ARCHITECTURAL/HISTORIC SURVEY OF BARTLESVILLE

HISTORIC CONTEXT

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INTRODUCTION

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, establishes a unique federal-state-local partnership for the identification, evaluation, and protection of significant prehistoric and historic resources. Such an ambitious task, however, would be virtually impossible without comprehensive planning. Only through a systematic approach can such resources actually be identified, evaluated, registered, and treated in a manner that is both efficient and provides a useful land-management tool. As detailed in "Archeology and Historic Preservation: Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines" (Federal Register, 29 September 1983: 44716-44742), each activity builds upon the results of the other. Planning dictates where program emphases lie and defines major goals. This, in turn, dictates what shape the identification effort will take. The resources thereby identified then may be evaluated for eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places. Those listed on the National Register, or determined eligible, thus receive the limited protection which accompanies inclusion. Should the owner of a listed property seek available investment tax credits, the results of the comprehensive plan are incorporated in the treatment phase. Moreover, throughout the entire process, data gaps and new areas warranting attention are revealed, information which is included into future planning. In short, comprehensive preservation planning is a series of

interrelated and continuous steps.

At the heart of the comprehensive planning process lies the historic context. This document groups information about historic resources according to their shared theme, chronological period, and geographic area. It provides the necessary background which, when applied with the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, makes possible a meaningful determination of a property's significance to the broad patterns of our historic, archeological, architectural, and engineering heritage. Essentially, the context serves as the necessary link between the property as it remains today and the past which gives it special meaning.

The Oklahoma State Historic Preservation Office recognizes the fundamental importance of comprehensive planning, as reflected in its strategy for historic context development. The Office organizes the historic component of its plan around a combination of geography and theme. It has divided Oklahoma into seven management regions, using county borders as their primary dividing lines. It should also be noted that historic patterns influenced the establishment of these regions. This enables the resulting historic contexts to serve agencies and persons interested only in a particular geographic area. To further refine the process, Oklahoma's past has been divided into twelve major themes. Using this system, Oklahoma's historic contexts

each pertain to a specific theme as it applies to one of the management regions. Taken together, they may assess the theme's importance to cultural resources statewide, or the various historical forces which influenced a single management region. More specialized needs are addressed by narrowing the geographic area to be studied and/or considering a sub-theme related to one of the twelve major ones. This assures that even these very localized historic contexts relate to wider regional and state trends.

The historic context document produced for the Architectural/Historic Survey of Bartlesville falls into this last category. Rather than focusing on a single theme and region, it details the many forces which influenced the community's development, and, thereby, its extant historic resources. Preparation included consultation of the various historic contexts already completed for Management Region Three, in which Bartlesville is located. These included the following thematic contexts: Exploration; Settlement; Transportation; Ranching; Ethnic (Non-Native American); Industrial; and, Energy. A more specialized context relating to Works Progress Administration properties in Region Three was also used. All contributed to a better understanding of the city's historic evolution, albeit only in a very general sense. Most treated their theme so broadly that they were of very limited value for such a localized study. By far, those on Industry and Energy

provided especially helpful, given Bartlesville prominence as a petroleum center and the presence of other industries taking advantage of inexpensive sources of energy. The notes for the Historical Narrative and Bibliography for this context most accurately reflects the degree to which these earlier reports were utilized. The Architectural/Historic Survey of Bartlesville, including its historic context, also demonstrates the cyclical implementation of Oklahoma's comprehensive planning process. As is intended, the context provides the necessary background information for making an evaluation of the significance of historic resources within the study area. The property type analysis draws on this information to predict the kinds of resources one would expect to find there. All this information, moreover, guided the survey component of this project. Graduate Assistants entered the field knowledgeable of the community's past, and with an understanding of the extant resources associated with important themes and trends. The results of the intensive-level survey, therefore, identifies properties, including a potential commercial district, which warrant additional study for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places, and properties which due to ineligibility require no additional consideration. In accomplishing these tasks, this project exemplifies the comprehensive planning process at its best. It furthers the identification and evaluation of historic resources in a

downtown area which has experienced considerable transformation in the recent past. It also provides needed data for making sound land-use decisions, and establishes a sound foundation for the registration and even treatment of significant historic resources.

