

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN OKLAHOMA

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Although the women's suffrage movement in the United States predates the Civil War, from 1869 until 1893 only the women of Wyoming Territory had the right to vote. After Colorado, Utah, and Idaho enfranchised women in the nineties, women's suffrage advocates believed that their greatest hopes of success lay in the West.

Early in the settlement of Oklahoma Territory, suffragists started their drive to win the franchise often coming close but never achieving victory. Following the abolition of the Indian tribal governments, suffragists made great efforts to secure equal rights for women in an Indian state. Congress's refusal to accept the idea of two states led to the combination of the Twin Territories into the State of Oklahoma in 1907. This study considers the nature of life and society in the Indian and Oklahoma Territories and the factors contributing to the narrow defeat of the women's suffrage proposal in the Constitutional Convention.

Sources include memoirs of participants, reminiscences of a cross-section of the society, biographies, newspapers,

government documents and secondary works. Chapter I summarizes the political histories of both territories from settlement to the opening of the Constitutional Convention. Chapter II discusses the life of the average person during the period 1890 to 1906. Chapter III deals with atypical women whose lives would have influenced public opinion. Chapter IV reviews the Constitutional Convention 1906-1907, the leading personalities, the major problems, and the unforeseen events resulting in the decision not to grant women equal suffrage. Chapter V covers the struggle for the ballot, 1907 to 1918 culminating in passage of an amendment granting women the right to vote in Oklahoma.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN OKLAHOMA

THESIS

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## CHAPTER I

### POLITICAL HISTORY OR OVERVIEW

In 1907, the eve of the constitutional convention for the proposed state of Oklahoma, the national women's suffrage leaders' hopes centered in the West. Territorial Wyoming enfranchised women in 1869. Colorado, Idaho, and Utah by various processes gave female suffrage legal sanction between 1893 and 1896. Now Oklahoma offered a new opportunity in the contest.<sup>1</sup>

A number of encouraging signs existed. Kentucky, in 1845, allowed widowed mothers, owning property, to vote in school district elections. By 1894, twenty-one states and territories including Oklahoma Territory had extended this limited voting privilege. Though welcome, this "privilege" fell far short of earlier expectations in Oklahoma, for at the first territorial legislature in 1890 a petition to word the suffrage law, "Every citizen of the age of twenty-one

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<sup>1</sup>Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement (New York, 1923), pp. 127-128; Ida Husted Harper, editor, History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. IV, 6 vols. (Rochester, New York, 1902), pp. 163-164.

shall have the right to vote . . ." lost in the House by just three votes.<sup>2</sup>

Encouraged by their mixed success, suffragists opened a campaign to convince members of the Oklahoma Territorial legislature in 1897. One of the most prestigious of the national figures in the movement, Carrie Chapman Catt stayed in Guthrie, the territorial capitol, most of the winter "working for the cause." After a succession of petitions and interviews, suffragists felt themselves near their goal. Differences between the governor and members of the legislature delayed action on the bill until only a week of the session remained. Then the bill passed the House. Still suffragists reassured themselves a week would be enough to win consideration and passage by the Council (Senate) and to obtain the governor's signature. Suddenly, one of their stalwart supporters in the Council, who had promised his help, turned against them to lead the opposition. The measure failed. Suffragists concluded that his need for money exceeded the integrity of his word. According to Mrs. Catt's report to the next National Suffrage Convention,

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<sup>2</sup>Harper, History of Woman Suffrage, IV, 161-164, 887; Luretta Gilbert Rainey, History of Oklahoma State Federation of Women's Clubs (Guthrie, Oklahoma, 1939), p. 20. Rainey refers to Section 8 Article 3, Laws of Oklahoma Territory, 1893; Daily Oklahoman, May 5, 1894, p. 2.

each of the thirteen Council members was approached by representatives of an anti-suffrage group from Albany, New York, and by the Saloonkeepers League.<sup>3</sup>

The opposition of the Saloonkeepers League to voting rights for women stemmed from the alliance between the suffragists and the temperance advocates. The Prohibition Party platform of 1872 included a plank favoring women's suffrage, but this had not resulted in a flood of favorable legislation. The United States Brewers' Organization at its convention in 1881, according to the "suffragist scrap-books," adopted an anti-suffrage resolution to the effect that the Brewers would welcome prohibition as far less dangerous than women's suffrage, because prohibition could be repealed at any time, but women's suffrage would insure the permanency of prohibition.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Harper, History of Woman Suffrage, IV, 887-889; E1 Reno (Oklahoma) News, April 2, 1897, p. 4, May 28, 1897, p. 4; Daily Oklahoman, March 4, 1899, p. 3; Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage, p. 129.

<sup>4</sup>Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage, pp. 133-135; James H. Timberlake, Prohibition and the Progressive Movement 1900-1920 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1963), pp. 110-112, 122, 123; Alan Pendleton Grimes, The Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage (New York, 1961), p. 86 gives the date of 1869 for a woman suffrage plank in the Prohibition Party platform. Kirk H. Porter and Donald Bruce Johnson, compilers, National Party Platforms 1840-1960 2nd ed. (Urbana, 1961) item 16, p. 46 include such a stand for 1872 as the earliest national platform for that party. The Brewers testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1918 that they had kept no minutes of their conventions but the suffragists kept notebooks of their work and newspaper clippings. Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage, p. 134.



After 1900 prospects brightened. The national Republican party platform of 1896 had favored suffrage for women. The number of suffrage organizations had increased each year in both Oklahoma and Indian Territories. Newspaper editors, political leaders, and temperance groups supported the idea that women citizens should no longer be classed with "illiterates, minors, felons, insane and feebleminded." The suffragists could take some comfort in the Sequoyah Convention. Although this effort for single statehood for the Indian Territory had been virtually ignored by the Congress and the Republican administration in Washington, the fight for women's suffrage led by Robert L. Owen had come close to victory. Owen, a prominent Democrat and a Cherokee leader, could be relied upon for support. President Theodore Roosevelt had voted for women's suffrage in his home state of New York. Women's suffrage had support in each of the political parties at both the national and the local level.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Grimes, The Puritan Ethic, 81; Harper, History of Woman Suffrage, IV, 437, 521, 886, 1075; Daily Oklahoman, October 22, 1895, p. 1, November 16, 1895, p. 1; Edmond (Oklahoma) Sun Democrat, October 16, 1896; Chickasaw (Oklahoma) Daily Express, December 28, 1900, p. 4; Perkins (Oklahoma) Journal, October 14, 1904, p. 1; Clinton McClarty Allen and J. S. Buchanan, The Sequoyah Movement (Oklahoma City, 1925) p. 100; The Republican Platform of 1896 included, "We favor the admission of women to wider spheres of usefulness, and welcome their cooperation in rescuing the country from Democratic mismanagement and Populist misrule." Harper, History of Woman Suffrage, IV, 437; See also Porter & Johnson, National Party Platforms, p. 109; The quotation ". . . illiterates, minors, felons . . ." see Harper, History of Woman Suffrage, IV, 521.

Now the suffragists must confront and persuade the delegates elected to draft a new state constitution. As in the nineties, the national suffrage organization sent several veteran workers to assist the local advocates. As a western state-to-be with a sustained interest in this question, Oklahoma would surely turn the tide of opposition still so strong in much of the nation.<sup>6</sup>

In spite of their efforts, the measure failed again. The roots of this defeat are in early territorial history. To understand the proponents' optimism and the factors contributing to the Indian and Oklahoma Territories delegates' decision in the Constitutional Convention, it is essential to review the political histories of the Twin Territories and to consider the nature of life in these areas prior to the Enabling Act of 1906 which created a single state from these two formerly separate regions.<sup>7</sup>

Responding to white man's Western push, the national government created the Indian Territory. The promise, the

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<sup>6</sup>Harper, History of Woman Suffrage IV, 886 ff; Daily Oklahoman, September 13, 1904, p. 3; Perkins Journal, September 22, 1904, p. 2, September 23, 1904, p. 2, October 21, 1904, p. 4; Cherokee Messenger, April 7, 1905; Lexington Leader, May 12, 1905, p. 1; Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage, pp. 128-130.

<sup>7</sup>U.S. Statutes at Large, XXXIV, 267; Indian Affairs, Handbook of Federal Indian Law (Washington, 1945), p. 428. (So listed in the Government Docs. author is Felix S. Cohen).

lure, of the West has claimed the American imagination since the early days of the colonization. Individuals, families, and groups of prospective settlers moved across the mountains determined to transform the fertile wilderness into productive farms. To Washington officials the conflicts between the settlers and the Indian tribes west of the Alleghenies demanded a solution. Among these tribes were the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles, known as the Five Civilized Tribes because of their agricultural way of life and their systems of government which seemed to resemble the society of white America more than that of nomadic Indians. Their tribal lands stretched from Florida to Mississippi and north to western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee. Between 1786 and 1790 the new United States negotiated treaties of friendship and loyalty with these tribes. Boundaries were defined, trading conditions set forth, and extradition procedures established. The Indians considered themselves autonomous nations whose lands happened to border on the United States.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Grant Foreman, The Last Trek of the Indians (Chicago, 1946), p. 13; Warren C. Price, "Removal of the Indians from the Southeast--A Major Tragedy," Transportation Section, Golden Anniversary Edition, Daily Oklahoman, April 23, 1939; Treaty with the Cherokee VII, 18; Treaty with the Chickasaw, 1786, U.S. Statutes at Large VII, 24; Treaty with the Creeks and Seminoles, 1790; U.S. Statutes at Large, VII, 35; Reprinted in Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties (Washington, 1904), II, 11-14, 25-29; Annie Abel "Proposals for an Indian State 1778-1878," Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1907, I, 89-104, traces the history of the idea of a separate Indian state indicating that

In 1802, when Georgia agreed to abandon title to her western land claims, it was with the understanding that, in order to expand white settlement, the federal government would quickly remove the Indians. Such an agreement seemed to abrogate the existing treaties between the United States and the Five Civilized Tribes. From the Indians' point of view, their claims predated those of Georgia and of the young federal government.<sup>9</sup>

The Louisiana Territorial Act of 1804 empowered the President to deal with the Indians and to foster their removal to the West.<sup>10</sup> During the next forty years, each of the Indian Nations, as the tribes called themselves, experienced substantial pressures from the national government, the southern states, especially Georgia, and from individual whites who harassed the Indians seeking their

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<sup>9</sup>Price, "Removal . . .,"; Abel, "Proposals," pp. 91-100; Indian Affairs, Handbook of Federal Indian Law, pp. 53-55; Wilson Lumpkin, The Removal of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia 1827-1841 (New York, 1907), 86; David H. Corkran, The Creek Frontier 1540-1783 (Norman, Oklahoma, 1967), pp. 82-102 "Oglethorpe's Friends, 1733-1739," traces the foundations of relations between the English and the Creeks; The question of sovereignty was the basis of several momentous decisions by the United States Supreme Court, Chisholm v. Georgia, 1793, Fletcher v. Peck, 1795, Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, 1831, and Worcester v. Georgia, 1832.

<sup>10</sup>U.S. Statutes at Large, II, 283-289; Allen and Buchanan, The Sequoyah Movement, pp. 2, 3; Price, "Removal."

removal. A substantial portion of the Five Civilized Tribes moved west to the Indian Territory beyond the Mississippi.<sup>11</sup>

While it is not the purpose of this effort to detail the tragic events of the removals, it is important to review the trends of the agreements between the federal government and the Indians as well as the major political events affecting the tribes. In the removal treaties, the United States guaranteed each of these Indian Nations that it would never be incorporated into any state or territory without its own approval. Apparently each of the tribes, secure in this assurance, felt no need to make common cause

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<sup>11</sup>The Indian Removal Act, May 28, 1830 provided ". . . for the exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the states or territories, and for their removal west of the River Mississippi." U.S. Statutes at Large IV, 411, C.148; Price, "Removal," details the harsh Georgia law of December 20, 1828, directed against the Indians, abolishing treaty rights, the right of any Indian to enter into contracts, to sue, to conduct Indian assemblies, to work in their own gold mines. Samuel Austin Worcester, a missionary to the Cherokee, defied this law which required that all whites living with the Indians swear allegiance to the state of Georgia. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court whose decision favored Worcester and the Indians; Frederick Webb Hodge, editor, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico I, 2 vols, (Washington, 1907), p. 246 notes the discovery of gold in the Cherokee Nation; R. S. Cotterill, The Southern Indian: The Story of the Civilized Tribes Before Removal, (Norman, Oklahoma, 1954), p. 173 outlines the pressures exerted on the Indians to move. For those individuals who were unable to remove or who chose not to leave arrangements were made in the treaties for an allotment of land for those families.

with the others or to develop any degree of unity among themselves.<sup>12</sup> Although eager to protect their native culture by remaining separate both politically and geographically, these tribes embraced parts of the white man's political structure and culture. Between the Revolutionary War and 1867 the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and the Creeks framed constitutions for themselves.<sup>13</sup> Among the

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<sup>12</sup>The phraseology of all the treaties is similar. Article 4 of the Treaty with the Choctaw, made in 1830 at Dancing Rabbit Creek, U.S. Statutes at Large VII, 333, reads, "The Government and people of the United States are hereby obliged to secure to the said Choctaw Nation of Red People the jurisdiction and government of all persons and property that may be within their limits west, so that no Territory or State shall ever have a right to pass laws for the government of the Choctaw Nation of Red People and their descendants, and that no part of the land granted to them shall ever be embraced in any territory or State . . ." See also U.S. Statutes at Large VII, 450 (Chickasaw), VI, 311 (Cherokee), XI, 699 (Creeks and Seminoles); Corkran, The Creek Frontier, deals with the history of the relations between the tribes who were neighbors but often enemies.

<sup>13</sup>Edward Davis, "Early Advancement Among the Five Civilized Tribes," Chronicles of Oklahoma XIV (June, 1936), 166-172; Angie Debo, And Still The Waters Run (Princeton, New Jersey, 1940), p. 3; Angie Debo, Tulsa: From Creek Town to Oil Capital (Norman, Oklahoma, 1943), p. 20; Arrell M. Gibson, Oklahoma: A Students' Guide to Localized History (New York, 1965), p. 34; Muriel H. Wright, "Contributions of the Indian People to Oklahoma," Chronicles of Oklahoma, XIV (June, 1936), p. 158; Seth K. Corden and W. B. Richards, compilers, Oklahoma Red Book, Vol. I (2 vols.), Oklahoma City, 1912), pp. 201-238 includes the constitutions of these four tribes; Oliver Knight, "Fifty Years of Choctaw Law," Chronicles of Oklahoma XXXI (Spring, 1953), pp. 76-95 discusses the development of that law; Debo, Tulsa, p. 42 details Creek law and government in Oklahoma.

numerous provisions, mostly based on the United States Constitution, citizenship was defined and the franchise limited to free males eighteen or older. Although voteless, Indian women as tribal citizens had far reaching influences.<sup>14</sup>

Since the time of early contact, European men had married Indian women. Because clan membership depended on the mother's citizenship, children of such unions suffered no discrimination.<sup>15</sup> In such a society where the mother's brother often exercised more parental direction over the children than the father, mixed blood children were culturally integrated. A substantial number of the leaders among the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Creek nations were mixed bloods yet full citizens of their tribes as children of Indian mothers.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>For additional material on citizenship see Angie Debo, The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic, Vol. VI, 100 vols. Civilization of the American Indian Series, (Norman, Oklahoma, 1934) p. 160 and Charles C. Royce, "The Cherokee Nation of Indians," Fifth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, 1887), p. 337; Corden and Richards, Oklahoma Red Book, pp. 201-237; Knight, "Fifty Years of Choctaw Law," p. 88.

<sup>15</sup>Corkran, The Creek Frontier, pp. 26, 30-32; Rose A. Palmer, The North American Indians, Vol. IV, p. 73, Smithsonian Science Series, edited by Charles Greeley Abbott, 12 vols. (New York, 1929) pp. 73, 297; Angie Debo, The Road to Disappearance Vol. XXII, 100 vols., Civilization of American Indian Series, (Norman, Oklahoma, 1941), p. 15; Angie Debo, The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic (Norman, Oklahoma, 1934), p. 15.

<sup>16</sup>Among the Cherokee Sequoyah, Elias Boudinot, Stand Watie, among the Creeks Alexander McGillivray, the MacIntoshes and the Perryman families and among the Choctaw tribe the Wright family are examples of such intermarriage. See also John R. Swanton, "Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of the Choctaw Indians" Bureau of Ethnology Bulletin #103 (Washing-

Information is sketchy on the political and cultural status of the women of the Five Civilized Tribes before the Removal. Sufficient evidence confirms that, although they did not vote in elections with the men of their tribes, women had major political rights and power. Among the Cherokees, women nominated men for chieftainships and initiated the process for their dismissal. Women elected representatives to a Woman's Council headed by the Beloved Woman of the tribe. These councils could overrule decisions made by the chief. Women owned and controlled their property even after marriage. In the event of a divorce, both spouses retained such property as they had brought to the marriage and divided the acquisitions made in the course of the marriage.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Carolyn Thomas Foreman, Indian Women Chiefs (Muskogee, Oklahama, 1954), pp. 7-9, 14, 39-43; Corkran, The Creek Frontier, p. 31, quotes from the British Public Records 5/75 speaking of the matriarchal society giving examples of the unusual degree of influence of some women and concludes ". . . it is to be assumed that the eighteenth century Creeks had a category of influential female civil servants." Corkran also notes that a Chickasaw woman led a peace mission to the Choctaws, p. 117; John R. Swanton, "Aboriginal Culture of the Southeast," Forty-Second Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology 1924-25 (Washington, 1928) p. 700 states "In the eastern section . . . women frequently rose to chieftancies." Debo, Rise and Fall, p. 125; Debo, Road to Disappearance, pp. 16, 17, 125, 305, 306; John R. Swanton, "Social Organization and Social Usage of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy," Forty-Second Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology 1924-25 (Washington, 1928) p. 386; McReynolds, History, p. 100; Although they were political enemies the Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek and Seminoles tribes shared a common culture related to their Muskegean stock. Palmer, The North American Indian, 73,



The Indian experience with the Removal is frequently called The Trail of Tears. As a definition, it is an understatement. In retrospect, it may be possible to excuse some of the conditions endured by the Indians as beyond human control, but the loss of life on the trek and during the years which passed before some of the tribes began to recover points to a most callous aspect of the Federal Indian policy.<sup>18</sup>

Geography placed the Indian Territory in a North-South crossfire and drew the tribes into the Civil War. Members of the tribes loyal to the Union fled North toward federal

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<sup>18</sup>There are a number of books and articles on the Removal of the Five Civilized Tribes to the Indian Territory. For most Indians it was a time of unmitigated misery, poor and inadequate food, insufficient clothing, little shelter, epidemics of measles and cholera with little or no medicine. See Grant Foreman, Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes (Norman, Oklahoma, 1953) details the problems and heartaches; Lumpkin, The Removal of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia, 1827-1841, defends his role as a congressman and later Governor of Georgia endeavoring to force the Cherokees to leave; Douglas L. Right, The American Indian in North Carolina (Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 1947) pp. 194-199 gives a first hand account; Muriel Wright, "Removal of the Choctaws to Indian Territory," Chronicles of Oklahoma, VI, (June, 1928), pp. 116-127; Edwin C. McReynolds, The Seminoles, (Norman, Oklahoma, 1957), pp. 159-173, 227-242; Joseph B. Thorburn and Muriel H. Wright, A History of the State and Its People, I, 4 vols (New York, 1929), pp. 171-172 on the Chickasaws; An individual account of interest is Grant Foreman, editor, A Traveler in Indian Territory, The Journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1930); Debo, Tulsa, pp. 7-16 relates something of the Creek's experience of Removal and the aftermath. The population of one part of the tribe numbered 274 in the census of 1857 as compared to 565 twenty years earlier, p. 13.

strongholds in Kansas fighting desperately against fellow Indians who supported the South.<sup>19</sup> The Confederacy controlled the Territory during much of the war. Following the surrender, Federal officials insisted on punitive renegotiation of the treaties with each of the Five Civilized Tribes. The net result diminished the land holdings of these tribes, thereby increasing the land available to the federal government for redistribution to the Indians being moved in from other states.<sup>20</sup> These new treaties also granted rights of way for the building of railroads through the Indian Territory.

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<sup>19</sup>Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, Cherokee Cavaliers; Forty Years of Cherokee History As Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family Vol. 19, 100 vols., Civilization of American Indian Series, (Norman, Oklahoma, 1939), p. xix; Debo, Road to Disappearance, pp. 142-172; Roy Gittinger, The Formation of the State of Oklahoma, University of California Publications in History, VI, 81 vols. to 1969, (Berkeley, 1917), pp. 56-78; McReynolds, History, pp. 202-204, 220-222; Debo, Tulsa, pp. 25-35, 92-93; Angie Debo, Oklahoma Foot-loose and Fancy Free (Norman, Oklahoma, 1949), pp. 20-22; Steven B. Oates, Confederate Cavalry West of the River (Austin, Texas, 1961), pp. 11, 17, 26, 31-33, 44, plate 2yn 94, 99 for Indian cavalry participation in the Civil War.

<sup>20</sup>U.S. Statutes at Large XIV, 799 (Cherokees), XIV, 769 (Chickasaws and Choctaws), XIV, 785 (Creeks), XIV, 755 (Seminoles); In essence these treaties voided treaties made by the Indians with the Confederate states, granted amnesty, freed slaves held in the tribes, established some changes in political structure, granted the United States the right to settle other civilized Indians on unoccupied Indian lands and granted rights of way for railroads. See plates in appendix from Solon J. Buck "Settlement of Oklahoma," Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Science, Arts and Letters XV Part II (Madison. 1907). pp. 329-330; Wright. "Contributions."

The principal support for the railroads originated with the developers and government officials endeavoring to link the west coast with the rest of the nation. A majority of Indians feared that the coming of the railroads would bring far more difficulties than advantages.<sup>21</sup> Certainly access to the Territory was easier for land-hungry whites. Another crucial feature of the post-Civil-War treaties modified the tribal governments, resulting in considerable disorganization and opposition to the new method of selecting tribal officers. Inevitably sharp disagreements arose. Charges of mismanagement were leveled at officers and against entire tribes.<sup>22</sup>

In 1887, Senator Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts introduced legislation extending the concept of the 160-acre family farm to the western half of the "old" Indian

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<sup>21</sup> Gittinger, Formation, pp. 79, 82; Price, "Removal"; Gibson, Guide, p. 21; Debo, Footloose, pp. 23, 24; James D. Morrison, "The Union Pacific, Southern Branch," Chronicles of Oklahoma, XIV (June, 1936), pp. 173-177; Debo, Tulsa, p. 50.

<sup>22</sup> Grant Foreman, The Five Civilized Tribes (Norman, 1934) p. 207; Gittinger, Formation, pp. 184, 190; S. W. Harman, Hell on the Border, He Hanged Eighty-Eight Men (Fort Smith, Arkansas, 1898), p. 64; Debo, Tulsa, p. 44.

Territory now held by many other tribes.<sup>23</sup> The Dawes Act created a commission to effect the new policy. This commission concluded that changing territorial conditions negated the original treaties because of the population ratio of whites to Indians.<sup>24</sup> According to commission estimates for 1893, 150,000 whites and 70,000 Indians lived in the Territory. Other arguments put forth for change in the status of the Territory to the United States included the deprivations of white residents. Although the non-Indian resident paid an annual tax to the Nation, he did invest in businesses and often exhibited great interest in the well-being of the community, his children however were ineligible for the Indian schools except in unusual circumstances. Further, the judicial system did

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<sup>23</sup>The original Dawes Act was supplemented with laws broadening the scope to apply to the Five Civilized Tribes. See U.S. Statutes at Large XXIV 388, XXVII 612, 645, XXVIII 910, 939.

<sup>24</sup>Gittinger, Formation, pp. 184-190; Bureau of the Census, Population of Oklahoma and Indian Territory 1907 (Washington, 1907) Table 3 p. 9 shows the following percentages of population growth in the Indian Territory. Compare the Indian and the white percentages.

