper by an Arkansas Group (Rock 1890, 37). Another account given by the *Washington Post* dated April 23, 1889, "at 12:15 P.M., the first paper presented at the Land Office was a rough draft or chart of Guthrie and filed as townsite by William Johnson. The *Washington Post* printed an article dated April 23, 1889, that stated

preliminary steps were taken toward surveying the land and laying out the streets of Guthrie & c; Dr. B.B. Chapman's article told of West Guthrie's Mayor Dooley hiring Haight on the evening of 23 April, to survey the Northwest One-half of Section Eight. The *Washington Post* article dated April 24, 1889, "GUTHRIE CONTINUES TO FEEL OUTRAGED":

Men are holding lots by themselves and friends are having surveyors run lines, and there are as many different lines as there are conflicting interests. Mr. Waldorn's experience is a fair sample of the way things are done. Yesterday he had a corner lot. Today the same lot faces an alley, while someone else occupies the front of it. Another lot, which was supposed to be on a corner, was held at \$3,000 Monday night. Last evening \$100 was asked and \$10 offered, the lot having been surrounded. The disgusted are already leaving in forces.

Frank Greer's article stated that on Sunday night 21 April, he witnessed two hundred to three hundred people laying off lots in the area of the Land Office (Greer 1936, 274). Land Inspector Pickler reported on early Monday morning of 22 April, he watched government officials laying off town lots around the areas of the Land Office (Chapman 1957, 63). Then, references were made at the town meeting of 23 April, that the assemblage of people unanimously voted to do away with the existing town site plats of companies who were definitely Sooners. On that same day, as stated above, West Guthrie hired Haight to survey and plat their townsite [one-quarter section instead of one-half section]. But, John Alley documented on 25 April, that *West Guthrie* hired a surveyor. He also stated, "the town meeting after the election of Mayor Dyer on 25 April, voted to hire an engineer to do a townsite plat." The *Washington Post* dated April 25, 1889, reported that there was a meeting of the Committees of Citizens on 24 April, that offered an important resolution concerning all persons who, in good faith and legally, have taken lots be allowed to take their relative positions under this survey [there was not

a surveyor hired until 25 April]. The same article stated, “the opponents of this resolution were the “street jumpers,” who located in the street when the lots they wanted had already been claimed.” The committees started on 24 April, removing jumpers as they were found. The jumper was politely asked to leave, but when he or they would not, the committee gave an alarm by yelling “Yahoo, yahoo” several times, and their comrades came in swarms. The street jumper or intruder was surrounded and told to get off or been thrown off. It makes one wonder what town plat was the Committee of Citizens using as their guideline. Remembering on 23 April, the convention of people voted to not use the townplats of existing town companies and agreed that the townsite lots were to be twenty-five feet by one hundred forty feet, streets eighty feet wide and alleys forty feet wide. Where did the Committee of Citizens get their basis of eviction? Then, as stated above, after the election of Mayor Dyer, on 25 April, Colonel Ross of *Guthrie Proper’s* City Council hired a surveyor to plat the town. Mayor Dyer telegraphed Secretary Noble on 18 May, to verify the townplat would be presented to the people on 18 May, and then, it would be sent to Washington to be filed by July in the General Land Office (Chapman 1957, 398). Lula Pratt’s Master’s Thesis stated:

Under the resolutions passed, the convention on 23 April, proceeded to organize a townsite on the east half of section eight. . . . This was done by the gathering together all the civil engineers that were in the population of Guthrie and having them lay out or plat into streets and blocks of the entire townsite. . . . with the townsite company having been organized, the first Mayor of Guthrie was elected (Pratt 1930, 19).

Thus, the Committee of Citizens were working just behind the surveyors and using their guidelines. This would also coincide with the newspaper article that stated on 23 April, the people voted en masse as to widths of lots, streets and alleys, etc. The only problem with this interpretation was in another source City Beginnings, it described the surveyors

hired by Guthrie Proper on 25 April, as having trouble locating the point of commencement. The builder of the Land Office had moved the building two hundred yards west from its original location so that the people arriving by train could see the Land Office from the depot. The book talked about Government Acre being covered in tents and the area around the Land Office being clear due to the misunderstanding of where Government Acre was really located (Alley 1939, 15).

Washington Post, April 24, 1889, GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO FEEL OUTRAGED - At the town meeting in Guthrie yesterday, it was resolved to make all town lots 25' x 140', all streets eighty feet, and all alleys twenty feet. A motion to resurvey all lots and streets and apportion them among bona fide settlers was carried. This was designed to dislodge companies, which have put employees on several lots. The Oklahoma Hardware Company had twelve lots reserved, but relinquished six to avoid trouble. The city now covers three sections, or six times the reserved townsite, to say nothing of the straggling lots around. Speculation in lots is already high. Several have changed hands two or three time already. Many are held at \$1,000 each, and some have sold for \$500.00.

East Guthrie's Townsite Survey and Plat

Marion Rock stated, "on 25 April, at 3:00 P.M., the people of East Guthrie assembled en masse, on what is now the southeast corner of Broad Street and Cleveland Avenue, and proceeded to organize a city government. At the first meeting, it was agreed to a board of arbitration and to have the city immediately surveyed and platted." John Alley reported, "the provisional government of East Guthrie proceeded in an orderly way. The preliminary meeting was held 24 April, in front of the tent in which the Bank of Guthrie had established its business." Judge J.T. Lowe served as chairman of this meeting. A conference committee was selected consisting of Horace Speed, H.H. Moose, W.R. Booth, T.A. Stockslager and J.B. Fishback to confer with the representatives of

Guthrie Proper and “to report at ten o’clock the following morning at a point one block north and one block east of the quarter section corner stone of said section nine.” The next day the conference committee reported to the assembled citizens the arrangements for continuing the survey of the streets of Guthrie Proper eastward through East Guthrie. The committee suggested the immediate election of city officials that day [25 April]. Then, a later reference to East Guthrie mentioned, “on 8 May, East Guthrie was willing to accept the townplat of Guthrie Proper to move eastwardly upon its lands (Alley 1939, 25).” This statement would indicate the vote of the people on 25 April, only concerned Guthrie Proper.

Capitol Hill’s Townsite Survey and Plat

Rock and Alley both stated Capitol Hill’s provisional government was enacted on 1 May. Rock reported that a few days later Capitol Hill was surveyed leaving ten acres, the most elevated portion, for the site of the State Capital, and donated seventy acres in the northern portion of the town site for a park. She also mentioned reservations were set aside for churches and schools. Alley only stated the procedures for a provisional government were similar to East Guthrie’s.

Washington Post, April 24, 1889, GUTHRIE CONTINUES TO FEEL OUTRAGED - The new comers at Guthrie are peaceably inclined, but they may yet show their indignation over the action of the government officials. There is now an organized crowd, which tomorrow will put a squatter upon the lot of every man who antedates 12:00 M. on 22 April. They have been at work accruing the names of these people, and have now the exact location. In the forenoon, 100 lots, all choice lots will be jumped at one time, while the jumpers will be backed by 200-armed men. If peaceable possession is given, being overpowered by numbers, there will be no trouble. Should resistance be made then force will be used to eject from the property these men, and their property will be thrown from their

lots, even though in doing this it is cast upon some other person's lot (Rock 1890, 249).

Brad Agnew article "Voices From The Run of 1889" described that thirty percent of people participating in the "Run" were Sooners, and one common phrase used by lot holders to anyone suspected of being a lot jumper was "its really quite an unhealthy place. There is lots of malaria and some people even die of lead poison (Agnew 1985, 24)."

Washington Post, April 25, 1889, TAKING CHEROKEE LANDS - Guthrie is without form. The original streets have disappeared and new sections are being plowed every hour. Values have fallen too practically nothing and confidence is at low ebb. Those who are not going home announce their intention of moving upon the Cherokee Strip, and report that hundreds of boomers in wagons have already done so. Scores of men surrendered their claims to lots in Guthrie without an effort to preserve or dispose of them. A number of claims have been deserted in various parts of the territory, and wagons can be seen frequently on the trail back. Many of the disgruntled threaten to squat on the Indian lands surrounding Oklahoma.

Once again there are many convulated accounts pertaining to the townsite plat of Guthrie. From piecing information together, without going into detail on the days of 23, 24, and 25 April, concerning the citizens committee ousting claimants and then trying to understand which townsite plat was followed, it will be assumed that the surveyor hired by Colonel Ross for Guthrie Proper also laid off blocks, streets, alleys and lots in townsites of East Guthrie and Capitol Hill. There has been no mention of West Guthrie's townsite plat except that Mayor Soward hired a townsite surveyor on 25 April, which could have been the same one Guthrie Proper hired on 25 April.

To summarize the above documentation, the *Washington Post* dated 25 April, reported on 23 April, that West Guthrie elected a mayor and council members. The article "Guthrie, From Public Land To Private Property" stated that East Guthrie held a

public meeting on 23 April, to organize a city government and on 24 April, T.H. Soward was elected mayor. Constrasting information was provided by Marion Rock who described that East Guthrie claimants met on 25 April, at the southeast corner of Broad Street and Cleveland Avenue, to organize their city government. John Alley documented that East Guthrie agreed on 25 April, to use Guthrie Proper's surveyor. And, Capitol Hill being organized on 8 May [1 May], it was assumed that East Guthrie's townsite survey moved eastward to layoff the townsite of Capitol Hill.

Emily Smith added this statement concerning Guthrie's new city governments:

The towns that styled themselves provisional governments were merely aggregations of people who out of necessity in the absence of legal authority had associated together for the purpose of mutual benefit and protection. They were through this association carrying on the law and government common among civilized people and were enforcing them by public sentiment. But legally they were without existence, merely nonentities, which could not bind themselves by contract or bind anyone else (Smith 1930, 60).

"Contests" The Commissioner of the Land Office
Exercised the Power of a "Czar"

At the same time the four townsites were deciding city officials and having township sections of eight and nine surveyed into townsite plats, there were legal battles being fought in the judiciary system between the original claimants and the General Land Office. The following tables for West Guthrie and East Guthrie have been divided into hour of significance, date of activity, description of activity, and description of land (West Guthrie, see table 2). The tables have been organized chronologically to allow one to quickly review important facts pertaining to the final decisions of ownership handed down from the Secretary of the Interior commonly referred to as the "Office of the Czar."

Table 1. West Guthrie, West One-half of Section 8 of
Township Sixteen, Range Two West

12:00 PM	4/22/1889	Made Homestead Entry	NW ¼ Section 8
	Mark Cohn		
12:30 PM	4/22/1889	Staked Claim	SW ¼ Section 8
	Feagins		
	4/23/1889	Made Homestead Entry	SW ¼ Section 8
	Feagins		
	4/23/1889	West Guthrie Meeting	SW ¼ Section 8
	4/25/1889	West Guthrie Committees: Committee on Surveys – surveyor *Committee on Finance – reported 125 settlers willing to pay a dollar for a survey and pay taxes to build a bridge. * Agreed designated plat should reserve one block for school and university purposes.	
	5/01/1889	Milton Pulse stated twenty-seven families in West Guthrie	
	5/08/1889	Erza Maples filed a “contest” against Feagins	SW ¼ Section 8
	5/24/1889	Bockfinger filed a “contest” against Feagins	SW ¼ Section 8
	6/15/1889	A military force at the insistence of Feagins, Bockfinger or Maples had settlers and their improvements removed from the quarter-section because this section had been claimed as a homestead by all three of them.	
		[From available sources, it was difficult to determine when the townsite settlers first located on the southern half of West Guthrie].	SW ¼ Section 8

	6/18/1889	Feagins said, "the first knowledge he had that the townsite settlers claimed the SW ¼ of Section 8 was when the townsite application was file on June 18, 1889, for the West One-half of Section Eight.	SW ¼ Section 8
	4/20/1890	Bockfinger said, "he made settlement on the Southwest One-quarter of Section Eight nearly one-year after the opening." He also stated, "within three years, he had made valuable and lasting improvements worth \$300 dollars.	SW ¼ Section 8
4:00 PM	4/22/1889	150 to 200 people crossed the Cottonwood River at a point on the NE 40 of the quarter- section and staked off lots north of the River	
	4/22/1889	Settlers held a mass meeting and organized a town to be known as West Guthrie to be located on the West One-half of Section 8	W ½ Section 8
	6/15/1889	Dille found 30 to 40 townsite lots occupied in the NE 40 of Feagins claim. Thus, the townsite settlers had planted gardens, fenced lots, erected tents and a few small buildings, built foundations, and began erections of houses.	NE 40 SW ¼ of Section 8
	6/15/1889	Soldiers from came to the NE 40 of the SW ¼ of Sec.8 and removed the 30 to 40 townsite settlers.	
	3/28/1890	Land Office Officials John Dille and Cassius Barnes began hearings on 03/28/1890. The first case to be heard was <i>Bockfinger vs. Feagins</i> .	
	12/16/1891	Secretary Noble awarded the entire West Guthrie to townsiteclaimants	W ½ Section 8
	12/30/1891	Feagins claim was canceled.	

The first case to be heard by John Dille and Cassius Barnes from the Land Office was *Bockfinger vs. Feagins*. Dille and Barnes said that the good faith of the homestead claimants was an issue. In their opinion, “it is not probable that Feagins, Maples, want land for a farm. It cannot be that they are ‘bona fide’ claimants because making their claims at such times and under such circumstances clearly indicates that they are speculators.” Dille and Barnes noted that on the northeast forty of Feagins claim that the townsite settlers had preceded entries by Maples and Bockfinger, but not Feagins.

Dille and Barnes recommended that the homestead entry by Feagins be canceled, the townsite settlers be allowed to enter the northeast forty, and a hearing should be ordered to determine the rights of several homestead claimants to the remaining parts of the Southwest One-quarter of Section Eight. The Commissioner of the General Land Office [Washington, D.C.] agreed to the hearing, but added that the townsite settlers should be considered as to the time each legal sub-division was occupied.

December 16, 1889, Secretary Noble referred to as the Czar stated, “the town site might have the entire west one-half of section eight without a hearing [*West Guthrie Townsite v. Cohn et al.*, 13 L.D. 690]. Noble’s reasons were that he held under the act of May 14, 1890, one hundred people, or more, might select three hundred twenty acres for a townsite, although they might not at the date of the selection or of said act have used each smallest sub-division thereof for municipal purposes. To justify his reasons, he said, “on April 22, 1889, there were at least one hundred people who had selected townsite tracts on the West Half of the Section.” He further stated that at 4:00 P.M. on that day, April 22, 1889, they selected the half section as the townsite of West Guthrie, and had maintained a continuing organization; and taxes were collected from those who had

located lots on the day of the opening. Noble said, "Cohn, Feagins and Thomas Taylor, a Deputy Marshal, were disqualified as homesteaders because of early presence in Oklahoma District, and Bockfinger had come too late to acquire interest in the land. Towns are not built in a day, and from the very nature of things, they should not be required to improve each forty acres making up his homestead, before making final entry (Chapman 1955, 80)."

December 30, 1891, Feagins claim was canceled. Feagins, Maples and Taylor acquiesced to Noble's decision except Bockfinger. Bockfinger rested largely on affidavits made in 1892 by some of the most prominent men of West Guthrie. Table 3 summarizes Bockfinger's case was as follows:

Table 3.

5/07/1889	James Dooley, Mayor of West Guthrie employed N.G. Haight, and the Council hired him to survey the Northwest One-quarter of Section Eight as part of the townsite of West Guthrie.
8/22/1892	Haight made an affidavit that he was never directed to survey the Southwest One-quarter of Section Eight, and did not survey any part of it. Haight said, "he was instructed to prepare blueprints of such survey with the Southwest One-quarter of Section Eight included as they thought they might want to include it at a later date." Haight added, "there was no survey of Southwest One-quarter of Section Eight except on paper, and it was understood to be no part of the townsite at that time."

It 's important to recognize from this affidavit that the original West Guthrie was located on the Northeast One-quarter of Section Eight north of the Cottonwood River which is today Guthrie Proper. West Guthrie as it is known today was not settled on 22 April, by townsite claimants. It was settled by a "Run" initiated on May 7, 1889. The documentation that states West Guthrie townsite meeting 22 April, 23 April, and surveys

23 April, 25 April, and 7 May, were clarified by Dooley's affidavit. The first West Guthrie, north of the Cottonwood, had meetings and hired surveyors, and the second West Guthrie after the "Run" on 7 May, hired Haight as surveyor on May 8, 1889. A footnote by Chapman in the article "Guthrie, From Public Land to Private Property" stated that the first West Guthrie was referred to a location west of the Cottonwood, or west of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad. There were two townsites and two townsite surveyors (Chapman 1955, 81).

Table 4. Bockfinger's Case Continues:

4/12/1892	James Stewart, former West Guthrie Councilman, said that he arrived at Guthrie on April 22, 1889, about four o'clock and went west of the Cottonwood River where there were approximately twenty or thirty men assembled. Stewart stated, "the townsite settlers did not take possession of the Northwest Quarter of Section Eight until May 7, 1889. There was no effort made to select, settle upon or take possession of the Southwest Quarter as it was already occupied and claimed by Feagins and Maples who were homesteaders. And, owing to our limited numbers, we did not think it would be possible to hold more than the Northwest One-quarter of Section Eight. There were only one hundred fifty people west of the Cottonwood up to that time and we found out about ninety acres of Guthrie Proper was west of the Cottonwood River. We concluded that was all we could hold, and besides no one questioned the rights of the homesteaders already on the Southwest One-quarter, or even thought of taking it (Chapman 1955, 81).
Affidavit by C.H. Griffith	While I was a member of the City Council from 24 April, to June 5, 1889, no selection of the Southwest Quarter of Section Eight was ever made for townsite purposes and the only talk I ever remember having about the Southwest One-quarter was conversations about acquiring it for a driving park [horses] and fair grounds (Chapman 1955, 81).
Affidavit by James D. Furber	James Furber was former clerk to Clement Cannon, the attorney who filed the townsite application for West Guthrie on June 18, 1889 (Chapman 1955, 81).
10/03/1892	After Secretary Noble reviewed Bockfinger's Case, he returned this

decision, 'a settlement right could not be acquired on land that was embraced within a prior townsite claim; eventhough, the land might not be at such time actually occupied for townsite purposes.' He further stated, 'the Southwest One-quarter of Section Eight was claimed prior to Bockfinger's settlement and Bockfinger had never reached the place where he could properly be called a contestant, and that as a settler, he had not been injured.' Noble also added, 'if affidavits by Dooley et al. were true, still they did not afford sufficient reason for a new hearing in view of Bockfinger's status. Bockfinger had notice of the town's claim to the tract long before he performed any act of settlement.' He concluded, 'whatever may have been the number of people located on the tract up to and at the date of Bockfinger's affidavit against Feagins' entry, it was indisputable that at the time the townsite application was filed, there was a large number of people occupying the tract, certainly sufficient to entitle them to the whole of it, and this number steadily increased up to the time of the hearing and of Bockfinger's settlement.'

11/10/1892 The Townsite Trustees purchased the West Half of Section Eight, totaling three hundred-two acres for the payment of three hundred seventy-seven dollars and sixty-three cents, and a patent was issued on February 16, 1893.

Table 5 identifies the chonological order of original East Guthrie claimants:

Table 5. East Guthrie: West One-half of Section Nine
Township Sixteen, Range Two West

12:00 PM	4/22/1889	Mark Cohn filed Soldier's Declaratory Statement for James Huckleberry	NW ¼ Section 9
	4/23/1889	Ramson Payne staked a claim on 4/22/89. The next day, he made an entry for a homestead subject to Huckleberry's prior claim.	NW ¼ Section 9
12:55 PM	4/22/1889	Xenophen Fitzgerald staked his claim as the first legal claimant Stating, "no one else on the land."	NW ¼ Section 9
1:00 PM	4/22/1889	People on the first train from the north rushed over the section and ignored previous claims.	NW ¼ Section 9

1:00 PM	4/22/1889	Mark Cohn filed a Soldier's Declaratory Statement for Turner.	SW ¼ Section 9
12:40 PM	4/22/1889	Paine staked his claim.	SW ¼ Section 9
1:30 PM	4/22/1889	More trains arrive, people rush over lands and ignore previous claimants	SW ¼ Section 9
2:00 PM	4/22/1889	Winfield Townsite Group swarm the land ignoring claims of others	SW ¼ Section 9
2:00 PM & later	4/22/1889	1,000 to 2,000 people located on entire area known as East Guthrie	W ½ Section 9
	4/23/1889	Townsite meeting to organize city government of East Guthrie	W ½ Section 9
	4/24/1889	East Guthrie selected T.H. Soward – Mayor	W ½ Section 9
	4/26/1889	Townsite application for East Guthrie filed at the land office	
	5/09/1889	Guthrie Townsite instituted proceeding against Payne, Paine and Fitzgerald	
	6/22/1891	Secretary Noble decided case against Paine	
	7/24/1891	Secretary Noble decided case Against Payne	
	12/14/1891	Townsite paid \$800 for W ½ Sec 9	
	1900	Fred Wenner told B.B. Chapman in an interview in 1953, "he knew of Paine selling quit claim deeds to lots on the tract claimed as his homestead (Chapman 1955)."	
	12/20/1901	Horace Speed reported Paine conveyed his rights.	
	12/20/1901	Secretary Noble decided against East Guthrie Townsite [Winfield]	

Group because he said, "they were
Sooner."

The original applicants for East Guthrie according to Chapman's article "Legal Sooners in 1889 Land Run" never made an entry for Guthrie lands. Although in his article "Guthrie, Public Land to Private Property" Turner and Huckleberry are listed first applicants. Table 6 represents the legal ramifications experienced by the claimants as their cases were decided by Secretary Noble:

Table 6.

1/13/1891	William Stone Assistant Commissioner of the Land Office awarded in favor of Fitzgerald stating, 'there is no dispute as to Fitzgerald having made his selection and driven his stake sometime in advance of any of the townsite claimants who reached the land. He is prior to them in point of time and occupancy (Chapman 1955, 65).'
6/22/1891	Secretary Noble stated Fitzgerald did not make the alleged homestead settlement in good faith for the purposes contemplated in the homestead law. He observed that for a half century the establishment of a government land office was equivalent to the foundation of a town or city. He stated, 'in his mind, it would have been a very harsh, unjust and inequitable ruling to hold that because Fitzgerald reached the townsite first, if he did, that he owned a quarter-section of it.' At the same time, Noble rejected the application of East Guthrie because it was made in the interests of men, many of them Sooners (Chapman 1955, 67).
6/22/1891	Secretary Noble agreed that Huckleberry was disqualified because Mark Cohn was a Sooner. Noble said of Payne: 'to hold that deputy marshals, railroad men, and others who happened to be within the limits of the Territory in the discharge of their duties, and in the receipt of the salary and emoluments of their position at the moment the lands were open to settlement, could take advantage of that fact, and in advance of others, immediately enter upon desirable tracts to the exclusion of those who had in obedience to law remained outside of the Territory, would be a violation of the clearly expressed intention and spirit of the act. In my opinion, the interpretation is to unjust to be entertained. The

facts in relation to the opening of this country were known to all (Chapman 1955, 66).'

12/14/1891 The General Land Office canceled Payne's homestead entry on July 24, 1891. On December 14, 1891, Payne submitted to the Guthrie land office his papers of homestead proof and final affidavit. He said, 'he had stayed continuously on the land since April 22, 1889, had promptly erected a house valued at \$75 dollars, fenced ten acres at a cost of \$100 dollars, dug a well, and had grown crops on ten acres, the portion not occupied by trespassers (Chapman 1955, 67).'

On the same day that Payne submitted his proof of homestead, the Townsite Trustees acquired Section Nine on the payment of \$800 dollars. It was documented as Section Nine, not One-half of Section Nine. There are 640 acres in one section of land if the Trustees paid \$1.25 per acre, they paid for 640 acres [$640 \times 1.25 = 800$]. The government was charging \$1.25 per acre.

1893 Payne brought his case before Judge Edward B. Green in the District Court of Logan County. Green was satisfied that Payne was a qualified entryman.

1895 Payne appealed to the United States Supreme Court who returned the decision stating, "Congress did not intend that one authorized to enter the Territory in advance of the general public, solely to perform services therein as an employee of the Government, should be at liberty, immediately on the arrival of the hour for opening the Territory to settlement, to assume the status of a private individual an 'actual settler,' and make selection of a homestead, thus clearly securing an advantage in selection over those who, obedient to the command of the President, remained without the boundaries until the time had arrived when they might lawfully enter (Chapman 1955, 69)."

1/14/1901 Notation on homestead papers for the Guthrie tract - Case Closed.

Veeder Bertrand Paine's Claim to East Guthrie. Veeder Paine claimed the south half of East Guthrie on April 22, 1889. Paine established settlement on the southwest quarter of section nine. He said, "he claimed the land as a homestead although he knew it would

would become part of the townsite of Guthrie (Chapman 1955, 71).” Table 7 documents

Secretary Noble’s final decision pertaining to Paine:

11/26/1891

W.M. Stone gave credence to Paine’s story. Winfield Group hired a town planner and he platted East Guthrie. on 22 April, at noon two hundred members took over the Southwest one-quarter of Section Nine. After two p.m., two thousand more settlers staked claims according to the Winfield plat. The townsite settlers held a meeting on 23 April, to organized a city government. The next day T.H. Soward, member of the Winfield Group, was selected mayor who presented on 26 April, the first application to enter the West Half of Section Nine as a townsite (Chapman 1955, 71).

Stone stated, “Veeder Paine was a qualified entryman. He entered Oklahoma in a legal and proper manner, made his selection in advance of the townsite claimants, performed all the acts of settlement possible under the circumstances such as erection of a house, improved and cultivated his lands. Yet under the circumstance, I am asked to decide the case in the favor of the townsite men who are supposedly paramount and superior to that of the homesteader. My convictions derived from the facts of the case, will not allow me to do so. I find that Paine’s homestead is prior to theirs. The conclusion therefore, is that the application of the townsite be rejected and accept Paine’s (Chapman 1955, 72).

Secretary of the Interior, John Noble and the Supervisor of Commissioner Stone thought Paine had connived with persons who, on certain pretenses, entered Oklahoma District before the hour of the opening. Noble believed Paine had established priority of settlement by aid of their assistance. He held that Paine did not make a settlement in good faith under the homestead law and he used a method of relay of horses to make his claim prior to the townsite claim (Chapman 1955, 75).

Horace Speed on December 20, 1901, reported that Paine had “conveyed away his right, title, or interest to the land in East Guthrie (Chapman 1955, 78).

While the lawsuits were taking place between the townsite claimants, the General Land Office and Veeder Paine, there was another case being tried by the judicial system illustrating another example of deceit pertaining to the settlement of Guthrie. On May 8, 1894, William S. Robertson was indicted in the District Court of Logan County, charged with having embezzled five thousand dollars received by him as dispersing agent of Townsite Board No. Six assigned to East Guthrie. The facts of the case had to do with money being collected from the town lot claimants under a rule prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior requiring claimants each day during the trial of his "contest" to deposit a sum sufficient to pay the expenses of the Board, with the money deposited by the successful contestant to be returned to him. Robertson collected part of the money without any authority of law. The East Guthrie townsite claimants held a mass meeting adopting a resolution requesting the townsite Board to make an assessment on all the lots to pay the cost of the attorneys for the trials of the *East Guthrie Townsite vs. Paine* and *East Guthrie Townsite vs. Fitzgerald*. The money was retained by Robertson and paid out by him. The District Court held that since Robertson had no authority to hire or pay attorneys for the townsite, he could not have credit for the amount he paid to them. The indictment of Robertson for embezzlement was dismissed August 1, 1898, after arrangement had been made to pay the judgement off against him by his bond company for \$3020.

Guthrie Proper
East One-half of Section Eight,
Township Sixteen, Range Two West

Three sources contained pertinent documentation concerning Guthrie Proper. Dr. Chapman's article recorded Mark Cohn being the first person in the Guthrie Land Office

at 12:00 M. on April 22, 1889, claiming the East One-half of Section Eight. Dr. Chapman documented on June 22, 1891, that Secretary Noble declared Cohn's claim null and void because he was a Sooner. And, the Townsite Trustees of Guthrie Proper on August 2, 1890, made a cash entry for the land and a patent was issued on September 1, 1890. Mark Cohn had not been disqualified before a patent was issued to the Townsite Group (Chapman 1955, 80). Marion Rock's book stated that the first person to file an application for a townsite was at one past twelve for Guthrie Proper by an Arkansas Company (Rock 1890, 32). John Alley's City Beginnings referred to Guthrie Proper when he stated, "although thousands of the settlers at Guthrie that first day scattered rapidly over the hills to the east and the river bottom to the west to cover most of two whole sections of land, during the afternoon of 22 April, the crowd in the vicinity of the land office grew more dense each hour, until by sundown the area covering a dozen blocks of what was considered to be the center of the coming great city was densely packed. Every prospective lot had from two to a half dozen claimants, with the government reserves of an acre about the land office and every street and alley covered solidly with tents, flags, stakes, or men or women just holding down a location by sitting or standing on it.

Capitol Hill
East One-half of Section Nine
Township Sixteen, Range Two West

Dr. Chapman's article "Legal Sooners of 1889 in Oklahoma" documented the East One-quarter of Section Nine was entered on April 22, 1889, by Herbert W. Wolcott, but the entry was canceled on December 1, 1891. Henry N. Baker filed a Soldier's Declaratory Statement for the Southeast One-quarter on April 22, 1889:

Chapman stated, 'Baker made entry on July 6, 1889, but the entry was canceled by 'G' on December 1, 1891. Townsite Trustees Foster, Robertson, and Schnell made a cash entry for the East One-half of Section Nine on December 14, 1891, and a patent was issued on January 26, 1892 (Chapman 1955, 85).'

One could surmise, since both entrymen's applications were canceled on the same day that the General Land Office decided in favor of the Townsite claimants of Capitol Hill as was the case for East Guthrie and West Guthrie Townsites.

The above documentation describing the many and varied claimants to the four Guthrie's was to emphasize the settlement of Guthrie was not an easy procedure, and at the time, Guthrie was receiving her built environment, it was upon disputed property without titles of ownership (see figure 30).

Newspaper Editorials Reporting Corruption in Land Claims

The Washington Post, April 26, 1889 - OKLAHOMA AT PEACE: There has been, and there still is some cheap chicanery in practice, which the courts must correct if a peaceful commonwealth is wanted in Oklahoma. The courts will be given the opportunity to do their duty as nearly every gobbled claim has its claimant who did not enter the territory until twelve o'clock. Many honest settlers have driven stakes upon lots and quarter sections taken by the deputy marshals and railroaders. Repeated efforts have been made to find Needles but that gentleman seems to have been lost in the shuffle.

The Washington Post, May 4, 1889 - OKLAHOMA IS BOOMING - The President and the Secretary of the Interior have called upon United States officials in Oklahoma, charged in the report of the inspectors of the Interior Department with corrupt practices in connection with public lands to come forward with any explanation of statement they may desire to make relative thereto. The report of the inspectors will not be made public at present. Land Commissioner Stockslager yesterday received a report from Inspector Hobbs at Guthrie, which shows that during the first week 450 entries were made and 42 notices of contest made.

The Washington Post dated April 25, 1889 - TAKING OF CHEROKEES LANDS - Needles and Jones have been execrated without stint for theft of land, and the railroad was denounced for its feeble service.

The Washington Post, April 27, 1889 - BEAUTIES OF OKLAHOMA - Needles and Jones the two marshals, who hold authority, have left Guthrie. Commissioner

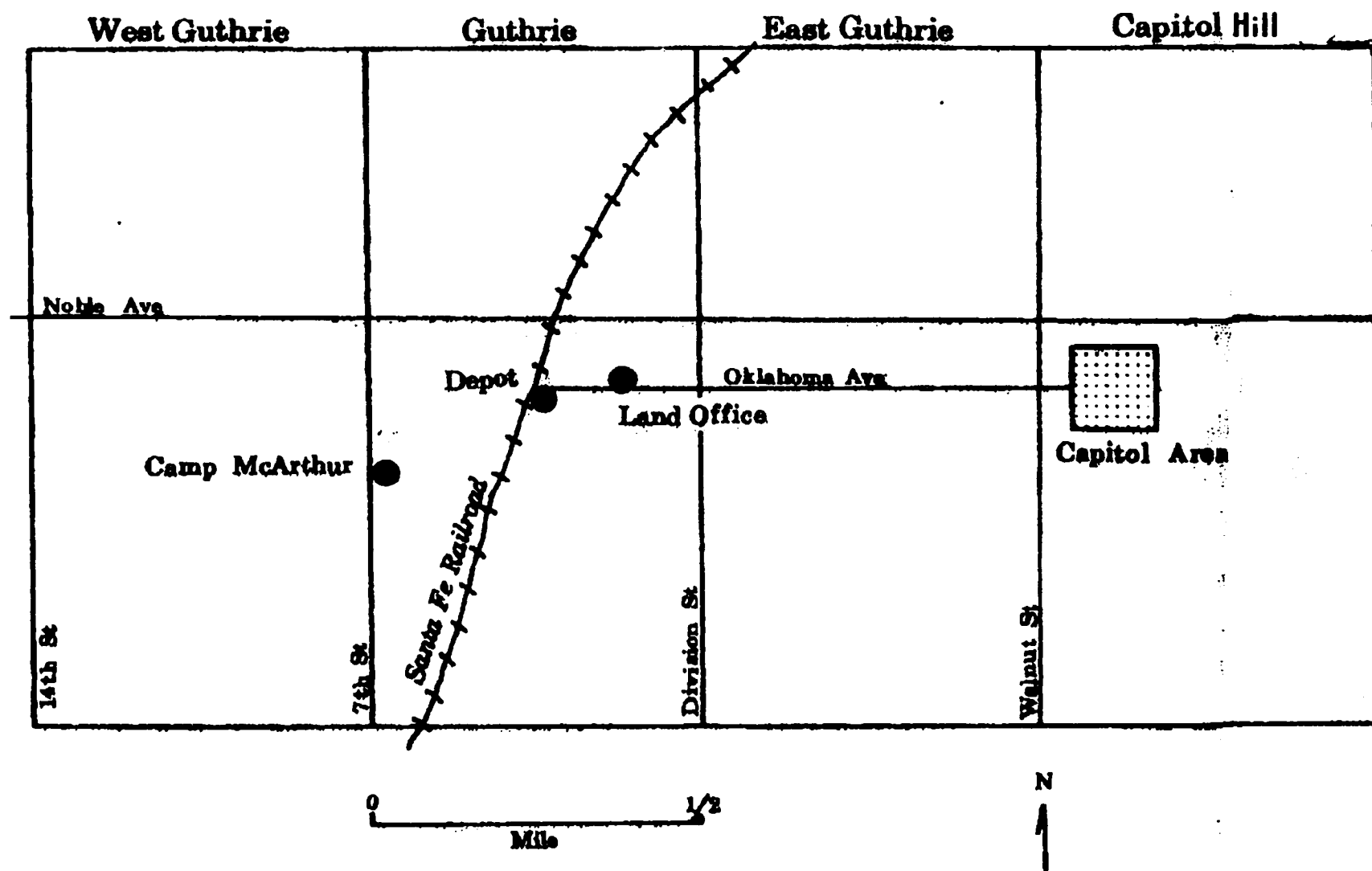


Figure 30. The Four Cities of Guthrie as Organized in 1889

Stockslager's' declaration that he could forfeit the claims of all United States employees is regarded with suspicion as it is now generally understood that the deputies were not sworn and the other hired gobblers are not in technically in the Federal Service. It is demanded that the government declare a forfeiture of the class of all persons, irrespective of employment who were in the Oklahoma tract before Monday, 12:00 M.

The Washington Post May 5, 1889 - OKLAHOMA LAND FRAUDS - Mr. Cole's interview with U. S. Attorney General Miller about officials and their land fraud. Inspector Frank D. Hobbs, of the General Land Office, in a letter dated Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory, 28 April says: "The crowds are still great at the office door. But the most perfect order has prevailed throughout, and in my experience I have never seen a better class of settlers at the opening of a new land office."

The Urban Ecological Forces Inter-Mingling, Inter-Connecting,
And Competing to Evolve into Existence
Guthrie's First Townscapes

Guthrie's townscapes evolved from the collaboration of ideas and activities of its early settlers. They combined their social/cultural values, economic entrepreneurial business activities, political aspirations and guidance with the technology of construction methods and techniques, railroads, telegraph, newspaper printing and postal mail. And, most importantly, they gave visual coherence and organization to the buildings, streets and spaces as they were placed upon the gently rolling picturesque landscape of the future Capital of Oklahoma. Donald Green referred to the urban ecosystem when he stated, "the run set in motion an entire train of forces that ultimately brought Statehood to Oklahoma (Green 1989, 145)."

The purpose of the forthcoming documentation has been the hope that the spirit of the time will come alive to enable a glimpse of the encompassing activities that collided, inter-connected, inter-weaved and competed to create the different evolution's of Guthrie's townscapes. The evolving urbanity has been presented to experience the daily activities, experiences, decisions, and struggles of Guthrie's citizenry as they bonded

together to create Guthrie's many townscapes through the daily occurrences of their urban eco-system of politics, economics, technology, social/cultural and physical parameters.

The general apprehensions felt by the immigrants once the race were depicted by two statements. One was by Fred Wenner when he stated, "the first day or two almost all the settlers were afraid to talk with their fellow man, he looked so savage and ferocious, with pistols and knives sticking out all over him; but on the third day, he quietly tucked his revolver away in his satchel, and to my surprise, appeared on the scene as a plain, simple, everyday grocer, or butcher, or real estate shark (Wenner 1939, 16)." And, the other one appeared in Brad Agnew's article "Voices From The Land Run of 1889" when he recalled one pioneer who stated, "he planted with a shotgun and harvested with a cannon (Agnew 1985, 24)."

Since the backdrop of the scene of Guthrie's settlement has been described as without form except what deceit, greed, and aggressive force in most cases could obtain. It has set the stage to clearly understand that the townsite settlers were upon land that they had no claim except from a government that was not recognized by the United States. Alley explained the precarious situation of the claimants when he stated, "the provisional governments had failed to realize that local government is a dependent government: that a sovereignty cannot be created within a sovereignty." Therefore, it can fully be understood when Lloyd Lentz's stated that reckless federal oversights led to inevitable litigation that actually retarded construction and the general progress of Guthrie. And, with the continuing disputes over lot ownership, it deterred cautious investors' from erecting expensive buildings (Lentz 1990, 24). Wenner explained, "Men

built permanent business houses on lots to which neither they nor anybody else had a shadow of real title, believing that the American spirit of justice and fair play would protect them (Wenner 1939, 26). Marion Rock wrote, "the criminal neglect of Congress not only retarded the general improvement in both city and country, but actually bankrupted [sic] one-fourth of the people of Oklahoma. Hamilton Wicks' complaining of 'Sooners' exclaimed, "the imbecile policy of the government in the manner of opening the new territory for settlement invited this sort of enterprise." Keeping in mind these opinions of Guthrie's development, it becomes understandable that many structures of permanence did not take place until the 1890s. This also coincides with the above-mentioned documentation that referred to final decisions on land titles handed down by Secretary Noble, did not begin until the 1890s. Thus, the original structures were formed primarily from wooden materials Green 1989, 134).

Ignoring the problems of land titles, Guthrie's townscapes went through an evolutionary process every few days due to the excitement, enthusiasm and exuberate energy of its settlers to make Guthrie the outstanding city of importance in the new territory. Guthrie's promise of being the Capital City drew men of influence, culture, education, political ambitions and financial means as indicted by newspaper articles appearing in the *Washington Post* describing freight cars filled with pre-assembled hotels, houses and large quantities of lumber. The articles also described freight cars positioned on Santa Fe's sidetracks full of merchandise awaiting the construction of the structures to house their contents. The people entering Guthrie came to build a city, a metropolis (*Washington Post* 1889). Frank Greer said, "the Guthrie settlers were the most cosmopolitan crowd, with the most varied interests, who possessed the faith and vision to

build a future state (Thoburn and Greer 1936, 292). Fred Wenner described the new citizens of Guthrie as men and women with college education's who were professional men and women meeting adversity with a smile, tragedy with calmness, bereavement with true faith, who moved steadily forward with strong courage to lay the foundation for a great city.

Guthrie's first townscape emerged as a tent city (see figure 31). Townscape of tents located on Second Street, April 27, 1889. Marion Rock stated, "there were tents everywhere; tents of every style and every conceivable size, from that of circus proportions to the most diminutive playhouse make. Neither the engineer or surveyor's art had been invoked, and the snowy habitations of the people resembled in their irregularity an enormous flock of snow-white birds that had alighted to rest in their flight to sea." Rock also described that the action of pitching one's tent brought a feeling of unity to the massive crowd as if it was the surge of electricity that began the pulsation of Guthrie's heart beat. She stated, "To the right of the land office, where nothing but a green prairie was seen at twelve o'clock, two hours later was covered with tents. Turning to the left, nothing but tents met the eye. It was, in fact, a vast city of tents (Rock 1890, 27)."

There were articles in newspapers and journals, books, and archival records describing the first night in Guthrie as a cool April night where claimants either sleep on the bare ground of their lots or where some of the people gathered around various bon fires to keep warm. Gunshots were heard all through the night, as well as, the unceasing noise of hammers and saws. Fred Wenner explained these as sounds of building when he said, "even though there was uncertainty of location and boundary lines, a few settlers



Figure 31. Guthrie's First Townscape Emerges as a City of Tents

began erection of buildings sporadically across the four townsites before nightfall on 22 April (Wenner 1939, 23).” Marion Rock stated that on the morning of 23 April, there were long trains, both from Texas and the north, pulled up at Guthrie’s sidetracks freighted with lumber and other building materials. The freighters were also carrying patent houses already finished in sections so they could be put up in a few moments. The *State Capital* dated April 27, 1889, reported that within two weeks, there will be no less than 2,000 frame structures in Guthrie because there are that many loaded on cars ready and waiting to be put up in a few hours. And, Fred Wenner explained, “With the arrival of these trains and the lumber wagons that were waiting on the borderlines, the city commenced in earnest and the business houses and dwellings arose like magic (Wenner 1939, 23).”

Hamilton Wicks’ said that on the morning of 23 April, he awakened to a city of ten thousand people, five hundred houses, and innumerable tents which twelve hours before had been nothing but a broad expanse of prairie (Wicks 1926, 139). A *Washington Post* correspondent reported in an editorial dated April 23, 1889, “the first glimpse of Guthrie arriving from the north at 1:00 P.M. was that of a townsite already selected on the eastside of the track. It contained the wooden land office, 100 tents already staked out, a lunch tent going full blast serving sandwiches, and the rude post office was opened.” Marion Rock described a contrasting account pertaining to the day the post office was opened. Rock explained Dennis Flynn was appointed Postmaster on 4 April, and he arrived at Guthrie on 22 April, aboard the first train from the north. On 26 April, not 22 April, he opened the post office in a ten by fourteen tent on the southwest corner of Government Acre now known as the DeFord Block (Rock 1890, 59). And, in

an article “Dennis Flynn” by Victor Murdock, he also stated, “Dennis Flynn reached Guthrie on the first train and staked out a lot adjoining the acre reserved for the government. There, after his commission had arrived, he set up a frame post office (Murdock 1940, 109).” Fred Wenner described that Dennis Flynn opened the post office on 23 April and to facilitate quicker mail service, he cut three windows in the side of the tent to split up the alphabet (Wenner 1939, 37). An editorial appeared in the *Washington Post* on May 4, 1889, titled “OKLAHOMA IS BOOMING.” It reported:

Postmaster General Wanamaker yesteday received a telegram from Postmaster Flynn, at Guthrie, Oklahoma in which he says that the daily sale of postage stamps at his office amounts to about \$50.00; that the eleven clerks in the office are kept busy from 5:00 A.M. until midnight, and that when the mail is ready for delivery there is usually a line of men a half mile long waiting for their mail. About 3,000 letters and 1,000 newspapers are delivered from that office daily. The Postmaster General has instructed the postmaster at Arkansas City, Kansas to forward to Guthrie all mail addressed to Edmond, Wharton, Alfred, and other points in Oklahoma where there are no postoffices. He has also directed the postmaster at Guthrie to deliver such mail to the persons addressed upon satisfactory evidence of identity.

Marion Rock again disagreed with the *Washington Post* reporter’s comment about a lunch tent serving sandwiches when he arrived because she mentioned the “bill of fare” for the first few days consisted of sandwiches manufactured weeks before and shipped to Guthrie at the opening (Rock 1890, 56). How did the *Washington Post* reporter observe sandwiches being sold when they came with him on the first train? Fred Wenner stated, “Before night of the first day, restaurants were opened in covered wagons and tents and many men whose sole stock-in-trade was a razor started a barber shop (Wenner 1939, 23).” And, Frank Greer described that in less than twenty-four hours, more than 3,000 tents filled the town, while businesses opened their flaps and Guthrie breathed life (Grant 1980, 36).

The living conditions after four o'clock and during the night produced much suffering due to the scarcity of water. An article in the *Washington Post* dated April 23, 1889, stated:

The water in the Cottonwood is red with mud, and a famine seems imminent. Hawkers went about the depot last night with buckets of water, charging five cents a cup. The stuff was poor, but found a ready sale. The railroad engineers were besieged by thirsty people for drinks from the engine tanks, and many were accommodated.

An 89'er described the conditions faced by the settlers as very fortunate that an epidemic of typhoid or smallpox did not occur from the poisonous bitter waters of the Cottonwood (Best 1943). But, there was a report of smallpox that appeared in the *Washington Post* on April 27, 1889, written by an Arkansas affiliate newspaper. It stated, "the excitement caused by the knowledge of the brackish, poisonous water of the river is not a circumstance to the fear that has seized upon the minds of people in regard to this fell destroyer. It seems that a man named Joseph Ellsworth, of Kansas City, more recently from Leadville, was taken ill on Wednesday [24 April] on his return from Guthrie and Oklahoma City, and is now quarantined at the house near the Santa Fe railroad shop. It is reported that the man stood in line at the land office at Guthrie for four hours while waiting to file his claim on Tuesday, thus exposing to an attack all those with whom he came in contact at that time. As the trains are crowded every day between Arkansas City, Guthrie, Oklahoma City, and Purcell, the disease may have already spread to these towns. The people have heard of this case are anticipating an epidemic (see figure 32)."

With the depot water tank being guarded to insure enough water was available for the train engines and that the only water resource being the Cottonwood, wells were dug the second day, 23 April. These men were digging the wells for fresh water for



Figure 32. Guthrie's Depot Water Tanks Guarded During Water Scarcity

themselves and to sell (Wenner 1939, 39). Fred Wenner said the first business of the new city government was to put down public wells at various places over the townsites. He further stated, "John H. Ford started his water system with tank wagon delivery of drinking water on the third day. Ten days later he secured a franchise for a water system and in sixteen days had nearly a mile of water mains through the business section, furnishing plenty of river water for fire protection and other purposes than drinking (Wenner 1939, 39)." Marion Rock's account of the water works system was similar but the date of commencement differed from Wenner's in that he stated the water works was the first business of the city government, which did not meet until 26 April. She described the Guthrie water works as it began on 23 April, and was completed before the close of the month. The water was taken from the Cottonwood River through a three-inch main that was laid on the principle streets. Serving as a standpipe, there was an enormous tank situated between Division and First Streets, at an elevation of about eighty-five feet above the level of the river that affords a stream of water one hundred feet (Water Standpipe, see figure 33). Rock also stated, "in conflagrations, as in most everything else, Guthrie has proved a marvel. Built mostly of wood as is the city, there was but one fire requiring the aid of the fire department over these last eighteen months (Rock 1890, 189)."

According to Gerald Forbes, "the Cottonwood supplied water for the town. A glass to drink or a tin basin of water for washing face and hands was sold for five cents and near the depot a bath might be had for a dime (Forbes 1938, 9)."



Figure 33. Water Standpipe Affords One Hundred Feet Stream of Water

The *Oklahoma Capital* dated, Saturday, April 27, 1889 reported:

Wells were being sunk as rapidly as possible, and good water is obtained in large quantities at from 30 to 50 feet. Plenty of good water in Deer Creek....water sells for five cents per quart.

Banks sprang up in tents immediately on the afternoon of 22 April, by bankers and would-be bankers. Even though, there was no law providing for organization of banks, nor for regulating them. Other banks followed in temporary buildings within a few days with more substantial institutions established later (Wenner 1939, 37). Mr. Albert Wright, who was mentioned earlier, on 23 April, went to the express office for his trunk and waited in line for five hours. He handed the attendant a bank draft that was not accepted because he could only receive cash. Mr. Wright borrowed three dollars from his neighboring claimant and went back to get his trunk. Next day, Mr. Wright deposited his bank drafts for collection with a bank operating in a tent (Wright 1949, 3). Another incident concerning the banking business had to do with one bank that opened in a small frame shack with no front and an incomplete roof several days after the opening. The following September, the bank moved into a handsome two story brick edifice, with stone trimmings and granite columns at the entrance. This bank's fine new home was built on a lot that was contested by six or eight other claimants. Later, when depositors wanted money, the bank failed and its officers fled. The money was in the building, but the depositors could not get it out. The method this bank used for organization was also unique. The three promoters sat around an improvised table in their unfinished shack and elected themselves officers. Each signed a note for \$10,000 and declared that the bank was organized and ready for business with a capital stock of \$30,000, "all loaned out." It was easy to start a bank and easy to get deposits, for everyman had a roll of money and

he wanted to put it where he thought it would be safe. The settlers soon found it was not safe because comparatively few of the financial ventures of that first year survived (Wenner 1939, 37). Some of the men who could not wait for the banks to open at least got the pleasure of losing their rolls betting on one of the “sure thing” games going full blasts on the streets of Guthrie that first day. While the men were gambling, the women kept their money in their stockings and provided the necessary funds in their hour of need (Wenner 1939, 38).

Between the land office and the railroad, flanking each side of what is now known as Oklahoma Avenue, Second Street and Harrison Street, covering every available foot of ground, were the tents and booths of the gamblers. Where every game of chance, from the simple throwing of dice to faro, was openly plied night and day. The better class of gamblers was constantly at work clearing the field of disreputable light-fingered robbers. If men were fleeced by certain gambling practices not allowed by the “gamblers code of honor,” the respectable gamblers would make sure their money was recovered and returned to them (Rock 1890, 28). The *Washington Post* on the April 24, 1889, reported:

Guthrie continues to feel outraged over the sharp practice of the government officials. The reports of murders by claim jumpers are unconfirmed, or rather they prove to be without foundation. Guthrie is in great need of a perfection of her municipal government; however, there is now collected a population of 6,000 to 10,000 and among them preside a large percentage of the criminal and vicious class. Among them all, there has been none to equal the Dodge City crowd, which made it famous in the dance house and gambling line when Dodge City was the end of the ‘little trail,’ and was considered the worst town on earth.

A *Washington Post* article dated April 25, 1889, said that order in Guthrie was phenomenal. There was no whiskey to be bought except the concoctions supplied by the newly established drug stores, or the small bottles brought on the run for snakebite.

The Washington Post, April 27, 1889 – GAMBLING FLOURISHES OPENLY- It has been the salvation of Guthrie that whiskey was not admitted and it is to this wise exclusion that the little violence is due.

While the town meeting was one of the major events of 23 April, the rest of the day was spent trying to set up businesses or housekeeping in tents or covered wagons. The first attempts at shelter were several tents partitioned together with dirt floors or board floors made from loose boards laid directly on across the ground (Wenner 1939, 23). And, the aristocrats wealthy enough to throw up a hastily built wooden structure still had little protection from wind, dust, insects, snakes or other varmints that had prior claim to the land. With this gathering of ten thousand people in Guthrie, it must be remembered that there was not a toilet facility on the “open” prairie, nor an abundance of trees to use for cover. Clean bodies, clean clothes, clean living, clean water and clean food were at a severe minimum. Prices of food were quadrupled as to surrounding states and the *Daily State Capital* dated April 27, 1889, described the prices as equal to a mining town. Frank Best, an 89’er discussed the general conditions were extremely hard, but there was little or no stealing (Best 1943, 31). Men would leave their property exposed in tents and on the prairie for hours, and even days, without it being molested. The borrowing of articles, and even money, was a common occurrence among men who were total strangers to each other, and in nearly every instance the property was honestly returned (Rock 1890, 55).

On 25 April, Colonel Dyer had been selected as Mayor of Guthrie Proper. An editorial in the *Washington Post* dated April 25, 1889, reported provisions continue to be scarce and that one man yesterday sold thirty barrels of bread, a loaf worth five cent sold

at fifteen cents or two for quarter. The supply ran out and while people were willing to pay the exorbitant price, it could not be had at all. Crackers found a ready sale at a dollar and a half per pound. To help curtail the scarcity of goods, a grocer announced that he had given fifty dollars to have his railway car opened so that he could sell the contents to the starving people. And, Fred Wenner stated, "everything needed to build cities, equip homesteads and sustain the population of fifty or sixty thousand had to be brought in by trains or freighters' wagons (Wenner 1939, 24)." *The Washington Post*, April 27, 1889:

BEAUTIES OF OKLAHOMA - The railroad is slowly issuing the snarl in which the glut of local traffic involves it, but though baggage provision, and other supplies are being delivered to quantities sufficient to relieve destitution, the service is far behind the requisites of comfort.

Chicago reporter defends railroads. An editorial written by a Chicago reporter defending the railroads appeared in the *Washington Post* under the headliner "OKLAHOMA AT PEACE." It read:

Officials of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad claim that information just received from reliable parties on the ground is to the effect that little or no foundations in fact exists for the recent rumors that settlers in Oklahoma are suffering for supplies. Special attention is being given to this matter by the company, and commissaries, emigrant outfits, and other necessities of life are being hurried forward as promptly as possible. All trains, they say are moving regularly, and while it is impossible to handle all freight that is offered without any delay. The above classes of traffic are receiving special attention under specific instructions from the management (*Saturday, April 27, 1889 Washington Post*).

Even though by 25 April, people were in need of supplies and water, contests for land title ran in the thousands, and there had been a report of a smallpox case, the visionary forces planning Guthrie's future were still undaunted. Frank Greer accompanied by two Mayors went to the most advantageous piece of land in Guthrie, ten acres located in Capitol Hill on a gently rolling elevated slope overlooking the other three

Guthries, to ask the people who had claimed the land to please vacate so that the future Capital Building of the State could be located there. After calling the people together with a bell, Greer explained from this location, the Capital Building would be visible from all locations of Guthrie, creating a most stately and picturesque landscape that could be enjoyed by all. By the next morning, the entire area was cleared (Grant 1980, 48).

Also, on 25 April, Frank Greer sold his lot on Broad and Cleveland [East Guthrie] for one-hundred fifty dollars. It had been the location for his tent that the Winfield Group brought him on 22 April, and the first beginnings of his newspaper, "*The Daily State Capital*." With the money he made a down payment and purchased Frank Prouty and Will Little's newspaper, "*The Getup*" which had the distinction of being the first newspaper printed in Guthrie. Within the hour, Greer had the scanty printing outfit moved to the frame building Horace Speed was erecting for *The Daily State Capital* on Oklahoma Avenue between Division Street and First Street east on the northside. The structure only had the sides up and the rafters for the roof, with part of the floor laid. From earlier documentation concerning the location of Broad and Cleveland, it stated the Winfield Group had hired a town planner to plot the West One-half of Section Nine with Broad Street the main thoroughfare. Frank Greer selling the prime location of a corner lot at Broad and Cleveland, documents by 25 April, the preferred business area or prime location had to have been on Oklahoma Avenue where Frank Greer moved his business. His newspaper, *The Daily State Capital* ran an editorial on the April 27, 1889, that reported, "factions have arisen too locate where the principal business street should be." There are now three to four so-called "Main Streets." The Winfield, Kansas crowd laid one running east and west [Noble Avenue] from the corner of section eight. When the

“Legal Time Crowd” [described as those who waited for the legal time], laid out one two blocks further south, also running east and west. The legal time crowd also at the same time laid out another street running at right angles to the main street [Division Street]. Thus, Frank Greer on 25 April, moved his location and on 27 April, 1889, his paper published that a new main thoroughfare had been established – “Oklahoma Avenue.” In contrast to Greer’s editorial, Albert Wright stated his drug store at West Guthrie fronted Noble Avenue, the main thoroughfare to Guthrie Proper (Wright 1949, 3).

Frank Greer hired Frank Prouty [*The Getup*] on the same day he purchased the newspaper, needing his expertise in the printing business due to the tremendous demand for job work. With Prouty’s help, they worked together to fill orders for letterheads priced at fifteen dollars per thousand; envelopes, twelve dollars per thousand; and business cards, ten dollars per thousand. Greer stated, “everybody was trying to get his sign up and his business started, so fancy prices were not objected to (Greer and Thoburn 1936).” On 28 April, Horace Speed had finished the new frame building for the *Daily State Capital* and the paper began to come out in approved style. For the first twenty days of the business’ existence, it had from fifty to seventy-five dollars per day (Greer and Thoburn 1936, 277). While Greer was building his business and being the most prominent city planner, the most influential city builder, and the most progressive citizen of Guthrie, he was also defending himself against attempts by Ransom Payne and Veeder B. Paine’s attorneys to prove that Greer was a Sooner. It was reported there were four hundred pages of transcribed testimony, documenting Greer was a Sooner (Greer and Thoburn 1936, 279).

Wenner stated, “the papers of those first days in Oklahoma were outspoken and fearless – they called a spade a spade and were merciless in their criticisms of public officials. Everything that was news and a lot that wasn’t was published – when anything happened they said so without any equivocation or the modern qualifying statements such as it is alleged, or it is reported, or it is announced (Wenner 1939, 38).” The following is an example of Frank Greer’s editorials:

Two-thirds of the hell which has been raised in this town, and always in behalf of bad causes, has been raised by this mouthy egotist whose actions have always been as small as his brains. Having found a man who would loan him money enough to erect a building on lots he gained through the misfortune of a poor widow whose husband happened to be a sooner. . . . he has since been bloviating to the disgust of all modest people on ‘what I have done for this town!’ (Henderson 1980, 80).

The ‘Capital’ very quickly became the leading paper of Oklahoma, in time a really metropolitan sheet for many years. Other papers started in Guthrie that year were the News, Herald and Optic, all dailies, and several short-lived weeklies (Wenner 1939, 38).

The communication to the outside world from Guthrie was provided by one wire connected to Purcell, Oklahoma which had a single line strung from Arkansas City when the Santa Fe was built in 1884. Fred Wenner was a newspaper correspondent covering Guthrie who stated, “the railroad company had first claim on the wire and with the enormous traffic of twenty or more passenger trains and as many more freights on the division the first day [22 April] nobody else got a single chance at sending or receiving a message. The railway company was using the single wire to its utmost capacity and not a single word did anybody else get on the wire that day or night and mighty little for many days thereafter. We might have been in the desert of Sahara as far as sending out the

news by wire in Guthrie (Wenner 1939, 40).” Wenner described the newspaper correspondents sent their voluminous preliminary stories written the night before of Boomer camps, the soldiers, the lining up, the start of the “Run” and of the people swarming like bees upon the government townsites from Arkansas City the morning of 22 April, before starting for Guthrie. He said, “they drew strongly on their imaginations, painted word pictures vivid and thrilling, but the wildest guess, the greatest imaginative thrill, fell far short of the mark.” Since the correspondents did not have a method of sending their reports from Guthrie due to such a back up of messages, the reporters would wait for the mail trains at night to carry their editorials or ride to Arkansas City to use the Western Union there (Wenner 1939, 40). The *Washington Post* had an article dated April 25, 1889, that documented the problem of only having one line:

A dispatch from the Ponca on the Santa Fe Railroad, in the Ponca reservations, thirty miles south of Arkansas City says: The Western Union Telegraph Company has reached that point with a second wire, and will extend it to Purcell as fast as men and means can get it there. This wire is very much needed, and will greatly facilitate the getting of news from Oklahoma.

Social / Cultural Forces. Don Odom in his article “Guthrie, The First Capital” described that the wives and families began to arrive to tents only half erected, buildings only just begun or half completed. The kitchen was a campfire and the utensils consisted of a skillet, a warped kettle, battered tin cups, pans, spoons, and cutlery all dirty and smoke blackened and the menu was coffee, bacon, and beans three days a week (Odom 1979, 32). Fred Wenner stated, “Rolling up their sleeves and their skirts, the women started to bring order out of chaos. In a few days, men on neighboring lots or passing up the street, dropped in to see how home-like things looked; each leaving with the

determination to send for his women folk at the earliest opportunity.” The “women folk” were provided the comforts of home by the use of a privy built on a neighboring lot at a cost of nine cents a visit and as mentioned earlier, they had to visit the train depot to pay for a bath. Fred Horn provided “tent to tent” water delivery for drinking and cooking (Wenner 1939, 40).

Just as the settlers had overcome the fear of claim jumpers, ejecting Sooners off lots, deplorable living conditions, quadrupled prices for supplies, long lines at the post office, land office and restaurants, wind began to blow sand and dust continuously for days followed by a tornado. It blew down half of the tents in most of the town, wrecked buildings and scattered household goods and personal effects far and wide. And then, it began to rain, pouring for three and four days, ending with mud in every tent and unfinished buildings (Wenner 1939, 35).

Washington Post's article titled - BEAUTIES OF OKLAHOMA \ Red Dust Hides The Town From View - dated 27 April, 1889, reported, “A simoon swept the desert yesterday and Guthrie is buried in red dust. The wind rose at dawn, sweeping down from the cloudless sky. The red sand of the prairie was driven before it all day in stinging, stifling masses. Tents collapsed, roofs were raised, and everything light and loose has blown away.” According to Fred Wenner, the valiant women went through it all and never faltered. They helped picked up, shoveled, and swept the wrecked tents and restored the damaged shacks without a complaint (Wenner 1939) (see figure 34).

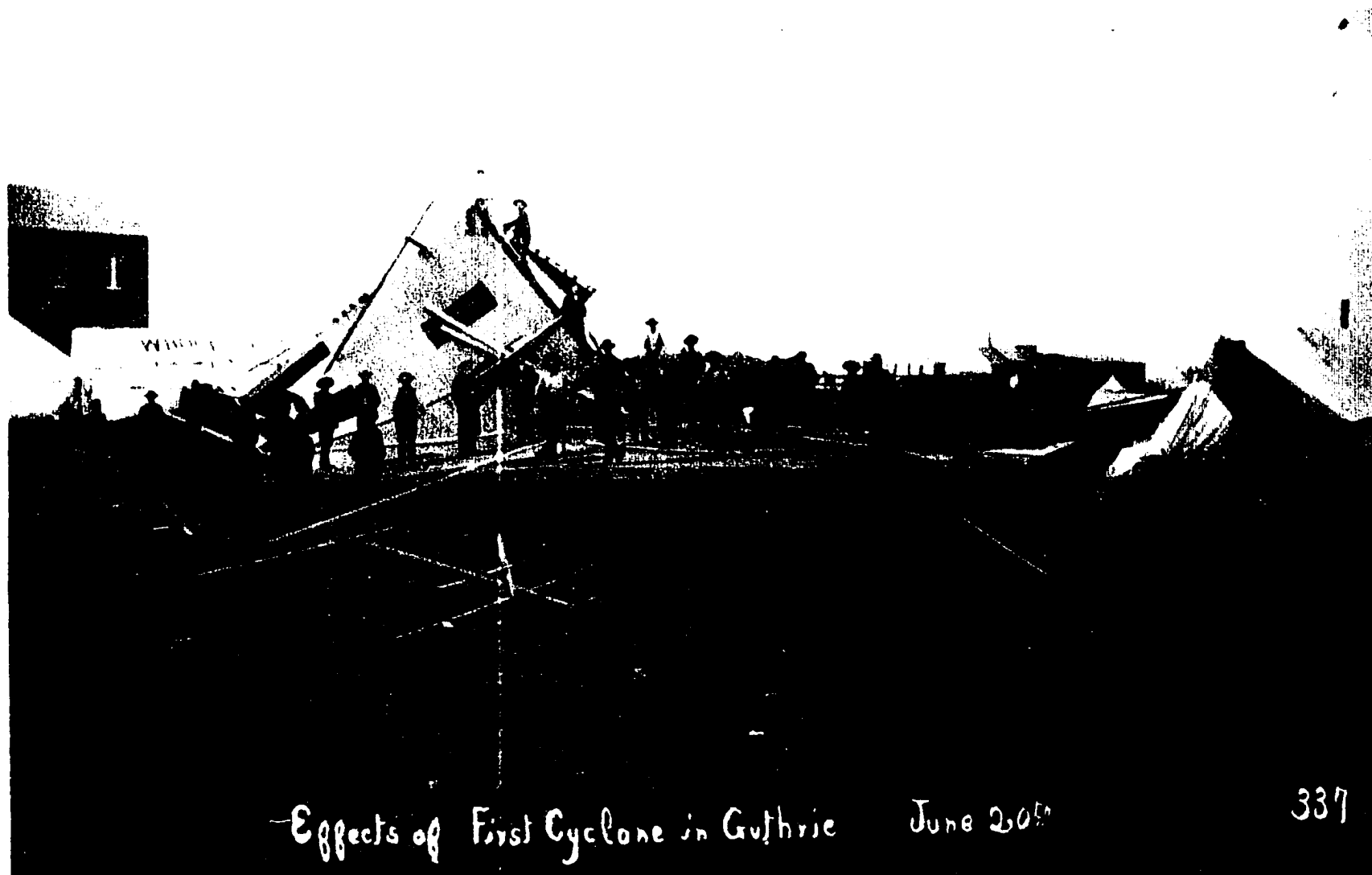


Figure 34. Guthrie's First Cyclone

The Central Nucleus To Guthrie's Stability And Prosperity. A town or city means a social organization of individuals performing different functions – carpenters, merchants, police, poets, priests, lawyers, doctors – with a government made up of leaders. It also means the physical shell in which the human group dwells, that is, buildings, streets, plazas, etc. The city made out of people is an organism. It has unity, and it is alive, which means it reacts, has self-preservation, self-coordination, grows, and multiplies (Arango 1970, 18). Guthrie had four provisional governments, but Guthrie Proper prevails throughout researched documentation to be the central nucleus. Guthrie's leaders were experienced legislatures and inexperienced lay people bonding together through their provisional governments to produce the Queen of the Territory. For example, Horace Speed built Frank Greer's building for the *State Capital*, he was a member of bar association where he had worked in the law offices of Benjamin Harrison for fifteen years, and he played a very active role as a leader in the government of Guthrie to help promote it to a commercial metropolis.

As has been discussed earlier, Guthrie had four governing centers due to sections 2387 and 2388 in the Revised Statutes of the United States that only allowed townsites of 320 acres. Don Odom stated,

The four towns became different entities with corporate boundaries and separate officials. In each town the most serious offense was lot jumping and was punishable by fines of twenty-five dollars to one hundred dollars. If one could not pay his fine at once he worked it out on the chain gang at one dollar per day. In East Guthrie, where trees were few, destroying a tree or a shrub drew a fifty-dollar fine. The same offense in Guthrie cost from five dollars to ten dollars. In West Guthrie, a tree-covered hilly area, it was overlooked entirely. In West Guthrie a man could call his dog in a loud and profane mannerism, but if he did so in East Guthrie, he could be fined twenty dollars. The Capitol Hill City Council deemed it a misdemeanor for a woman to appear on the streets dressed in a man's clothing or other sensational attire (Odom 1979, 28).

In the same article Don Odom described the administrative powers exercised by the four governments as passing and enforcing ordinances, imposing fines and jail sentences, making contracts, chartering banks, entering into fifty-year mining leases and levying taxes.

Frank Greer made this comment about Guthrie Proper, "the New Officers and Mayor have assumed office on 26 April, and have held their first meeting in a tent used as a City Hall. Pubic sentiment, and the necessity for self-preservation, will uphold the officers in keeping order and decency (Grant 1980, 38)."

Mayor Dyer and the City Council felt the lack of legal sanction for actions they might take. In order to procure for the use of the council all laws of Congress and proclamations of the President of the United States pertaining to the opening and settlement of the territory of Oklahoma. The council appointed a committee to confer with the U.S. Marshals as to the legal authority of the city (Grant 1980, 38). Also, at this same meeting, it was carried that all licensing power be placed in the hands of the Mayor. Since, the Treasurer's Cashbook does not mention occupation tax; it was therefore assumed to be a license people paid per month to do business (Territorial Museum Archival Library, 1889).