Completion of this historic context for the Architectural/Historic Survey of Bartlesville was a collaborative effort. Dr. William S. Bryans, Assistant Professor of History and Director of the Oklahoma Historic Preservation Survey at Oklahoma State University, prepared the context with valuable contributions by Graduate Assistant Julie Morgan. Jeffrey K. Williams, AIA and Associate Professor at Oklahoma State University's School of Architecture, served as Architectural Historian. All work was performed under a contract from the Oklahoma Historical Society (40-87-20031.010), utilizing funds from the Department of the Interior, National Park Service.

OVERVIEW

Bartlesville, Oklahoma is perhaps best known as the corporate headquarters of the Phillips Petroleum Company, and the influence of Phillips, and oil in general, seem to pervade the community. It is a truly remarkable city, enjoying many amenities one would not expect to find in a northeastern Oklahoma county-seat of some 30,000 residents. It boasts one of the most educated and cosmopolitan populations anywhere. Its downtown contains several modern skyscrapers, including Frank Lloyd Wright's world renown Price Tower. Many would indeed attribute the city's uniqueness to Phillips and oil, but they would be historically shortsighted in doing so.

Bartlesville enjoys a rich and varied history which dates back to its original Caddoan native inhabitants and stretches forward to its present status as the host of a multinational corporation. Through the period immediately following World War II, when Phillips began expanding into a worldwide concern, this past may be divided into four major eras.

Native Americans and Euro-American exploration marked the period between 1500 and 1860. When Europeans arrived in the New World, Caddoan-speaking peoples, including the Wichita and Caddo proper, inhabited the area around Bartlesville. They led a relatively sedentary existence, living in large farming villages. During the seventeenth

century, the increasing pressures of European expansion caused tribal dislocations throughout North America, and as a result the area became the domain of the Osage. Yet, for almost two hundred years, the Bartlesville vicinity lay outside the thrust of Euro-American exploration. The only documented passage through the territory was the Glenn-Fowler expedition of 1821. Even they, however, apparently missed the city's future site on their circuous journey from Fort Smith to Santa Fe. Eventually, the federal government's policy of removal resulted in the Osage leaving for southern Kansas and the arrival of the Cherokee in the early 1830s after suffering the Trail of Tears. Once in what became known as Indian Territory, they established a republican form of government and vibrant society.

Permanent white settlement of the Bartlesville area occurred between 1860 and 1899. The first whites to enter what was the Coowescowee district of the Cherokee Nation were men who had married into either the Cherokee tribe or the Delaware, who came to Indian Territory under the provisions of the Reconstruction treaties imposed on the Five Civilized Tribes following their allegiance to the Confederacy during the Civil War. Joel Mayes Bryan, who erected a trading post on the shores of Silver Lake, about six miles south of Bartlesville, was one of these early settlers. So was Nelson Carr who erected a grist mill in 1870 on the horseshoe bend of the Caney River where the

future city developed. Carr sold this mill in 1875 to Jacob H. Bartles, another intermarried white, who expanded the facility and established a community on the north bank of the river. After two of his former employees--George B. Keeler and William Johnstone--established a competitive store on the south side, a rival community developed. Both settlements pinned their future economic hopes on agriculture and livestock. But when the Nellie Johnstone Number One, Oklahoma's first commercial oil well, gushed in on April 15, 1897, their fortunes changed forever. Oil and gas promised a bright and prosperous future, but its full production awaited the transportation to bring it to market.

The arrival of the Atchinson, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad in July 1899 set off a boom which lasted through World War I. With transportation available--and allotment and the Osage blanket lease easing production on Indian lands--Bartlesville was transformed from a small village of clapboard construction to an oil city of stone and brick. The south-side community benefitted from all this activity, since Bartles moved his settlement five miles north to establish Dewey after failing to win the railroad depot for the north side. Between 1900 and 1920, the population of Bartlesville exploded from 698 to 14,417. Such growth naturally strained the city's ability to provide municipal services, and a severe housing shortage existed in 1904. Nevertheless, a progressive city government (formed after

Bartlesville's 1897 incorporation) and a civic-minded citizenry combined to provide a modern infrastructure, which included an interurban. Bartlesville became the headquarters of over 150 oil companies during this period, but the presence of nearby natural gas and proximity to the Tri-State Mining District also made it into an important zinc smelting center. The formal organization of the Phillips Petroleum Company in 1917 serves as a convenient transition into the fourth, and final, major era.