	1890	1900	1907
White	61.2	77.2	79.1
Indian	28.5	13.4	9.1
Negro	10.3	9.4	11.8
Mongolian	Trace	-----	-----

not adequately serve the increasingly predominant white population.<sup>25</sup>

The Dawes Act challenged common or tribal ownership of land. Among the Five Civilized Tribes any member was free to use as much of the common land as he felt he needed, even to the point of employing white tenants to cultivate large tracts. As a matter of individual choice, an Indian could live a traditional life or operate a huge farm where non-Indian tenants became more and more a part of the pattern of life. Public apologists for the Dawes Act pointed out that of a total of three million acres of land in the Creek Nation, sixty-one individuals controlled one-third. Among the Cherokees, one hundred people controlled

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<sup>25</sup>Gittinger, Formation, p. 189; Charles Wayne Ellinger, "The Drive For Statehood in Oklahoma 1889-1906," Chronicles of Oklahoma XLI (Spring, 1963), pp. 20, 21; Debo, Road to Disappearance, p. 140; Junius B. Moore, "The Survey of Indian Territory 1894-1907," Chronicles of Oklahoma XXVIII (Winter, 1950), p. 445; The judicial problem was that the Indian Courts had no jurisdiction over white residents of the Territory. In 1890, Congress passed legislation directing that the laws of the State of Arkansas would henceforth cover whites. U.S. Statutes at Large XXVI, 93. In 1904, Congress extended this law directing that the laws of Arkansas would cover all residents of the Indian Territory. XXXIII, 573, Sec. 2; Harman, Hell on the Border, relates the problems of law enforcement with two sets of laws. See especially pp. 54-59; Indian Affairs, Handbook of Federal Indian Law, pp. 427-428.

one-half of all the national land.<sup>26</sup> Without doubt many people were convinced that the average Indian would be better off with land of his own. With an allotment each individual would receive United States citizenship and perhaps embrace the goals and life style of the white culture. The Five Tribes found themselves forced to abandon their custom of common ownership of land and to submit to a division of their lands in order that each man, woman, and child would receive a portion.<sup>27</sup> If all the land had been equally

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<sup>26</sup>Edward Everett Dale and Morris L. Wardell, History of Oklahoma (New York, 1948), pp. 288-294; Gittinger, Formation, p. 189; Debo, Tulsa, pp. 49, 58, 59.

<sup>27</sup>A persistent thought runs through the treaties with the Five Civilized Tribes. The United States repeatedly offers to assist in the surveying of land to facilitate allotment of tribal lands. Just as consistently the Indians in subsequent treaties would void such a provision. According to Abel, "Proposals" p. 100, this was the pattern of thought in Washington, that the Indians when they became sufficiently educated would opt for individual ownership of land. See the Treaty with the Choctaw at Doak's Stand October 18, 1820, Senate Document 319, 58-2 Volume 2-13, Art. 4 "The boundaries hereby established between the Choctaw Indians and the United States on this side of the Mississippi River shall remain without alteration until the period at which said Nation shall become so civilized and enlightened as to be made citizens of the United States, and Congress shall lay off a limited parcel of land for the benefit of each family or individual in the Nation." In the next treaty between the Choctaw Nation and the United States made at Washington January 20, 1825, U.S. Statutes at Large VII 234 Art. 7 modified the provision concerning the "apportioning" of land to individuals, stipulating that such action would be taken only with the "consent" of the Nation. See also treaties U.S. Statutes at Large VII 311 and VII 414 with the Western Cherokees. The Dawes Act and supplements are notes in fn. 23.

divided among the members of the tribes, each would have received more than 160 acres. Such a division would have left no open land to be settled by either the landless whites eager to come into the area or for the resident whites already in the Indian Territory. According to the Census of 1900, 77.2 per cent of the population of this Territory were white compared to 13.4 per cent Indian. These figures seemed to substantiate the earlier population estimate of the Dawes Commission.<sup>28</sup>

Before the allotments could be made, tribal rolls had to be drawn listing the names of all entitled to receive land, a long and trying process. Reportedly the full bloods refused to cooperate, utterly discouraged with the federal government which so consistently broke its promises. Land surveys had to precede the choosing of parcels. Eventually the necessary steps completed, every man, woman, and child selected his own property and the remainder of the lands were opened for settlement.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Gibson, Guide, p. 23; Bureau of the Census, Population . . . 1907, Table 3 p. 9, the Whites number 302,680, Indians 52,500, Negroes 36,853, Mongolians 27. We may question the roundness of the Indian figures.

<sup>29</sup>Gibson, Guide, p. 23; Debo, Tulsa, p. 91-92; In an interview with Acting Documents Librarian Harrington, University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma, May 27, 1970, she commented that reportedly many Indian families were intimidated by whites not to enroll. Presumably the whites wanted land that the Indians were expected to select.

Periodically, interest in the creation of an Indian state existed in Washington and in the Territory. Some Indians believed that the Dawes Commission had promised separate statehood and that with the Atoka Agreement the Congress also had committed itself to dual statehood for the two territories. After the passage of the Curtis Act abolishing the tribal governments, including their judicial systems, the prospect appeared less hopeful.<sup>30</sup> The time was short. Unless the

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<sup>30</sup>A council to draw up a constitution was held in Okmulgee, Creek Nation in 1869. The Indians refused to ratify this proposal for an Indian state. Gittinger, Formation, p. 84; Abel maintains that after 1878 the national government had no intention of allowing a separate Indian state. "Proposals" pp. 101, 102; In December 1889 a bill to establish an Indian State of Columbia was introduced in the Congress with no result. Dale and Wardell History, p. 300; Gittinger, Formation p. 196; According to the Daily Oklahoman February 2, 1895 a statehood convention met in Oklahoma City with representatives from the Chickasaw Nation and Oklahoma Territory. Nothing indicates whether the delegates from the Chickasaws were Indian or white; Debo, Footloose, p. 19 states that the Indians "steadfastly refused to form a territorial government . . . but each little republic governed its citizens under its own laws." See also Grant Foreman, History of Oklahoma (Norman, Oklahoma, 1942), pp. 311, 312; For a discussion of the Atoka Agreement and the Curtis Act, see Gittinger, Formation, p. 192; The Curtis Act, sponsored by an Indian, Charles Curtis from Kansas, ordered the abolition of tribal governments effective March 4, 1906 thereby forcing the tribes to consider some form of joint action to provide a civil government, U.S. Statutes at Large XXX 495; See also Allen and Buchanan, The Sequoyah Movement, pp. 26-28, 83, 98; Keith Bryant, Alfalfa Bill Murray (Norman, Oklahoma, 1968) p. 36; Debo, Footloose, pp. 34-35; Dora Ann Stewart, Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory (Oklahoma City, 1933), p. 359-375; Gibson, Guide, p. 23.



Indian Nations united within their Territory, they would surely be merged with the rapidly growing Oklahoma Territory. When several earlier efforts failed, a Cherokee, James Norman triggered the move toward a convention in 1905. In a joint statement the Five Principal Chiefs from the Civilized Tribes called for a convention to meet in Muskogee on August 21, 1905. In electing delegates, women did not vote. Most of the leading figures of this convention for the proposed State of Sequoyah were Indians. The provisions of the Sequoyah Constitution were similar to those of Virginia, Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri.<sup>31</sup>

Under Robert L. Owen's leadership the women's suffrage issue was thoroughly and heatedly discussed. When the motion

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<sup>31</sup>James Shannon Buchanan and Edward Everett Dale, A History of Oklahoma (Evanston, Illinois, 1924) pp. 273-276; Allen and Buchanan, The Sequoyah Movement, pp. 38, 39, 80, 92, 100; Date and Wardell, History, pp. 304, 305; William H. Murray, "The Constitutional Convention," Chronicles of Oklahoma IX (June, 1931), p. 126; Bryant, Alfalfa Bill Murray, pp. 37-39, 41; Amos D. Maxwell, The Sequoyah Convention (Boston, 1953) is the most thorough work on the Sequoyah Convention. Even it is sketchy because Alex Posey, the Secretary of the Sequoyah Convention, died before he transcribed his notes and Murray's notes were destroyed in a fire when his home burned, William H. Murray, Memoirs of Governor Murray . . . 3 vol. (Boston, 1945), I, 314; The entire text of the Sequoyah Constitution can be found in Corden and Richards, The Oklahoma Red Book, pp. 623-674. It contains a thirty section Bill of Rights guaranteeing freedom of religion, separation of church and state and many of the protections included in the body of the United States Constitution such as Habeus Corpus.

to enfranchise women failed by a narrow margin, Owen and other supporters secured passage of the following provision included in the article on suffrage.

The General Assembly shall, at the first session enact laws to extend the right of suffrage to women of rightful age, and otherwise qualified according to the provisions of this article. No such enactment shall be in effect until submitted to the vote of qualified electors at a general election, nor unless the same be approved by a majority of those voting thereon.<sup>32</sup>

The voters of the Indian Territory accepted the proposed constitution for the State of Sequoyah, which was then presented to Washington. The chances of acceptance were not good. The Republican administration recognized that a majority of the prospective voters, whites and Indians, were Democrats. The petition for statehood passed in the House; however, it never emerged from the Senate committee.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Allen and Buchanan, The Sequoyah Movement includes specific answers to questions submitted to the participants. Both Charles N. Haskell later the first governor of the state and James Norman speak of the heated discussions on the question of women's suffrage, pp. 43, 92, 100; Maxwell, The Sequoyah Convention, p. 77; Article VI, Section 4, Constitution of the State of Sequoyah, Corden and Richards, Oklahoma Red Book, p. 639.

<sup>33</sup>Dale and Warden, History, pp. 305-307; John Wesley Morris and Edwin C. McReynolds, Historical Atlas of Oklahoma, Section 54 states that this constitution was ratified by a 6-1 ratio; Bert Hodges, "Notes on the History of the Creek Nation," Chronicles of Oklahoma XLIII (Spring, 1965), p. 17 reports a light vote in this election because of little interest; Angelo Cyrus Scott, The Story of Oklahoma City (Oklahoma City, 1939), p. 126.

This effort for separate statehood may have improved the chances for earlier consideration of single statehood. According to William H. Murray, an intermarried Chickasaw, who headed the delegation from that Nation, he and other participants recognized that even if there was little hope for an Indian state, some sort of statehood could not be long in coming. Certainly the Sequoyah Convention provided valuable experience for later activities.<sup>34</sup>

The Sequoyah movement marked the final and most sustained drive for statehood by the Five Civilized Tribes. From the Indian standpoint their relations with the United States for over one hundred years had been a succession of unilateral decisions on the part of the federal government to diminish their lands and to restrict their rights of self-government. With the tribal governments abolished and an Indian state defeated, this Indian merger with the Oklahoma Territory was only a matter of time and the pleasure of the Congress.

The history of the expanding Oklahoma Territory dates from 1889, when a rider attached to the Indian appropriation

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<sup>34</sup>Bryant, Alfalfa Bill Murray, pp. 37-39; Allen and Buchanan, The Sequoyah Movement, pp. 58-61; Dale and Wardell, History, p. 308; Thorburn and Wright, A History, II, 630; Of the three men who later dominated the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention, two of them William H. Murray and Charles N. Haskell developed their ideas and political techniques at the Sequoyah Convention.

bill authorized homestead settlement on the nearly two million acres in the center of the "old" Indian Territory. (See appendix of this paper for the illustrative plates from Buck, "The Settlement of Oklahoma," noting especially section 16, Plate XII.) Any male citizen or man who had declared his intention of becoming a naturalized citizen or any unmarried woman over twenty-one or any married woman separated from her husband could "make homestead entry." In addition to the provisions of the Homestead Act, settlers were required to pay a fee on receipt of their patent. President Harrison proclaimed the land open to settlement as of noon, April 22, 1889. Restrictions barring unlicensed whites in Indian Territory were lifted for three days to allow homesteaders to mass on the borders of the lands to be opened.<sup>35</sup> The Santa Fe railroad with the north-south line offered access to the center of the area to be claimed. On both boundaries, trains, jammed literally to the roof and with passengers clinging to the roof tops, stood ready with steam up to start on the bugle blast opening the "run." For the 50,000 homesteaders-to-be, young and old, men and women,

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<sup>35</sup>U.S. Statutes at Large, XXV, 412, Sections 13, 14, 15; Debo, Footloose, p. 27; Dale and Wardell, History, p. 246-247; Gibson, Guide, p. 22; Scott, The Story, p. 11; See "Land Decisions" column Daily Oklahoman, May 5, 1894 for example of women homesteaders.

who were mostly from Texas or Kansas, "Eldorado was just ahead." Rigs of every kind were poised on the line; people without wagons, buggies, horses, or mules planned to walk. By nightfall 10,000 lucky people camped on their claims in Oklahoma City. Quickly it became obvious that there were more settlers than available land. Soon the Congress felt the pressure to open more land.<sup>36</sup>

Neither the Presidential proclamation nor the Congressional authorization provided for a government. Only the laws, "generally applicable to United States territory," covered the new settlements. Newcomers gathered to elect municipal officers. Before long tent cities developed into substantial communities. Within three months Guthrie boasted a population of 15,000, including 1500 women and 500 children. The 4,000 houses and numbers of businesses, churches, stores, and newspapers indicated the permanence of this new city. In mid-September the citizens of Oklahoma City entertained a Congressional committee with a sumptuous banquet and "gala reception" attended by "elegantly gowned ladies." Early in

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<sup>36</sup>Charles Newton Gould, Travels Through Oklahoma (Oklahoma City, 1928), p. 158; Hamilton S. Wicks, "The Opening of Oklahoma," Chronicles of Oklahoma, IV pp. 130-135; T. M. Richardson, Jr., "How the Run Looked from the South," Banking and Finance section, Golden Anniversary edition Daily Oklahoman, April 23, 1939; Gibson, Guide, p. 22; Scott, The Story, p. 11.

1890, local Democrats and Republicans organized their parties. The pattern of city life in the new territory quickly came to resemble that of other midwestern cities.<sup>37</sup>

Congress met the need for a government with the Organic Act of 1890, formally establishing the Oklahoma Territory. In addition to the previously accepted boundaries, the act attached the panhandle area and provided that "all lands in Western Indian Territory when opened to settlement were automatically a part of the Oklahoma Territory." Citizens would elect a bi-cameral legislature and a territorial delegate to the Congress. The president would appoint the Governor and justices to the supreme court. The Nebraska civil and criminal code would apply to the area. The first legislature met in August 1890. Among their early laws giving evidence of their concern for education, they authorized a school system and three colleges. Although the lawmakers offered women opportunities for education, they refused to give women the franchise.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Albert McRill, And Satan Came Also: Social and Political History (Oklahoma City, 1955), p. 9; Scott, The Story, pp. 9, 11-15, 19, 20, 61, 104-105; Debo, Footloose, p. 30; Wicks, "The Opening," pp. 136-141.

<sup>38</sup>U.S. Statutes at Large XXVI, 6, 182; Gibson, Guide, p. 23; Scott, The Story, pp. 109, 110; Dale and Wardell, History, p. 466; Debo, Footloose, pp. 30, 31; Angie Debo, Prairie City: The Story of an American (New York, 1944), p. 20; A.G.C. Bierer, "Early Day Courts and Lawyers," Chronicles of Oklahoma (March, 1930), VIII, 9; Harper, History of Woman Suffrage, IV, 887.

After the "old" Oklahoma Territory was settled, attention focused on the lands of the Indian tribes. (See Appendix, Buck Plates XII-XIV.) Gradually the Dawes Commission enrolled the Indians of Western Oklahoma, and after each family or individual had chosen a parcel of the reservation lands, the remainder was opened to the white settlers. One contemporary described the determination of the would-be settlers on the land runs:

Grizzled veterans of the plains stood shoulder to shoulder with blooming, young 'tenderfeet' from Eastern cities; gray haired widows and charming and energetic women, more energetic than wise, perhaps, with a determined pressure of the lips that proved how deeply in earnest they were . . . ."

Women participated in each of the runs, not only as wives of homesteaders but widows with children and single women. The only individuals accorded any special privileges were Civil War veterans. The Daily Oklahoman of February 24, 1895, reported, "Sex not considered, and the women in the crowd had to take their chances with the men." The same issue of the paper shows that 19 of 161 claimants in the Kickapoos Run were women. Because the crush of home seekers continued to exceed the amount of land available, a lottery system for opening was devised beginning with

the Kiowa, Caddo, Wichita, and Comanche land runs in 1901.<sup>39</sup>

Two principal political causes occupying the settlers from the early days were "free homes" and statehood. The terms under which the homesteaders in "old" Oklahoma claimed their land required a residence of five years and payment of land office fees, but for the new settlers on reservation lands an additional per-acre fee was assessed. Ranging from \$1.00 to \$2.50 an acre, the fee was intended to compensate the government for the 43¢ to 70¢ per acre paid to the Indians, plus costs for the opening of the land. Each settler on former Indian lands found himself burdened with a mortgage of from \$160 to \$250, at 4 per cent interest. Understandably the territorial delegate worked diligently to promote "free homes" legislation in the Congress which would forgive the mortgages held by the government on reservation homesteads. Early attempts failed because Indian lands

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<sup>39</sup>Debo, Footloose, pp. 32-33; Gibson, Guide, p. 23; Harman, Hell on the Border, p. 701 for comment on homesteaders; Debo, Tulsa, p. 77; Jesse J. Dunn, "Pioneers and Pioneering in Woods County," Chronicles of Oklahoma (March, 1925), III, 141; Jose Marti, "Cuban View of the Oklahoma Run," Chronicles of Oklahoma (Winter, 1966-67), XLIV, 362m, 363; Special privileges to Civil War veterans, Mrs. J. W. (Florence) Drake, "Some Pioneers of Pottawatomie County," Chronicles of Oklahoma (September, 1926) IV, 245; A. Emma Estill, "The Great Lottery, August 6, 1901," Chronicles of Oklahoma (December, 1931) IX, 365-368.



in the northwestern states had also been opened and such a policy would cost the federal government sixty-two million dollars. In 1896, Oklahoma Republicans succeeded in winning acceptance of a "free homes" plank in the national party platform. Four years later, during the McKinley administration, an act authorizing "free homes" became law.<sup>40</sup>

Almost from the first days of the "Run of '89," individuals and groups campaigned for statehood. Memorials to the Congress, interterritorial conventions, actions by the legislature, and party demands combined to form a prolonged attempt to interest the national government in proposals for statehood. With the failure of an Omnibus Statehood bill intended to admit the Twin Territories as one state and modern Arizona and New Mexico as another, it became apparent that the Twin Territories would be a single state. The Republican Administration did not accept

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<sup>40</sup>Albert E. Ellis, A History of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Oklahoma (Muskogee, 1923), pp. 1, 2, 7-10; Foreman, A History, p. 311; See: Governor's Message, Daily Oklahoman, January 6, 1895; Vernon S. Braswell "The Oklahoma Free Homes Bill," Chronicles of Oklahoma (Winter, 1966-67), XLIV 380, 383; Scott, The Story, pp. 155-158.

the separate Indian state which would result in more Democratic Senators being elected.<sup>41</sup> Citizens of both territories argued for a solution which would give them a greater degree of self determination. Before a discussion of the framing of the constitution and the decision of women's suffrage, it will be valuable to consider the social climate of the Twin Territories and the lives of average as well as of atypical women.

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<sup>41</sup>Allen and Buchanan, The Sequoyah Movement, p. 18; Dale and Wardell, History, p. 300; "The Progress of the World," in The American Monthly Review of Reviews, (July, 1902) XXVI, 15; One of the strong arguments for giving statehood to the Twin Territories was the size of the population. Table 1, Population of Oklahoma and Indian Territories, 1907 Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1907), p. 7 shows the following summary.

Population of both territories		
1890	1900	1907
258,657	790,391	1,414,177

According to the Census of 1910, which was more detailed than the special census of 1907, 67.2% of the population of the new state were born in the states designated South Atlantic, Southern South Central, and Western South Central while 31.7% of the population were born in the states of the Northeast, Middle Atlantic, Eastern North Central, and Western North Central. Department of Commerce and Labor, Census of the United States, 1910, Abstract with Supplement for Oklahoma, (Washington, 1913), pp. 568-595.

## CHAPTER II

### LIFE IN THE TWIN TERRITORIES

When the delegates to the Constitutional Convention voted, they reflected their own backgrounds and experience. Despite outside pressures on all of the questions, their decisions on suffrage may have been influenced less by lobbying than on any other issue.

Specific information on the delegates is sketchy and sometimes conflicting. For example, depending upon which author one reads, the number of bankers, farmers, lawyers, or merchants will vary because most of the men combined occupations. Charles O. Frye and William H. Murray are listed as farmers and lawyers, Joseph Curl as a banker and oil operator, Ben F. Lee as a M.D. and pharmacist, James H. Maxey as a lawyer, railroad promoter, and banker. Lewis M. Solomon in 1924 apparently interviewed or circulated questionnaires to survivors of the Constitutional Convention. A comparison of his results with those of a summary by Arrell M. Gibson shows differences in numbers by professions,

fails to account for the full 112 delegates, and does not indicate the breadth of interest of the participants.<sup>1</sup>

Information on educational backgrounds of the delegates is inconclusive. Solomon states that thirty-five members had college degrees and that others had some college work, but he names only twenty-seven college graduates. Details on birthplaces are more easily confirmed. Seventy-five of the 112 were born in slave-holding states or former slave-holding areas, and thirty-three came from anti-slave territory or states. Two delegates were foreign-born, one from England and the other from Scotland. Listing the nine members of the Five Civilized Tribes who were generally known as

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis M. Solomon, "The Personnel of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention of 1906-1907," unpublished master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1924, pp. 30-41; Arrell M. Gibson, Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries (Norman, Oklahoma, 1965), p. 331.

	Solomon	Gibson
Bankers	3	-
Clergymen	6	6
Editors	3	-
Farmers	33	47
Lawyers	29	27
Merchants	14	12
Physicians	-	2
Stockmen	5	-
Student	-	1
Teachers	7	3
	<u>100</u>	<u>98</u>

The Necrology sections in the Chronicles of Oklahoma are a valuable source of information; however, in at least one case no mention is made that the gentleman served as a delegate. Other writers to be mentioned give some details but Solomon and Gibson are the most complete.

Indians because of their 1/16th to 3/4th Indian blood, Solomon adds with no amplification that twenty-eight of the total of fifty-seven delegates from the Indian Territory and the Osage Nations had Indian blood. Such fragmentary information restricts reaching any but the most general conclusions about the pre-convention attitudes of the delegates based upon heritage or education. Recognizing, however, that each of these men had lived in one of the territories long enough to establish himself and to be elected, it will be helpful to consider the nature of life, the place of women, and the major concerns of the citizens in the proposed state, for each of these factors must have influenced his vote.<sup>2</sup>

One explanation for the greater degree of political freedom enjoyed by western women is that this improved status reflects general appreciation for the contributions made by the pioneer women, single or married. Some men made the "run" alone, staked their claim, plowed a fireguard around a homesite, built some sort of shelter if possible and then left to bring their wives and families to the new home. Many women shared the experience of the "run," some with their husbands, and some alone or with children, driving a wagon with the essentials to make a home on their

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<sup>2</sup>Solomon, "Personnel," pp. 30-41.

land. For the children camping was an adventure. Sleeping under the stars, eating meals cooked over an open fire, and exploring the surroundings gave the temporary illusion of a holiday. The amount of work ahead brought a sudden end to play, for only the very young were excused from work. Depending on the season, fields had to be laid out and the ground prepared for planting. Spring weather might be balmy or summer days scorchingly hot, but people reportedly froze to death in the Oklahoma winters; therefore a home had to be built. Securing the limited amount of lumber for the simplest sod house presented obstacles. Cutting timber of any kind was severely restricted by law. Few roads crisscrossed the prairie lands. Hauling lumber or any other necessity from the nearest railroad point or sawmill meant not only an exercise in navigation but often a trip of many days. Women remained on the claim more acutely aware than ever of their isolation. The scarcity of wood forced the settlers to turn to a primitive form of shelter. Selecting first a solid bank of earth, the homesteader dug down and into it in order to have a part of the side walls of his home below ground level. Slabs of sod, stacked brick fashion formed the front wall and the necessary portions of the side walls. Rafters of 2x4s spanned the room. Wide boards laid over the rafters supported a 12" layer of logs,

brush, and dirt. Finally a layer of sod placed over the mound completed the roof. Sod homes were warm in winter and cool in summer, but seldom dry after rains. As long as they lived in these houses, the settlers were plagued by the "former tenants" particularly snakes and insects.<sup>3</sup>

A length of twine string across a corner, hung with a curtain, provided closet space. Boxes or trunks served as storage and seats. Aside from a rocking chair, the simple, often home-made furniture consisted of beds, a table, benches, and a kitchen cupboard. A colorful oil cloth table cover and curtains brightened the room. From the soft gypsum rock women carved plaques to hang on the bare walls.