The Citizen's Survey and Arbitration Committees that were formed on 22 April [some sources state 23 April] now functioned under the Council's authority. Temporarily, the council placed all licensing power in the Mayor's hands [mayor form of government], and created a committee on ordinances to report at each meeting until otherwise ordered, and the Survey Committee formed on 23 April was directed to continue their functions (GP City Council Minutes 1889). As previously mentioned, the

town meeting on 23 April, unanimously voted to not accept the Sooner Townsite Plats and wanted to have an unbiased one engineered. Colonel Ross had hired engineer C.C. Howell of the Oklahoma and Toledo Investment Company to plat the town.

Surveys, plats, bridges, wells dug, temporary bridges were needed – all required money. Wenner explained, “the only money in sight was that on the tables in the tents of the gamblers, who had flocked in as they always had where any great crowd congregated. So, the first revenue obtained was from assessing them. They were use to this and paid promptly, as did also the dance hall people and scarlet women who came later (Wenner 1939, 30).”

How well the assessment tax worked was illustrated on the opening pages of the Guthrie Proper's City Treasurer's book beginning on 27 April after the tax was levied. The gamblers who paid the assessment were Thomas O'Reilly five dollars, over and under; G.W. Bennyfield five dollars, striking machine; John Scott five dollars, three balls; U.N. Bough five dollars, chuck luck; S.U. McFeaster five dollars, chuck luck; John R. Boyles five dollars, chuck luck; Mr. Pierce five dollars, spindle game; L.U. Smiley five dollars, faro; M.M. Thomas five dollars, swinging ball; Albert Chadsey five dollars, chuck luck; Bob Springer five dollars, dice case; J.H. Belan five dollars, dice case; F.W. Blood five dollars, chuck luck; John Taylor five dollars, prize soap; Mandy Thomas five dollars, chuck luck; F.W. Blood five dollars, prize soap; Chas Beran five dollars, box & balls; Sam Bowers five dollars, dice case; R.S. Reans five dollars, dice case; C. French five dollars, spindle game; Ed White five dollars, chuck luck; J.J. Leary five dollars, chuck luck; Jno C. Rollins five dollars, chuck luck, G.W. King five dollars, stud poker; Mimon Coriat five dollars, chuck luck (Guthrie Proper City Council Minutes

1889). These totaled twenty-seven gamblers who paid five dollars each and provided the treasury one hundred and thirty-five dollars.

At the city council meeting held at nine o'clock on 27 April, the Mayor and clerk of Guthrie Proper responded to a communication from East Guthrie and common council to appropriate two hundred dollars from available funds for the use of the surveying committee. At Guthrie Proper's city council meeting on 29 April, they made a motion to confer with the Surveying Engineer. One day later, 30 April, at approximately 9:45 A.M., the council voted that people in the city occupying streets should be notified to vacate the streets rapidly as possible. This motion makes one assume that on 29 April, Guthrie Proper's city council approved the townsite plat to vote on 30 April, to remove people from the streets. Previously, there were no streets, alleys, or any specified main thoroughfares. Except Frank Greer as stated by Valorie Grant's article that he sold his lot at Broad and Cleveland on 25 April, to be on Oklahoma Avenue where his building was already being framed.

At seven o'clock on 29 April, the council met again to issue an order for the City Marshall to serve a "summons" on all parties occupying any streets or alleys of the city to vacate within twenty-four hours from the time of notice. At the same meeting, a motion was carried to adopt a warranty certificate at a cost of fifty cents for a title certificate whether it was a contested or uncontested claimant and the names of the east and west streets were adopted. The City Council Minutes had a notation, "to see the plat filed in the safe (GP City Council Minutes 1889)." John Alley described Guthrie's street layout in City Beginnings. The description:

The street laid out along the dividing line between sections 8 and 9 was named Division Street: the streets were then numbered First, Second,

Third, etc., to the west line of the 320 acre tract. Later on, the General Land Office issued a new order releasing the original government acre to the settlers who occupied it and designating a new one farther west upon which the temporary land office had been built. Today, the Federal Building at Guthrie stands on the site formerly occupied by this temporary land office and a row of short blocks extending a half mile on either side of this building breaks in upon the symmetry throughout the city generally. Likewise, the name Division Street remains as a reminder to the old settlers that in the beginning this street was the actual division between Guthrie and East Guthrie.

The licensing tax was used by Guthrie Proper to raise revenue which provided for the levying and collection of a tax on every occupation, business, and profession being conducted in Guthrie. Extremely difficult to collect, delinquencies mounted until the council was forced to take action. The council enacted another ordinance allowing them to bring charges against anyone failing to pay the tax, and place a lien against their property [property at this time, they had no title to] until they paid the tax in full. The only means to raise municipal revenues was the occupation or license tax and the police courts [used to collect delinquent taxes]. Rates ran from fifty cents a month for lemonade and peanut stands to fifty dollars a month for banks. Shows and circuses paid from twenty-five to one hundred dollars a day. According to the Treasurer's Cashbook, the first entry on 29 April, for one hundred ten dollars was from a police judge with the notation "a/c fines." The next police judge entry was 30 April, for one hundred and eighty dollars. Then, two businesses were listed paying a license fee – A.P. Allen auctioneer 30 April, ten dollars and Payton Comedy 30 April, twenty-five dollars. These collected taxes allowed Guthrie Proper to pay the two hundred dollar survey bill requested by East Guthrie (GP City Council Minutes 1889).

The Washington Post, April 27, 1889 - BEAUTIES OF OKLAHOMA - There are now five cities included in this camp – North, South, East and West Guthrie, and Guthrie Proper. The latter covers the 320 acres

supposed to have been set apart for town purposes, and includes the depot, post office, and land office about which the heart of the city may be said to pulsate. The others circumscribe the suburbs with tents and blankets.

Marion Rock gave further definition to the townsites when she described, "Capital Hill which adjoins East Guthrie on the east is destined to become the most fashionable as well as desirable residential portion of Guthrie (Rock 1890, 40).

Fred Wenner said in the beginning of Guthrie's development, there was no social castes, or cliques, no "wrong side of the track." Everybody was on an equal footing. The best dress women at early social functions often came from the smallest tents. He also spoke of the first "theatrical season" of Guthrie opened 30 April, eight days after the Run with the "Compton Comedy Company" presenting in a tent a melodrama, "Driven From Home," paying the City Treasurer thirty dollars for the privilege (Wenner 1939, 30). The Treasurer's 1889 Cashbook listed a Payton Comedy Company paying on 30 April, twenty-five dollars for a license to perform (GP City Council Minutes 1889).

Guthrie's first townscape was a city of tents with a number of wooden structures built for protection on land with questionable title. Throughout the discussion on townscapes there have been different glimpses from different sources that described a different vision as to the quality of tents, people and wooden buildings. Guthrie's townscape was in its embryonic stage before birth and the forces creating that new breathe of life were educated, professional, aggressive, futuristic, entrepreneurial citizens who endured hardships of no food, water or shelter. They were exposed to unclean and unsanitary living conditions that produced the fear of diseases such as smallpox. Once they were in the middle of nowhere, the only way out was by train and the only

communication was one telegraph wire and a mail train that came at night. But, the settlers never faltered. They came to build a Capital City, a place to make their homes.

Urban Townscape Forces Spiraling Into Form

The townscape began to take shape with the use of a town plat that provided streets, alleys, parks, schools, churches, blocks, lots and the foundation in which the other evolving townscapes would be built. The political and social/cultural were the most dynamic forces of the urban eco-system spiraling together to hold the community together against tremendous odds while the forces of economical entrepreneurship, the physical form of the city, and technological endeavors were gaining their momentum. It was the urban eco-systems' five forces connecting, inter-weaving, bonding, and competing that led the methodical advancement creating a more substantial built environment preparing the way for the next evolution of Guthrie's townscape.

The following two editorials describe Guthrie's first townscape and the entrepreneurial spirit that prevailed:

Washington Post 26 April, 1889 - OKLAHOMA AT PEACE - A marked improvement has come over the aspect of Guthrie in the last twenty-four hours. Everything is moving rapidly toward an intelligent and peaceful settlement. Water of fair quality is attainable, and the resumption of reasonable regular supplies. Twenty houses built in Chicago and shipped here in sections are up. A thousand tents are standing. A strong samaritanism makes the necessities of life common property. There is shelter for all who want it and the cautious thousand who prefer to sleep on the turf of their own lots have their blankets.

Washington Post, 4 May, 1889 - OKLAHOMA IS BOOMING - There are five banks and six newspapers in the new town of Guthrie.

To bring closure to the first nine days of Guthrie's lively existence, a statement in the article "Voices From The Land Run Of 1889" written by Brad Agnew encapsulates that moment in time, 22 April- 30 April (Agnew 1985, 28):

It is not the excitement and color, the violence and conflict, or even the hardship and suffering that should be commemorated. It is the spirit, grit, and determination of a German cowboy, an Ohio Boomer, an English immigrant, a Kansas widow and her three small children, and thousands of other courageous and determined men, women, and children who pioneered America's forty-sixth state.

Humanity's Intrusion into the Symphony of Natural Dynamic Forces:
"Urban Design without Urban Designers"

The visual coherence and organization of the four Guthrie's had within nine days begun to establish an urban settlement pattern - Capitol Hill, the affluent residential area; Guthrie Proper, the pulse of the heartbeat [business area]; and the other two Guthrie's as surrounding suburbs to the central area. Guthrie began to build from a site location without any previous thought as to its impact on health of its residents, comfort, economy or community stability. Guthrie's site was selected, from Secretary Noble looking at a map of Oklahoma District and without any previous knowledge, he pointed to two locations, one of which was Guthrie, being the center of the map. It was fortunate for the settlers that Guthrie did have a rolling landscape conducive to good drainage, and had a water source with the Cottonwood River on the West and Snake Creek on the south. Once the immigrants arrived, the site selection was irreversible and the Guthrie residents became overnight urban designers and urban planners. They as designers and planners had to deal with the holistic morphology of the city as well as with urban details such as street width, form, configuration, and orientation, building heights, city compactness or dispersion, urban open space integration or segregation of land uses, and other related physical issues such as sanitation, disposal of refuse, unpolluted water supply, streetcar services, lights for city streets, and maximizing the public welfare, etc.

In June of 1889, Joseph Foucart, Belgium born – “Parisian” architect, began to dictate the man-made physical form of Guthrie by his professional norms, standards, and values based on his professional beliefs as an architect. He may have conceptualized Guthrie as a collective work of art with harmony and artistic unity as its goal. Foucart’s Guthrie was a whole monument instead of primarily a base for expansion into other territories. Therefore, human-made designs of Foucart, Villeroy and Bennet were intermingled with natural climatic elements, physical configurations [natural landscape], and man-made urban details [streetlights, sidewalks, streets, etc.] to develop through time the urban townscape. The collaboration of the exceptional city leaders [urban designers/planners] and the outstanding architects directed the visual image, structure and arrangement of Guthrie’s evolving townscapes.

Evolving Political Forces: Guthrie Proper’s
City Council Minutes – 1889 / 1890
1 May– 27 May, 1889

Thus, the City Council Members of Guthrie Proper were busy building their city, primarily the business district. On *1 May*, it appropriated fifty dollars as a contribution to assist in the fencing of Capitol Square in Capitol Hill so that Guthrie Proper would have an interest in that city. It reconsidered making a block 580 feet long by 300 feet in width from a point forty feet west of the one-quarter section. Also on *1 May*, the council made a contract to dig three wells. On *2 May*, there was a resolution to open Second Street its entire length and full width, and passed a resolution that J.R. Randell be granted twenty-four hours to remove his improvements from the street [it doesn’t specify which street] beginning at 5:00 P.M.

Guthrie's Juggernaut - The Board of Arbitration

The Board of Arbitration members were appointed - J.T. Hill, Dr. S.S. Sargent, General J.C. Jamison, Wm. Crookes and G.S. Snyder according to ordinance number thirteen. The Board was given the authority to select a clerk and he would have the authority to administer oaths. The Council ordered that Isacc Peyton's Comedy Company be licensed to only pay ten dollars, and also ordered the Occupation Tax Ordinance be amended taxing the billiard tables three dollars per month, shooting gallery five dollars per month, peanut vender one dollar and fifty cents per month, and knife ringing stand fifty cents per month (GP City Council Minutes 1889).

The Board of Arbitration elected J.T. Hill Chairman and E.B. Walker as Clerk. This board in its decisions ignored all rules of law and evidence as observed in courts of record (Guthrie Proper Board of Arbitration) (see figure 35). The time that a contestant entered the Territory was not taken into consideration. This gave the "Sooner" element a decided advantage, an advantage that resulted in the loss of a home to many an honest poor man. This board was a law unto itself. It was responsible to no other power, and as there was no appeal or redress, except through the federal court at Muskogee, many an unfortunate litigant submitted to its arbitrary decisions, thus losing what legally and rightfully belonged to him. Marion Rock articulated her opinion of the Board by stating, "the arrogance and downright impudence indulged by members of those organizations was not only a burlesque on law, but an insult to common decency. They made themselves so odious to the bar and the people that it is marvelous they were tolerated as long as they were. In justice to those boards, however, it should be stated that they acted



Figure 35. Guthrie Proper Board of Arbitration: A Law Unto Itself

entirely under instructions from the City Council (Rock 1890, 40). She further identified her thoughts about the City Councils:

Unfortunately for the interests of these cities, a considerable number of those chosen to administer their affairs from the first are charged with entering the Territory in violation of law. . . . If it were possible to do so – which it is not – it would be far better to bury the irregularities in the past management of these cities, and leave no marks, whereby their graves could not be found by those who in the immediate future will make Guthrie the largest and most prosperous city in the new Southwest.

Political, Economic and Technological Forces. Frank Greer would publish in his paper, “pay your occupation tax if you are delinquent. There is no excuse sufficient to let you out (Grant 1980, 44).”

The City Council 3 *May*, voted to take two hundred dollars from the treasury to finish paying for the bridge that was erected across Cottonwood Creek near the foot of Oklahoma Avenue. A motion was carried to open First Street, the first street west of Division Street from end to end [east one-half of section eight]. Ordinance Fifteen was initiated to pay a fixed salary to the City Councilor for one hundred and fifty dollars per month for two months only, and the petition from Harry Stewart et al to open a Dance Hall and Sporting Hall was refused.

The *Daily State Capital* dated Saturday, 4 May, 1889, reported, “a new bridge has been built across the Cottonwood Creek just near the town. It is no doubt the first to be erected in the territory. Another editorial in the *Daily Capital* dated 4 May, 1889, boasted:

Guthrie has ten stage lines, a bridge company, three cigar factories, ten wholesale lumber yards, two wholesale supply companies, five printing and newspaper offices of which the *Capital* is the Eli, three banks, two

wholesale and retail stores, one hardware store, one hotel, and last, but not least, a twenty thousand dollar electric plant to be opened in ninety days.

At this time, 4 *May*, 1889, according to the above city council minutes, a Committee on Lights had not been formed, and an editorial appeared in the *Washington Post* dated 4 May, 1889, that stated Guthrie was booming, it had six newspapers and five banks. It does seem that Frank Greer does exaggerate the facts.

The 4 May, 1889 edition of the *State Capital* also had an editorial titled THE REGISTER OF THE GRAND PACIFIC HOTEL. It expressed that the leading hotel of the city so far appeared to be the Grand Pacific and like King Solomon's temple, neither 'saw nor hammer' was used in its construction. The hotel consisted of *fifty tents*, five of which were used for dining rooms, the rest as chambers. The location was East Guthrie, two blocks from the Land Office. The editorial described that the Grand Pacific Hotel would become a frame building with fifty rooms.

On 4 *May*, the council appropriated two hundred dollars for emergency help for treatment of a smallpox case. And, the U.S. States Marshall from the Muskogee Courts served the Mayor and Council a notice to appear in court to explain why they were interfering with Grant Stanley's occupancy of land in Guthrie .

About 4 May, O.H. Richards, an 89er was selling newspapers for his old friend Frank Greer in Guthrie when he discovered a young man in his tent very sick. He said, "the man's face was broken out with boils and had a deep flush, indicating high fever." Richards' replied to the man's request for a bucket of clean water and he hurried away and didn't tell anyone. In a few days, Richards stated, "after swearing everyone at the table to secrecy, the physician told us that a case of smallpox had been found in a tent not

far away from here. They had quarantined the patient out in the country and hired a Negro who had previously had the disease, to take care of the patient. I asked the doctor to show me the tent and to my amazement, it was the same tent in which I had found the sick man (Richards 1948, 5).”

The city council on *6 May* made a motion to grant a franchise for water works to a company who would proceed to put the wells in at once. The mayor appointed a committee of three to procure electric lights for the city. Mr. Moran filed an objection against the action of the council for ordering First Street opened through the block lying east and south of Government Acre. A motion was moved to discharge all engineers in the employ of the city and that five hundred dollars be appropriated to pay surveyors. And, Colonel Ross was instructed to plot out and stake Oklahoma Avenue from First Street down to Second Street. On *7 May*, Mr. Bolls addressed the Council that Second Street should not to be opened because it would not benefit the citizens in that vicinity. There were nine lots represented in the protest and they front to the north and south. Colonel Ross advised against closing Second Street and that the block remains as filed. Mr. Whitley reported to the committee on electric lights stating that the associated press had been informed. Third Street Committee chairman stated they found six lot holders that want to front south, four want to front north, and eleven want to front west.

On *8 May*, the City Council morning session moved that the plat of the city as now platted should be adopted. Before the motion to adopt the plat, Mr. Moran moved that lots east of Government Acre should be twelve lots, twenty feet by one hundred forty feet and one lot twelve by one hundred forty feet, fronting on Oklahoma Avenue. The motion was carried. The *8 May* evening session of the City Council approved Ordinance

Number Twenty. It created a committee to award Certificates of Ownership to persons settled on lots in Guthrie Proper in which there was no contests. There was also a motion for a committee to be appointed to look after the sanitary condition of the city. A motion was made that the “privies” should not be dug in the ground and covered up, that boxes shall be placed in the hole. There were several committees appointed - a committee to investigate the street railroad; to remove a stone on Harrison Avenue; to select a lot or lots for the location of a City Hall and Guard House; and an ordinance was passed prohibiting enclosure of lots with barbed wire.

While the City Council and its citizens were going about their business building Guthrie without any real title to its townsite, the federal government was with “due diligence” actively investigating the many contest concerning the townsite claims. On 8 May, MacBride wrote to Secretary Noble and reported, “it was a melancholy truth that deputy marshals and deputy collectors caused more trouble, more friction, and perpetrated more wrongs calculated to disturb the public peace than all the other citizens of Oklahoma District put together (Chapman 1957, 394). And, on 8 May, Land Inspector Pickler and MacBride wrote a report to Secretary Noble identifying Collector Acers [Nelson F. Acers] of Kansas, as responsible for more deputies who had acquired lands and town lots in Oklahoma Territory than both of the marshals put together. They stated:

Acers was instructed by the Internal Revenue Commissioner to designate certain men from whom Special Agent [George R.] Clark could select when the occasion required Internal Deputies. Acers designated an unknown number. Not one of these men reported to Clark, and they were only deputies to the extent of having authority to enter the Territory before twelve o’clock noon. This enabled them to acquire town lots and other advantages (Chapman 1957, 394).

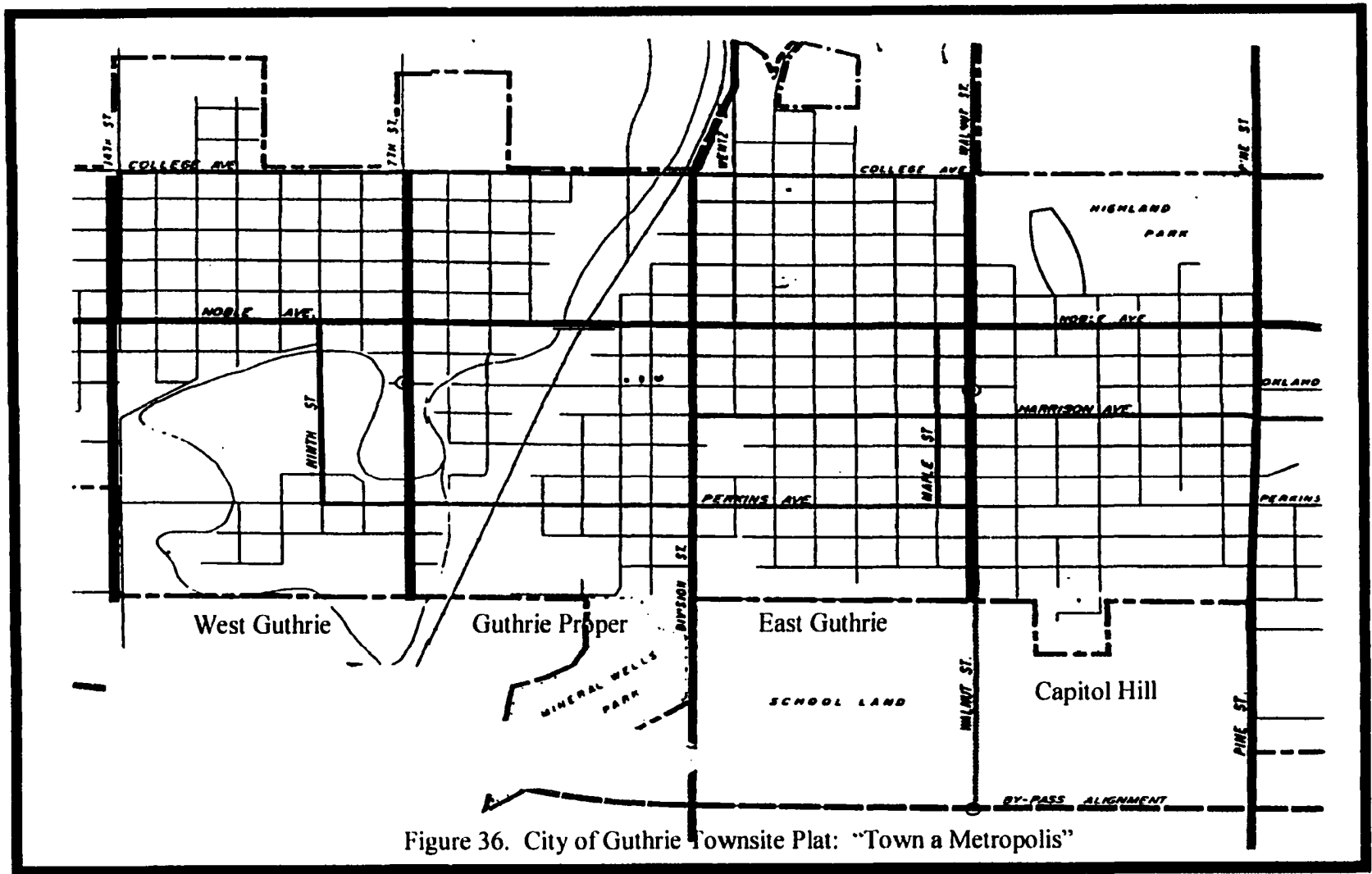
The Chapman articles were included to emphasize many different forces were at work actively intermingling to facilitate Guthrie's legal settlement.

Official Townsite Plat Adopted

Valorie Grant 's article "The Editor and the Magic City" stated that the Survey Committee presented the plat to the people on 12 May, and after it was approved, it was sent to the U.S. Land Office for registration. According to the above City Council minutes, the plat was adopted on 8 May, not 12 May. The *Daily State Capital* dated 4 May, 1889, announced, "the official plat has been filed, the streets cleared, staked, and named. A man is safe in buying property in Guthrie." Grant's article further stated that the townplat registration encouraged business investments. Now secure in their land holdings, entrepreneurs felt free to establish their businesses on a permanent basis. Each man gave his labors or funds to pay for labor of others. By early May with the city platted and trade flourishing, real estate prices spiraled. Two days after settlement homestead rights on staked lots sold for fifty dollars and in May they jumped to four hundred fifty dollars. As a deepening sense of security prevailed, Guthrie's citizens turned willingly to the task of making their "town a metropolis (Grant 1980, 40) (see figure 36)."

Water/Sanitation Practices and Facilities

O.H. Richards,' discussed earlier, came to Guthrie with his cousin to file their homesteads. He described Guthrie, approximately on 4 or 5 May, as a shiftless and begrimed crowd of thirty thousand. Richards' talked about Harrison Avenue as the business district with a solid line of tents, groceries stores, restaurants, doctors and lawyers offices. He also added that the residential sections were covered in tents. The



water supply was obtained from wells with the principal well being on Harrison Avenue. It was kept going all of the time. People stood in lines with buckets waiting their turn at the pump to receive water that was discolored and had a brackish taste. Richards' stated, "There was a public toilet off the main street, housed in a tent with a main entrance and exit. It always had a long line. An enterprising old Negro established a private toilet on his lot and charged ten cents for its use and he had a thriving business (Richards 1948, 3)."

The army physician at Camp Guthrie notified Mayor Dyer to have the town immediately policed for unsanitary conditions. He warned, "The conditions of the streets of this town could not be worse. . . . The citizens have no idea of keeping their lots clear of refuse (Lentz 1990, 50)."

Political Forces Continue to Shape Guthries Built Environment through the City Council.

The City Council met on 9 *May*, at 8:30 P.M. The Committee on Sanitation reported that they had visited and instructed the people of the dangers and to exercise care. The City Attorney presented a petition to have a bridge constructed across the south end of Second Street. It was decided to appoint two police officers from the existing force whose special duty will be to patrol different portions of the city and notify all person pursuing an occupation tax by Ordinance Twelve. The police officer will alert the person and report the names to council of business people who are not paying their occupation tax, and if the person fails or refuses to pay within twenty-four hours, the police officer will make an arrest and hold him for prosecution. It was moved that the

Council form an ordinance creating two Justices of the Peace (GP City Council Minutes 1889).

On *10 May*, the Council made a motion to pay the surveyors and laborers one hundred and fifty dollars and the Ordinance for the City Jail was passed. A motion was carried on *13 May*, to clear First Street of all obstructions. The Council on behalf of the people made a formal application to enter as a townsite for Guthrie Proper, the East One-half of Section Eight, Township Sixteen, North Range Two West of the Indian Meridian, and to file with the application a certified copy of the survey. From the above documentation, it appears that the Council did not present the plat to the people, it made application *in behalf of the people* for a townsite. Also on *13 May*, there was a petition to create an alley in the *Times Newspaper* Block [Block Fifty-eight – Division Street to First Street / Harrison Avenue to Vilas Avenue] and an petition instructing the Marshal to proceed in clearing the streets. Mayor Dyer stated he had “let” the contracts for the City Hospital and Jail and passed an Ordinance Number Twenty-seven, assessing certificate fees to different blocks. The Council approved Ordinance Number Twenty-eight that created a position for a Treasurer, a City Register, City Clerk and Notaries (GP City Council Minutes 1889).

After the Marshals were ordered to clear First Street, they used two logs fastened together with chains and on each log were four harnessed mules (Lentz 1990, 57). Valorie Grant described there was little trouble encountered from the people who lost their claims. The City Council meetings seem to indicate otherwise in that they received a petition accompanied by a lawyer to “lay-off” the allotment of Grant Stanley and to appear in court in Muskogee to answer question as to the Arbitration Boards. Also, the

City Council minutes document that many people came to the meeting concerned about streets, lot sizes, lot frontage, arbitration boards, etc. starting with the first town meeting, April 23, 1889 (GP City Council Minutes 1889).

The *15 May*, City Council meeting heard from Committees on Blocks Number Forty-one and Fifty-seven. The Council listened to a petition from people living in Block Number Fifty-four who were concerned over the layout of their block. Block Fifty-five petitioned to have the rock removed on Harrison Avenue and to have the street across from the Santa Fe railroad opened. And, there was a motion to have a bridge built at the end of the street to cross over the Cottonwood Creek to the reach the west end of Guthrie Proper. The Council passed and approved Ordinance Number Twenty-six that prohibited the keeping of a Bawdy House. Mr. Cunningham representing the citizens of Guthrie Proper presented an ordinance to provide for an election of “new” City Council Officers who felt the Council members were moving beyond their initial duties, especially with the appointment of the “Unabitrary Arbitration Boards.”

In May, arbitrary authority and money brought Greer in conflict with the City Council. Expenditures and ordinances were enacted until the citizens raised their cry of fraud and tyranny. In less than one month, 26 April– 15 May, the City Council passed thirty-three ordinances with the appointment of several new officers, as identified by the aforementioned city council minutes. Valorie Grant’s article “The Editor and The Magic City” stated the people were “up in arms” over twenty-five ordinances instead of thirty-three. The Thirty-fourth Ordinance was to allow the city election of new City Council Officers. The Council’s original purpose was to oversee and be responsible for a survey and a plat of the town. Greer exclaimed, “these other attempts at legislation are willful

violation of the compact with the people and usurpation of authority.” Using his newspaper as the people’s voice, he advised the Council to set up a regular election and let the people voice their approval or disapproval of the Council membership at the polls (Grant 1980, 45). The City Council had placed a large printing order with the *Optic*, one other printing order with another printing company, and the *Times* was designated as the Guthrie Proper City Council supplier. It would be probable that Frank Greer retaliated with using his newspaper to plant seeds of doubt in the minds of Guthrie Proper citizens. With the Council Members meeting twice a day and being available at all times, it seem peculiar that the citizens became so outraged. But, in retrospect, Cunningham’s 15 May, petition was to stop the Arbitration Boards. The citizens felt they were unfair and devious in their position. And, the people were not given a voice in their selection or duties. Chapman’s article “The Legal Sooners” stated that Land Inspector Pickler found the first Board of Arbitration awarded lots to the first occupant and did not consider “Soonerism” in passing upon the right to lots (Chapman 1957, 394). M. M. Thompson in a report to Benjamin Harrison stated, “An honest settler in this town has no show at all as the U.S. Marshals and W.S. Commissioners and other here have banded themselves together and are robbing the settlers of their possession by setting themselves up as a Board of Abitration (Chapman, 1957, 394).” The City Council defended themselves with the reply, “it was the question of the Federal Government to determine the proper time of settlement within the Territory, and it was the Council’s when the entrance was made upon the Townsite (Chapman, 1957, 394).

On 16 May, the City Council had four items of business. First, the Committee on the Jail advised to pay the bill for two hundred and fifteen dollars; Second, a petition was

presented from people on Block Number Fifty-four; Third, an ordinance was introduced to prohibit any attorney-at-law from appearing before any Board of Arbitration or Police Court in the City unless the occupation tax had been paid; and fourth, a motion was carried to appoint a Committte on Street Grading (GP City Council Minutes 1889).

On *18 May*, at the City Council meeting, a petition signed by one hundred and six businessmen was presented demanding the city administrators' to stand strong against the ordinance demanding a new election of officers. This clearly implied that Guthrie contained two opposing factions of people, one to re-elect and one asserting be firm, encouraging business as usual. On this date, it was agreed that 4 June, would be the election date. The *18 May*, City Council meeting adopted the ordinance to change Block Fifty-four.

Mr. Townsley presented a petition from the people at the next Council Meeting on *20 May*. It requested the Council to stop the actions of the Arbitration Board, and the Committees on Arbitration. A motion by council not to accede to the petition carried. The Committee on Bridges reported that an appropriation of fifty dollars should be made and it was carried.

On *22 May*, the Council had four items of business that pertained to Guthrie's built environment. Colonel Ross, head of survey, read a petition from lots seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, and twelve in Block Number Thirty who were petitioning to change the plat. A motion to accept the proposition of Mr. Howell to furnish the grades of the City for one hundred fifty dollar was carried. There was another motion to appoint a Committee of Merchants to act on street grading and sidewalks with Mr. Croton in charge of Harrison Avenue and Mr. McLain in charge of Oklahoma Avenue. And, Mr. Whitley

reported on Electric Light and Street Railroads and stated that the Council should attend to these franchises.

Miss Daisy addressed the Council on 23 *May*, in regard to the need of Public Schools and stated that she had counted some two hundred children of school age. The motion was made and seconded that the Mayor would appoint three citizens in each of the five wards to act as a committee for school purposes [five wards of Guthrie Proper].

There was a special order of business at the 24 *May*, City Council meeting. Mr. Chas W. Constantine of the first town meeting fame spoke to the Council and then read the Franchise, which he desired to be granted to George Hoadler, McMahon, and Chas W. Constantine. Then, Mr Atterbury, Mr. Brown, Mr. Constantine and Mr. Colton addressed the Council. On vote by secret ballot, *the Westinghouse System of Electric Lighting* was adopted. And, there was an Ordinance Number Forty to create a public park.

The people of Guthrie Proper had petitioned the City Council twice to stop the activities of the Arbitration Boards. On 26 *May*, when this Board tried to eject an elderly man from his claim and give it to another claimant the crowd became enraged. The crowd forced the Marshals to leave and followed them to the City Hall. Green stated, "At this point, Captain H.G. Cavanaugh, the Garrison Commander arrived on the scene (Green 1989, 123)."

The 27 *May*, City Council meeting moved to pay the Engineers' bill of fifty-nine dollars and twenty-five cents. A motion was passed that theatres be taxed three dollars per diem; a motion to open the alley running north and south in Block Number Fifty-five. On 28 *May*, the Council referred a petition for a Guthrie Hook and Ladder Company

[Fire Department] to the Committee on Ordinances. Guthrie's City Council and the Council of East Guthrie were going to try to raise enough money to purchase a gong, ladder, wagon, buckets, etc. The Lot Owners of Twenty-five, Twenty-six, Twenty-seven, Twenty-eight and Twenty-nine in Block Forty-seven petitioned the Council to leave their block as it was now surveyed and they were against any change of frontage on Cleveland Avenue. There was a motion that a committee be appointed to see about the culvert on Cleveland Avenue and Second Street with power to act and expend the sum of twenty-five dollars provided the citizens will raise as much or more.

The City Council in 1889 were the urban designers and planners establishing Guthrie's social identity and ethics that shaped along with the natural environment, its urban form and configuration. These ethics or social values were reflected in Guthrie's citizenry responding to the environment and further expressed through their human-made physical environment, which included schools, buildings, houses, factories, streets, public parks, government acre, the townsite plat, bridges, electrical lights, water mains, fire departments, etc. In essence, the City Council was responsible for composing the physical form of the city. To create this composition, there had to be harmony between the Council and the individual to collaborate and develop the spatial patterns necessary for enhancing the continuity, safety, and social order for the future "Queen City."

Marion Rock expressed in her book History of Oklahoma that from the settlement of Oklahoma and the birth of Guthrie, she [Guthrie] was the chosen one. . . . "Her delightful location, together with the advantage of the Land Office, made her the objective point for those entering the Territory. There was more written and said about Guthrie than about any other city in Oklahoma. Page after page of Eastern magazine

literature, both illustrative and descriptive have been devoted to “Great Guthrie,” her wonderful settlement and growth. The daily press, not only of this country, but throughout Europe, has never ceased to depict in glowing colors the advantages of this Magic City of Oklahoma. Her active and brainy men, her brilliant and cultured women, her churches, school, and advanced society has been dwelt upon by the best writers of the age. Then, again, she has had some of the most distinguished men of the West in Washington to look after her interests. She had been the pet of the Federal Government as well as of a coterie of Congressmen, and the seeming favorite of that colossus of railways, the Santa Fe (Rock 1890).”

The Queen City’s Urban Forces
Continually Spiraling
Evolving into Another Townscape

Building activities were being carried out with a feverish rush, and the sound of a hammer and saw was heard from early morn until late at night. O.H. Richard’s stated, “anyone who could drive a nail could get a job as a carpenter.” While being in Guthrie, around 4 May, he was surprised by a dirty and tossed Frank Greer who took him down to the *State Capital* office, which was one of the few frame structures in Guthrie. The building was about twenty feet by thirty feet. It housed a few type cases and an old job press, a homemade table and chair, which just about completed all furniture and equipment in the newspaper office. He also mentioned that day by day more buildings were being erected on lots that had been occupied by tents (Richards 1948, 4). It was mentioned earlier that Frank Greer’s office was being built on Oklahoma Avenue on the eastside of Division Street between First Street [Wentz Street] and Division Street.

The article “Early History of Guthrie” described that by the end of May, the first wooden buildings in Guthrie began replacing the tents and other temporary shelter. The building boom could not begin until the contests were settled. The investor was not comfortable with titles not being clear and the property could not be mortgaged in exchange for a building loan without a clear title. Consequently, the urban landscape was cluttered with pre-fabricated or inexpensive frame buildings (Lentz 1990). One of the first hotels in Guthrie, The Capitol, located on the southeast corner of Government Acre, was a two-story frame building opened for business in less than three weeks. The first brick building, the two-story National Bank Block at First and Oklahoma which housed the banking firm of McNeal and Little, was began in late May and probably occupied by August. And, by the end of the month, Merchants Bank and other Second Street businesses were well established within one month (Lentz 1990, 57). Fred Wenner documented the first building of brick and stone to be built in Guthrie was the Commercial Bank Block on the corner of Second Street and Oklahoma Avenue (Historic District, Territorial Museum).

The State Capital, 4 May, 1889:

A Company from Wichita has been formed here to operate a brickyard. They have already selected ground and have commenced building sheds, The ground has been scraped already and wells sunk. . . . An entire trainload of brick came in Friday consigned to one party. Two brick stores are going up.

Another editorial on 4 May in the *Daily State Capital* stated:

The city has closed a contract for six drilled wells, one on each ½ section. The treasurer from Guthrie Proper wrote check number seventy-nine to Putnam and Company for drilling a well authorized by Ordinance Seventy-nine.

Capitol Hill Townsite

The Daily State Capital, May 4, 1889, reported, "People of Southeast Guthrie on 1 May, organized a municipal corporation for the E ½ of Section 9, Township 16, Range 2 West of the Indian Meridian. They organized into a townsite known as Capitol Hill."

Marion Rock stated that a few days later Capitol Hill was surveyed and platted, leaving ten acres, the most elevated portion of the townsite, to build a State Capital Building (Rock 1890).

West Guthrie Townsite

D.D. Chapman's article through the testimony of Milton Pulse identified that West Guthrie only had twenty-seven families in May when he testified in the judicial system for Paine concerning the contest of the Southwest One-quarter Section of Eight (Chapman 1955, 78).

East Guthrie Townsite

Fred Wenner said a census was taken in May by East Guthrie's City Council. There were one hundred eighty business buildings, two hundred seventy-one residences, three hundred fifty-three tents, fifteen general stores, twelve groceries, eighteen lumber yards, twenty-nine real estate offices, nine barber shops, five bath houses, twenty-eight lawyers, ten doctors and three ministers (Wenner 1939).

Guthrie Proper Townsite

Guthrie Proper's 23 May, census reported four banks, fifty-two mercantile, twenty-nine lumber yards, twenty-two barber shops, forty-five real estate men, and one-hundred fifty lawyers (Wenner 1939).

In May 1889, the census clearly reveals that Guthrie Proper and East Guthrie were the two thriving townsites. Guthrie Proper had the most concentrated central business district with the Land Office being the center from which the large mass of lawyers and real estate people made their offices.

There was work for everyone who could handle a saw, hammer, or shovel, or unload lumber. Sometimes dozen or more carpenters were working on two structures at the same time finishing both in one day (Wenner 1939, 26). Wenner's comment reinforced an editorial appearing in the *Daily State Capital* dated May 12, 1889. It reported, "1,500 frame buildings completed, or nearly so, at Guthrie; most of them business houses. With more lumber becoming available, work will start the following week on several hundred homes." Gerald Forbes' mentioned in his book Guthrie, Oklahoma's First Capital that four thousand homes were being erected in Guthrie the next month and Guthrie had five banks, fifteen hotels, and three music halls (Forbes 1938, 10).

The census reported by Wenner for May 1889 listed no music halls, or hotels in Guthrie Proper. The census for East Guthrie does not list any banks and Guthrie Proper listed four. Forbes accounted that Guthrie Proper did have hotels. To better understand the mercantile businesses of Guthrie Proper, the archival Treasurer's Cash Receipt Book was reviewed. Listed below are the businesses that purchased a license to do business [occupation tax] 27 April– May 31, 1889:

A.P. Allen, Auctioneer; Peyton Comedy Co.; Guthrie Publishing Co.; Jasper Payne, Drayman; Andrew M. Hickle, Auctioneer; Riley Briggs, Drayman; Ephraim Herrod; John Sammons; John Bland; Randall & Horsington, Feed Merchants; Geo Mundy, Hardware; Frank Lee, Drayman; Robert C. Rollings, Grocer; Will Goodman & Co., Real Estate; Wm. McClure Co.; Carter Skinner, Grocer; C. Jack, Auctioneer; G.H. Lynds, News & Notions; Jos Tigh, Liquid Refreshment; Baldwin Wilson, Liquid Refreshment; Lafayette Cork, Drayman; U.H. Barber, Drayman; S.S. Cole, Restaurant; O.E. Robertson, Drayman; J.S. Young, Barber; S. Jones, Water Wagon; Spencer & Baird, Lodging House; Spencer M. Johnson, Cigars & Tobacco; O.J. Truesdell, Feed Market; Fred Winning, Pea Mkt Vendor; Clifford Jackson, Attorney; L.H. Smiley, Fine for Gambling House; A.B. Fairbanks, Lodging House; W.S. Spencer, Hardware; Leo Decker, Street Vendor; J.W. Dodson, Hardware Store; Jones & Richardson, Lumber;

Willis & Shaw, Gun Merchant; Gray Bros., Feed Store; Bruce Engle, Meat Market; Okla Mercantile Co., General Stock; Kansas City Mercantile Co., General Stock; William Plaggs Co., General Stock; Gooch & Will, Attorneys; West & McConkill, Land Agent; A.J. Spengel, Furniture; E. Cook, Oil Merchant; J.E. Warner, Clothing; Chas Tiel, Shooting Gallery; Duff & Oldroyd, Furniture; H.T. McCrum, Newstand; N.E. Glen, Fine for Medicine; Chicago Lumber Co., Lumber; Duff & Oldroyd, Furniture; Cole & Cunningham, Lumber; Darlington & Miller, Lumber; Pullen & Deeds, Lumber; Oklahoma Lumber Co., Lumber; Bailey & Hoggens, Lumber; Mike Flannery, Street Vendor; William Raster, Street Vendor; Jim Enright, Attorney; M.A. Boardman, Fine for Street Vending; Cooley & Stroub, Livery; Becker & Garter, Grocer; Walker & McCoy, Sign Painting; Carter & Skinner, Grocer; Carey Lumber Co., Lumber; George Beggs & Co.; G.G. Newcom, Feed Store; G.G. Boardman, Street Vendor;

A composite list of the above businesses is as follows:

Oil Merchant 1; General Stock 3; Clothier 1; Shooting Gallery 1; Auctioneer 3; Comedy Co. 1; Guthrie Publishing 1; Meat Market 1; Attorney 3; Gambling House 1; Furniture 3; Draymen 6; Hardware 3; Cigars & Tobacco 1; Gun Merchant 1; Lumber 8; Feed 4; Grocer 4; Real Estate 2; Doctor 1; News & Notions 2; Liquid Refreshments 2; Barber 1; Water Wagon 1; Lodging House 2; Livery 1; Sign Painter 1; Street Vendor 6.

Banks were not listed as buying a license through the first month of Guthrie's existence as documented in the Guthrie Proper Treasurer's Cash Receipt Book, 27 April–May 31, 1889. Although Fred Wenner reported the May Census 1889 listed four banks in Guthrie Proper. Comparing the 1889 receipt book with the May 1889 census as documented by Wenner, there were many differences such as two hotels [lodging houses] instead of fifteen, eight lumber yards bought a license instead of twenty-nine, one barber versus thirty-two, two real estate versus forty-five, two attorneys versus one-hundred fifty. And, the receipt book did not list newspapers and it was a known fact that Frank Greer had been there since the run. Also, there was no mention of a music hall except a fine was given for a gambling house. Probably, the differences was due to occupational

taxes were hard to collect and the true picture of people doing business in Guthrie was not documented through the use of the cash receipt book.

The first civic organization was the Guthrie Board of Trade, organized on May 11, 1889. It had the same job description as if it were a Chamber of Commerce in which it was later named. Guthrie celebrated Decoration Day, now Memorial Day as their first National holiday after the war. Barely one month old, the G.A.R.'s organized a citizens' parade starting at Guthrie Proper and traveling east on Oklahoma Avenue to Capitol Hill where services were held about a flower decked monument located in the center of Capitol Square. Mayor Dyer was the featured speaker who spoke from a decorated gazebo (Wenner 1939, 34).

Urban Eco-system Shaping Patterns To Create Guthrie's Townscape Morphology.

Using two archival sources, minutes of the City Council Meetings and Swearingen's pictorial composite of Guthrie, as well as articles, journals, and books, the documentation provided the pieces to authenticate the general morphology of Guthrie's townscape in May 1889. The tents became wooden framed business structures beginning in the vicinity of the Depot and moving up the incline east toward East Guthrie or Division Street. The reason for this opinion came from several photographs looking west from Oklahoma and Harrison Avenues down a gentle incline [slope] with railroad cars in the background. Between the railway cars and point of vision, being on Second Street at the corner of Government Acre or Oklahoma Avenue, there was a row of framed buildings primarily on the northside. From that location looking east, one can recognize from the gentle rise of the landscape to the horizon that the 1889 photographer was standing close to First Street. At this point, looking eastward in the direction of the horizon, the

photograph documents a few framed buildings, which were typically two stories.

Swearingen's Collection had several photographs of Oklahoma Avenue and Harrison Avenue dated from 27 April - May 18, 1889, that document my theory. It's my theory that the photographs when put together provides a streetscape of Guthrie's Oklahoma and Harrison Avenues from the depot area to the view of the horizon to the east (Western History Collection).

From piecing documentation together, the central business district of Guthrie in May 1889 started at the depot-extending north to Oklahoma Avenue and South to Harrison Avenue. From an entry in the May City Council Minutes, it directed Colonel Ross to open Oklahoma Avenue from Second Street to First Street. And, photograph number fifty-six in the Swearingen Collection dated 18 May, has a photograph of Oklahoma Avenue from the Railroad Depot to Second or First Streets illustrating Cleveland Avenue did not exist (see figure 37). Documents there are no streets open north passed Oklahoma Avenue.

The majority of May documentation revealed that densely compacted-framed buildings don't proceed far beyond this point of location. Thus, the most populated structural streets were Oklahoma and Harrison Avenues running from the train depot, east to First Street, with Second and First Streets serving as the locations for most of the merchants and vendors. The businesses on these two streets were snugly touching with large and inviting signage. Also, to verify this conclusion, photograph number sixty provided a scene of Second Street very untidy due to heavy pedestrian traffic (Western History Collection). The number of people who paid their license to operate a business was more befitting the size of this central business district. It is not being implied that the

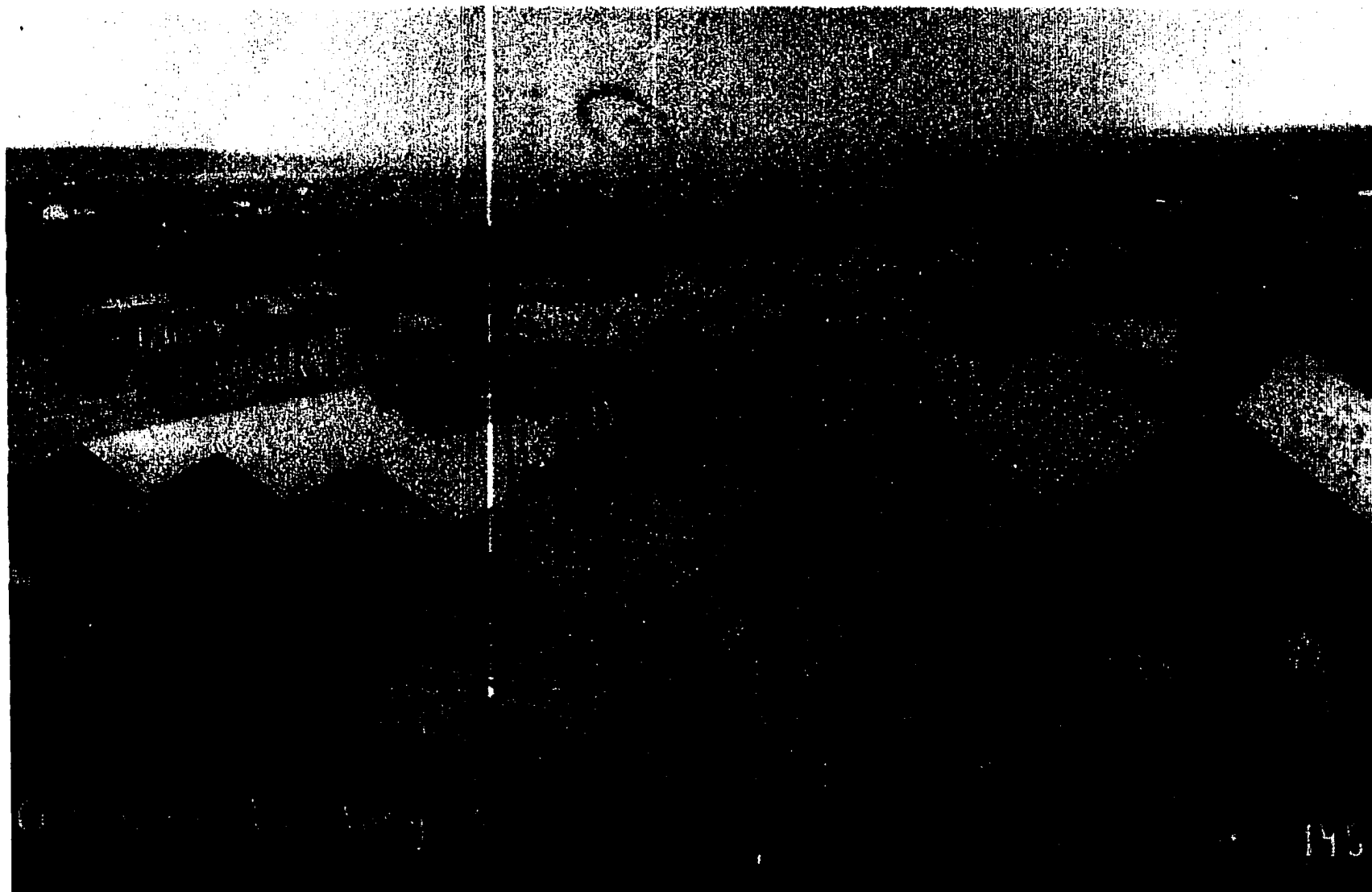


Figure 37. May 18, 1889: No Streets North Beyond Oklahoma Avenue

area east of First Street to Division Street was not occupied, the documentation revealed glimpses of a very concentrated structural area from the Train Depot to First Street, primarily Second Street, on Harrison and Oklahoma Avenues. And, Fred Wenner stated, “clearing streets caused a lot of trouble, the worst being on First and Second Streets in Guthrie Proper where large numbers of men hated to give up the good locations they had staked in the street (Wenner 1939).”

In May 1889, the city paid for water wells to be dug, adopted the Westinghouse Electrical Light system, talked about franchises for a street railway system, made application for a townsite, platted the city, built a bridge, passed regulations on “privies” and became a responsible entity to the educational system. Problems of refuse and human waste were not being addressed. But, the dangers of uncleanness and poor health habits were proposed by the City Council. Guthrie’s has evolved in one month from a townscape of tents to a wooden skyline resembling the typical western town. (The following figures exemplify Guthrie’s streetscapes of Harrison and Oklahoma Avenues during the months of May and June 1889, see figures 38-52).

Urban landscape patterns were beginning to take form as Guthrie’s citizens began to build their environment. The land between the Land Office and the train station became the section of Guthrie to open its doors for business. It was the area with the greatest need for refreshments, eating establishments, and hotels for the estimated five hundred people daily that waited in line to make entry for their claims. The businesses began to conglomerate offering other amenities such as boots, clothes, groceries, laundry, insurance, dry goods, physicians, drugstores, banks, etc.



Figure 38. April 27, 1889: Oklahoma Avenue, Five Days Old



Figure 39. May 14, 1889, North side Oklahoma Avenue, Depot to Second Street



Figure 40. May 18th, North side Oklahoma Avenue, Depot East to Second Street

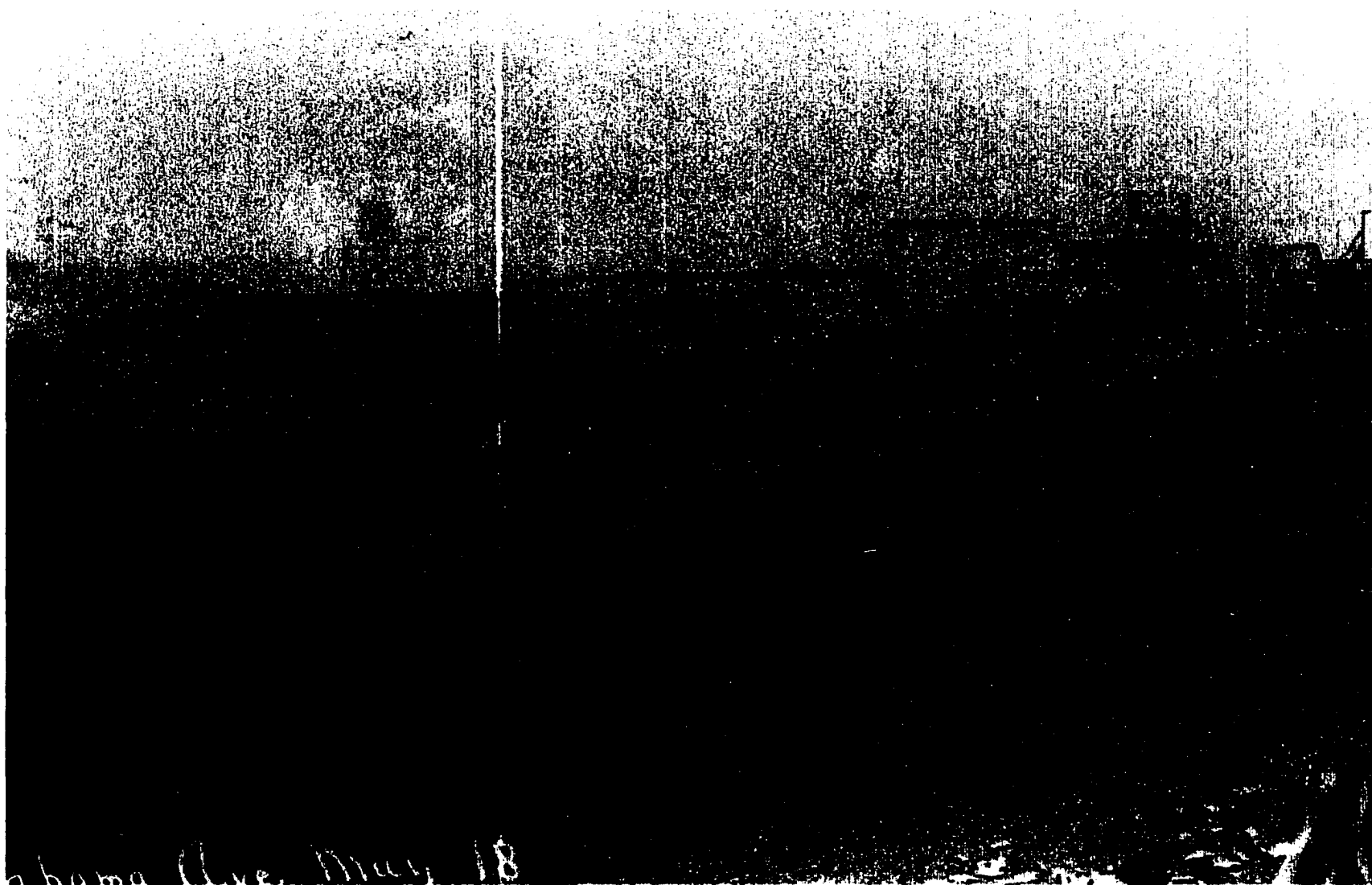


Figure 41. May 18th, North side Oklahoma Avenue: Second to Division Street

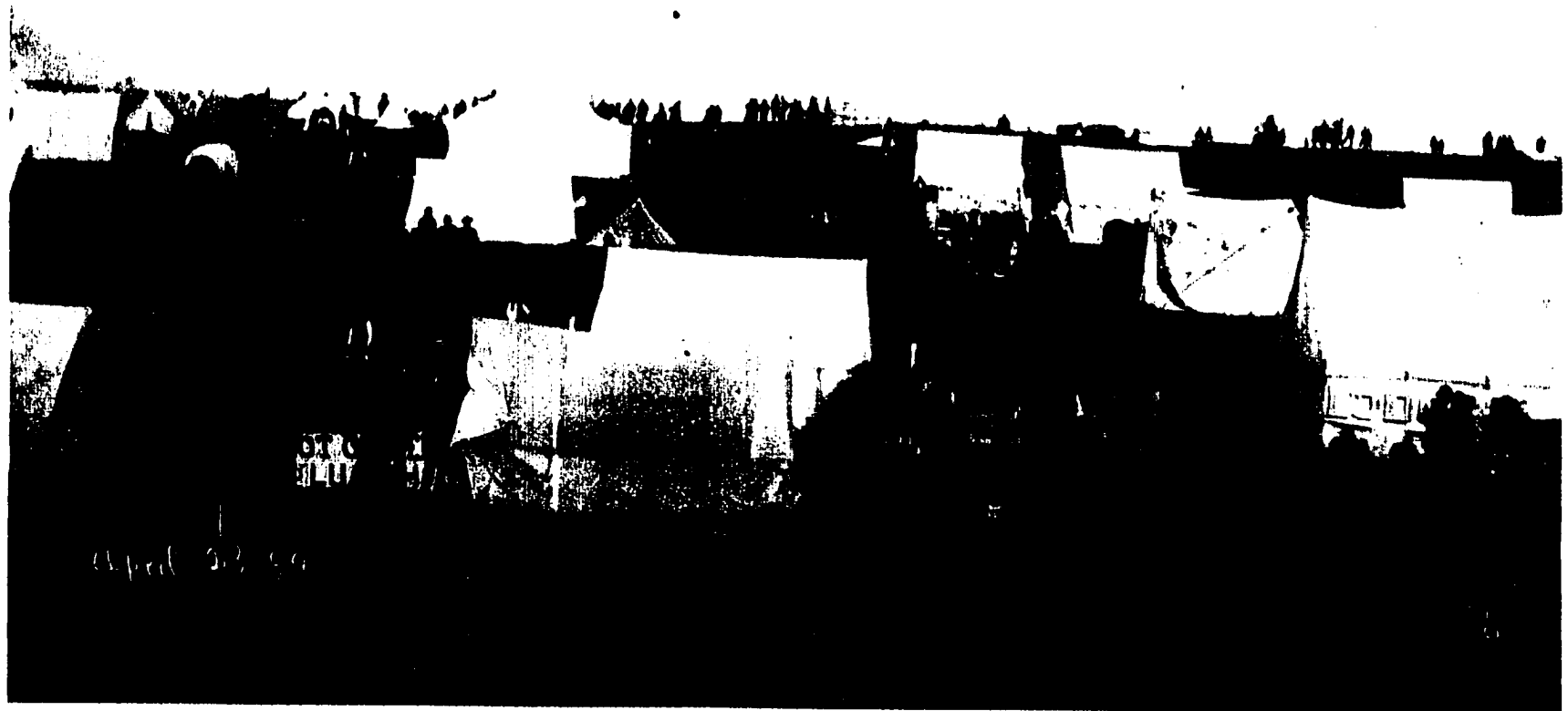


Figure 42. Day after Land Run: Harrison Avenue, Depot East to Second Street



Figure 43. Thirty-two Days Later, May 18, 1889: Harrison Avenue, Depot to Second

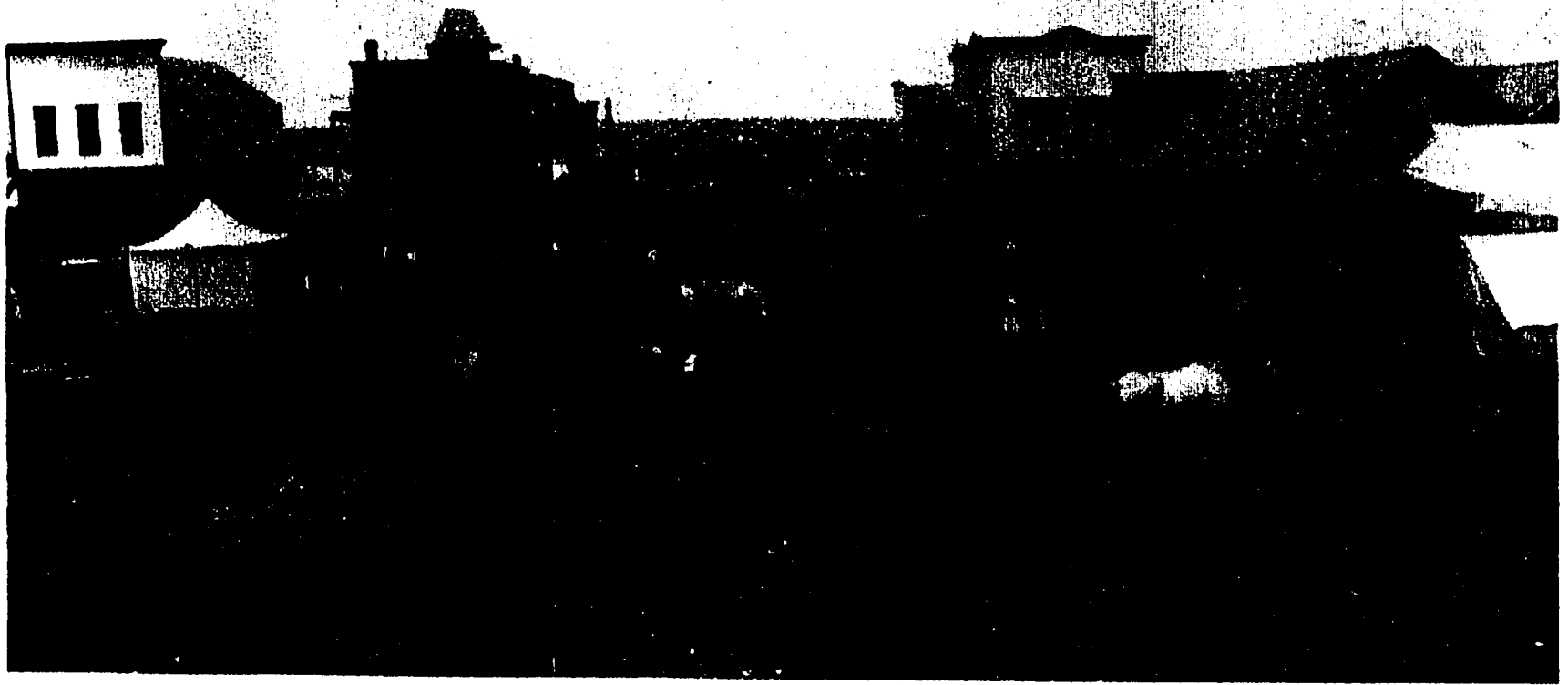


Figure 44. May 18, 1889: Longview of Harrison Avenue, Depot to Second Street

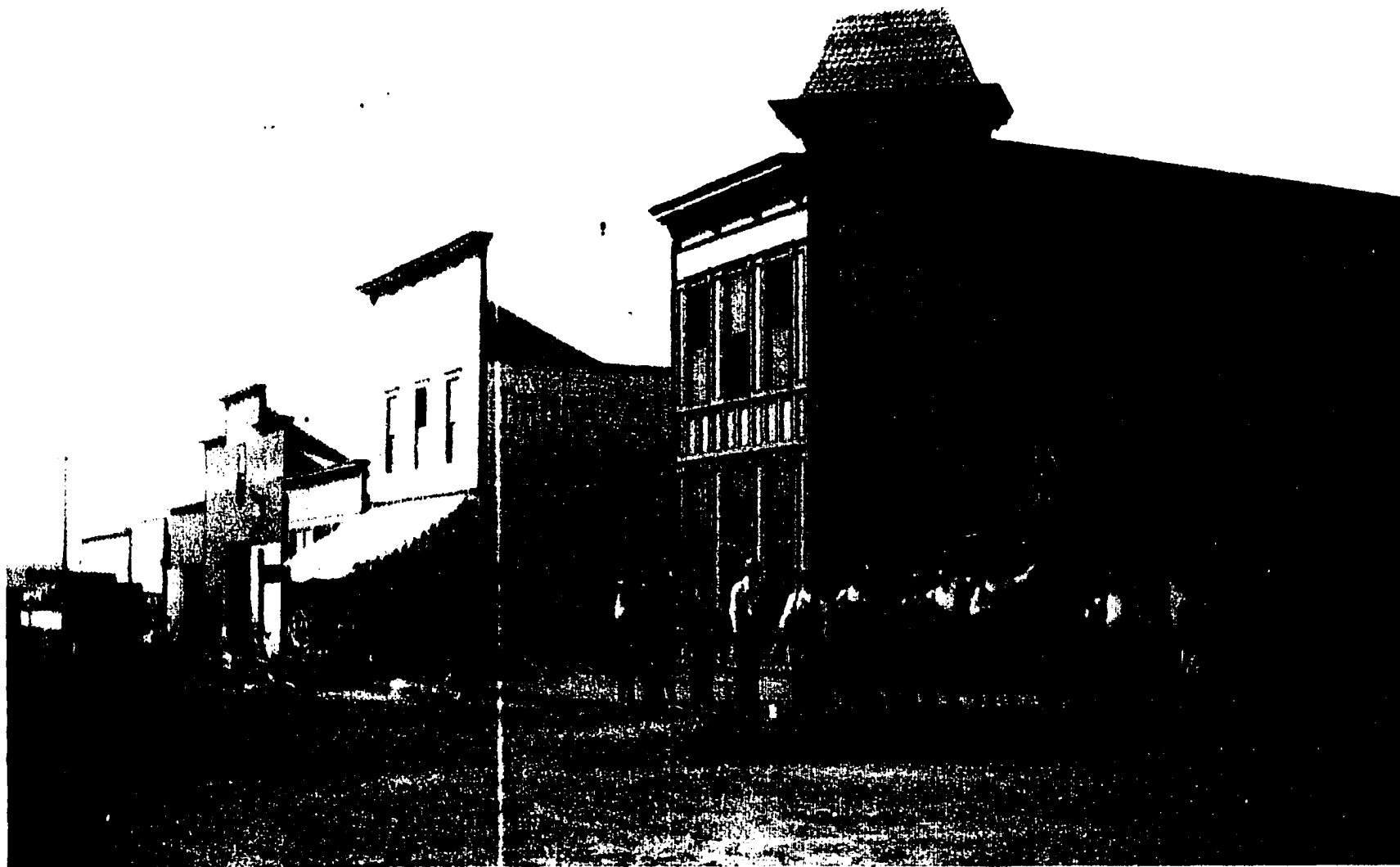


Figure 45. "Capitol Bank": Corner of Second Street and Harrison Avenue



Figure 46. A Month Later, South side Harrison Avenue, Second to First Street



Figure 47. Harrison Avenue, First to Division Street

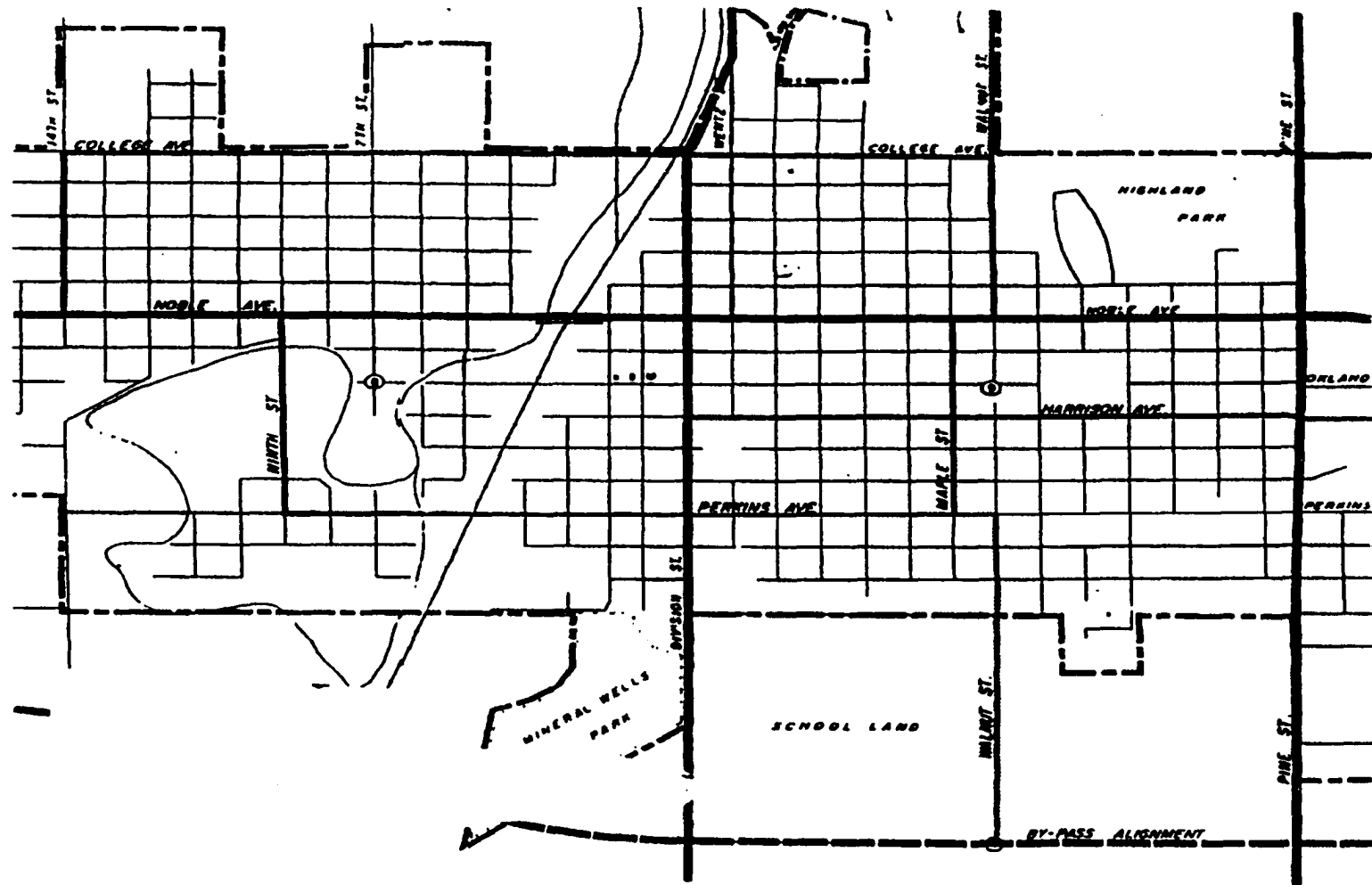


Figure 48. Townsite Map of Guthrie Proper

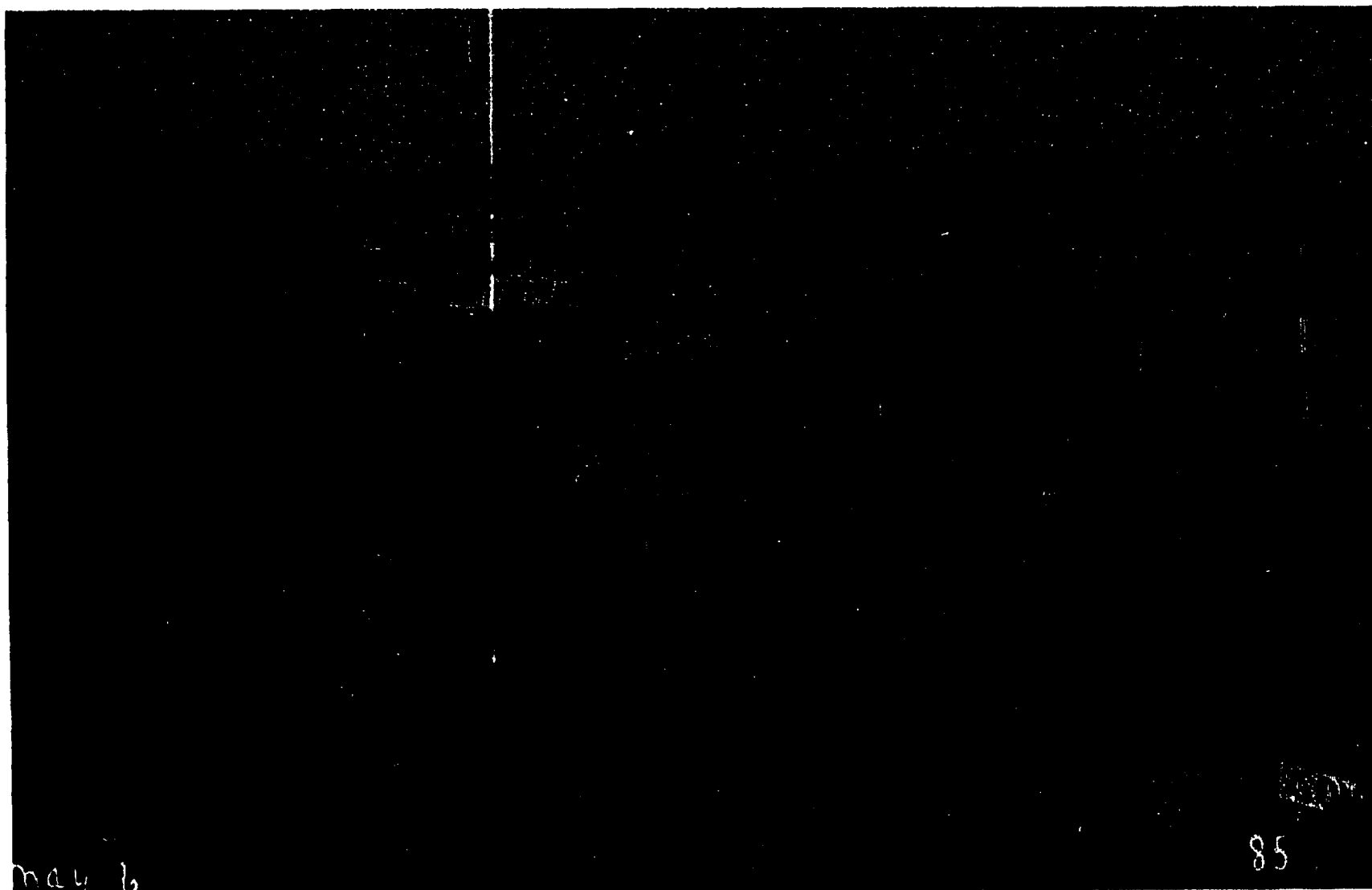


Figure 49. May 6th, Construction Between Depot and Second Street



Figure 50. Sixteen Days Later, Construction Completed Between Depot and Second Street



Figure 51. Looking West to Merchants Bank as It Wraps the Corner of Second Street



Figure 52. Close Up of Merchants Bank Looking West

The Land Office also enticed many lawyers to locate across the street from Government Acre on Second Street or stay in this general vicinity. The social aspect of Guthrie was one of equality. The hardships bonded the settlers together giving of their time or money to help one another. *Politically*, the City Council was the central source of the decision-making process particularly in regards to Guthrie's evolving urban patterns. They hired the town planner and filed the resulting townsite plat without a vote of the people (GP City Council Minutes 1889). The *technology* of pre-fabricated houses helped to build Guthrie quickly. The *technology* of building a water tower and drilling wells kept Guthrie from a possible smallpox epidemic. The railroad freighted supplies to sustain life and to build the environment. Thus, the forces of the urban ecological system - political, social/culture, economical, technological, and physical - were spiraling together through arrangement of activities to create the spatial distributions that led the way to Guthrie becoming a "compact city."