A consolidation of the gains won during the early-twentieth century boom characterized the years between 1918 and 1950. The forces which would drive the city's future development were already in place. Building, and improving, upon this foundation, Bartlesville entered a period of constant, albeit unspectacular, growth. Its population, for instance, increased only by 4811 from 1920 to 1950. As the zinc smelters declined in importance following the First World War, the city's economic ties to oil correspondingly strengthened. By 1936, Cities Services and Phillips Petroleum dominated. Other petroleum related companies, such as Reda Pump and H. C. Price Company, gained worldwide markets in these years and thus became important contributors to the city's economy. Bartlesville, like everywhere else, endured the Great Depression of the 1930s. It seemed, however, to suffer less than most thanks to an active local relief effort and the resurgence of Phillips

and the entire petroleum industry under the National Recovery Act's oil code of 1933. The worst was all but over by the time of World War II, and under the influence of wartime expansion, Phillips stood poised to become a worldwide concern. As the corporate and research headquarters of the company, Bartlesville too entered the modern era which provides much of its present character.

HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

Introduction

Approaching from the east on U.S. Highway 60, Bartlesville rises abruptly out of the Eastern Lowlands of the Osage Plains in northeastern Oklahoma. Its downtown includes several modern skyscrapers, including the Phillips Petroleum Company's new Plaza Building and Frank Lloyd Wright's world renown Price Tower. Numerous parking lots and a multi-story parking structure accentuate the air of urbanism. Houses--ranging in design from simple bungalows, to recent custom-designed executive homes, to palatial oilmen's mansions--ring the central business district. In many respects, Bartlesville more resembles an affluent metropolitan community than a county seat of some 30,000 residents. The presence of oil, and the multi-national Phillips especially, account in large measure for this cosmopolitan anomaly.

Yet, it would be shortsighted, at least historically, to think of Bartlesville simply as an oil town or fiefdom of Phillips. Its history reveals a past much more complex. The permanent settlement of the area came after the Civil War, with the entry of whites into Indian Territory--legally and illegally. Like many frontier communities, natural advantages dictated the town's location, and the earliest settlers pinned their future economic hopes on agriculture and stockraising. The discovery of oil in 1897, of course,

fundamentally altered how Bartlesville would develop. Once reliable transportation became available, it emerged as a major supply point for the Mid-Continent field and the headquarters for numerous oil companies. Phillips, however, would not be formally organized until 1917, twenty years after the first well was sunk. In the meantime, nearby deposits of natural gas fostered several other industries, including zinc smelting. Through it all, a wide variety of merchants served the diverse needs of a population comprised of businessmen, bankers, wildcatters, roughnecks, industrial workers, farmers and ranchers. Clearly, oil dominates, even up to the present, but the history of Bartlesville is much more.

Native Americans and Euro-American Exploration, 1500-1860

At the time Europeans arrived in the New World, around 1500, present-day northeastern Oklahoma was principally the domain of Caddoan-speaking peoples, especially the Caddoes and Wichitas. These Native Americans were primarily agriculturalists who lived in large farming villages consisting of grass thatch houses. Their skill at cultivating the soil often yielded surpluses of corn and tobacco which was bartered to neighboring tribes for items such as hides and dried meat. Their prominence in trade enabled them to gain considerable influence over other Indians in the region. Consequently, they became

strategically important to the Euro-Americans who pushed into the Southern Great Plains beginning in the early-seventeenth century.[1]

The immediate area around Bartlesville, however, remained outside the thrust of white exploration for over two hundred years. Spanish incursions into what is now Oklahoma were almost all west of the 98th meridian. Hernando De Soto may have entered the northeastern quadrant of the future state during his 1539-1542 expedition, but most speculate that his route lay along the Arkansas and Grand Rivers, far east of Bartlesville. French explorers also apparently bypassed the area, concentrating their trade activities along the Arkansas and Canadian Rivers. The far-ranging couerers de bois may well have ventured up the Caney River from its confluence with the Verdigris, but if so, they left no firm evidence of the visits.[2]