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<sup>3</sup>Alan Pendleton Grimes, The Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage (New York, 1961) pp. ix, xi; Angie Debo, Prairie City: The Story of An American Community (New York, 1944), pp. 5, 7; Mrs. Thompson B. Ferguson (Elva Shartel Ferguson), They Carried The Torch: The Story of Oklahoma's Pioneer Newspapers (Kansas City, Missouri, 1937) pp. 32, 34, 61; Angie Debo, Tulsa: from Creek Town to Oil Capital (Norman, Oklahoma, 1943), p. 77; Jesse J. Dunn, "Pioneers and Pioneering in Woods County," Chronicles of Oklahoma, III (March, 1925), 141; José Marti, "Cuban View of the Oklahoma Run," Chronicles of Oklahoma, XLIV (Winter, 1966-67), 363; S. W. Harman, Hell on the Border: He Hanged Eighty-Eight Men (Fort Smith, Arkansas, 1898), 701; Allie B. Wallace, Frontier Life in Oklahoma (Washington, 1964), 2-3, 8-10, 17-19, 49-54; Roscoe Harper, "Homesteading in Northwest Oklahoma Territory," Chronicles of Oklahoma XVI (September, 1938), 335; James K. Hastings, "Some Recollections," Chronicles of Oklahoma XXXIII (Winter, 1955-56), 534; Veda Giezentanner, "In Dugouts and Sod Houses," Chronicles of Oklahoma XXXIX (Summer, 1962), 140-147.

All water needed in the household had to be carried from the creek until a well could be dug. In areas where minerals made the water hard, a cistern to store rain water ranked high on the woman's wish list.<sup>4</sup>

The Indians and later the white homesteaders ranked education high among their priorities. From the earliest days, both men and women taught in the schools. One of the most important concerns of the Five Civilized Tribes, as soon as basic needs were met after the Removal, was the education of their children. Even before coming West, the tribes requested that various Christian denominations send teachers and establish schools in their Nations.<sup>5</sup> Samuel Austin Worcester, the plaintiff in Worcester v. Georgia, and a missionary teacher, was imprisoned because he insisted on remaining with the Indians. He later moved West with the

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<sup>4</sup>Wallace, Frontier Life, pp. 12-19.

<sup>5</sup>Mrs. G. T. Ralls, editor and compiler, Oklahoma Trails: A History of the Work of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Atoka, Oklahoma, 1927), pp. 19, 20, 42, 115, 162, 163; Joseph B. Thorburn and Muriel H. Wright, Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People, Vol. I, 4 vols., (New York, 1929), pp. 194-195, 202-204, 208; Frederick Webb Hodge, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Vol. I, 2 vols., (Washington, 1907), pp. 876-877; Edward Davis, "Early Advancement Among the Five Civilized Tribes," Chronicles of Oklahoma XIV (June, 1936), 168-169; See also the Church and Religious Section, Golden Anniversary Edition Daily Oklahoman, April 23, 1939.



Cherokee to establish a school and press at Park Hill.<sup>6</sup> Although a number of sects maintained missions among the Nations, the major educational efforts fell to the Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians. The tribal governments apparently supplied textbooks and sometimes clothing. Compulsory attendance laws, while not always rigidly enforced, attest to the interest of the tribe in improving the educational level of their Nation. Boarding school for boys and girls offered high school instruction in both college preparation and manual training. Upon completion of the necessary course work, the most able of the students were sent East to colleges at the tribe's expense if the parents could not afford to send their children. Apparently most Indian legislatures channeled the annuities received by the tribe from the federal government from the sale of their eastern lands and later mineral royalties into their educational systems. Probably the neighborhood schools for the elementary grades compared with those in most rural areas of the United States in that some were effective and others less effective. The substantial buildings, the reminiscences of both teachers and students and the

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<sup>6</sup>Grant Foreman, The Five Civilized Tribes: A Brief History and A Century of Progress (Muskogee, Oklahoma, 1966), p. 20; Thorburn and Wright, Oklahoma, pp. 194-202.

success of students in college work indicate quality education.<sup>7</sup>

With the Atoka Agreement and the subsequent loss of their tribal governments, the Nations lost control of their schools. Federally appointed administrators assumed the direction of the Indian school systems.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Davis, "Early Advancement," pp. 168-169; Louise Whitman, editor, "Educational History In and About Tulsa, Oklahoma," Chronicles of Oklahoma XVIII (March, 1940) 77-81; Lilah Denton Lindsay, "Memories of the Indian Territory Mission Field," Chronicles of Oklahoma XXXVI (Summer, 1958) 181-198; John D. Benedict, Muskogee and Northeastern Oklahoma (Chicago, 1922), pp. 271-272; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Mrs. Laura E. Harsha," Chronicles of Oklahoma XVIII (June, 1940), 182-184; Caroline Davis, "Education of the Chickasaws 1856-1907," Chronicles of Oklahoma XV (December, 1937), 415-421; Angie Debo, Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic, Civilization of American Indian Series, (Norman, Oklahoma, 1934), pp. 236-237, 242; Angie Debo, "Education in the Choctaw Country After the Civil War," Chronicles of Oklahoma X (September, 1932), 383-389; Muriel H. Wright, "Wapanucka Academy, Chickasaw Nation," Chronicles of Oklahoma XII (December, 1934) 402-431; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Education Among the Chickasaw Indians," Chronicles of Oklahoma XV (June, 1937), 142-143; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "A Cherokee Pioneer, Ella Flora Coody Robinson," Chronicles of Oklahoma VII (December, 1929), 364-374; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Augusta Robertson Moore: A Sketch of Her Life and Times," Chronicles of Oklahoma XIII (June, 1935), 399; Louise Thomson, "A Cross-Section in the Life of a Missionary Teacher," Chronicles of Oklahoma XVII (September, 1939), 328-332; Ralls, Oklahoma Trails, p. 165; Angie Debo, Road to Disappearance, Civilization of American Indian Series, (Norman, Oklahoma, 1941), pp. 309, 310.

<sup>8</sup>U.S. Statutes at Large XXXIV, I, 137. The Congress directed the Secretary of the Interior to assume control and direction of the schools of the Five Civilized Tribes.

For whites in the Indian Territory and later for the homesteaders, an educational system was more difficult. One of the complaints of white families living on Indian land was that there were no schools for their children. Non-Indian children could attend tribal schools by paying tuition when space allowed. Many Indians resented the intrusion of the whites, so could hardly be expected to support expansion of their schools. Similarly, not all Indian children welcomed outsiders to their classes.<sup>9</sup>

The Organic Act of 1890 set aside school lands for the Oklahoma Territory, but until a district school system could be organized, interested families took the initiative by starting subscription schools. Volunteers built or arranged for a place to hold classes. In Oklahoma City, a teacher gathered children under a shade tree, and another used a tent. In rural areas a sod building proved the most practical answer. Parents provided a seat, a desk, school supplies, and paid a fee for each child. Families sent the texts they happened to own. In spite of limited facilities, teachers of varying competency, and a three-month term, the children had the opportunity to continue their education.

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<sup>9</sup> Frank A. Balyeat, "Education of White Children in the Indian Territory," Chronicles of Oklahoma XV (June, 1937) 191-194; Mrs. C. M. Whaley, "Elizabeth Jacobs Quinton, Centenarian," Chronicles of Oklahoma XXIX (Summer, 1951), 131; Debo, Rise and Fall, p. 242.

These early efforts marked a beginning and a commitment to the belief in the need for and the importance of education. Recognizing the value of higher education, the territorial legislature authorized the founding of two public universities in the early 1890's, the University of Oklahoma, at Norman and Oklahoma State University, at Stillwater. Church denominations also established a number of colleges.<sup>10</sup>

For the young family homesteading in Oklahoma Territory, the school house served as the community center. Sunday schools, taught by women as well as men, met there and, when an itinerant preacher came, worship services were held in the school. Christmas parties, Fourth of July

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<sup>10</sup>Dora Ann Stewart, Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory (Oklahoma City, 1933), pp. 164-167, 214; Edward Everett Dale, "Teaching on the Prairie Plains, 1890-1900," Mississippi Valley Historical Review XXIII (September, 1940), 294; Guy Nelson, "School Lands of Oklahoma," Chronicles of Oklahoma XLVI (Autumn, 1968) 293-294; Angelo C. Scott, The Story of Oklahoma City (Oklahoma City, 1939), p. 97; Elva Page Lewis, "Social Life in the Territory of Oklahoma, 1890-1906," unpublished master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1945, pp. 86, 89, 90-93, 95-97; C. K. Rieff, "Oklahoma City Schools Started in Tents, Grew in Impressive Fashion," School and Education Section, Golden Anniversary Edition, Daily Oklahoman, April 23, 1939; Debo, Prairie City, pp. 18, 19, 77; Wallace, Frontier Life, pp. 38-42; Harper "Homesteading," 333; Grant Foreman, "Pioneer Recollections," Chronicles of Oklahoma XVIII (December, 1940), 371-373; Edward Everett Dale and Morris L. Wardell, History of Oklahoma (New York, 1948), pp. 268, 478; Gaston Litton, History of Oklahoma at the Golden Anniversary of Statehood, II, 4 vols., (New York, 1957), pp. 296, 329-331.

celebrations, Farmer's Alliance meetings, spelling contests, box and pie suppers, ciphering matches, singing schools, and literary society meetings all used the school as the gathering place. Founding a literary society came close behind building the school in priority. Programs for the monthly meetings included songs, recitations, and debates. Whereas a few of the topics were light and potentially humorous, many of the discussions focused on serious problems. The following representative debate resolutions illustrate the breadth of interest of these literary societies, which involved the entire community:

Resolved: That moral causes have greater influence than physical in the formation of the national character; That the rights of suffrage should be extended to women; That all the laws enacted by Congress for the past thirty years have been in favor of the money trust; That man will do more for the love of woman than for love of money; That the fear of punishment has more influence over human conduct than the hope of reward; That the signs of the times indicate the speedy downfall of the American Republic; That England should be involved in South Africa.<sup>11</sup>

For those who managed to survive the early lean years, life became somewhat easier as farm production increased.

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<sup>11</sup>Becky Berry, "Grandma Berry's Ninety Years in Oklahoma," Chronicles of Oklahoma XLV (Spring, 1967), 60, 62; Wallace, Frontier Life, p. 34; Lewis, "Social Life," pp. 103, 121, 187, 188; Debo, Prairie City, pp. 18, 25; Dale, "Teaching on the Prairie Plains," 304; Harper, "Homsteading," 334.

Despite their physical labors, settlers enjoyed all-night square dances and all day picnics. Of course, they did not do both activities in the same twenty hour period. As children grew older social life remained family oriented with visiting, candy pulls, ice cream socials, fish fries, and barbecues. When women visited one another they brought their children and stayed all day.<sup>12</sup>

Gradually, with increasing prosperity, cross road settlements grew into small towns. Wives helped publish newspapers and operated businesses, just as farm women worked with their husbands. Life in the towns resembled farm life in many ways. Families kept cows and chickens and tended a garden, because there were no meat markets and grocery stores. Lucky towns had a band to play for celebrations and especially to enliven the community Fourth of July. Lodges and organizations, such as the Masons, the Anti-Horse Thief Association, and the Grand Army of the Republic, appealed to the men. Baseball games, horse races, and

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<sup>12</sup>Kitty M. Harvey, "Memoirs of Oklahoma," Chronicles of Oklahoma XXXV (Spring, 1957) 45-49; William E. Barker, "Pioneering on the Great Plains," Chronicles of Oklahoma XXXV (Autumn, 1957) 288-295; Debo, Prairie City, pp. 16, 17, 25-27; Dan W. Perry, "First Two Years," Chronicles of Oklahoma VII (September, 1929), 280-322, VIII (March, 1930) 94-127; Wallace, Frontier Life, pp. 43-46, 121-131; Lewis, "Social Life," pp. 105, 108, 111, 113.

"coyote drives" brought many people to town. Women organized clubs to meet their own and the community needs. The suffrage clubs and the Women's Christian Temperance Union had political goals, while members of the reading and symphony clubs worked to improve the cultural opportunities in their own towns. Speaking of the impact of the formation of women's clubs, Angelo C. Scott stated, "The vogue of these clubs was undoubtedly the beginning and the inspiration of the general movement for the enlarged freedom of women so characteristic of the first two decades of the Twentieth century . . . ." To meet their interests, the women of Oklahoma City had the widest choice of clubs in the territory, including the Art League, Modern Classics Club, Ladies Music Club, the Do All You Can Club, the Ready To Help Club, and Philomatheia, named for "love of learning."<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Ferguson, They Carried The Torch, p. 35, 40; Pauline P. Jackson, "Life and Society in Sapulpa," Chronicles of Oklahoma LXIII (Autumn, 1965) 297-318; Forest Crossen, Western Yesterdays, VI, 6 vols. (Boulder, Colorado, 1968), p. 76; Debo, Prairie City, pp. 28-30, 66, 70; Dale and Wardell, History, pp. 530-532; Scott, Story, pp. 165-168; Ida Hustad Harper, History of Woman Suffrage IV, 6 vols. (Rochester, New York, 1902), pp. 886-890; Albert McRill, And Satan Came Also: An Inside Story of a City's Social and Political History (Oklahoma City, 1955), pp. 34, 163; Loretta Rainey, History of the Oklahoma State Federation of Women's Clubs (Guthrie, Oklahoma, 1939), pp. 8-10; The final page of the Daily Oklahoman of May 6, 1894 notes that papers on Robert Walpole, George Whitfield and the Wesleys had been presented at a recent meeting of Philomatheia. The program for the next meeting would consist of papers on the Reigns of George IV and William IV and the Life of Lord Byron.

Before statehood, women's clubs in the Twin Territories founded or substantially supported seventy-seven libraries, in addition to giving major assistance to libraries in state and federal institutions. A traveling library to serve schools and towns without their own was organized by women in 1903. A leader in the Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. Selwyn Douglas, secured a grant from Andrew Carnegie in 1901 to establish a public library in Oklahoma City. The Oklahoma Territory Federation arranged to borrow paintings from their sister organization in Illinois for a traveling art show to afford citizens of small communities the opportunity to see works of art. Projects of the Territorial Federation included petitions to the legislature for separate care for juvenile criminals, public kindergartens, the teaching of domestic science in high schools, child welfare legislation to include child labor laws, and compulsory school attendance.<sup>14</sup>

Angelo C. Scott, an '89er, newspaperman and later the president of Oklahoma State University, quotes D. F. MacMartin's description of early life in Oklahoma City:

There were nesters, horsethieves, train robbers, bank raiders, yeggmen, ragamuffins and vagabonds, brand

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<sup>14</sup>Rainey, History, Oklahoma State Federation, pp. 15, 34, 37-39; Harper, History of Woman Suffrage IV, 890; Dale and Wardell, History, pp. 530, 531.



blotters, broncho busters, sheep herders, cowpunchers, spoofers, bull wackers, wild catters, fourflushers, sunchasers, blown-up suckers, fire-eaters, land-whales, butterfly-chasers, bubble blowers, remittance men, blue-sky promoters, sourdoughs, ticket-of-leavers.

Scott comments, "MacMartin is drowned in his own rhetoric," adding, "We were all willing victims of a grand illusion."<sup>15</sup> Those who gravitated to the first city in the "old" Oklahoma Territory decided to build a fine community and set about achieving their goal. Determined as they were to create more than a frontier town, men as well as women hoped for a better cultural environment. Believing that an Opera House and Theater would be a step in this direction, Henry Overholser ordered one constructed. Soon a succession of famous artists came to present nightly performances. The roster which would have done credit to an older city included Sarah Bernhardt, Maude Adams, Sothern and Marlowe, Walter Damrosch with the New York Symphony, and Mme. Schumann-Heink. For those patrons who preferred lighter amusements, there were musicals and minstrel shows. "We were mad about music," wrote Scott. From the early days, children and

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<sup>15</sup>Scott, Story quoting D. F. MacMartin, Thirty Years of Hell (Topeka, Kansas, 1921) chapter 1, p. 37, pp. 36-38.

adults could study music with qualified teachers, often women. Judging by the prizes offered for oils and water colors at a much publicized street fair in 1898, art lessons must have been available in Oklahoma City.<sup>16</sup>

The Chamber of Commerce with characteristic determination decided to make their city a convention center. For a few years between 1891 and 1895, a parade of the affluent from outside the territory came to secure divorces under the limited resident requirements. Leaders and citizens of Oklahoma City differed on the means to build their community. Did they want to become a divorce mecca? What would attract money-making conventions to their town, and was the end justified? How should a city or a territory develop? Newspapers led the public discussions or battles, depending on the issue.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>For a typical week's attractions advertisement see Daily Oklahoman December 12, 1906; Scott, Story, pp. 83-84, 103; See Daily Oklahoman October 4, 1898, promotions on Street Fair.

<sup>17</sup>McRill, And Satan Came Also, pp. 49-61 describes the newspaper crusades against "honkey-tonks," licensed vice, and opposing newspapers. On the question of women's suffrage exchange of opinions was only moderately heated but on the question of temperance and vice publishers made harsh evaluations of the characters and morals of those holding opposite views. McRill, later City Manager, describes the corruption of precinct politics and the sale of major city, county, territorial and later state offices, p. 137. His quotations from the sermons of the Reverend Sam Small, a reformed drunkard, and early publisher give a flavor of the prohibition movement often missing on the printed page, pp. 49, 50; See also Scott, Story, pp. 39, 47, 48, 141; Dale and Wardell, History pp. 266, 267 offer a more general evaluation of the level of corruption in Oklahoma Territory. "Many people have assumed that because this was a newly settled region, society must have been rude and the people lawless and rough. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Obviously, each opening to settlement brought the usual percentage of gamblers, confidence men and other underworld characters. Such an element flourishes, however, only in a region where money is plentiful. most settlers of Oklahoma Territory were

Any territorial community without a newspaper could not be considered much of a town. Even small towns often had more than one paper. Newspapers were the major source of information for the entire area served by the town. Before the Civil War, newspapers were published in the Indian Territory, and with the opening of the Oklahoma Territory, newsmen rushed in, along with those who intended to farm. Weekly papers belonged to syndicates, but they also published stories from the "exchanges." For papers able to buy the service, the Associated Press was available. The interest of publishers and readers alike ranged far beyond the local scene. Examples of the variety offered readers on two successive days of the Daily Oklahoman are the reports of the decisions of the legislatures of Missouri and Kansas, articles on the Dreyfus case, an account of the assassination of the King of Korea [sic], and the state of diplomatic relations between the United States and Hawaii. Among the regular columns directed in some degree toward women were news of the Women's Clubs, church activities, Daughters of the Confederacy, educational institutions, society news, serialized novels, and short stories. Basically the news stories appear complimentary or sympathetic to women.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Lester Hargrett, Oklahoma Imprints 1835-1890 (New York, 1951), pp. 145, 148, 151, 159; Daily Oklahoman, January 15, 1895, January 17, 1895; judgment that the newscoverage was basically sympathetic to women is based on close reading of the Daily Oklahoman 1893-1907, Tulsa Daily World 1906, 1907 and the Watonga Republican 1907 plus scattered editions of other Oklahoma papers

Angie Debo writes in the Prairie City, a composite account of the settlement experience:

The whole sweep of American History is compressed into the lifetime of those pioneers. They know from their own experience the throes of settlement at Jamestown; the first harvest, the church, the school of the Pilgrim Fathers; the Constitution-making of the Founders of the Republic; the promotion and the Railroad-building in the era of Western settlement; oil, and the industrialization of the modern age; and the repercussions of world shattering events.<sup>19</sup>

She is correct; Oklahomans did experience a telescoped version of United States history, but at the same time they were very much a part of the political thought of their own day. The Sequoyah Convention and the later Constitutional Convention of 1906-07 offer a microcosm of the Progressive Movement rising throughout the United States. The delegates in Guthrie envisioned a more perfect form of democratic government.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Debo, Prairie City, VII.

<sup>20</sup>After his election to the presidency of the convention, William H. Murray made a speech outlining his own political philosophy and his hopes for the work of the assembled body, saying among other things, "We must conserve the public interests in every possible way . . . . Let us avoid the extremes of radical socialism on the one side and extreme conservatism on the other; the extreme of no one owning anything on the one hand, the extreme of a few men owning everything on the other." Typescript of Proceedings and Debates of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention for November 20, 1906, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Oklahoma hereafter referred to as "Proceedings and Debates."

Of the 112 members of the Constitutional Convention, 100 were Democrats who shunned the Populist label but who embraced the Populist philosophy of curbing ". . . the selfish tendencies of those who profited at the expense of the poor and needy; the other, that the people, not the plutocrats, must control of the government."<sup>21</sup> The constitutional restrictions regulating the railroads and utility companies exposed their general distrust of big business. The inclusion of the office of Commissioner of Charities and Corrections, to serve as an advocate for those unable to speak for themselves, showed their concern for the helpless. Other protective measures included safety regulations especially for miners, child labor laws, and compulsory education. That the framers wanted to bring government closer to the people is clearly demonstrated by the provision for the Initiative and Referendum procedures, direct primaries, home rule for the cities, and reforms in the ballot.<sup>22</sup>

Two questions which absorbed much newspaper space were hotly debated by citizens and were of particular interest

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<sup>21</sup>John D. Hicks, The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party (Minneapolis, 1931), p. 406; Keith Bryant, Alfalfa Bill Murray (Norman, Oklahoma, 1968), p. 71.

<sup>22</sup>C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1951), p. 388.

to women concerned prohibition and suffrage. Although brazenly disregarded, the sale and transportation of alcoholic beverages was forbidden in the Indian Territory by both the federal government and the tribal governments. One of the mandatory provisions of the Enabling Act, authorizing the framing of a constitution, prescribed continuance of prohibition in the Indian Territory. Not only the Indian officials endeavored to outlaw liquor, but citizens in Oklahoma Territory waged a long battle against, what they were convinced of, the corrupting influence of alcohol. Frances Willard and Anna Gordon of the national WCTU organization made three visits to the area between 1888 and 1901 to speak to the need for protective legislation. The thrust of their arguments focused on the multiple evils the liquor business brought to the entire society. From the economic point of view, they argued that enforced sobriety would result in greater stability in homes and in the business world. If an employed man did not drink, more of his earnings would go to meet the needs of his family. Business men, assured of sober employees, could speed mechanization, because they employed more competent men. With more certain income and job security, political

democracy would be increased because healthier citizens would be able to participate in the political process.<sup>23</sup>

Residents of Oklahoma City could find evidence of the collusion between saloon keepers and bawdy house keepers in their town. Temperance workers were convinced that the political activities of the brewing industry, one of the big businesses in the country, jeopardized the development of their community and of the nation. Labor unions and churches supported the drive for prohibition. Only by winning votes could the power of the liquor interest be defeated. Obviously women offered the greatest reservoir of anti-liquor votes.<sup>24</sup>

The question of women's suffrage raised obstacles far outnumbering those to prohibition. As strongly as many people felt about the evils of drink, probably the role of women in society provoked an even greater emotional reaction. Had God ordained woman only to keep house and to raise

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<sup>23</sup>Abbie B. Hillermann, compiler, History of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Indian Territory, Oklahoma Territory, State of Oklahoma 1888-1925 (Sapulpa, Oklahoma, n. d.), pp. 14-16; James H. Timberlake, Prohibition and the Progressive Movement 1900-1920 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1963), pp. 9-10, 39-46, 57-59, 100.