The definition of a compact city is "one concentrated and firmly unified with a consolidation of land uses in a close and tight physical relationship with each other and the structures within themselves (Golany 1995)." The concept of a compact city was discussed throughout this century by geographers, planners, architects and social scientists such as Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, LeCorbusier, and Soleri. The advantages of being a compact city for Guthrie was it established easy and quick access within itself to the daily use, services, and business needs of residents. The closeness of the urban space also makes social life pleasant for the very young and the very elderly residents. It provided its citizens the sentiment referred to as "sense of place." While at the same time, it has minimal impact on the delicately sensitive environment by the

design, construction, maintenance, and operation of it infrastructure within a compact area that requires less tax support from its residents (Golany 1995, 154).

Urban Ecological Forces Spiraling Into Guthrie's Third Townscape

Guthrie's evolution into a walking scaled city began to really be developed after May when the citizenry felt the plat being filed gave them some legal protection to their town lots. Hamilton Wicks described, "the tents were rapidly superseded by small frame structures. The small frame structures in turn gave way to larger ones, and a number of five two-story frame buildings were erected on the principal thoroughfares before the end of the first sixty days [June]. The cost of these two-story frame buildings ranged from seven hundred to two thousand dollars, where lumber was purchased at thirty dollars per thousand, and carpenters charged three dollars a day (Wicks 1926, 25). As soon as it became apparent to capitalists that this enterprise was in reality the beginning of a great city, preparations were made for the erection of a number of brick blocks beginning with the first one at the corner of First and Oklahoma Avenue. The building was the National Bank building operated by Guthrie National Bank, the first national bank chartered in either Oklahoma or Indian Territory. The building was well underway by 11 June, and finished within two weeks (Lentz 1990, 133). The structure was two stories, equally divided by a central staircase. The bank operated from the lower one-quarter sections abutting First Street. The rest of the building was rental space. Fred Wenner described the first brick and stone building to be built in Guthrie was the Commercial Block at the corner of Second Street and Oklahoma Avenue (Territorial Museum Archives). And, Fred Wenner stated, "at one time during the first summer the Santa Fe was using fifty-

five engines to pull freight trains to supply the Oklahoma Division along and borrowing more engines and cars all over the country to keep up with the demand (Wenner 1939, 24).”

On 1 June, the Arbitration Board of Guthrie rendered a decision concerning the townsite lot at First and Harrison between Winfeld Smith and Commissioner James Galloway in favor of Galloway. When Bradley and Smith refused to vacate the lot, the town Marshal with a mob of townspeople jacked up their two framed offices, pushed rollers under them, hitched them to a team of horses, and rolled them off the disputed lot (Green 1989, 136).

Guthrie Proper’s June City Council Minutes

The first order of business of the *1 June*, Guthrie Proper City Council was to repay the fifty-cent survey tax to the lot holders in the first ward west of the Cottonwood. The treasurer’s receipt documented the first survey tax was collected on 30 April, from six people. The Council also voted to have grades of Oklahoma Avenue made eighteen inches in the center feathering to the edge, and for all grades on that street to conform with the natural undulation of Harrison Avenue being at twenty-two inches. A motion was carried to organize a Hook and Ladder Co. Swearingen’s Photograph Collection in the Western History Collection has a photograph number 145 with the inscription that the picture contains a fire station dated 26 May. The City Council meetings on *28 May*, only entertained a motion for a Hook and Ladder Co. and only on *1 June*, voted to organize one. The last business of the meeting pertained to certificates in which the number of lots was incorrect and Ordinance Number Forty-Six was passed to correct them (GP City Council Minutes 1889) (see figure 53).



Figure 53. Hook & Ladder / Fire Department

On 4 June, the election of Guthrie Proper's Mayor and City Council members was held. After Frank Greer examined the City Treasurer's books, he stated on June 2, 1889, "the *Daily Capital* utterly disapproves of the demagogues cry about fraud." Impressed by Mayor Dyer's records, Greer gave Dyer the newspaper's endorsement by printing, "he has done all in his power. . . . to promote the harmony and interest of every citizen. The people owe. . . . that he be retained as Mayor (Grant 1980, 45)." The resulting vote was nine hundred forty-three votes for Dyer and six hundred sixty-seven votes for Alexander (GP City Council Minutes 1889).

At the same time the people voted for Mayor and Council, they voted for members of the charter commission from the five wards in Guthrie Proper. The three from each ward with the highest number of votes was selected (GP City Council Minutes 1889). Dennis Flynn from Third Ward, residence located at the corner of Cleveland and First Street, was elected Chairman. Charter members met at City Hall on 10 June, to discuss a plan of action. It was decided to gather charters from Wichita, Kansas City, Chicago, Ft. Worth, and other important cities. The Convention formed Standing Committees to draft legislative guidelines for the Executive, Judiciary, Franchise, and Taxation, General Legislation, Real Estate and Education Departments of Municipal Government. Work went smoothly until the Charter Convention members passed a resolution for compensation at three dollars per day. Frank Greer reminded the members of Guthrie's depleted treasury and that the members should consider the "recognition received" by participating in such a momentous occasion as ample reward. The charter members ignored Greer's comments and voted to be paid. Greer sarcastically remarked,

“the Mayor and Council receive no compensation for their work, and they are certainly entitled (Grant 1980, 45).”

At the City Council meeting *6 June*, Mr. Pamperin reported on drilling a well at Division and Vilas Avenues. He also added that East Guthrie had consented to paying for half the cost. Mr. Moran reported, “the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad would come to Guthrie if we would act in concert.” The new council members on *8 June*, appointed several new committees – Fire Department Committee, Ordinance and Judiciary Committee, Finance Committee, Public Health Committee, Streets and Alley Committee, Committee on Public Improvements, Committee on Public Printing, Committee on Public Safety and a Committee for the Fourth of July Celebration. On *10 June*, the lumber dealers of Guthrie petitioned the council to reduce their taxes.

On *12 June*, the City Council met for a short session and heard comments from Mr. Waite concerning the organization of a Fire Department. Ordinance concerning sidewalks was referred to Committee on Street and Alleys. A petition from an organization of barbers was presented asking council to reduce their “occupation tax.” A group of citizens from First Ward petitioned for two wells be drilled, one at the corner of Fifth Street and Warner Avenue, and the other well on the corner of Sixth Street and Washington Avenue. A resolution was passed for Mayor Dyer to travel to a meeting in St. Louis to propose securing the construction of the “Frisco” Railroad to and through Guthrie. At the *13 June* Council Meeting, the Ordinance for establishing a fire department was passed and adopted with a motion to appoint a Fire Department Chief immediately. Mr. Dooley presented a petition of property holders of Blocks Sixteen and Seventeen [Between Mansur and Logan at Second Street] asking the City to vacant

Second Street between them. Since Second Street runs between Block Fifteen and Block Sixteen to a deadend. It could be theorized that the block number was entered incorrectly. The Railroad Rights-a-way lay between Blocks Sixteen and Seventeen]. Mr. Gilbert from East Guthrie addressed the meeting proposing 22 August, as the most appropriate date to celebrate the settlement of the four Guthries. An ordinance concerning house numbering was introduced and referred to the Ordinance Committee. Mr. Ross reported that the well planned for First Ward could be dug for seventy-five dollars.

Guthrie entertained on 15 June, General W.H. Gibson, of Tiffin, Ohio, who came from Winfield, Kansas after addressing the annual encampment of the Kansas G.A.R. He was invited to Guthrie by Colonel T.H. Soward, Mayor of East Guthrie an old army comrade. The City Officials of all four Guthrie's worked together to schedule drives through their particular city. Afterwards, General Gibson expressed to the large mass of people his great surprise to find such a well-established foundation for a great city. He complimented the citizens for their remarkable efficiency shown by the provisional governments. And, the rare patriotism and true American citizenship demonstrated in the way they had met and surmounted the many difficulties presented by Congress' failure to make adequate regulations for the settlement and government of the new country. After the meeting, Colonel Gibson, being one of the men in high council with President Harrison; Secretary of State, Honorable James Blaine; and Secretary of the Interior, General John Noble, said:

The thing for the people of Oklahoma to do was to proceed at once to organize a provisional territorial government along the lines of their Provisional City Government; they should divide the country into counties, elect county and territorial officers; and a legislative body to

suggest a brief code of territorial laws; and be all ready to go to Congress when it convened. Don't wait on Congress to initiate the move. It is a slow body to act – too slow for Oklahoma.

At the close of the meeting, resolutions were adopted calling for a Convention to be held at Guthrie, 17 July, to take immediate steps to organize a Provisional Territorial Government (Wenner 1939, 42).

Afterwards, Guthrie Proper's City Council had their meeting. The order of business was electric streetcars - Messrs Whitley, Moore, Ragsdale, Schnell, Johnston, and several other gentlemen addressed the council. Mr. Hamilton presented his plan for an Electric Street Railroad that could have cars running within one hundred days and work would commence in thirty days, and then it was Mr. Howard's turn to discuss his plan of action for a Streetcar Franchise business. The Council made no decision and referred the Streetcar Ordinance back to committee. At the same meeting, the citizens from East Guthrie led by Frank Greer, petitioned the opening of Harrison Avenue over the tracks of the Atchison, Topkea, and Santa Fe Railroad. Greer was suggesting patronage of all the neighboring towns, making Guthrie the regions commercial center. The only difficulty with Guthrie being the regional center was the only route into Guthrie from the Cimarron River was Oklahoma Avenue. Its inadequacy prompted Greer to campaign the opening of Harrison Avenue as a second route. This brought an immediate clash with the Santa Fe railroad that owned the right-a-way at the end of Harrison Avenue. Santa Fe officials proclaimed Oklahoma Avenue and Harrison Avenue were too close together and refused to allow Harrison to cross their easement. Greer thinking the Railway Company was totally out of line and jeopardizing Guthrie's economic growth suggested another alternative. It was to open Vilas Avenue, seven hundred feet south of

Oklahoma Avenue. When the Santa Fe officials still would not allow a roadway at any part of their tracks, Greer decided a bridge across the Cimarron might solve the problem (*Daily State Capital* 1889). In proposing a bridge, he noted, “farmers and overland immigrants are continuously harassed by the miring in the quicksand of this treacherous stream.” A bridge would enable farmers and others to have access into the city even when the Cimarron’s waters were to high. With the merchants being reluctant to shoulder the cost of building the bridge, Greer then suggested a ferry declaring, “one or the other was an absolute necessity, if the merchants and townspeople won’t act, the four city governments must do so for the commercial interest of Guthrie (Grant 1980, 39).”

On *17 June*, after making amendments to the Street Railway Ordinance, the Council voted six to two in favor of Hamilton’s Ordinance for an Electric Street Railway. Mr. Hooten, one of the descending votes stated, “he thought the ordinance was a speculation scheme.” Mr. Duval at this meeting presented an ordinance to construct sidewalks on Second Street.

The order of business relating to Guthrie’s built environment at the *18 June*, City Council meeting had to do with establishing a numbering system for business and residential housing; limiting the time for obtaining Warranty Certificates; to facilitate borrowing of money on property; construction of twelve feet wide sidewalks on the west side of Second Street and on the south side of Noble Avenue from Oklahoma Avenue to Cottonwood Bridge. And, a motion to receive bids for drilling wells in the First Ward was adopted. The *21 June* meeting concerned grading streets in the Fifth Ward, and removal of standing water in the Fourth Ward by immediately having ditches cut into the roads at the edges for drainage. Chief Mitchell of the Fire Department asked for a bell

and fire apparatus; Bertram & Company was paid for drilling a well on Vilas Avenue and Division Street. He was to make the well at Second and Harrison twenty-five feet deeper. An ordinance was passed regulating use and installation of stovepipes in wooden buildings. The Council at the *24 June* meeting appointed William Campbell, Assistant Chief of the Fire Department and then listened to Mr. Brown in support of J.N. Hamilton's amendment to Ordinance Number Sixty [electric streetcar railway system]. Fred Wenner described Hamilton was unable to get the financial backing required for the railway and asked for more time. The next meeting of the Council was *25 June*, it became so heated over Ordinance Number Sixty – Section Seven [the electric streetcar railway to J.N. Hamilton] that members left the chambers. Upon returning, it was decided that other bids would be accepted for the streets designated to Hamilton – Second Street and Division Street [north and south], Vilas Avenue and Noble Avenue [west and east]. These four streets allowed the streetcars to complete a loop traveling close to the perimeters of Guthrie Proper's townsite. Hamilton's response was to withdraw his Ordinance [franchise contract] (GP City Council Minutes 1889).

With the month of June coming to a close, the Council of *27 June*, voted a lot tax to pay street grading and preparing ditches for drainage and John Gooch presented a petition and resolution for creating the Pratt Fire and Hose Co. with Mathew Chance Chief and John Hulen as Assistant Chief.

Urban Eco-systems
Social / Cultural and Economical Forces

By summer the *Daily State Capital* reported, "fifty-eight women arrived at the depot today and were met by their husbands (*Daily State Capital* 1889). Soon the

Guthrie ladies began to schedule social functions such as afternoon teas and ice cream socials to get acquainted. The women were also busy establishing a home complete with carpets and lace curtains at the windows. An article in the *Daily State Capital* exclaimed, “we men can build houses, but we can’t make homes (Odom 1979, 32).”

Legal organizations were beginning to be formed in June. One such meeting was called to organize the Bar Association. Fred Wenner stated, “every man who had been able to hang out a twenty-five cent shingle, claiming to be a lawyer, came in, as there was no dispute to his standing or authority (Wenner 1939, 25).” The first civic organization was the Guthrie Board of Trade that on 15 June, sent H.S. Wicks, as Commissioner from Oklahoma to the World’s Universal Exposition at Paris, France. He took native grasses of various kinds and an interesting collection of native rock and minerals to exhibit. The Board of Trade was soon renamed the Chamber of Commerce. And, the Territorial Medical Association was formed in Guthrie on June 11, 1889.

The Wooden Skyline

Arn Henderson stated, “The first buildings were simple rectangles and boxes with stepped or square false fronts terminated with a projecting cornice (Henderson 1978, 47).” By June, such building fronted the railroad tracks on Oklahoma and Harrison Avenues were tightly fitted all the way up to Second Street where at each Street’s corner, there was built a large framed structure. One was the Capitol Bank and the other was Reeves Brothers Saloon (see figure 44). From this location proceeding east, there would be a tent next to a building, a space, then another building until First Street. Moving eastward from First Street, the structures became more evenly spaced and they appeared to be larger structures than the ones between Second Street and the railroad. The

majority of them appeared to be two stories or if the building was one story, the roof was built with a high pitch to support the much larger and taller false fronts. On the northside of Harrison, the false fronts were constructed in height within inches to a one-foot difference, creating a uniform townscape along the Avenue from First Street to Division Street. The southside of Harrison has similarities to the first section of the street close to the tracks. The skyline has been built erratically, one short, one tall, one wide, one narrow. In one photograph, a dressmaker had used the outside walls of two other businesses and added a roof. It could be theorized that the major visual detection between the buildings located west or at the lower end of Harrison, to the upper end or east on Harrison was the craftsmanship. The majority of buildings constructed in June appear to have been trimmed with the top of the false fronts finished with cornices. They look as though they have been painted some with contrasting colors and there was a sidewalk or front landing on all buildings connected to one another. The buildings identified as Harrison Street north and southsides were so different due to shape, style and size that the city directory for 1890 was consulted. It documented J.A. Overbay's Dry Goods Store was on Oklahoma Avenue between First and Division Street not on Harrison Avenue. Thus, the reason they appeared so differently was they did not belong on the same street. The photograph identified as southside of Harrison does not have sidewalks, as does the other photograph identified as northside of Harrison (Western History Collection) (see figure 54). J.A. Overbay's was on Oklahoma Avenue not Harrison Avenue.



Figure 54. J. A. Overbay's on the South Side of Oklahoma Avenue

The most fashionable wooden structure, Capitol Bank, was built on the southwest corner of Second Street and Harrison. On the northwest corner of Harrison and Second was the Reeves Brothers Saloon, it to being one of the more affluent structures in Guthrie (see figure 44). By 11 June, the first brick building in Guthrie was well on it way being completed. It set on the corner of First and Oklahoma called the National Bank Block (Western History Collection).

The central business district in June was still Second Street running from Cleveland Avenue to Vilas Street. The urban landscape pattern at this time has evolved with professional people such as lawyers, doctors, judges, real estate entities, loan entities, bankers [three banks), etc. and the vendors who cater to them such as hotels, restaurants, saloons, land offices and post offices conglomerating primarily in this section of Guthrie Proper. The area between First and Division resembled a strip shopping center. These establishments in June were not “per se” professional people. It was occupied primarily by merchants such as fruit stands, barbers, dry goods, general goods, painters, dressmakers, etc. The *Daily State Capital* reported:

A total of nine hundred seventy-three mercantile establishments, two hundred fifteen lawyers and seventy-five doctors in the four Guthrie's with one thousand two hundred business buildings, one thousand five hundred residences and seven hundred fifty tents for the month of June (*Daily State Capital* 1889).

Before leaving the month of June, there was a photograph in the Western History Collection of damage to buildings in Guthrie dated 22 June, with the caption - “Guthrie's First Cyclone.” Other sources documented that Guthrie had experienced high winds, sand blowing for days, and heavy rains, and one of he sources called it a tornado within a

few weeks of settlement. This would indicate the dates were wrong or Guthrie had two such storms.

Summary of Guthrie Proper's June 1889 City Council Minutes. Also, during the month of June 1889, the City Council was still paying rent for a meeting place, there was not a public water works because they were still paying John Ford for water received, they had graded streets, shaped ditches and built sidewalks, levied a property tax to pay for grading work, two water wells were dug and completed, and they had not franchised an electric railway system in Guthrie Proper. Guthrie in previous months had established a fire department, police force, an electric franchise, built a hospital and jail (GP City Council Minutes 1889). On the other hand, according to Wenner, East Guthrie had built a city hall, city jail, and hospital. They had a police force, six public works, graded several streets, and paid back a bank note of two thousand five hundred dollars, all of which were done with a property tax levied in early May (Wenner 1939, 51).

Guthrie's Townscape Evolution During July 1889

The *Kansas Times* correspondent stated, "The towns of Guthrie and East Guthrie were established practically at the same time and are east of the Santa Fe tracks and the sluggish, deep-red Cottonwood. West Guthrie has built up rapidly as to houses, but it is lacking in business houses (*Kansas Times* 7/22/1889 - 1958)."

On the recommendation from Colonel Gibson, the City of Guthrie sent invitations to El Reno, Kingfisher, Norman, Oklahoma City, etc. to come to Guthrie to organize a territorial provisional government. The invitation read:

To the people of Oklahoma. . . . a committee appointed by the people of the City of Guthrie. . . . have been instructed to call a convention of all the people of the territory of Oklahoma. . . . to meet through delegates. . . . for the purpose of framing a provisional territorial government, said convention to be held at the City of Guthrie on Wednesday, July 17, 1889 (Grant 1980, 49).

Guthrie was working very hard for a Provisional Government for the Territory.

The main reason was that a provisional government must have a Capital, and Guthrie wanted to be the Capital. With the chance of Guthrie being chosen, her citizens were all eager to help promote the convention, by donating labor and money (*Kansas Times* 7/22/89 -1958).

Frank Greer's editorials were encouraging the townspeople to plan a Fourth of July Celebration on a grand scale. He explained that it was a time for honoring the nation's independence, but it also represented an opportunity for Guthrie to shine before the hundreds of persons who would make the pilgrimage to Guthrie for the holiday. And, upon seeing the city's extraordinary beauty, facilities, and opportunities, the visitors might decide to remain, adding their futures and fortunes to Guthrie. Invitations were sent to a long list of dignitaries, paying particular attention to those who might benefit Guthrie when Congress met later to deliberate territorial legislation for Oklahoma (*Daily State Capital* 1889).

The July celebration began with a parade starting at Cleveland Avenue that moved south down Second Street led by the Capitol Square Cornet band [organized 26 April], followed by a large float drawn with six white horses (McGuire 1998, 129). The float was colorfully decorated with the special feature being thirty-eight girls dressed in white, each symbolizing a different State of the Union with a baby in the center for Oklahoma. The day was filled with events and activities with the most memorable being

Indian dances and horse races held on Harrison Avenue. The baby on the float may have been Guthrie May Fawbush, born in Guthrie on 22 May. Guthrie May's father was seventy-two and her mother forty (Wenner 1939, 34).

The Fourth's festivities were a success although unattended by the dignitaries. Undauntedly, Frank Greer began promoting another strategy to entice Congressional Officials to Guthrie. He published an editorial on 5 July, expressing the celebration of Guthrie's Birthday as an opportunity that would bring President Harrison, Secretary Noble and other permanent members of the cabinet to Guthrie (*Daily State Capital* 1889).

While Frank Greer's newspaper, the *Kansas Times* and other Guthrie newspapers were delighting their readers with articles on the "Magic City." The City Councils were busy overseeing the problems of the townsites. Guthrie Proper's Council on 1 July, heard from the Charter Convention Committee that they had finished the City Charter and that body had adopted it. Mr. Hunter informed the Council that the pumps put in by Bertram & Company were defective and no more money should be paid him until all condemned pumps were sufficiently working. Mr. Waite instructed the Marshal to have the City Jail cleaned and fumigated. And, to keep the jail clean and sanitary, he was to purchase what "suitable utensils" were necessary to preserve it in that condition. On 2 July, the Council made municipal decisions concerning public vehicles; placing grade stakes on Vilas Avenue; proper procedures for extinguishing fires; the present Hook and Ladder Company was discharged; cost of Noble Avenue bridge was discussed; Bertram & Company was instructed to drill the well on the corner of First Street and Cleveland Avenue twenty-five feet deeper; Block Fifty-five was authorized to open an alley; and Mr. Bradley, Winfield Smith's partner in Lots Four and Five in Block Fifty-six [Victor

Building] addressed the Council at length concerning the dispossession of their property. The Council stated their position and he asked that they review their decision. At the 3 *July*, council meeting Commissioner Galloway the recipient of Lots Four and Five, Block Fifty-six addressed the Council of their admirable manner of handling Guthrie Proper's business and presented Mayor Dyer a handsome gavel. Other Council business provided for a road tax, occupational tax on attorneys, and a grading tax. The Council also granted the right to operate a lottery (GP City Council Minutes 1998).

Greer, finding out that Guthrie Proper's City Council had granted permission for a lottery, attacked the ordinance through the *Daily Capital* and upon Mayor Dyer's return he vetoed on 8 July, the Lottery Ordinance. At this same meeting, a heated debate incurred concerning legal case of Galloway versus Bradley/ Smith over Lots Four and Five in Block Fifty-six [Victor Block on the corner of First Street and Harrison Avenue].

Meeting on 12 *July*, the Council passed an ordinance that provided for the construction and moving of buildings to facilitate the problem of three houses on Oklahoma Avenue that were out in the street to far and interfered with building sidewalks. Three petitions were presented concerning Block Fifty, Block Ninety-six, and Block Fifty-five. Block Fifty wanted to re-plat that portion of the block lying east of the Cottonwood Creek. Block Ninety-six wanted their lots to run north and south instead of east and west. And, Block Fifty-five requested to open up an alley running north and south, fifteen feet wide as illustrated on the townsite plat. The last order of business was discussion on placement of "arc" lights on city streets.

Guthrie's First Territorial Convention

With the time drawing near for Oklahoma's First Territorial Convention meeting in Guthrie, Oklahoma City was outraged by the open, aggressive self-promotion of Guthrie for Territorial Capital, the Town Promoters of Oklahoma City contacted the City Leaders of El Reno, Kingfisher, Norman, etc. in opposition to Guthrie's invitation. In defiance, Oklahoma City encouraged a meeting to be held in Frisco [halfway between Oklahoma City and El Reno] a few days before Guthrie's Convention convened. Approximately, one hundred delegates attended the Frisco Convention, one-third from Oklahoma City, and none were present from Guthrie. It declared unqualifiedly against the organization of a Provisional Territorial Government for the reason that Congress was probably going to meet in special session in October, or at least in the regular session in December (Wenner 1939, 42).

Previous to the Frisco's meeting, Frank Greer wrote an editorial stating that the purpose of the upcoming Convention scheduled for 17 July, required the election of the best delegates from each town to attend to safeguard, secure and promote a Territorial Provisional Government. It should not be a competitive race for the location of a Capital (*Kansas Times* 7/22/89 - 1958).

Convening on the prescribed date, the Guthrie Convention was attended by about one hundred delegates representing every town in the Oklahoma District, except Oklahoma City. They discussed writing a Memorial to Congress to set forth the conditions in the country - the lack of laws and protection of life and property; the imperfect titles preventing the development of the cities and retarding investments of capital; and urged the immediate action by the National Law Makers in creating a

territory and setting up a Territorial Government in Oklahoma. A committee was also appointed to outline a plan for a provisional government. It was to divide the Country into ten counties and call an election. But, when the opposition became too strong, the committee failed to act (Wenner 1939, 44).

The *Kansas Times* correspondent covering the Convention wrote:

The Convention last week cost some money, but it is a question if it did not deter the very object aimed at. On a question of a provisional government, the people of the territory might have been brought to ask for it. But, when a convention, not representing many of the largest centers and most promising sections of the territory, sets itself up to divide the territory into ten bijou little counties and further to prepare a code of laws, thinking people are apt to hold that too many steps are being taken. Even some Guthrians are skeptical. There has been no demand for provisional government as yet. The citizens have governments of their own, and the country has needed none. The people are law abiding, well content with their possessions, satisfied to do right, and not fearing much wrong (*Kansas Times* 1958).

City - Wide Charter and Bond Issue

Guthrie citizens of all four townsites voted jointly for the City Charter and the Bond Issue on 23 July. The vote was carried in Guthrie Proper by one hundred fifty-two for the charter and by twelve for the bond. Before the election, Frank Greer used his newspaper to again point out the advantages of passage of the bond. He explained, "the money from the bonds would allow for major city improvements and that no civilized town could exist without schools. Both would add inducements for drawing more settlers to Guthrie." After the election, Greer privately realized the deep commitment of the citizens to Guthrie by accepting such a financial burden (Grant 1980, 46).

Guthrie Proper City Council Minutes Resume

Colonel Jones addressed Guthrie Proper City Council on *24 July*, concerning Noble Avenue bridge and the four Guthrie's liabilities. An ordinance for a telephone franchise was referred to the Committee on Ordinances, and Councilman Sargent urged immediate action concerning the health and sanitary conditions of the city. At the *25 July* meeting, a petition was read from Guthrie citizens asking that Knox and Loomis on Oklahoma Avenue west of the railroad be permitted to erect scales in front of their place of business. A.C. Palmer and thirty-three others asking for the sidewalks to be graded between Second Street and Third Street on Harrison Avenue also presented a petition and that the sidewalks conform to the existing street grade. The last Council meeting of the month, *30 July*, passed Ordinances for: a sanitary office and health officer; provided for punishment of larcenies and robberies; provided for the registration of city lots; collection of occupation taxes for July and August; provided for the payment of claims. And, the Council voted to employ a police force by private contract and to solicit bids for a suitable building for city offices.

The *Kansas Times* correspondent described:

There has been three cases of smallpox, but generally the percentage of sickness has been very small. Many of the alleys are filled up with decaying refuse of the worst kind, and unless the demands of the health officers and citizens are heeded, no one need be surprised at the forthcoming pestilence. . . .south of Guthrie, to save a long curve or building a bridge, the Santa Fe changed the channel of the Cottonwood, leaving an old channel, some of it within the limits of Guthrie. Unless this is filled up, look out for fevers. Even now, its effects are being felt (*Kansas Times* 7/22/89 – 1958).

Guthrie Townscape - One Hundred Days Old

Guthrie by the end of July was one hundred days old. It represented the appearance of a model western town, located on land rising from either side of the Cottonwood in long waves, trees-dotted everywhere, and of a

delightful green that was a rest and a pleasure to the eye at all times. Guthrie had the best of drainage, and from not being on level but rolling ground much was added to the attractiveness of her streets, which in time will be the pride of the city. The streets were uniform in width of eighty feet. The average block was three hundred Feet Square, and some of the boulevards - one hundred feet in width, a system of streets which could scarcely be improved upon (*KansasTimes* 7/22/89 - 1958).

The number of parks and boulevards were unsurpassed in point of number, extent, and beauty by any city of twice its size and population in the west, with a number of fine iron bridges spanning the Cottonwood Creek. The streets were graded with miles of sidewalks and crosswalks that were continuously being watered by sprinkling carts to keep the dust under control. The Westinghouse Incandescent Lighting System of alternating currents was capable not only of thoroughly lighting the whole city, it would be furnishing the power for the electric railway (Wicks 1926, 140). Both Wicks and the *Times* correspondent make reference to water hydrants on the corners of principal streets, but the city council minutes April – July have only talked about drilling wells with troughs placed at them to water the animals.

The *Times* correspondent described the cultural/social aspect of Guthrie when he stated, “the visitor to Guthrie is coming into no top boot, flannel shirt, seven shooter town. He’s coming into a city where people dress as well and are quite as good morally as elsewhere and one sees almost as many ladies and children here as can be found in any town of its size (*Kansas Times* 7/22/89 – 1958).” And, at the other end of the social/cultural spectrum, encompassed with economical factions, was Guthrie Proper the only one of the four Guthrie’s to have gambling houses, dance houses, and houses of ill repute [shady ladies of the night]. The *Times* reporter stated that on one of the best corners of Guthrie, a gambling den [Reeves Brothers] stayed open around the clock, with

its doors and windows wide open, as was the case the other night as “he watched a councilman gambling (*Kansas Times* 7/22/89 – 1958).”

Hamilton Wicks made the statement every kind of business was represented – fifteen hotels, ninety seven restaurants and boarding houses, four gun stores, twenty-three laundries, three music houses, two churches, seventeen hardware stores, four brick yards, thirteen bakeries, forty dry good stores, twenty-seven drug stores, and fifty grocery stores. Other economical growth factors were the alleged four thousand houses now erected with only five hundred tents scattered throughout the suburbs (Wicks 1926, 140).

Politically, there were still many contests over land titles, exemplified by the *Galloway vs. Smith* case, and the corner lot at Oklahoma Avenue and First Street was still vacant due to a pending contest. Arbitration Boards were still going hot and heavy causing mayhem by pretending to adjust matters for weeks, drawing their ten dollar per day salary costing the citizens a small fortune. The Board did, it was claimed, adjust admirably for themselves and those who stood in with the rings. Cases were resubmitted, and in some instances, two parties held certificates to the same lot. These certificates were issued by the Mayor, and were suppose to give title to the lot, no lot can be sold unless the supposed owner had a certificate. These duplications caused innocent parties great injustices and loss. The city was suppose to guarantee the lot, but even in June, there was little protection, and lot jumping was a daily occurrence. The lots were becoming so valuable that a claimant had to stay there at all times to safeguard his claim. The *Times* correspondent stated, “a gentleman just bargained two thousand two hundred dollars for a lot twenty by one hundred feet at First Street and Oklahoma Avenue, one of the most desirable lots in Guthrie. Plenty of good business lots can be had for two

thousand dollars, and there are some desirable residential lots being purchased at three hundred and four hundred dollars (*Kansas Times* 7/22/89 – 1958).”

At the Territorial Museum, Fred Wenner had included a note in the file of the Commercial Bank building that stated it was built in July 1889, costing twenty thousand dollars, and it was the first brick and stone building constructed in Guthrie. Wenner implied this was the bank built with its depositor’s money on the northeast corner of Second Street and Oklahoma. Then, there were other sources stating the First Bank Block at First Street and Oklahoma Avenue was the first brick building in Guthrie.

The concentration of business activity and primary activity was still centering between the railroad tracks and First Street as evidenced by four banks in that area. As mentioned earlier, the Commercial Bank, being built on the corner of Second Street and Oklahoma Avenue; the Merchants Bank, Second Street and Oklahoma Avenue; and the First National Bank Block, located at First Street and Oklahoma Avenue; and the Capital Bank, located at Second and Harrison. These were the first four banks in the Guthrie area indicating the business district. Also, the Fourth of July parade marched down Second Street and parades usually seek the area with the most spectators. The horse race activities were held on Harrison Avenue between First Street and Division Street. In this photograph, collection number three, Harrison has very few structures on the north side of the street, and the 1894 Sanborn Map documented Harrison Avenue did not have any buildings on the lots located on north Harrison from the middle of the block to Division Street. Another indication that Guthrie’s CBD in July was generating between the train depot and First Street (Western History Collection) (Fourth of July Horse Race, see figure 55).



Figure 55. Harrison Avenue Horse Race, 1889 Fourth of July

On 20 August, the delegates from the July convention reconvened in Guthrie calling the meeting "the Convention of Western Oklahoma." They made amendments to the proposed Memorial and voted on 23 August, to send it to Congress, asking for authorization to become a Territorial Provisional Government (Wenner 1939, 42). The *Kansas Times* reporter described the situation when he stated:

Guthrie holds the palm. It has six banks and about as many business houses of all characters and proportions . . . Guthrie has been booming. Just now she is holding her own remarkably well. Some look for great improvements before fall. But, many careful observers do not look for much substantial advance until the question of titles is settled and deeds are issued for the lots. This cannot be until Congress meets and the townsite is proved up. And until then, it seems that Guthrie must stand just about where she is now (*Kansas Times* 7/22/89 - 1958).

The governing bodies of the Guthrie's met and discussed prices to sell the bonds that had been adopted by the people for the support of schools and municipal governments, and they also decided that all four cities should have the same uniform width of sidewalks. Guthrie Proper's City Council business for the month of August entailed having offices in the police court building; discussed installation of telephone lines; building sidewalks on Division Street between Oklahoma Avenue and Cleveland; grading Vilas Avenue near the Cottonwood; Block Forty-four westside lots to front First Street; and collection of occupation taxes.

The month of August marks the first killing in Guthrie. Two Chicago men, George Stevens and a Dr. Townsley, were partners on a lot at First and Harrison. Upon George Stevens return from Chicago, the partners got into a fight over the building constructed on the property. Stevens pulled his gun and Dr. Townsley drew his gun, killing Stevens (Green 1989, 3).

Guthrie's First Territory Directory was printed in August, 1889. It reported:

Six banks, sixteen barbers, sixteen blacksmiths or wagon makers, seventeen carpenters and builders, two cigar manufacturers, seven hardware companies, fifteen hotels, eight lawyers (employed filling claims), nineteen pharmacists, twenty-two lumber dealers, five photographers, thirty-nine doctors, forty restaurants, nine churches, five newspapers, one telegraph office and one electric plant (Lentz 1990, 57).

While the four townsites were jointly planning Guthrie's Birthday Celebration, Frank Greer heard word that a Congressional Delegation was to visit Oklahoma City a few days before the date of the proposed birthday party, 22 August. Greer addressed the City Councils' asking for contributions to entertain the Legislators on a "grand scale." Thus, on Monday, 16 September, a scene of unusual gaiety was in the Magic City. The distinguished visitors reached Guthrie on Sunday evening, 15 September, in the eloquent Palace Car, the "Wyandotte" of the St. Louis and San Francisco line. The visiting delegation included "Samuel R. Peters and Bishop W. Perkins, of Kansas; Charles S. Baker, of New York; Charles J. Mansur, of Missouri; John M. Allen, of Mississippi; and W.M. Springer, of Illinois, and accompanied by the First President of the St. Louis & San Francisco Line (Rock 1890, 148) (September Congressional Delegation, see figures 56-59).

The event being well publicized, people from all parts of the Territory had come to Guthrie to offer a grand welcome. The streets were crowded with sturdy homesteaders and city people eager to get a glimpse of the important visitors who could hasten territorial government.



Figure 56. September Congressional Delegation on Oklahoma Avenue at Division Street



Figure 57. Congressional Delegation at Oklahoma Avenue and Second Street

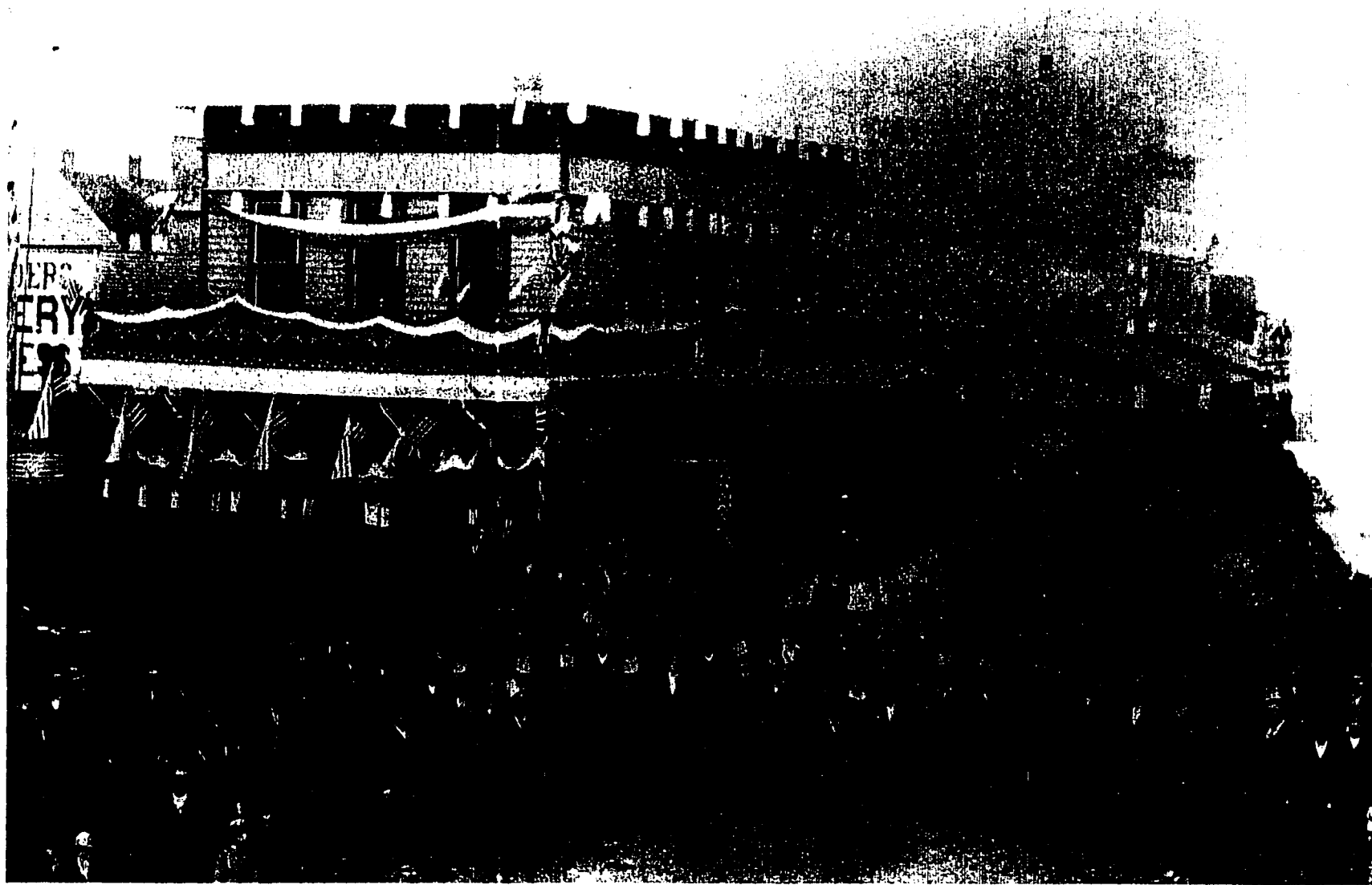


Figure 58. Blue Bell Saloon at Second Street and Harrison Avenue

Figure 59. Congressional Delegation at the Elegant Springer Hotel, Division and East Oklahoma Avenue

After receiving the delegation, the excited crowd followed the procession of carriages to the beautifully decorated pavilion erected in the center of the Capitol Grounds, from which the distinguished statesmen were presented to the vast crowd by Honorable John M. Galloway. Mayor Dyer was the first to address the assemblage. He then introduced Honorable C.H. Mansur who stated:

We are here in your interests, and as your friends. We are here that we may know your conditions; to study your wants; to tender you the promise of our strongest endeavors in your behalf. . . . The Maker of all things never intended that there should be two thousand two hundred acres for every papoose, as exists in the Indian Territory; that ten thousand lazy red men should dominate sixty million acres of land when thousands of whites are homeless. . . . The time has come when poetical justice to the Indian must cease. The Indian and his papooses must divide their eleven thousand acres to the household and let civilization in.

After Honorable B.W. Perkins spoke, Honorable Charles Baker's addressed the crowd, "Here is to be built a city and country of which the world can be proud. The proudest thing Congress can do is to give Oklahoma Territorial Government at once."

When Honorable William M. Springer rose to the speaker's platform, the crowd went wild being recognized as the old and steadfast friend to Oklahoma. He said:

The time will come soon when we will send no more commissions among the red men to see whether or not they will obey the laws of Congress. An Indian is no better than a white man and the whites are never waited on to see whether they will obey the laws. The high type of people who have settled Oklahoma have convinced me that the time should be eighteen months or two years. You can draw on me for anything you want.

With the strains of 'Home Sweet Home' reverberating in every heart, you are a law unto yourselves. Mayor Ross speaks of 'star routes.' Why, you will need none. Soon, you will have railroads in all directions. I bid you God speed in rearing homes here. I shall go back to Congress a harder worker than ever for Oklahoma (Rock 1890, 132).

Following the reception, the leading businessmen of the City gave a grand banquet. In the evening, the ladies of Guthrie planned and entertained the Congressmen

with two hundred guests at the First National Block with an elegant reception and ball. Marion Rock wrote that the elegant surroundings, cultivated, self-possessed, well-attired men and women, the event was a happy surprise, not only to the people of Guthrie, but to the distinguished guests, who were received by the ladies in elegant evening toilettes that would have graced a Washington reception. She stated, "one Senator noted for his brilliant wit and undisguised admiration for the ladies, who wore upon the memorable occasion a plain business suit and flannel shirt, was overwhelmed with confusion to find himself the partner at supper of a beautiful, high-bred woman, who wore, if not a creation of the renowned Worth, a toilette at once the perfection of artistic beauty and richness (Rock 1890, 134)."

An 89'er who enjoyed meeting the Congressmen stated, "in addition to the mass meetings and the evening social functions, the Congressmen were guests at a dinner at Guthrie where the menu included roast Oklahoma vension and beef, prairie chicken country style, quail on toast, baked wild turkey; fresh Oklahoma corn on the cob, string beans, squash and potatoes, tomatoes and radishes; also Oklahoma country butter and native pumpkin pie and ice cream (Wenner 1939, 46)."

The *State Capital* on September 16, 1889, gave the following account:

The apartments were lavishly decorated with autumn flowers, grasses, and trailing vines. The banisters of the broad stairway were draped in bright bunting, caught at intervals with clusters of brilliant flowers in pretty relief against a setting of green foliage. The newel posts were crowned with luxuriant plants; baskets of flowers and grasses hung pendent from the hall chandeliers. The entrance to the reception room was festooned with flags and bunting. In this apartment the decorations were very elaborate. About the walls were festoons of tri-colored bunting, held in place by clusters of wild flowers. The lace hangings at the windows were outlined with sprays of flowers and leaves. The center table under the chandelier was ornamented with antique vases, overflowing with dainty blossoms. In the dining apartment, refreshments of ices, fruit, and cake were

served from small tables draped in showy linen, and decorated in the center with pyramids of fruits and flowers.

The same article described the “toilettes” of nearly one hundred women. An example of one stated:

Mrs. Finley M. Hotchkiss wore an elegant toilette of pistache green surah, with the front of the petticoat veiled with flounces of rare Venetian point, sleeveless corsage en-pompadour, outlined with Venetian point, fishscale necklace, diamond ornaments, hand painted satin fan, ostrich tipped, Marchal Neil roses (*Daily State Capital* 1889).

The Tortuosity of the Urban Eco-system Launches Guthrie’s Society Register.

Marion Rock wrote that from the event, the nucleus of Guthrie’s society began crystallization. Social clubs of various kinds were organized such as card parties, luncheons, receptions, musicals, and high teas followed each other in rapid succession the next six months. These activities and functions helped relieve the boredom of the long winter. It also served to bring people together forming social organizations like the Calmuet, a social and literary society of young people; the Arion Dancing Club, formed for young men; the Pioneer Progressive Euchre Club; the Guthrie Whist Club; the North Side Euchre Club, and the Ladies’ Social and Literary Society, composed of twenty-five married ladies who met each Friday afternoon for the study of music and literature (Rock 1890, 120).

One of the Literary Society’s members, Mrs. J. T. Lowe had an eloquent afternoon reception during the first winter. The *Daily State Capital* described the occasion:

There have been many happy receptions given in the brief social history of this city, but never one that so fully represented the best element of society; and to Judge and Mrs. Lowe, who entertained their guests with the hospitality that finds birth and culture in Southern Homes, is due the pleasure of this much desired

event in our society. . . . The spacious dining hall with its elegant accessories presented a picture of rare beauty. A candelabrum filled with myriads of rose tapers softly lighted the environments. The polished oaken dining table was draped through the center with a plush scarf embroidered with golden-hearted Marguerites and masses of feathery ferns. Arranged about the table were several dainty tete-a-tete tables covered with embroidered linen and set with fragile china and silver. . . .(Rock 1890).

Urban Eco- system Forces Swirling Guthrie To the Leading Regional Center

Finally, after two months of continuous editorials, Frank Greer had made enough justifications for building the bridge that the citizens met on 24 September, to organize a bridge project committee, and to ascertain to what degree the farmers were willing to participate. Town architects Joseph Foucart and L. Villeroy were commissioned to design a bridge and estimate its cost. Foucart and Villeroy presented their design in early October. Guthrie lumbermen donated five hundred dollars worth of lumber while the farmers offered to furnish pilings free for the bridge and to grade the approaches. Frank Greer hounded the businessmen until they donated the needed one thousand dollars to complete the project (*Daily State Capital* 1889).

Frank Greer was always preoccupied with how to make Guthrie economically the central base from which all activities radiated. Around early September, he realized that within a thirty-five mile radius lived the Iowa, Sac, Fox, Kickapoo, and Pottawatomie Indians who received sizeable allotments from the Federal Government. Greer began to advertise, "treat the Indians as they were whites, give them equal trade, offer fair prices, and Guthrie would secure a major portion of the Indians' monies." The merchants began sending drummers to the various tribes with samples of available goods and advertising

the advantages of trading in Guthrie. Soon, Guthrie became the regional center for the Indian trade and as described by Greer, “a lucrative Indian trade (Grant 1980, 40).”

In September, Frank Greer published articles that Guthrie contained approximately seven hundred children of school age and no schools for them to attend. Many families faced the choice of moving to other towns where schools were attainable or sending their children away to school. Greer wrote. “either choice would be detrimental to Guthrie (Grant 1980, 42).” Frank Greer may have counted all the children in the four Guthrie’s because on 23 May, Miss Daisy as mentioned earlier, made a presentation at Guthrie Proper’s City Council meeting to say there were two hundred school age children.

Guthrie Proper’s First Permanent Structure

Frank Wenner made reference that in September 1889 the first brick building to be finished in Guthrie measured fifty feet by one hundred fifty feet, with two stories and basement, stone trimmings and polished granite columns at the entrance. Then, he stated other brick and stone structures followed rapidly. This was the second time Wenner has made reference to the Commercial Block building located at Second Street and Oklahoma Avenue as the first permanent completed structure in the Historic District, Guthrie Proper. The other one was a hand written note on a piece of paper in the Historic District Archival file at the Territorial Museum. The City Council Minutes for October mentioned one of their alternates was to rent the basement of the Commercial Bank Building. And, Valorie Grant’s article, “The Editor and the Magic City” also stated the first brick building was the Commercial Bank Block [building].

Donald Green's article, "The Oklahoma Land Run of 1889," described the Commercial Bank Block being completed in October of 1889. The National Bank Block did not have granite columns. Commercial Bank Block [building] did have columns and was constructed of stone and brick materials. The National Bank Block was listed by many sources as the first brick structure in Guthrie. The Commercial Bank Block was made of stone and brick, primarily stone. Maybe, the proposed theory would be, the Commercial Bank Block was the first stone building completed by September 1889, and the First National Bank Block was the first brick building completed by September 1889 (Commercial Bank Building, 1889, see figure 60) (First National Bank, see figure 61).

Guthrie Proper's City Council Minutes September 1889

The City Council meetings for September passed ordinances to regulate fast driving in the city; to regulate gambling and gaming; to provide for extending the time to file on city lots; collection of occupation taxes; sidewalks on Harrison Avenue to be abutting; alleys in Blocks Twenty-eight and Thirty-one be reduced from twenty feet to ten feet; to punish the illegal sale of intoxicating liquors; deferred payment of fifty dollars in assisting the bridge to be built over the Cottonwood on University Avenue due to the City Attorney advising it was out of the city limits; postponed indefinitely Ordinances of D.P. Doak Gas Company and Walcott and Glasgow Gas Company for a gas company franchise; ordinance to describe property by proper description by lot and block. And, Mayor Dyer reported the bridge at Noble Avenue almost completed, and to provide suitable place on Harrison Avenue for Mr. Tontz's scales.

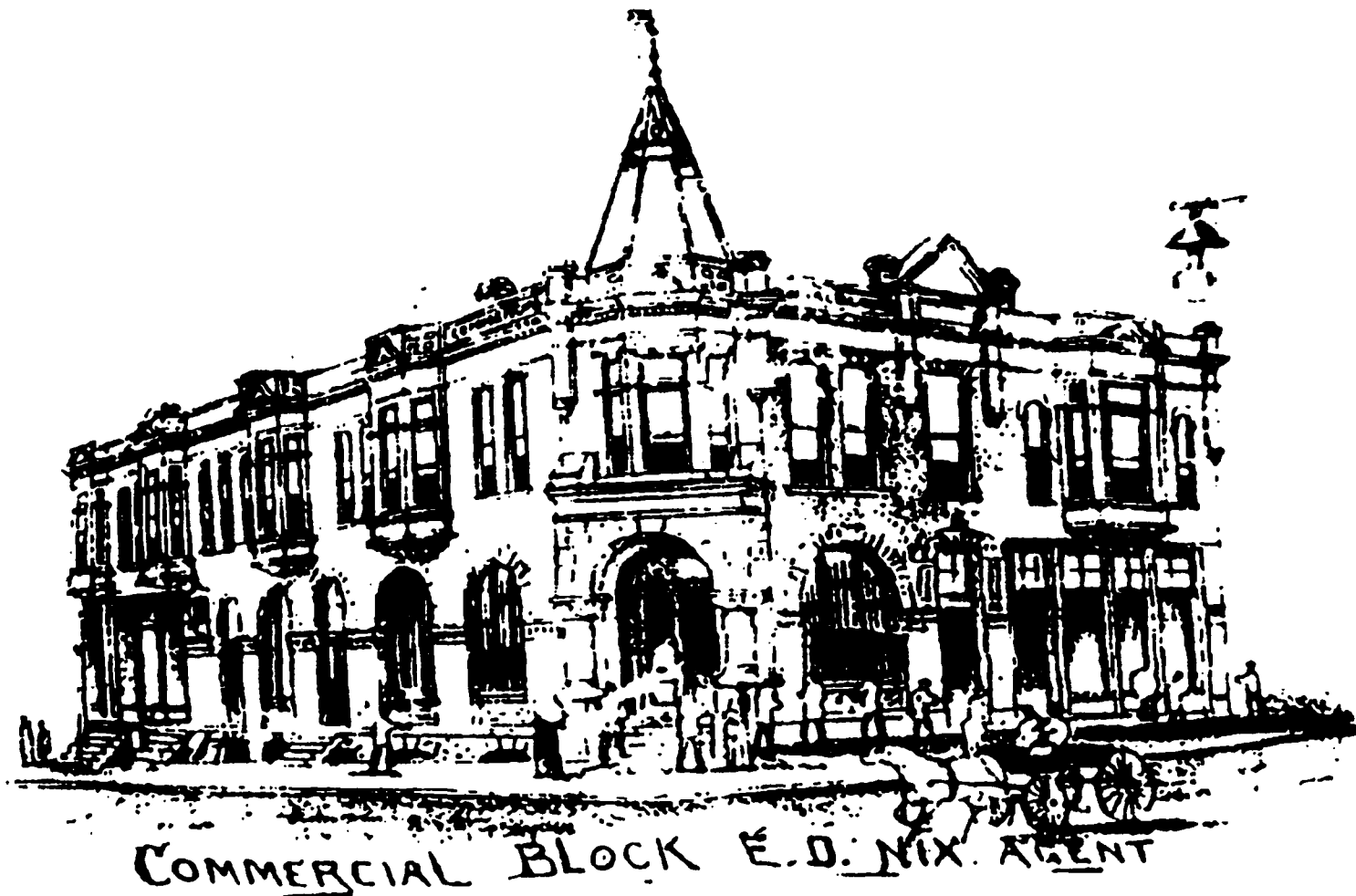


Figure 60. Commercial Bank Building, 1889



Figure 61. First National Bank, 1889

Guthrie's Townscape Continually
Evolving - October 1889

In October, a Title Guaranty Company opened business in Guthrie, providing a guarantee to lot titles, which strengthened the city's position in land landings. With this added security of title, another brick block was built completed by George Mundy on Oklahoma Avenue, just west of city hall. These improvements not only greatly enhanced Guthrie townscape, they also portrayed a progressive and thriving community that would serve to induce others to make Guthrie their home.

On *21 October*, Reverend Morrison addressed Guthrie Proper's City Council to asked them not to have separate schools, and Guthrie Proper had appropriated two hundred dollars to pay the freight on the new school furniture. Frank Greer had reported in October, "the Guthrie's sharing expenses by means of a tax of one dollar for every one hundred dollars evaluation of property (Grant 1980, 42)." Thus, the four Guthries' school opened 11 October, in East Guthrie's City Hall Building. Five hundred twenty-five students divided into eight grades supervised by ten teachers and a head master, Professor Frank Terry, attended the school. The school term was for six months and when it closed for summer, 5 April, Frank Greer boasted, "this is the first case history recorded where a system of graded schools was conducted before laws were formed (Grant 1980, 43)."

City council business pertaining to the built environment for the month of October: decided not to close the Boulevard; recommended opening of Dyer Park to settlement; location for Tontz's scale opposite Block Fifty-eight, opposite Lot Seven; sidewalks were finished on Harrison Avenue and a water trough would be placed by the well on the corner of Second Street and Harrison Avenue; built culverts at First Street

and Cleveland Avenue, eastside and a culvert First Street and Warner Avenue, east side; to prohibit persons from using more than three feet of sidewalks; contracted with Guthrie Electric Light and Power Company for a number of "arc lights" on street corners; to secure a hose cart for the Fire Department. And, they passed the following ordinances: An Ordinance to protect fire hoses, to regulate the practice of medicine and surgery, to prohibit gambling, to change the location of lots in Block Number Seventy-five, order for license for materials lien or labor liens, and to provide for the collecting of property taxes (GP City Council Minutes 1889).

Fred Wenner told a story that explained why regulations were needed for physicians. A girl he had hired to work in his home informed him that her father had been a blacksmith in Kansas and when, "he came to Oklahoma, he went to 'doctoring,' but that lately, things had been getting so strict that he took to 'dentistin.' He did his 'dentistin' in a small front room on the ground floor, and every tooth he pulled was strung on a wire, all hung in a festooned display in the only window, like pop corn on a Christmas tree (Wenner 1939, 26)."

Guthrie's Townscape Evolving - November 1889. Guthrie's new City Charter set 5 November, for regular election of Mayor and Council Members. Frank Greer thought it very important to elect a man of clean character, property, and integrity, since this Mayor and Council would in all probability shape the destiny of Guthrie. He stayed neutral until Colonel Ross was nominated to run for mayor. Greer thought Colonel Ross' aggressive manipulations of the lottery scheme revealed the man's character as self indulgent and Guthrie's future was at stake. He began campaigning for James Dooley a former State Senator from Iowa and Dooley won the race (Grant 1980, 46).

The important issues of business of the City Council meetings in *November* were to make a “mental register” that at this time John Ford was negotiating with the Council to supply Guthrie’s city water; The “Wiley Street Railway” had presented an ordinance to provide a Railway Franchise for the City; Ford’s petition was tabled and Wiley’s was accepted; Decisions had been made where to set the street “arc lights,” and the Fire Department Chief presented an ordinance for chimneys and flues, for fire alarm signals, and necessary fire apparatus. The council had major discussions on how to quickly, fairly, and legally settle lot contests.

The uncertainty about title to lots led to a “plague of lot jumping” onto vacant lots. The “catch –22” predicament had facilitated the problem in that the lot claimants were required to make improvements before a patent could be obtained to their claim. The uncertainty of titles led many settlers not to erect any structures or make any other improvements. Thus, the vast number of lot jumping being confiscated illegally, led to the so-called “Status Quo” order issued by the United States Attorney General in late fall 1889. The order specified that all people residing on lots at the time of this order could remain on the properties until representatives of the General Land Office heard the case. Donald Green quoted in his article, “the unsettled state of affairs, the racket and constant turmoil kept capital away from the City and seriously retarded its growth.” Frank Greer wrote years later, “Guthrie would have been a city of seventy-five thousand population today had it not been for the years of trials, tribulations, expense and suspense in acquiring titles. Capitalists were here to build up a great city of the southwest, but could not get titles to property (Green 1989, 142).”

Guthrie's Continual Townscape Evolution -

December 1889

In December, Cassius Barnes and John Dille, the Register and Receiver of the Guthrie Land Office, sent a petition signed by the "Respectable Members of the Bar of this Land District" to protest "certain abuses which exist in the land practice" to the Secretary of the Land Office, John Noble. The most fragrant abuse was fraud, the practice of buying witnesses. With this petition, Barnes and Dille sent a cover letter requesting the appointment of a special agent to launch an investigation of "Sooner Claims (Green 1989)." The *Oklahoma Weekly Capital*, 28 December-- "W.F. Harn, who will be appointed a special investigative agent by the General Land Office, found much evidence of witnesses paid by contest claimants to perjure themselves (*Oklahoma Weekly Capital* 1889)."

Social / Cultural Urban Eco-system Forces

Mrs. Cassius Barnes, wife of Receiver Barnes had one of the most notable "afternoon" social receptions of the winter. The seventy-five women who attended will always remember its distinctive elegance, grace, and brilliancy, a truly pleasant occasion in Guthrie's social history. Author Marion Rock also stated:

During the winter of 1889-90, the largest and perhaps the most brilliant "evening" social event of the year was at the handsome home of Mr. and Mrs. T. J. Hartin, in attendance were the leading society people of Guthrie. The Hart's was the first home in the Territory to be lighted with electricity and was absolutely brilliant with incandescent lights everywhere. (Rock 1890, 121).

The December City Council meeting passed ordinances to change the location of lots in the south half of Block Seventy-nine; to buy Lot Thirteen in Block Forty-five [permanent location for City Council offices]; to pay Fire Chief's salary from 12 June, to 2 December, and it was decided from this day forward the Fire Chief position would not be salaried; to pay rent of the City Hospital; Mr. D.T. Mitchell resigned as Fire Chief and Mayor Dooley appointed Harvey Ruffner; to locate an "arc light" in the Second Ward at Noble Avenue Bridge; Secretary of Interior requested number of feet in width and length that the A.T. & S.F. Railroad Company are entitled through Guthrie; to assist the needy; to buy leather police clubs; to prevent lot jumping; to pay A.V. Hoffman for taking testimony of *Winfield Smith vs. John Galloway* in the case over Lot Four Block Fifty-six.

In December, the ordinances was passed granting *John Ford* the contract to construct, maintain and operate a water works system in the City of Guthrie; an ordinance was passed to accept W. D. Wiley's Franchise and security deposit for one thousand dollars to build the street railroad on four streets – Harrison, Oklahoma, Division, Railroad Depot area; an motion was passed that the Dance House on Second Street and the House of Prostitution on Harrison Avenue between Second Street and the A.T. & S.F. Railroad be forced closed and an a motion was passed to arrest all women appearing on the street in the day or night attired in any unbecoming manner (GP City Council Minutes 1889).

Urban Eco-system Forces Creating
Mosaic Patterns Impacting
Guthrie's Evolving Townscapes

Guthrie's first year has been nine months of dynamic urban forces giving birth to mosaic patterns, arranging spatial distributions and determining spatial interactions. The

patterns formed by the immigrants settling their central business district close to the train depot, in close proximity to the land office, determined the spatial distribution of the four Guthrie's and their interactions with one another. The mosaic pattern began clustering immediately between the station house and the Land Office, primarily on Third Street and Second Street. As the lots in this central area diminished, the settlers scattered the pattern westward forming West Guthrie, and eastward establishing the communities of East Guthrie and Capitol Hill (Exline, Peter, Larkin 1982, 65).

This mosaic pattern set into motion spatial interactions that shaped Guthrie's areal associations of affluent neighborhoods, retail areas, commercial districts, manufacturing sectors, etc., natural groupings dispersed a spatial landscape known as zoning. Guthrie's paradigm had centrally located the banks, lawyers, hotels, restaurants, and laundries around the Regional Land Office. The vicinity of the railroad station house was advantageous for businesses dependent upon interactions with transportation clientele, such as lodging houses, hotels, saloons, restaurants, gambling houses, lawyers, real estate investors, etc. The railroad was a necessary facility for businesses such as manufacturing plants, lumber yards, coal yards, planning mills, wholesale houses, etc. to import or export goods and materials. Thus, creating a mosaic clustering pattern or commercial hub in the proximity of the station house.

The beautiful landscape overlooking Guthrie and the ten acres designated as Capitol Square influenced the mosaic pattern of affluent neighborhoods. The spatial interaction with the Cottonwood River was a deterrent to spatial distribution to the eastside due to the difficulty of traveling to the central business area. Hence, West Guthrie's neighborhoods were settled by less affluent people who enjoyed planting crops,

vegetable garden or raising chickens and fattening out hogs. It was reminiscence of rural suburbia (Cottowood Creek, see figure 62).

There was a great deal of flow between Guthrie Proper and East Guthrie as their progressive leaders arranged events and activities to further Guthrie's urban growth. Therefore, patterns of flow established linkages that determined Harrison Avenue, Oklahoma Avenue, Division Street, First and Second Street as main thoroughfares, and in turn, defined the location of water wells, water troughs, street lights, fire stations, etc. The linkages promoted circulation patterns of people, goods, and services that provided one of the essential components of the dynamic urban ecosystem.

With the convergence of mosaic patterns, determining spatial distribution and spatial interaction, Guthrie's streetscape has changed particularly on Oklahoma Avenue with the brick and stone structures of the Mundy Block, Commercial Bank Block and First National Bank Block. With these structures being built on west Oklahoma going east to First Street, documented that the busiest area of commerce and trade centers in Guthrie's early infancy was between the Railroad Depot and First Street, in the vicinity of Oklahoma and Harrison Avenues (Mundy Hardware-1889, see figure 63).

Guthrie's evolving townscape during January 1890. By January, the City Council minutes had recorded not only the Fire Department Chief's position moved from salaried to one of voluntary status, it also documented the concern over lot jumpers and unimproved lots. This may have been instigated from Frank Greer's editorials insisting City Councils' to accelerate pace in settling claims due to the fear that Congress would not consider consolidation of the Guthries' until all claims contests had been settled.



Cottonwood Creek June 18,

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Figure 62. Cottonwood Creek



Figure 63. Mundy Hardware, 1889

Lot jumping was encouraged by vacant lots belonging to outsiders, who hoped to sell at a higher price once Congress passed Territorial Legislation, and this created another “catch-22” in that lot improvements were as equally important as settling contests in gaining favor with Congress. Thus, City Councils hired more legal counsels to contact absentee owners and to reach greater efficiency in settling claims.

A mass meeting was held in Guthrie on January 4, 1890, to petition Congress for a Territorial Government. Judge T.J. Lowe who had just returned from Washington where a delegation from Guthrie had presented the “Memorial” to the Committee on Territories chaired the meeting. Judge Lowe reported to the people he had heard reports that President Harrison, who had been personally advised by General Gibson of the favorable conditions of Guthrie, had sent a message to Congress “urging early action upon legislation for the relief of the conditions existing in that country (Green 1989, 139).” Lowe advised the lot jumping had to stop and he implored everyone, “to abstain from violence, to obey the local laws, and to do all in their power to promote harmony (Rock 1890).”

The minutes of the City Council in January reported passing ordinances for the removal of earth from Reeves Brothers Lot at Second and Harrison; money to finish University Avenue Bridge; build a sidewalk on the westside of Government Acre on Second Street; and there was discussion with John Ford about his *respective* water works franchise. It also recorded instructing the City Attorney to sell lots in the city immediately that had no proof of ownership or warranty certificate.

Guthrie’s evolving townscape - February 1890. The most notable contribution to history that was recorded in February’s City Council meetings was Joseph Foucart and

his partner, Villeroy, petitioned the City to hire an engineer to establish grades for the streets of Guthrie. There was evidence of *urban renewal* in that the city passed a motion that a building belonging to J.C. Tutt at the corner of Second Street and Oklahoma Avenue be removed at once, and the stores on Second Street between Harrison Street and Cleveland Avenue be removed immediately. Other business was to grade Harrison Avenue and to allow the location of fruits stand on Oklahoma Avenue between First and Second Street, and another one on Oklahoma Avenue opposite Block Forty-six, Lot Ten. Petitions to set up fruit stands at these two locations reemphasize the location of the largest traffic count; in essence, the greatest traffic generators being between First and Second Streets.

Guthrie's evolving townscape - March 1890. A landmark case of March 15, 1890, helped solve the problem of lot jumpers and claim settlements. As discussed earlier, the decision rendered by the General Land Office in Washington disqualified the claims of United States Deputy Marshal Ransom Payne, the Santa Fe employee, James W. Feagins, and Veeder Bertrand Paine. The major lot contests in Guthrie dissolved with this decision, clearing the way for consolidation (Grant 1980, 46).

March City Council meetings revealed the Herriott Block building was finished due to the fact that G. F. Herriott was asked to reduce the rent for city offices. It does not indicate the address of the building. It could have been another building, but the historical records at the Territorial Museum date the Herriott Block building built in 1890 on the southwest corner of Harrison Avenue and Division Street. In all probability, the council minutes were referring to this structure.

Other business of the Council that pertained to Guthrie's built environment had to do with payment of delinquent school taxes clouding clear title to lots. An ordinance was introduced on the City Jail, Prisoners, and Police; an ordinance to change location of six lots in the southwest corner of Block Number Ninety-four; an ordinance providing imprisonment and fine for carrying a concealed weapon; petition for city to appropriate fifty dollars to assist in digging a well at the corner of Vilas Avenue and Third Street; an ordinance to keep the arc lights burning all night; and an ordinance to prohibit the sale of liquors in the limits (GP City Council Minutes 1890).

Guthrie's evolving townscape - April 1890. On *3 April*, the City Council met in extra session to discuss the April 22, 1890, celebration of Guthrie's anniversary. There was a committee of three appointed to work with three council members from each of the other Guthrie's whose duty would be to arrange for all the anniversary celebrations events and activities; a petition was presented to close Sixth Street between Vilas and Springer Avenues and to dam the Cottonwood at that location to enable J. Deffenbaugh & Co. to erect a flouring mill; a petition was presented for pumps at Sixth Street and Cleveland Avenue to be repaired; and an petition was passed to appropriate fifty dollars to place a well at the corners of Vilas Avenue and Third Street.

Tuesday, April 22, 1890, the first anniversary of Guthrie's birth had arrived and the people assembled on Capitol Hill participating in the celebration festivities. They were enjoying the holiday, with undercurrents of anticipation that word from Washington would flash over the wires announcing that the Bill organizing Oklahoma had passed. Then, a loud voice shouted, "the news has come" and the people went wild with joy as the lone messenger galloped up Oklahoma Avenue, rode to the grandstand

and preceded to hand the chairman a message declaring the Bill had passed. Marion Rock wrote that it took days before it finally past through the Guthrie's that the whole incident had been a jokester, and she stated, "the twenty-second of April will ever be a Fourth of July for Oklahoma. The romance and fiction and realty – the hallowed as well as laughable memories of the day on which Oklahoma was opened – will grow intensity as the years roll on (Rock 1890, 137)."

Throughout February, March and early April, Oklahoma District citizens were contemplating the best candidates to represent Oklahoma as Governor. John I. Dille and Horace Speed, both Guthrie men, had been unofficially selected. When rumor spread that President Harrison would choose an "outsider" for Governor, denying Oklahoma the right for self-government, the people became outraged. Frank Greer advised the citizens through editorials, "to talk and write until Washington was compelled to submit to their demands for home rule." Before, the campaign got underway, Congress passed the Territorial Bill and "Oklahoma gained legality." Greer reported, "Guthrie is not only part of the young giant Oklahoma, but is her central star – her Mecca, her capitol (Grant 1980, 50)."

Guthrie's evolving townscape - May 1890. On 2 May, 1890, Congress passed the Organic Act. It provided for the organization of the Unassigned Lands into Oklahoma Territory. The Act's provisions, approved by President Harrison, demonstrated Guthrie's political prestige. With an appropriation of one hundred forty thousand dollars for the expense of the Territorial Government, the Organic Act established the Capital temporarily at Guthrie. Twelve days later, 14 May, Congress passed the "Enabling Act" that made it possible for the four townsites of Guthrie to consolidate into one city

covering one thousand two hundred eighty acres and to be governed by one municipal government. Guthrie was designated the Territorial Capital due to its size and importance, resulting from the combination of the land office and railroad facilities. The United States census taken in 1890 documented Guthrie being the larger city with a population numbering five thousand three hundred thirty-three, and enumerated Oklahoma City's to be four thousand one hundred forty-one inhabitants. And, at the time, Guthrie had eleven schools, nine churches, three daily newspapers, and five weekly newspapers (Forbes 1938, 10).

The Editor's Association of Northwestern Kansas, traveling to Galveston, Texas, was given a grand reception and banquet at Guthrie on May 17, 1890. Two hundred members of the association, including two hundred ladies were met at ten after six in the evening at the train station by eighty awaiting carriages. Soon, the guests were driven through the four Guthrie's accompanied by the Guthrie Silver Cornet Band, leading the procession. After completing the tour, they were driven to the Springer Hotel, corner of Harrison Avenue and Division Street, to be honored with a reception and elegant banquet by the leading ladies and gentlemen of the city. The most elaborate preparations had been made for the occasion, and the guests were entertained in a royal style (Rock 1890, 139).

Marion Rock described the arrival of Governor Steel on May 23, 1890, as follows:

His coming had been long and anxiously waited for, and it is safe to say that no man ever before received such a sincere and cordial welcome to the hearts and homes of the people as did Governor Steele by the brave citizens of Oklahoma. His coming was the fruition of hopes long deferred. It was an event that would crown Oklahoma with territorial government, and place the Land of the Fair god under the protection of a Democratic

Government, a "government of the people and by the people." And such a welcome, such enthusiasm! It was the sincere outburst of joy and thankfulness welling up from the hearts of the people (Rock 1890, 139)

Governor Steele stepped down from the train, men swung their hats and ladies fluttered their dainty lace handkerchiefs in token of welcome among the deafening cheers and applause. The leading citizens of Guthrie were there to receive Governor Steele, and escorted him to an open barouche drawn by four milk-white horses. Captain Cavanaugh, Mayor James Dooley [Guthrie Proper mayor], and Mr. George Herriott occupied seats in the carriage with the Governor. The band under the direction of the Honorable Cassius Barnes played "Hail to the Chief who in Triumph Advances" as they marched up Oklahoma Avenue leading the long procession. After Governor Steele viewed the principle streets, he was occupied to the handsome home of Mr. and Mrs. Barnes to enjoy an elegantly appointed dinner.

The next day, the Supreme Court Judges and other Federal appointees joined Governor Steele in the promenade that marched from Oklahoma Avenue to Capital Square. Governor Steele was escorted to the grand pagoda, where he was introduced to the many thousands of people from all over the territory who had come to get a glimpse of the newly appointed Governor. Reverend Lemuel Jones delivered on the behalf of the people and eloquent address in which he stated:

The materials and social combinations in Oklahoma are new and somewhat different from those that have marked any other Territory. There is, for instance, a large Southern population here. I am told that there are as many Southerners as there are Northerners. There is no Mason and Dixon's line here. No sectional ideas or issues are known here. It is possible that we are here to realize, more than in any other part of the country, the very desirable fruit of the war, and that is American brotherhood. No South, no North, but one country, one people (Rock 1890, 140).

Governor Steele replied:

I come to you unpledged, untrammelled by promises. I bring with me no men. I have it in my heart to be as good a Governor as you would have me to be. If I fail don't charge it to my heart, I will do the very best I can to serve the interests of no one place, but of all this beautiful Territory. When I make mistakes, remember that it is natural for the human family to do so, but I will make no more than I can help. I recognize, perhaps far better than any of you can, the great responsibility resting upon me. In this case, there has been more left for the Governor to do than has ever been left for any Executive before. I believe from looking in your faces today that you are going to make this Territory prosperous (Rock 1890, 142).

The events of the evening began in the spacious hall of the Herriott Block [southwest corner of Harrison Avenue and Division Street]. The house was beautifully decorated and all aglow with electric lights, where thousands of women and men from all over the territory were formally presented to the Governor, the United States Judges, and Attorney, by Honorable C.M. Barnes. At ten o'clock, the Governor attended the "First Inaugural Ball" in Oklahoma given by the society of young gentlemen of the city. The event was largely attended by the Territory's leading citizens, and by a large number of prominent people from Wichita, Winfield, Arkansas City, and other cities. Governor Steele expressed his surprise and pleasure at discovering that Guthrie's society was not surpassed by any other city of its size that he had ever seen (Rock 1890, 143).

Fred Wenner being a participate in the evening's activities described the affair, "as diamonds blazed from the hair, the necks and the fronts of the gowns of Oklahoma's beautiful women charmed and enthralled the great statesmen" and further stated, "at the ball, the best music obtainable was furnished and nothing was left undone to make the occasion harmonious and glorious. Everybody that could, danced; and to those who did not, there was a charm in the spectacle presented by the well dressed gentlemen and

handsome women who did dance and endeavored to help make up the prettiest of pictures – the mazy, the vivacious gallop, and the stately quadrille (Wenner 1939, 48).”

May’s City Council meetings moved to have the squatters moved from the “Boulevard” and to keep it maintained as a public thoroughfare. [Don Odom rediscovered the “Boulevard” on an 1894 Sanborn map. The Boulevard was primarily located west of Guthrie Proper, traveling on the west bank of the Cottonwood from Washington Avenue [north of the Central Business District] southwestwardly to Lincoln Avenue [south of Central Business District in West Guthrie], covering a span of streets from Second Street to Thirteen Street. In 1890, the Boulevard was probably one continuous road to enjoy carriage rides or practice one’s horsemanship. With the moving current of the Cottonwood, flowing north to side, it has created “oxbows” dissecting the Boulevard, leaving an area on the north and an area on the south, with no middle [McGuire 1998, 59]. At this meeting, the Mayor instructed the city engineer to resurvey the Boulevard with permanent stakes, and he wanted it posted from end to end warning people not to squat on this piece of public land. Mr. Mundy addressed the council asking permission to have a well bored on Oklahoma Avenue near his place of business located west of Second Street near Oklahoma Avenue. The Council passed a motion to incorporate the City of Guthrie. With the many petitioners concerned about street grades, the council instructed the city engineer to establish a uniform grade on Oklahoma Avenue, Harrison Avenue, First Street and Second Street thoroughfares. It was decided to declare lots all vacant that did not have a warranty certificate issued by the Mayor, and the Council voted to repair all the public wells in the city. The Council had an executive meeting to discuss what needed to be done with the “one thousand dollar performance

bond” pertaining to the Street Railroad Franchise of Mr. Wylie’s company (GP City Council Minutes 1890).

Guthrie’s townscape evolution - June 1890. In *June*, the Santa Fe railroad issued a territorial map identifying eight railroads leading to Guthrie, and City Councilman Jamison entertained a motion that the Council appoint a committee of three to value and assess the lots with the intention of raising funds to erect a Capital Building. The Council passed an ordinance to prohibit persons from bathing in the open waters of the city, and an ordinance to establish a coal gas company was sent to the Ordinance Committee. On *13 June*, a gas company petitioned for a franchise and the council also sent it to the Ordinance Committee. At the same meeting, a petition was read from T.J. Oliver, a member of the Guthrie Street Railway Company asking to be granted sixty additional days. They offered to put up a “ten thousand dollar performance bond” if the Council would put the forfeited one thousand dollars in an escrow account until the company had completed the railway. The council voted not to accept this new proposition. The only other order of council business for June was a petition for a telephone system that was tabled, and to sell the fractional lot lying south of Government Acre adjoining Mr. DeFord’s Lot Thirteen in Block Fifty-six for two hundred dollars. The four Guthrie municipalities formed committees to investigate the best procedures for consolidation.

In keeping with the provisions of the Organic Act, Governor Steele issued his proclamation on 8 July, calling for the election of a Territorial Legislature, twenty-five members of the House, with one delegate at large and thirteen in the Council whose apportionment would be calculated from the 1890 census. Governor Steele selected 5 August, for members of the legislature to be elected and 12 August, for the General

Assembly to convene in the appointed Capital City. Guthrie's county according to the 1890 census had one thousand four hundred sixty-four more residents than Oklahoma City. It showed that the population for the entire state was sixty thousand four hundred and seventeen of which three thousand three hundred were negroes, living primarily around the vicinity of Lincoln, in Kingfisher County. The census also documented seventeen thousand seventy-one children of school age, and two thousand two hundred and seven soldiers. It reported the County Populations as follows: Logan County, fourteen thousand two hundred fifty-four; Oklahoma County, twelve thousand seven hundred ninety-four; Cleveland County, seven thousand eleven; Canadian County, seven thousand seven hundred three; Kingfisher County, eight thousand eight hundred thirty-seven; Payne County, six thousand eight hundred thirty-six; and Beaver County, two thousand nine hundred eighty-two (Rock 1890, 206).

Governor Steele wrote to President Harrison that when he arrived in Oklahoma Territory, people had no clear title to their lands. Farmers had hesitated to plant their crops and real social problems between contesting families living in close proximity of each other had taken the form of isolated communities around the countryside. Governor Steele's reported ended with this statement:

I feel quite sure that with these contests out of the way, it would be but a short time until this section of the country would attract merited attention. . . . but on account of there being no titles to the lots within the cities, people have hesitated about building very substantial or commodious residences, and there is not in this city [Guthrie] more than three or four houses that I would feel like bringing my family to. . . .(Green 1989, 132).

The Guthrie leaders had been anxiously waiting to unite their municipal governments and met together for the first time on 9 July, to listen to the report of the

Consolidation Committee. It was suggested that before joining forces, it needed to be clear what happens to titles of property, and the best method of consolidation was the village system provided by the Statutes of Nebraska. The Committee also advised asking Governor Steele to appoint the new governing body before the consolidation date scheduled for July 29, 1890. On 14 July, Governor Steele replied with a telegram from Secretary of the Interior, John Noble, stating that consolidation would not effect the title of lots. As to the Governor selecting consolidation officers, nothing more was mentioned in the City Council Minutes. A flyer was printed and circulated that announced the first coming consolidation and handling of officers:

We do declare. That on the July 29, 1890, said cities shall be consolidated and in the meantime the present Consolidated councils order an election, and from above date said Consolidated Councils shall act jointly for said Consolidated City, until the such time, the officers for said City are elected and qualified.

Other matters relating to the physical character of Guthrie under the advisement of the City Council were: to table the Ward Telephone System Ordinance; to change the location of six lots in Block Numbers Thirty and Forty-four; to investigate why a building was removed from Lot Four in Block Number Fifty-five and set in front of a store on the same street; to floor the Noble Avenue Bridge; to abate a “nuisance” at the slaughter house southwest of the city; and to return the monies and securities given by the people for the purpose of erecting a Capital Building on Capitol Hill because of the failure to collect seventy-five percent of the appraised value of all property in the four cities.

Guthrie’s Townscape Evolving - August 1890. August 5, 1890, “Territorial Legislative Election Day” had arrived, bringing an end to a busy month of campaigning from the three parties in the field – the Republicans, the Democrats, and the Alliance.

The Republicans elected fourteen members of the House, including a delegate-at-large, and six members of council. The Democrats elected eight members of the House and five members of the Council; while the Alliance elected four members of the House and one Councilor. In the House, the Republicans had a majority of two over both the opposing parties, while the Democrats and Alliance had a majority of one in the Council. The sharp rivalry between Guthrie and Oklahoma City that had started in the summer of 1889, only intensified by Guthrie's being named in the Organic Act as temporary Capital, designating Guthrie as the place for legislators to convene in August. Thus, the issue of locating the seat of government dominated the Convention in both nominations and the canvass. The opinions varied so greatly across the Territory on where to locate the Capital City that party lines were not adhered to, and as a result the vote was of little value in determining the real strength of parties (Peery 1929, 421).

There were twenty-two days from the date of elections to the scheduled time to convene in Guthrie. Oklahoma City and Guthrie began forming alliances called "combines" to influence the determination of the Capital location. On 26 August, Guthrie and Kingfisher entered into an agreement to vote Guthrie the Capital, in return for Kingfisher receiving the penitentiary and the delegate to Congress. The success of this agreement was dependent on the aid of the Alliance vote, which the "Guthrie-Kingfisher Combine" considered a done deal, until George Gardenshire, the Alliance leader, stipulated that unless Payne County could secure the agricultural college, its members would not cast their votes for Guthrie. The Guthrie-Kingfisher Combine could not guarantee the college to Gardenshire. Thus, the balance of power of the two legislative branches formed a combine with the Democrats of Oklahoma City. Forbes

stated the price of the Alliance Party was the speakership, half of the offices of both houses, some of the clerical positions for patronage, one of the best institutions for Payne County, and the county seat of Canadian County for Frisco (Forbes 1938, 11-12).

At two o'clock on Wednesday, August 27, 1890, the First Legislature of Oklahoma convened at Guthrie, in the McKennon Opera House [three hundred block west Harrison], which had just been completed and arranged for the accommodations of both branches. The Council met in the commodious hall on the ground floor, where many leading citizens had gathered to witness this historical event.

In his first message to the Legislators, Governor Steele suggested that the location of the Capital be delayed for the disposition of more important matters. The Legislators ignored Governor Steele's proposition and proceeded to introduce Council Bill Number Seven providing for the seat of government to be moved to Oklahoma City in February 1891. Nine days later, the Council Committee on relocation of the Capital recommended that the Bill be passed. Two days before this recommendation, Guthrie citizens honored the Legislators and Executive Officers of Oklahoma with a reception at the McKennon Opera House. Marion Rock described the occasion as "nothing was left undone by the different committees to render the occasion one in the social history of Guthrie. The entertainment included a Reception and Ball in the Hall of the House of Representative which was handsomely decorated and brilliantly lighted with incandescent lamps, and an elegant banquet, which was served in the spacious hall of the Council Chamber to over five hundred guests. It was a joyous event, and citizens and strangers were happy together while listening to the strains of excellent music by the Guthrie Silver Cornet Band, also a string band engaged for the occasion. At nine o'clock the Grand March

began led by Governor and Mrs. George Steele followed by two hundred couples. The programme contained nineteen numbers, and at the close of the ninth, the banquet was announced, and the gay assemblage formed into lines and marched to the Banquet Hall, draped in snowy linen, glittering with silver, cut-glass, and china, tables fairly laden with delicious viands greeted them. The banquet closed with following toasts and responses, with Honorable Horace Speed officiating as toast-master of the occasion (Rock 1890, 148).”

In a futile effort to prevent the passage of the Capital Location Bill, known as the Daniels’ Bill, the Guthrie faction proposed numerous measures, but the “Combine” was undisturbed and the Bill to remove the Capital to Oklahoma City was enacted by the House on the thirty-fifth day of the session. Immediately Guthrie declared, “the Capital would be unsafe at Oklahoma City where the land office had been robbed,” and Oklahoma City retorted, “a rattlesnake had been killed near Governor Steele’s office, and the Capital City Bank of Guthrie [corner of Second and Harrison] making Guthrie inappropriate as a Capital City (Forbes 1938, 13).”

In October, Governor Steele addressed the assembly with five reasons for vetoing the Daniels Bill, probably the largest factor being the unidentified officials of the Santa Fe Railroad. With out delay, a Kingfisher Bill was presented to the Governor to place the Capital at Kingfisher. The Legislative Assembly stayed in session until December wrangling over the location of the Capital. While in Guthrie, the social life of the members was a succession of lively dinners near the Guthrie bars. Money was flowing freely as lobbyist representing almost every town in the territory entertained the

legislators nightly with dinners of quail and prairie chicken while they sang with various harmony and tone, "The Bear Over the Mountain (Forbes 1938, 15)."

Eight days before the close of the Assembly, Governor Steele vetoed the revised Kingfisher measure as not meeting his approval. At Kingfisher, an effigy of the Governor was burned and the *Kingfisher Journal* wrote (Forbes 1938, 17):

"Psalms of George Steele"

O joy that the legislature has adjourned, I can save Guthrie.

My votes have been my meat and bread, but they continue
to pass capital bills; when will the majority cease to try
to govern the minority?

Why are thou cast down, O Guthrie? And, why art thou
disquieted? Hope thou in me for I shall continue to
veto capital bills, (for town lots!).

Marion Rock, living in Guthrie during the time of Oklahoma Territory's First Legislative Assembly, gave an interesting viewpoint concerning the Daniel's Bill or Council Bill Number Seven:

The Organic Act provides that the seat of government may be located at any point in the Territory deemed eligible by the Governor and legislature during its present session, or as soon thereafter as they [the Governor and legislature] shall deem expedient. No one will dispute the right of Oklahoma City to ask by Bill that the seat of government be removed to that city. In fact, Guthrie, in its combination with Kingfisher on 26 August, conceded the right in advance. Guthrie and Kingfisher attempted, but failed, to do just what Oklahoma City succeeded in doing. Hence, the only tenable grounds for complaint were the irregular and unlawful means resorted to, to secure the passage of the bill. And even on that score, if the current rumors approximated the facts, honors were easy between the contending factions. Oklahoma City with equally as good if not larger advantages, both in point of commerce and agriculture, should feel envious. And, it is not a matter of surprise that, after seeing her rival named as the place for convening the first legislature, she should resort to any means to secure the capital. Through the Organic Act was opened a way to place claims before the people, which she availed herself of by

introducing bill number seven, and the result was that the representatives of the people in the passage of the bill decided in her favor, which decision was reversed by an executive veto (Rock 1890, 213-215).

Marion Rock also explained the reason Guthrie failed at securing the Capital bid was that Oklahoma City utilized her lobby contingent with far better generalship than did Guthrie. "The Guthrie lobby was too large; there were too many generals in the field that knew just how to plan a forward movement and to hold a reserve; and while they acquitted themselves admirably in holding the reverse, their forward movement was a dead failure, while the Oklahoma reserve saved the Bill at the last moment by passing it with the Wimberly Amendment (Rock 1890)."

Oklahoma City had already held the first political convention in the Territory in January 1890, and on March 11, 1890, the first Democratic convention met in Oklahoma City. The next Democratic convention was held in Edmond on 9 July, and the third Democratic convention met in Guthrie on August 19, 1890. On October 9, 1890, the first Congressional Convention ever held in Oklahoma convened in Norman, and the first Republican Congressional Convention ever convened in Oklahoma met in Guthrie on October 11, 1890. The time frame of these meetings indicated that the political factions of the Territory were very active utilizing the facilities of many towns rather than just Oklahoma City and Guthrie. As it seemed to have been implied by the majority of the articles, journals, and newspapers encompassing that slice in time when battle was waged to become the Territorial Capital City.

Guthrie's Townscape after Sixteen Months of Evolution. Over the last sixteen months Guthrie's urban townscape had progress from virtually an all-wooden skyline to a combination of wood, brick and stone. The permanent structures had been identified as

the Mundy Hardware, west of Second Street on Oklahoma Avenue; the Commercial Bank Block, north east corner of Second and Oklahoma; and the First National Bank Block, First Street and Oklahoma Avenue. These structures were documented as being built during the months of May to October 1889, identifying by their location that Oklahoma Avenue was the primary linkage for the flow of people, good and services between the four cities.

The three structures built in 1890 from brick or stone were the Bonfils Building, 107 S. Second Street; DeFord Building, 116 S. Second Street; and the Herriott Block, corner of Division Street and Harrison Avenue [demolished]. With two of the buildings being on west Second Street, and the other one being built two blocks away at the east – west division line, indicated the business district was spreading eastward. The land use pattern as documented by these buildings being at extreme ends of Oklahoma Avenue was evolving into another townscape. Even though the spatial distribution of the business district was migrating eastward, the 1890 City Directory listed 338 businesses located in the proximity of the railroad east to First Street between Vilas and Cleveland Avenues, roughly a one block by three block area. The hub of the businesses were centering between Second Street and the railroad tracks, bordering Harrison and Oklahoma Avenues.

The City Council meetings had two urban “renewal projects” located at Second Street between Harrison and Cleveland. One project identified moving J. T. Tutt’s building. He was listed in the 1890 directory at the corner of Cleveland and Second opposite the Land Office. The other project designated by the Council only described moving the buildings on Second Street. A 23 April, photograph captured wooden

shanties being occupied by the Marshal's office, Walker Sign Company, Douglas Clark Lunch & Groceries, etc. that were located on the westside of Second Street across from the wooden water tower. It is highly probable that this area would be the other urban renewal project, and possibly from Second Street south to Reeves Bros. Fine Wines and Tobacco Saloon. Other physical enhancements bringing harmony to the Townscape were sidewalks built primarily in the core area of the business district, surveying and constructing conforming grades on the streets of the business area, drilling water wells at major intersections, installation of street lights, building and repairing bridges, etc. (Urban Renewal, see figure 64).

During this period, wooden structures of significant quality were also being constructed as evidenced by the McKennon Opera House finished just days before the First Territorial Legislative Assembly, August 1890. The significance of its location, on Harrison Avenue between the Railroad Depot and Second Street, emphasized not only the importance of spatial interaction with other complimentary businesses, it physically made a statement of linkages to the real estate term "location, location, location" and the cultural aspirations of Guthrie's society.

**Sixteen Months of Dynamic Urban Eco-systems
Colliding, Inter-connecting, Inter-weaving,
Spiraling into Mosaic Patterns**

The constant motion of the components forces of the urban ecosystem, connecting, interweaving, competing, etc. have been symbolized through the evolving townscapes from wooden prefabricated inexpensive box structures to professional artistically designed edifices of superb craftsmanship.



Figure 64. Second Street Urban Renewal

The townscape of “architecture without architects and urban design with urban designers” was transformed by the five factors of the urban ecological framework - politics, economics, social/cultural, technology, and physical. *Politically*, Guthrie’s was impacted by the forces of federal legislation concerning “contests” on townsite lots and locally with Municipal Governments being urban designers and urban planners as to widths of sidewalks, building setbacks, street frontage, placement of bridges, building permits, urban renewal, location of street lights, water wells, privies, etc. *Economically*, it was a prosperous community containing an array of commercial vendors and professional people equal to any eastern city. In Guthrie Proper between the Railroad and First Street bordered by Vilas and Cleveland Avenues, there were thirty-eight attorneys, forty-three real estate agents, twelve physicians, four dentists, six architects, one engineer, five builders/contractors, one abstract and title company, three banks, three newspapers, three hardware stores, one bookstore, two fine wines and imported tobacco stores, ten restaurants, eight grocery stores, ten hotels, two boat and bath shops, five saloon, etc. (City Directory 1890). *Socially and Culturally*, Guthrie had within fourteen months become society conscious as documented by Marion Rock:

For the first time in the history of society there were no class distinctions. Exclusiveness was unknown. The unwritten law of social caste was not recognized. But it was not long before social accomplishments, character, culture, and refinement drew a line of demarcation, and one’s social status became as thoroughly recognized as in any Eastern city (Rock 1890, 119).

And, *technology* for this slice in time was still dependent on the railroad for transportation. Building techniques and materials of the latest innovations were being expressed through the construction of the “Block Buildings.” City Councils had been approached with franchises for telephone, coal and gas companies. An electrical light

system had been installed, and two franchises for streetcar railways had been attempted and failed. The city had dug water wells at strategic locations, using a system of pumps to retrieve the water for community use.

To describe Guthrie through the “web of life” of competitive cooperation described by Robert Park and Ernest Burgess as, “an ecological approach with its origins in biology used by the geographer or planner to focus on the spatial distribution of urban activities and the processes of urban growth (Abrahamson 1980, 9).” This “web of life” of “competitive cooperation” was demonstrated with the clustering of industrial type businesses locating near the railroad, west of the tracks; the majority of the hotels, saloons, restaurants, boarding houses, billiard parlors inhabiting the area east of the railroad to Second Street; Doctors, Lawyers, Dentists, Abstract office, architects, grocery stores, drug stores, banks, etc. occupying business spaces from Second Street to First Street; and, from First Street to Division Street, the business establishments were dry goods, ice cream parlors, barbers, etc. who had their residences above the stores. A mosaic pattern exemplified by a residential / business land use application.

Ecology has become a magic word, a ‘science’ the proper study of which is supposed to cure all ills. In a certain way, when used in connection with urbanism, the word “ecology” has returned to its roots. The Greek word *oikos* meant dwelling place, house, perhaps particularly the sacred hearth of a house. Oecology, as it use to be spelled, is thus the study of the essence of the household. Perhaps there is magic in the idea that the whole Earth is man’s sacred household (George, Carl and Daniel McKinley 1974, 7).

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CHAPTER SIX

GUTHRIE'S "LEGACY"

Guthrie has a centralized nucleus, in and out of which people move daily. The nucleus contains in high density the major points of attraction in business, civic activities, theatre, restaurants, and shops, surrounded by bed and breakfasts, hotels and residential areas. Distances within the nucleus are relatively short, and people not only walk there, but enjoy walking in an urbane atmosphere. Residents, tourists, and community visitors feel very proud of Guthrie and seem to take special pride in its heritage while strolling in the streets. As in European cities, it is relatively easy for people to make personal contacts. Businessmen and women, professionals, and artists meet and mix at lunch or other social gatherings in an almost daily routine. It is quite obvious that this is an extraordinary living anachronism and the old American pioneering instinct of independence has proven to be wise since Guthrie was left physically intact, while Oklahoma City's downtown was seriously altered by urban renewal under the direction of I.M. Pei:

The new urban society will have to understand what the city is and what it could be. The basic knowledge should be taught that the urban environment is to man what the pond is to the fish. What could be more important? No wonder the Greeks felt virtue and honor in a man were to be measured by the well being and beauty that he brought to his town or city (Sert and Arango 1970, 12, 63).

Some geographers consider the place in terms of location. But, according to Hugh Prince, “We cannot know a place until we discover its literature, its arts and its sciences, nor, conversely, can we understand literature or art or science without some knowledge of geography. A knowledge of places is an indispensable link in the chain of knowledge.” In the same essay, the “Geographical Imagination” Prince stated, “both regions and writers, place and person, are unique, and it is in their distinctive qualities that we may find their essential character (Prince 1961, 22-25).” As Eliot Hurst aptly observed, “every place has a special character for its residents, its visitors, and those who ‘know’ it only second-hand. Each place has a personality of its own, buried perhaps beneath prejudice and emotion, derived not just from buildings, but also from contours, street patterns, drama, color surprises, smells, noises, and so on (Hurst, 1975).” Thus, the “sense of place” derives not only from the characteristics of a place, but also from the ways that a place is perceived by individuals and groups.

Guthrie provides a unique “sense of place” as being Oklahoma’s Territorial Capital, and Oklahoma’s First State Capital. Its downtown area has an outstanding collection of nineteenth and early century commercial architecture, rich with cultural memories, antique textures, and displaying the aspirations of the city’s founders to create a city worthy of that distinction. Thus, Guthrie’s “Legacy.”

Studies of towns and cities have been determined by human conditions. A town or city means a social organization of individuals performing different function – carpenters, merchants, police, poets, priests – with a government made up of leaders. It also means the physical shell in which the human group dwells, that is, buildings, streets, plazas, etc. The city made out of people is an organism. It has unity, and it is alive, which means it reacts, has self-coordination, self-preservation, grows, and multiplies (Arango 1970, 18).

The built environment, inspiring Guthrie's sense of place, did not have a strong preponderance of buildings until the majority of the "contests" were settled in late 1891. The problems of settling the disputes were severely hindering the urban development of Guthrie, particularly the downtown area. Marion Rock stated, "the criminal neglect of Congress not only retarded the general improvements in both city and country, but actually bankrupted [*sic*] one-fourth of the people in Oklahoma (Green 1989, 134)."

As discussed earlier, Guthrie Land Office's Register and Receiver, Dille and Barnes, sent a petition with a cover letter in December of 1889 to the Commissioner of the General Land Office requesting an investigation of the Sooner claims. One year later, John J. Burford Register of the new Land Office at Oklahoma City sent another petition asking for help with the fraudulent practices being exercised to obtain title to townsite lots and homesteads. The Commissioner sent two special agents, John W. Scothorn and William F. Harn, with instructions "to assist the district land officers in ascertaining facts necessary to form a foundation for proceedings against parties guilty of perjury or other irregularities complained on in the Register's letter. . . .(Green 1989, 131)." The City Council of Guthrie Proper on June 5, 1889, had drafted a letter to Special Agent J.W. Pickler of the Interior Department stating:

Whereas, during the stay of Mr. Pickler in this city, he has pursued a course calculated to stir up strife and discontent by officiously meddling in matters in no way connected with his official duties, having taken street statements, and not the records for his strictures on the City Government; his course has tended to obstruct the peaceable administration of the City Government: Therefore be it resolved, by the Mayor and Councilmen of the City of Guthrie that we respectfully request the Secretary of the Interior to remove J.W. Pickler from this City, in the interest of harmony and good government. Signed by Councilmen D.B. Dyer, . . . (City Council Minutes, 1889).

Pickler had been supervising building of the land offices and had been in Oklahoma Territory a few days before the Run. He also notified Secretary Noble of seeing federal officials' laying-off the townsite when he arrived in Guthrie the morning on 22 April. Pickler was probably causing Dyer, Greer, Dooley and other Sooners unneeded publicity of their entry status and the "powers-that-be" proceeded in ousting him from the city. Almost two years later, January 1891, federal agents Harn and Scothorn arrived in Oklahoma Territory due to the sensitive issues of the "contests." From piecing documentation together, it appeared Harn investigated Oklahoma County and Scothorn did his fieldwork in Logan County. Green stated, "Harn took his findings to the Grand Jury in Oklahoma County which initially returned sixty-two indictments for perjury. He afterwards wrote to the commissioner: 'I am prepared to say that the letter of the . . . Register. . . was in no way an exaggeration of the facts, but rather understated the deplorable state of affairs that exists in this territory (Green 1989, 131)." In a report to the Commissioner of the General Land Office dated July 16, 1891, Harn explained:

The state of affairs in the Indian Territory became the haven, or more properly the dumping-ground of the remainder of the United States when this part of the Public Domain was thrown open to settlement April 22, 1889, by proclamation. Some good citizens, but more adventurers and criminals, by far, came into the country illegally at the opening. The vast majority of the first settlers [Sooners]. . . were concealed in the brush in the country before noon of the day set aside by the President (Green 1989).

One of the most famous cases that had to do with "Soonerism" was *Smith v. Galloway*. As discussed earlier, Smith claimed a lot at the corner of First Street and Harrison Avenue diagonally southwestwardly across from the land office or "Government Acre" in Block Fifty-seven in Guthrie Proper. After Smith had staked his claim on 22 April, he was advised two days later that United States Commissioner John

Galloway and his son had also claimed it. John Galloway had been given special written permission to enter the territory previous to the run by Secretary of the Interior, John Noble. Galloway was in the territory in a supervisory position representing the federal government. He knew the terms of the Presidential proclamation as to claiming property or being inside the Territory before the appointed hour of the Run.

Galloway was a "Legal Sooner" and Smith was a "Legal Claimant." Guthrie Proper's Arbitration Board decided the contest in favor of Galloway. Smith and Bradley [Smith's partner] appealed to Guthrie Proper's City Council in June 1889 asking the decision to be reconsidered. Mayor Dyer explained the council's position and would not overturn the Board's ruling and ordered Smith and Bradley's improvements removed from the lot. At the next meeting, Commissioner Galloway brought imported cigars to the council members and a gavel for Mayor Dyer thanking them for their support. Then, the next time the council convened, Bradley petitioned them to wait in their final decision until they had time to review the "factual truths" pertaining to the corner lot. The land office hearing for *Smith v. Galloway* was held in the spring of 1891, and after listening to various witnesses, the Board of Townsite Trustees awarded the lot to Smith on April 6, 1891. The case, after traveling the judiciary pipeline, was finally decided by the United States Supreme Court, affirming the Townsite Trustee's decision on June 24, 1892 (Green 1989, 136).

On December 16, 1891, James Feagins [discussed earlier] case, determining title to the Southwest One-quarter of Section Eight was ruled on by the "Czar," Secretary Noble, who stated that the townsite [West Guthrie] might have the entire West One-half of Section Eight. This case was injected to reiterate the many varied linkages interacting

within the boundaries of Guthrie's spatial landscape. *Politically*, there were two superior forces, federal and municipal, making decisions that would permanently impact Guthrie's built environment.

Guthrie's 1891 Buildings of Permanence

Before discussing Guthrie's built environment in 1891, it would be beneficial to be reacquainted with the structures of permanence [brick or stone buildings] in 1890 – BonFils Building, Gaffney Building, Kneeland Building, DeStiguer Block, DeFord Block, Stephen Starr Building and the eastern half of the Gray Brothers Block. There were two buildings built of brick and/or stone in the Historic Landmark District during 1891. The Foucart Building and the Tontz Hirschi Building constructed next door to each in the first block of west Harrison Avenue. The Foucart Building was built for \$4500. Annie and James Brooks borrowed the money and filed the agreement on November 1891. Edward T. Patton was the general building contractor and owner of the original Trustee's Deed in 1890. However, there was apparently some dispute over the title since James M. Brooks signed a quitclaim deed giving unquestionable ownership to E.T. Patton. Then, Patton signed a warranty deed giving title to Annie R. Brooks, the wife of James Brooks. Later in the year, these three became partners in two mortgages totaling \$9288, using the building as collateral. Joseph Foucart designed the building from his office in the basement of the Commerical Bank Block and in 1893, he moved to the Foucart Building to work from the third floor tower from 1893 to 1897.

The Foucart Building was described in the National Landmark Nomination as follows:

101-103 W. Harrison, 1891. Romanesque Revival with Gothic Revival influences. . . . Two story native sandstone building with a third

story tower. The first floor features a rehabilitated storefront with a recessed entrance on the eastend. The second story features two rounded arched window openings that are filled with paired sashes and divided fanlights. A third floor tower on the west half of the building has a rounded arched window opening. A sandstone balustrade is to the left of the tower. Round stone finials top the parapet (NLN 1980).

The Tontz and Hirschi Block was the second building built in 1891. Mr. Tontz was listed in the 1890 City Directory as a barber with his residence on the second floor. In 1890, he petitioned the Guthrie Proper's City Council for scales to be located near his store that probably indicated the approximate period of time when he began his hardware business partnership with E.L. Hirschi. An advertisement in the Guthrie Souvenir stated, "This important business was recently incorporated as successors to the business established thirteen years ago and successfully conducted to the present time by Mr. E.L. Hirschi, who is now the President of the company (Souvenir 1902)."

The Tontz and Hirschi Block was described in the National Landmark Nomination as follows:

111-113 W. Harrison Avenue. Late Victorian. Two story brick building that is two lots wide. The first floor features two rehabilitated storefronts. The second story features two large segmental arched window openings positioned above the entrances. Each is in-filled with three hung sashes that are surmounted by multi-light transoms. These openings are each flanked by large rectangular window openings with hung sashes that are also surmounted by multi-light clerestories. Inset metal panels surmount each set of window. The roofline is crowned with a pressed metal cornice that originally had two rounded pediments with finials but these have been removed (NLN 1998) (For documentation of Guthrie's National Landmark boundaries and buildings in 1890 and 1891, see figures 65-73).

Very few other structures were completed until the conclusion of the contest hearings in late 1891. Even then, appeals consumed still more months. Thus, much of the construction of major commercial buildings in Guthrie did not begin until 1892.

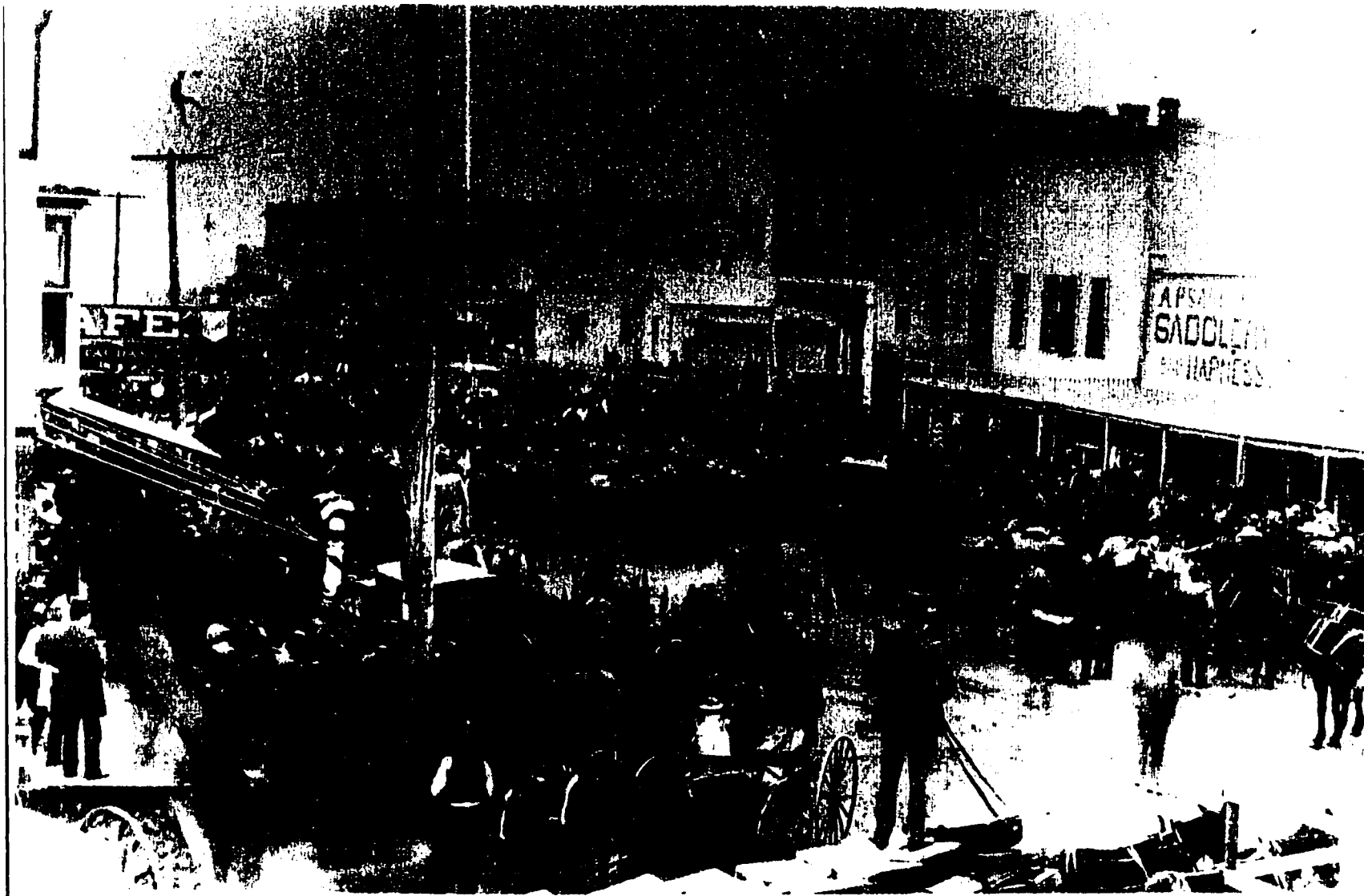


Figure 65. Commercial Bank, Gaffney, and DeFord Blocks, 1890 Streetscape

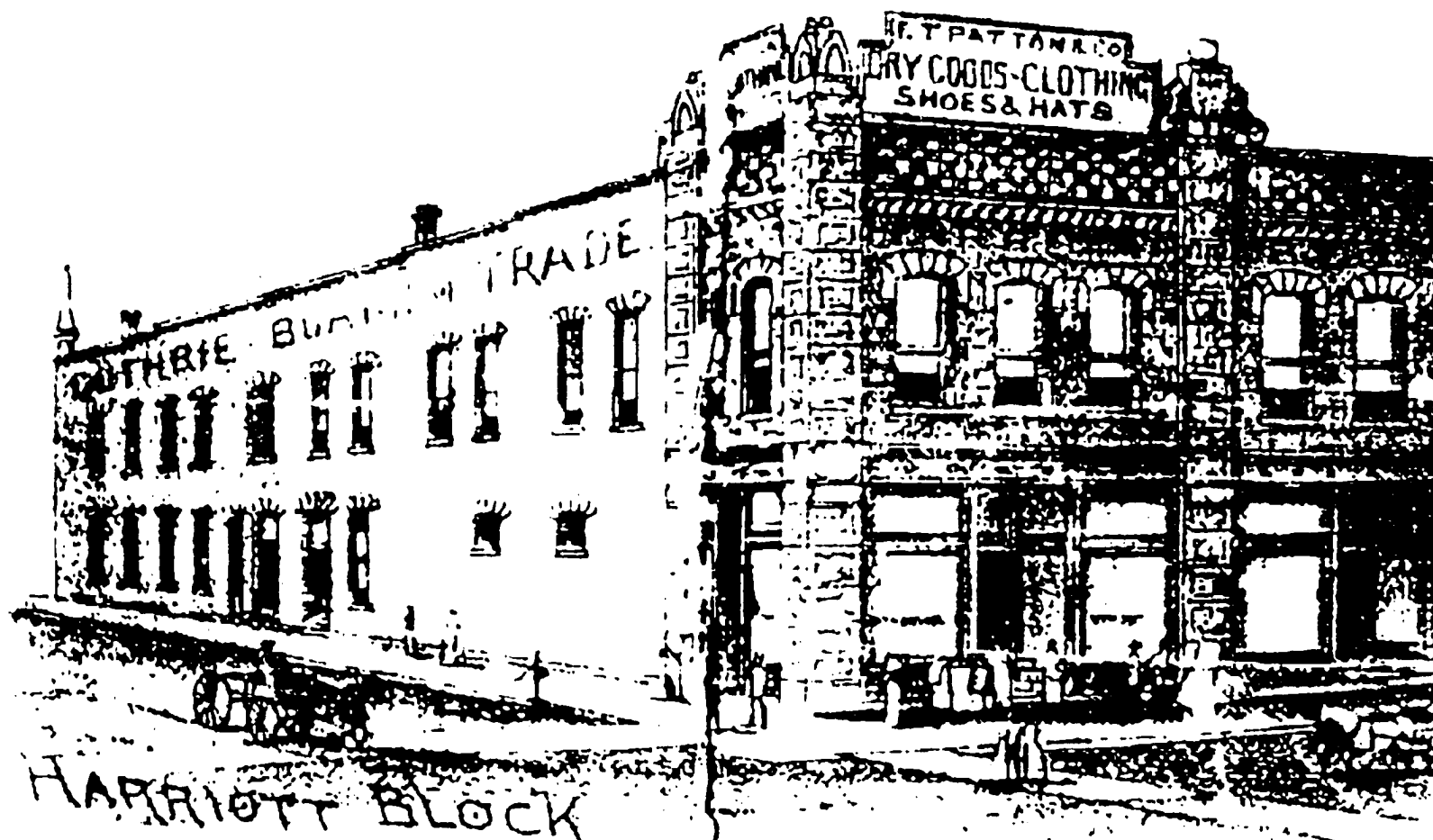
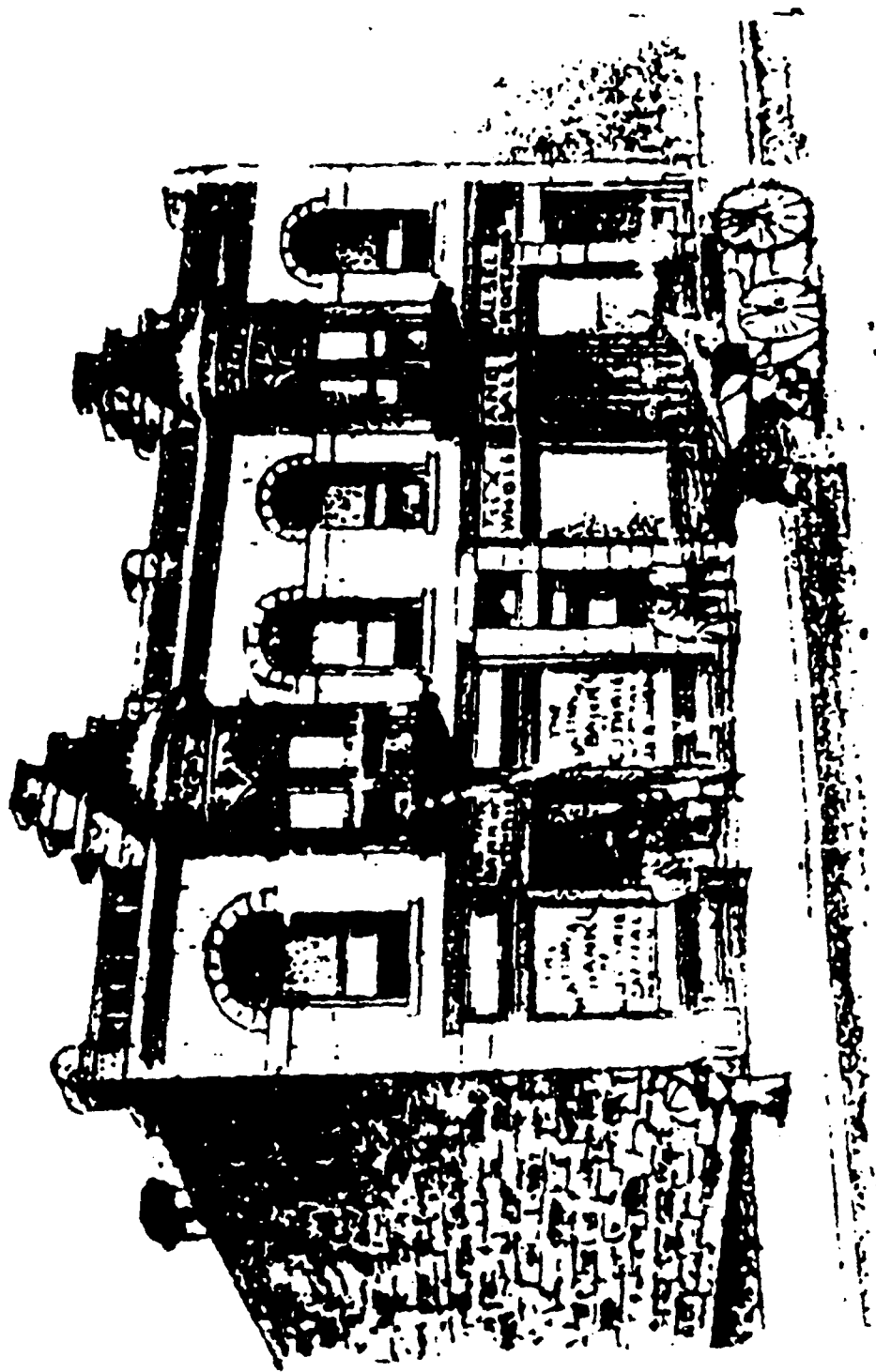


Figure 66. Herriott Building, 1890



THE NATIONAL BANK NIX & HALSTED
OF GUTHRIE WHOLESALE GROCERIES

Figure 67. Desiquer Building, 1890



Figure 68. Gaffney Building, 1890



Figure 69. DeFord Building, 1890

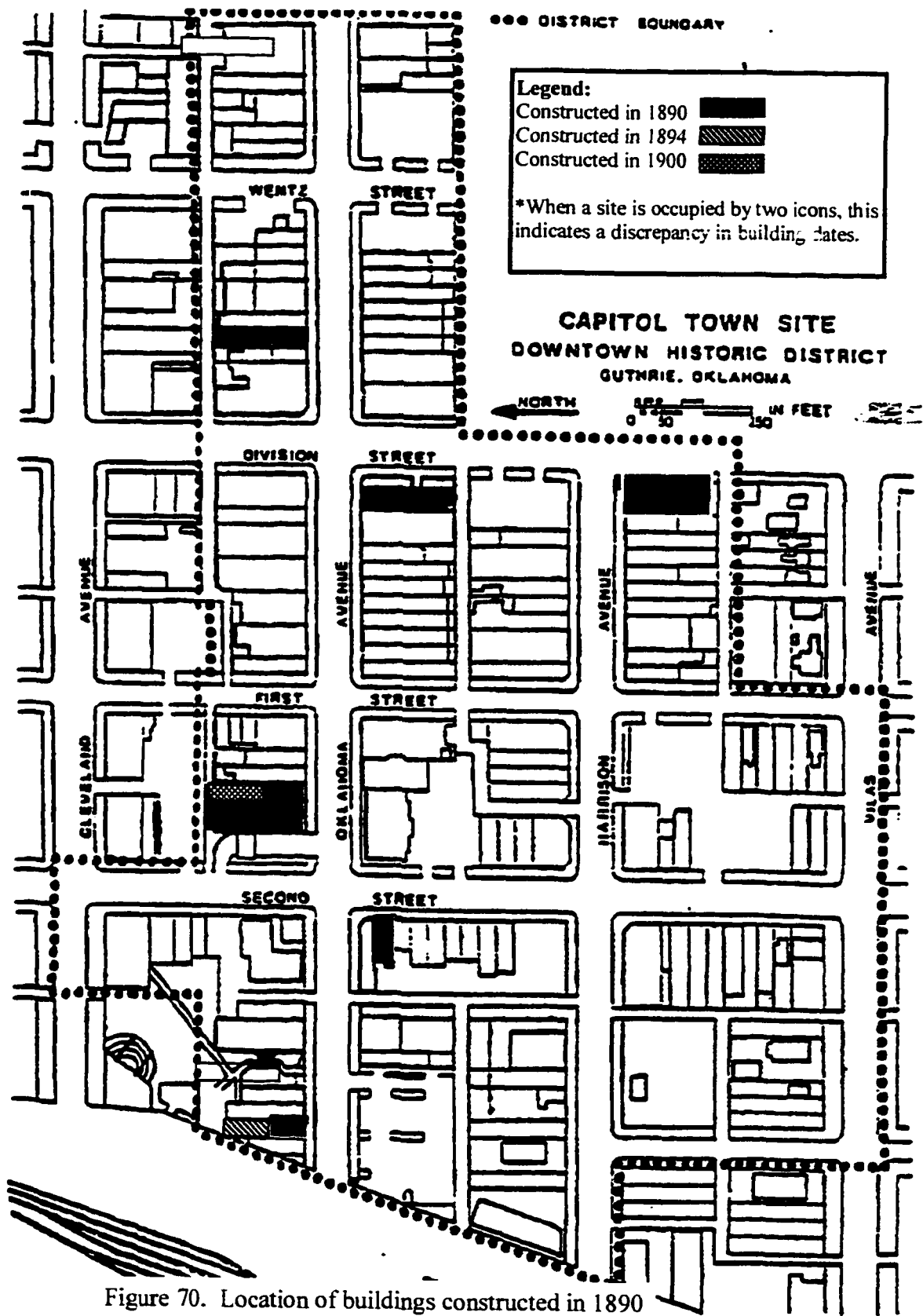


Figure 70. Location of buildings constructed in 1890

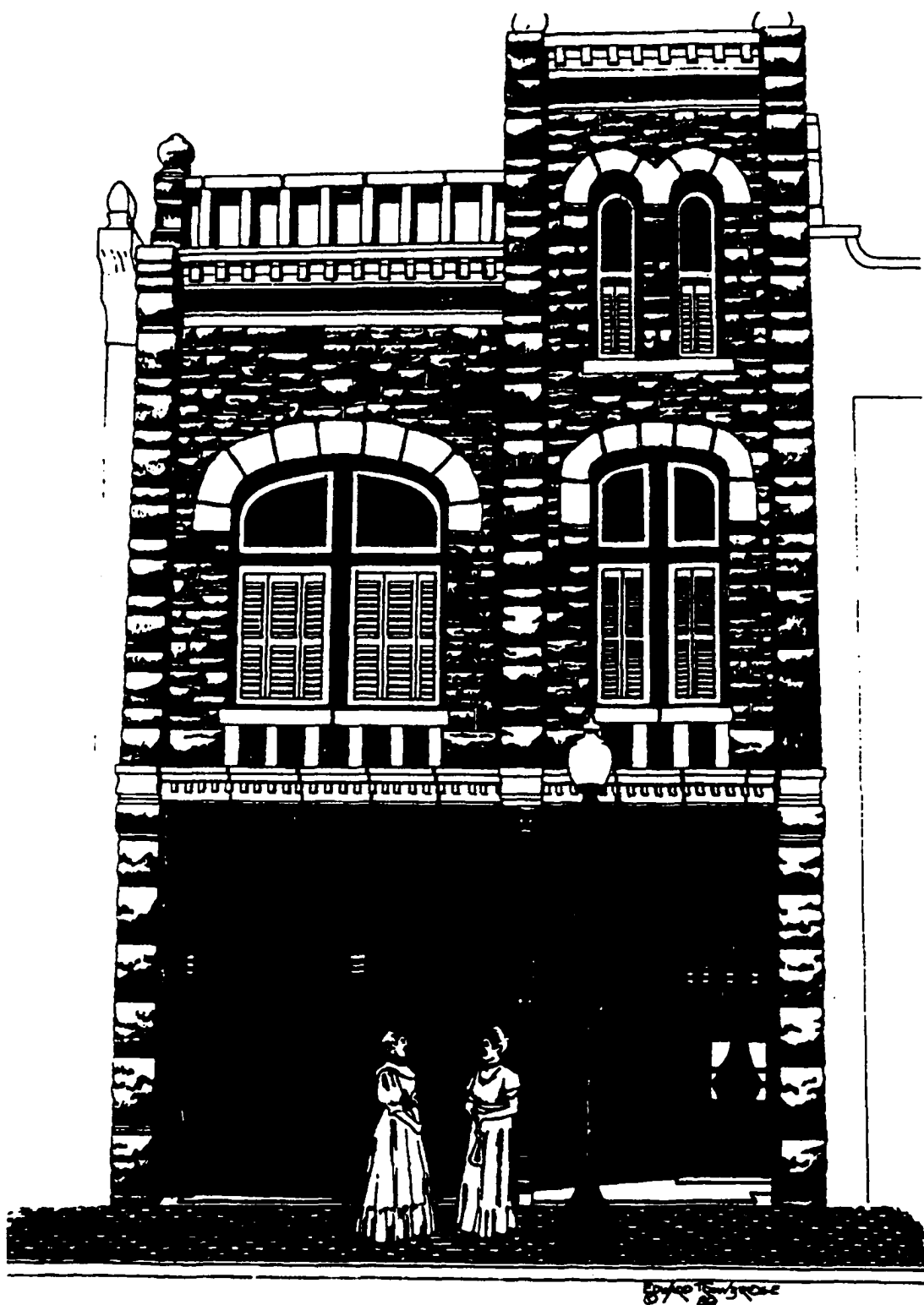


Figure 71. Foucart Office Building, 1891

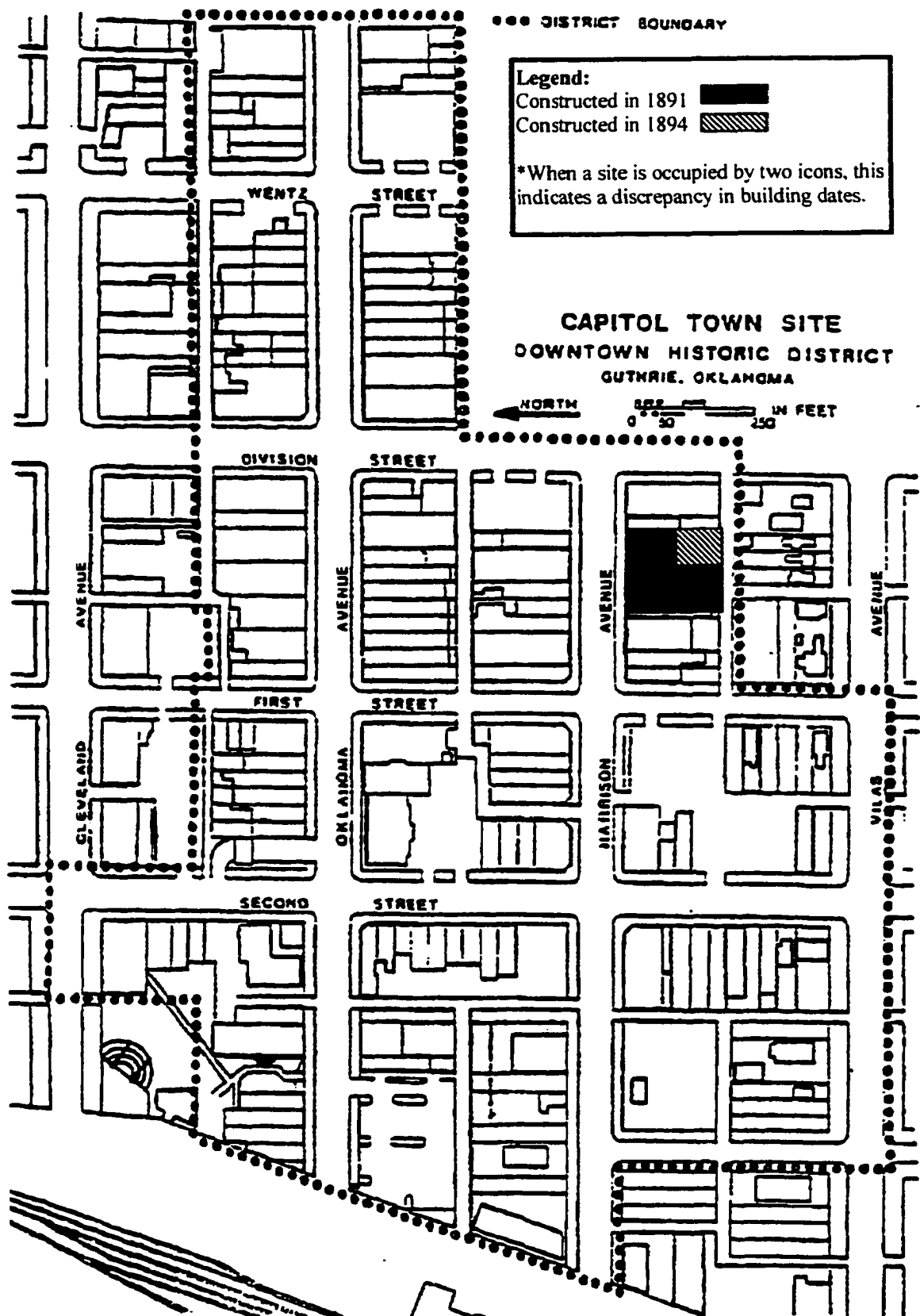


Figure 72. Location of buildings constructed in 1891

Donald Green's articles stated, "perhaps this explains why the Territorial Capital was in a veritable building boom by 1893 while the rest of the nation plunged into a depression (Green 1989, 134)."

The four Guthrie's before consolidation had agreed to support one school by an assessed value of a lot tax. Classes were held in the East Guthrie City Hall starting January 13, 1891, and ending on 29 May. The School Board hired one superintendent, ten teachers, one bell ringer, and one janitor. And, according to Don Odom the first duties of the janitor was "to construct three privies with seats designed for comfort of the smaller children (Odom 1979, 30)."

During the season of the "combines" or better known as the First Oklahoma Territorial Legislative Assembly, it had been decided the location of the colleges would be in Edmond, Norman, and Stillwater. Guthrie's City Fathers' thought Guthrie needed a college for "the prestige and relative advantages it would provide." In 1891, the University of Oklahoma was organized, and within one year the doors opened on "a square, three-story, red sandstone university building located on the corner of Broad Street and Harrison." From the beginning the University was doomed, it had poor to fair attendance and the arrest of the President for mail fraud left little hope it would make past the first year (Odom 1979, 30).

Joseph Foucart designed St. Joseph's Academy, probably commissioned by Bishop Theophile Meerschaert, who had just been awarded the Vicarate Apostolic of the Indian Territory in 1891 by Pope Leo XIII for his heroism in a Mississippi smallpox epidemic. Bishop Meerschaert established the Academy for the Benedictine Sisters, and

they ran a school for young ladies. The location of the school was southwest of the city (Odom 1979, 31).

There were two building dates listed for 120 – 122 W. Oklahoma Avenue, the Wicks Block. The National Landmark Nomination documented the building as built between 1892 and 1893. Jimalea Patterson under the direction of Dr. Donald Green wrote a research paper on Hamilton Wicks. Patterson stated, “within two months, Wicks had two frame buildings built on his lot [Block Forty-five, Lot Sixteen] or described as 120-122 West Oklahoma Avenue in which he staked April 22, 1889 (NRHDF 1980).” The west building fronted fourteen feet on Oklahoma Avenue, running back thirty feet into the lot. This building was described as suitable for a restaurant. John Wicks, who began to work as his brother’s business manager, used the other, smaller building on the southeast corner of the lot as an office. Law required that improvements be made on the property as a requisite to gain title, and “Hamilton Wicks fulfilled this requirement with an eye to making those improvements a sound financial investment (Historic District Files, Territorial Museum).”