<sup>24</sup>McRill, And Satan Came Also, pp. 27-37, 54-61, 120-123; Timberlake, Prohibition, pp. 4-5; Hillerman, History of the Oklahoma WCTU, pp. 23-34.

children? Did women want the vote or was the publicity the work of a non-representative militant minority? If given the opportunity, what kind of woman would participate in politics? Should the vote be considered a privilege or a right of citizenship? Why should an illiterate man vote, while highly educated women were denied the ballot? Should black citizens be favored above white? Were the minds of women so clouded by sentiment that their decisions would automatically be unthinking? If women paid taxes, should they have no voice in a representative legislature? Would the poor gain undesirable power? These questions faced people all over the country and no less in the Twin Territories. Debating societies, high school orators, newspaper stories, letters to the editor, petitions to the legislature, sermons, suffragist speeches, and conventions weighed the question of whether women should be allowed to vote. A sampling of periodicals indicates that readers from 1892-1907 could not possibly have avoided confrontation with the arguments for and against woman



suffrage.<sup>25</sup> All of the questions and the multiple shadings in individual answers influenced the decisions of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention. Before turning to the deliberations of the convention, a closer look at individual women in the territories will be in order, for they too affected the thinking of the constitution makers.

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<sup>25</sup>"Woman Suffrage," Daily Oklahoman, May 10, 1894 discussed the pros and cons, January 10-12, 1895 Baptist Revival sermons announced and reviewed, "What the Church Has Done for Women," January 24, 1895 announcement of program of the Crescent Society with recitation, "Women Can't Vote," typical examples of opinions aired in the Letters from the People column are found December 16, 23, 30, 1906 and January 6, 1907; for typical articles in national periodicals which Oklahoma readers may have seen, see "Why Women Should Have the Ballot," North American Review CLXIII (July, 1896), 91-97, "The Necessity of Woman Suffrage," North American Review CLXXXIII (September 24, 1906) 689-690, "Why Women Do Not Want the Suffrage," Atlantic Monthly XCII (September, 1903); In his article, "Would Woman Suffrage Be Unwise?" ex-President Grover Cleveland waxes eloquent, "They [men] know that if she is not gifted with the power of clear and logical reasoning she has the faculty of intuition which by a shorter route leads her to abstract moral truth; that if she deals mistakenly with practical problems it is because sympathy and sentiment clouds her perception of the relative value of the factors involved; . . . . It is a mistake to suppose that any human reason or argument is needful or adequate to the assignment of the relative positions to be assumed by man and woman in working out the problems of civilization. This was done long ago by a higher intelligence than ours. . . ." Ladies Home Journal XXII (October, 1905) 7-8, reprinted in Aileen S. Kraditor, editor, Up From The Pedestal: Selected Writings in the History of American Feminism (Chicago, 1968).

## CHAPTER III

### ATYPICAL WOMEN IN THE TERRITORIES

In the territories, as in most of the United States of the nineteenth century, the role of women generally centered in their homes. The demanding nature of rural life meant that women had little time for activities beyond the farm and the immediate neighborhood. The traditional roles of homemaker and farm helper did not convince male voters that women should have the franchise. In the frontier towns, however, the pressing need to build communities both physically and culturally allowed qualified women greater opportunities to serve and to be in the public eye than in more established parts of the country. In the fields of newspapers, political affairs, teaching, social service, and to a lesser extent medicine and dentistry, women made significant contributions to their communities and earned public admiration.

After the "runs" and the sudden increase in population, the number of newspapers burgeoned in both Territories. The importance of newspapers as the primary link among relatively isolated rural areas, other parts of their own

territory, and the nation is worth emphasis. The newspaper business, much as farm life, proved to be a family enterprise. Not only wives but children learned to share in the process of newsgathering, typesetting, printing, and distributing the paper. Also far beyond being merely part of the process, wives, widows, and single women owned, edited, and published papers. Men edited the majority of the papers but women could and did succeed in this occupation. Because of the practice of filling out the paper with "exchanges" (reprints from other papers), readers throughout the territories were aware of the lady journalists.<sup>1</sup>

Elva Shartel Ferguson spent a lifetime in the newspaper business. With two babies and a husband she came to Oklahoma Territory and established their newspaper The Watonga Republican in 1892. They survived the uncertain early days when most subscriptions were paid for with food or stove wood and a later catastrophe when

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<sup>1</sup>Carolyn Thomas Foreman, Oklahoma Imprints 1830-1907: A History of Printing in Oklahoma Before Statehood (Norman, Oklahoma, 1936), pp. 62, 72, 75, 91, 93, 108, 117, 118, 140, 158, 167, 176, 200-201, 203, 211, 213, 261, 266, 271, 282, 318, 346, 360, 366, 407, 421.

the family nearly lost their lives when a fire destroyed their shop and press. Some years later Thompson Ferguson's election as Chairman of the Republican Territorial Committee gave his wife the opportunity to manage the paper and to write political editorials. She did both well. Mary Emily Hensley, wife of the publisher of the El Reno Democrat, worked while her husband obtained two academic degrees before they operated their paper as co-editors. During the public discussion of the advisability of granting women the vote, the editorial stand of both these papers was strongly in favor of women's suffrage.<sup>2</sup>

At least two Indian women rose to positions of major political responsibility during the Territorial period. In 1875, Rosana Chouteau was elected second chief of Beaver's Band, one of the Osage subdivisions. Of all the Indian

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<sup>2</sup>Elva Shartel Ferguson (Mrs. Thompson B.), They Carried the Torch: The Story of Oklahoma's Pioneer Newspapers (Kansas City, Missouri, 1937), pp. 9, 10, 23, 26, 54, 49, 50, 90, 103. Following the death of her husband in 1921 Mrs. Ferguson published the paper for almost 10 years, p. 10. In an interview with Jack Haley, Western History Library, University of Oklahoma, January 20, 1970, I learned that Mrs. Ferguson is believed to be the model for the Edna Ferber character Sabra Cravat; Necrology: "Mary Emily Hensley" Chronicles of Oklahoma XVII (March, 1939), 124; The obituary column of the Daily Oklahoman of January 6, 1907 relates the life of Nannett "Daisy" Daley, a librarian from Kentucky who rode the cowcatcher on the Run of '89, staked a claim, entered the newspaper world and later rode horseback in the Sac Fox Opening. She died a quiet death in Chicago.

tribes in both territories, the Osages most nearly resembled the Five Civilized Tribes in culture. Alice Brown Davis, sister of the Seminole Chief (1892-1922), represented the tribe in negotiations with the Seminoles in Florida and with the Mexican government. A widow, she operated a business and raised a family of eleven children.<sup>3</sup>

Another public office in which women served was as post mistresses. The number appointed to be the first postmaster of their communities indicates satisfaction with their performances. In the Twin Territories from 1827 to 1907, one hundred and two women received appointments when the post office opened in their communities. Doubtless, the best known of the lady postmistresses, although not the first in her town, was Alice Mary Robertson appointed by Theodore Roosevelt in 1905.<sup>4</sup>

Of all the women who helped to build the future state, the teachers must rank near the head of the list. From the early days of the Removal, both men and women devoted themselves

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<sup>3</sup>Carolyn Thomas Foreman, Indian Women Chiefs 2nd printing (Muskogee, Oklahoma, 1966), pp. 59, 62-64. Mrs. Davis was a school superintendent and in 1922 became the Chief of the Seminoles, pp. 64-67.

<sup>4</sup>Grant Foreman, "Early Post Offices of Oklahoma," Chronicles of Oklahoma VI (March, June, and September, 1928), pp. 5-25, 155-162, 271-298.

to educating the youth of the Indian Nations and later all the children. Although their individual achievements undoubtedly were matched repeatedly, the contributions of the Worcester-Robertson family will serve as an example of the services of missionary teachers. In the early days of the Cherokee Removal, Samuel Austin Worcester brought his wife and family to Park Hill, Indian Territory, where they set up a mission school and published books and newspapers. Their daughter Ann Eliza attended and taught in the school until her marriage to another missionary, the Rev. William Schenck Robertson, in 1850. The Creeks, being more conservative than the Cherokees, doubted the wisdom of inviting Christian churches to establish schools until a party of Creeks came to observe the mission school near Park Hill. Convinced by what they saw, the Creeks agreed that the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions could organize and administer a new school at Tullahasse, Creek Nation. The Robertsons, both college graduates, moved to Tullahasse to teach and raise their family in the school. The entire family learned to work in the print shop and cooperated in publishing the magazine, "Our Monthly," and other papers and books. Three of their daughters, Ann Augusta, Grace, and Alice Mary, attended eastern colleges. "Gusta" and Grace returned to teach, and later each headed one of the Indian

academies. Alice worked first at the Indian Affairs office in Washington and then at the Indian Training School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, before she too returned to the Creek Nation to teach and administer a school. William S. Robertson died after a disastrous fire at the school in the early 1880s. Ann Eliza Robertson, his wife, continued teaching and her life-long work of translating the Bible into the Creek language. "Gusta" married a leading Creek lawyer and worked in community educational affairs for the remainder of her long life. Alice Mary taught, served as Federal Supervisor of Creek Schools and later Postmistress, and still later operated a farm. Because the family was so well known in both the Cherokee and Creek Nations, Alice Mary's opposition to women's suffrage must have discouraged many suffragists.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Augusta Robertson Moore: A Sketch of Her Life and Times," Chronicles of Oklahoma XIII (June, 1935), 399-420; Debo, Road to Disappearance, Civilization of American Indian Series (Norman, Oklahoma, 1941), Grant Foreman, "The Honorable Alice M. Robertson," Chronicles of Oklahoma X (March, 1932), 14-16; the Oklahoma Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, see p. 312, Carrie Chapman Catt, Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement (New York, 1923). After Oklahomans accepted women into the electorate, Alice Mary Robertson was nominated by the Republican party for Congresswoman from her district. Her principal campaign medium consisted of newspaper advertisements. She was elected in 1920, but because of her unpopular stands on a bonus for veterans of World War I, and social legislation she was not reelected. See Ruth Moore Stanley, "Alice M. Robertson, Oklahoma's First Congresswoman," Chronicles of Oklahoma XLV (Autumn, 1967), 259-289. Louise Thomson, "A Cross-Section in the Life of a Missionary Teacher," Chronicles of Oklahoma XVII (September, 1939), 328-332; Louise Whitman, editor "Educational History In and About Tulsa, Oklahoma," Chronicles of Oklahoma XVIII (March, 1940), 79; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Mrs. Laura E. Harsha," Chronicles of Oklahoma XVIII (June, 1940), 182-185; "Indian Girls Educated in Seminaries," Banking and Finance section, Golden Anniversary edition Daily Oklahoman, April 23, 1939.

A Mrs. Lucy E. Twyford came to Oklahoma City from Kentucky in '89. She found there were no schools in her area so promptly started one, out of doors at first. She was so respected by the community that she was asked to draft the school code to be presented to the first territorial legislature in 1890. During the territorial period, newspapers printed a constant flow of educational news. On the evidence of news articles on school administrators, board meetings, teacher training institutes, and the activities of particular schools, it is obvious that women not only taught school, but also filled positions of administrative responsibility. The conduct of men and women teachers served as a guide for their communities. Teachers were expected to be "paragons."<sup>6</sup>

Allied to the teaching profession is the role of reformer. Women from all walks of life in the Twin Territories joined together to build new institutions and battled to eradicate evils and injustices. The women's clubs directed their efforts to self and community improvement. Suffrage club

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<sup>6</sup>Edward Everett Dale, "Teaching on the Prairie Plains, 1890-1900," Mississippi Valley Historical Review XXXIII (September, 1946), 305; C. K. Rieff, "Oklahoma City Schools Started in Tents, Grew in Impressive Fashion," Schools and Education section, Golden Anniversary edition Daily Oklahoman, April 23, 1939; Necrology, "Virginia Cox Sutton," Chronicles of Oklahoma X (March, 1932), 145. Necrology, "Neil A. Snider, 1873-1955," Chronicles of Oklahoma XXXV (Autumn, 1957), 371; Scott, Story, p. 95, 96.



members bent their energies toward achieving the franchise. The WCTU and the Anti-Saloon League campaigned to secure prohibition for the Oklahoma Territory and to preserve and improve the enforcement of the prohibition laws in the Indian Territory. Often women worked for their goals in several of these organizations. Generally, members of the women's clubs were members either of the suffrage groups, the WCTU, or both. Judging by the newspaper coverage of their petitions, rallies, letters to the editors, and editorials, it is obvious why saloonkeepers feared the possibility of women voting.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Dale and Wardell, History, pp. 530-532; McRill, And Satan Came Also p. 49 quotes a writer for the Oklahoma City Times Journal (n. d.) describing the city as ". . . a combined Sodom and Gomorrah, probably past redemption . . . with forty saloons, twice as many gambling halls and three times as many bawdy houses," see also pp. 55-61; on women's clubs and the Anti-Saloon League see pp. 34, 54-57, 120-123, 140-141, 163, 198; Speaking of the Mrs. Selwyn Douglas, the founder of several of the women's clubs Scott says ". . . she impressed herself upon Oklahoma city as no other woman did . . ." pp. 98-99 and on the clubs "One of the most upsetting and far-reaching influences of modern life came to its first fruition in the 'nineties' . . . . The birth and instant vogue of women's study clubs changed within ten or twenty years the intellectual relationship between men and women." p. 165, see also pp. 165-168; El Reno News, April 2, 1897, p. 4, May 28, 1897, p. 4; Edmond (Oklahoma) Sun Democrat, November 22, 1895, p. 4; Kingfisher (Oklahoma) Free Press, February 22, 1900, p. 2; Daily Oklahoman, December 16, 1904 reporting the address of the Reverend Anna Shaw; Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics, pp. 129, 130; Abbie B. Hillerman, compiler, History of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Indian Territory, Oklahoman Territory, and the State of Oklahoma, 1888-1925 (Salpulpa, Oklahoma, n. d.), pp. 12-16; Ida Husted Harper, editor, History of Woman Suffrage 6 vols., (Rochester, New York) IV, 886-889.

Probably the most dramatic of the entire reform group was Kate Barnard. As a child, she accompanied her father on the first "run" into Oklahoma in 1889. Motherless, she grew to maturity intensely aware of the problems of others. In 1905, she began work as a stenographer in the office of the City Attorney in Oklahoma City. Before long she made herself unpopular by asking what her employer's responsibilities were concerning the saloons, brothels, and gambling dens in the city. To no one's surprise, the city attorney dismissed his troublesome employee whom Albert McRill, subsequently the City Manager of Oklahoma City, describes as, ". . . ninety pounds of human dynamite . . . who preached . . . the strange doctrine that government should have a moral purpose."

Out of a job and seeing the need of the poor for help, Kate Barnard set up the Provident Association, an early private welfare agency. An attractive woman, an impressive speaker, and a good writer, utterly unafraid, she directed her energies to changing deplorable conditions. Although the economic base of the Twin Territories in 1907 was still primarily agricultural, 21,000 men belonged to 303 unions. Approximately one-third were miners in the Indian Territory, drawn there by work which Indians refused to do. Other major union groups included the Railroad Brotherhoods

and units of the Knights of Labor. Union leaders recognized Kate Barnard's ability and sought her help in their drive for safety regulations and child labor laws.

Together with labor groups, she campaigned for delegates to the Constitutional Convention who promised to support their goals. Removing children from the mines would result in more jobs for adults, but the ends of the unions were more humanitarian than such an evaluation implies. The unions advocated improved working conditions for all workers, safety inspections, and laws governing working hours. They agreed with Kate Barnard that to become healthy adults, children should not work long hours in the mines or anywhere else. In addition, Kate Barnard argued that school attendance should be compulsory to assure the next generation a better life. Not everyone shared her opinions. Many disliked her alliance with labor, but opponents found it difficult to discount her goals.

Not only were most of Kate Barnard's requests incorporated in the Constitution, but the office of Commissioner of Charities and Corrections was created apparently with her in mind. She was elected to this office in the following election. Had Kate Barnard favored women's suffrage and influenced a few votes in the convention, the battle for the franchise might have been won in 1907. When asked

how she felt about the vote for women, however, she replied that she hadn't given it much thought.<sup>8</sup> How could a sensitive and sympathetic person like Kate Barnard have made such a comment? At that time she was in Guthrie trying with every means available to persuade the convention to protect children and citizens employed in hazardous occupations. Her own causes being sufficiently controversial, she may have chosen not to risk alienating votes by taking a stand on the women's suffrage issue. Considering the schedule she maintained, her comment may have been literally true. Another possible explanation is that having won battles under the existing system, she may have had reservations about changing the system. In the floor debate, the suffrage cause was damaged when the opposition repeated Kate Barnard's response, suggesting that if such a talented and respected woman was

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<sup>8</sup>McRill, And Satan Came Also, pp. 107-117; Keith L. Bryant, Jr., "Kate Barnard: Organized Labor and Social Justice in Oklahoma During the Progressive Era," Journal of Southern History (May, 1969) XXXV, 145-164; Angie Debo, And Still the Waters Run (Princeton, 1940), p. 184; The child labor law authored in part by Kate Barnard was modeled on similar laws in New York, Massachusetts and Illinois. See article with picture of children factory workers, Daily Oklahoman, November 4, 1906; November 11, 1906, p. 2B; Proceedings and Debates of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention, Bureau of Government Research, University of Oklahoma, February 6, 1907; Hugh T. Cunningham, "A History of the Cherokee Indians III," Chronicles of Oklahoma (December, 1930), VIII, 436 calls Kate Barnard the "Joan of Arc of Oklahoma," because of her work to protect the rights of Indian orphans, another concern to which she devoted much effort after her election as Commissioner of Charities and Corrections.

not interested in the franchise for women there seemed little reason for the convention to support the idea.

Although limited in numbers, women practiced medicine and dentistry in the Twin Territories before statehood. The professional organizations of physicians and dentists accepted women as members, although there is little evidence to suggest that women took any position of leadership. No woman served as an officer of these groups. Dr. Bertha H. Campbell, the only woman member of the Oklahoma Territory Medical Association at its founding in the ninties, delivered a paper at the annual meeting in 1894. Dr. Eva Buxton is listed once in the annual roster of members before 1903, when a Dr. Eunice B. Hamill from Guthrie is mentioned as a member. The Indian Territory Medical Association membership roster begins with 1890, although the organization was formed in 1881. The use of initials often makes it impossible to determine the sex of the members. Among the speakers at the joint session of the two associations in 1906, Dr. Winnie M. Sanger presented a paper which was well received. Since membership in either of the medical societies was not a prerequisite for a license to practice medicine, the several women physicians among the members listed in the Transactions of the Joint Session in 1906 offers only a general idea of the number of women practicing medicine,

rather than the exact figure. The roster of licensed dentists gives the names of at least seven women practitioners accepted into membership in the Dental Society between 1892 and 1907. According to the records of the Oklahoma Bar Association, there were no women members between 1890 and 1907 in either of the Territory Bar Associations, although membership was not a requirement in order to practice law.<sup>9</sup>

The men of the Indian and Oklahoma Territories knew of the contributions of the wives of homesteaders, of teachers, and of women seeking to reform and to serve the society. The crucial questions on suffrage confronting the delegates to the Constitutional Convention concerned whether the bulk of the women wanted the vote, whether the majority of women were sufficiently capable intellectually to use the ballot wisely, and finally what the political result of enfranchising

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<sup>9</sup>Collections of the Oklahoma Medical Association and the Indian Territory Medical Association; Transactions of the Joint Session of the Oklahoma State Medical Association with the Indian Territory Medical Association (Guthrie, Oklahoma, 1906) pp. 80-89, Favorable comments from eleven attending physicians follow the paper, pp. 89-92; E. O. Barker, M.D. mentioned a woman physician not included among the members of the medical society, Indian-Pioneer Papers, 5, No. 9554, Manuscripts Division, University of Oklahoma; J. Stanley Clark, Open Wider, Please, Appendix; Fred S. Clinton, M.D., "The Indian Territory Medical Association," Chronicles of Oklahoma XXVI (Spring, 1948), 32; Muriel H. Wright, "Origin of Oklahoman Day," Chronicles of Oklahoma XXIII (September, 1945), 213; Letter from Harold J. Sullivan, Executive Director, Oklahoma Bar Association, July 13, 1970.

women would be in Oklahoma. Delegates blended their own home and community experiences and their emotional and mental responses with their own reactions to the lobbyists in Guthrie and to their fellow delegates. A combination of individual reactions, political battles unrelated to the suffrage question, the extended length of the convention, the demands of personal business, and a smallpox epidemic all influenced their decision.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

After ratification of the Sequoyah Constitution in the fall of 1905, a committee appointed by the convention journeyed to Washington to promote Congressional acceptance. Not only did these delegates find themselves facing resistance from the Republican administration, but they discovered that Robert L. Williams, the Democratic National Committeeman from the Indian Territory, had followed them to oppose their cause. The Republican Congress denied statehood to the Indian Territory, thus avoiding the addition of two Democratic Senators from the state of Sequoyah. A union of the Twin Territories seemed a practical alternative because it was believed that Republicans in Oklahoma Territory would outnumber Democrats in the combined territories. A complicating factor, however, was the increasing pressure for statehood from the citizens of both the Arizona and New Mexico Territories. Because the number of citizens in each of the Twin Territories exceeded the number in either Arizona or New Mexico, it seemed inconsistent to grant separate statehood to the latter territories while requiring a combination of the Twin



Territories. During the winter of 1905-1906, Congress weighed the alternatives. An Omnibus Statehood Bill to cover the entire situation resulted. Indian and Oklahoma Territories would be combined into the State of Oklahoma. A call for a constitutional convention was authorized and funds assured. Two limitations were imposed. Guthrie was designated the capital until 1913, and prohibition would remain in force for twenty-one years in the Indian Territory portion of the new state. Arizona and New Mexico Territories were also to be combined if a majority of the citizens of the two territories approved this as a solution.<sup>1</sup>

To the Republicans, the election of a Republican majority to the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention would reflect territorial approval of President Theodore Roosevelt and his national stand against "graft and monopolistic abuses."<sup>2</sup> Because of the Southern orientation of the

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<sup>1</sup>Edward Everett Dale and James D. Morrison, Pioneer Judge: The Life of Robert Lee Williams (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1958), pp. 133-136; Bureau of the Census, Population of Oklahoma and Indian Territory, 1907 (Washington, 1906), Table 1 shows the population growth of the two territories comparing that of 1890, 1900 and 1907; Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census, 1900, Special Report, Supplementary Analysis and Derivative Tables (Washington, 1906) Table V gives the following census figures for the four territories, Arizona 122,913, New Mexico 195,310, Indian Territory 392,060, Oklahoma, 398,331; U.S. Statutes at Large, XXXIV, I, 267ff.

<sup>2</sup>Dora Ann Stewart, Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory (Oklahoma City, 1933), p. 322.

Indian Territory, observers expected the Democrats to win the bulk of the fifty-five seats there, but the Oklahoma Territory offered more reason for Republican hopes in the delegate election ordered for November 11, 1906. Several factors hindered the Republican cause. The Oklahoma City election of 1905, which the Republicans won, resulted in an increase in vice which damaged the party's reputation for reform. Public opinion questioned the quality of the President's judgment on the succession of territorial governors. Roosevelt had summarily dismissed the McKinley appointee, William M. Jenkins, without a thorough investigation of charges against him, thereby antagonizing supporters of the ousted governor. As a replacement, Roosevelt selected Thompson B. Ferguson, the publisher of the Watonga Republican, who proved a popular and effective administrator. Reportedly, his enemies undermined his standing with the President. To replace Ferguson, Roosevelt selected Frank Frantz who had served with the Rough Riders and as U. S. Agent to the Osages. This action reduced the President's popularity with Ferguson's admirers. Other sources of disagreement with the national administration were the imposed limitations on prohibition and especially on the location of the capital, which some voters considered a matter for local decision rather than federal fiat. Perhaps inevitably, opponents leveled charges

of gerrymandering of election district lines by Republican administrators of the Enabling Act in Oklahoma Territory. Finally, in the eyes of many voters, the prominence of railroad lawyers in the Republican party and their interest in a short constitution with safeguards for corporations evidenced a serious deficiency of concern for the lot of the common man.<sup>3</sup>

Democrats capitalized on all the "shortcomings" of the Republicans, while demanding a "progressive" constitution for all of the people. The landslide victory of 100 of

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<sup>3</sup>Albert E. Ellis, A History of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Oklahoma (Muskogee, Oklahoma, 1923), pp. 13-15, 39, 40; Albert McRill, And Satan Came Also: An Inside Story of a City's Social and Political History (Oklahoma City, 1955), p. 105; Stewart, Government and Development, pp. 298-309, 319; Irvin Hurst, The Forty-sixth State: A History of Oklahoma's Statehood and Early Statehood (Oklahoma City, 1957) pp. 1-3; The election districts for the Constitutional Convention delegates were drawn by committees. In Indian Territory the U. S. Commissioner to the Five Civilized Tribes and the two Federal Judges of the Territory were charged with this responsibility. In Oklahoma Territory the Governor, the Secretary of State and the Chief Justice of the Territorial Supreme Court drew the lines. All male citizens of the United States or any Indian tribe in Oklahoma or the Indian Territories with six months residence were eligible to vote for delegates, but Indian full bloods paid scant attention. See James Shannon Buchanan and Edward Everett Dale, A History of Oklahoma (Evanston, Illinois, 1924), p. 279; Arrell M. Gibson, Oklahoma: A Student's Guide to Localized History, Localized History Series (New York, 1965), p. 25; Angie Debo, And Still The Waters Run (Princeton, New Jersey, 1940), p. 166; Joseph B. Thorburn and Muriel H. Wright, Oklahoma, A History of the State and Its People, II, 4 vols., (New York, 1929), 632; Watonga (Oklahoma) Republican, December 27, 1906.

the 112 contests won by the Democrats stunned the Republicans. The Democratic Territorial Committee had published a suggested platform for all the Democratic candidates running for election to the constitutional convention, with the introduction, "We endorse and sanction the principles of Democracy as declared by Jefferson, sustained by Jackson and interpreted by their greatest living exponent William Jennings Bryan." Bryan's earlier political campaigns and speaking tours in the Twin Territories had made him one of the most popular national political figures there. In September, less than two months before the crucial election for delegates, Bryan had delivered sixteen speeches in two days throughout the territories espousing the election of his fellow Democrats to the convention.<sup>4</sup>

In their platform the Democrats advocated a commission with sufficient power to control the railroads and insisted that other private monopolies should be subject to public control. Among the many attractive planks were stands for free textbooks printed by the state, protection of Indian and school lands, the right of the public to participate in the legislative process with initiative and referendum,

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<sup>4</sup>Ellis, History of the Constitutional Convention, p. 41; Norbert R. Mahnken, "Bryan Country," Nebraska History, XXXI (December, 1950), 247-262.

the election of all state officers including judges, homestead laws, safety inspections of mines, factories, and railroads, and Jim Crow laws. Not all the planks were of an affirmative nature. The Democrats opposed the use of convict labor in competition to free labor and Chinese immigration.<sup>5</sup>

Various pressure groups, such as Labor organizations, the Farmer's Union, saloon interests, and the railroads, campaigned initially for candidates who shared their views. Following the election, these same interest groups endeavored to influence the elected delegates. Representatives of labor unions pressed for the inclusion of initiative and referendum, the Australian ballot, direct primaries, clarification of employer responsibility for employee injuries, an eight-hour day, compulsory education, and a corporate tax commission. In the same manner the Farmer's Union, the Saloonkeepers League, the WCTU, and the women's suffrage groups tried to persuade delegates to support their particular goals.<sup>6</sup>

Several days in advance of the opening of the convention, delegates and lobbyists arrived in Guthrie to find quarters,

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<sup>5</sup>Ellis, History of the Constitutional Convention, pp. 41-45.

<sup>6</sup>William H. Murray, "The Constitutional Convention," Chronicles of Oklahoma IX (June, 1931), 138; Arrell M. Gibson, Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries (Norman, Oklahoma, 1965), pp. 329, 330.

to meet old friends, to make new acquaintances, and to participate in pre-convention meetings. Many of the Democrats knew one another from party work, and the talk for them centered on whom they would elect as officers of the convention. Delegates recognized quickly that a nucleus of Sequoyah veterans there knew what they wanted and how to go about achieving their ends. This core of Democrats took control of the convention from the beginning. William H. Murray, Charles N. Haskell, and Robert L. Owen, leaders of the Sequoyah Convention, Robert L. Williams, and Peter Hanraty, of the labor faction obviously intended to leave their stamp on the work of the convention. Owen, although not a delegate, held the Indian Territory vote for Murray for President which, together with the Farmer's Union vote, assured a majority for "Alfalfa Bill" as Murray was already called.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>William H. Murray, Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma . . ., I, 3 vols., (Boston, 1945), p. 319-320; Hurst, The Forty-sixth State, p. 4; Thorburn and Wright, II, History, pp. 632, 633; Rex Harlow, "Robert L. Williams," Oklahoma Leaders: Biographical Sketches of the Foremost Living Men of Oklahoma (Oklahoma City, 1928), p. 94; Although most writers mention the core of common membership in the two conventions and Murray states Memoirs, p. 319, "I discovered there were thirty-four of these Sequoyah delegates elected to the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention and thirty Farmer's Union men from Western Oklahoma, . . . That made sixty-four" and a majority to elect him President, this figure presents obstacles. A comparison of the membership of the Constitutional Convention shows seven obviously common names. Presuming that Maxwell could have missed a few names, (although Murray reviewed his material,) and assuming that some inaccuracies could have resulted from use of diminutives rather than proper names and spelling mistakes, still thirty-four seems an extreme number. It is possible that former Sequoyah delegates came to Guthrie as lobbyists or just to see old friends.

The body of representatives from the Indian Territory offer a striking contrast to those at the earlier Sequoyah convention where the Indians dominated the membership, although whites and at least one Negro were delegates. Of the fifty-seven from the areas of the Five Civilized Tribes and the Osage Nation, eleven representatives were acknowledged mixed-blood Indians and six were intermarried-Indian citizens. Therefore, particularly on social questions, the impact of Indian cultural ideas on the delegate's decision making was radically less than at the earlier convention. The white man's culture and such other differences as rural opposed to urban, small compared to big business, and Northern contrasted with Southern patterns of life and thought motivated the thinking of the delegates.<sup>8</sup>

As elected representatives of the two territories, the members of the Constitutional Convention give some insight into the kind of society which elected them. Of the 112 delegates, seventy-five were born in the South or in former slave-holding areas. Seventeen of these southern-born men had come from Texas and eleven from Missouri. Thirty-three

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<sup>8</sup>Keith L. Bryant, Jr., Alfalfa Bill Murray, (Norman, Oklahoma, 1968), p. 404; Murray, Memoirs, I, 315-316; Maxwell, Sequoyah Convention, pp. 78-83; Buchanan and Dale, A History, pp. 281-283; Edward Everett Dale and Morris L. Wardell, History of Oklahoma (New York, 1948), p. 305.

members came from the northern states and non-slave holding areas. Of this group twelve were from Illinois and four each from Iowa, Indiana, Ohio, and New York. Peter Hanraty from Scotland and Joseph Curl from England were the two foreign-born delegates. Forty-five percent of the delegates came from towns of less than 1,000 population, forty-three percent from towns with populations of from 1,000 to 5,000 and the balance of 12 percent came from towns of greater than 5,000 population. The multiple business activities of these men raise problems in identifying their primary source of income. The figures of various tallies differ. It is, however, reasonable to state that one-third to one-half of the delegates considered themselves farmers or had major farming interests. Approximately one-fourth were lawyers. Other represented occupations were merchants, teachers, physicians, and bankers. As a group, the men were comparatively young with an average age of forty-three. William H. Murray, Charles N. Haskell and Robert L. Williams were thirty-seven, forty-five, and thirty-eight respectively.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Gibson, Oklahoma: A History, pp. 331-334; Bryant, Alfalfa Bill Murray, p. 50; Hurst, The Forty-sixth Star, p. 8; Eleven home towns are not shown on maps of Oklahoma so are included in towns of less than 1,000. My figures on places of origin based on the Necrology section of the Chronicles of Oklahoma, biographical sketches, and various other reports of the convention show small differences in those of the authors footnoted, but not enough to alter the results substantially.



The election of convention officers as the first order of business demonstrated the expertise and dominance of the men from the Indian Territory. Murray, with Owen's help, handily won the presidency. Peter Hanraty, his only major opponent, became the First Vice-President. Murray, the single most powerful individual, together with Charles N. Haskell, the Democratic floor leader, and Robert L. Williams formed a triumvirate influencing, if not directing, every decision of the convention.<sup>10</sup> Before turning to the deliberations of the convention, a brief summary of the backgrounds of the leading figures will clarify their decisions and actions on some crucial issues facing the convention.

William H. Murray, born at Toadsuck, Texas, in 1869, never knew his mother who died when he was two. His early childhood was divided between his maternal grandparents and his unsympathetic stepmother. Finally with two brothers, he ran away from home at twelve. Between a succession of

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<sup>10</sup>Paul Newbit, "Governor Haskell Tells of Two Conventions," Chronicles of Oklahoma XIV (June, 1936), pp. 206, 207; Harlow, Leaders of Oklahoma, speaking of Williams, Haskell and Murray writes, p. 94, "They formed a triumvirate to frame the constitution, fulfill pledges made by the Democrats . . . . They utilized every available honorable agency to bring about these results."; Dale and Wardell, A History, p. 311.

jobs to earn his way, he attended school where he especially enjoyed participating in literary society debates. During the years when he was developing his political ideas, he met his hero, Governor James Hogg of Texas, a believer in public control of the railroads. A series of debates with the Populists brought Murray to a firm stand against the sub-treasury system and federal subsidies to business. On the question of immigration, he favored exclusion of non-whites and paupers of any nationality. He and his brother bought a newspaper in Corsicana, Texas, where he became interested in agricultural problems and the Farmer's Union and helped write a constitution for the Farmers Grand Alliance. Finding a deeper interest in the law, he moved to Fort Worth where he read, and later practiced, law until deciding to move to the Indian Territory in 1897. The separate court systems for Indians and whites along with the mounting land title disputes offered ample business for an aspiring young lawyer.

In the course of his work he met and impressed Governor Douglas Johnston of the Chickasaws. Later Murray married the governor's niece. Mary Alice and Bill Murray shared a happy life and a common idea of the role of women. "He was the breadwinner and public servant; the home was her

domain."<sup>11</sup> His high-handed methods antagonized other Democrats and fellow members of the Farmer's Union, but he worked hard in party affairs preparing himself for what lay ahead. Since he considered statehood simply a matter of time, in 1902 he began studying the constitutions of every state in the Union and those of any nation he could secure. At the Sequoyah Convention, Murray had the opportunity to test his ideas and methods. In 1906, he wanted to be elected president of the Constitutional Convention and recognized the necessity of working with the Labor group whose members were canvassing the delegates on their twenty-six demands. Some Labor representatives refused to support Murray because of his objections to their ultimatums for a recall provision, mandatory referendum, and women's suffrage. Murray later wrote, ". . . it may be observed that they got just what I promised, and no more of those demands."<sup>12</sup>

Charles N. Haskell, the Democratic floor leader, came to the Indian Territory as a railroad promoter from Ohio in 1901. Not until the Sequoyah Convention did he participate in politics. Because of his railroad connections, he had no chance for a convention office, but as a lawyer he

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<sup>11</sup>Bryant, Alfalfa Bill Murray, p. 36.

<sup>12</sup>Bryant, Alfalfa Bill Murray, pp. 3-19, 33-36; Murray, "The Constitutional Convention," p. 138.

became a master of negotiating differences and finding agreeable compromises when necessary. Neither he nor his wife favored women's suffrage.<sup>13</sup>

Robert L. Williams, the third member of the powerful trio, had tangled years before with Bill Murray over Williams' tie with the railroads as an attorney. Aware of the importance of cooperation, both men were persuaded to mend their differences. Williams had come from Alabama where he was born into a family that had lost much in the Civil War. At ten, he chose the name of Lee as his second name in honor of the Confederate general. In spite of a scarcity of money, his ambition drove him to complete a college education. Having earned his M.A., he was probably one of the best formally educated of all the delegates. His family ties changed noticeably after his mother's death in 1899. For the remainder of his life he helped his father, brothers, sisters, neices, and nephews, but often grudgingly for they evidently could seldom drive themselves to accomplish the goals he set for them. Before coming to the

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<sup>13</sup>Dale and Morrison, Pioneer Judge, p. 164; Buchanan and Dale, A History, p. 287; Murray, "The Constitutional Convention," p. 134; Hurst, The Forty-sixth Star, pp. 14, 15 recounts a conversation he had with Haskell and his wife. When Hurst, a reporter, asked Haskell's views on the women's suffrage question, Haskell replied that he had yet to decide. Mrs. Haskell spoke up, "He will be against it."

Indian Territory, he served in the Methodist ministry for two years in Texas. After a young lady refused him, Williams never considered marriage.

Edward Everett Dale and James D. Morrison, his biographers who both knew him well, describe Williams as a "devout Southerner" with definite opinions on most subjects. They say that he regarded Negroes, "as naive, lovable children who should not be held responsible for their petty crimes and misdemeanors to the same extent as should white persons." On other questions facing the convention he held firm views. He was "convinced that prohibition was a tragic mistake and asserted that it, and woman suffrage, revealed the growing power of the Federal government which took away from the states the control of matters which properly belonged to them." As an influential person in the convention, his attitudes toward Negroes, women, and the suffrage question carried great weight with his fellow delegates.<sup>14</sup>

On particular issues various individuals exerted considerable influence due to their occupations, committee memberships, and personal abilities to sway delegates. With regard to the franchise, two men should be noted,

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<sup>14</sup>Dale and Morrison, Pioneer Judge, pp. xii, 23, 52-55, 73-83, 170-171, 339, p. 291 for quote on prohibition and women's suffrage.

Peter Hanraty and Robert L. Owen. Hanraty, a native of Scotland, came to the Indian Territory in 1882 to work in the mines near McAlester. He supported the union movement first in the Knights of Labor and later as an organizer for the United Mine Workers. By 1903, he was President of the Twin Territories Federation of Labor. A co-worker with Kate Barnard on many issues, he was also interested in women's suffrage.<sup>15</sup>

In Robert Latham Owen were blended an Indian heritage with the prestige of a prominent Virginia family. Owen's maternal grandfather was Thomas Chisholm, the hereditary war chieftain of the Cherokees. His father, a civil engineer, was president of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad. Narcissa Chisholm Owen, a gifted and well educated woman, supported herself and her two sons teaching music after her husband died suddenly following financial reverses. When allotments were being made to Cherokees, she decided to return to the Indian Territory. Robert accompanied his mother, taught at the Cherokee Orphan Asylum with her and served as Secretary of the Cherokee Board of Education. President Grover Cleveland appointed him the U. S. Commissioner to

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<sup>15</sup>Bryant, Alfalfa Bill Murray, p. 58; Dale and Wardell, A History, p. 311; Gibson, Oklahoma, p. 270.

the Five Civilized Tribes. A leader of the women's suffrage movement at the Sequoyah Convention, he came to Guthrie to urge passage of voting rights for women.<sup>16</sup>

When William H. Murray took the president's chair after his election, he announced that he was not certain whether a speech from him was expected, but that he wanted to share some of his ideas and goals with his fellow delegates. Irvin Hurst, a newspaper man covering the convention, described Murray's speech as a "blueprint for the constitution." Murray called for provisions to "promote home ownership," resist corporations, restrict public service corporations, protect the working man, and improve the educational system by including instruction in the manual arts and Jim Crow laws.<sup>17</sup>

Following the necessary convention business of introductions, votes of appreciation, and appointment of clerks, President Murray requested that each delegate submit his

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<sup>16</sup>Wyatt W. Belcher, "Political Leadership of Robert L. Owen," Chronicles of Oklahoma XXXI (Winter, 1953-54), 361-371; Bryant, Alfalfa Bill Murray, p. 51.

<sup>17</sup>Hurst, The Forty-sixth Star, pp. 6, 7, Hurst notes that Murray edited his remarks concerning the place of blacks in writing his Memoirs; See Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the Proposed State of Oklahoma Held at Guthrie Oklahoma November 20, 1906 to November 16, 1907, (Muskogee, Oklahoma, n. d.), November 20, 1906 hereafter referred to as Journal.

campaign platform to the President in order that delegate promises might be considered in making committee assignments. Lobbyists confronted the delegates at every turn, because Murray insisted on passage of a resolution requiring all lobbyists to register and denying entrance to the floor to all but elected delegates and employees of the convention.<sup>18</sup>

Organizational procedures, committee meetings, and the reading of propositions absorbed much time during the early weeks. At the suggestion of members, many invitations to speak to the convention were extended. President Theodore Roosevelt and William Jennings Bryan were unable to attend; Bryan promised a letter with his suggestions. Among the early speakers were Kate Barnard, who spoke on child labor, O. B. Colquitt, member of the Texas Railroad Commission, W. A. Moore, President of the Good Roads Association, and George L. Clothier, Assistant United States Forester.<sup>19</sup>

Although the convention met for routine business, the issues of long-range importance occupied the small committee

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<sup>18</sup>Journal, November 20, 1906; Bryant, Alfalfa Bill Murray, pp. 52, 53; Ellis, History of the Constitutional Convention, pp. 93, 94.

<sup>19</sup>Journal, November 22, December 5, 8, 14, 1906; Bryant, Alfalfa Bill Murray, p. 48, 49 maintains that Kate Barnard, "drafted the measures for compulsory education, the restriction of child labor, and the elimination of the convict-lease system."



meetings where witnesses appeared and members debated. The primary question affecting every delegate related to the county boundaries and the designation of county seats. Everyone acknowledged that a town chosen as the county seat would flourish, whereas not to be selected might well kill a town. Many delegates had been charged with the responsibility of seeing that their town's best interests were served. Murray flatly told some men that if they went along with him, it would be to their advantage and that if they resisted him, they would regret it. On December 17 on the resignation of one member of the Counties and Boundary Lines Committee, Murray appointed Charles N. Haskell as a replacement. Believing that this matter of boundaries should be resolved before the Christmas recess, Murray and Haskell drew up a map of the counties. A vote to consider the question passed 54-52 on December 19. When Murray succeeded in forcing the issue on December 21, the vote tallied 90-10. Details remained, and the threat of re-opening the entire boundary question hung over the convention

for months. The Watonga Republican referred to this situation as the whip in the President's hand.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to the boundary question, other issues required consideration. William Jennings Bryan's long letter of December 11, 1906, detailed his recommendations and reflected a melding of the Populist and Progressive ideas that he held. The convention agreed with Bryan, for nearly all of his suggestions were incorporated. He advocated reiterating and expanding the individual freedoms in the Bill of Rights, that judges be elected, that party primaries replace partisan conventions within the states, representatives of all parties on election boards, initiative and referendum prerogatives, municipal ownership of public utilities, control of corporations, laws for the protection of labor, and arbitration of labor disputes. Paolo E. Coletta

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<sup>20</sup>Journal, December 17, 19, 20, 21, 1906; Ellis, History of the Constitutional Convention, pp. 97-101; Daily Oklahoman, December 12, 1906, "Fight Over County Lines Waxes Furious in Guthrie," Watonga Republican, January 10, 1907, "Skinned To A Frazzle, God Have Mercy on Oklahoma, Bounteous Land of Promise, Nailed to the Cross, Hanging Helpless and Bleeding, Crucified Between Haskell and Murray." An editorial on the same date laments the "machine" that makes the boundary decisions. An editorial in the January 31, 1907 issue of the Watonga Republican rails at the unfinished business on the lines and the effective whip hand thus given to Murray; Tulsa Daily World, December 13, 1906, "Big Fight to Save Tulsa, County."

mentions this letter from Bryan to the convention as an "important progressive document," because it "foreshadowed the Democratic National Platform of 1908."<sup>21</sup>

Citizens of both territories demonstrated their interest in questions by sending petitions and memorials to their delegates to present to the convention. The propositions submitted by the delegates for consideration by appropriate committees give an indication of the opinions of these men themselves. Among the propositions brought to the floor in the first nine weeks were seventy-three dealing with corporations, twenty-eight on education, nine on banks, eight on Jim Crow provisions, and seven each on prohibition and women's suffrage. During the same period, a breakdown of the major subjects among the citizen petitions were one hundred thirty-two favoring prohibition, seventeen for

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<sup>21</sup>Letter, William Jennings Bryan to the Constitutional Convention of Oklahoma, December 11, 1906, in Journal, pp. 389-396; Paolo Enrico Coletta, William Jennings Bryan, Political Evangelist, 1860-1908 I, 3 vols. (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1964) I, 383, 384; In a letter to the author, July 12, 1970, Dr. Coletta states that he believes that the idea of women's suffrage had long been in Bryan's mind before he took a stand in 1914. "The influence of his wife, his membership in a church that sponsored woman suffrage, and hope that woman's vote would stimulate more, 'Moral' reforms, and particularly the desire to have women vote against liquor are some of the reasons that animated him to really come out on the subject."

women's suffrage and seven concerned with corporations. Arrell M. Gibson believed that it was a time of political corruption when railroads and trusts were charged with "buying state legislatures." Of the convention, he says, "delegates regarded the convention as a political laboratory, where new trends could be given a trial." He quotes a newsman: "the founding fathers were not only forming a new state, they were forming a new kind of state." The principal interests of the delegates focused more on problems of government and business than on women's rights. The volume of petitions on the prohibition question could not be ignored long.<sup>22</sup>

Reaching decisions on such questions in initiative and referendum, control of railroads, and child labor, presented fewer obstacles than dealing with prohibition and women's suffrage. Prohibition amounted to a political, as well as a social, problem. Because the act authorizing statehood extended prohibition for twenty-one years in the Indian Territory, the convention's option concerned Oklahoma Territory only. From an administrative point of view, any provision

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<sup>22</sup>Gibson, A Guide, p. 25; The tally of propositions and petitions covers November 20, 1906 until February 1, 1907 from the Journal.

less restrictive than an extension of total prohibition had serious enforcement problems.<sup>23</sup>

The WCTU expanded its headquarters in Guthrie. The Anti-Saloon League, which "Prided itself as 'the church in action,'" sent one of its most effective lobbyists, the Reverend E. C. Dinwiddie, to intensify the pressure on the delegates. Attempting to counteract such temperance groups, representatives of the Liquor Men's Association, the Citizen's League, and the German-American Association tried to convince first the committee and then the convention that prohibition would foster disrespect for the law and would help neither business nor temperance. When the Liquor Traffic Committee Report favored local option for the Oklahoma Territory, a long floor fight resulted, straining tempers, and delaying progress on the convention agenda. The timing of the introduction of the prohibition question bears noting. On the morning of January 29, President Murray recommended an amendment to the Liquor Committee Report. That afternoon this report was advanced on the calendar to the first order of business. Everyone seemed to feel compelled to speak to the question. Such prolonged discussion allowed lobbyists time to try to influence the

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<sup>23</sup>U. S. Statutes at Large, XXXIV, I, 267ff.

delegates. On February 1, a portion of the report was accepted, and the request for a delay for the parts remaining was granted.<sup>24</sup>

Women's suffrage workers opened headquarters in Guthrie soon after the opening of the convention. As a witness before the Suffrage Committee on December 12, 1906, Robert L. Owen urged the enfranchisement of women as a matter of "abstract right." He continued,

If the democrats of Oklahoma give suffrage to their women, the state will be democratic till the crack of doom. Democracy, as I understand it, is organized righteousness. The women will favor democracy for they are practically all in favor of recognition. We will have initiative and referendum in the new state, and I am convinced that if the constitutional convention fails to provide for the suffrage of women then the voters of the whole state will favor to that end as soon as an opportunity is presented to them to vote on the question.