Lot Sixteen, Block Forty-five was sold to Wilhelmus Conger for six hundred dollars. Hamilton Wicks went to Europe, and John Wicks managed the property for Conger, leased the building as a restaurant to H.C. Olds and Harry Bulgin for twenty dollars a month. Hamilton Wicks came back to Guthrie and while visiting with Olds, he mentioned his travels with Captain Couch. Olds concluded that Wicks was a Sooner and ineligible to acquire title to any land. Therefore, Lot Sixteen had no legal claim and he filed an application for a Deed to the lot with the Townsite Trustees. W.B. Conger had never been a resident of Guthrie, which made H.C. Olds the original settler since October

1889. Olds quit paying rent and proceeded to do structural improvements. The case *Conger vs Olds* had its first hearing on January 23, 1891, and it was tied up in court until September 1, 1893, with the contest being awarded to Conger. On September 8, 1893, John Wicks bought Lot Sixteen from Wilhelmus Conger for two thousand dollars. And, Wicks secured a three-month mortgage on Lot Sixteen for four hundred dollars on April 20, 1894. The Sanborn Map shows a brick and stone, two-story structure involving Lot Sixteen and Lot Seventeen, sharing a facade but separated by a party wall. In 1894, the building was vacant and possibly under construction documenting the brick structure to be erected during 1894, not 1892 (NRHDF 1980).

As discussed earlier, when Winfield Smith received word on June 24, 1892, that he had won the “contest,” he proceeded to build a small brick building at the back of the lot facing First Street later known as “Little Victor.” He probably began construction on the large three-story structure at the front of the lot in late 1892 or early 1893 and completed it by the end of the year. The construction was a twelve-month project costing twenty thousand dollars and produced the most prestigious commercial structure in Oklahoma Territory.

The Victor Block was described in the National Landmark Nomination as follows:

202-206 W. Harrison Avenue. 1893. Richardsonian Romanesque influence. Architect, Joseph Foucart; Contractor, Henry John Vandenberg. As do several of Foucart’s designs, this three story brick building features a beveled entrance above which is a long oriel window of pressed metal projecting from the second and third stories. An exposed, below-grade basement is accessible from the exterior by descending stairs at the sidewalk. Decorative brickwork punctuates the many window openings of the south and east elevations. The south elevation features four bays or ranks of various widths. The first floor has large storefront windows with multi-light clerestories. To the right of the easternmost storefront is an entrance that leads to the second story. The second floor features large rounded-arched window openings filled with multiple lights and the third floor

features windows that are palladian style with the sidelights also having arched sashes. The east elevation is highlighted with corbelled brick that is surmounted by an asymmetrical pressed metal cornice that features a small pediment and a tower on the south end. The north elevation, which faced the 'Government Acre', is even more ornate than the façade. It features contrasting colored lights within rounded arched window openings. Decorative wooden fans are above the sashes. The window openings are trimmed in limestone. The metal cornice on the front façade wraps around to this elevation (Wicks and Victor Buildings, see figures 74-77).

City Council 1892

Water Works System. The city council of Guthrie in 1892 passed a fifty thousand-dollar bond issue for the erecting, building, and providing a system of water works for the City of Guthrie. John Ford who had been the private contractor since 1890 sold his water works system to the City of Guthrie, and then, he was awarded the Electric Street Railway Franchise. The mayor was instructed to turn the fifty thousand water works bond over to Capital National Bank in accordance with the March 19, 1892, contract and take a certificate of deposit payable to the city treasurer for fifty-thousand less twelve percent commission which was allowed for Capital National Bank for selling the bonds. The water works committee reported the well was down to forty feet and recommended water was sufficient and to proceed with water works system. An engineer from Chicago was hired to do the plans and specifications. The project was advertised, bids were submitted and due to the high cost of construction, the Council rejected all bids. The Council decided to reduce cost by putting in all new pipe except Division Street from the pump house to Oklahoma Avenue west; Oklahoma Avenue to Fifth Street west; South on Fifth Street to Harrison Avenue; East on Harrison Avenue to Broad Street; North on Broad to Oklahoma Avenue; East on Oklahoma Avenue from Division Street to Capital

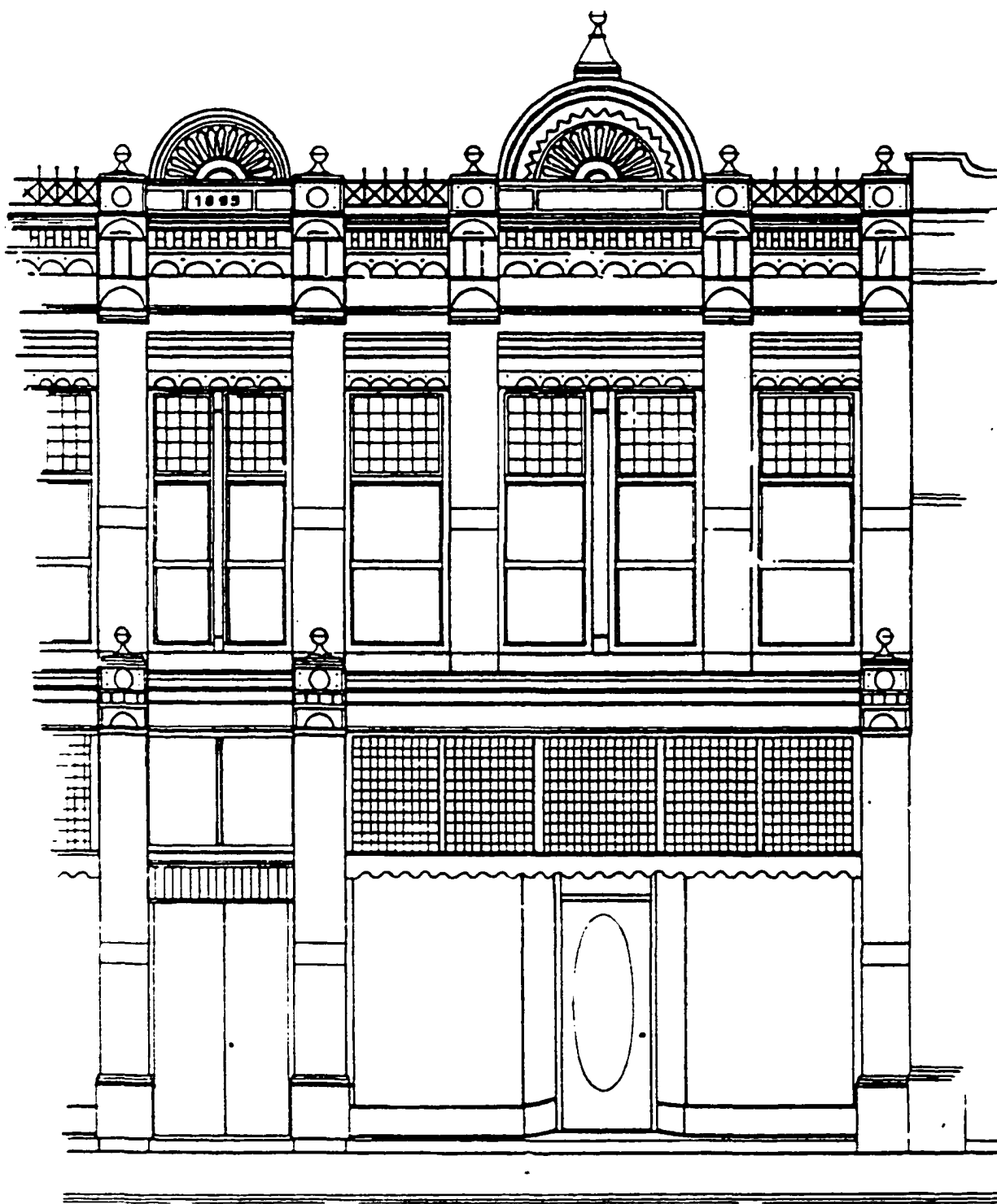


Figure 73 Wicks Building



Figure 74. Streetscape with Wicks Building

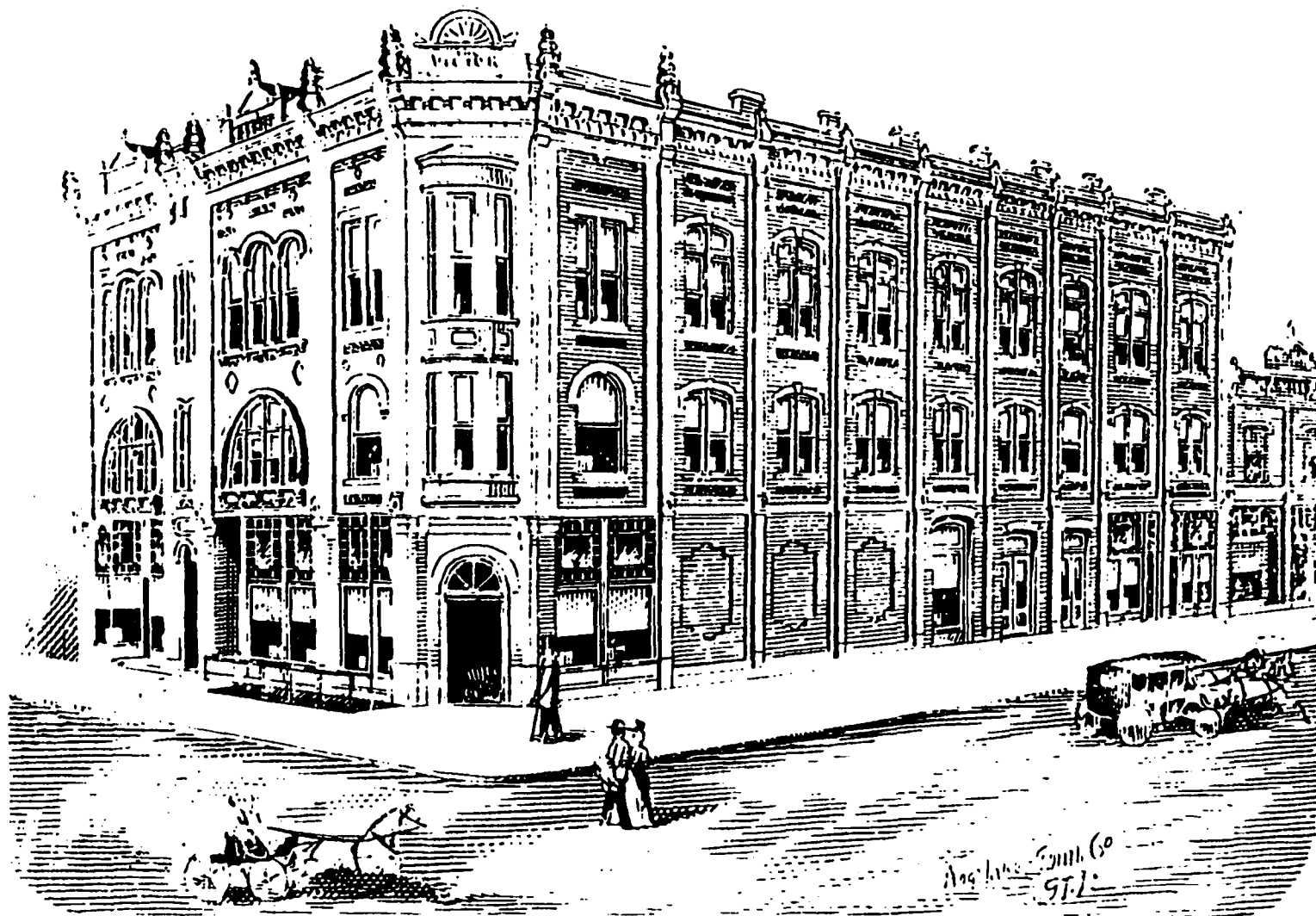


Figure 75. Victor Building

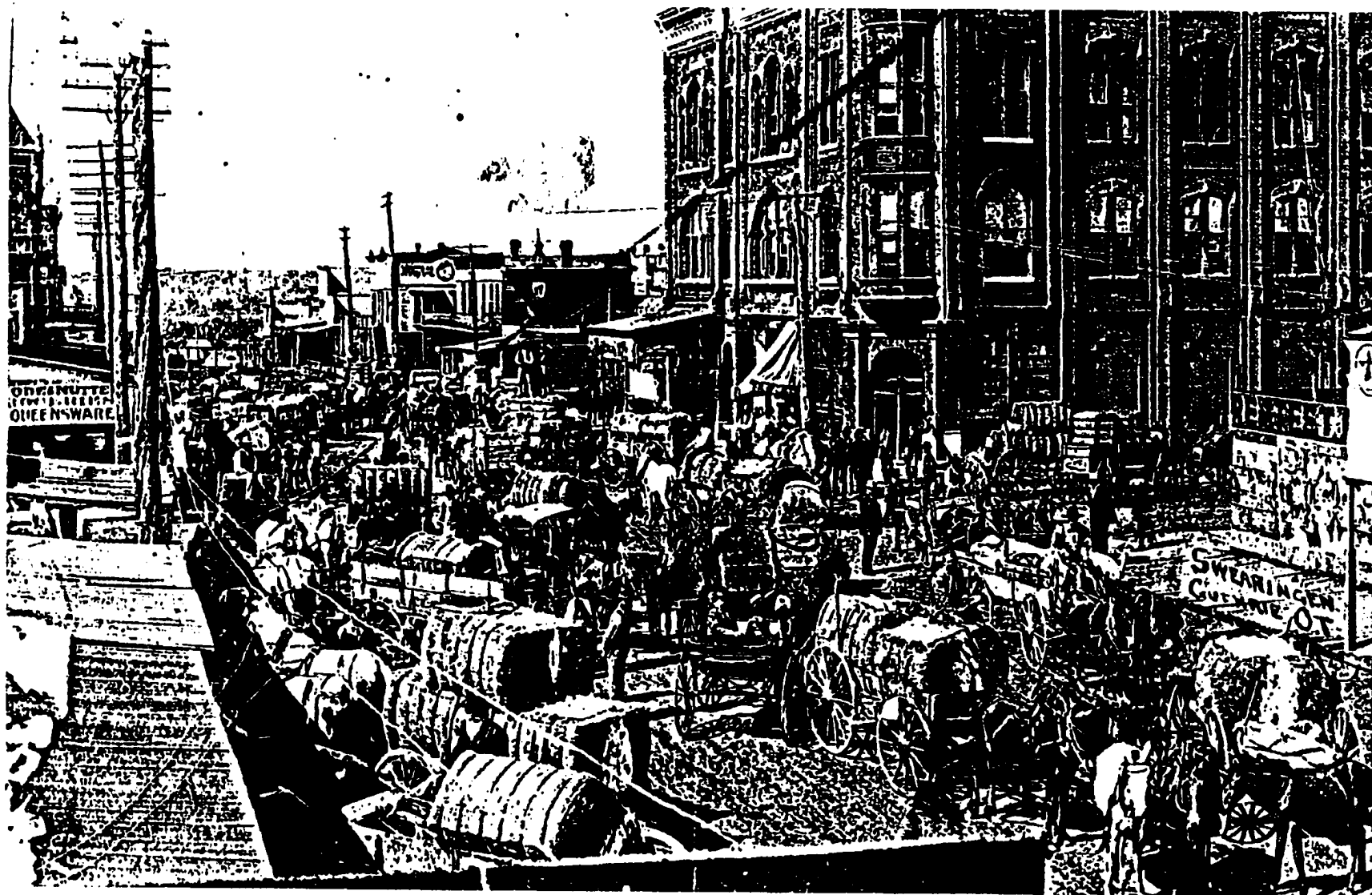


Figure 76. Streetscape with Victor Block

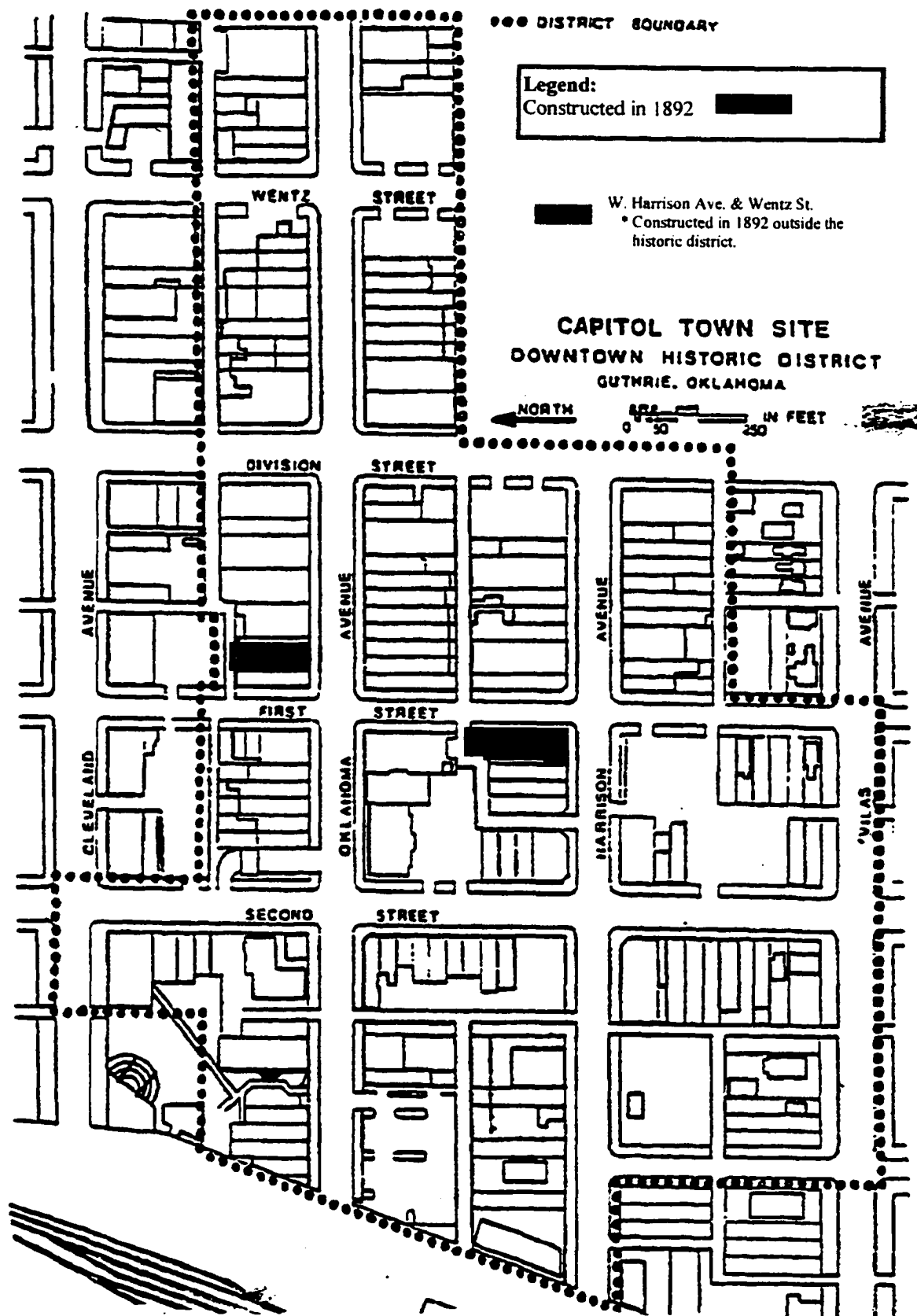


Figure 77. Location of Buildings Constructed in 1892

Boulevard; South on Capital Boulevard to Harrison Avenue; East on Harrison *to the stand pipe* (GP City Council Minutes 1892).

Engineer Reed was to make amended changes and estimate a new project cost. After new bids were received, Edmund T. Sykes was awarded the contract. On October, 1892, Joseph Foucart petition the city council to serve as city superintendent for the construction of the water works project. The council voted to select E.T. Hill as the construction superintendent, and a water tower was proposed to be located on Capital Hill (GP City Council Minutes 1892).

Garbage Pickup. The first mention of city wide garbage pickup was in 1892 by the city council. It recommended the garbage wagon decrease days of service to three days, then no days and then back to one day. The health commissioner issued a scavenger wagon to be used to clean the streets and alleys (GP City Council Minutes 1892).

New Street Names. On July 28, 1892, Guthrie street names were changed east of Division Street to Vine, Broad, Ash, Oak, Elm, Maple Walnut, Capitol Boulevard, Park Drexel Boulevard, Cedar, Cypress, Poplar, and Pine. The city engineer was instructed to make a new town plat exhibiting the new street names and street numbering system.

Other Council Business. Other city council business for 1892 included: removal of vagrants from train depot area; repair on Noble and University bridges; to require building permits; installation of sidewalks; grading streets; days of week colored [sic] people could use the park; fire limits of city protection; to erect exhibit building at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago; electric light service was inadequate; regulations on keeping livestock in the city limits; and approved F.R. McKennon's

petition for a franchise to manufacture and sale illuminating and fuel gas. Later in the year, McKennon withdrew his petition.

Buildings of Permanence Added to Guthrie's Townscape during 1893

In 1893, Guthrie had six commercial buildings under construction that documented the statement by Don Green, "the territorial capital was in a veritable building boom by 1893 (Green 1989, 134)." Four of the buildings were between First Street and Division Street, one on Harrison Avenue between First and Second Street, and one on south Second Street between Harrison and Vilas Avenues. Considering the size of these buildings, two and three stories, one hundred and forty feet long, with being across the street from each other, there had to have been an atmosphere of excitement, economic prosperity, and pleasure in seeing a western wooden townscape becoming a replica of Eastern and European cities.

The Gray Brothers were responsible for the eclectic structure referred to as the finest remaining example of stylish commercial buildings of the Territorial Period in Oklahoma. William Henry and George Gray, natives of Wainstree, Michigan, arrived in Guthrie on April 22, 1889, on the two o'clock train from the north. They bought a single lot, and later increased their possessions by buying the adjacent lot fifty by one hundred forty feet on the corner of Oklahoma and Division. On the original lot, they built a frame structure, which they quickly increased to accommodate their growing business. The *Daily State Capital* dated July 21, 1889, reported, ". . . the Gray Brothers are building a large addition to their store on Oklahoma Avenue to meet the demands of their increasing trade."

The Gray Brothers built in 1890 only the eastern half of the present structure. The building was twenty-five by eighty feet and built on the corner of the lot located at the intersection of Division Street and Oklahoma Avenue. Henry John Vanderberg was listed in Portrait and Biographical Record as having the building contract on the *Gray Brothers Block*. It has been presumed that Joseph Foucart was the architect since the building was designed stylistically consistent with other buildings in Guthrie known to be Foucart's. Arn Henderson described the building's architectural elements as follows:

Like many Guthrie buildings located on a corner lot, the corner is chamfered with the main entry set on a diagonal. Attention is drawn to the corner by the projecting oriel on the second floor that is capped with a Russian dome. One of the most striking yet subtle visual attributes of the building are the variations in scale. The lower portion of the façade is pierced by several large arched openings with rough-cut stone lintels. The rhythm of the second floor then changes to a series of closely spaced double-hung windows, each crowned with a recessed panel of patterned and corbeled brick. At the cornice is an elaborate sheet-metal band composed of a small-scale, decorative square motif and accented by large pinnacles that extend both above and below the band and project beyond the brick surface. The effect, then, is one of a progression or gradation of elements of different visual scales and textures ranging from large, rough elements at the bottom to small, smooth elements at the top (Henderson, 1980, 79).

The Bank of Indian Territory was among the first and memorable tenants, having occupied the corner since 1889 and throughout the territorial period. The President, U.C. Guss and the Vice President, Henry Asp were prominent and powerful businessmen and political figures (Souvenir 1902). The Oklahoma State Bank with the Gray Brothers directors replaced the Bank of Indian Territory in 1905 (Historic District Files, Territorial Museum).

In 1893, Gray Brothers extended the building, adding on the western portion of the present Gray Block. The *Daily State Capital*, June 10, 1893, "Now Gray Brothers are

up to a good brick block. The territorial metropolis moves right on.” The Gray Brothers Block attracted numerous occupants such as attorneys, moneylenders, real estate officers, barbers, newspaper correspondents, and the telephone and telegraph companies.

Weekly State Capital, July 29, 1893: The telephone office over the Bank of Indian Territory is beginning to assume a business-like appearance. The switchboard is up and is being put in order, the desks are in their places and in a few days the thing will be ready for the “hello girl.”

The Gray Block had a number of interesting establishments through the years. One such establishment was described by the Souvenir, “*Barber Shop & Baths*, the establishment is under the Oklahoma State Bank and contains four chairs, which are kept occupied most of the time. Messrs. Gordon & Ridge will have nothing but the best, cleanest and most modern work and they have a large and constantly growing list of pleased customers. This is one of the strictly clean and sanitary shops in the city. The baths are first-class and every detail of the business is closely watched and guarded by the owners, who strive to please one and all (Souvenir 1910).”

Another building on Oklahoma Avenue to be constructed in 1893 was the *Adler Building* just west of the Gray Block, located at 109 W. Oklahoma. The Adler Building was once one of the finest examples of Victorian commercial architecture in Guthrie. Measuring twenty-five by ninety feet, and built of stone with a brick façade, its outstanding feature has always been its highly ornate pressed metal cornice, which originally included five metal urns (NRHDF 1980). The building was completed under the supervision of Felix Adler, manager of the Kentucky Liquor Company. Adler came to Guthrie in 1889 from Kansas City, obtained the first liquor license granted in the Territory, and soon opened the Kentucky Liquor House (NRHDF 1980). The *Oklahoma Illustrated* described the Kentucky Liquor House as, “few establishments in Guthrie have

done a more profitable business. . . . and few men have given more liberally towards building up the town than Felix Adler (Oklahoma Illustrated 1894).”

Moving west on Oklahoma to 115 W. Oklahoma, the *Schnell Building* was erected in 1893 by A.C. Schnell, a prominent Guthrie Judge and investor. The Guthrie National Register Historic District Inventory Files described the building as follows:

The two story brick building is one of Guthrie’s finest examples of Victorian commercial architecture and features rounded brick pilasters and arched windows, a stone course above terracotta inset panels, and an ornate pressed metal cornice with a central segmental arch and nameplate. The building measures 25’ by 130’ in all, with a second floor that extends back just 40 feet. The bottom floor has traditionally been used by a variety of retailers, while the upper floor traditionally served as office space (NRHDF, 1980).

The buildings first occupants were the Ritterbuch Bros. who established their “Royal Exchange Saloon” on the lower floor in 1893; they operated a wholesale business from the second floor, acting as distributors of the “Fred Miller Brewing Co.’s Milwaukee Beer (Souvenir Edition 1902).”

Traveling west across the street on the northside of Oklahoma Avenue on the corner of First Street and Oklahoma Avenue was another building constructed in 1893 as documented by the Guthrie National Landmark Nomination. The Guthrie National Register Historic District Inventory documented the structure as being constructed between 1892 and 1894. The *Goodrich Building* located at 124 W. Oklahoma, referred to as the Pincushion Building, has been totally restored based on an old photograph. One of the first occupants was A.J. Spengel who owned a combination furniture store and undertaking business. Spengel was the first elected [April 9, 1891] Mayor of the Consolidated Governments of Guthrie. Spengel was located at the *Goodrich Building* from at least 1894 until 1895 (GNRHD Inventory Files 1980).

The *Goodrich Building* as described by the National Landmark Nomination:

124 W. Oklahoma Avenue. Goodrich Building, 1893 Italianate. Two story brick building. The first floor features a storefront with a center recessed entrance. Above the storefront windows are polychrome multi-light clerestories. The second story has four hung windows with hood-shaped lintels of stone. A bracketed cornice surrounds the parapet on the south and west elevations with a center name block on the south side reading "GOODRICH/BLDG 1893 (NLN 1998)."

The last building documented as constructed in 1893 was located at 206-208 S. Second Street, near the corner of Second Street and Harrison on the eastside. Since the major construction has been centered between First and Division on Harrison and Oklahoma Avenues, this location would be considered the older part of town. The building has been described as follows by the National Landmark Nomination:

Coyle and Smith Building, 206-208 S. Second Street. 1893 Italianate. Two story brick and stone building that is two lots wide. The façade is of brick with stone detailing and the other elevations are of uncoursed sandstone. The first floor features two rehabilitated storefronts with central entrances and clerestories. An entrance that leads to the second story separates the two storefronts. The second story features seven rectangular window openings with hung sashes and continuous stone sills and lintels. The parapet is decorated with a pressed metal cornice with brackets and finials. This building was restored in the 1980's and is used for retail space as a bed and breakfast (The following document buildings constructed in Guthrie's Historic District in 1893, see figures 78-87).

Buildings of Permanence Added to Guthrie's
Townscape During 1894, 1895 and 1896

In 1893, as mentioned earlier, the Missouri and Kansas Telephone Company opened an exchange in Guthrie enhancing a metropolitan appearance to the Capital City



Figure 78. Gray Bros. Block

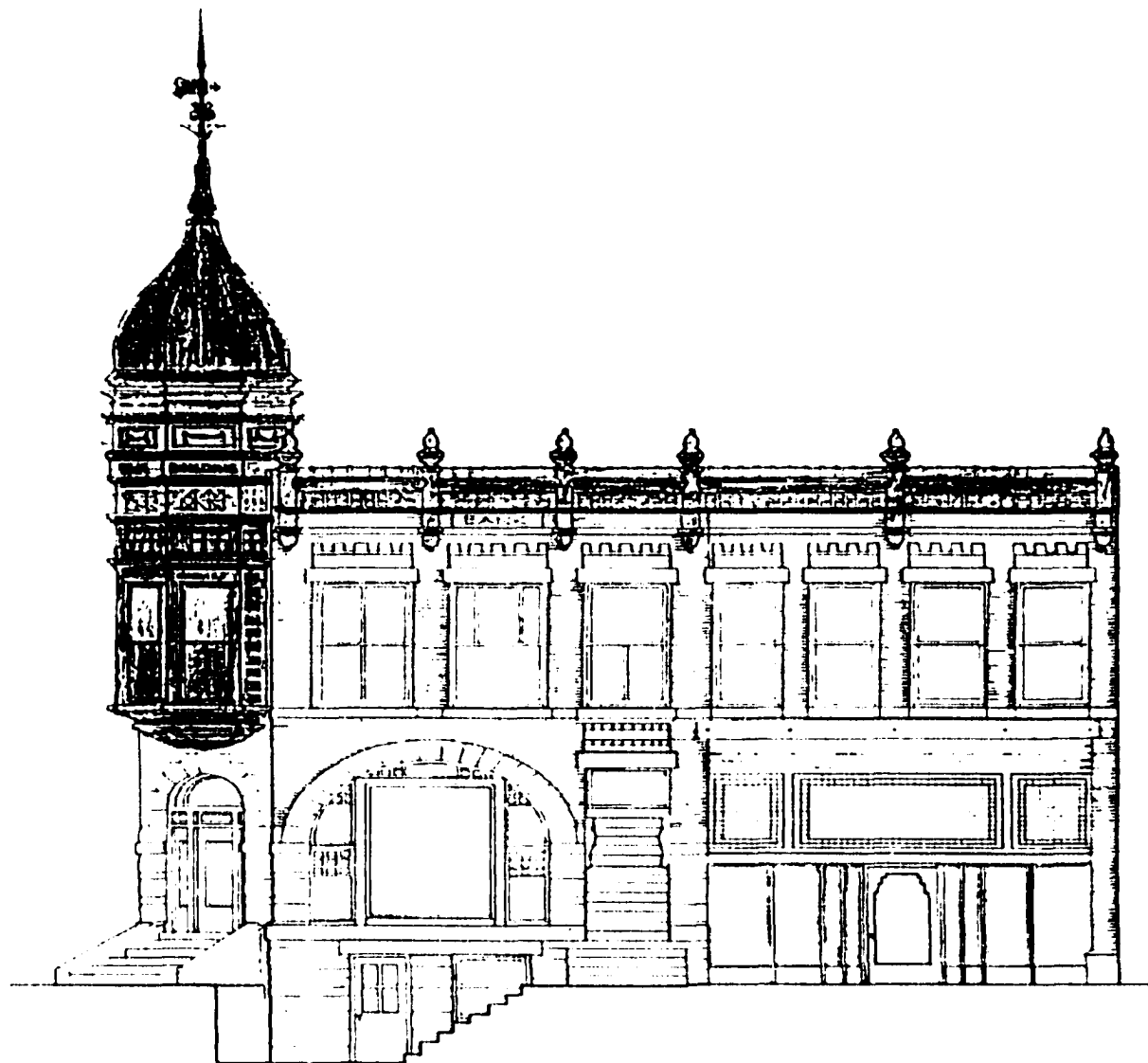


Figure 79. Side Elevation of Gray Brothers Block

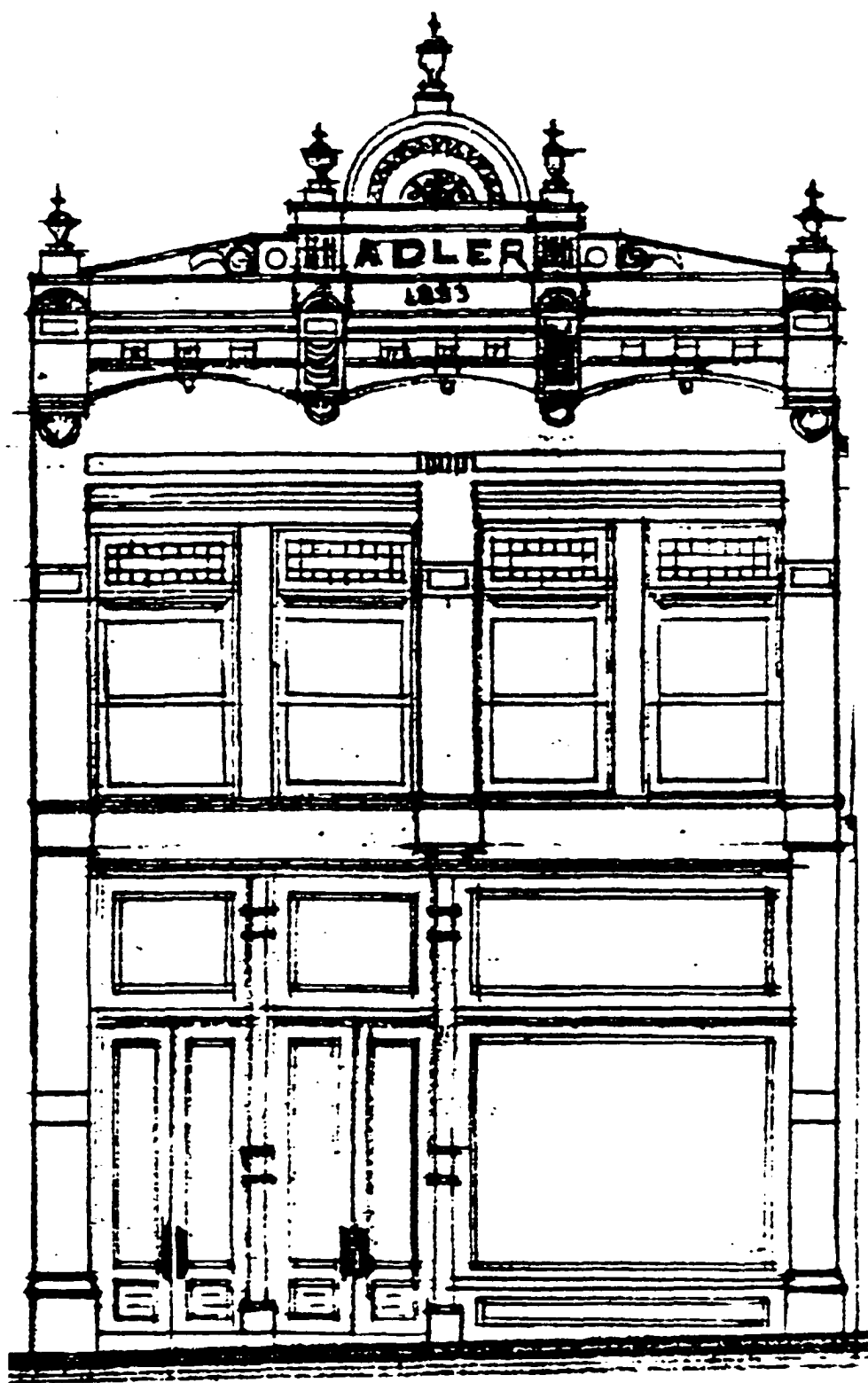


Figure 80. Adler Building



Figure 81. The Kentucky Liquor Company [Adler Building]

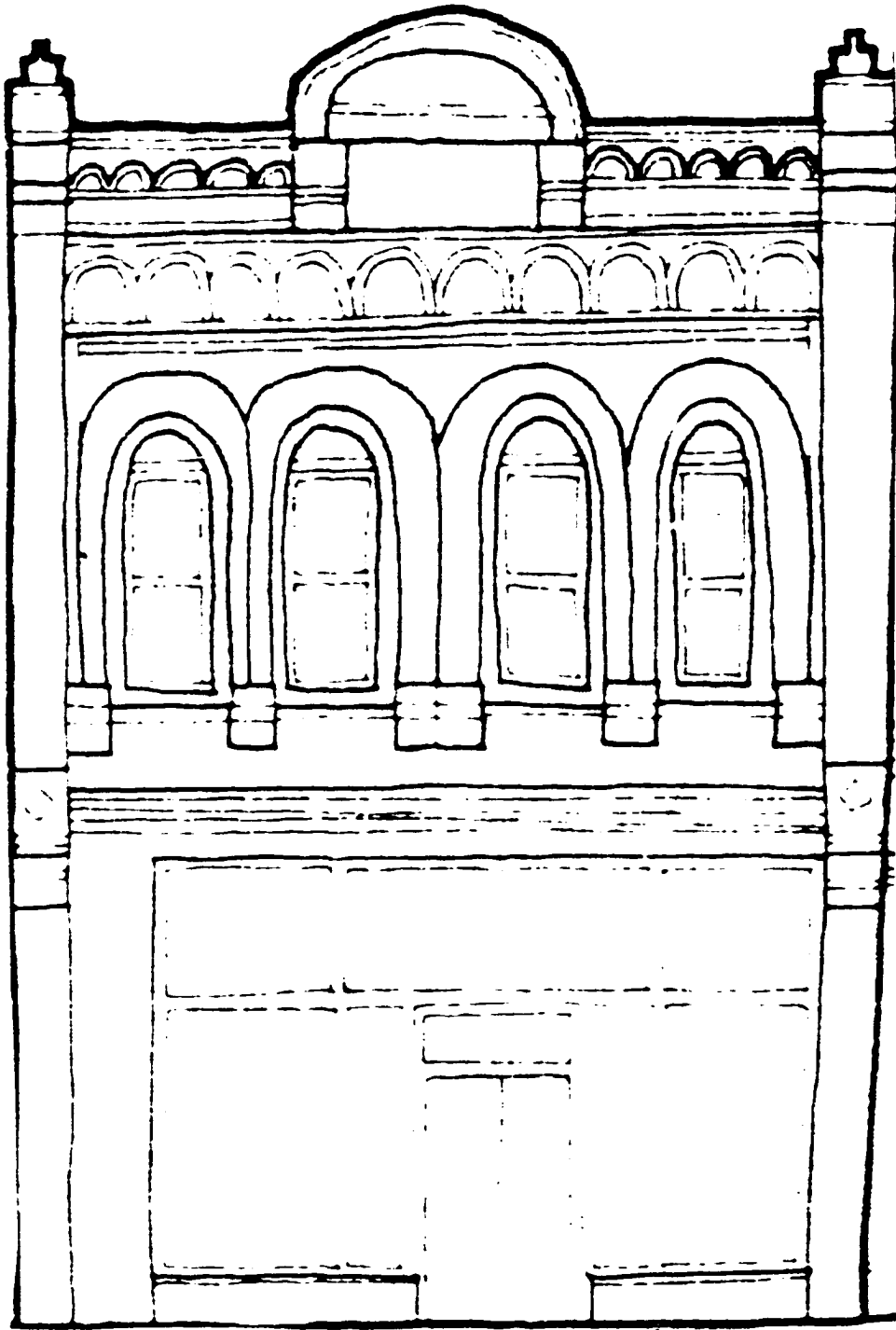


Figure 82. Schnell Building



Figure 83. Goodrich Building

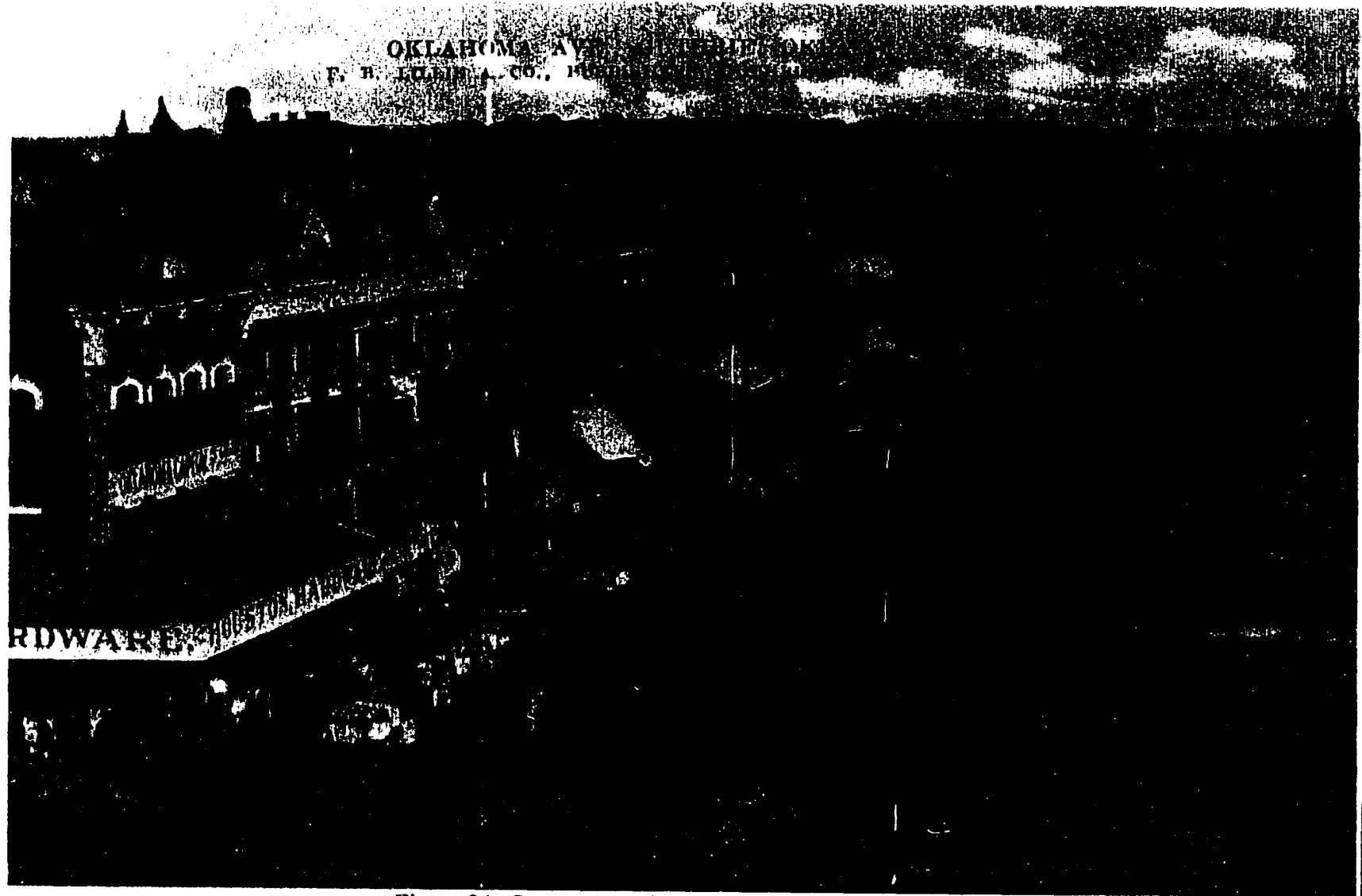


Figure 84. Streetscape of Goodrich and Schnell Building

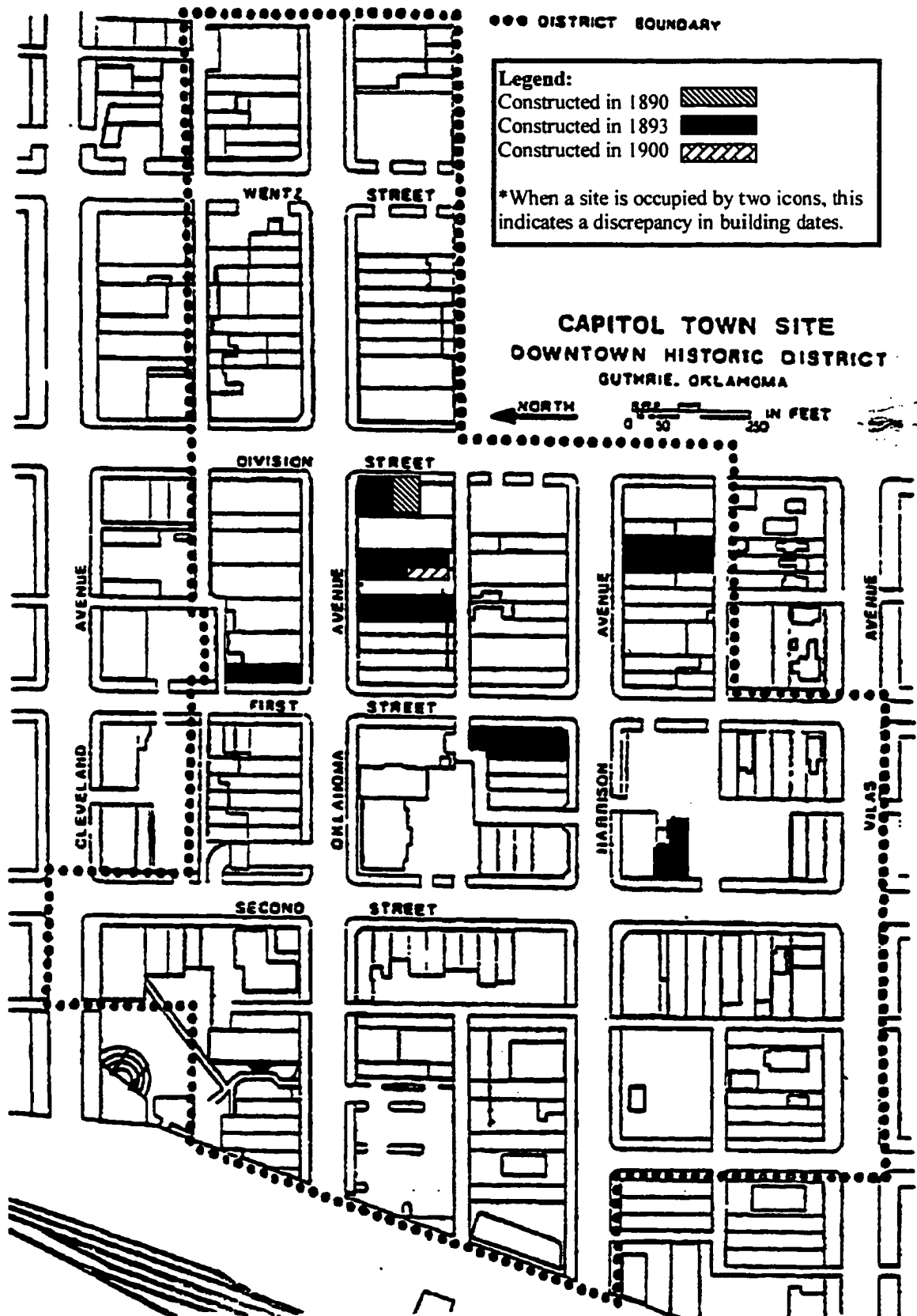


Figure 85. Location of buildings constructed in 1893



Figure 86. Starr Building



Figure 87. Streetscape with Guthrie Leader Building

(Forbes 1938, 18), and Don Odom's article listed the school census on May 1, 1893, as one thousand three hundred twenty-six white and eight hundred seventy-six black students, ranging from ages six to twenty-one. The rapidly increasing numbers of students and the many who were high school age encouraged the passing of a fifty thousand dollar school bond in 1894 to buy the land to build and equip four permanent buildings. The referendum passed by a vote of two hundred thirty-two in favor and fifty-eight against (Odom 1979, 1893). The Portrait and Biographical Record listed as one of the achievements of Henry John Vandenberg was being the General Contractor of the four school buildings of Guthrie in 1894. It reported that Vandenberg had to be under bond for two hundred thousand dollars to bid the projects.

On the last day of July, 1894, congress increased the security of Guthrie's claim on the capital by the enactment of a provision tied to an appropriation bill. This provision provided the legislation to cancel the salaries of the territorial officers in case the new assembly considered the removal of the capital from Guthrie. Forbes also stated, "Guthrie was probably the most prosperous town in the territory during that year of depression, for it was a center for overland trade and freighting for an area extending as far as sixty-five miles in some directions (Forbes 1938, 18)."

Working with the survey sheet from the National Register Historic District Inventory, it documented the *Stephen Starr Building* built in 1890 and located at 328 W. Oklahoma. The Guthrie National Landmark Nomination determined the date of erection was 1894 with the address at 320 W. Oklahoma. From the Starr Building location between the railroad and Second Street, the area being densely populated in 1890, and the store being one lot down from Mundy's 1889 store, with a similar structure, it would be

more probable that the correct date would be 1890. The National Register Historic

District Inventory's Files description:

The Stephen Starr Building, a two story stone structure with a brick façade, built around 1890. The original pressed metal and frame overhang shapes the relatively unchanged storefront. Above the overhang are five transom windows of leaded purple glass. The second story has three arched windows, the central being a wooden oriel. Two stone stars ornament the entablature, separated by slender stone sills. Above the oriel are the namesake's initials 'SS.' From 1894 – 1914, at least, the Stephen Starr Building was part of a large wholesale grocery, along with the Ames who occupies the store next door to the east, 324 – 326 W. Oklahoma (NRHDF 1980).

Guthrie's National Landmark Nomination discussed one building being constructed in 1895, located at 105 W. Harrison. The description stated, "one story brick and stone building that was originally two stories. The altered storefront has covered clerestories. Heavy stone quoins mark the east end of the façade. The National Landmark Nomination discussed 105 W. Harrison as non-contributing due to alteration of second story (NLN 1998).

A hand written note from the files of the Territorial Museum about this building stated, "this building was originally part of a fifty foot front that incorporated the east side of the Leader. West side of Leader Building is east bay of Tontz-Hirschi Building." The documentation in the Territorial Museum listed 105 W. Harrison as being built in 1894, not 1895.

Also, there was confusion on the building date of the *Guthrie Leader Building* located next door to the building just discussed. The building's address is 107–109 W. Harrison. The Territorial Museum's archival documentation placed the date of construction as 1894, and the Guthrie National Landmark Nomination documented it as 1891. The National Landmark Nomination provided this description:

107-109 W. Harrison Avenue. Guthrie News Leader Building, 1891 with 1976 renovations. Neo-Romanesque Revival. Two story brick building that is two lots wide. The façade has been extensively altered from its original appearance. The first story features rounded arched windows in sets of threes. The second story features three sets of palladian style windows with sidelights also having rounded arches. Noncontributing due to the 1976 renovations (NLN 1998).

The National Landmark Nomination listed two other buildings as having significant architectural significance built in 1894. One was located at 114-166 E. Oklahoma Avenue. It was described as, “pre-1894, Commercial Style with Romanesque Revival influences. Two story brick building that is two lots wide. The first floor features altered storefronts. The second story has one large rounded arched window and forms a hooded lintel around the other windows. Brickwork below the parapet resembles a dentilled cornice (NLN 1998).”

The last 1894 building listed in the National Landmark Nomination was located at 109-111 S. Division Street. This building was described as pre-1894 Italianate architectural structure:

Two story brick building that is divided into three ranks. The outer two ranks have storefronts on the first floor. An entrance that leads to the second story separates these. The second story has four segmental arched window openings in the outer two ranks and one such opening in the center rank. These are filled with hung sashes. A continuous stone sill runs under each of the sets of four windows. Decorative brickwork forms four inset panels below a small cornice at the roofline. This building was rehabilitated in the 1980's (NLN 1998).

Listed below are the buildings of permanence, constructed during the years 1894, 1895 and 1896.

Townscapes of 1894:

(1) 105 W. Harrison 1894 (NRHDF 1980)

(2) 107 – 109 W. Harrison Guthrie Leader Building 1894 (NRHDF 1980)

(3) 114 – 166 E. Oklahoma Avenue.

(4) 109 – 111 S. Division Street

(5) 111 W. Oklahoma 1894 – The Lipe Building (NRHDF 1980)

(For the location of 1894 buildings within the Historic District, see figures 88-90).

Townscape of 1895:

(1) 105 W. Harrison per National Landmark Nomination

(For the location of 1895 buildings within the Historic District, see figure 91).

Townscape of 1896:

(1) 224 W. Harrison Blue Bell Saloon per National Register Historic Inventory

(For the location of 1896 buildings within the Historic District, see figure 92).

According to the National Landmark Nomination, there were no buildings in the historic district constructed during the year of 1897. Gerald Forbes describes that Guthrie had a disastrous flood in the spring of 1897. The Cottonwood overran its banks causing an estimated loss of two hundred thousand dollars. He insinuated that the catastrophe served the ladies of the Episcopal Guild and similar groups of the capital's society as a "relief cause" for their otherwise meaningless meetings (Forbes 1938, 19).

Guthrie, Social Center of Oklahoma Territory. Guthrie, being designated the Capital City, became the social center of Oklahoma Territory, especially during the sessions of the legislative assemblies. The members and their wives were entertained at banquets, balls and receptions, which eclipsed similar functions in other towns by their

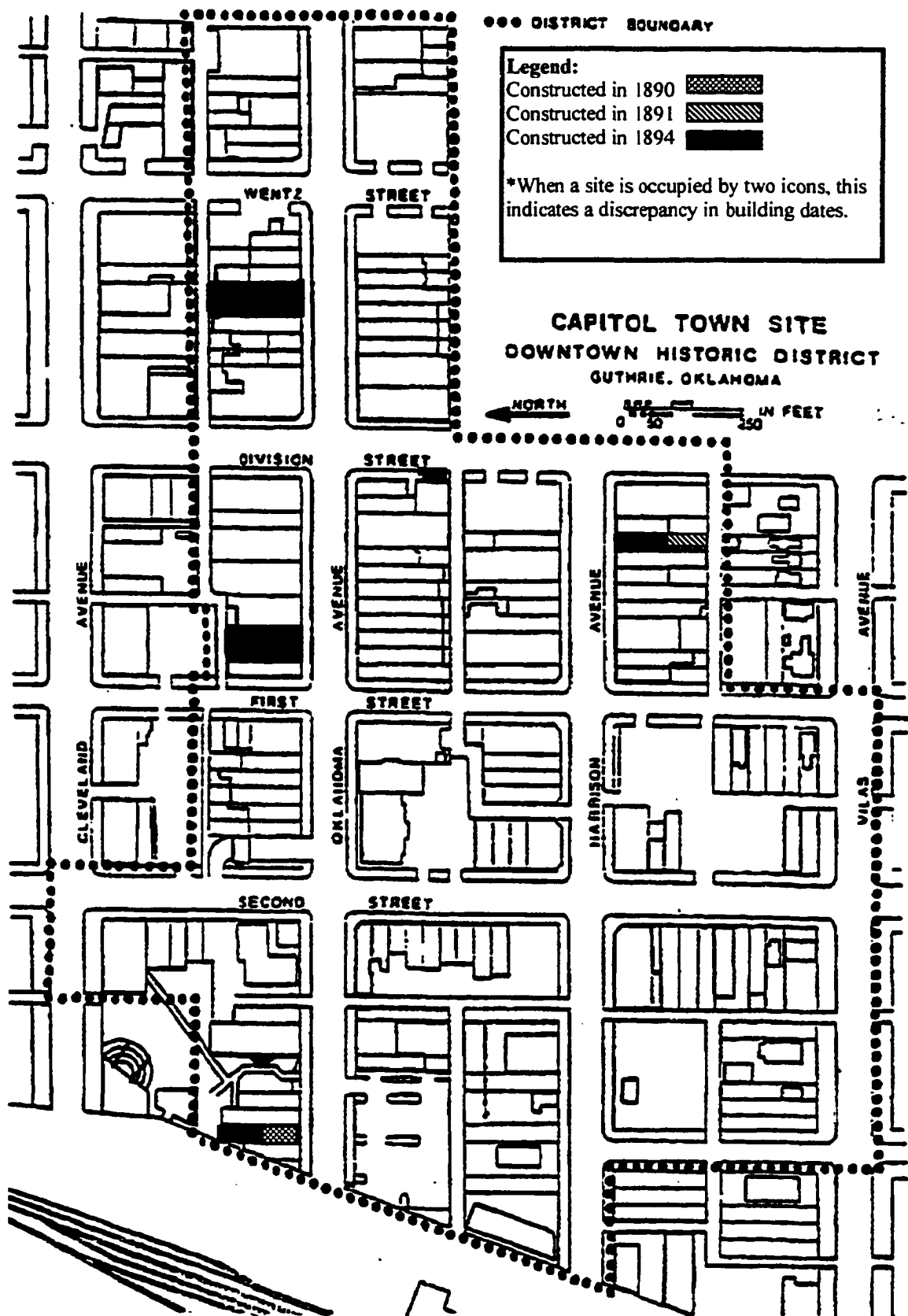


Figure 88. Location of buildings constructed in 1894



Figure 89. Freeman Block, Corner of Harrison and First



Figure 90. Streetscape with Anderson-Bierer Building

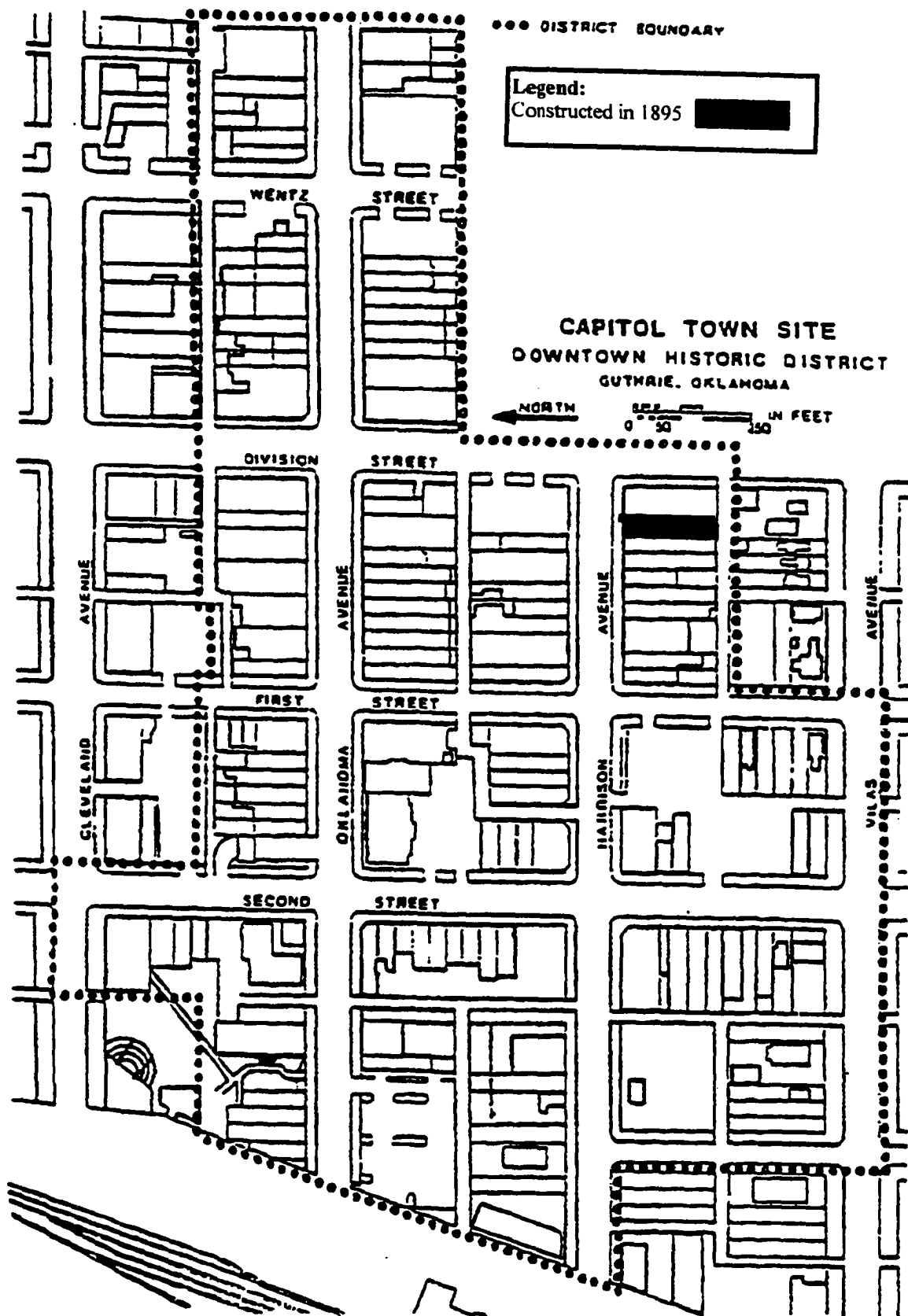


Figure 91. Location of buildings constructed in 1895

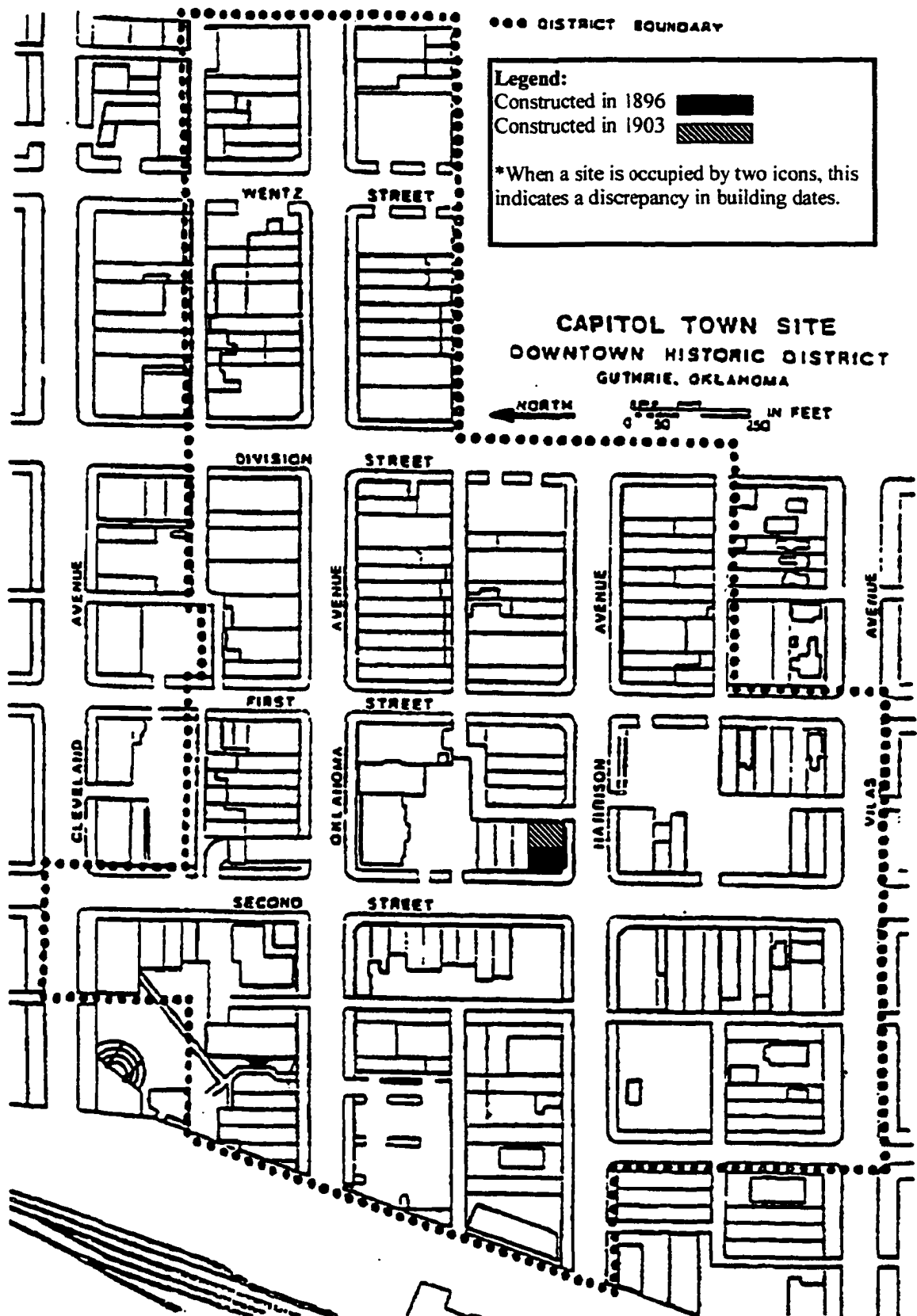


Figure 92. Location of building constructed in 1896

gaiety and lavishness. Knights of Pythias Hall was one such event where those present represented the territorial culture and government of a district that had harvested thirteen million dollars worth of wheat, harvested five million dollars worth from cotton crops, exported forty thousand bushels of kafir corn, and owned livestock valued at millions of dollars. These prosperous and happy Oklahomans were served five choices of wine, seven meats, and nine varieties of cakes. "The most outstanding social event, all of times, occurred October 20, 1897, when the first Masonic Consistory was held in a room above the Rhodes Furniture Store," located at the southwest corner of Oklahoma Avenue and First Street, east (Forbes 1938, 18-19).

Marion Rock described, "the society in Oklahoma, and more especially in the Capital City, in its rapid development, its refining influences, and its advanced culture, is one of the most remarkable instances ever witnessed in the growth of civilization." A new society that had no boundaries, one composed of urban forces gathering, connecting, and inter-mingling from all four points of the compass evolved from Eastern exclusiveness merging with western democracy, northern conservatism joining southern hospitality creating a spirit of harmony and congeniality not found in any other locality (Rock 1890, 118).

Omen of Oklahoma City's Ascendancy Over Guthrie

In 1897, the representatives of the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad approached the leading men of Guthrie to franchise the extension of their tracks from Sapulpa to Guthrie. Eleven men at once agreed to donate one thousand dollars each and within two weeks, Guthrie residents' promised \$51, 400 bonus if the train roared into

Guthrie, July 4, 1899, aggrandizing the celebration of Independence Day. Guthrie's entrepreneurial leaders envisioned this railroad coming from the east would advance the business capacity so immensely that Oklahoma City's constant threat of supremacy would be a forgotten enigma. Frank Greer [*Daily State Capital*] , Joseph McNeal [Banker - McNeal & Little], and Harry Gray [Gray Bros.] represented Guthrie at the Frisco office in St. Louis to propose an arrangement of the townsites on the new railroad. The President agreed to the proposition, on the condition that the rights-of-way into Guthrie was guaranteed (Forbes 1939, 19). According to an interview with Don Odom November 1998, the Frisco wanted to run the rights-a-way through town. The three representatives had not been prepared for such a major alteration to the townscape and wanted to get municipal approval before making a commitment.

"Gristmill" Jones and Henry Overholser learning the contract between the Frisco and Guthrie had not been finalized, they called a meeting with the Frisco President offering their incorporated St. Louis and Oklahoma City Railroad. Congress had already granted the new line rights-of-way through Indian Lands from Sapulpa, through Oklahoma City to the Red River north of Quanah, Texas. The two entities made an agreement for the Frisco Line to purchase Jones and Overholser Line from Sapulpa to Oklahoma City. When the Guthrie men returned to St. Louis with an agreement to accept Frisco's demands, the other contract had been consummated (Forbes 1938, 20).

Guthrie's Build Environment 1898

Guthrie's influential civic leaders in hopes of off setting the devastation of Frisco's agreement with Overholser and Jones, capitalized one million three hundred fifty thousand dollars to charter the Muskogee Coal and Railway Company to construct a

railroad from Red Fork to Guthrie. This proposition never came to fruition, which became the omen of Oklahoma City's ascendancy over Guthrie. On November 17, 1898, a few days after the "State Fair" closed in Guthrie, the first train from the east arrived in Oklahoma City, celebrated with much fan fair, followed with a banquet at the Grand Avenue Hotel. The year end totals of the two cities' land offices provided other evidence that Oklahoma City was gaining dominance over Guthrie. There were marginal differences between money collected and amount of acreage. The large acceleration of Oklahoma City's dominance came from recorded entries of two thousand two hundred seventy-one opposed to Guthrie's seven hundred ninety-one. Guthrie's hopes of counterbalancing Oklahoma City's prevailing influence was the selection of Guthrie as the home of the Grand Lodge in 1898, about the same time as the train from the east rolled into Oklahoma City (Forbes 1938, 21).

Guthrie's central business district had been moving eastwardly since 1891 through 1895 primarily on Streets, First and Division. In 1898, seven buildings were constructed, three east of Division Street, three between First Street and west Division, and one in the older area, between the railroad tracks and Second Street (National Landmark Nomination 1998).

The building located between the railroad tracks and Second Street on the southside was not identified in the files at the Territorial Museum. The following description provided by the National Landmark Nomination:

315 W. Oklahoma Avenue. 1898. Commercial Style. One story brick building with large storefront, a recessed entrance and clerestories. Simple coping defines the parapet. The building was rehabilitated in the 1980s (NLN 1998).

Traveling east approximately one and a half blocks on the southside corner of First Street and Oklahoma Avenue sets the *Freeman Block* built in 1898 as a one story structure, twenty-five by eighty feet, with a frame and iron-clad facade. The 1902 Souvenir Edition listed its occupant as J.N. Wallace, "a large and appropriately furnished and equipped drug store that dealt in drugs, chemicals, druggists, sundries, toilet articles, jewelry, stationary, wallpaper, etc (Souvenir 1902)." The Guthrie National Register Historic District Inventory Files described:

The second floor and back half of the building were added sometime between 1903 and 1908, extending the building to a total length of one hundred and forty feet. The back fifty-five feet of the building was separated on the first floor by a partition, and had its own entryway on South First Street. In addition, the original front was replaced at this time with a more permanent Classic Revival Style facade, featuring decorative brick corbelling. The building continued to be used as a drugstore as late as 1953. The rear of the building was occupied by a photographer during these years. . . . The back half's entryway to South First Street was bricked in sometime following 1955. The exterior of the building is intact except for the storefront, which has been extensively altered. The interior has been partially altered, but has retained its original pressed metal ceiling, now obscured. . . . (GNRHD 1980)."

The description as provided by the National Landmark Nomination illustrated the building with more discussion pertaining to its architectural elements:

123 W. Oklahoma Avenue. *Freeman Block*. 1898 with additions between 1903-1908. Commercial Style. Two story brick building that has a storefront with a recessed entrance and tall clerestories above. Wide square brick columns with simple stone plinths and capitals are at either end of the storefront. The second story of the facade has three rectangular window openings. The west elevation is divided into several ranks by brick pilasters. The first story of the west elevation has a display window with tall clerestories at the north end, two sets of three small window openings with stone sills and lintels, an entrance that leads to the second story and another storefront. The second story windows on the west elevation are mostly paired and each pair shares another storefront. The second story windows on the west elevation are mostly paired and each pair shares a stone lintel. A brick cornice highlights the parapet (NLN 1998).

Across the street, next door east of the Wick's building, stands the *Anderson-Bierer Building* located at 116 – 117 Oklahoma Avenue. The building gets its name from attorneys, Anderson and Bierer. A.G.C. Bierer made his entrance into Indian Territory from Kansas riding next to Frank Dale [Judge Frank Dale] with whom he became a good friend. Bierer later was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court for Oklahoma Territory. The Guthrie National Register Historic District Inventory Files described the building as a two-story brick structure fifty feet wide, one hundred feet wide and thirty feet high. "It was built between 1895 and 1898 in the style of Romanesque Revival. Two large arched windows flank a central bay, and the entablature is decoratively corbeled. Above the modern façade, the building's name plates and a metal dome (GNRHDF 1980)."

Eisenschmidt & Weckel are the oldest, largest and exclusive pioneer shoe merchants of Oklahoma. They started in business November 15, 1890, in a small shack, but like the city, they have expanded and now occupy a store 25x100 feet, which is elegantly fitted up. Their stock is large and complete, and embraces all of the latest styles and shapes in the footwear line from the most eminent factories in America. Their phenomenal growth is due to their honest dealings and close attention to business. They are practical shoe dealers, and Guthrie feels proud of this enterprising firm which would be a credit to any great metropolis. Located at 118 W. Oklahoma Avenue (Souvenir 1902).

Bierer-Anderson Building as described by the National Landmark Nomination:

116-118 W. Oklahoma Avenue. Bierer-Anderson Building. 1898. Richard Romanesque with Exotic Revival influences. Two-story brick building is two lots wide with two storefronts that are separated by an entrance that leads to the second story. The second story has a small center rounded arched window that is flanked on each side by two large rounded arched openings filled with hung windows with sidelights. At the center of the roofline is a small rectangular tower with one small arched opening and a metal-hipped roof. The tower is flanked by decorative brickwork along the parapet. This building was rehabilitated in the 1980's (NLN 1998).

White, The Jeweler – This first class jewelry store has been established twenty years and is located at 116 West Oklahoma Avenue. Mr. C.W. White, the proprietor, is the official watch inspector for both the Santa Fe and Katy railroad systems, and his repairing department is said to be one of the most scientifically equipped of any in the country. . . . *James Briggs Company* – This pharmacy has been established for six years and is one of the most attractive and most successful in the city. It is located at 116 W. Oklahoma Avenue (Souvenir 1910).

The above advertisements illustrate a common practice of combining jewelry stores and pharmacy stores in the same location during territorial days. There was a handwritten note in this store's file that described, "1 closet & lavatory downstairs, 3 lavatories & 1 closet upstairs – Anderson Bldg. 1 closet in drugstore, 1 closet & lavatory upstairs [closet meaning water closet or toilet] (NRHDF 1980) (For location of Guthrie's 1898 Historic Distric buildings, see figure 93)."

Leaving Division Street, heading east on Oklahoma Avenue are four other buildings identified and described by the National Landmark Nomination as being built in 1898. All four are located in the first block between Division Street and Wentz Street. The descriptions of the buildings are as follows:

108 E. Oklahoma Avenue. (Daylight Donut), Commercial Style. ca. 1898-1901. Two story building with brick-façade. The first floor storefront has been altered. The second story has four rectangular window openings with hung sashes and narrow transoms. Decorative brickwork and stone coping and finials highlight the parapet (NLN 1998).

113 E. Oklahoma Avenue. ca. 1898-1901 Italianate. This two story brick building is similar to 111 E. Oklahoma Avenue. The storefront has a center entrance and exposed clerestories. The second story has four segmental arched window openings with hung sashes. Brick corbelling decorates the parapet (NLN 1998).

118 E. Oklahoma Avenue. Romanesque Revival. ca. 1898-1901. Two story building of native sandstone with limestone detailing. The original storefront has been altered and combined with the storefront at 120 E. Oklahoma. The second story features detailing similar to the DeSteiguer Building [110-112 E. Oklahoma Avenue] with two rounded

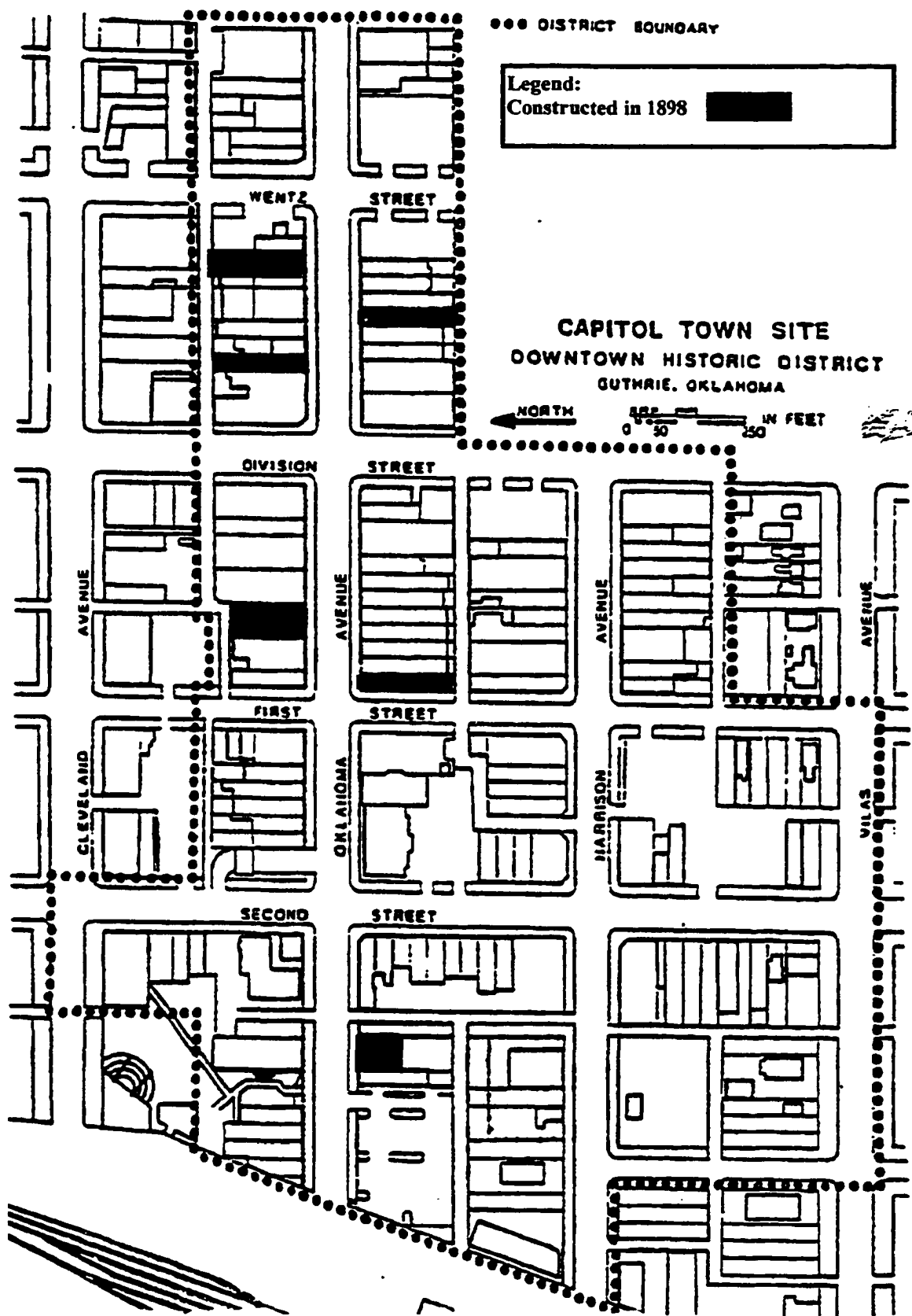


Figure 93. Location of buildings constructed in 1898

arched window openings with sandstone and limestone voussoirs. Between these windows is a rectangular window opening that was originally an oriel window. This is one of the buildings that has had the metal panels removed from the second story since the 1987 National Register documentation. However, due to the alteration of the storefront and the removal of the oriel window, this building is counted as noncontributing (NLN 1998).

120 E. Oklahoma Avenue. Italianate. ca. 1898-1901. Two story brick building. The first floor storefront has been altered and combined with the storefront of 118 E. Oklahoma Avenue. The second story features two segmental arched window openings unfilled with hung sashes. The parapet is highlighted with brick corbelling. This is one of the buildings that has had the metal panels removed from the second story since the 1987 National Register documentation. However, due to the alteration of the storefront, this building is counted as noncontributing (NLN 1998).

Guthrie's Evolving Townscape - 1899

At the Fifth Territorial Assembly in 1899, there were three hundred at the Ball and Banquet honoring the Legislative Assembly. Then, the Assembly began deliberations on the question of Statehood. The Legislators felt that it had become to difficult to deny statehood to territories that contained a million and a half population; whose farm products were greater than any of a dozen states; railroads with more miles of track than any of the other states; and contained great reserves of coal, oil and gas (Peery 1934, 395). Thus, a bill was passed by both the House and the Council that a Constitution should be drafted in anticipation of Statehood (Forbes 1938, 21).

The National Landmark Nomination identified four structures built in 1899. Two are between First Street and Division Street on Oklahoma Avenue, and the other one, two blocks away at the corner of South Second Street and Vilas Avenue. The *Triumph Building*, 106 W. Oklahoma, was built by Winfield Smith, *Smith vs. Galloway* fame that built the Victor Block. Smith was approached by Nathaniel McKay, an easterner, to

build a two-story, eight by ten, brick privy on Smith's lot [Lot Twenty-three, Block Forty-five] for the access of the Triumph Building's tenants, as well as, the tenants of Lots Twenty-four and Twenty-five. When McKay purchased the property, part of the agreement pertained to the proper upkeep of the privy. The building description was given by the Guthrie National Register Historic District Inventory Files as, "a two story, brick structure built between 1898 and 1901. Twenty-five feet wide and one hundred feet deep. It has a simple balustraded parapet with a central panel that tops the building. Between 1901 and 1914, it housed the J.J. Abell Clothing store, which sold hats, clothing, boots, and shoes. Between 1908 and 1926 a ten by ten foot two story addition was made [privy]. A frame overhang shaded the storefront as late as 1948 (NRHDF 1980). Historic District files indicated that Judge Frank Dale in 1904 had Building Permit Number 246 for the addition of one flue brick costing seventeen hundred dollars, and the building had one lavatory and one stop sink (NRHDF 1980).

The National Landmark Nomination described the *Truimph Buildings* as follows:

106 W. Oklahoma Avenue. Truimph Building, 1899. Commercial Style. Two story brick building that has a recessed storefront surmounted by a clerestory. The second story has four rectangular window openings with hung sashes and stone sills. Above the center windows is a name block that reads 'W.S. SMITH.' Above this is a stone beltcourse and another name block that reads "18 TRIUMP 99 (NLN 1998).

Leaving the Truimph Building, traveling west on Oklahoma Avenue past one building to the *W.R. Moffit Building*, is the original site of the city hall and jail. The large wooden tank housed in back, supplied Guthrie's first water system. John Ford began this water business April 22, 1889. The Guthrie National Register Historic District Inventory Files' described it as, "a brick two story building with a façade that had two large arched decoratively corbeled windows, a metal cornice, and a brick entablature and parapet."

W.R. Moffitt and Company operated a dry goods store in 1898, and one year later, John Schmidt opened the Schmidt and Pointer Meat Market. In 1901, A.O. Farquharson, one of Guthrie's early mayors, opened a clothing store until 1914, although by 1914, Tom Jenkins had purchased Farquharson's business. During the years, the second floor was occupied by an architect, realtors and physicians (NRHDF 1980).

The *W.R. Moffitt Building* as described by the National Landmark Nomination:

112 W. Oklahoma Avenue. W.R. Moffit Building, 1899. Richardsonian Romanesque. Two story brick building. The second story features two large rounded arched openings filled with hung sashes with sidelights. Decorative brickwork is found around and above these window openings. Above the windows is a brick cornice. Above the cornice and below the stone coping is a stone name block that reads "W.R. MOFFIT/1899 (NLN 1998).

Across the street stands the *F.O. Lutz Building*, once Guthrie's grandest department store. The Guthrie National Register Historic District Inventory Files listed construction date 1903-1908, and described:

The building covers three lots wide, measuring seventy-five feet wide by one hundred twenty-five feet long. It has three stories and constructed of brick supported by iron posts on sixteen-inch centers. The bottom floor's walls are of stone. The building's style is Classical Revival, featuring a gabled cornice, a stone entablature, and a tri-partite bay division with a central emphasis. A storefront remodeling c. 1925 resulted in the replacement of the original stone belting on the two western-most bays with black carerra glass, and the addition of a colored glass "Lutz" nameplate on the second floor. It is possible that the easternmost bay was constructed sometime between 1895 and 1898 as a two-story brick saloon and clothing store and later reduced to one-story and incorporated with the new construction to the west. This theory is supported by the existence of a stone wall between 117 and 119; 119 and 121 were separated by a frame partition, and the fact, 117's bottom walls are of brick, and 119's and 121's bottom floors are of stone. The building didn't become the prestigious F.O. Lutz department store until late 1907 or early 1908 (NRHDF 1980).

There were two building permits issued to J. Foucart dated 7/7/06 for Lots 11, 10, and 9, Block Fifty-seven. The location of the Lutz Building. Building Permit Number

640 was for two story "rep brick," costing \$1,829. And, Building Permit Number 641 for two story "rep brick," costing \$2100 (NRHDF 1980).

The Lintz Department Store, originally known as the Lutz Department Store, was started in Guthrie in 1904 by F.O. Lutz. Lutz and Fred W. Lintz were traveling salesmen working for a Wholesale Dry Goods Company in Kansas City, Mo., and traveling in Kansas. Mr. Lutz's business became so prosperous that in a few years he brought in Mr. Lintz as a partner. Mr. Lutz died in a few years, and Mr. Lintz took over as general manager with Mrs. Lutz an interested stockholder (NRHDF 1980).

The F.O. Lutz Building as described by the National Landmark Nomination:

117-121 W. Oklahoma. F.O. Lutz Building [also known as the Lutz Department Store], 1899-1909. Neo-Classical Revival with Commercial Style influences. Three story brick and stone building that is three lots wide. The two westernmost storefronts are surrounded by black carrara glass [added in the 1920's]. The second and third stories have large rectangular window openings. A brick cornice runs below a stepped parapet resembling a gabled pediment. The building was originally two lots wide and only two stories. Alterations in 1909, resulted in the incorporation of the building to the east and the addition of a third floor (NLN 1998).

To reach the last building of the Historic District built in 1899, travel west to the corner of Oklahoma and First Street, turn left or south and go two blocks to the corner of Vilas Street. The *Olds House* is located at 223 S. Street on the westside of the street. It was described by the National Landmark Nomination as follows:

223 S. First Street. Olds House. 1899. National Folk Front Gable. One and one-half story brick house with a front gabled roof. The first floor of the façade is covered with a shed roof porch. Above the porch is a center segmental arched window with hung sashes. The windows on the other elevations also have segmental arches. A one story, gabled roofed addition of brick is on the rear. This is the only house in the National Historic Landmark District. The building was renovated in the 1980's.

It is currently being used as a bed and breakfast (NLN 1998) (For documentation of Guthrie's Historical District 1899 buildings, see figures 94-96).

There is confusion on the building date at 210 W. Oklahoma. Guthrie National Register Historic District Inventory Files and Donald Green's student, Mary Ann Blohowisk, date the construction of this location 1890 and no later than 1891. The National Landmark Nomination established the building date as 1900.

There was a handwritten note in the Historic District files that read, "Building Permit 129, 210 W. Oklahoma J.B. Beadles, \$5500, 5 flues, 2 stories, 25x110, 3/6/00 [1900]." Donald Green's student stated, "Kneeland Building, 210 W. Oklahoma. The exact year of construction of the building is not known, although considering the value of the property at the time of its first Warranty Deed in 1891, it is possible that it was built in 1890. Architectural similarities to the Commercial Building and to the *Gaffney Building* also point to an early construction date. The architectural style is eclectic, but more complex than either of the above mentioned buildings. Joseph Foucart, too, probably influenced its style. The *Kneeland Building* measures twenty-five feet wide, thirty-four feet high [two stories], and one hundred ten feet long. It is made of brick, but shares a stone party wall with 208 W. Oklahoma. It has a highly decorative pressed metal cornice with a central gabled pediment. A central nameplate in the frieze sits below an ornate medallion. The three second floor bays contain single light double hung windows and the central bay consists of two paired windows topped by a decorative fan (NRHDF 1980)." Mary Blochowiak, Green's student further stated, "the Kneeland Building sign has been added to the façade of the building



Figure 94. Triumph Building

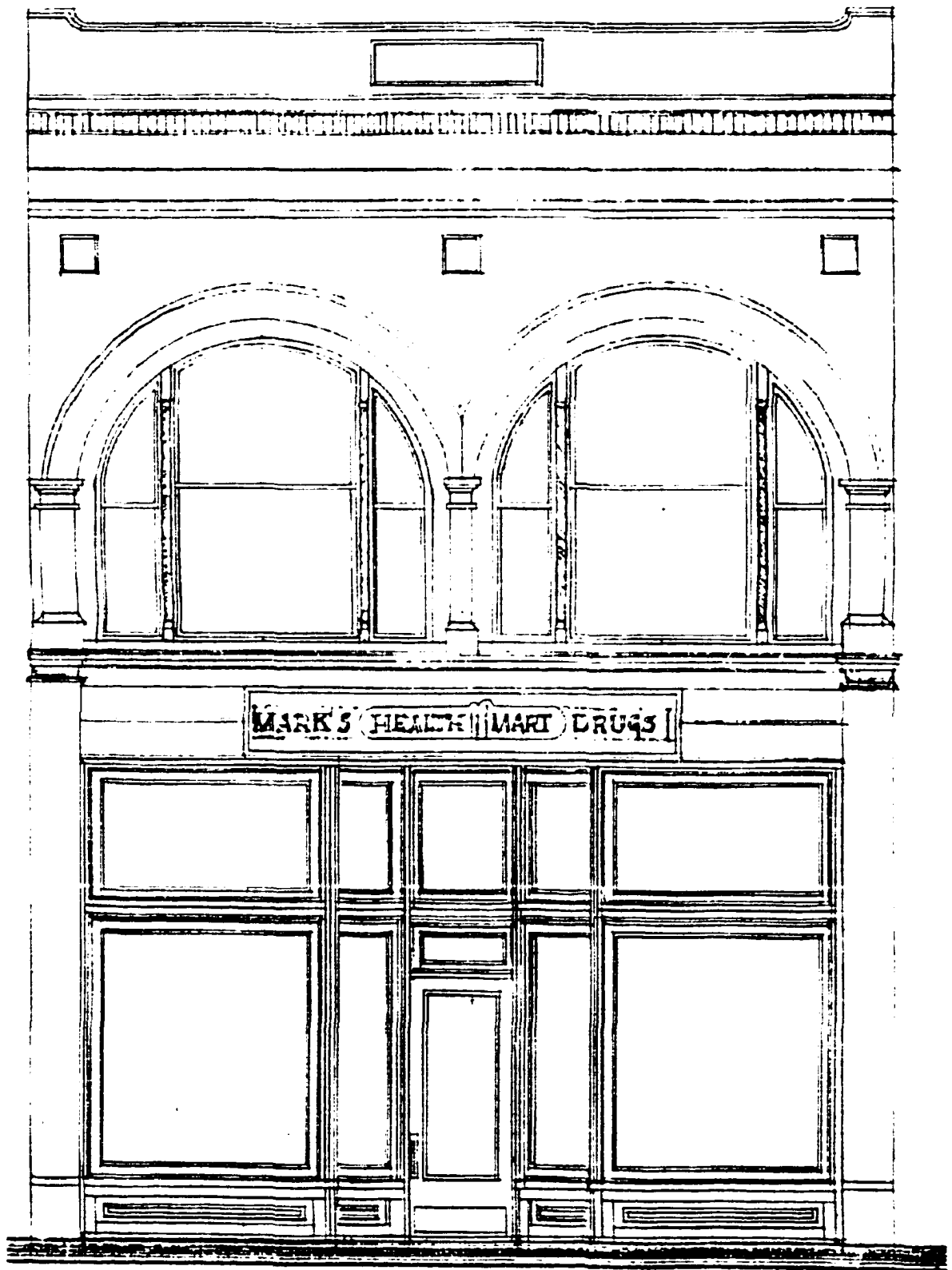


Figure 95. W.R. Moffit Building

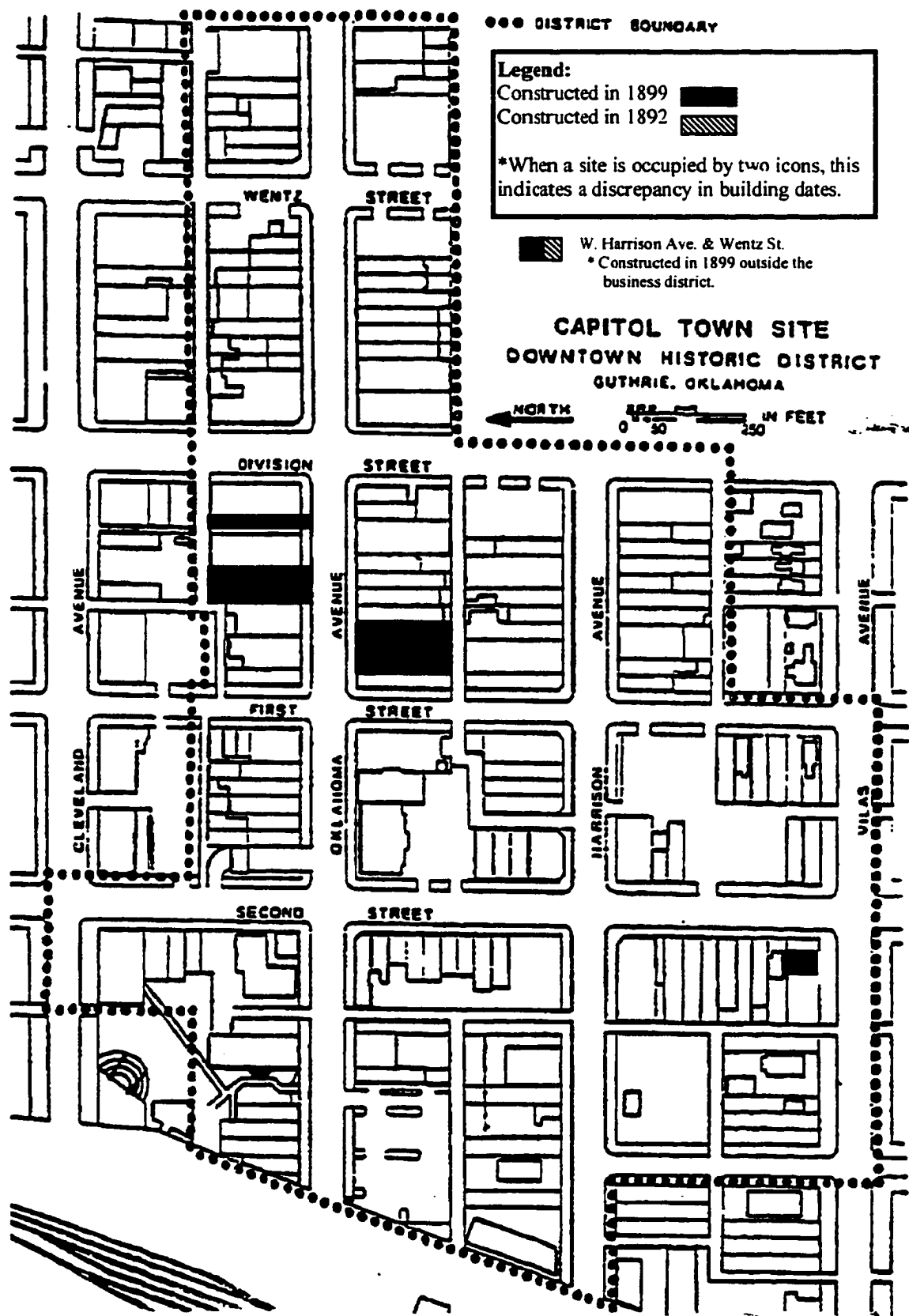


Figure 96. Location of building constructed in 1899

and is made of wood. It represents the name of the building's owner from 1944 to 1973. It is known know if any name appears under the wooden sign. . . . It is probable that the building, like the Gaffaney, was constructed with a blank name space, so that the owner might add his own name (NRHDF 1980)."

Another source in the Historic District files made reference to the Ramsey Brothers operating a dry goods store on the first floor of 210 W. Oklahoma between 1893 and 1896 citing the City Directory as the documentation source. It also stated, "the Territorial Secretary, Thomas J. Lowe, had an office at 210 W. Oklahoma from 1893-1896. It was a dry goods store with offices until 1901 when the first floor was occupied by a grocery and the second by a cigar factory (NRHDF 1980). According to this documentation, the *J.B. Beadles Building* and the *Kneeland Building* were the same building located at Lot Twelve, Block Forty-six. The abstract recorded in 1891, the Townsite of Guthrie Proper holding the Trustee Deed sold the lot to J.F. Stone for a consideration of twenty-one dollars; J.F. Stone sold the property in 1891 to J.S. Kelley of Nelson County, Kentucky, for three thousand two hundred; Kelley in 1893 sold the property to J.B. Beadles, priced at three thousand three hundred dollars; and in 1914, Beadles sold the property to T.J. Walton for fifteen thousand dollars. With the large increase in selling price, gives some indication that improvements had been done or the property values in Guthrie had skyrocketed. Thus, there was evidence to verify the building was built before 1900, but the selling price in 1914 does document that the building permit dated 1900 did major improvements (NRHDF 1980).

Guthrie's Evolving Townscape 1900

The buildings built in 1900 were in the vicinity of Division Street and Oklahoma Avenue. Two building being across the street from one another located at 102-104 W. Oklahoma Avenue and 111 W. Oklahoma Avenue. The third 1900's building was east of Division Street standing at 102-106 E. Oklahoma Avenue. The National Landmark Nomination described the *Oklahoma Building* as follows:

102-106 E. Oklahoma Avenue. Oklahoma Building, pre-1900. Romanesque Revival. Two story brick building that is three lots wide. The first floor features a beveled entrance at the corner of Oklahoma Avenue and Division Street. The first floor storefronts have been altered. Stone lintels are above the first floor windows on the west elevation and are partially exposed on the south elevation. The second story features paired rounded arched window openings. Stone and decorative brickwork surround the arches. A brick cornice runs above these windows. At the parapet above the entrance is a rectangular name block inscribed with the name "OKLAHOMA." The second story was used for offices for the territorial government including the offices of territorial governors William Jenkins, William Grimes, Thompson B. Ferguson, and Frank Frantz, the last territorial governor (NLN 1998).

The Cremerie and Randall & Son Hardware occupied the space in September 1889 when the six Congressmen were entertained by Guthrie. The two buildings were constructed of wood siding with false fronts of the same height. The Cremerie's cornice work had more detail, in all other points they were the same even to canvass awnings. The wooden frame buildings stayed intact until 1900, the date documented for the Dewey Building construction date. Ralph Gummerson was quoted in the Daily Leader dated November 11, 1984, "the Dewey Building does not attract the attention of some of Guthrie's other downtown buildings because it does not have the gingerbread and decorations of other structures." He also stated that he was interested in making the change to relocate the front door to its "1900's" location, but he had not been approached

with any help from the historic preservation authorities as possible grant money (NRHDF 1980).

Guthrie National Register Historic District Inventory Files described the building:

Thirty feet high, one hundred thirty-five feet deep, red brick building built between 1898 and 1901. It has seven segmental arched windows set below a simple corbeled brick entablature. The nameplate is centrally located in the frieze. The storefront has been modernized. The original building had a southeast beveled entrance. The structure has been painted but early photographs show that some of the brick over the windows and below the parapet is of a contrasting color. The wall between the Division Street portion of the *Dewey Building* and Oklahoma Avenue is a frame partition on the first floor only. The second floor, most of which is intact, was filled with professional offices. Some of the original paint is still remains on the doors, like ghosts in the now vacant upper story. Aside from the ghosts, the walls, floors and wood moldings are in good conditions.

The *Dewey Building* was occupied in 1902 by a jewelry and stationery store, a saloon at 107 N. Division Street, a telephone office on the second floor and a billiard parlor at 109 N. Division. By 1903, it housed the National Bank of Guthrie and the Towers Brothers Barbers (NRHDF 1980).

The National Landmark Nomination listed the erection of the building at 111 W. Oklahoma as pre-1900's. The Guthrie National Register Historic District Inventory Files documented the building date between 1889 and 1894 with the name being "*Lipe Building*." According to the morphology pattern evolving from the clustering of buildings with same construction dates, the date of this building would be 1893 or 1894.

The building as described by the Guthrie National Register Historic District Inventory:

The front half of this two story Egyptian Revival commercial building was built sometime between 1889 and 1894. It was probably named for its first owner. Measuring 25' x 85', it is built of stone with a brick and stone façade, and features corbeled stone lintels, side stone pilasters, and a pressed metal cornice with a raised parapet. *The Lipe Building* housed, during its first years, a hardware store on its bottom floor and offices on its second floor. A tin shop in the back half of the building

undoubtedly belonged to the hardware store. The hardware store was replaced by a saloon sometime between 1898 and 1901. And, at this time, the second-floor was used by the Guthrie Club [Guthrie Chamber of Commerce]. . . .By 1908, the American Express Company rented the second floor (NRHDF 1980).

Gerald Forbes' book, Oklahoma's First Capital, recorded the Brooks Opera House was built in 1900, Logan County History Volume 2 listed the Hotel Royal and Brooks Opera House were constructed in 1899, and Lloyd McGuire stated the Royal Hotel was built in 1892 and Brooks Opera House 1899. Joseph Foucart designed these structures and the general contractor was Henry John Vandenberg.

They were located east of Division Street, between Division and Wentz [Vine] (NRHDF 1980) (For locations of Guthrie's Historic District 1900 buildings, figures 97-104).

The 1900 census recorded ten thousand and six residents for Guthrie, and ten thousand and thirty-seven for Oklahoma City, thirty-one more than Guthrie. And, the citizens of Guthrie proposed to give to the State a Capital Building costing one hundred thousand dollars on the condition that the seat of government permanently be located at Guthrie. Oklahoma City immediately began trying to appropriate funds for a Capital Building to thwart Guthrie's proposition.

In the same year, the Federation of Women's Clubs meeting in the parlors of the Royal Hotel on 14 February, took the first action for a public library. Eight clubs comprised the Federation consisting of the Acorn, Cambridge, Shakespeare, Chautauqua Circle, Excelsior, Sorosis, Capital Hill and Banner Club. A book reception was at the home of Mrs. A.E. Asp, March 1, 1900, that eventually led to the opening of a Public



Figure 97. Beadles Building



Figure 98. Sketch of Beadles Building

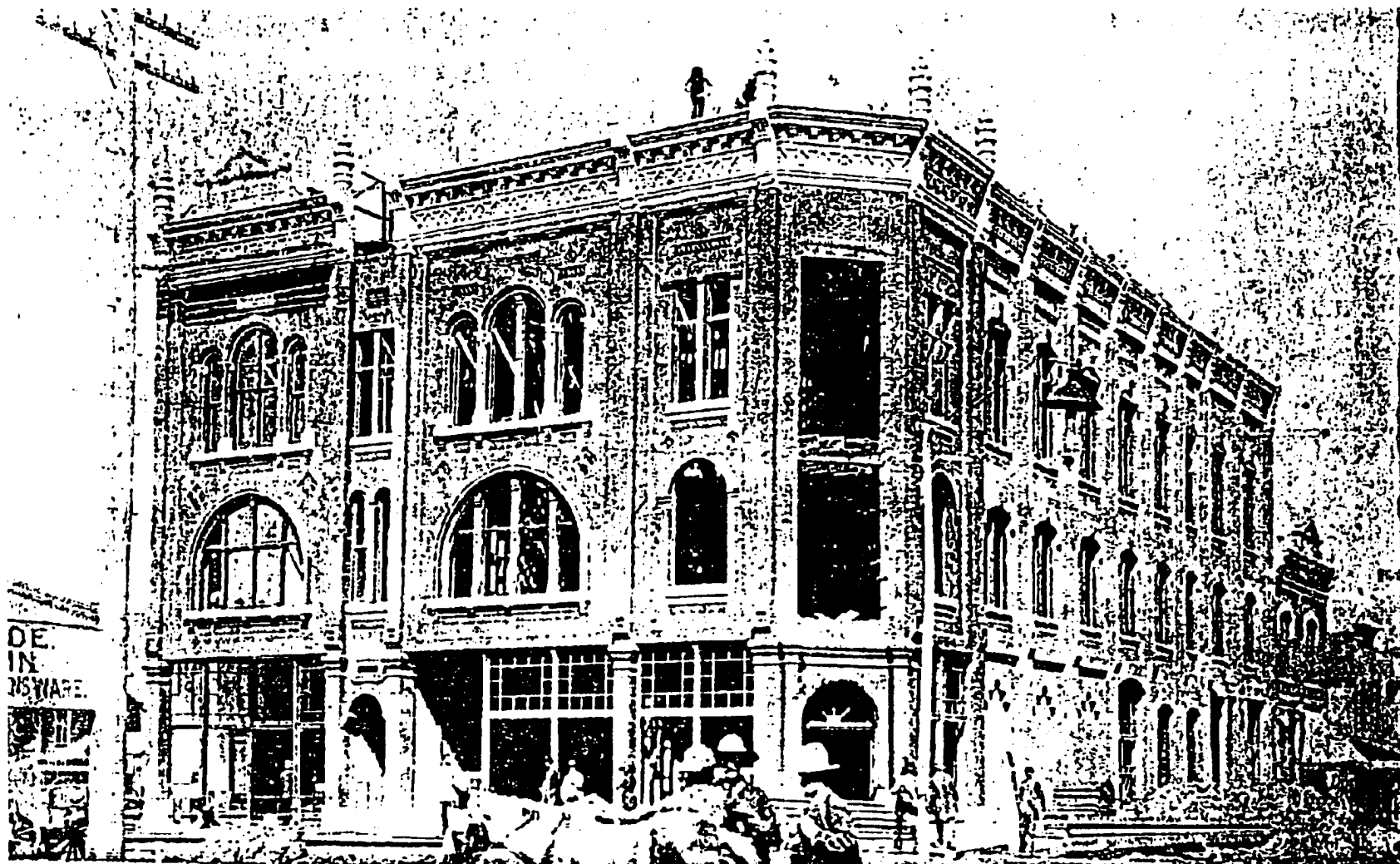


Figure 99. Knight of Pythias Hall Building

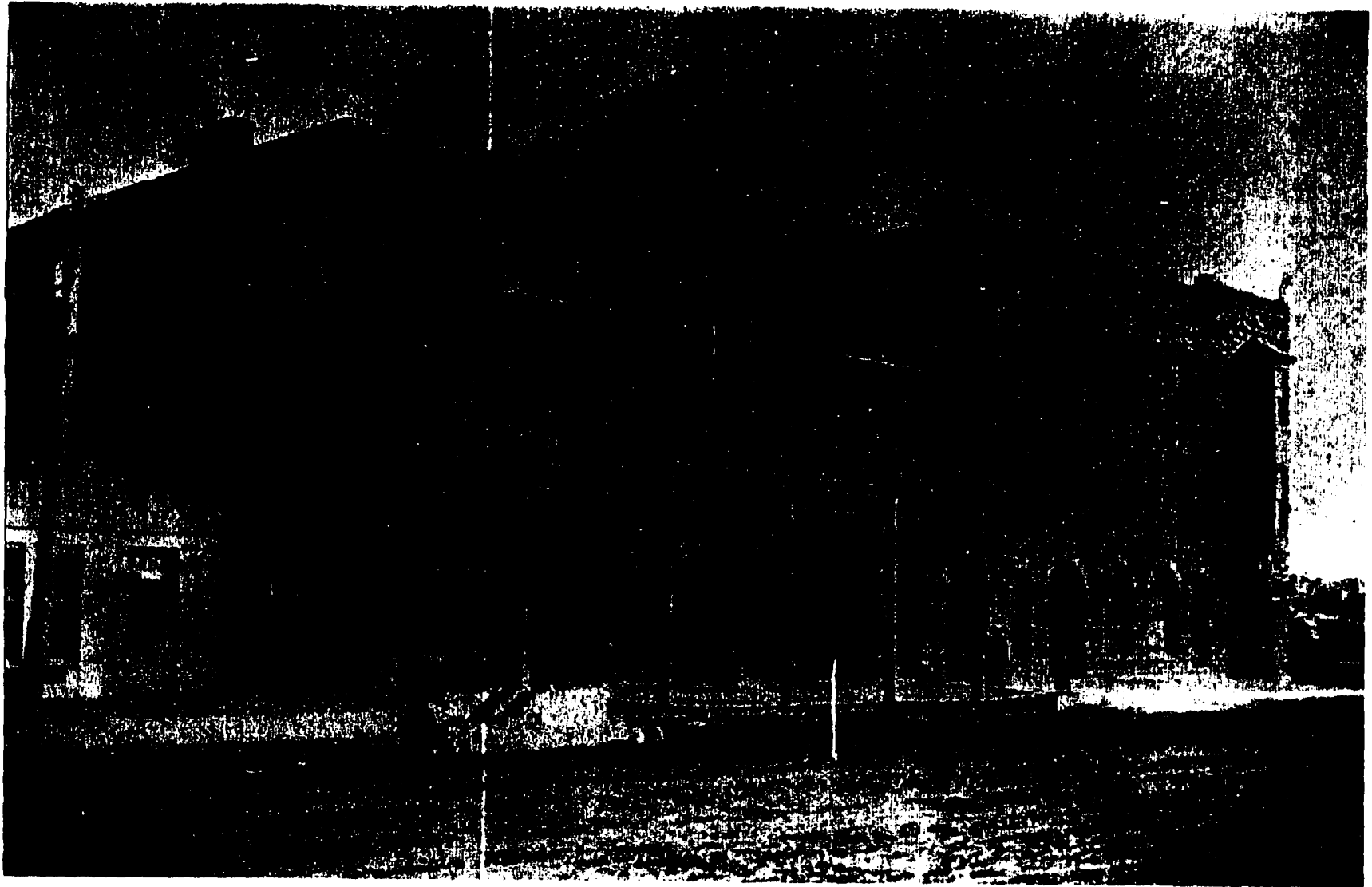


Figure 100. Brooks Opera House and Hotel Royal



Figure 101. Cremerie Building at Oklahoma Avenue and Division

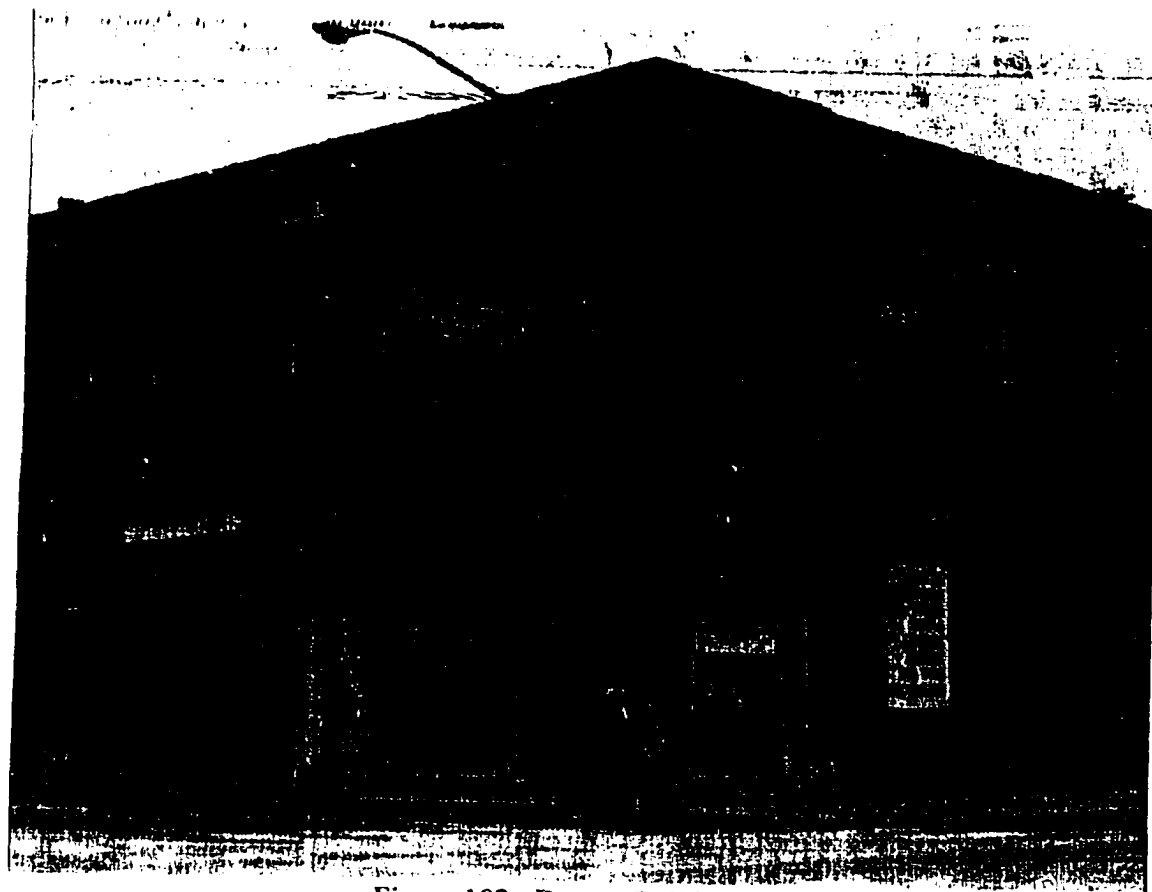


Figure 102. Dewey Building

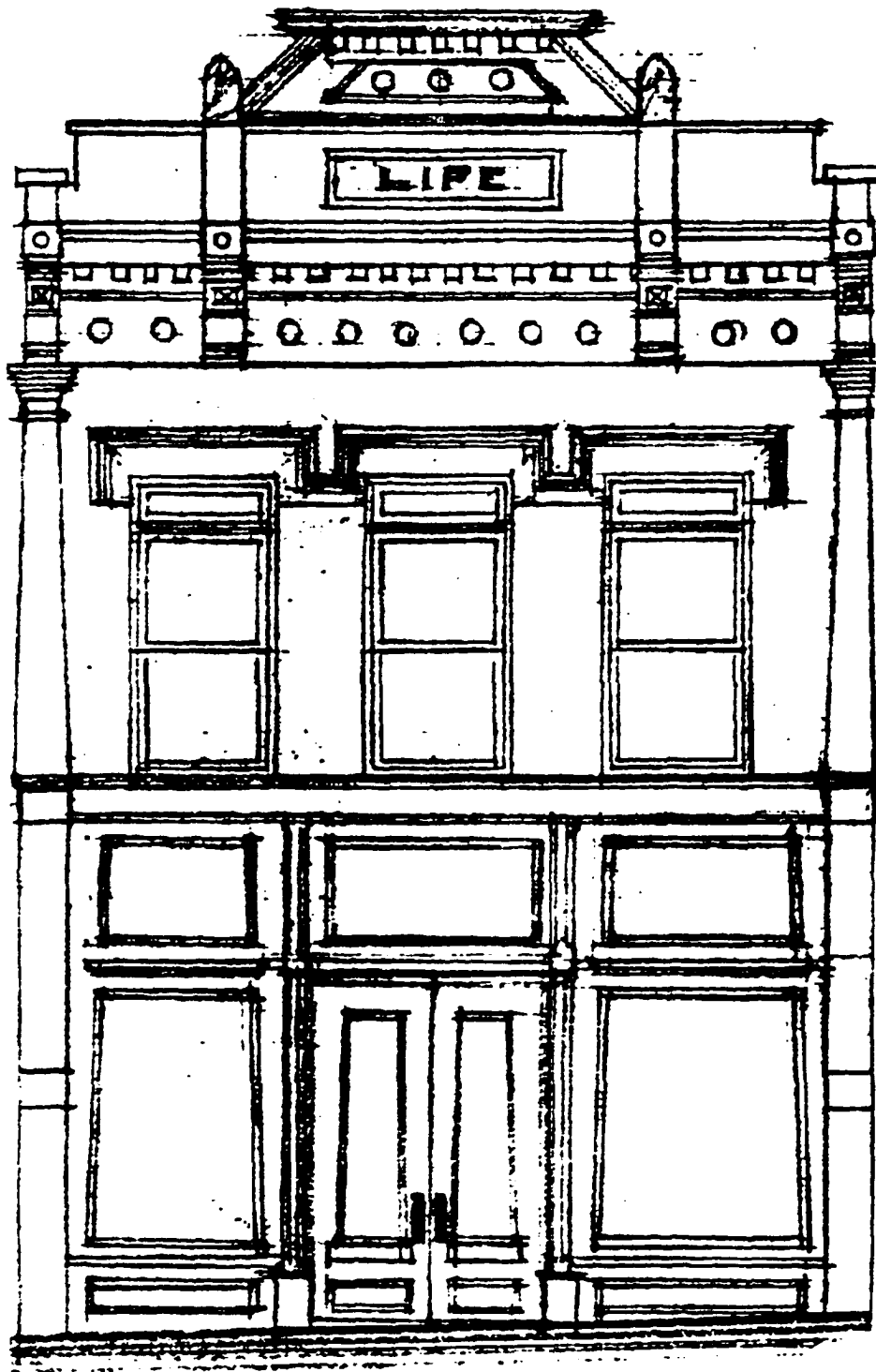


Figure 103. Lipe Building

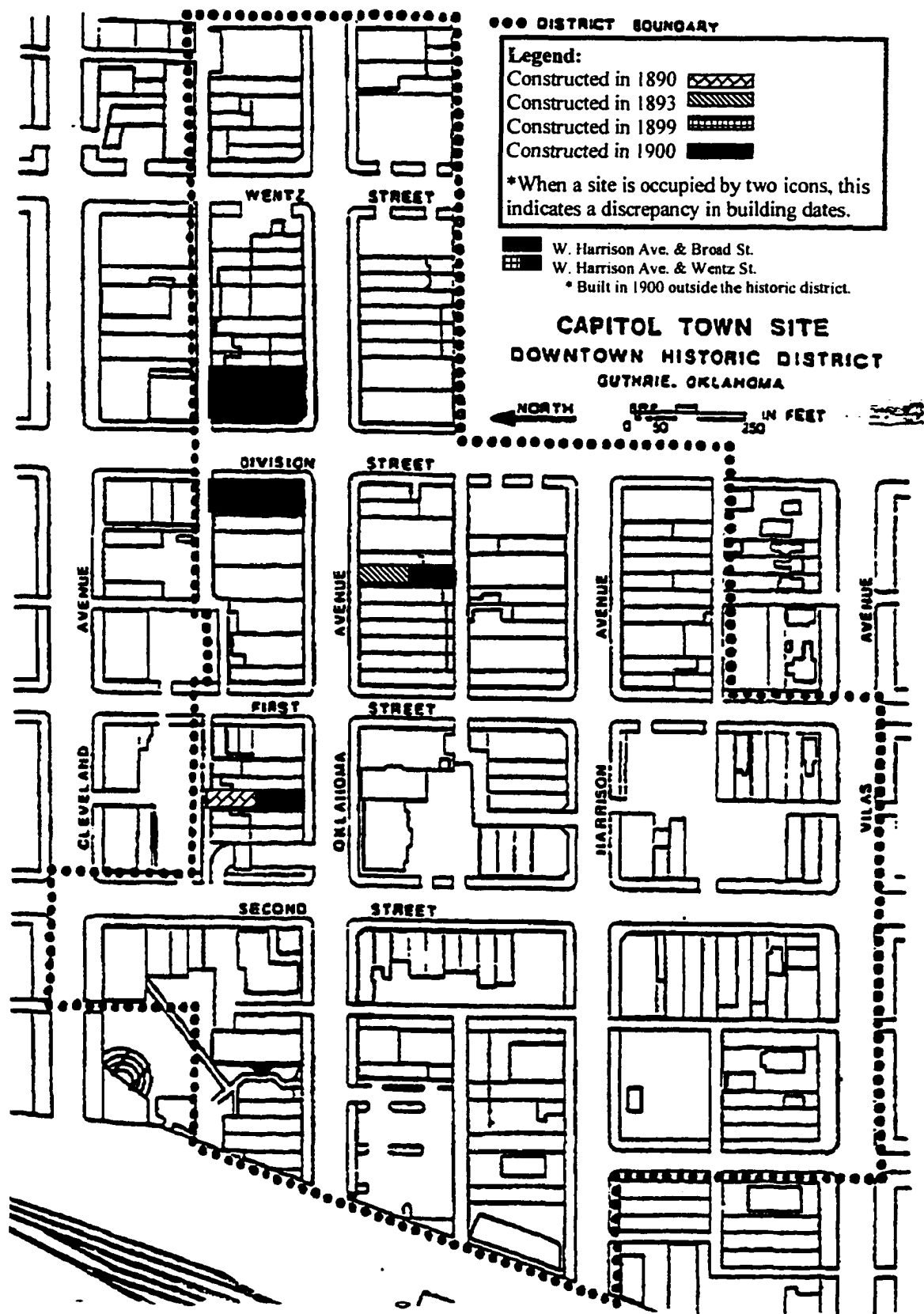


Figure 104. Location of buildings constructed in 1900

Library on 12 July, in the Rhodes Building located at 110 E. Oklahoma, courtesy of the Masonic Lodge (NRHDF Territorial Museum 1980).

The Scottish Rite Freemasonry, “Masons,” was organized in Guthrie before the turn of the century. Harper S. Cunningham, a well-known citizen of Guthrie who served in the Territorial Legislature, headed the organization and led them to a large membership. The Masonic Temple was constructed in 1900 at the corner of Harrison Avenue and Broad Street. The building was an imposing structure of native Oklahoma red sandstone. In August 1889, nine masons petitioned Grand Master John Rennie for permission to establish a lodge in Guthrie. With permission granted, the newly chartered Masonic Lodge covering more than one-half city block became Lodge Number 35 of Indian Territory in November 1889. It was dedicated June 1, 1900 (GNRHD 1980) (see figure 128).

In 1901, a bill was introduced by Guthrie’s city council to appropriate fifty thousand dollars to build a “library,” which everyone concerned knew it’s real purpose was to be a Capital Building. It had to be a deception to prevent invoking the law of 1894. Since seventeen bills were introduced at the three month Legislative Assembly, all for the purpose of building state institutions. It was christened, the “Mound Builders” Assembly (Forbes, 1938, 21).

Guthrie’s Townscape Evolution – 1901. The National Landmark Nomination documented seven historic structures built in 1901. Beginning with *Baxter and Cammack’s Livery Stable* located at 215 S. Second Street, it was listed in the 1890 City Directory, “Baxter & Cammack’s Livery Stable, 2d bet Harrison and Vilas.” W.H. Baxter’s home address listed him living on “Vilas Avenue east of Division Street

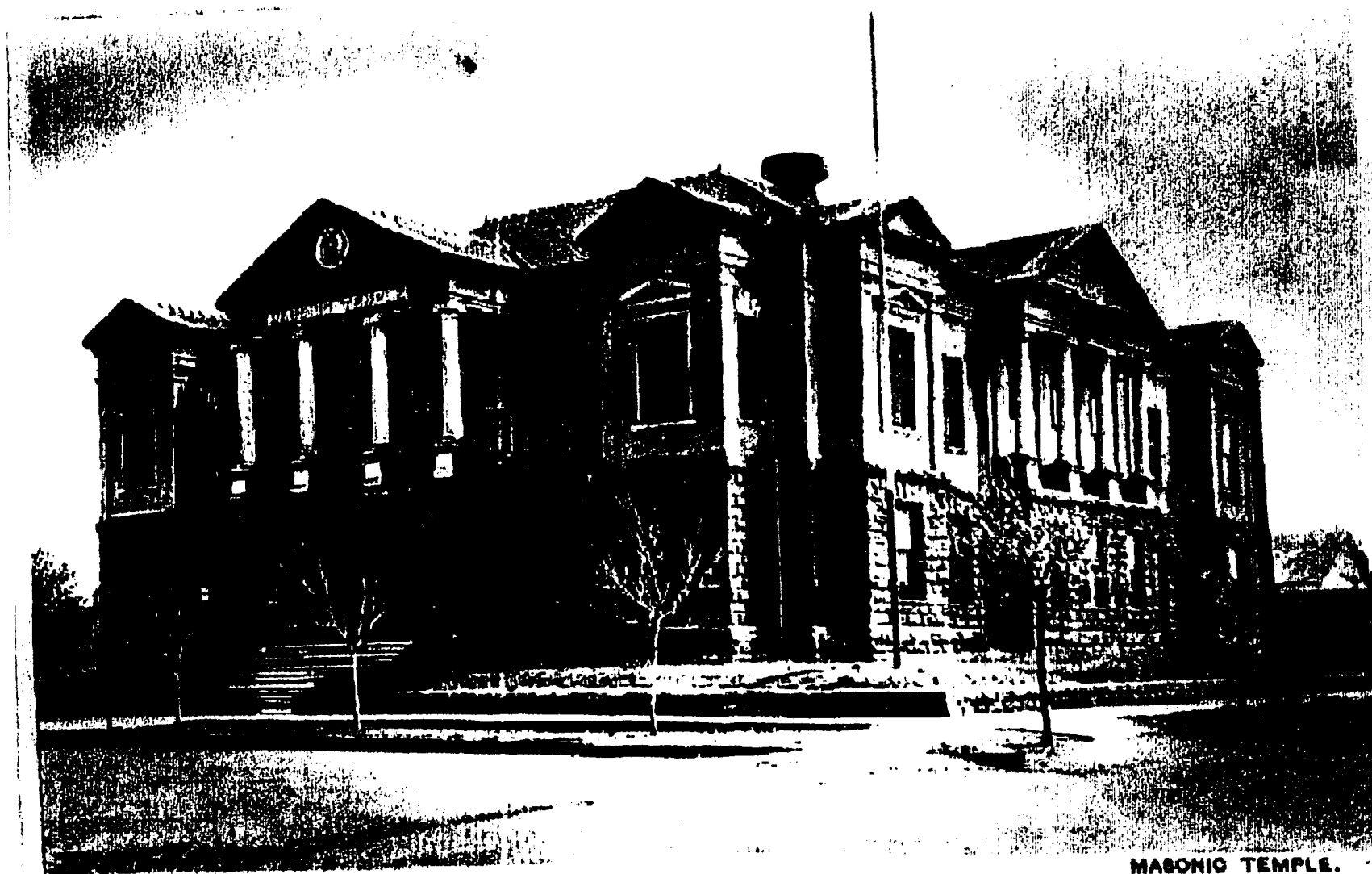


Figure 128. Oklahoma Masonic Lodge

between 5th and 6th e, Barn, Sells, & Stables.” John Cammack lived south of the stables on Springer between Second and Third Street. Being a livery stable, with constant supervision of livestock being a necessary requirement, the business must have been profitable to allow the owners to live off the stable premises. Livery stables had a combination of uses such as providing a public place where people could feed, water, or board their own mounts for a short or long-time period. City residents or travelers could rent a horse or a team with a buggy or wagon by the day, week or month. And, the stables often ran a hack service for hire, meeting the numerous trains that came into Guthrie and conveying travelers to the several hotels, etc. (Logan County History, vol. 2, 343).

Baxter and Cammack’s livery stable had been a wooden structure until 1901 as documented by the Landmark Nomination. It was described as follows:

215 S. Second Street, West Side. Baxter and Cammack’s Livery Stable. ca. 1901-1903. Italianate. Two story brick building with a gabled roof. The first floor features a pedestrian entrance on the south end of the façade and a faux sliding carriage door in the center. The second story has four segmental arched window openings with hung sashes. Decorative brick highlights the wall above the windows. The parapet has a center triangular shaped pediment. The coping is of stone. This building was rehabilitated in the 1980’s (NLN 1998).

Traveling north one block, turn right or east, proceed to 114 W. Harrison and 108 W. Harrison, the next two buildings listed on the National Landmark Nomination with a building date of 1901. Hand written notes from the National Register Historic District Files listed, “Lot 18, BP [building permit] #811, 5/24/07, \$450 2 flues 3 story repairing; BP #1931 4/2/15 \$235 2 story remodeling; BP #1958 *G.A. Pollard* 2/15/16 \$65 1 story awning; BP #2372 \$400 1921 CB-found 13” 2 story picture show (Historic District Territorial Museum).” The National Landmark Nomination described the building as follows:

114 W. Harrison Avenue. 1901 Romanesque Revival. This two story brick building has an altered storefront that has a metal awning that hangs below the second story windows. These windows have rounded arched openings that have been partially infilled with brick. The wall above the windows has three inset brick panels and a center stone panel. Brick corbelling decorates the parapet (NLN 1998).

The next 1901 building was identified by Guthrie National Register Historic District Inventory as being owned by W.H. Gray [William Henry of the Gray Bros.]. It documented Building Permit Number One hundred eighteen dated September 17, 1902, taken out by W.H. Gray for a structure twenty-five feet by one hundred feet with eight flues, costing four thousand dollars. Other hand written notes stated the building was named after Gray's son Lymon. Thus "*Lymon Block*." Although, there were other notes referring to the building as the "Spudnut Building." Other recorded information documented the first occupant was the Guthrie Savings Bank opened June 15, 1902. These dates do not correlate. The National Landmark Nomination identified the building built between 1901 and 1903, probably because of this confusion as to building dates. The building as described by the National Landmark Nomination:

108 W. Harrison Avenue. ca. 1901-1903. Italianate. Two story brick building. The first floor storefront has clerestories that have been covered over. The second floor has four segmental arched window openings that are topped with stone sills resembling label molding. The openings have been partially infilled with brick. The parapet is adorned with a small cornice, stone coping and a rounded pediment (NLN 1998).

There was a picture in the archives that identified two buildings built on Lot 22, 23, and 24 of this block [fifty-seven], which would be from the Lymon or Spudnut Building to the end of the block, the corner of Harrison and Division. The photograph was from the Art Edition dated 1900. The next lot to the east of the Lymon or Spudnut Building is Lot 22. The picture has identified two buildings located on three lots, with the

buildings similarly constructed. The caption underneath the photograph read, “The *Oswego Block*, 1895 (Rock’s Art Edition 1900).”

A handwritten note called the last building located on Lots Twenty-three and Twenty-four, as the [Lymon Building] “*Lyons Building*.” It further stated, “N.W. Corner of Harrison & Division, now gone. Housed Governor Barnes and Renfrow’s offices and Sam’s Old Moses Saloon. Supported by Wenner Tour, address 102-104 W. Harrison.”

The building erected on Lot Twenty-two, address 106 W. Harrison had this advertisement in the 1902 Sovenir:

WILLIAMS & SWINFORD. Abstracts and Loans, No. 106 West Harrison Avenue – This firm consists of F.L. Williams and W.G. Swinford who formerly lived in East Illinois. They have a complete set of correct abstracts of titles, and are largely engaged in placing loans on farm property. . . .There is no needless use of “red tape,” and when once the security is satisfactorily provided, the money is forthcoming (Sovenir, 1902) (The following document Guthrie’s Historic District buildings of 1901, see figures 105-107).

The *Spurlock Building* was the next building listed by the National Landmark Nomination as being built in 1901. To reach this location from the last discussed 1901 structure, travel east to the corner of Harrison and Division, turn north or left, go one block, turn west, proceed to the second building on the left or southside, 105-107 W. Harrison Avenue. The building is next door to the Gray Bros. Block. The Oklahoma Archeology Historic Preservation Inventory described, “the two story Spurlock Block was designed by J.H. Bennett, one of the two architects in Guthrie in 1900, and erected late 1901. Measuring 50' x '35', it is constructed of brick except for its east and south walls, which are of stone, and is supported by iron posts. Its architectural features include a pedimented cornice and a concrete inset nameplate.” The building’s original

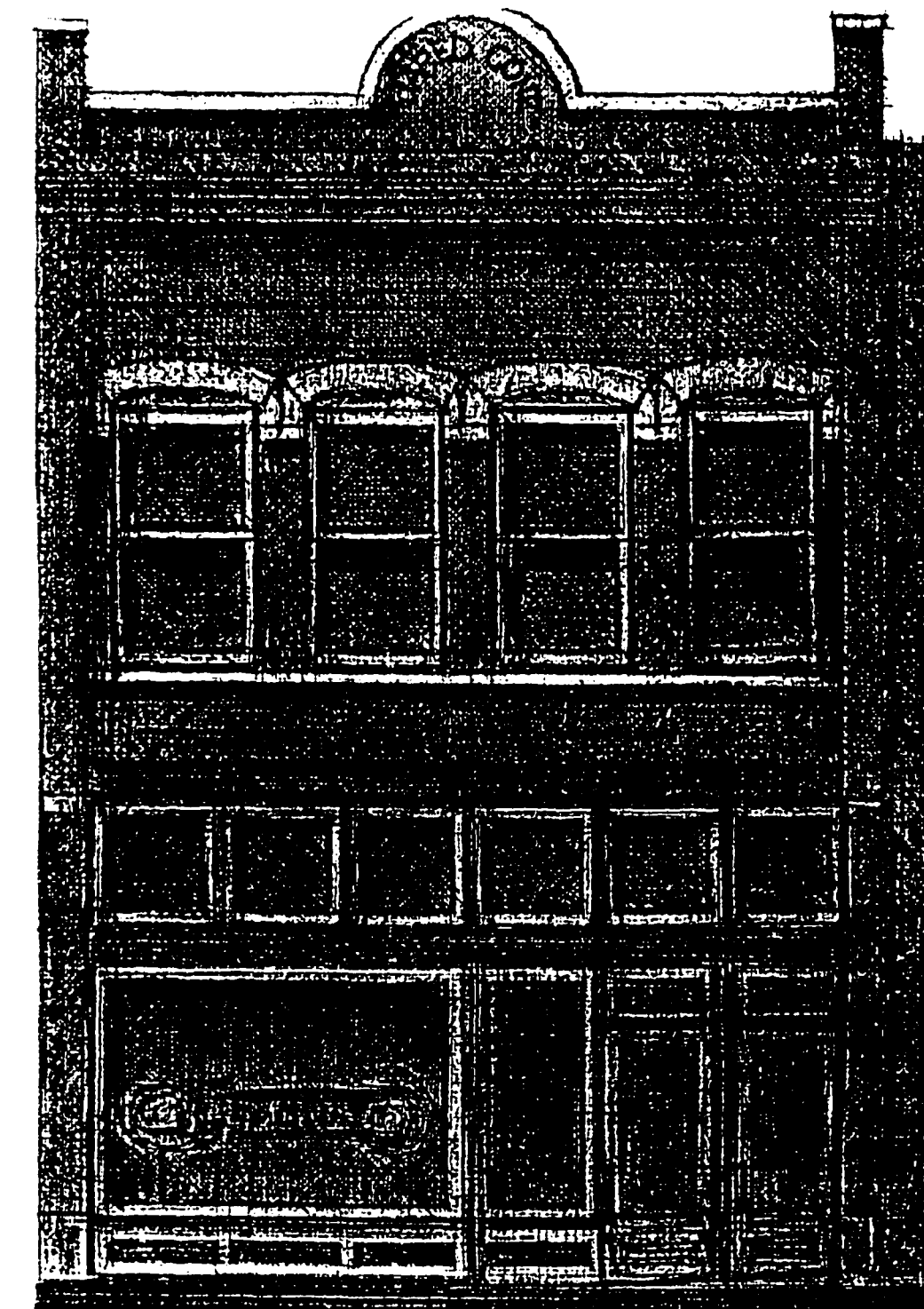


Figure 105. Spudnut Building

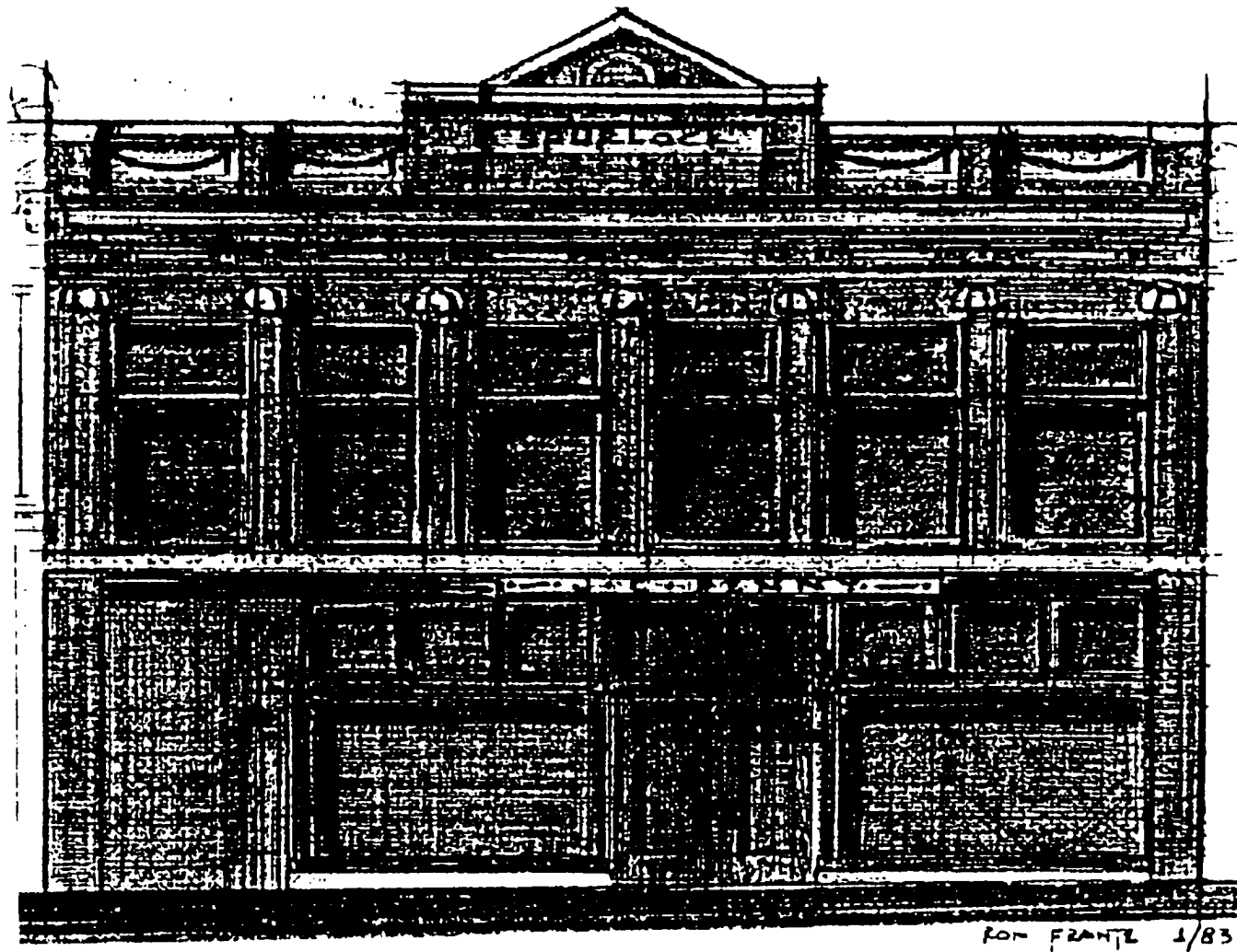


Figure 106. Spurlock Building

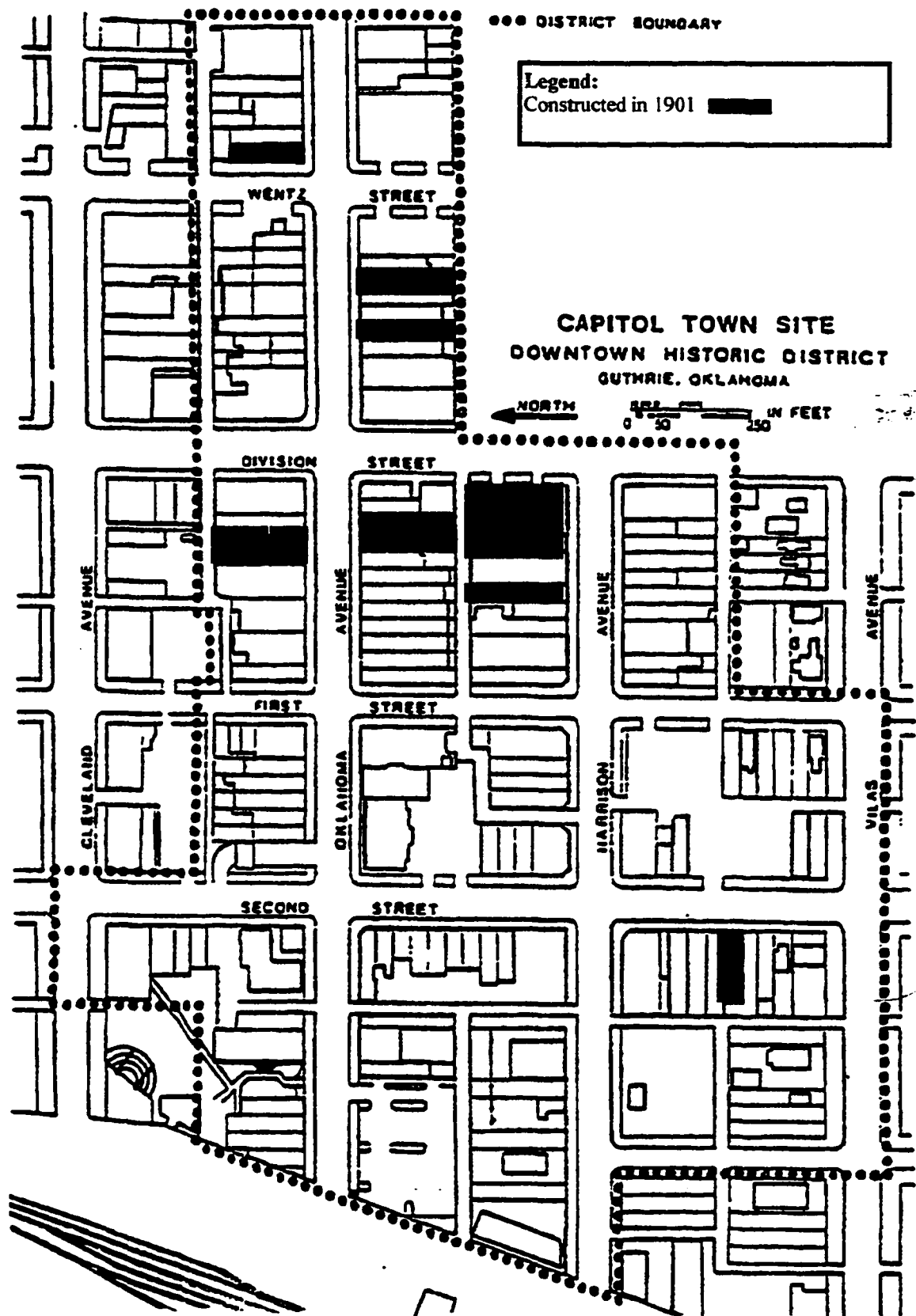


Figure 107. Location of buildings constructed in 1901

occupant was “The Fair” dry goods store, operated by J.G. Sendelbach. By 1910, this firm had changed to the Brown Dry Goods Company. Most likely reflecting a change in ownership, the Spurlock was known at this time as the “Sult Building.” By 1926, the Brown Dry Goods Company had been replaced by J.C. Penney Dry Goods Company (NRHDF 1980).