Other members of the Equal Rights Association testified before the committee. The Daily Oklahoman of that date reported that Owen had been advised that he politically

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<sup>24</sup>Jimmy L. Franklin, "That Noble Experiment; A Note on Prohibition in Oklahoma," Chronicles of Oklahoma XLIII (Spring, 1965) pp. 19-22; J. L. Franklin, "The Fight for Prohibition in Oklahoma Territory," Social Science Quarterly XXXIX (March, 1969), pp. 876-885, quotation p. 880 and Bureau of Government Research, University of Oklahoma, Journal, "Proceedings and Debates of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention," January 29-February 6, 1907.

ruined for his stand. The same day J. H. N. Cobb of Salpulpa introduced an equal suffrage provision to the constitution: "Resolved; That the right of suffrage shall never be denied to any woman twenty-one years of age in the State of Oklahoma on account of her previous condition of servitude." On December 16, the Daily Oklahoman reported that the Suffrage Committee would recommend that women be allowed to vote in municipal elections and that a minority report would favor equal suffrage for women.<sup>25</sup>

During the Christmas holidays, the Daily Oklahoman noted that Ex-Governor Adams of Colorado, Governor Brooks of Wyoming, Miss Laura Clay of Kentucky, and Col. Robert L. Owen would "boost" the cause of women's suffrage when the convention reconvened. In the same article, the press director for the National Suffrage Association said: "There is no organized opposition in the convention to woman suffrage." She went on to discuss the resources of anti-suffrage groups in the East.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Watonga Republican, December 6, 1906, p. 1; December 20, 1906, p. 1; Daily Oklahoman, December 12, 1906, report of Owen testimony, December 16, 1906; "Suffrage Committee . . ." p. 1.

<sup>26</sup>Daily Oklahoman, December 29, 1906, "Notables Will Boost for Oklahoma Woman Suffrage."

Early in January Ex-Governor Adams made a strong speech to the convention favoring suffrage for women, declaring that equal suffrage had been an unqualified success in Colorado. Political conditions had improved because machine politicians and party bosses could not influence women. His point that women had not been harmed countered the argument that "nice" women would not be willing to enter polling places. Robert L. Owen reiterated his stand. Laura Clay of Kentucky, representing the Suffrage Association of Southern Women, expressed an opinion of interest to those favoring Jim Crow legislation. She pointed out that because whites outnumbered blacks, in giving women the vote, the potential white vote would be doubled, thereby increasing the Anglo-Saxon majority.<sup>27</sup> Editorials on women's suffrage appeared in newspapers. The Daily Oklahoman did not favor the vote for women. Accepting the rightness of the question, the writer maintained that few women were interested or would take advantage of the opportunity. Letters to the editor took issue with this stand. The Watonga Republican pointed out that Governor Adams based his argument on

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<sup>27</sup>Daily Oklahoman, January 9, 1907, "Proceedings and Debates . . .," Evening Session, January 8, 1907.



personal knowledge of the benefit to the state gained when women voted.<sup>28</sup>

Hopes rose in the expectation that the Suffrage Committee would soon be reporting to the convention and the general feeling that the delegates were sympathetic. On January 17, the Watonga Republican quoted Robert L. Owen saying that ". . . he had secured fifty-seven votes in the convention for the provision giving women suffrage. If this is adopted, a local option prohibition law may be provided counting on the female vote to put the saloon out of business in all the rural districts and small towns." This announcement must have alerted the anti-prohibition groups to ever greater efforts at lobbying.<sup>29</sup>

On the 19th of January, because of the spreading smallpox epidemic, the three physician delegates were appointed to serve as a Board of Health for the convention. By the 25th, they reported seventeen cases of smallpox in the Guthrie pest house. While only one delegate was quarantined, many were absent and known to be ill. The

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<sup>28</sup>Daily Oklahoman, editorial page, January 9, 1907; "Letters from the People" column, January 13, February 2, 1907; Watonga Republican, January 17, 1907, p. 1; Shawnee (Oklahoma) Daily Herald, January 22, 1907, p. 2.

<sup>29</sup>Watonga Republican, January 17, 1907.

Journal often includes reasons for absences. This record shows that a few men were excused for business reasons, but that illness forced many more to miss sessions. Between January 21 and February 7, never less than nine and as many as thirty-four were absent each day.<sup>30</sup>

On January 24, the Daily Oklahoman carried a story that the Suffrage Committee report would recommend the vote for men only. Although this must have disappointed supporters, they knew that the vote on the floor was the final test. The Suffrage Report did not come up, but rather the Prohibition question was presented for debate. On January 25th, the Tulsa Daily World headlined "Woman Suffrage Gracefully Killed." The editor of the Watonga Republican in his editorial of January 31, entitled "Governors and Women" bitterly wrote "more and more news of women and awareness of women on the part of government officials . . . constrains one to think that at last the state is coming

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<sup>30</sup>Journal, January 19, 1907; Daily Oklahoman, January 25, 1907; An accurate count of absentees and the causes is difficult. Some delegates are excused for illness, some for business until a particular date. On successive days sometimes the member is noted as having been previously excused but often no mention is made. Some men were excused indefinitely because they were ill, and subsequent attendance information is missing. Obviously a man so ill he was excused indefinitely would not have returned the following day, but with no mention, it is impossible to determine his return unless he spoke on the floor.

to regard women as of some importance, not so much, of course, as railroads and canals and insurance companies but still as counting for something."

The acrimonious debate on the liquor question abated, other matters were considered, but still the Suffrage report remained in Committee although observers believed its work completed. Just before adjournment the afternoon of February 4, the Committee on Rules of which Murray was Chairman recommended that the Suffrage report be "advanced to first place on the calendar and be made a Special Order for the morning session of February 4." Next morning, the Suffrage Report came to the floor of the convention. Peter Hanraty moved to amend the report by striking the word "male" from the general qualifications for voting. All afternoon the debate continued. Other amendments and substitutions were tabled. Delegates heard all shades of arguments for and against the franchise for women. When one speaker pronounced woman's place to be in the home training the next generation, another reminded the group of the numbers of working mothers who raised fine families. One after another of the speakers quoted from the Bible, referred to "natural law" and the higher order of womanhood, and voiced their fears that the franchise would "unsex" women. Homes would be neglected, they argued. One member,

paraphrasing a letter from a friend attending the International Suffrage Alliance in Copenhagen reported that the extreme socialists of that convention were interested in "outlawing marriage" and free love.

On the 6th of February, the Hanraty amendment was tabled by a vote of 54-37, which meant acceptance of the committee report to limit the franchise to male citizens. It is worth noting that on February 8, the Secretary of the Convention was directed to forward some resolutions to Robert L. Owen in Washington. It would appear that Owen was not in Guthrie the afternoon of February 5 when the agenda was changed.<sup>31</sup>

A month later, the Suffrage Committee recommended that women be allowed to vote in school district elections as they had during the territorial period in Oklahoma Territory. This report was tabled by a vote of 37-29 showing at least two things, the continuing reluctance of the convention to grant any measure of suffrage to women and a high number of absentees. This measure, including franchise provisions for the military, was finally passed on March 15 and became part of the proposed constitution.<sup>32</sup> An article in the Daily Oklahoman dated March 13, "Warm Words on Suffrage," contained

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<sup>31</sup>Proceedings and Debates, January 29, 1907-February 8, 1907.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., March 6, 1907-March 15, 1907.

a particularly harsh evaluation for a paper which had not advocated women's suffrage.

After playing ping pong with woman suffrage in school elections for several days by alternately tabling and referring it to committee, the Constitutional Convention in a Committee of the Whole, this afternoon passed the present Oklahoma law on the question and recommended its adoption. Opposition to woman suffrage of any sort was greatly intensified among the southern born delegates by the fact that the lower floor of the city hall where the convention is being held had been crowded the last two days with Negro women being brought in wagon loads to register . . . . President Murray was exceedingly bitter against the idea of allowing women to vote declaring that as a rule, only the Negroes and vicious element of white women would vote. To emphasize his statement he declared that 'in the city clerk's office downstairs today twenty-eight colored women and only six white women have registered.'

Murray's memory of the situation shows a difference in numbers, but the idea is constant.

When the report was made on woman suffrage, I held it up for some days hoping that something would occur to indicate to the delegates what should be done. There were 758 women votes, but only seven of them were white. I took advantage of this and submitted the vote and I said: 'If the Northern women won't vote what do you expect of the Southern woman and particularly of an Indian woman? If you adopt this provision, it will mean giving the balance of power over to the Negro woman, unless the white woman will vote, and you have the opportunity to do that by adopting it.'<sup>33</sup>

Albert H. Ellis, the Second Vice President of the Constitutional Convention wrote,

The question of woman suffrage was one that engaged the serious attention of the convention. The Delegates

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<sup>33</sup>Murray, Memoirs II, 30.

from counties that had no Negroes were nearly all in favor of woman suffrage while the Delegates from those counties having a great number of Negroes were almost unanimously opposed to it . . . the proposition to enfranchise women was defeated.<sup>34</sup>

An analysis of the special Census of 1907 does not bear out Ellis's contention. As indicated by the following table derived from this census, it appears that no such factor significantly influenced the vote of delegates.<sup>35</sup>

TABLE I

Percent of Negroes in home town of delegate	Total dele- gates	Absent	Net vote	For W.S.	% of net vote for W.S.
30-39	1	0	1	0	0
20-29	10	2	8	4	50
10-19	17	3	14	4	29
6-9	16	1	15	6	40
2-5	20	4	16	4	25
1 or less	37	2	35	16	46
Total	<u>101</u> (a)	<u>12</u>	<u>89</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>38</u>
Size of home town of delegate					
3,000 and over	21	1	20	6	30
2,000-2,999	19	6	13	3	23
1,000-1999	22	2	20	9	45
Under 1,000	39	3	36	16	44
Total	<u>101</u> (a)	<u>12</u>	<u>89</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>38</u>
Territory (b)					
Oklahoma	55	5	50	19	38
Indian	57	7	50	17	34
Total	<u>112</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>36</u>

(a) The home town of 11 delegates was not reported in the census.

(b) The percent of Negroes in the total population by territory was 4% for Oklahoma and 11% for Indian.

<sup>34</sup>Ellis, History of the Constitutional Convention, p. 163.

<sup>35</sup>Bureau of the Census, Special Census . . . 1907, Tables 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

Murray, Haskell, and Williams all objected to enfranchising woman and worked actively to oppose it. The time element of the convention proved wrong for women's suffrage. The enthusiasm for this cause seems to have peaked in mid-January when Robert L. Owen announced to suffrage supporters that a majority of fifty-seven votes were committed. Owen had missed victory on a women's suffrage proposal by a narrow margin at the Sequoyah Convention. His experience in political affairs and the defeat at the previous convention would lead one to the conclusion that he expected the vote to come soon after he announced an expected victory. The delay hurt the cause of women's suffrage. Even the timing on petitions was ineffective. In the early weeks of the convention, only a handful of petitions were presented in Guthrie. On February 5th, eighty-four petitions with a total of 24,000 signatures were presented, but routinely referred to the Suffrage Committee which had already reached a decision on this question. Murray was within his rights, at least the letter of his rights, as president to manipulate the agenda. The push on the prohibition question in late January and early February demanded the energies of all who were interested. Following so close after the liquor debate, the suffrage fight was doubly handicapped. The proponents were tired and the anti-temperance groups

were all the more determined to defeat women's suffrage. The illnesses of members and lobbyists, the absences because members did not anticipate the change in the agenda, the fear of blacks voting, and perhaps even the threat of the "socialists" at Copenhagen all worked against an affirmative vote for women's suffrage.



## CHAPTER V

### EPILOGUE

As the months passed and the convention remained in session, the Constitution grew longer and longer. Governor Frantz and Republican newspapers voiced increasing apprehension over the nature of the proposed constitution. The threat that President Roosevelt might not accept the results of their work irritated and burdened the delegates. Although they had answered the major questions, myriads of details of wording and minor revisions required much time. Illness and private business forced many members to be absent. On April 22, 1907, when the convention adjourned until August, forty-nine members were absent. During the recess, Bill Murray became convinced that amendments would be required to make the constitution acceptable to President Roosevelt, so he reconvened the convention on July 10, 1907, and effected these changes. Removal of restrictions on voting for Negroes was among the changes made.<sup>1</sup> Roosevelt sent

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<sup>1</sup>Stephen Jones, "Governor of Oklahoma Territory, Frank Frantz," Chronicles of Oklahoma XLIII (Winter, 1965-66) 386, 387; Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the Proposed State of Oklahoma Held At Guthrie, Oklahoma November 2, 1906 to November 16, 1907 (Muskogee, Oklahoma, n.d.) Session of April 16, to April 22, 1907, July 10 to July 16, 1907. Watonga (Oklahoma) Republican, February 7, 1907 p. 1; See also Tulsa Daily World editorial "Statehood In Danger" November 11, 1906.

William Howard Taft to the Territories to speak against ratification of the Constitution, saying, "I don't think it is possible to amend its defects . . . . It needs complete revision. I wouldn't vote for it, because I should be confident that there would be an Enabling Act if you rejected this constitution."<sup>2</sup> In early September the Democrats countered by bringing William Jennings Bryan to urge voters to "Adopt this constitution now . . . because it is the best constitution in the United States." In the election, the voters accepted the constitution and on November 16, 1907, President Roosevelt signed the statehood proclamation declaring Oklahoma the forty-sixth state in the Union.<sup>3</sup>

New Oklahoma state officers included Governor Charles N. Haskell, State Supreme Court Justice Robert L. Williams, United States Senator Robert L. Owen, and State Representative William H. Murray. In the first session of the state legislature, a bill to give women presidential suffrage died in committee. Blocked by legislative resistance, suffragists turned to the initiative route in 1910 only to

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<sup>2</sup>Irvin Hurst, The Forty-sixth Star: A History of Oklahoma's Statehood and Early Statehood (Oklahoma City, 1957), p. 31.

<sup>3</sup>Hurst, The Forty-sixth Star, pp. 31, 32; Arrell M. Gibson, Oklahoma: A Student's Guide to Localized History, Localized History Series, (New York, 1965), p. 26.

be defeated in the general election. Ironically, a constitutional amendment accepted by the voters in the primary election of 1910 restored aspects of the Jim Crow provisions withdrawn in 1907 to gain statehood. This amendment restricted the franchise by adding a grandfather clause with literacy qualifications. Justice Robert L. Williams upheld the amendment, but his decision was reversed by the United States Supreme Court in 1915. When William Jennings Bryan announced his support and began to work actively for women's suffrage in 1914, it must have been a bittersweet experience for Oklahoma suffragists. Had he reached this conclusion ten years earlier, his stand might have turned the tide in Oklahoma, but all suffragists accepted his support, for the battle was yet to be won. When Robert L. Williams ran for Governor in 1914, his margin of victory proved uncomfortably narrow. Dale and Morrison believed "he was opposed to woman suffrage and while women could not vote . . . some of them doubtless influenced the voting of their husbands."<sup>4</sup>

In 1916, a resolution for a suffrage amendment failed in the state Senate. Back again in 1917 to try the referendum

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<sup>4</sup>Edward Everett Dale and James D. Morrison, Pioneer Judge: The Life of Robert Lee Williams (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1958), pp. 179, 227; Hurst, The Forty-sixth Star, pp. 155-160; Ida Husted Harper, History of Woman Suffrage VI, 6 vols., (New York, 1922), pp. 524-525; William J. and Mary Baird Bryan, The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan (Chicago, 1925) p. 467.

route, the suffragists were delighted when the resolution passed both houses. Among their champions was Walter Ferguson, son of the territorial governor who had supported women's suffrage before statehood. During this campaign, fewer of the old arguments confronted the workers, for women were filling many jobs in wartime. Instead of being accused of lack of the necessary intellectual and emotional capacity, they found themselves linked with Germans and Negroes.<sup>5</sup>

The series of obstacles raised against the suffragists remind one of the trials of Hercules. From technicalities to outright chicanery, the opponents at last met their match when public opinion reacted to the chain of events. In August of 1918, the Secretary of the Election Board advised women's suffrage workers that the deadline had passed for submission of the exact wording of the amendment; therefore, the suffrage referendum would not appear on the November ballot. Thanks to the combined efforts of the Oklahoma Secretary of State and a judge, this hurdle was removed. According to Oklahoma Law, to pass, an amendment needed a majority of the total number of votes cast in any contest in that election. In effect this requirement meant that any

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<sup>5</sup>Harper, History of Woman Suffrage, pp. 527-528; Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement (New York, 1923), pp. 304, 305-307.

failure to vote on the amendment was a negative vote. Exercising their prerogative, the Election Board decided to use two ballots, one for the suffrage question and one for all the other contests. This turn of events necessitated a time-consuming drive to alert voters to mark both ballots. When suffrage workers checked on printing orders, they learned that the Election Board had ordered only half as many suffrage ballots printed as other ballots. The suffragists turned their attention to votes of the military. Oklahoma law permitted members of the military from Oklahoma to vote absentee. After voting, the men in the out-of-state camps reported that no suffrage ballots had been furnished them. Governor Williams, apprised of the situation, wrote to the commandants suggesting that these soldiers should mail their votes on the suffrage question separately. Oklahoma law, however, specified one sealed envelope from each absentee voter, thus these votes were voided when the ballots were counted. Wary of a repetition of this experience in the nearby military establishments, workers checked and found that no suffrage ballots had been delivered for these soldier voters. Again securing additional ballots, the women went to the camps on election day only to learn that the

voting places had been changed without notice. Thus an estimated 4200 military votes were lost.<sup>6</sup>

While some suffragists tried to find the military voting places, others watched in precincts all over the state. The amendment passed in Oklahoma City and County, and although unofficial returns showed that the amendment had passed in the outlying areas, official returns failed to come in immediately. When they did, the results did not tally with earlier reports from the poll watchers. The Election Board reportedly requested certain counties to open their boxes, an illegal move, which alarmed many observers because of possibilities of fraud. Rising public indignation turned on the reluctant officials. Governor Williams, then considered a candidate for a federal judgeship, found the publicity uncomfortable. In a few days, the election was certified without further maneuvering. On December 12, 1918, the female citizens of Oklahoma, in a

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<sup>6</sup>Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage, pp. 306-309.

political sense, moved out of the classification of felons, paupers, idiots, and lunatics, in elections other than on school questions.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage, pp. 309-313; Article III, Section 1. Constitution of the State of Oklahoma, 1907, reads "The qualified electors of this State shall be male citizens of the United States, citizens of the State, including persons of Indian descent (native to the United States), who are over the age of twenty-one and have resided in the State one year, in the county six months, and in the election precinct thirty days next preceeding the election at which such electors offers to vote: Provided, That no person adjudged guilty of a felony, subject to such exception as the Legislature may prescribe nor any person kept at a poor-house at public expense, except Federal, Confederate, and Spanish-American ex-soldiers or sailors, nor any person in a public prison or any idiot or lunatic, shall be entitled to register and vote." Section 3 "Until otherwise provided by law, all female citizens of this State, possessing like qualifications of male electors, shall be qualified to vote at school district elections or meetings."

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

The study of any particular question, such as women's suffrage in Oklahoma, starts with a review of the general histories of the state. A number of these histories are out of print and available only in libraries. Two multi-volume works offer the most details, Joseph B. Thorburn and Muriel H. Wright, Oklahoma, A History of the State and Its People, 4 vols. (New York, 1929), and Gaston Litton, History of Oklahoma at the Golden Anniversary of Statehood, 4 vols. (New York, 1957). For purposes of this study Thorburn and Wright proved the more helpful because of the topical treatments (e.g. the work of the Presbyterian missions in the Indian Territory) and the biographical sketches. In my opinion, the best of the state histories is Arrell M. Gibson, Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries (Norman, Oklahoma, 1965). The best of the one-volume histories in the treatment of political affairs is Roy Gittinger, The Formation of the State of Oklahoma, 1803-1906 (Norman, Oklahoma, 1939). The appendices include helpful material (e.g. bills presented to the Congress on the Indian Territory, petitions for statehood, and a summary of the work of the Dawes Commission.) The following are other useful one-



volume histories of Oklahoma, James Shannon Buchanan and Edward Everett Dale, A History of Oklahoma (Evanston, Illinois, 1924), Grant Foreman, A History of Oklahoma (Norman, Oklahoma, 1942), Edward Everett Dale and Morris L. Wardell, History of Oklahoma (New York, 1948), Edwin C. McReynolds, Oklahoma: A History of the Sooner State rev. 1964 (Norman, Oklahoma, 1969).

For a brief, but excellent, treatment of the political aspects of the changing U. S. Policy toward the Indians, see Solon J. Buck, "Settlement of Oklahoma," Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters XV, Part II (Madison, 1907). Buck's plates are used in many histories and in the appendix of this paper to illustrate the changing boundaries and population of the Indian Territory. Annie H. Abel "Proposals for an Indian State, 1778-1878," Annual Report, American Historical Association, 1907, Part I, 89-104, is an excellent resumé and is frequently quoted. Arrell M. Gibson, Oklahoma: A Student's Guide to Localized History, Localized History Series, (New York, 1965) and John Wesley Morris and Edwin C. McReynolds, Historical Atlas of Oklahoma (Norman, Oklahoma, 1965) are invaluable aids to understanding the process of territorial development.

Typical of the good area histories are Grant Foreman, Muskogee and Eastern Oklahoma (Muskogee, 1947) and Angie

Debo, Tulsa: from Creek Town to Oil Capital (Norman, Oklahoma, 1943). Local histories of communities and counties are available, many as unpublished master's theses in history at the University of Oklahoma. Some have been printed and are most likely to be found in local libraries or in good geneological libraries. Herbert D. Ragland, The History of Rush Springs (Rush Springs, Oklahoma, 1952) is an example which may be read at the Dallas Public Library.

A major reference on Indians is Frederick Webb Hodge, editor, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, 2 vols. (Washington, 1907). To study the Indian Territory, it is necessary to begin with the history and culture of the Five Civilized Tribes in their former homeland of southeastern United States before the time of the Removal.