The last three 1901 buildings listed in the National Landmark Nomination are located east of Division Street on Oklahoma Avenue. They are located between Division Street and Wentz Street. The buildings as described by the National Landmark Nomination:

111 E. Oklahoma Avenue. *Robert Reed Building*, 1901. Italianate. Two story brick building with an altered storefront with the clerestories covered. The second story has four segmental arched window openings with hung sashes. Above the center windows is a name block reading “ROB REED.” Brick corbelling decorates the parapet. This building was rehabilitated in the 1980’s (NLN 1998).

115 E. Oklahoma Avenue. 1901. Italianate. Two story brick building with an altered storefront with covered clerestories. There are three window openings on the second story with hung sashes. Stone lintels resembling label moldings highlight the windows. Small stone panels are above each window and brick corbelling runs below the parapet.

The last 1901 building stands on the corner of Wentz Street and Oklahoma Avenue. Leave the above buildings, travel east to the corner, turn north or left, and the building is on the northeast corner of the intersection. The structure as described by the National Landmark Nomination:

202 E. Oklahoma Avenue. 1901. Romanesque Revival. Two story brick building that has a beveled entrance that faces the intersection of Wentz Street and Oklahoma Avenue. The first floor has an altered storefront with non-original metal awning. The second story of the south elevation has three rounded arched window openings with decorative brickwork above. The second story above the entrance also has a similar

window and the west elevation has the same windows in pairs. At the parapet on the beveled corner is a triangular-shaped pediment with the date "1901." The second story of the west elevation has rounded arched window openings that are mostly in pairs. Brick headers around the tops of the window openings form continuous hood moldings. The windows have stone sills. At the north end of the west elevation is another storefront that also has been altered as well as a concrete block addition (NLN 1998).

Guthrie's 1902 Townscape

In 1901, the *Daily State Capital Publishing Company* burned to the ground with insurance coverage of only twenty-six thousand dollars, with a total lost of two hundred thousand dollars. The people of Guthrie promptly raised a subscription of fifty thousand dollars to help offset his loss, illustrating Greer's standing in the community. Frank commissioned Joseph Foucart to design the new *State Capital Publishing Company*. Arn Henderson stated, "the building is a remarkable building, particularly for the simplicity and subtlety of the wall surfaces and fenestrations and details. The primary facades are unusually 'flat' and restrained. Because of this façade austerity the three-dimensional tower is a powerful, sculptural counterpoint that draws immediate attention to the corner of the building (Henderson 1980, 80)," located at the corner of Second Street and Harrison Avenue.

The description of the building as described by the National Landmark

Nomination:

State Capital Publishing Company Building, 301 W. Harrison Avenue, 1902. Commercial Style with Exotic Revival influences. Architect, Joseph Foucart. This red brick building is distinctive for its beveled entrance on the northeast corner which is surmounted by a balcony on each floor, and a square, corner tower resembling a minaret with a spire on top. Set on a raised first floor with full basement underneath, the three-story building features large, paired rectangular shaped double hung windows surmounted by stone lintels. The front entrance is accessed by stone stairs and is flanked by stone columns. Each

of the balconies also features stone columns. The building has been restored by the Oklahoma Historical Society and is operated as a publishing museum (NLN 1998).

According to Arn Henderson, "Frank Greer was also instrumental in obtaining the Guthrie's *City Hall* commission for Foucart (Henderson 1980, 80)." He described the structure as follows:

Built of red brick and trimmed with red sandstone, the design was entirely symmetrical. The main block of the building was striated horizontally by a sandstone base, a band of square-headed windows on the first floor, arched windows on the second floor, and capped with an elaborate cornice. The vertical, frontal tower was accented with a series of circular openings. Unfortunately, the building was destroyed in the 1950's to be replaced by a more 'modern' structure. The General Contract on the City Hall was D.B. Cotton, whose office was one of many removed to build the structure (Henderson 1980, 80-81).

The *Union Station* referred to in many sources as the "*Santa Fe Depot*" was on the westside of the tracks in 1889. It was the main line of communication and transportation as attested to the early days of Guthrie, the many fine hotels and restaurants clustering around the Railroad Depot. On the west of the tracks, north to Cleveland, and south to Springer, the industrial and manufacturing plants built their own loading docks next to the tracks. When the station built its new facility, it built between Harrison and Oklahoma on the eastside of the tracks, to make accessibility to the business center more accommodating to the passenger clientele. The Depot or Union Station as described by the National Landmark Nomination:

Union Station, 1902. Late 19th and Early 20th Century American Movements. Constructed by the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway, Guthrie's Union Station is more substantial than the usual territorial-era depots built by the Santa Fe in Oklahoma. Those depots generally were built of wood and were one story. Guthrie's station attests to the town's prominence as the territorial capital. The station is constructed of brick with a two story central section flanked by one story hyphens and wings. The center section and wings are covered with hipped roofs. The station is

185 feet in length and 85 feet in width at its widest point. Small-hipped roof dormers surmount the two story section and are also found on each hyphen and on the north elevation of the north wing. The hipped roof has wide overhanging eaves. Ornate metal brackets support the eaves. The passenger and freight doors are topped with rounded arches. The station originally featured two waiting areas segregated by race, as well as baggage room, express room, ticket office, and restaurants (NLN 1998).

Between the Union Station [Depot] and Second Street on the northside of the street, stands the *Ames Building*. The building's architectural features as described by the National Landmark Nomination:

318-320 W. Oklahoma Avenue. *Ames Building*, 1902. Commercial Style. Two story building with brick façade. Constructed on two lots, the façade is divided into four bays or ranks. The first floor has rehabilitated storefronts with clerestories. The second story features hung windows with segmented arched lintels. Courses of decorative brick run above these windows. The stepped parapet has a stone name block bearing the inscription "Ames." This building was rehabilitated in the 1980's (NLN 1998).

Traveling east to the end of the block, at the corner of Second Street and Oklahoma sits the *Pabst Brewing Company* the next 1902 building to be listed by the National Landmark Nomination. *The Merchants Bank*, one of the first wooden structures built in 1889 stood on this corner. The Pabst Brewing Company razed the old wooden structure and built the present structure in 1902 to serve as offices for the company on the second floor and as rental property on the first floor. The Building Permit for the building was Number One hundred twenty dated October 20, 1902. It recorded a twenty-five foot by one hundred-foot building with two stories, estimated cost nine thousand dollars (NRHDF 1980). The Pabst's building had many and varied uses. It originally housed a barber and a billiards room in its basement and a saloon on its first floor. With statewide prohibition of 1907, the saloon was close, leaving the first floor vacant. By the end of 1908, the building had been converted into "The Home Sanitarium," a retreat for

those needing relaxation and recuperation. An article in the Historic District Files described the specialty of the sanitarium as, "the treatment of piles, fistula, and all diseases of the rectum, as well as chronic nervous troubles and diseases of women." The sanitarium's facilities included "Turkish and Russian [vapor] baths, X-Ray and Frisen light." To treat women, they had a faradic electrification machine (NRHDF 1980).

The *Pabst-Milwaukee Building* as described by the National Landmark

Nomination:

101 S. Second Street. *Pabst-Milwaukee Building* 1902. Italianate. Two story brick building that has a beveled entrance that faces the intersection of Second Street and W. Oklahoma Avenue. There is a rounded arched entrance at the beveled corner. Brick headers tracing the arch form the lintel. Storefront windows on the east and north elevations flank the entrance. A segmental arched entrance is on the south end of the east elevation. The first floor of the north elevation features segmental arched openings as well as two entrances (one with double doors and overhead transom). The first and second stories are divided by a brick beltcourse. The second story features segmental arched window openings with brick headers used as the lintels. Hung sashes fill the openings. A dentilled brick cornice runs below the parapet. A stepped pediment adorns the roofline of the beveled corner. Inside the pediment is a round shield for the Pabst-Milwaukee Company. The building was rehabilitated in the 1980s as part of a certified investment tax credit project (NLN 1998).

Traveling south on Second Street, passing four stores stands the next 1902 building. It is close to the corner of Second Street and Harrison Avenue. The National Landmark Nomination described it as follows:

115-117 S. Second Street. 1902, Italianate. Two story brick building that is two lots wide. The first floor features two storefronts that are separated by an entrance that leads to the second story. The south storefront has been rehabilitated; the north storefront is altered and the clerestories are covered. The second story features eight rectangular hung sashes. The lintels are of pressed metal. A pressed metal cornice decorates the parapet (NLN 1998).

To locate the next two 1902 structures, travel to the end of the block, turn east [left] on Harrison Avenue, proceed to the middle of the block on the northside, there stands two 1902 buildings, 210 and 208 W. Harrison Avenue. The *Elks Hotel* was located at 210 W. Harrison Avenue. The background information on the Elks Hotel was very limited. Number 1442 was the Building Permit Number, assigned to W.E. Cooper in 1902 for a three story building, twenty-five feet by one hundred twelve feet with seven flues, estimated to cost seven thousand dollars. A handwritten note stated that the Elk's Hotel was over a feed store on the first floor. The following advertisement in the Souvenir leads one to believe that the feed store came first or the barbershop:

ELKS' BARBER SHOP – This is a very nice place and is prominently located on Harrison Avenue, adjoining the Elks Hotel, and has always been liberally patronized by a high-class trade. The owner and manager of the business is Mr. D. C. Campbell, who is well known and liked for his sterling qualities. He is an expert tonsorial artist, has a splendidly equipped shop, which is kept scrupulously clean, sanitary and attractive all the time. The Elks' Shop is a big and growing business of the right class, and patrons are justly proud of it. There are so many horrible places in the country, where a scalp is called a shave, that when a man gets out of a chair in the Elks' Shop he thinks he has had a pleasant dream (Souvenir, 1910).

The Elks Hotel, and the adjoining building as described by the National

Landmark Nomination:

210 W. Harrison Avenue. *Elks Hotel*, 1902. Italianate. Three story brick building that has a beveled entrance that faces the alley. Above the entrance on the second and third floors are a segmental arched window opening that is in-filled with paired hung sashes. The first floor of the south elevation features a storefront. The second and third stories each have three segmental arched window openings. Brick corbelling runs below the parapet. The west elevation also has segmental arched window openings. This building was rehabilitated in the 1980s (NLN 1998).

208 W. Harrison Avenue. 1902. Commercial Style. Three story brick building with an altered storefront. The second and third stories

have rectangular window openings that are infilled with wood. Below the windows are narrow stone sills. Decorative brick corbelling runs below the parapet (NLN 1998).

To locate the next building built in 1902, continue traveling east to the next block, the *Osage Block* sits three buildings from the corner of First Street and Harrison Avenue on the southside. The building as described by the National Landmark Nomination:

117-119 W. Harrison Avenue. *Osage Block*, 1902. Italianate. This two story brick building is two lots wide. The façade is divided into three ranks composed of two altered storefronts that are separated by a rounded arched opening that leads to stairs to the second story. On the second story, the outer two ranks each has four segmental arched window openings with hung sashes. The lintels are composed of rows of brick headers that trace the arches. In the center rank are two narrow hung sashes. Decorative brickwork forming pendants or “3 fingers” adorns the parapet. This building was rehabilitated in the 1980’s (NLN 1998).

The last 1902 building listed in the National Landmark Nomination is located between Division and Wentz Streets on the southside of Oklahoma Avenue. The structure as described by the National Landmark Nomination:

213-215 E. Oklahoma Avenue. 1902. Italianate. Two story brick building that is two lots wide. The first floor has two altered storefronts separated by a center arched opening that leads to the second story. The second story has seven segmented arched window openings with hung sashes. The roofline is highlighted with brick corbelling which is surmounted by a stepped parapet (NLN 1998).

The plans for the Carnegie Library were approved on February 3, 1902. The architect was J. H. Bennett and the contract to build the library was awarded to J.H. Vanderburg. And, on April 12, 1902, the ground breaking ceremony launched the first tax supported library in the Territory. To receive the Carnegie endowment, the proposed library had to be supported by taxable funds, and part of the provision stated, “the City must guarantee ten percent of tax revenue for upkeep, salaries and books per year.” The person responsible for the Carnegie Library was Robert W. Ramsey, a personal

acquaintance of Andrew Carnegie, since their boyhood days. He wrote the philanthropist explaining the need for Guthrie to have a Public Library. Andrew Carnegie replied with one thousand dollars to purchase books, and later, twenty-five thousand for the library.

During 1902, there was extensive growth in the central business district, there was similar development in Guthrie's residential areas, houses from modest construction to homes of palatial and ornate designs. And, in areas of outside activities and events, Island Park situated at the confluence of Snake Creek and Cottonwood Creek [south of Guthrie], built a racehorse track and held a county fair. And, there were municipal utility improvements such as the sewer system. There were two dates given for the installation of Guthrie's sewer system. Logan County History Volume 2 recorded 1902, Dr. Charles Lieder's article "Capitol Townsite Historic District" documented 1897 and Gerald Forbes book Guthrie – Oklahoma's First Capital stated 1902. 1902 City Council meeting discussed sewer lines. The installation of a sewer system funded by \$50,000, which was a part of the \$100,000 bond issued passed by the people for water, sewer and City Hall Building. (The following document Guthrie's buildings in the Historic District constructed in 1902, see figures 108-118).

Guthrie's Evolving Townscape - 1903

The National Landmark Nomination listed five buildings erected during the year 1903. One on North Second Street, three on West Harrison Avenue, and one on East Oklahoma Avenue. There is confusion over dates pertaining to the buildings on North Second Street. The National Landmark identified the buildings at 117-119 erected in 1903. The National Register Historic Inventory also listed 117-119 built in 1903. The confusion on dates concerns the building adjacent south at 115 North Second Street. The



Figure 108. Daily State Capital



Figure 109. Union Station or Santa Fe Depot



Figure 110. Ames Building



HARRISON AVENUE, LOOKING EAST FROM SECOND STREET.

Figure 111. Elks Hotel

Figure 112. Sketch of Osage Building

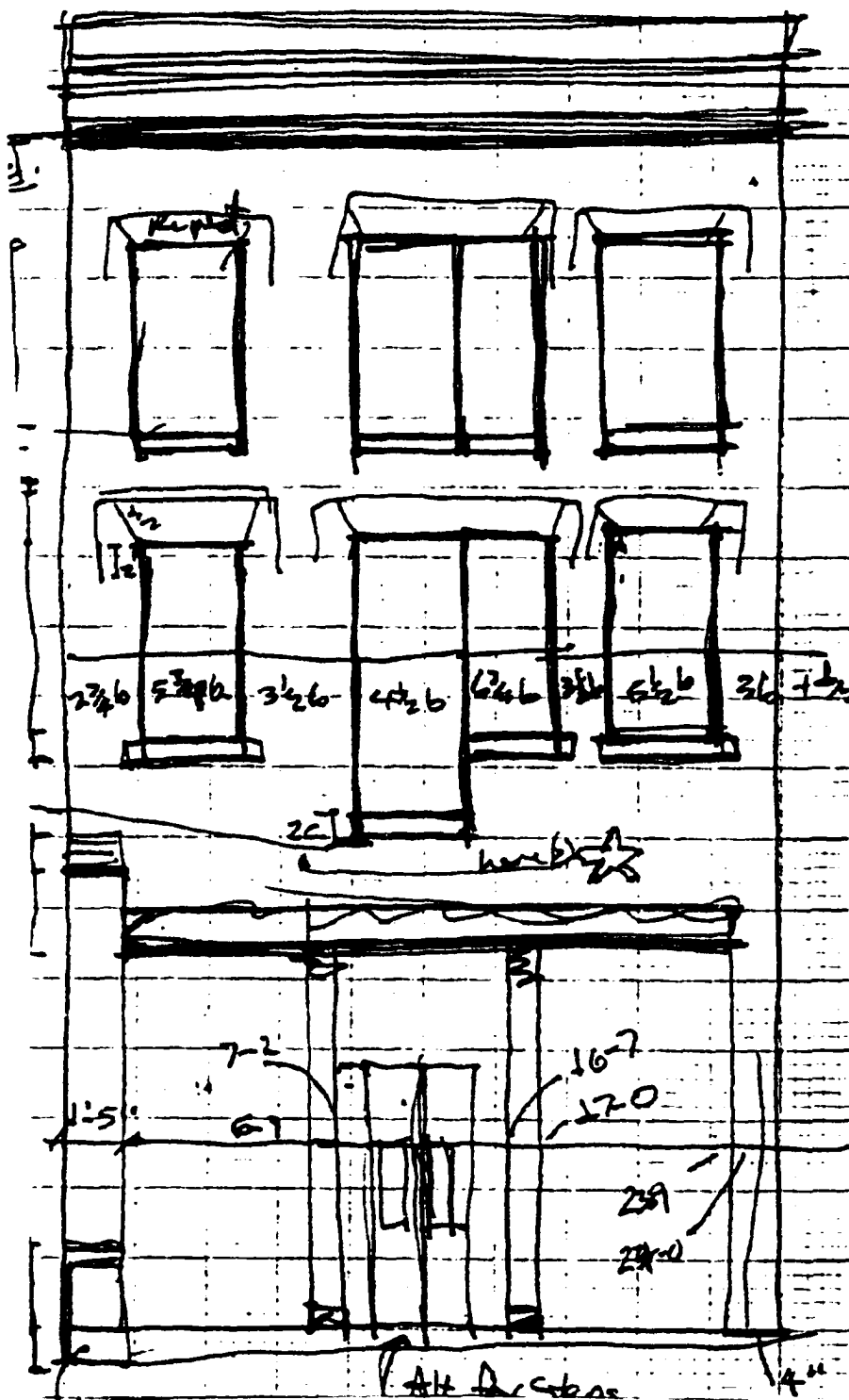


Figure 113. Sketch of 208 W. Harrison



Figure 114. City Hall at Oklahoma Avenue and Second Street



Figure 115. Carnegie Library

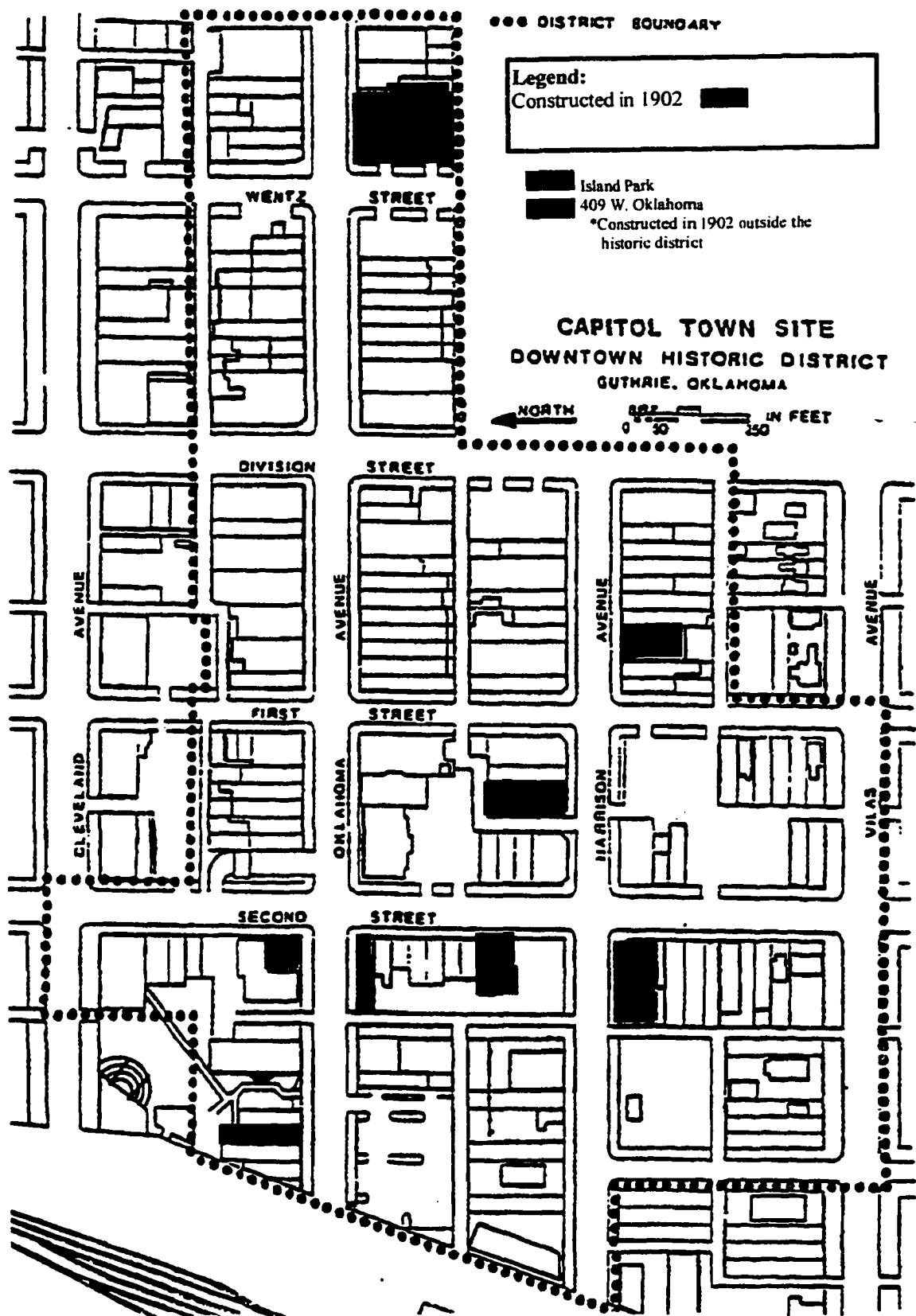


Figure 116. Location of buildings constructed in 1902



Figure 117. Laying Rails for Street Railway



Figure 118. Paving the Road

Guthrie National Register Historic District Inventory Files grouped 115, 117, & 119 as built in 1903, and the NLN listed 115 separately with the building date 1908.

The National Landmark Nomination described 117-119 North Second Street as follows:

117-119 N. Second Street. 1903 Italianate. Two story brick building that is two lots wide. The first floor has two rehabilitated storefronts that are divided by a brick pilaster. The north storefront features a recessed entrance. Above each storefront are four hung windows with stone lintels. A continuous stone sill runs below the windows. The parapet is decorated with brick corbelling. This building was rehabilitated in the 1980s (NLN 1998).

To arrive at the next 1903 structure, travel south on Second Street to Harrison Avenue. The building is located at the corner of Second Street and Harrison on the northeast side of the intersection. There is confusion over the building date of this building. A research paper written by Mary Ann Blochowiak for Dr. Donald Green stated that the *Blue Bell Saloon* was probably built between 1896 and 1901 when lots nine and ten became the property of Fred Heim. The National Landmark Nomination listed the property built in 1903, and two articles dated 1896, one in the *Daily State Capital* and one in the *Daily Leader* made references to the Blue Bell Saloon:

Oklahoma State Capital, October, 1896. CHARMED THE RATTLER. FATHER OF THE SEIBERT FAMILY HANDLES ONE, AND GETS BIT – The father of the “Seibert family” specialty artists, giving performances in the Noble Hotel Hall on Harrison Avenue, came near losing his life from a rattlesnake bite yesterday afternoon, in fact he is not yet out of danger. Jack keeps a cage of the prairie grass songsters in the *Blue Bell Saloon*. Father Seibert is an all showman, and stepping into the saloon to see his face in the large bar mirror he said to John Seistrom, the bar tender, and a certain prominent attorney of the city, “If you would let me I would like to take one of those rattlesnakes out of the cage and give him a little airing, just to show that they are perfectly harmless.”. . . He cried, “O, My jimminy, crimminy. I am bit. Give me some whiskey, whiskey, whiskey.”. . . Seriously, Mr. Seibert suffered greatly all night,

and this morning was not considered out of danger. . . . Jack Tearney says that the snake too was sick all night and came near dying.

The *Daily Leader*, July 2, 1896 – Jack Tearney and John Selstrom have opened a saloon on the corner of Second and Harrison.

The upper floor of the Blue Bell covers both lots and is characterized by a large central lobby, surrounded by seventeen small rooms around the periphery of the buildings. Stories have circulated for years about the purpose of the upper floor of the Blue Bell. It is believed that the upper floor was designed for a bordello, and documented by an early photograph of the Elk's Hotel, with a covered wooden walkway between the second floors of the two buildings. The walkway would ensure secrecy for anyone wishing to partake of the Blue Bell's pleasures offered on the second floor. One other story adding intrigue to the structure has to do with tunnels between Reeves Bros.' Saloon, Blue Bell, Royal Hotel, and Brooks Opera House to allow prominent gentlemen to visit the gambling tables and the bordellos without being seen (NRHDF 1980). The Blue Bell description as described by the National Landmark Nomination:

224 W. Harrison Avenue. *Blue Bell Bar*. 1903. Commercial Style. This two brick building has a beveled entrance at the corner of W. Harrison Avenue and South Second Street. The double panel doors with lights are surmounted by a fanlight and flanked by brick pilasters with simple stone capitals and bases. The pilasters support a curved pediment that contains a sheet metal crest inscribed with "C-11" which was the insignia of Ned Cheadle, the local agent and bottler for Ferd-Heim Brewing Company. Two segmental arched window openings are above the pediment. The first floor of the west elevation features two sets of large storefront windows; an entrance interrupts the north set. Above these windows are seven segmental arched window openings filled with hung sashes. The first floor of the south elevation features two small segmental arched window openings that are in-filled with wood, an entrance that leads to the second story and another large storefront window. The second story has six segmented arched windows. Above all of the second story windows are narrow stone cross bars. Brick lentils support a stone cornice and stone coping runs along the parapet. This building was rehabilitated in the 1980s (NLN 1998).

Leaving the Blue Bell, travel east on the northside of Harrison Avenue to the corner building of the next block, Harrison Avenue and First Street is the next 1903 building. The *Eager-Hirzel Block* was built in 1903 as a bank building for ten thousand dollars. William Eager was a broker with an office at the Gray Bros. before he built the building. Louis Hirzel was Fred Hirzel's brother and half owner in the Hirzel Brothers Grocery Store. The structure also housed the telegraph office, a dress cutting school, sewing machines sales, etc. The building as described by the National Landmark Nomination:

124 W. Harrison Avenue. *Eager-Hirzel Block*. 1903. Romanesque Revival. Three story brick building with a beveled entrance that faces the intersection of W. Harrison Avenue and South First Street. Stone columns that support stone voussoirs flank the arched entry. Large storefront windows with clerestories flank the entrance on the south and west elevation. The second floor of both the west and south elevations has rectangular window openings with hung sashes and transoms. A continuous stone sill runs below the windows creating a beltcourse and each window has a stone lintel. The third story of both these elevations have rounded arched window openings filled with hung sashes topped with fanlights. Polychrome brick arches surround the windows. A stone keystone highlights the arched window on the beveled corner. A brick cornice runs below the parapet. The building was rehabilitated in the 1980s [certified investment tax credit project] and is a popular bed and breakfast establishment (NLN 1998).

Another 1903 structure is the adjacent building located on the eastside known as the *Pollard Theatre*. The National Landmark Nomination has listed it by the original building name, *Patterson Building*. The Patterson Brothers took out Building Permit Number 137 on March 3, 1903, to construct a building fifty feet wide and one hundred feet long with two flues for an estimated amount of four thousand dollars. An advertisement in the *Souvenir* read:

PATTERSON FURNITURE COMPANY, WHOLESALE AND RETAIL- All of the officers of this company are well known businessmen, capable to accomplish any undertaking, and are among the most substantial men of affairs in the Capital City. The Patterson Furniture Company has been established for the past nine years, and is located at numbers 120 and 122 West Harrison Avenue. The lines handled by this company are plain and artistic furniture, carpets, rugs, art squares and other household furnishings. In addition the company are embalmers and funeral directors, and carry everything pertaining to any occasion (Souvenir, 1910).

The Patterson Building as described by the National Landmark Nomination:

120-122 W. Harrison Avenue. *Patterson Building* (now *Pollard Theatre*), 1903. Romanesque Revival. This two-story yellow brick building is two lots wide and has a rehabilitated storefront with clerestories. The second story features eight rounded arched window openings that have hung sashes surmounted by fanlights. Heavy arches surround the windows. Brick dentils run below the stepped parapet that is adorned with stone finials. This building was rehabilitated in the 1980s (NLN 1998).

Travel east on Harrison to the intersection of Wentz and Harrison, turn left or north on Wentz Street, proceed one block to Oklahoma. The building is on the northeast corner. The building as described by the National Landmark Nomination:

206-208 E. Oklahoma Avenue. 1903. Romanesque Revival. Two story brick building that is two lots wide. The first floor storefront has been altered and each is covered with a non-original metal awning. Between the storefronts is an entrance that leads to the second story. The wall area below the second story window is covered with non-original yellow panels. The second story is divided into three sections. The outer two sections each has three rounded arched window openings with hung sashes. The center section has one arched window opening with a hung sash and transom. The walls above the windows are decorated with brick swags that are surmounted by brick corbelling (NLN 1998) (For location of Guthrie's 1903 Historic District buildings, as well as progressive entertainment and construction, see figures 119-124).



Figure 119. Harrison Avenue Streetscape toward Blue Bell Saloon and Elks Hotel, 1903

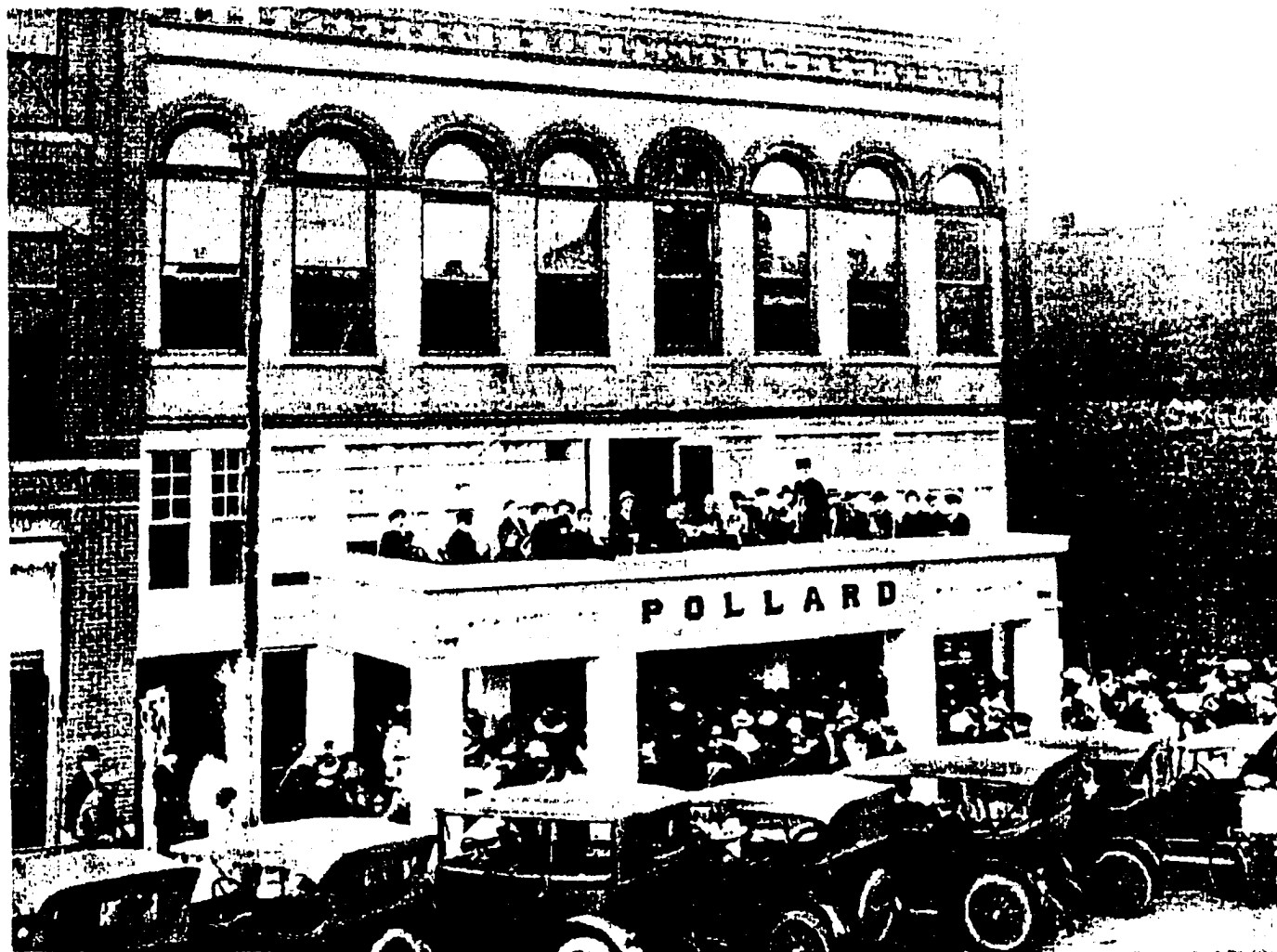


Figure 120. Pollard Theatre/Patterson Building

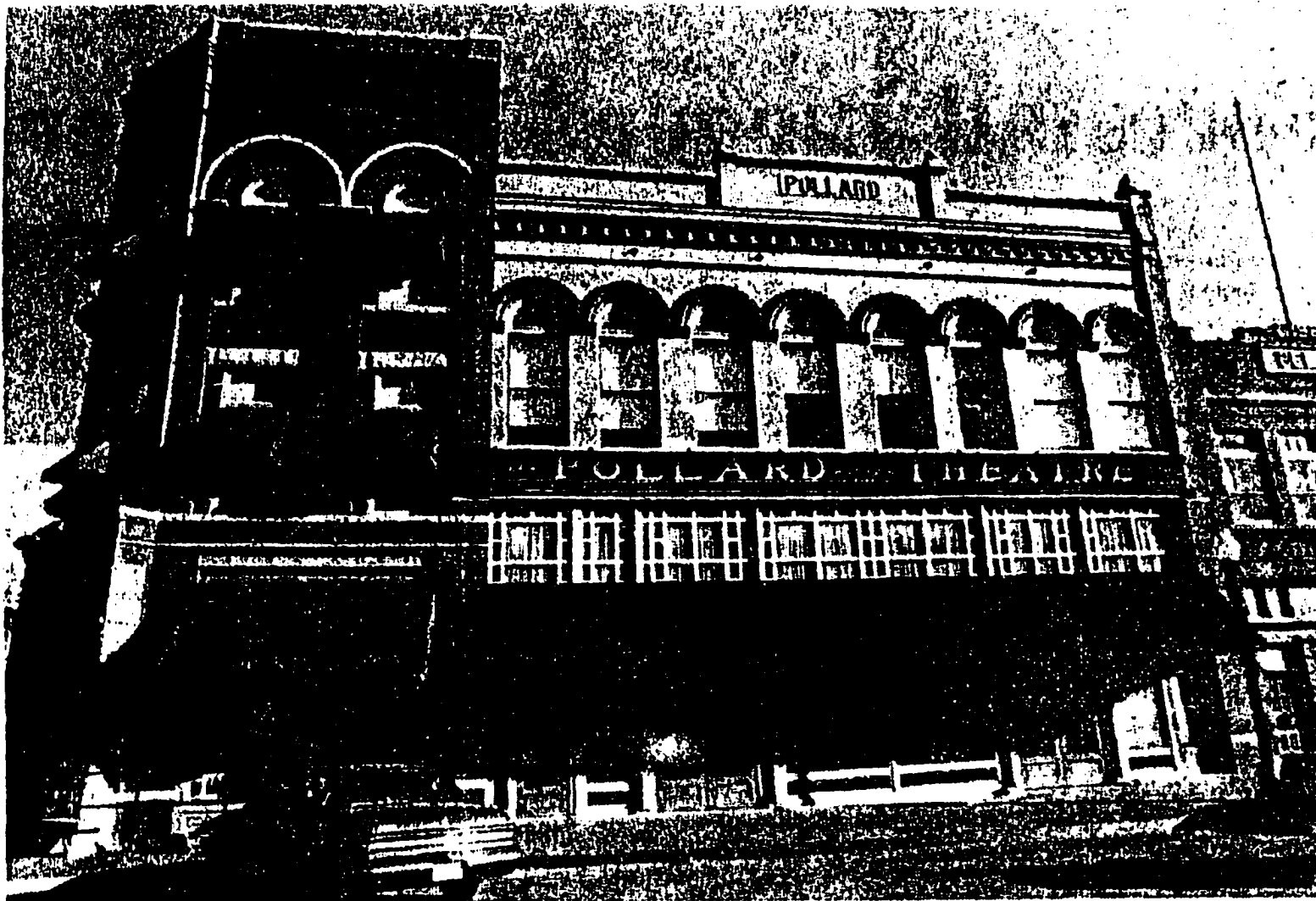
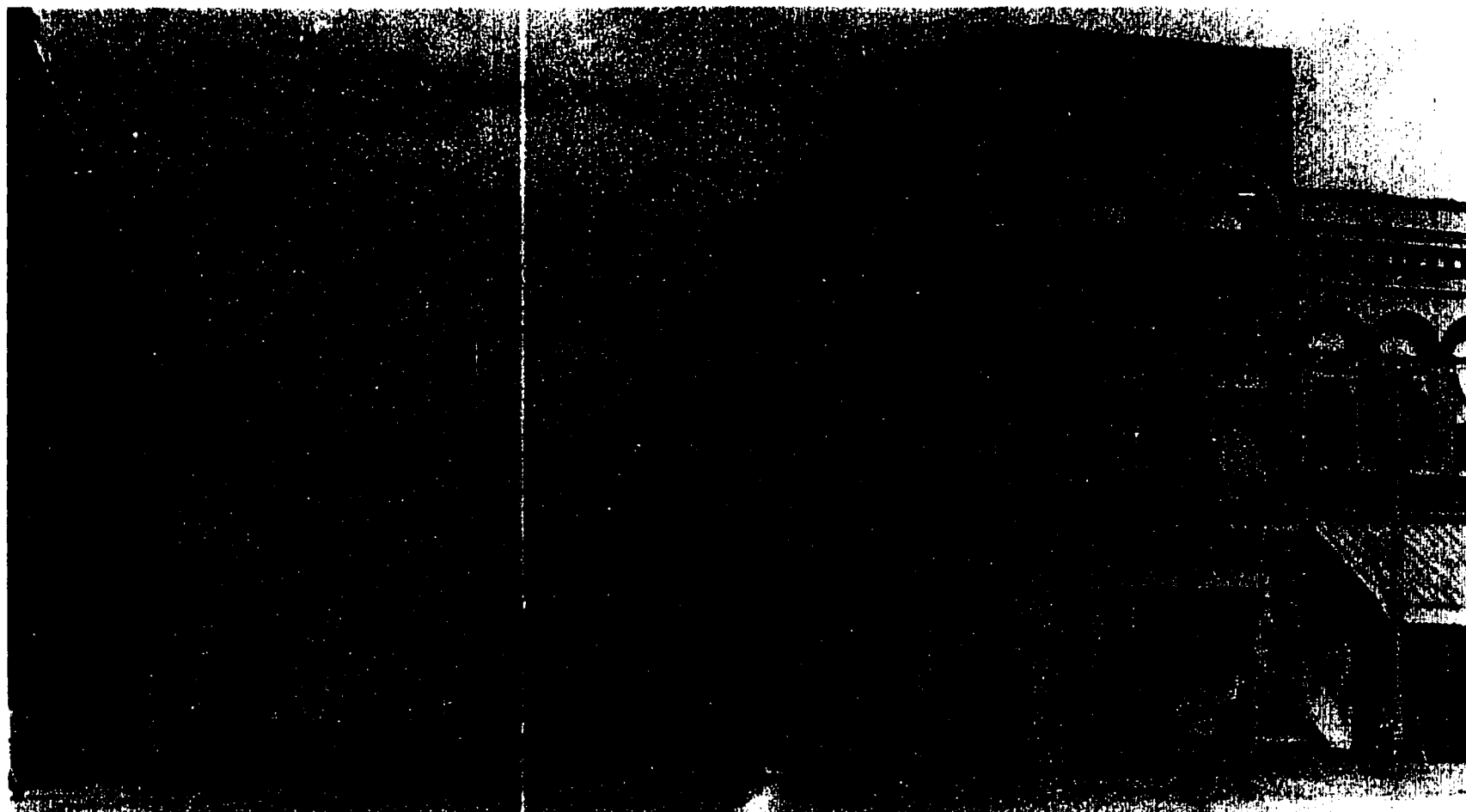


Figure 121. Renovated Pollard Theatre



Figure 122. Cottonwood Creek Excursion Boat



No. 596 Published by S. Langsdorf & Co., New York. Germany

Figure 123. Eager-Hirzel Block

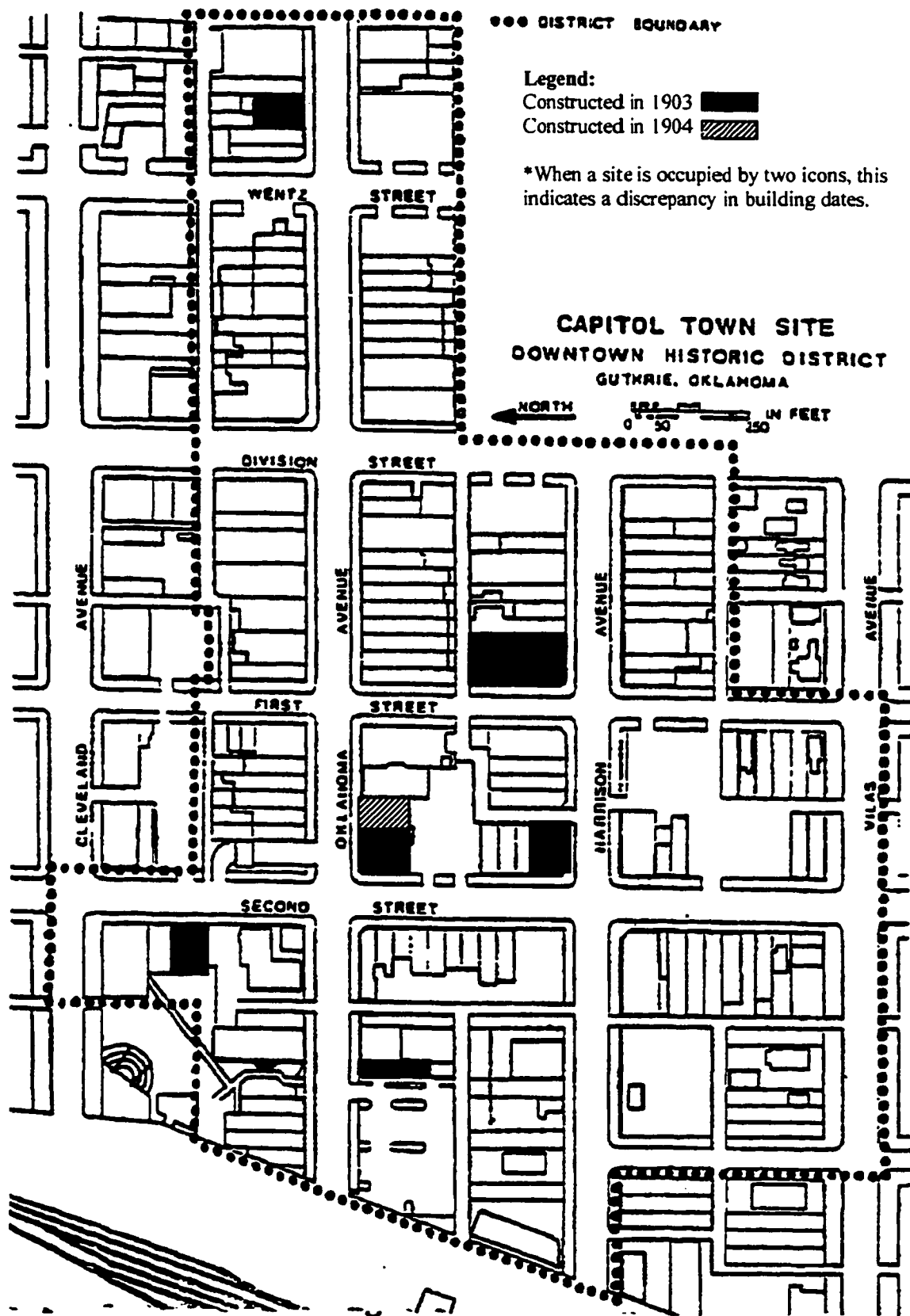


Figure 124. Location of buildings constructed in 1903

1904 Townscape Evolution

In 1904, the contract was signed for a *Federal Building* costing one hundred thousand dollars. Guthrie already had public buildings valued at forty thousand dollars. Four permanent business buildings were erected during the year in addition to two hundred homes. Four banks served the city. There were eight railroad companies, and ten schools, including an art and music conservatory. The city had three fire stations and fifty miles of brick and concrete sidewalks. The city had a water system worth one hundred thousand dollars, and a gas plant worth one hundred fifty thousand dollars. There were two telephone systems, forty factories, and twenty wholesale houses. The spiritual life of the community was cared for by seventeen churches (Logan County History, vol. 2).

There were four structures built in 1904 listed by the National Landmark Nomination. The first one to discuss sets close to the corner of Second Street and Oklahoma Avenue near the Railroad Depot. The building as described by the National Landmark Nominee:

313 W. Oklahoma Avenue. 1904. Commercial Style. One story brick building with large storefront with clerestories and a recessed entrance. The building was rehabilitated in the 1980s (NLN 1998).

The next two are located across the street from each other between Division Street and First Street on Harrison. Tucker and Olds acquired a Building Permit Number 346 dated June 30, 1904, for a two story building with nine flues for an estimated cost of five thousand dollars. The building as described by the National Landmark Nomination:

123 W. Harrison Avenue. *Sneed-Coffin Building*, 1904. Romanesque Revival. This two story brick building features a rehabilitated storefront with a recessed entrance and tall, multi-light clerestories. A small storefront window is on the west elevation. Square

brick columns with large stone bases edge the ends of the storefronts. A stone beltcourse that divides the first story from the second also forms a continuous sill below the second story windows. There are four rounded arched window openings on the façade and nine on the west elevation. Brick pilasters support the rounded arched lintels. Decorative brickwork forms a narrow cornice. Above this is a stepped parapet. The façade and the first floor of the west elevation are covered with stucco. This building has been rehabilitated since 1987. As a part of the project, the stucco was painted to resemble brick. On the first floor of the west elevation is a large painted sign advertising a popular soft drink (NLN 1998)

Across the street, to the east and three stores down, stands the next 1904 structures. The Building Permit Number 311 was issued to W.C. Matchett on April 27, 1904, for a two story building with six flues, estimated cost three thousand dollars. A handwritten note under remarks stated that a sewer connection had been made on August 27, 1903. Matchett was the consumer. The National Landmark Nomination described the building as follows:

116 W. Harrison Avenue. 1904, Victorian. This two story brick building has an altered storefront on the first floor. The second floor features segmented arched window openings filled with hung sashes. Stone lintels with keystones top the windows. Brick corbelling runs below the parapet. Atop the center of the parapet is a brick rectangle adorned with stone finials. Stone finials also mark the ends of the parapet (NLN 1998).

MATCHETT'S CAFÉ, ROOMS IN CONNECTION – This café has been established for the past eight years, and is located at 116 West Harrison Avenue. Matchett's café is open all the time, the key having been lost a long time ago. . . . The gentleman searches the markets daily for the best things that come to town. He gives the biggest meals in the Capital City for the money. . . .(NRHDF 1980).

Travel east on Harrison Avenue past Division Street to Wentz Street, turn north or left, go one block to Oklahoma Avenue, the last building listed as built in 1904 sits next to the corner building on the northside of Oklahoma Avenue. The structure as described by the National Landmark Nomination:

204 E. Oklahoma Avenue. *S.W. Schmidt Building*, 1904. Romanesque Revival. Two-story brick building that has an altered storefront with non-original metal awning. The second story has four hung sashes in openings with details similar to those of 202 E. Oklahoma. A name block reading "S.W. SCHMIDT" appears below the parapet (NLN 1998).

Guthrie's Townscapes 1905/1906

Logan County High School was given birth in 1901 by a passage of a bill by the Territorial Legislature allowing Counties to establish schools above the elementary grades by popular vote. In November of 1902, a countywide election was held to warrant establishing a highschool and whether the people would authorize a tax levy to support it. The county voted in favor by a large majority, and immediately a location was selected on North Wentz. The *Daily State Capital* dated April 4, 1904, documented an architect from Kansas City, W.F. Schrage was awarded the design contract over one's submitted by Joseph Foucart and J.H. Bennett. And, according to Logan County History, Volume II, the General Contractor was Fielding and Strough. On December 19, 1904, the construction of the high school was finished and waiting on furniture to be occupied. Logan County High School was formally dedicated on February 18, 1905, with Governor T.B. Ferguson as the principal speaker.

Finally, after years of unsuccessful attempts by several business entities, the city council awarded the Electric Street Railway Franchise to John W. Shartel and A.H.

Classen from Oklahoma City on June 30, 1903. After several delays:

The streetcars opened with a celebration in 1905 with a line running from Drexel and Warner, west to Oak Street, three blocks south to Oklahoma, then west on Oklahoma to Seventh Street, north on Seventh to Warner, west on Warner to Fourteenth, then south to the terminal on Cleveland. Another route started on the corner of Drexel and Springer, west on Springer to Ash, north to Harrison, west to Second, then north to Oklahoma. The Harrison Avenue and

Oklahoma Avenue lines connected at Division Street, and made a loop around the two blocks west of Division, between Harrison and Oklahoma. An extra line was laid on Harrison from Division east to Vine [Wentz], making a double track capable of handling the crowds that would exit from Brooks Opera House.

The Guthrie Railway Company, after the first line was operating efficiently, began work running a line southward to Island Park [Mineral Wells Park] to facilitate activities such as, professional baseball games, horse races, state and county fairs, pleasure excursions, etc (Logan County History, vol. 2, 354). This was quite an extension of rails as compared to the first franchise with J.A. Hamilton of Hamilton – Rankin Hardware Company that encompassed Cleveland Avenue to Vilas Avenue; Second Street to Division Street (Documentation of 1904-1905-1906 buildings in Guthrie’s Historic District, see figures 125-129).

During the years of 1905 and 1906, there was only one building for each year selected as significant by the National Landmark Nomination. The 1905 location is 101-103 E. Oklahoma Avenue, referred to in many city directories as the corner of Division Street and Oklahoma Avenue East. The *Filtsch Building* was built by Charles Filtsch, the same person listed in the 1890 City Directory as proprietor of the elegant Springer Hotel. This indicates that the wooden framed Springer was razed and replaced with the brick structure in 1905. *The Fitsch Building* as described by the National Landmark Nomination:

101-103 E. Oklahoma Avenue. Fitsch Building. 1905 with 1920s alterations. Commercial Style. Two story brick building that is two lots wide. The first floor of the façade and the north corner of the west elevation is covered with limestone that was part of alterations to the building in the 1920s. Three rectangular window openings and a recessed entrance are on the façade. The second story is divided into three ranks by brick pilasters. Two rectangular hung sashes are in the outer two ranks and one large rectangular hung sash is in the center bay. The wall area above the windows and below the stepped parapet has decorative



Figure 125. Federal Building



Figure 126. 123 West Harrison Avenue



Figure 127. 116 West Harrison Avenue

**MASONIC TEMPLE.**

Figure 128. Oklahoma Masonic Lodge

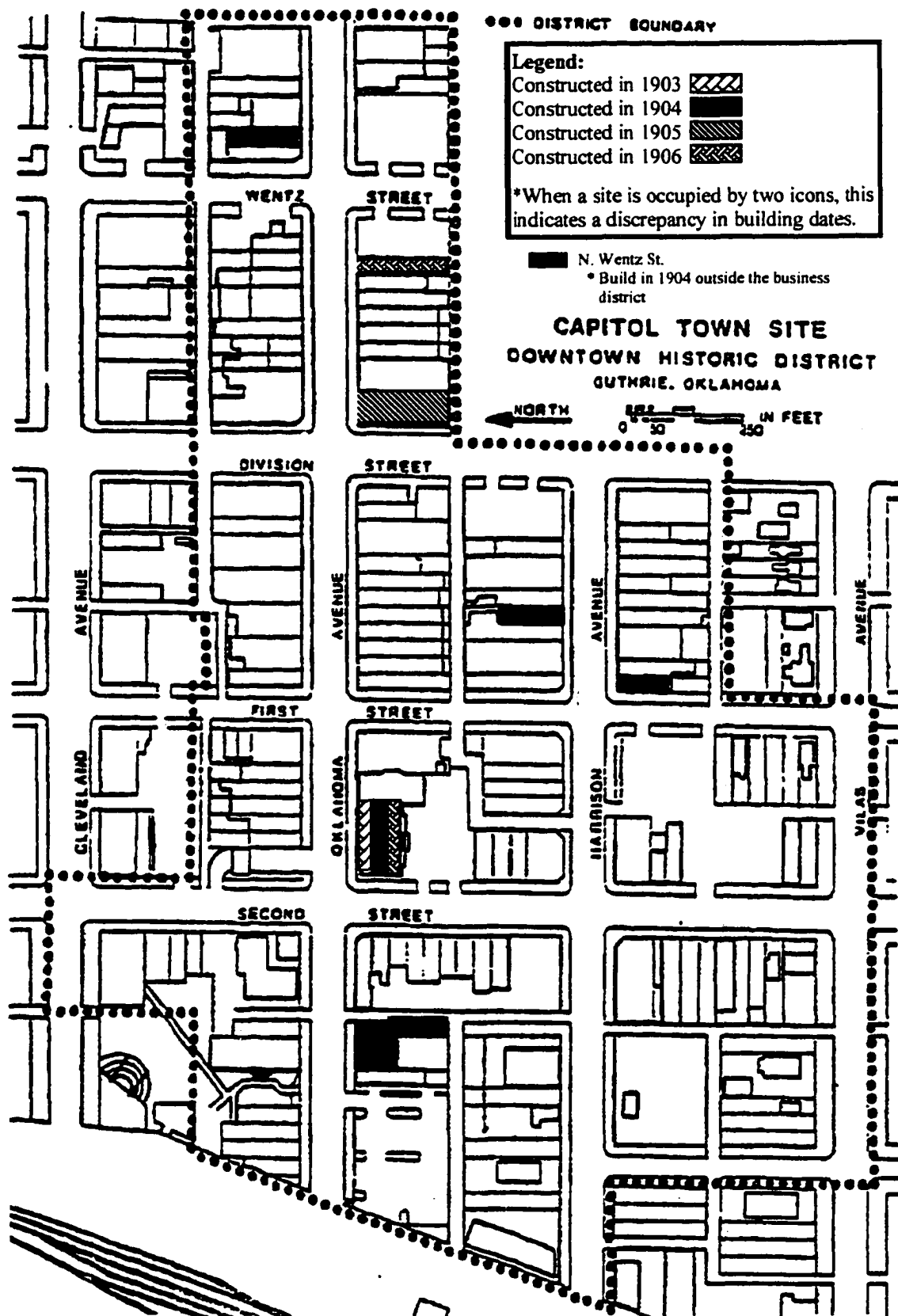


Figure 129. Location of buildings constructed in 1904-1906

brickwork. In the center of the stepped parapet is a stone block with the date '1905.' A darker brick is used for the pilasters and parapet. The west elevation is divided into seven ranks by brick pilasters and has detailing similar to the façade. A storefront is at the south end of this elevation. Due to the overpowering appearance of the limestone blocks on the façade, this building is counted as noncontributing [contributes to the National Register District] (NLN 1998).

The only 1906 building nominated by the National Landmark Nomination is located at 121 East Oklahoma Avenue.

Two Territories Become One. After several years of agitation, fighting for a State where they hoped to be able to control, the Republicans of Oklahoma in 1905 finally accepted what they could not defeat, and joining with the Republicans of Indian Territory, made an honest effort to secure statehood on the only terms Congress was willing to grant – incorporation of the two territories into one state. In years past, party leaders in Congress would only support statehood if the two territories were joined as one. They argued that it was against the interests of the Republican Party to make two states which would in all probability return democratic delegates to Congress, whereas, if they must finally yield, they could at least consolidate the territories and reduce the damage to their party by a minimum of two Democratic Senators, and perhaps a divided delegation in the House (Haskell 1936, 193-94).

On the other hand, the Democrats of Oklahoma Territory knew that Congress would grant statehood with the combination of the two Territories. They wanted single statehood on the premise that the Indians of the Five Civilized tribes were from southern states and nearly all white intermarried citizens were southern people, in essence, Democrats. Thus, Oklahoma Territory Democrats looked upon single statehood as a method of gaining and maintaining political supremacy in the new State. The

Republicans of Oklahoma Territory were sure they were in the majority and in the event a state was created from the two Territories, they believed they could control the state (Haskell 1936, 194).

Democrats of Indian Territory knew that the Territory of Indians was strongly Democratic, and if Oklahoma Territory was Republican, they simply jeopardized their political control by forming an alliance with that Territory. They accepted and advocated single statehood only because they knew there was no other chance of getting an “Enabling Act (Haskell 1936, 195).”

A Convention was held in Oklahoma City July 12, 1905, to pass resolutions favoring single statehood, and to select a delegation to lobby Congress convening in the fall for the passage of an Enabling Act in conformity with the resolutions. Governor Haskell stated, “political leaders were not actuated altogether by lofty and patriotic motives. It was largely a struggle for political power and supremacy – and the welfare of both territories was sacrificed by those who were seeking political position and power in a new state (Haskell 1936, 196).”

The Indians called a Constitutional Convention known as the Sequoyah Convention on August 21, 1905, to petition single statehood under the 1898 Treaty of Atoka that provided:

The tribal governments so modified will prove so satisfactory that there will be no need or desire for further change till the lands now occupied by the Five Civilized Tribes shall, in the opinion of Congress, be prepared for admission as a State of the Union (Haskell 1936, 197).

The argument for the Convention was the express understanding of the Treaty in that it was a step towards statehood, and went so far as to specify that “the lands now occupied by the Five Civilized Tribes shall be prepared for admission as a State.”

Governor Haskell, at the time Charles N. Haskell stated, “after discussing the question at length, we entered into a written agreement, and all of us signed it, the chiefs of the tribes agreeing to support single statehood if we failed to get statehood for Indian Territory. This was the farthest step towards accomplishment of statehood that had yet been taken for it committed the Indians to such statehood as Congress was willing to grant; and it took from the opponents of any kind of statehood the one excuse they had always been able to rely upon – the opposition of the Indians (Haskell 1936, 197).”

Muskogee Democrat, August 5, 1905 – Everybody knows that the white residents of this country who own property here want some kind of statehood for their own protection – but what about the Indian? He never has spoken and Congress is waiting to hear from him. The Indian now comes forward for the first time and asks to be heard (Haskell 1936, 199).

The Convention assembled at the Hinton Theatre on the morning of August 21, 1905, and was called to order by Governor Rogers, Chief of the Cherokees. Reverend A. Grant Evans invoked the divine blessing and Mayor Fite extended a welcome to the delegates on behalf of the City of Muskogee. Charles Haskell in charge of the Convention asked for the committees on writing the Constitution to meet and elect a chairman. A committee was appointed to accompany Congressmen-at-large to Washington to work for adoption of the Constitution. The various committees began at once writing the Constitution and it was completed in twenty-one days, and called for an election to be ratified by the people of Indian Territory.

The Constitution of Indian Territory was presented to Congress, which was flatly turned down. Humiliated and disappointed, the Indians were loyal to the agreement to join Oklahoma Territory in efforts to obtain single statehood. Haskell stated, “the Sequoyah Convention did more to prepare the Indians for statehood than any other thing

done for them. They felt that an honest effort had been made to bring about statehood on the lines promised in the Atoka Agreement. That Congress would not grant them this right was an obstacle that could not be overcome (Haskell 1936, 203).”

Congress passed the “Enabling Act” on June 16, 1906, that provided for a Constitution Convention to be held at Guthrie, where the Capital was to remain until 1913 and the delegates from the Twin Territories were to convene in Guthrie on November 20, 1906. Charles Haskell was instrumental in getting W.H. “Alfalfa Bill” Murray, a Chickasha Indian by marriage who was also Vice-President of the Sequoyah Convention, elected President of the Oklahoma Convention. Charles Haskell defended his actions with this statement, “I believe that party success depends upon ‘delivery the goods’ to use a slang expression; in being honest and faithful to the masses of the people. For these reasons, I felt that it was necessary to have harmony in the Convention – to subordinate personal ambitions (Haskell 1936, 207).” Edward Everett Dale article “The Spirits of Soonerland” made this statement about the Constitutional Convention:

In the formation of the State government, the control of the Constitutional Convention fell largely in the hands of that group of men from Eastern Oklahoma, who had been trained in the hard school of Indian politics. The President of the Constitution Convention was an intermarried citizen and had been prominent in the public affairs of his wife’s tribe. The Sergeant-at-Arms of this body was Indian, while some 20 percent of its membership were either Indians or inter-married citizens (Dale 1923, 171).

When the Constitution met in December at City Hall, the political leaders of the State were intent on writing a Constitution with as little dissension as possible. It was agreed the topic of the location of the State Capital would not be discussed. Even though, three suggestions were made:

The first constitution proposal was made on December 3, 1906, by the Oklahoma City faction that stated the State Legislature should hold a special election for the permanent location of the Capital. It should appoint a Commission to adopt the plan, let the contract, and supervise the construction of the Capital. It provided that the Capital Building should not cost more than one million dollars and it should be ready for occupancy no later than June 1, 1914.

The Second proposition had the principal features of the later known 'New Jerusalem Plan.' It proposed that the second session of the State Legislature, after approval of the Constitution, purchase land near the geographical center of the State. At this location, the State would reserve enough land for all public buildings, and any remaining lots, would be sold at auction. This Plan provided the Capital City name would be 'India-home' and the streets named after the Presidents in chronological order. And, the Third Proposal was to wait until after 1913 to make any decisions as to where the Capital should be located (Forbes 1938, 23).

While Guthrie's political element at the State level was making major decisions as to where to house its legislators, the Federal Government was getting the newly constructed *Federal Building* ready to be opened on August 1, 1906, with a full scale gala attended by the general populous. The building as described by the National Register historic Inventory:

The *Federal Building* measures 50' x 100', and two stories high, it is designed in the Federal Revival Style and includes brick quoins and stone balustrades, keystones, and string coursing. The first floor has always contained the Post Office; the second originally housed federal offices and a courtroom. A new Federal Revival four-story 60'x 100' wing was added onto eastside of the Federal Building in 1914, shifting its orientation and official entryway to the east (GNRHD 1980).

There was confusion as to building dates. Fred Wenner and the National Landmark Nomination list the erection date as 1904. Gerald Forbes and the Guthrie National Register Historic District Inventory Files list the building date as 1906.

Guthrie's Townscape and Political Activities

The 50,000 Club of Guthrie urged in August 1906 the Logan County Commission to build a *Courthouse*. The Club proposed that such a building would logically become the State Capital, due to the Enabling Act preventing appropriations for public buildings. Before the end of the year, the Commissioners had selected a site, a design, and advertised for bids. By February 1907, a bid to erect the Courthouse for one hundred and thirty thousand dollars with a one hundred twenty-two-day completion date was accepted. Early the next month, it was agreed that the County should pay thirteen thousand per year in semi-annual installments for the building (Forbes 1938, 22).

A few days before the Constitutional Convention adjourned in April 1907, Charles Haskell prevented a controversy on the location of the Capital. He proposed that the electors select the location of the Capital at the first General Election after the date of 1913 suggested in the Enabling Act. Thus, the Guthrie city leaders decided to build a Convention Center, costing one hundred fifty thousand dollars to be located on the ten acres that had been reserved in 1889 for the Capital Buildings. In April 1907, construction began on "*Convention Hall*."

Guthrie's 1907 Built Environment

In 1907, the W.H. Coyle Building was built at 209-211 E. Oklahoma. It is located in the middle of the block, between Wentz and Broad Street. The building as described by the National Landmark Nomination:

209-211 E. Oklahoma Ave. W.H. Coyle Building, 1907.
Commercial Style. Two story brick building that is two lots wide. The first floor features two storefronts; the east storefront has exposed clerestories; the west storefront's clerestories are covered over. The second story is divided into four bays separated by brick pilasters. Each

bay features a large rectangular window opening that is filled with paired hung sashes that are surmounted by one transom. Decorative brickwork highlights the wall above the windows. The roofline is punctuated with brick corbelling and a stepped parapet. A name block on the parapet reads “W.H. COYLE BLDG, 1907 (NLN 1998).

West on Oklahoma Avenue approximately two blocks, stands the next 1907 building listed in the National Landmark Nomination. It replaced an earlier brick structure known as “*Bamford Block*” that burned in 1907. Farquharson rebuilt using the old structure with buff brick and granite façade. The *Farquharson Building* was occupied by a variety of businesses. In 1908, the owner himself operated a clothing store on the first floor, while the second housed professional offices. The building is thirty feet high, twenty-five feet wide, and one hundred forty-five feet long. It was built of stone and has a brick façade covering the burned elevation. The building has a handsome stone balustraded parapet that tops the building (GNRHD 1980). The Farquharson Building as discussed by the National Landmark Nomination:

114 W. Oklahoma Avenue. Farquharson Building, 1907. Late Victorian. Two story brick building. The first floor has a recessed storefront. The second story has three rectangular window openings. Stone Voussoirs form the lintel. Decorative brickwork forms a small cornice. The parapet is crowned with a stone balustrade with a center rectangular name block that reads ‘FARQUHARSON/1907.’ This building was rehabilitated in the 1980s (NLN 1998) (Documentation of architectural, construction materials and location of 1907 buildings in the Guthrie Historic District, see figures 130-135).

President “Teddy” Roosevelt Signs
The Constitution of the Unified Twin Territories
Into Becoming the State of Oklahoma

In September 1907, the Constitution of Oklahoma was ratified. At the Presidential Office in Washington, D.C., a delegation formed around the cabinet table and at 10:15 A.M. the door leading to the executive private office was thrown open and,



Figure 130. Farquharson Building



Figure 131. Streetscape of Farquharson Building

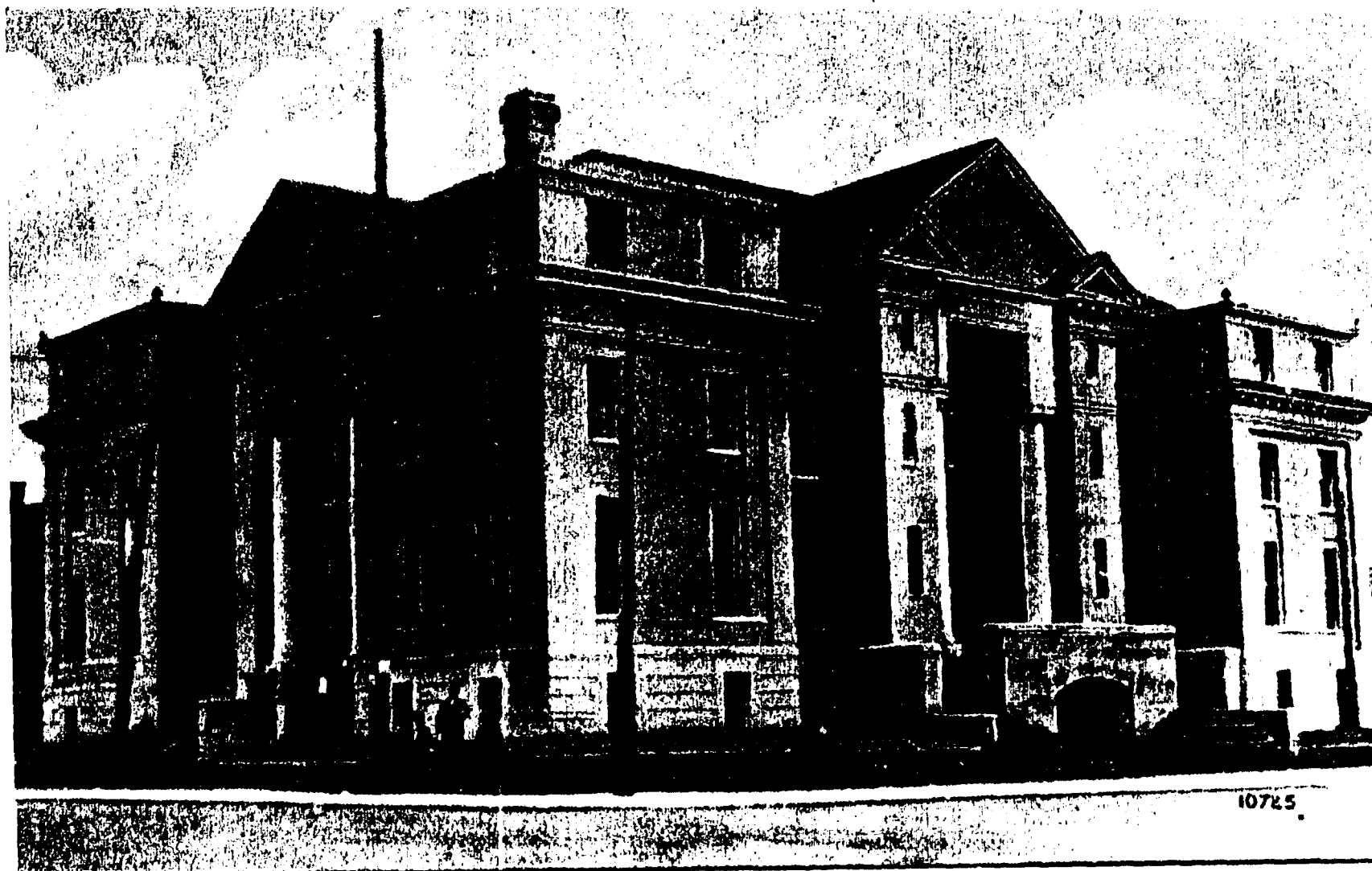


Figure 132. Logan County Courthouse



Figure 133. Guthrie's "Capitol" Expression: Oklahoma Avenue Streetscape Looking toward Convention Hall

Hotel Ione, Guthrie, Okla.

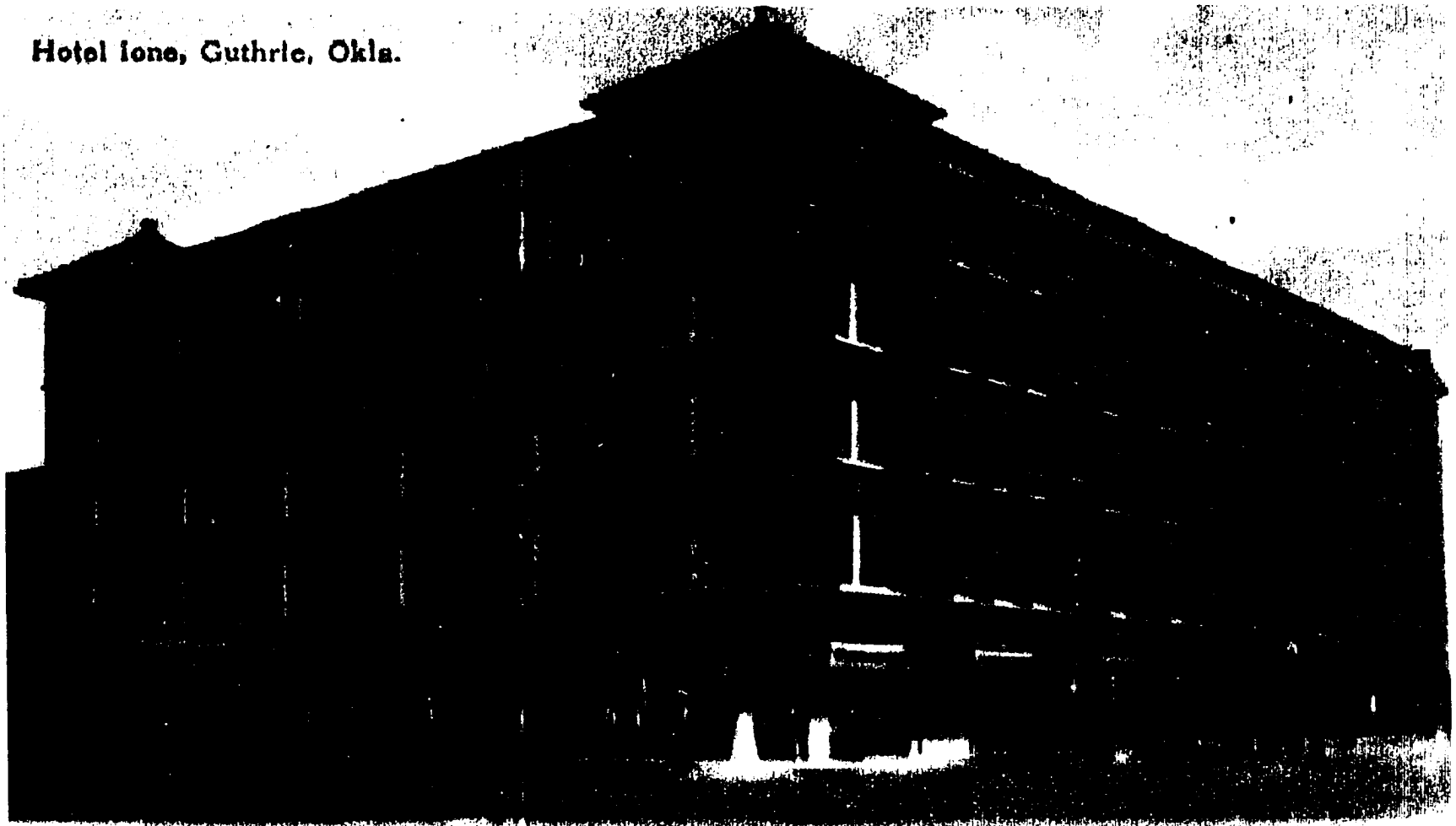


Figure 134. Hotel Ione, Most Extravagant Hotel in Guthrie

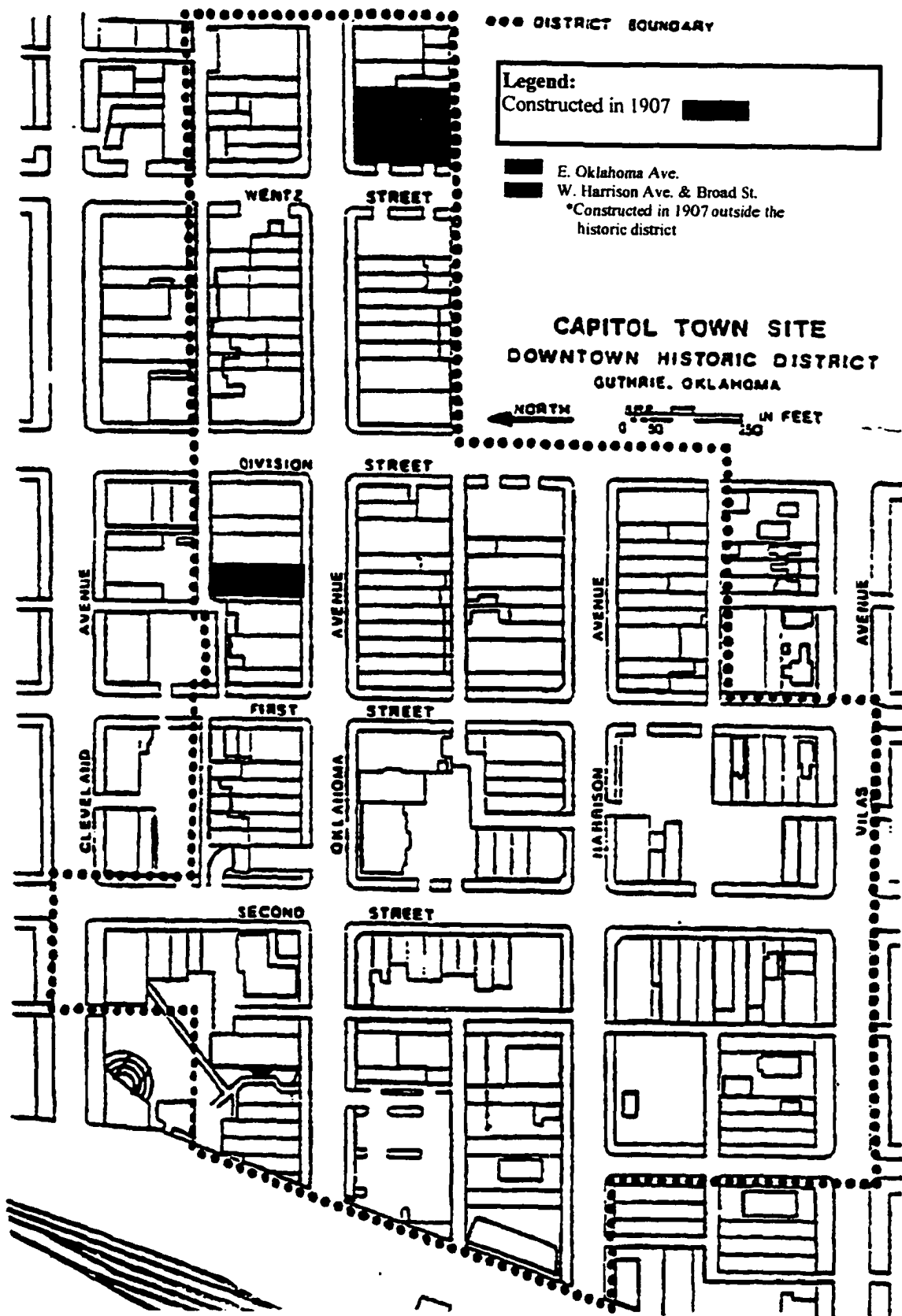


Figure 135. Location of buildings constructed in 1907

the President entered taking a seat at the head of the cabinet table. Not until he had signed his name to the Proclamation prepared by the State Department did President Roosevelt recognize, or “even so much as a nod of the head,” to the group which surrounded the cabinet table. Without any further comment than to announce the birth of the new state, the President left the cabinet room (Peery 1934, 394-95).

Washington Post, November 16, 1907 - “Oklahoma is now a State,” smilingly remarked the President of the United States as he made the concluding flourish with an eagle quill pen to the statehood proclamation at 10:16 A.M.

At ten o’clock, the White House telegraph had connected directly to Guthrie and Oklahoma City to send the news the moment President Roosevelt signed the proclamation. “A revolver shot rang out in Guthrie, bands began to play, bells were rung, steam whistles blew, and everyman and boy who could fire a gun added to the roar.” Five minutes after the official telegram was received the oath of office was administered to Governor Haskell. The ceremony took place privately in Governor Haskell’s hotel apartments at the Royal Hotel in the presence of his immediate family, R.L. Owen, United States Senator-elect and Thomas Owen of Muskogee, who was Haskell’s former political manager (Peery 1934, 396-97).

People from all corners of the State were at the Governor’s hotel standing shoulder to shoulder from his apartments, to the parlors, down the wide stairway, through the hotel lobby and across the sidewalks into the street. The Governor wore a Prince Albert coat instead of his customary sack coat and moved about the crowd with exhilaration for this moment in history (Peery 1934, 397).

Thousands of Oklahomans had traveled to Guthrie to witness Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory becoming the “State of Oklahoma.” Oklahoma Avenue around

Carnegie Library was so crowded that people were climbing trees to be able to see the Inaugural Ceremonies. The portico on the southside of the Library was beautifully decorated with flowers, handsome women in their rich gowns with jewels reflecting in the sunlight (Perry 1934, 399). *Daily State Capital*, November 17, 1907:

Sixteen carriages with officials of Oklahoma Territory and others, one open carriage with the chiefs of the Five Civilized Tribes, these Indian Territory leaders were fine looking in white collar, dark tie and citizen clothes. There was a marching band resplendent in their band regalia and a large crowd of white people and Indians walking – some of the Indians in feathered headdress and blanket, with the women-carrying baby cradle boards bright with decoration and beadwork. There was a company of mounted police and another Muskogee lighthouse troops. The parade ended at the steps of the Library where an immense crowd had gathered (Inaugural Ceremonies in front of Carnegie Library, see figures 136-137).

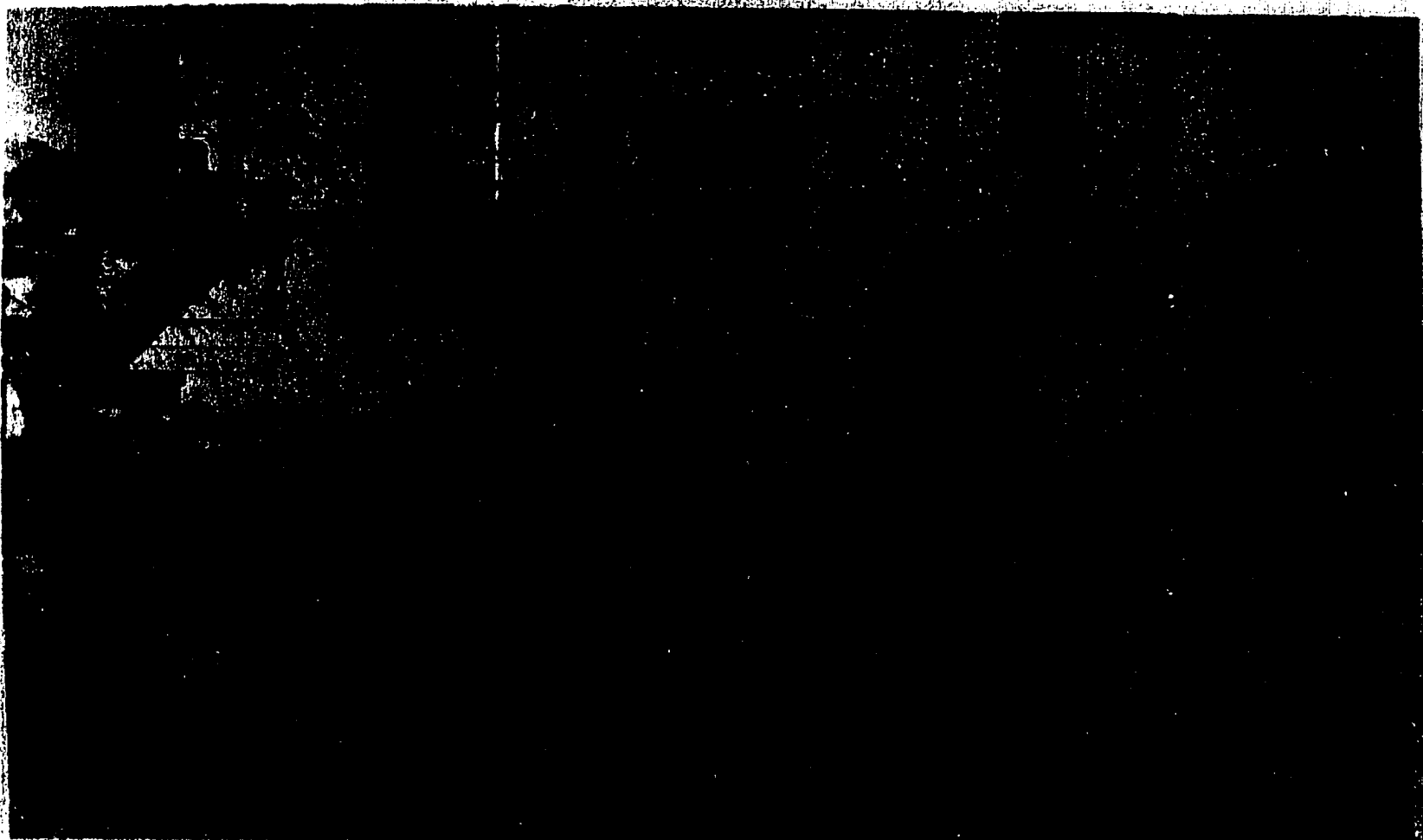
Charles Filson, Secretary of the Territory of Oklahoma, stepped to the front of the platform and read the Presidential Proclamation declaring, “Oklahoma a State.” The Honorable Judge Dale then came forward to introduce Mr. C.G. Jones, stating that Mr. Jones would propose marriage of Oklahoma to Miss Indian Territory. Mr. Jones’ proposal:

. . . . the bridegroom is only 18 years old, but is capable of assuming all the matrimonial responsibilities of a stalwart youth. Though born, in tribulation, in the City of Washington in 1889, his life of 18 years on the plains has been one of tremendous activity and he has grown into the size of a giant. . . . On account of his youth and inexperience, he is possessed of an unconquerable modesty and has asked me to propose marriage to the Indian Territory. . . . By the authority in me by the high contracting parties and in obedience to their request, I now call upon Rev. W.H. Dodson, of the First Baptist Church of Guthrie to perform the ceremony (Wright 1957, 258).

Honorable William Durant was a prominent, young, Choctaw Indian, wearing a dark business suit, playing the role of the bride’s father, stepped forward from the midst of the officials on the platform, and replied:



Figure 136. Inaugural Ceremonies in Front of Carnegie Library



Charles N. Haskell is sworn in as Oklahoma's first governor on November 16, 1907.
(Photo courtesy of the Oklahoma Historical Society).

Figure 137. Charles N. Haskell at the Carnegie Library Entrance

To you, Mr. Jones, as the Representative of Mr. Oklahoma, I present the hand and fortune of Miss Indian Territory, convinced by his eighteen years of wooing that his love is genuine, his suit sincere and his purposes honorable. . . . Despite the unhappy circumstances of her youth, which have cast a shadow of sorrow over a face by nature only intended to give back only warm smiles of God's pure sunshine, this beauteous maiden comes to him as the last descendant of the proudest race that ever trod foot on American. . . . Although an orphan, Miss Indian Territory brings her spouse a dower in fertile fields, productive mines, and sterling and upright citizenship, that equals the fortune of her wooer. Mr. Oklahoma into whose identity Indian Territory is about to be merged forever, must be entrusted to care for this princely estate. We resign it to you in confident hope that it will be cared for, developed and conserved to the unending glory of our new State and the untold benefit of her people (Wright 1957, 259).

The Wedding March was played to accompany the bridal party as they came to the platform to unite the Twin Territories. Miss Indian Territory as reported by Frank Greer, wore a lavender satin dress made in the latest fashion of the time, floor length princess style with long sleeves and high collar, and a large picture hat and gloves, carrying a large chrysanthemum. This was interjected to express that Miss Indian Territory did not wear Indian attire as had so often through the years been represented. The author of the article Muriel Wright acquiesced this same sentiment in a footnote:

The people of the Indian Territory were sensitive to the idea that they were uncultured, living in a backwoods region. They felt they were to 'the manor born,' with a long background in civilized ways with educational advantages and good living. Therefore, the bride, Miss Indian Territory, was the modern, beautiful Indian princess wearing a lovely dress made in the height of fashion of the time. It may be added that Mrs. Leo Bennett very likely had her satin gown, worn at the Oklahoma inauguration in 1907, made in either Louisville, Kentucky, or some other city, where the leading dressmakers were patronized by some of the beautifully dressed women of the Indian Territory (Wright 1957, 260) (Miss Indian Territory in Wedding Ceremony satin gown, see figure 138).

After the wedding ceremony, Governor Haskell took the oath of office, one hand raised and the other holding the Bible. Then, he signed the official papers, walked to the center of the platform and delivered his inaugural address (Wright 1957, 261). The



Figure 138. Miss Indian Territory

evening was concluded with many receptions and an elegant Inaugural Ball – “The First State of Oklahoma Gubernatorial Ball.”

Buildings Constructed in the Historic District During 1908

The year has become 1908, the State Government has leased the Logan County Courthouse for its official offices, and activities within the boundaries of the downtown urban townscape included five buildings being constructed during the year. All five of the structures were erected in the area of Oklahoma Avenue from Wentz Street west to the Railroad Depot. One is located on East Oklahoma Avenue, three are located on West Oklahoma Avenue, and the other one is on N. Second Street adjacent to City Hall. The building located at 115 N. Second Street was discussed earlier as being documented with two different building dates. The date identified by the Guthrie National Register Historic District Inventory was 1903, and 1908 was the date documented by the National Landmark Nomination. The building was described as follows:

115 N. Second Street. pre-1908. Italianate. Two story brick building that has a rehabilitated storefront with a center recessed entrance. The second story has three segmental arched window openings with hung sashes. The windows have stone sills. Brick corbelling runs below the parapet. This building was rehabilitated in the 1980s (NLN 1998).

The next two 1908 buildings are adjacent to each other on West Oklahoma Avenue between the Railroad Depot and Second Street. They are situated just west of City Hall. The building located at 312 W. Oklahoma was described by the National Landmark Nomination as follows:

312 W. Oklahoma Avenue. pre-1908. Commercial Style. Two story brick building with beveled entrance on the southeast corner facing the alley. The elevation facing Oklahoma Avenue features an altered storefront on the first story and segmental arched window openings on the

second story. Similar windows are on the east elevation. Decorative brick corbelling resembling dentils highlights the south and east elevations below the parapet. This building was used as an armory during the territorial period (NLN 1998).

The next building west as described by the Guthrie National

Register Historic District Inventory Files:

314 W. Oklahoma – This two story red brick building, now the distributing headquarters for the Coca Cola Company in Guthrie, was constructed between 1908 and 1914. It is 30' high, 25' wide [not including a modern one story brick addition] and 70' deep. The southeast bevelled corner was once an entrance but is now bricked up, as most of the first floor's windows and doors. The corner and eastside windows are arched with decorative lintels, on the southside are two boarded up windows. All of the sills are of a rough cut light stone. The brick entablature is decoratively corbelled, topped by a stone course and then a brick and stone pediment. A colorful wall advertisement on the eastside is still visible. The interior of the first floor is modern, there is some bottling equipment, but it is not old. The second floor retains its wood molding and floors (NRHDF 1980).

Another building documented by the National Landmark Nomination as being built in 1908 is located at 206 West Oklahoma Avenue. This structure replaced an earlier frame structure, which had housed a variety of businesses. The building as described by

Guthrie National Register Historic District Inventory Files:

This classically inspired two-story yellow brick structure has three bays, of which the central three are grouped, resting on stone sills. Around the windows and entablature are heavily corbeled brick details. The two end windows have stone lintels. Constructed between 1908 and 1914 of brick, it was used originally as a store. The 1903 Sanborn indicates that the structure had a metal cornice, but it has since been removed – it also appears in old photographs. Similar though simpler to the metal cornices of #210 and #212-214 Oklahoma Avenue, it has a central gable. With its 25' frontage, the building is 110' deep and 34' high (1926 Sanborn). There is a one story 15' square concrete block addition in the rear.. (NRHDF 1980).

And, the last significant building constructed in 1908 is located on East Oklahoma between Division Street and Wentz Street at 117 E. Oklahoma Avenue. The National Landmark Nomination described it as follows:

117 E. Oklahoma Avenue, pre-1908. Romanesque Revival. Two story brick building with an altered storefront that has covered clerestories. There are four rounded arched window openings on the second story. The openings are filled with hung sashes surmounted by fan-shaped lights. A continuous stone sill runs below the windows. The lintels are a continuous ribbon of polychrome brick headers that follow the arches of the openings. Decorative brickwork runs below the parapet (NLN 1998).

The National Landmark Nomination listed three buildings erected in 1910. Two are located on Second Street - 120 W. Second and 222 S. Second, and one is located at 215 S. First Street (Map of buildings constructed in 1908 and 1910, see figure 139).

Guthrie's Urban Ecological Forces
Colliding, Inter-connecting, Inter-weaving, Spiraling to
Influence the Removal of the State Capital

With Guthrie being a Republican stronghold and the new State Officials being Democratic, one of the urban forces responsible for change had been set in motion. Dan Perry, Democratic Legislator, described the prevailing political forces setting the stage for disaster. He stated, "The admission of Oklahoma marks a radical departure from all former procedure in the admission of states. It is the only State that has ever been brought into the Union under an almost absolute guarantee that its voice would be raised against the party which made it. Its boundaries were fixed by the Republican Party, for the joiner of Oklahoma and Indian Territory was first suggested in a Republican Senate committee room. A Republican Congress passed the Enabling Act, a Republican President issued the Proclamation admitting it to Statehood and a Democratic Governor

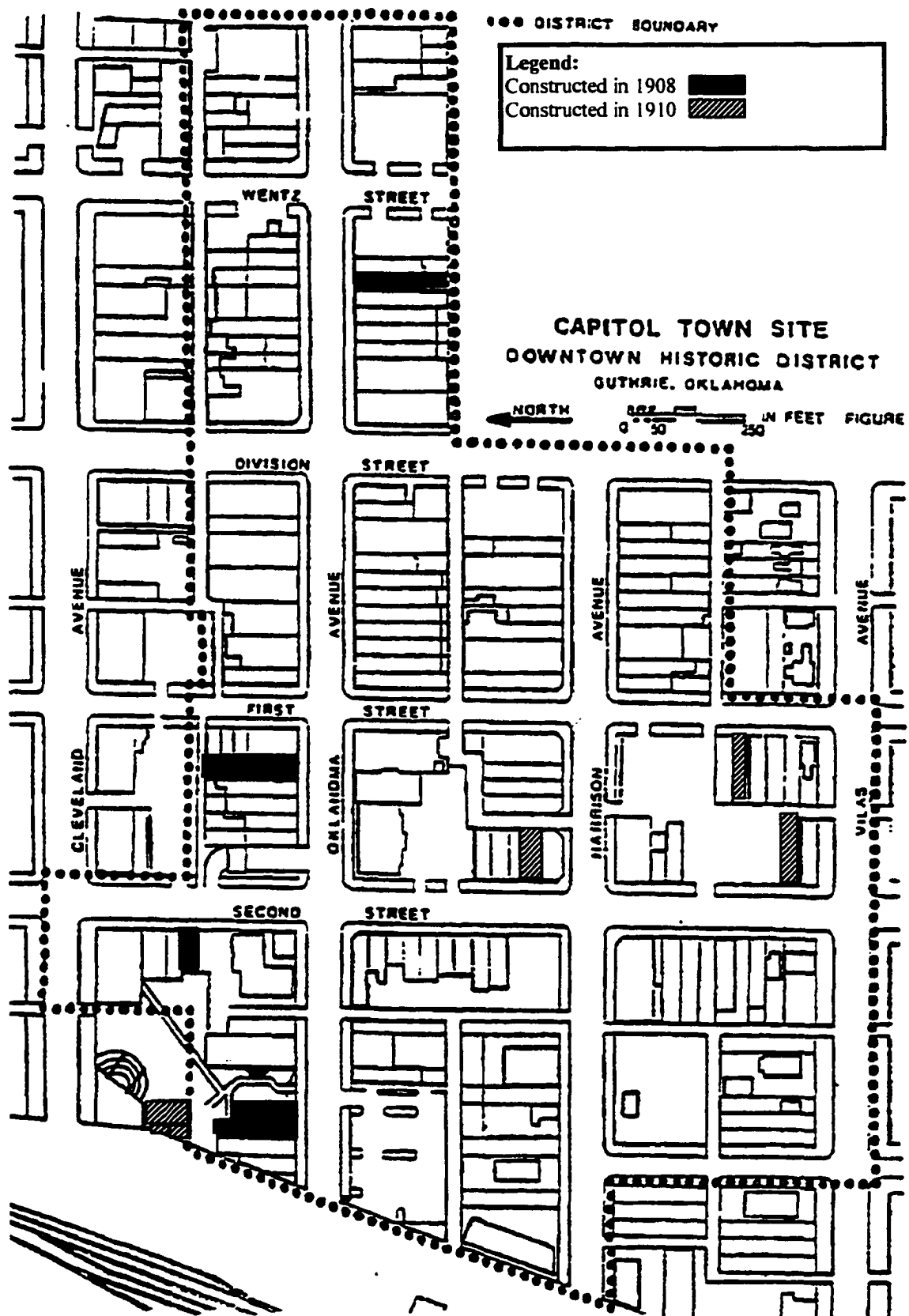


Figure 139. Location of buildings constructed in 1908 and 1910

will administer its affairs (Peery 1934).” *Politically*, Guthrie’s Frank Greer was using his Republican newspaper unmercifully and unrelentingly toward Governor Haskell and the Democratic Party. Greer began attacking Haskell personally, including his family, causing *social/cultural* forces of urban change to come in to play. Governor Haskell wanted to protect his family and to do this he besieged support from the leading men in Guthrie, to stop the attacks from Frank Greer, but to no avail, causing more factions of *social/cultural* forces to interact. Mrs. Haskell’s disregard to Guthrie’s Society Women and Legislators wives by isolating herself energized *social/cultural* forces of infuriation and insults as perceived by these women. *Politically*, Haskell warned he had the power of retaliation. *Economically*, the *political* power of being the Seat of Government brought clientele for hotels, restaurants, opera houses, clothing stores, and twenty-two thousand dollars annually for rent for the use of the Logan County Courthouse. *Technically*, being the seat of government produced the demand for the most up to date communication services, transportation systems, municipal utilities, Turkish bath facilitates printing, etc. And, the *physical* location of the capital ensured greater *economic* prosperity, *technical* advancements, *social/cultural* enhancements, and *political* superiority. The forces of the urban eco-system are in constant motion of connecting, inter-weaving, and competing. The force with the greatest impact for that slice in time wins the competition. The forces of urban ecosystem, depending on the inter-connection, inter-action, and inter-competition evolve either into growth or decay. With the removal of the seat of government from Guthrie, the urban change of decay began to be the dominant force in the system.

Guthrie, “A City” – “A Legacy.” The city as a living organism can be seen through Guthrie’s ever changing townscapes. The area of observation was the boundary stipulated by the National Landmark Nomination. Within the boundaries, Guthrie’s central business district was built from wood, matured into more stylistic better quality wood structures as the business district spread eastward, brick and stone buildings of permanence and prominence were erected on new lots or in-filled between wooden structures. Then, the first location of wooden structures were eyesores, out of date, unused, had begun a slow process of decay. During the 1902,1906-1908 era, new prosperity, economic upswing, rescued the decaying area, and began developing townscapes of permanence and prominence by replacing wood structures with ones of brick and stone with professionally designed elements. With the removal of the State Capital, it set in motion the urban forces of change that have to do with decay. Thus, with the evolution of the Historic Preservation Movement, new life was breathed into the buildings, creating new townscapes, new prosperity, rejuvenation, revitalization etc. The urban ecosystems of birth, maturity, decay.

Geographers and planners believe history needs to be preserved in large landscapes or whole districts. In 1974, Guthrie provided that criteria when a historic district containing approximately two square miles was listed in the National Register of Historic Places. The National Landmark Committee working with Guthrie’s National Landmark consultant, Susan Kline, and the State Historic Preservation Office, changed the period of significance and the historic boundaries to comply with the National Landmark Boundary criteria. The boundary change as it was explained in the National Landmark Nomination:

The National Register District encompassed the whole city including residential areas, with period of significance spanning the years 1889 to 1929. The National Historic Landmark staffs, the State Historic Preservation Office, and the Landmark Consultant determined the commercial core bounded by the railroad tracks on the west, Cleveland Avenue on the north, Broad Street on the east and Vilas Avenue on the south contained the most intact and best preserved area that would meet National Historic Landmark boundary criteria. In addition, the period of significance was reduced, ending in 1910, the year that the State Capital was moved from Guthrie. This year was chosen because buildings constructed after that period generally did not display the attention to detail as did the earlier buildings and reflected building ideas of later decades. Also, these buildings were not constructed with the idea that would be showpieces for the State Capital (NLN 1998, 8).

The Period of Significance begins in 1889, the year of the first Oklahoma Land Run and the settlement of Guthrie. With the Organic Act of 1890, Guthrie was designated the Capital of Oklahoma primarily from the efforts of Bird McGuire, and the Republican Party. The buildings that began to appear in 1889 and for the next twenty-one years illustrate the desire of the city's founders to create a commercial area that would attest to Guthrie and the future State's greatness, real or imagined. In 1907, Oklahoma achieved Statehood and Guthrie became the 'State Capital.' The Period of Significance ends in 1910 when the Capital was moved to Oklahoma City, thirty miles to the south. *With the removal of the Capital, the town fell into decline.* As a result of the loss of its prominence in the State, the commercial area of Guthrie underwent remarkably little change. Today, the Guthrie Historic District retains a high degree of integrity and is an excellent collection of small town commercial architecture in the decades immediately prior to and after the turn of the twentieth century (NLN 1998, 4, 5-8).

Arn Henderson, Frank Parmon, and Dorthea Henderson expressed in their book,

Architecture in Oklahoma: Landmark & Vernacular the significance of Guthrie's

Victorian streetscape:

New Masonary structures, many are which were speculative buildings, were constructed using a native sandstone or brick made from red Oklahoma clay. The buildings, frequently two and three stories set on long, narrow lots, had stores on the first floor and professional offices and apartments on the upper floors. Facades were topped with an elaborate sheet metal cornice. When a row of these commercial buildings came to an intersection, the entrance was placed at the beveled corner of the building and after topped with a tower or cupola. In an era of architectural eclecticism, Guthrie developed a downtown area of remarkable visual

continuity and cohesiveness. The man responsible for the design of many of these buildings was a Flemish architect named Joseph Foucart. . . . There are few buildings in downtown Guthrie that do not bear his mark or his influence. Typically his buildings are eclectic and include such features as turrets, arched windows, contrasting masonry materials and bay windows. Often the facades combine subtle variations in scale and rhythm with a dominating horseshoe arch window. . . . Though Foucart was clearly influenced contemporary ideas, his work remains unique in the history of American Victorian architecture (Henderson, Parmon and Henderson 1980, 47-48).

The city can no longer be viewed exclusively as an object of the past. It must be conceived of as a complex dynamic living organism with a self-managed system. The city has been and will continue to be a dynamic, vital, lively organism, which, like any other organism, has a pulse, a heart, and a network similar to a human body. Like the body, this organism consists of healthy and decaying portions, and as such it is continually engaged in a process of self-transformation throughout its lifetime. The dynamics of change primarily, though not exclusively, are found among five inter-related areas: environmental and urban social quality of life, urban physical and population growth, urban management and quality of politics, urban technology, and economic vitality. These inter-related balanced sub-systems create urban patterns of evolution (Golany 1995, 65; Arango 1970, 18-20; Exline, Peters, and Larlin 1982, 7).

A basic knowledge of urban evolution is required to bring past experience to bear on present and future development. In the case of Guthrie, the lack of understanding of the historical dimension can only limit the creative implementation of future improvements that effect the city in a social and environmental context. Guthrie citizens should be alert to the relative dimension of the scale of her [Guthrie] historic past and the relative position it has on her [her] future. Guthrie's physical character has been dictated by Joseph Foucart's professional norms, standard, and values, based on his professional

beliefs as an architect. Foucart along with the city council fulfilled the role as urban designers and urban planners determining the environmental ethics of the city and neighborhoods. Then, the culture of the urban residents by which they conducted their behavior according to norms, and standards throughout their urban life gave Guthrie its ethics of urbanity. It was from these two generations of factors that fused with each other to develop a city of extraordinary culture, arts, political life, theatres, palatial castles, and palatial homes that endears Guthrie as a historical masterpiece.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

The approach to the study of Guthrie has used the application of fundamental concepts of geography with the methodology of urban analysis and the process of urban development. Urban analysis to make sense of an entity as complex as a city uses a special method of study that provides a vehicle through which the interrelated processes that give life to a city can be examined. This systems approach referred to as systems analysis and the ecosystem concept can determine the minutest component in the operation of a city; in essence, the integrated whole is the sum of its parts. The parts of the city used to develop the whole are physical, social/cultural, political, economical, and technological referred to as subsystems. The subsystems collide, inter-mingle, inter-weave, bond and have competitive cooperation creating a competitiveness that results in hierarchical positions within the confines of the system. In relation to Guthrie's study, the particular part of the whole that had the greatest impact on her essential settlement, growth and development into the lasting 1910 townscape was the subsystem of politics. All five ecosystems were influential in Guthrie's development, but the most illuminating force from birth to decay that shaped, and reshaped her dynasty was the subsystem, "political."

The political forces that influenced the settlement of Guthrie through the acquisition of the Unassigned Lands were the Homestead Act of 1862, the Treaty of 1866 and the efforts of Elias C. Boudinot. The treaty created the land, the railroad provided the

monies for Washington lobbyist, Congress passed the laws and Boudinot provided the niche in the system for potential settlement.

The forces of “the political powers that be” have been identified as federal legislative laws, Executive Cabinet orders, Presidential appointments, and Congressional Chairmen. They orchestrated and organized committees to determine, negotiate, authorized, interpret, and facilitate the events and projects necessary to open the Oklahoma district lands. These political forces performing a pertinent role within the urban ecosystem thus gave definition and resolution to the underlining current forces of spatial distribution and spatial interactions of the forthcoming race.

President Harrison’s “Land Run Proclamation” set in motion the political component of the ecosystem. The spatial distribution working within the *political* forces was propelled into motion when Secretary of the Interior, John Noble, prescribed the *physical* forces of activities [spatial distribution of activities] directed the projects [land office], committees, procedures, law interpretations, and scheduling of events, etc. to the greatest horse race ever run.

Guthrie did not have an evolutionary process of sequential stages of growth, identified as migration, continued with the rise of the village and then, the town before producing and adopting the city form of living. Guthrie started with a horse race and became a city overnight.

Capital Hill was claimed by two “Legal Entrymen”; *East Guthrie* was claimed illegally by four “Legal Sooners,” one townsite group of “Illegal Sooners,” two “Legal Entrymen,” and townsite claimants who were “Legal Entrymen” who illegally ignored

the legal claims of another; *West Guthrie* was illegally claimed by two “Legal Sooners”; and *Guthrie Proper* was claimed for a townsite illegally by a “Legal Sooner.”

Since the backdrop of the scene of Guthrie’s settlement has been described as without form except what deceit, greed, and aggressive force in most cases could obtain. It has set the stage to clearly understand that the townsite settlers were upon land that they had no claim except from a government that was not recognized by the United States. Marion Rock wrote, “the criminal neglect of Congress not only retarded the general improvement in both city and country, but actually bankrupted [sic] one-fourth of the people of Oklahoma.

Ignoring the problems of land titles, Guthrie’s townscapes went through an evolutionary process every few days due to the excitement, enthusiasm and exuberate energy of its settlers to make Guthrie the outstanding city of importance in the new territory. Guthrie’s promise of being the Capital City drew men of influence, culture, education, political ambitions and financial means.

Guthrie’s had four provisional governments, but Guthrie Proper prevails throughout researched documentation to be the central nucleus. Guthrie’s leaders were experienced legislatures and inexperienced lay people bonding together through their provisional governments to produce the Queen of the Territory.

The townscape began to take shape with the use of a town plat that provided blocks, lots and the foundation in which the other evolving townscapes would be built. The political and social/cultural were the most dynamic forces of the urban eco-system spiraling together to hold the community together against tremendous odds while the forces of economical entrepreneurship, the physical form of the city, and technological

endeavors were gaining their momentum. It was the urban eco-systems' five forces connecting, inter-weaving, bonding, and competing that led the methodical advancement creating a more substantial built environment preparing the way for the next evolution of Guthrie's townscape.

The City Council in 1889 were the urban designers and planners establishing Guthrie's social identity and ethics that shaped along with the natural environment, its urban form and configuration such as street width, form, configuration, and orientation, building heights, city compactness or dispersion, urban open space integration or land uses, and other related physical issues such as sanitation, disposal of refuse, unpolluted water supply, streetcar services, lights for city streets, and maximizing the public welfare, etc. These ethics or social values were reflected in Guthrie's citizenry responding to the environment and further expressed through their human-made physical environment, which included schools, buildings, houses, factories, streets, public parks, government acre, the townsite plat, bridges, electrical lights, water mains, fire departments, etc. In essence, the City Council was responsible for composing the physical form of the city. To create this composition, there had to be harmony between the Council and the individual to collaborate and develop the spatial patterns necessary for enhancing the continuity, safety, and social order for the future "Queen City."

Politically, there were superior forces, federal, state and municipal, making decisions that permanently imprinted Guthrie's build environment to evolve the 1910 Townscape (see figure 142). It was these two generations of factors that fused with each other to develop an extraordinary city.



Figure 142. Townscape, 1910: Guthrie's Past is Guthrie's Present

CHAPTER EIGHT

EPILOGUE: "AN EDGE CITY"

The internal structure of the city's urban eco-system has been shown to be the product of stimulation, interaction, feedback, adjustments, and responses of urban variables with one another. Each individual ecosystem within a given category will also have special features that make that particular subsystem somewhat unique. The uniqueness of each urban ecosystem is owing to the subtle differences in the manner in which the variables that give life to the system interact. The physical geography of the city, its historical roots, the human mosaic, its economics, transportation, and politics are all woven components from which the morphology of the city evolves. The interactions among the elements of the urban system can give rise to completely different urban forms; in essence, the evolution of a new transformed Guthrie (Exline, Peters and Larkin 1982, 179-181). Once again, Guthrie's location as in 1889 began having a pulling effect as an Edge City to Oklahoma City, and her downtown business district through the efforts of the Historic Preservation Movement reoccurred as an outstanding architectural heritage. The Edge City concept as stated by Paul D. Simkins:

Although, it does not appear as such in any of the state seals or flags, the wheel in many ways may be considered a symbol of America; the wagon or train wheel which early carried the nation westward, or the automobile wheel that moves it now increasingly to and from metropolitan centers (Simkins 1978, 189-220).

On December 30, 1940, Culbert Olson, Governor of California, officially dedicated the first freeway in the United States. It was called, "the miracle boulevard,"

and this six-mile stretch of highway became the model for urban transportation in the United States, which had in future years a direct bearing on Guthrie's new image and prosperity. The President's Advisory Committee on a National Highway Program in response to the massive support for limited – access thoroughfares criss-crossing the nation recommended to Congress the creation of the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways in 1956. Congress took immediate official action by designing a network system of 41,000 miles of freeways, including 7,000 miles within the metropolitan areas. Completion for this original system was to be in 1972, at a cost of twenty-six billion dollars. In 1968, 1,500 miles was added and the completion date was moved back to 1980s with expected costs of over one hundred billion. George Humphrey, Secretary of the Treasury, remarked, "America lives on wheels, and we have to provide the highways to keep America living on wheels and keep the kind and form of life we want (Exline, Peters, and Larkin 1982, 122-124)."

The automobile had a tremendous impact on the nature and structure of urban areas. Previous distance and time limitations that had restricted the residences of urban dwellers and the location of business enterprises were altered considerably. And, the constraints forcing urban growth at the center and along railway networks leading to the center had been overcome, allowing urban growth to spread in every direction along the roads that are now the giant skeleton of the modern metropolis (Owen 1972, 1). The development of superhighways greatly accelerated the movement of people to suburban areas, and easy access to an expressway interchange became the focus for both residential and commercial development.

Guthrie had the fortuitous destiny to have Interstate-35 and the dynamic forces of the Historic Preservation Movement converging at the same time to interject life saving amenities to her downtown rejuvenation and her areal appeal as an “edge city” suburbia. In the 1970s, Guthrie’s community inaugurated a historic preservation program consisting of a series of physical, social, and economic forces. This movement was stimulated by the state’s oil boom, the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981, providing for a twenty-five percent federal tax credit for “certified rehabilitations,” and other financial incentives. In 1986, Congress passed the Tax Reform Act that reduced much of the incentive to renovate historic properties. Although by this time, there were six local public and semi-public entities stimulating Guthrie’s historic preservation. The principal agency was the Logan County Historical Society. It was founded in 1974, governed by a fifteen-member Board of Directors who are administered by an executive committee under an executive director. This organization has been the driving force in executing preservation work in Guthrie. “The Logan County and Guthrie Industrial Development authorities have been involved in issuing revenue bonds to help finance historic renovation projects in the city. The Logan County Economic Development Council has participated in promoting all aspects of development in the greater Guthrie area. The Guthrie Arts and Humanities Council has brought cultural enrichment to the area by sponsoring cultural and performing art programs at the Scottish Rite Temple and the Pollard Theater. And, at the State and Federal level, the State Historic Preservation Office, a program of the Oklahoma Historical Society, provided advisory and grant assistance to many of the people and projects involved in Guthrie’s preservation movement (Leider 1990, 397-404).”

In 1974, the Capitol Townsite Historic District was created through the efforts by the Logan County Historical Society. The Historic Preservation Ordinance Number Two thousand six hundred twenty imposed strict design standards to maintain the historic integrity of Guthrie's downtown business district where the historic commercial buildings of the Historic District are assembled. The district contains the largest and best-preserved collection of pre-statehood commercial buildings in the state. Ninety percent of Guthrie's commercial buildings are in the downtown business district (Kent 1972; Leider 1990, 399).

Professor Arn Henderson of the University of Oklahoma, as a class project prepared A Plan for Historic Preservation in 1978 for the downtown business [historic] district:

"The study was a systematic assessment of the buildings' physical conditions, architectural historical significance. Physical or structural conditions were scored on the basis of a rating scale for specific components of the building facades. The study area contained 196 buildings, most of which were in commercial use. The survey found 73% of the buildings to be in good structural condition. Another 21% needed major repair and 6% were rated as badly deteriorated. As for architectural and historical significance, 22% of the buildings were found to be significant, while 78% were determined to have little or no significance (Leider 1990, 402)."

The Logan County Historical Society began a plan in 1979 to implement A Plan for Historic Preservation recommendations. The society authorized the establishment of a permanent staff consisting of an executive director who possessed a professional background in historic preservation. The supporting staff began a renovation and

revitalization program through both the private and public sectors. The staff primarily relied on three resources for funding: federal tax incentives for the renovation of historic buildings, Urban Development of Action Grants [UDAG], and local industrial revenue bonds. UDAG was development through the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD] to stimulate community development by providing a percentage of “risk capital” that consists of one federal dollar for every two dollars and fifty cents of private money. UDAG’s criteria required the project had to have a significant impact on the community by creating jobs. Federal tax legislation provided the major incentive for Guthrie’s historic district redevelopment, and of these, the greatest impact was the rehabilitation expenditure percentages offered by the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981. The last funding source the Industrial Revenue Bonds was issued through the Guthrie and Logan County Industrial Development Authorities. The borrower made application for a loan through the local authority who then passed the application through to the lender, typically a commercial bank (Leider 1990, 404).

Long Range Plan for Economic Revitalization of the Central Business District was a study prepared in 1980 by a joint effort of the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, U.S. Department of Interior, and the Architectural Engineering Record:

The major recommendations of the study included rehabilitation of the historical facades in the downtown area, restoration and maintenance of the State Capital Publishing Museum, replacement of sidewalks and street lighting, creation of more off-street parking, and establishment of revolving loan and investment funding for the acquisition and renovation of downtown commercial buildings (Lieder 1990, 402).

Also, by 1980 Guthrie had the 1907 Historic District listed in the National Register of Historic Places with three other entities listed separately, the State Capital

Publishing Museum, the Carnegie Library and St. Joseph Convent and Academy (For renovation project, see figure 140).

When the townsite was listed with the National Historic Register in 1974, the nomination did not require a record of individual properties. To bring the district up to current standards, the Logan County Historical Society matched a 50% State Historic Preservation Office grant in 1983 to keep a historic preservation consultant on staff for this purpose. “Of these, 1,408 were designated as contributing historically and 761 as non-contributing historically. And 69% of all buildings and 90% of the commercial structures were constructed before 1910. The balance of the buildings were built during a 1920s building boom which lasted through 1929 (Lieder 1920, 403).”

Charles Lieder investigated the economic activities affecting Guthrie from 1980 to 1986 in reference to the impact generated from historic preservation. The items of interest – “activities on relocation within Guthrie, sales tax collection, tourism, public lodging, and tours during the study period.” Lieder reported, “sales tax collections refunded to the city rose steadily between 1980 and 1986 despite a severe statewide economic recession caused by low oil and farm prices. Only in 1986 did the effects of the recession begin to have an impact on Guthrie (Lieder 1990, 413).” Thus, indicating historic preservation activities helped minimize the impact of the recession on the community.

Pertaining to the tourism activities, Lieder stated, “Tourism increased greatly during the study period. Guthrie has four principal tourist attractions: the Oklahoma

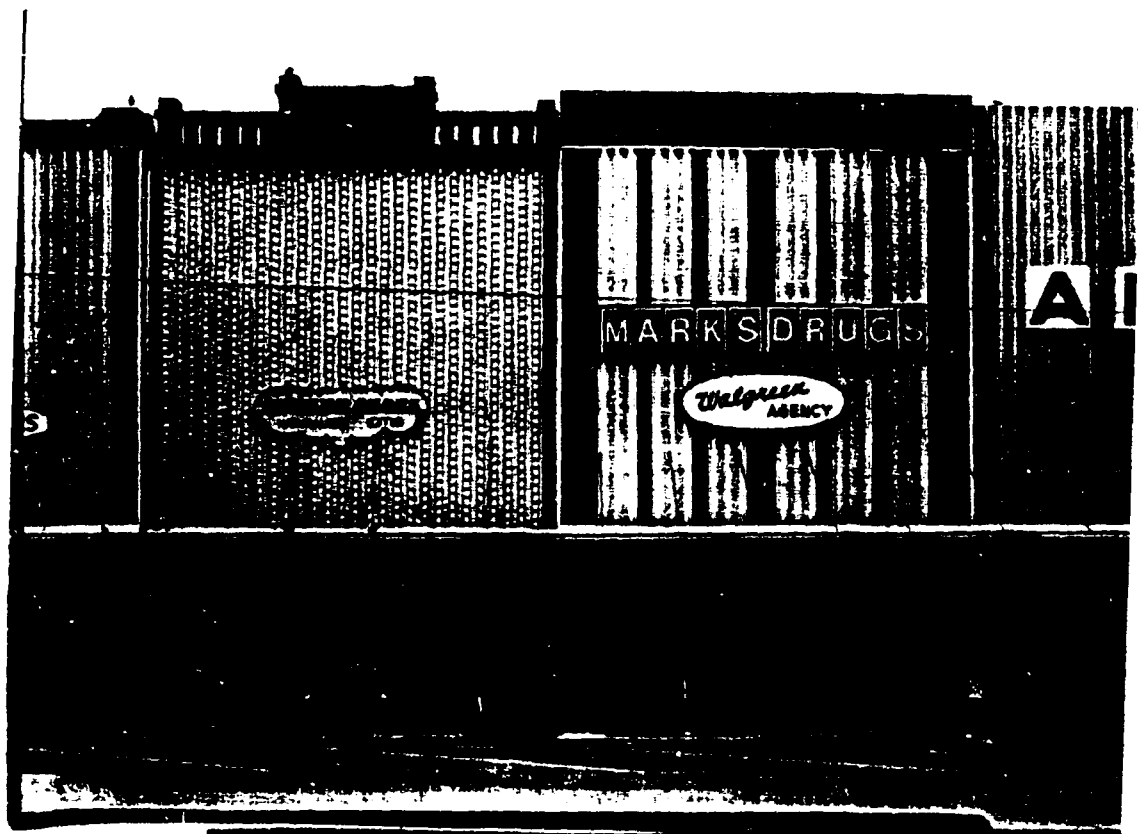


Figure 140. Renovation Project Between First and Division Street

Territorial Museum whose attendance increased 91% from 17,658 in 1986 to 33,695 in 1986; the State Capital Publishing Museum began operating in 1982 with 13,793 visitors and by 1986, 18,417 had visited, a 25 percent increase; the Scottish Rite Temple opened its doors to public in 1984 with 1,200 to 1,500 tourists annually visiting the facility; and the Victorian downtown business district.” Other activities relating to Guthrie’s tourism was the renovation of Harrison House and Stone Lion Inn greatly increased hotel lodgings and doubled the availability of quality facilities. Kraft Touring Company out of Tulsa was interviewed who stated, “the company provided tours to Guthrie two times a year, May and June, and operated two to three charter tours annually (Leider 1990, 414).”

Interstate-35 provided the residents of Guthrie an appropriate “time-frame” to commute to work in the Oklahoma City metropolitan area, but it also provided easy access to tourists and would be residents to Guthrie’s city limits (see figure 141). The composite of Leider’s interviews with Guthrie tourists: *Place of residence* – seventy-one percent lived in Oklahoma, twenty-four percent were from out-of-state, and five percent came from Europe; *Why they were visiting Guthrie* – sixty-one percent indicated historic attractions, fifteen percent saw the historic billboard on the interstate, one group came for business and discovered its downtown, and the last group were visiting for Masonic Temple functions; *Tourist attractions* – the Sand Plum Restaurant, Victor Mall, and the State Publishing Museum led the attractions with an excellent rating. The downtown historic district had the lowest percentage of excellent ratings of 70%; *Principal Activities* – sightseeing had the highest ratings at 30%, shopping 18%, eating 24%, touring 20%; *Length of stay* – 53% less than six hours, 28% less than two hours, and 16% stayed one day or longer; *Revisit Guthrie* – 74% indicated yes, 11% said no, 10% undecided.

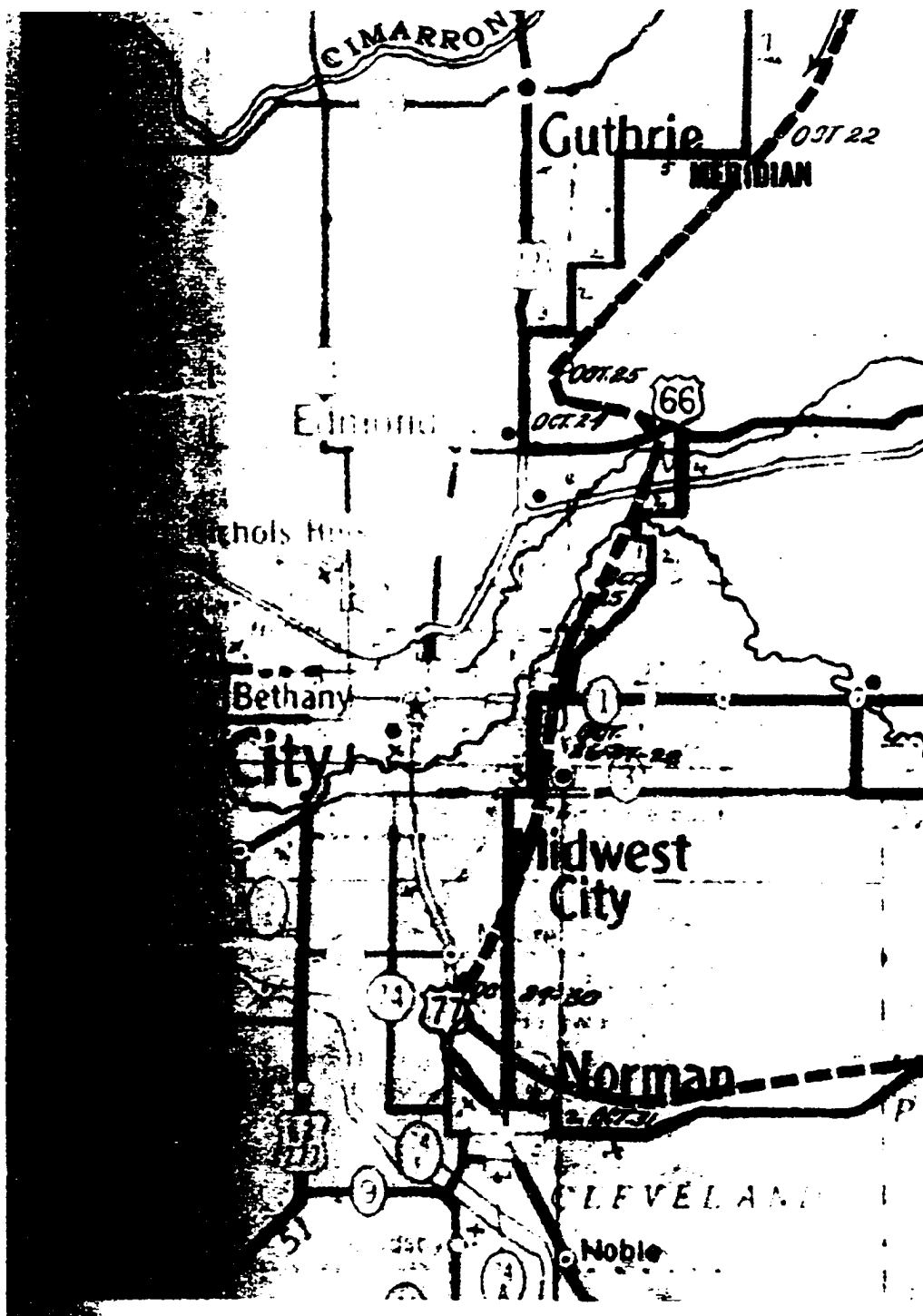


Figure 141. Guthrie, an Edge City to Oklahoma City

Lieder also participated in a shopper's survey in the Capitol Townsite Historic District. This survey indicated 93% were from Guthrie, 7% were from out-of-town, and 3% were from out-of-state. Of these people surveyed, 68 % preferred shopping inside Guthrie's downtown historic district. And 90% made comments that they enjoyed the renovated buildings and shopping in an area with such ambiance.

People of the community were asked in random telephone calls if the historic preservation had been a factor in their location to or within Guthrie. Only 13% responded yes, but 90% stated that historic preservation had a strong influence on life in Guthrie. This coincides with Kevin Lynch's theory that the way each of us sees our city, the mental map that we have of it, affects our behavior in it. Lynch found certain spatial components were especially important in the formation of urban images, namely – edges, districts, landmarks, nodes, and paths (Lynch 1973, 47-49). Edges range from seashores to freeways. Districts are areas within a city, bounded by edges and paths that have a definite identity for people who work or live within them. Landmarks are features of the cityscape that are used as reference points, and they usually are special or unique features within the urban eco-system. Nodes are major points of origin or destination for individuals and they serve as major elements in the urban image. These elements combine to produce an urban image, or mental map that an individual develops as a necessary guide for life in the city. It allows a general assessment of how people perceive their city and what they think of its appearance. "Places are more than just collections of human and material artifacts, they are meaningful symbols in the human experience. Both regions and writers, place and person, are unique, and it is their distinctive qualities that we may find character. It is this essential character of places that

composes the central theme in studies of the sense of place (Lynch 1973, 47-49).” As described by Hurst:

Every place has a special character for its residents, its visitors, and those who “know” it only second-hand. Each place has a personality of its own, buried perhaps beneath prejudice and emotion, derived not just from buildings, but also from contours, street patterns, drama, color, surprises, smells, noises,. . . (Hurst 1975, 41).

Guthrie possesses all the elements of a lasting urban image. It is an edge city, a historical landmark, and a node serving as a major path in functions of daily activities. Guthrie urban image has gone “full-circle” in rejuvenation – 1889, prime location, magic city, decline, stagnation [decay], interstate highway, prime location, edge city, magic city, 1999.

James E. Vance described the above phenomena as stages of urban development. He used the terminology as “general urban growth sequence” – inception, exclusion, segregation, extension, relocation, readjustment, and redevelopment: *Inception*, the key element that gave rise to the city; *Exclusion*, forcing activities out of an area; *Segregation*, businesses of “like-kind” locate in similar areas; *Extension*, transportation; *Readjustment and Relocation*, the downtown areas readjusting their image, function, etc. in an attempt to maintain economic viability (Exline, Peters and Larkin 1892, 11-12).

Urban growth and development result from the forces of the urban ecosystem, even though the elements of a city’s ecosystem may function so discreetly that little activity seems to be occurring. It may therefore be useful to consider Vance’s urban growth sequences of inception through readjustment as major, highly visible results of the interactions of the urban eco-system. The major concepts of geography and spatial

analysis are essential elements in the study of the urban eco-system and the stages of urban development (Vance 1966, 112-120).

The city is composed of historical layers whose physical formation and evolution have been shaped, inter-woven, and entangled by diversified social behavioral, economic, political, social/cultural and natural environmental forces. As such, the city represents a synthesis of these forces. From its inception, the city has been shaped and reshaped by the human vitality that orchestrated the formations of the synthesis of these diversified forces. Moreover, every urban resident, by virtue of his or her existence, contributes at least a fraction to the city's creation, shape, and atmosphere (Golany 1995, 65).

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Figure 141. Oklahoma Rand McNally Road Map

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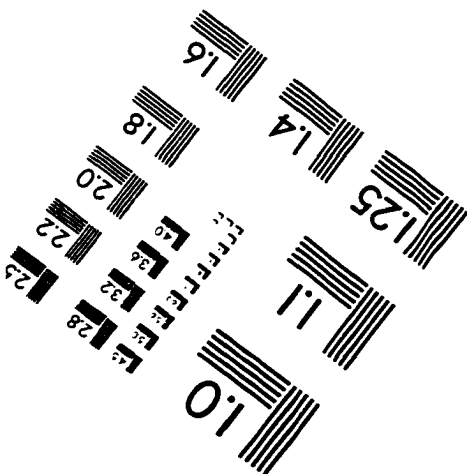
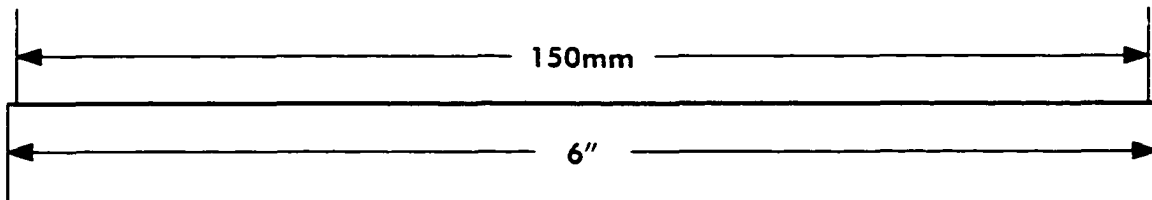
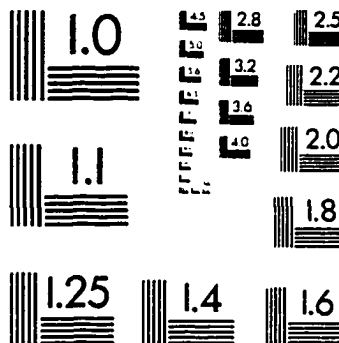
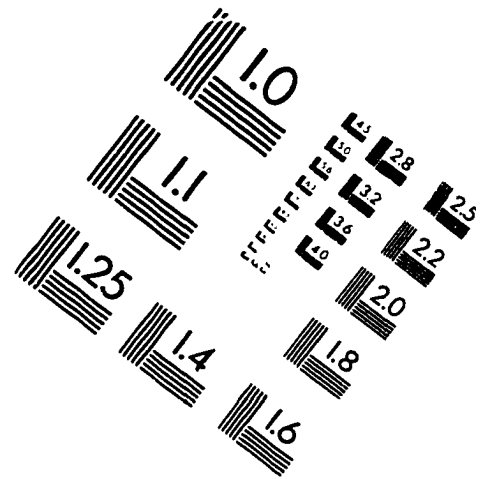
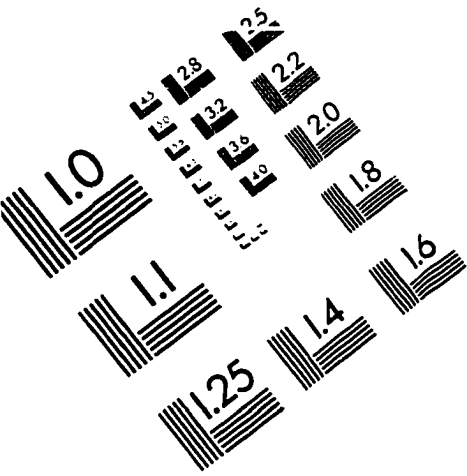
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