R. S. Cotterill, The Southern Indians: The Story of the Five Civilized Tribes Before the Removal, Vol. 38, XXVIII 100 vols., Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman, Oklahoma, 1954), David H. Corkran, The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783, Vol. 86, LXXXVI, 100 vols., Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman, Oklahoma, 1967), and Verner W. Crane, The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732, Ann Arbor Paperbacks, (Ann Arbor, 1964) are the best general treatments of the relationships between the colonial

Five Civilized Tribes, as well as the relations among these tribes. Finding material on the status of women involves ferreting out scraps of information from many sources because most visitors saw little of the women of the tribes, and many of the conclusions they reached were probably not valid. The following articles by John R. Swanton are accurately titled and helpful for general background information: "Aboriginal Culture of the Southeast" Forty-Second Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, 1928) 673-727; "Religious Beliefs and Medical Practices of the Creek Indians," Forty-Second Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, 1928) 447-473; "Social Organization and Social Usage of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy," Forty-Second Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, 1928) 23,47; "Social and Religious Beliefs of the Chickasaw Indians," Forty-Fourth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, 1928) pp. 169-275; "Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of the Choctaw Indians," Bulletin # 103, Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, 1931). Another Swanton article, "Green Corn Dance," Chronicles of Oklahoma X (June, 1932), 172-195 includes an excellent description of this ceremonial. Charles C. Royce, "The Cherokee Nation of Indians," Fifth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, 1883-1884) XLIII-XLIV, 120-378, offers good

background, but should be read with other material for a balanced view. Helen Gere Cruikshank, editor, John and William Bartran's America: Selections from the Writings of the Early American Naturalists (Garden City, New York, 1961) contains more for the naturalist than the historian, but the inclusion of the views of both father and son gives a different dimension to the opinions. Students of the Cherokees and Creeks should read Merritt B. Pound, Benjamin Hawkins, Indian Agent (Athens, Georgia, 1951) because Hawkins was probably the most knowledgeable American on the subject of these Indians with whom he lived for years, after serving on the staff of George Washington during the Revolution. Excerpts of material not readily available are included in Spencer B. King, Jr. Georgia Voices: A Documentary History To 1872 (Athens, Georgia, 1966). John Walton Caughey, McGillivray of the Creeks, Vol. 18 XVIII, 100 vols., Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman, Oklahoma, 1938) gives an excellent treatment of this chief who was the son of a Scottish trader and a Creek mother. A good general work on these Indians is Grant Foreman, The Five Civilized Tribes Vol. VIII, 100 vols., Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman, Oklahoma, 1934).

Emmet Starr, History of the Cherokees, Embracing Customs,

the Cherokee historian includes the Cherokee Constitution, various laws, especially pertaining to education, and the Missions of the Methodists and Presbyterians. Thomas Valentine Parker, The Cherokee Indians with Special Reference to their Relations with the United States Government, Grafton Historical Series, (New York, 1907), although somewhat limited and old, serves to confirm other writers. A more recent work and another of the excellent Civilization of American Indian Series is Grace Steele Woodward, The Cherokees Vol. LXV, 100 vols., (Norman, Oklahoma, 1963).

On the Creeks, before and after the Removal, see Bert Hodges, "Notes on the History of the Creek Nation," Chronicles of Oklahoma XLIII (Spring, 1965), 9-18; Angie Debo, The Road To Disappearance, Vol XXII, 100 vols., Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman, Oklahoma, 1941), Ohland Morton, "The Government of the Creek Indians," Chronicles of Oklahoma VIII (March, 1930), 42-64 and (June, 1930), 189-225; and Augustus Ward Loomis, Scenes in the Indian Country (Philadelphia, 1859).

The Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes are closely related and are often treated together. One of the oldest works that is frequently cited is that of H. B. Chusman, a son of missionaries to the Choctaws, History of the Choctaw,

Although his style of writing is so stilted that the modern reader may doubt his ideas, the extensive bibliography is worth seeing in James H. Malone, The Chickasaw Nation: A Short Sketch of a Noble People (Louisville, 1922). If time is a factor, see Angie Debo, The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic, Vol. VI, 100 vols., Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman, 1934) which offers maximum coverage and a good index.

Comparatively, little has been written on the fifth tribe of the Civilized Nations. Edwin C. McReynolds, The Seminoles, Vol. XLVII, 100 vols., Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman, 1957) is a good general resource for the history of that tribe.

The Removal from the Southeast to the Indian Territory proved very nearly disastrous for the Five Civilized Nations. Grant Foreman's two books are the best general sources, Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes Vol. II, 100 vols., Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman, Oklahoma, 1932, 1953) and The Last Trek of the Indians (Chicago, 1937). The latter deals with the Indians north of the Ohio River who were forced west. Portions of Foreman's other books and the works of Angie Debo already cited describe the trials and results of the forced move. Wilson Lumpkin, The Removal of the Cherokee

Indians from Georgia 1827-1841 (New York, 1907) defends his own considerable part and the action of the State in forcing the Indians out. Douglas L. Right, The American Indian in North Carolina (Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 1947) includes a first-hand account. For another first-person report, see Grant Foreman, editor, A Traveler in Indian Territory: The Journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1930). For an over-view of the relations between the United States government and the Five Civilized Tribes from early days until the liquidation of the tribal governments, see Angie Debo, And Still The Waters Run, (Princeton, 1940).

For an introduction to all the tribes that eventually lived in Oklahoma, see Muriel H. Wright, A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, Vol. XXXIII, 100 vols., Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman, Oklahoma, 1951).

For laws and treaties affecting the Indians, two sources are invaluable. Both, published by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of Interior, are generally catalogued under Indian Affairs, although most frequently referred to by the names of the editors. Charles J. Kappler, compiler and editor, Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties 5 vols., (Washington, 1904) and Felix S. Cohen, Handbook of Federal Indian Law (Washington, 1945).

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published by the Oklahoma Historical Society since 1922, offer an invaluable source of information on a wide range of subjects relating to the state, especially in the early years. For a general view of life in the Indian Territory, see Leona G. Barnett, "Este Cate Emuk\_\_\_, Red Men Always," Chronicles of Oklahoma XLVI (Spring, 1968), 20-40, Emma Ervin Christian, "Memories of My Childhood Days in the Choctaw Nation" Chronicles of Oklahoma IX (June, 1931), 155-165 and XI (December, 1933), 1034-1043, Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "A Cherokee Pioneer, Ella Flora Coody Robinson," Chronicles of Oklahoma VII (December, 1929), 364-374; Kathleen Garrett, "Music on the Indian Frontier," Chronicles of Oklahoma XXXIII (Autumn, 1955), 339-349; Pauline P. Jackson, "Life and Society in Sapulpa," Chronicles of Oklahoma XLIII (Autumn, 1965), 297-307, Mrs. C. M. Whaley, "Elizabeth Jacobs Quinton, Centenarian," Chronicles of Oklahoma XXIX (Summer, 1951), 126-137. Phil Harris, This Is Three Forks Country: A Collection of Tales of History, Adventure, Romance, and Legend of Eastern Oklahoma (Muskogee, Oklahoma, 1965) is based on newspaper interviews. Another similar series is Forest Crossen, Western Yesterdays, Vol. VI, 6 vols., Thomas Fitzpatrick: Railroad Man (Boulder, Colorado, 1968), a colorful retelling of the life of a white railroadman in the Indian Territory.



The confused judicial situation caused by the intrusion of white men into the Indian Territory gave rise to cries that the territory was a haven for outlaw bands. Originally the whites had been subject to Indian law, but a change of policy placed white men under federal law while the Indians retained their own judicial systems. There were outlaws in the territory, but whether the demands of the whites were based more on a hope to change the system of government than on control of the outlaws is open to question. Oliver Knight, "Fifty Years of Choctaw Law," Chronicles of Oklahoma XXXI (Spring, 1953), 76-95 gives an idea of the system of law. A. G. C. Bierer, "Early Day Courts and Lawyers" Chronicles of Oklahoma VIII (March, 1930), 2-12 tells of the early white courts in the territories. S. W. Harman, Hell on the Border: He Hanged Eighty-eight Men (Fort Smith, Arkansas, 1898) and Colonel Bailey C. Hanes, Bill Doolin: Outlaw of Oklahoma Territory (Norman, Oklahoma, 1968) are colorful first-hand accounts.

Many Protestant denominations carried on some evangelical work in the Indian Territory at some time after the Removal, but the major work of most missionaries was connected with education. The index of the Chronicles will direct a reader to specific church groups of which the following are examples:

Jens Christian Kjaer, "The Luthern Mission at Oaks, Oklahoma," XXVIII (Spring, 1950), 42-51 and Herbert Miner Pierce, "Baptist Pioneers in Eastern Oklahoma," XXX (August, 1952) pp. 279-284. A book and many articles on the lives and work of the missionary teachers recount their experiences.

Althea Bass, Cherokee Messenger, Vol. XII, 100 vols, Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman, 1936), relates the story of the adult life of Samuel Austin Worcester and his work with the Cherokees. The lives of other members of the Worcester-Robertson families may be found in Muriel H. Wright, "Notes on the Life of Mrs. Hannah Worcester Hicks Hitchcock," Chronicles of Oklahoma XIX (December, 1941), 348-367, Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Augusta Robertson Moore: A Sketch of Her Life and Times," Chronicles of Oklahoma XIII (December, 1935), 399-420, Grant Foreman, "The Honorable Alice M. Robertson," Chronicles of Oklahoma (March, 1932), 13-20; Ruth Moore Stanley, "Alice M. Robertson, Oklahoma's First Congresswoman," Chronicles of Oklahoma XLV (Autumn, 1967), 259-289, Lilah Denton Lindsay, "Memories of the Indian Territory Mission Field," Chronicles of Oklahoma XXXVI (Summer, 1958), 181-198. Armed with the names of other men and women, the index offers much help in locating these missionaries, although determining the best names to

use presents something of a problem in the beginning of research. See Minta Ross Foreman, "Reverend Stephen Foreman, Cherokee Missionary," Chronicles of Oklahoma XVIII (September, 1940), 229-242 and Frank A. Balyeat, "Joseph Samuel Murrow, Apostle to the Indians," Chronicles of Oklahoma, XXXV (Autumn, 1957), 297-313.

For descriptions of the school life in the Indian Territory, see Caroline Davis, "Education of the Chickasaws, 1856-1907," Chronicles of Oklahoma XV (December, 1937), 415-448; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Education Among the Chickasaw Indians," Chronicles of Oklahoma XV (June, 1937), 139-165; Angie Debo, "Education in the Choctaw Country After the Civil War," Chronicles of Oklahoma X (September, 1932), 383-391; Louise Thomson, "A Cross-Section in the Life of a Missionary Teacher," Chronicles of Oklahoma XVIII (March, 1940), 77-81; Muriel H. Wright, "Wapanucka Academy, Chicasaw Nation," Chronicles of Oklahoma XII (December, 1934), 402-431; Frank A. Balyeat, "Education of White Children in the Indian Territory," Chronicles of Oklahoma XV (June, 1937), 191-197.

The effect of the Civil War is treated in all of the histories. In addition, there is a series of articles on the early war years: Dean Trickett, "The Civil War in the Indian Territory, 1861 and 1862," Chronicles of Oklahoma,

XVII (September, 1939), 315-327; (December, 1939), 401-412; XVIII (June, 1940), 142-155; (September, 1940), 266-280; XIX (March, 1941), 55-69; (December, 1941), 381-396.

See Stephen B. Oates, Confederate Cavalry West of the River (Austin, Texas, 1961) for the Indians fighting with the South, especially pp. 31-33, 94ff.

The hopes of claiming a homestead brought hundreds of families to the Oklahoma Territory on the "runs." The best account is that of Allie B. Wallace, Frontier Life (Washington, 1964). She was a young child when her father brought his family to live on their claim, but her memory of the details of life is so vivid and her writing so clear that the reader can easily visualize the life and society of her youth. Authentic, but far less well done, is George W. Conover with Frank W. Beach, M. A. Amanuensis, Sixty Years in Southwest Oklahoma or the Autobiography of George W. Conover with Some Thrilling Incidents of Indian Life in Oklahoma and Texas (Anadarko, Oklahoma, 1927). Angie Debo, Prairie City: The Story of an American Community (New York, 1944) is a composite history of life in Oklahoma Territory. Other articles in the Chronicles of Oklahoma written from first hand experience are William E. Baker, "Pioneering on the Great Plains," XXXV (Autumn, 1957), 288-295 on Cheyenne-Arapaho lands; Mrs. J. W. Drake, "Some Pioneers of Pottawatomie

County," IV (September, 1926), 241-250; Jesse J. Dunn, "Pioneers and Pioneering in Woods County," III (March, 1925), 141-151; Emma A. Estill, "The Great Lottery, August 6, 1901" IX (December, 1931) pp. 363-381; Ralph E. Randels, "The Homesteader and the Development of Woodward County," XVII (September, 1939), 386-395, particularly good on agriculture and ranching in the Cherokee Outlet. The newspaper coverage of the "runs" is colorful and worth reading, if available. The reports of two foreign newsmen have been translated and reprinted in the Chronicles of Oklahoma, José Marti, "Cuban View of the Oklahoma Run," XLIV (Winter, 1966-67), 362-363 and H. R. Peterson, editor "The Opening of Oklahoma From the European Point of View," articles from Le Figaro of Paris XVII (March, 1939), 23-25. Some articles on special topics in the Chronicles of Oklahoma should be mentioned: Vernon S. Braswell, "The Oklahoma Free Homes Bill," LXIV (Winter, 1966-67), 380-383; Homer S. Chambers, "Early Day Railroad Building Operations in Oklahoma," XXI (June, 1943), 162-170; Bobby Harold Johnson, "Reports of the Governors of Oklahoma, 1891-1899," XLIV (Winter, 1966-67), 365-377; Guy Nelson, "School Lands of Oklahoma," XLVI (Autumn, 1968), 293-311; Oscar William Davison, "Education at Statehood," XXVIII (Spring, 1950), 63-80; Edward Everett Dale, "Teaching on the Prairie Plains,

1890-1900," Mississippi Valley Historical Review XXXIII (September, 1946), 293-307. The best material on the food of the frontier, using the word frontier in the broad sense, is Edward Everett Dale, "The Food of the Frontier," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XL, (March, 1947), 38-61.

A search for information regarding health and health care during the early days in Oklahoma would have been most discouraging except for the fine unpublished doctoral dissertation, Berneice Norman Crockett, "Origin and Development of Public Health in Oklahoma 1830-1930," University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1953. She discusses the gamut of health problems and traditional remedies, as well as the work of the Territorial and State Boards of Health. The records of the Indian Territory Medical Association and the Oklahoma Territory Medical Association are in the Manuscripts Division, Western History Library, University of Oklahoma. Since membership in either of the medical societies was not a prerequisite to practicing medicine, these papers do not include information on all the physicians but their early efforts to upgrade their profession and to improve the quality of medical care are illustrated. Fred S. Clinton, M. D. "The Indian Territory Medical Association," Chronicles of Oklahoma XXVI (Spring, 1948), 22-55 details

some of his own experiences and of the early days of that medical society. Another account of the day-to-day life of an early physician is Lewis Jefferson Moorman, Pioneer Doctor (Norman, Oklahoma, 1951). Dentists came to the Indian Territory. Joseph Stanley Clark, Open Wider, Please (Norman, Oklahoma, 1955) is an easy-to-read account of their activities.

The entire process of preparing for the allotment of Indian lands among the Five Civilized Nations brimmed over with resentments, non-cooperation and resignation. Not only was the necessity to accept allotment a bitter compulsion, but the execution of the agreement must have been poorly handled often. Grant Foreman, compiler, "Manuscripts In the Office of the Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes, Muskogee, Oklahoma, Dawes Commission," is a filmed record of the selected original papers showing evaluations of the political appointees who carried out the work. Most were rated incompetent with the attached notation that having been appointed by this or that Congressman, it would not be wise to discharge him. Another aspect of the process is recounted in Junius B. Moore, "The Survey of Indian Territory, 1894-1907," Chronicles of Oklahoma, XXVIII (Winter, 1950), 445-451. The plight of the old and conservative Creeks is poignantly clear in the

speech of Chitto Harjo to a Senate Investigating Committee in 1906. See Angie Debo, Tulsa: from Creek Town to Oil Capital (Norman, 1943), pp. 91-96.

The most thorough study of the social life and recreation of the Oklahoma Territory is Elva Page Lewis, "Social Life in the Territory of Oklahoma, 1890-1906" unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1945. An interesting study of the history and origins of songs that were popular in Oklahoma is Benjamin Albert Botkin, The American Play-Party Song with a Collection of Oklahoma Texts and Tunes (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1937). Play-parties were frontier social gatherings for the entire family, at which folk songs, nonsense rhymes, and singing games were played, often in lieu of dancing.

By far the most thorough study of the government of the Oklahoma Territory is Dora Ann Stewart, Government and Development of the Oklahoma Territory (Oklahoma City, 1933). Angelo Cyrus Scott, a newspaper man, an 89er, and later President of Oklahoma State University in his personal account of his fifty years there, The Story of Oklahoma City (Oklahoma City, 1939), gives many details of the life of the city and personal evaluations of the various territorial governors. Albert McRill, longtime City Manager of Oklahoma City, shares more of the details, humorous events, and political



scandals in And Satan Came Also: An Inside Story of a City's Social and Political History (Oklahoma City, 1955).

Stephen F. Jones, "Governor of Oklahoma, Frank Frantz," Chronicles of Oklahoma XLIII (Winter, 1965-66), 374-387, gives a sympathetic treatment of the trials of this Republican executive during the time of a Democratic-dominated Constitutional Convention.

Newspapers offer important information on their times. An excellent file is available to study at the Oklahoma Historical Society in Oklahoma City. Two helpful books on the early papers are Lester Hargrett, Oklahoma Imprints, 1835-1890 (New York, 1951) and Carolyn Thomas Foreman, Oklahoma Imprints 1835-1907: A History of Printing in Oklahoma (Norman, Oklahoma, 1936). The story of the life of a newspaper family in territorial days and the public events in which they participated is found in Elva Shartel Ferguson (Mrs. Thompson B.) They Carried The Torch: The Story of Oklahoma's Pioneer Newspapers (Kansas City, Missouri, 1937). Apparently there were a number of short lived magazines published in Oklahoma during territorial days. One of the most durable, Strum's, is treated within the broad context of the social life in Oklahoma Territory in Bobby Harold Johnson, "Some Aspects of life in the 'Land of the fair God': Oklahoma

Territory, 1889-1907," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1967.

The Sequoyah Convention marked the last hope for a separate Indian state. The records of this gathering are limited because Alexander Posey, the Creek poet-newspaperman who served as Secretary of the Convention, died before he had transcribed his notes and William H. Murrary's notes on this convention were lost when his home was destroyed by fire. Two small volumes have been published on the Sequoyah meeting, Clinton McClarty Allen and James Shannon Buchanan, The Sequoyah Movement (Oklahoma City, 1925) and Amos D. Maxwell, The Sequoyah Convention (Boston, 1953). Of the two, Maxwell is the more thorough, but there are blanks in it. A copy of the Sequoyah Constitution may be found in Seth K. Corden and W. B. Richards, compilers, Oklahoma Red Book I, 2 vols., (Oklahoma City, 1912). An article with bibliography on Alexander Posey that gives a few bits of additional information on this convention is Dorris Challacombe, "Alexander Lawrence Posey," Chronicles of Oklahoma XI (December, 1933), 1011-1018. A contrast between the Sequoyah and Constitutional Conventions as seen through the eyes of Charles N. Haskell is in Paul Nesbitt, "Governor Haskell Tells of Two Conventions," Chronicles of Oklahoma XIV (June, 1936), 189-217.

Aside from newspaper articles in anniversary issues, little has been published on the women's clubs. The comments of Angelo Scott and Albert McRill, previously cited, are so laudatory that we may probably take at face value the official history which considered alone might be discounted as prejudiced. See Mrs. Loretta (Gilbert) Rainey, History of Oklahoma State Federation of Women's Clubs (Guthrie, Oklahoma, 1939).

A review of three general works as they pertained to Oklahoma proved helpful. See John D. Hicks, The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers Alliance and the People's Party (Minneapolis, 1931); Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York, 1955); and C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913. On the prohibition question, I found James H. Timberlake, Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900-1920 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1963) very helpful in understanding the background and the climate of thinking of the movement and of the period. The temperance movement was a powerful force in the Oklahoma and Indian Territories, countered by determined businessmen who favored the availability of liquor to the public. The primary sources of information are limited to newspaper articles and the official history, Abbie B. Hillerman, compiler, History of Women's Christian Temperance

of Oklahoma 1888-1925 (Sapulpa, Oklahoma, n. d.). Jimmy L. Franklin, "Prohibition in Oklahoma, 1907-1919" unpublished master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1964, gives background information. Franklin's article "The Fight for Prohibition in Oklahoma Territory," Social Science Quarterly XXXIX (March, 1969), 876-885 is very good on the struggle.

In approaching the study of women's suffrage, two general works should be read first, Alan Pendleton Grimes, The Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage (New York, 1961) and Kirk H. Porter, A History of Suffrage in the United States. Porter traces the development of the franchise from the early days of the nation and the gradual loosening of the restrictions on the right to vote. The national political platforms are found in Kirk H. Porter and Donald Bruce Johnson, National Party Platforms, 1840-1960 2nd ed. (Urbana, Illinois, 1961). The most detailed work on the women's suffrage movement is contained in Ida Husted Harper, editor, The History of Woman Suffrage 6 vols. (Rochester and New York, 1889 to 1922). A somewhat abbreviated version, but with valuable material on Oklahoma, is Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement (New York, 1923). An account that includes more of the personal reactions to the struggle and the interplay of the various leading personalities will

be found in Mary Gray Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt: A Biography (New York, 1944). More recent works treating the idea of the political franchise for women, as well as more current aspects of the movement, are Mildred Adams, The Right To Be People (Philadelphia, 1967), which is a delightful book on the leaders and contains the Seneca Falls Declaration of Women's Rights; Eleanor Flexnor, Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1968); Aileen S. Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920 (New York, 1965); and an interesting book of excerpts, Aileen S. Kraditor, editor, Up From the Pedestal: Selected Writings in the History of American Feminism (Chicago, 1968).

Kraditor, Up From the Pedestal includes many of the arguments for and against women's suffrage, including the article by President Grover Cleveland. The newspapers of the period, especially the Daily Oklahoman, carried many articles on this question. Other periodicals did as well. For a few examples, see George F. Hoar, "Right and Expediency of Woman Suffrage," Century XXXXVIII (August, 1894), 605-613, Max O'Rell, "Petticoat Government." North American Review CLXIII (July, 1896), 101ff; Ida Husted Harper, "Why Women Cannot Vote in the United States," North American Review CLXXIX (July, 1904), 30-41; Lyman Abbott, "Why Women

Do Not Want the Suffrage," Atlantic Monthly XCII (December, 1903), 289-296.

The political philosophy of a number of men had a profound influence on the decision on women's suffrage made at the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention. The man, outside the territory, whose opinion might have swayed the vote was William Jennings Bryan who later supported the cause of women's suffrage. I consulted the following books and articles: Paolo Enrico Coletta, William Jennings Bryan, Political Evangelist, 1860-1908, Vol. I, 3 vols. (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1964), Paxton Hibben, The Peerless Leader: William Jennings Bryan (New York, 1929 reissued 1969); Morris Robert Werner, Bryan (New York, 1929); William J. and Mary Baird Bryan, The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan (Chicago, 1925); and Norbert R. Mahnken, "Bryan Country" Nebraska History XXXI (December, 1950), 247-274. Mahnken states that Oklahoma was "Bryan country" because of the nature of the life and people.

Of the Oklahoma men, two books which never mention an evil thought or deed are Roy Hoffman and others editors, Oklahomans and Their State (Oklahoma City, 1919), and Rex Harlow, Oklahoma Leaders: Biographical Sketches of the Foremost Living Men of Oklahoma (Oklahoma City, 1928).

William H. Murray wrote a long rambling story of his life

and times which lives up to its title, Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma Together with His Biography, Philosophy, Statesmanship and Oklahoma History Interwoven, 3 vols. (Boston, 1945). Bill Murray was a man of strong ideas and great self confidence. A more objective treatment of Murray is Keith L. Bryant, Alfalpa Bill Murray (Norman, Oklahoma, 1968). In this brief, concise work, Bryant deals sympathetically with his subject, but does not gloss over the failings of his old age when Murray became an irascible old man who had outlived the validity of his political ideas. Murray's speeches serve as a good source. on the man and his ideas, A. L. Beckett, compiler, The Speeches of William Henry Murray, Governor of Oklahoma . . . (Oklahoma, City, 1931).

Other Oklahomans whose ideas had great bearing on the result of the Constitutional Convention were Robert Lee Williams and Robert L. Owen, Edward Everett Dale and James D. Morrison, Pioneer Judge: The Life of Robert Lee Williams (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1958), Charles Evans, "Robert Lee Williams," Chronicles of Oklahoma XXVI (Summer, 1948), 120-133, and Wyatt W. Belcher, "Political Leadership of Robert L. Owen," Chronicles of Oklahoma XXXI (Winter, 1953-54), 361-371.

In considering the Constitutional Convention the primary sources of greatest importance are: Bureau of Government Research, Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma, "Proceedings and Debates of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Oklahoma, 1906-1907"; Albert H. Ellis, A History of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Oklahoma (Muskogee, Oklahoma, 1923); William H. Murray, "The Constitutional Convention," Chronicles of Oklahoma IX (June, 1931), 126-138; and Irvin Hurst The Forty-sixth Star: A History of Oklahoma's Statehood and Early Statehood (Oklahoma City, 1957). Hurst, a newspaperman, covered the convention and the state administration in subsequent years. Two other works of less value, but worth seeing for comparison, are Lewis M. Solomon, "The Personnel of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention of 1906-1907," unpublished master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1924 and Charles Wayne Ellinger, "The Drive for Statehood in Oklahoma, 1889-1906," Chronicles of Oklahoma XLI (Spring, 1963), 15-37.

One reservoir of materials not practically available was the quantity of interviews among the Indian Pioneer Papers and the personal papers of many prominent Oklahoma men and women held in the Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma, Norman. Most of the holdings in this library of typescripts and personal papers are not processed.



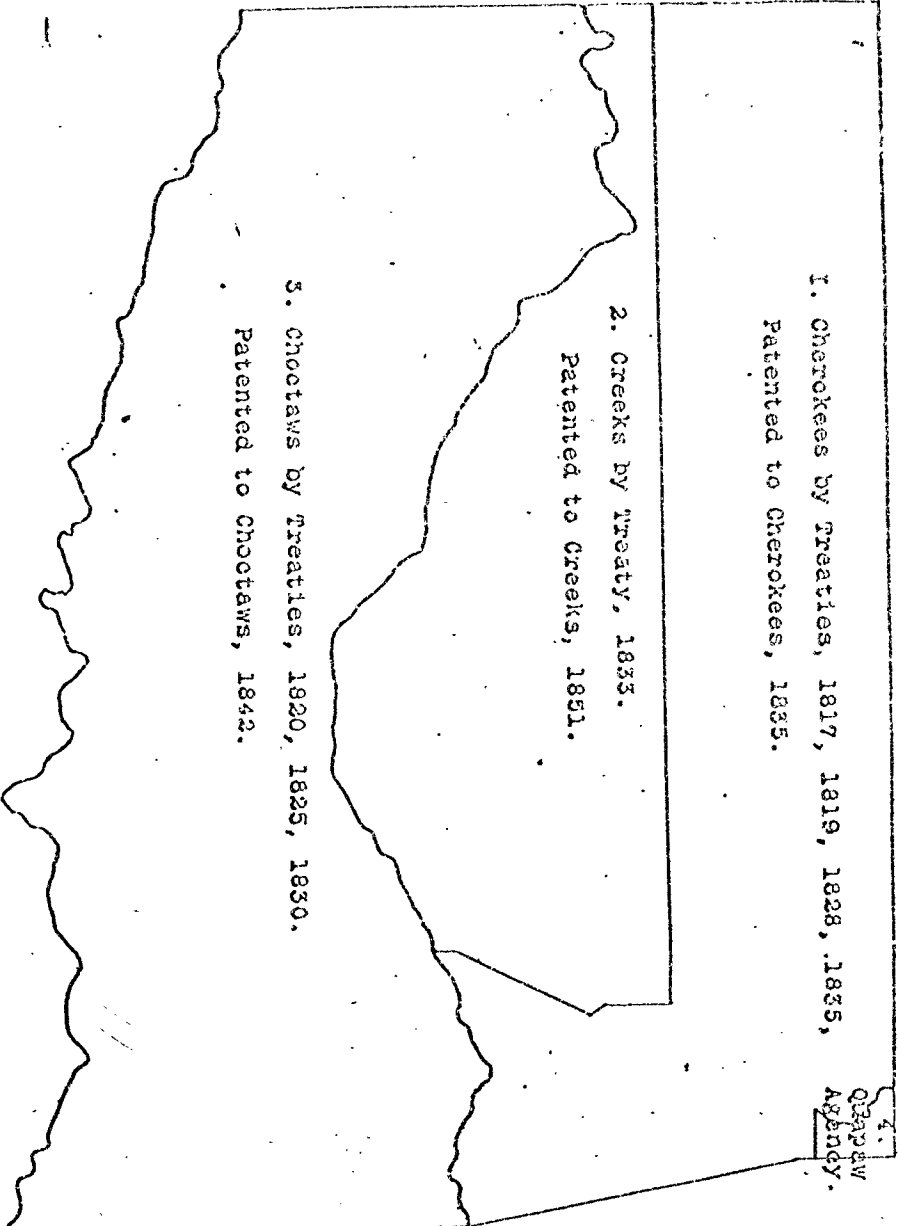
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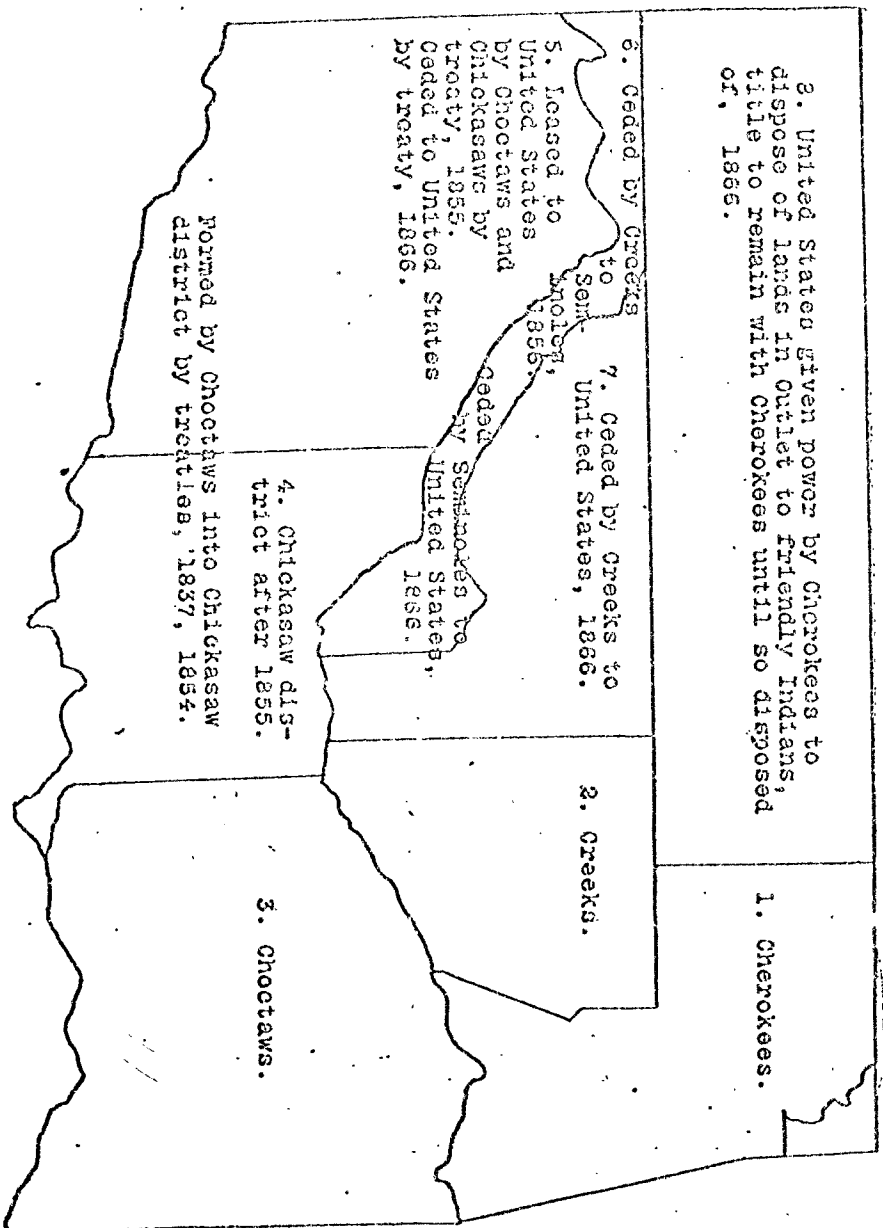
2. Creeks by Treaty, 1833.  
Patented to Creeks, 1851.

3. Choctaws by Treaties, 1820, 1825, 1830.  
Patented to Choctaws, 1842.

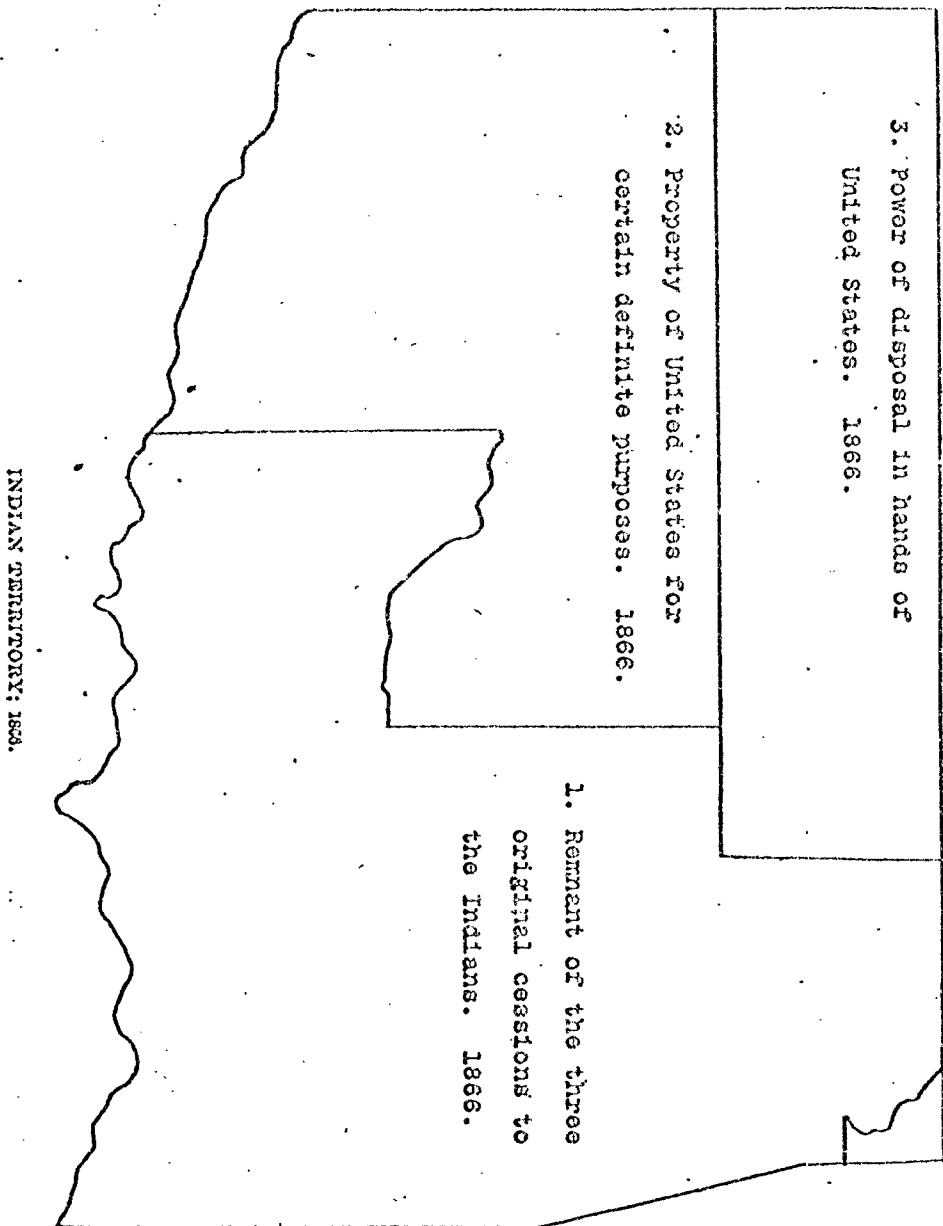
4.  
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INDIAN TERRITORY: THE ORIGINAL SESSIONS.

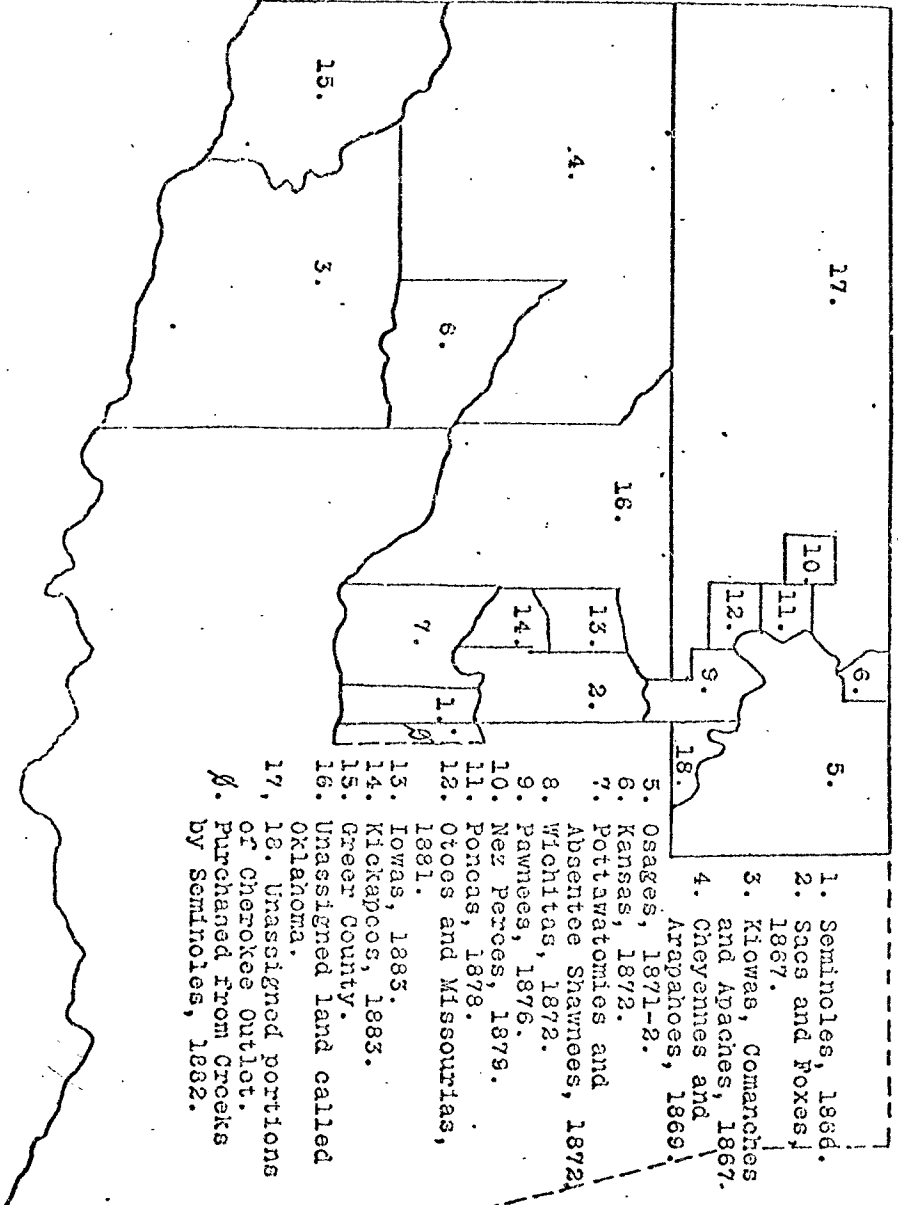




INDIAN TERRITORY; DIVISIONS TO 1836.



INDIAN TERRITORY: 1866.



INDIAN TERRITORY; DIVISIONS AND CESSIONS, 1866-1883.

2 Made Part of Oklahoma Territory, May 2, 1890.

5. Opened September 16, 1893.

Unopened 1904.

4 Opened April 22, 1892.

1. Opened April 22, 1889.

3. Opened

6.

Sept. 22, 1891.

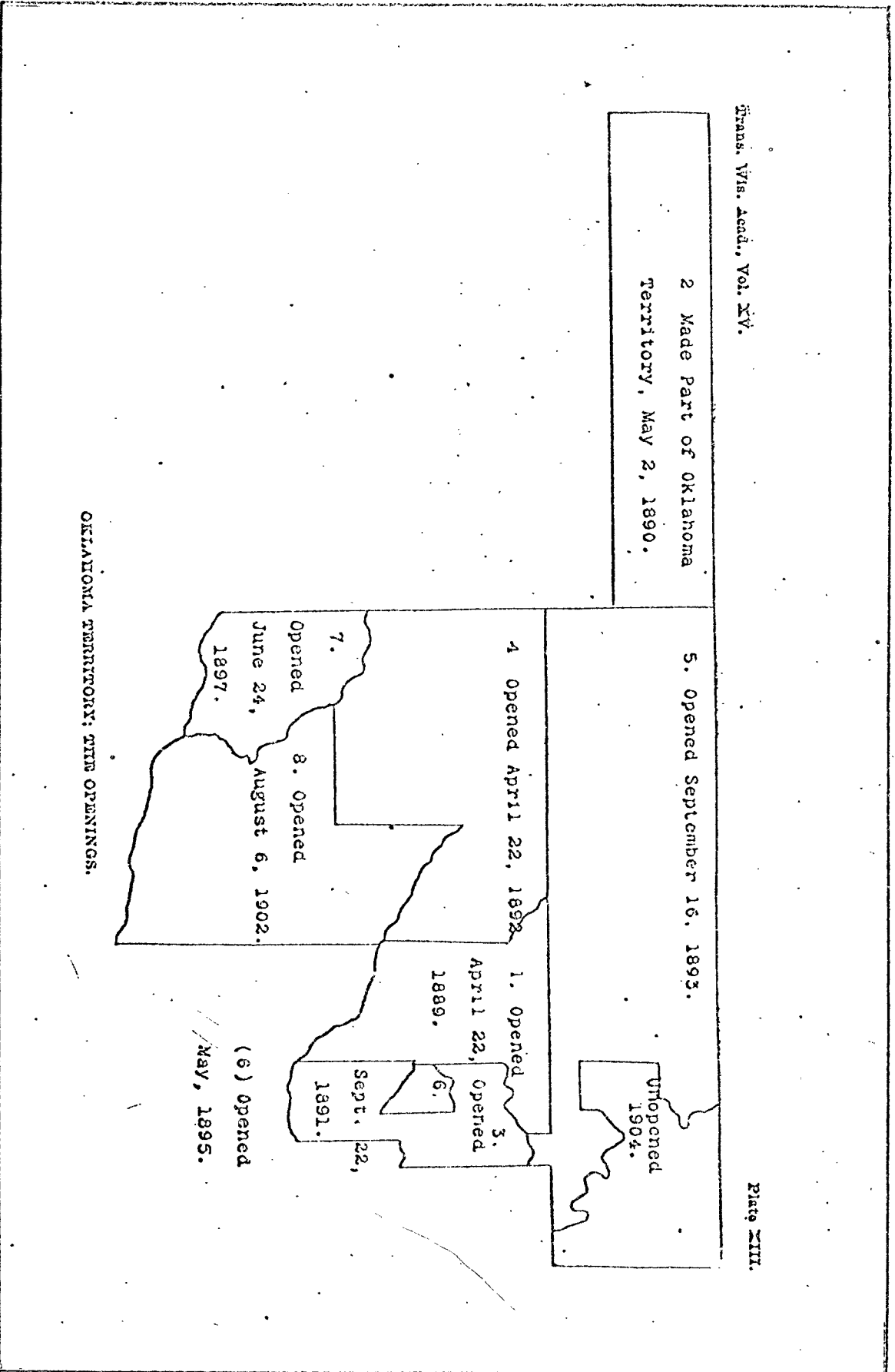
7. Opened June 24, 1897.

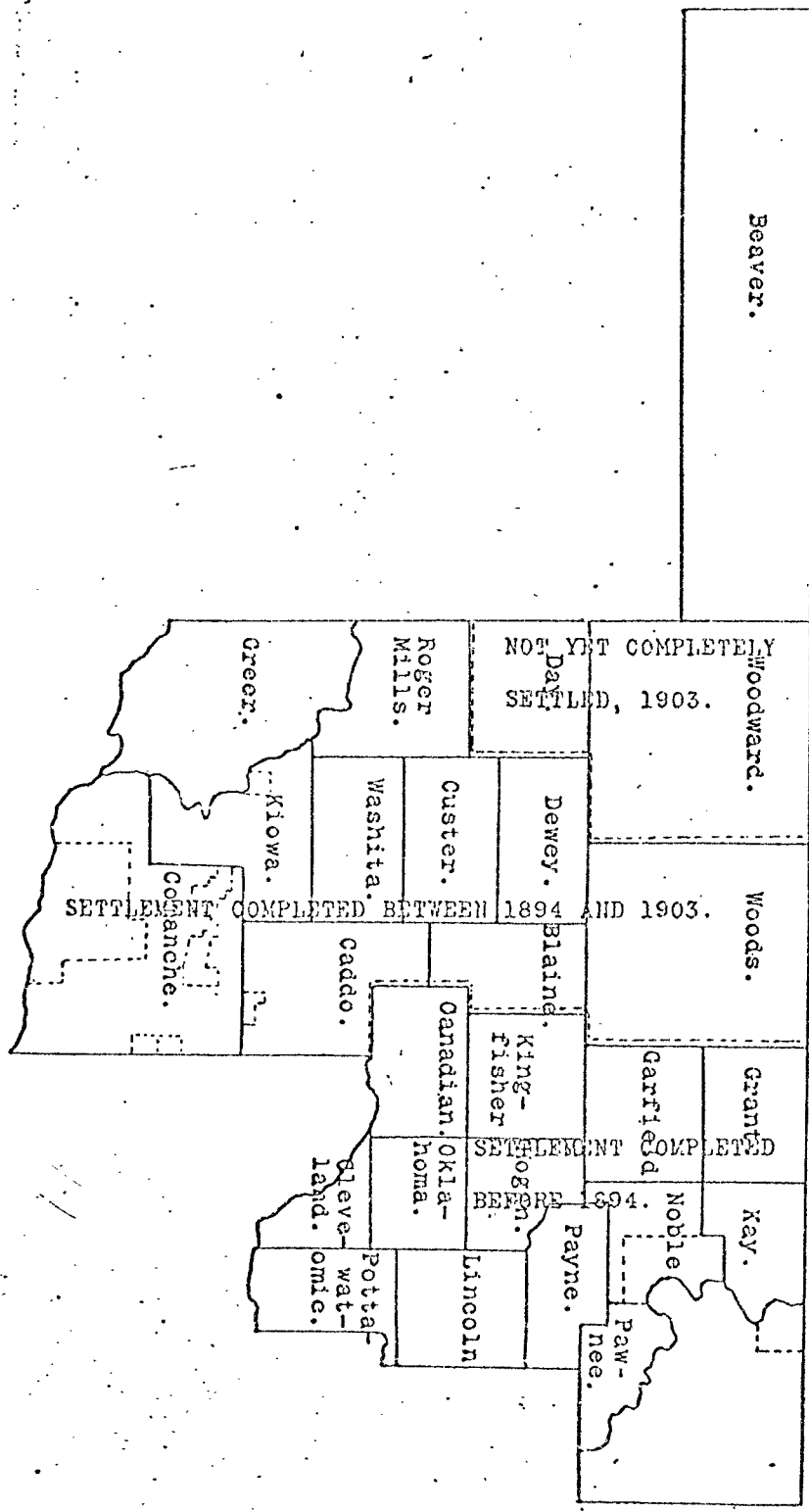
8. Opened

August 6, 1902.

(6) Opened May, 1895.

OKLAHOMA TERRITORY: TIME OPENINGS.





OKLAHOMA TERRITORY: THE ADVANCE OF SETTLEMENT.