The records of the only American explorers known to enter the area are almost as vague. In September 1821, Hugh Glenn, an experienced Verdigris trader, and Jacob Fowler, a former Kentucky surveyor, struck out from Fort Smith laden with goods they hoped to sell in Santa Fe. Taking a rather winding route, they traveled northward on the Arkansas and Verdigris Rivers to the Caney, which they called the Little Verdigris. From October 1 to October 4, they generally followed the east bank of the Caney into present-day Kansas. The Glenn-Fowler expedition undoubtedly passed through the

Bartlesville vicinity, but it appears unlikely that they actually visited the site of the future city. The journal kept by Fowler mentions neither the horseshoe bend of the Caney nor the natural limestone dam, both of which were prominent natural landmarks.[3]

While white advancement into the region occurred slowly, much happened to its native inhabitants. Neighboring tribes to the north and west, under increasing pressure of Euro-American westward expansion during the seventeenth century, forced the Caddo and Wichita into what is now northeastern Texas and northwestern Louisiana. At the time of the Glenn-Fowler expedition, the area around Bartlesville was primarily occupied by the Osage. The Western Cherokee, who voluntarily removed to northwestern Arkansas after a 1808 treaty, often bloodily contested the Osage's hold on the prime hunting territory around the Grand and Verdigris Rivers. After an uneasy peace between the tribes, the Osage in 1825 ceded to the United States all their claimed lands in northeastern Oklahoma and agreed to relocate in what became southern Kansas. The cession was part of an evolving federal policy to set aside a homeland for displaced Indians west of Mississippi and Arkansas. Originally designated Indian Country, it became known as Indian Territory by 1830.[4]

Within three years, the federal government found use for the Osage cession. In 1828, the Western Cherokee

exchanged their Arkansas lands for seven million acres in the Verdigris, Grand, and Arkansas valleys. This became the nucleus for the Cherokee Nation in Indian Territory. Meanwhile, the Eastern Cherokee, who through intermarriage and proximity to whites adopted much of Euro-American civilization, including slaveholding and a national government, struggled to maintain their Georgia lands. However, President Andrew Jackson's policies, manifested in the 1830 Removal Act, ultimately triumphed. After attempts at legal redress proved ineffective, the 1834 Treaty of New Echota committed the Georgia Cherokees to joining their western kinsmen. Actually, only about 2000 relocated voluntarily. A large faction, led by John Ross, resisted until militarily forced to leave in 1838. This mass migration to Indian Territory, known as the Trail of Tears, was essentially completed by 1839, but at the cost of at least one-quarter of the tribe's population.[5]

Once removal was completed, the Cherokee began rebuilding their society. Politically, a 1839 convention in Tahlequah drafted a constitution creating a republican form of government, complete with executive, legislative, and judicial offices. It also designated Tahlequah as the national capitol, declared that tribal lands would be held in common, and gave tribal citizens the right to make improvements on the tribal domain. Soon, towns, schools, farms, ranches, and even plantations dotted the northeastern

corner of Indian Territory. Generally, the Cherokee Nation prospered and grew up to the Civil War, a period characterized by one historian as the "golden years" for the Five Civilized Tribes.[6]

The Beginning of Permanent White Settlement, 1860-1899

When the Cherokee legislature created the Coowescoowee district in 1842, the area around Bartlesville lay in its northwestern corner. But, as was the case previously, it remained outside the mainstream of activity for some time. Scattered farms and ranches could be found in the region, and the Armstrong ford, just off the north end of what is now Delaware Avenue, was a popular crossing of the Caney. However, nothing even closely resembling a permanent settlement existed until around 1860. In that year, Joseph Hardin Bennett, who had married into the Cherokee tribe, and his father-in-law, Joel Mayes Bryan, erected a trading post on the east shore of Silver Lake, about six miles south of present-day Bartlesville. How long this establishment operated remains unclear.[7]

Perhaps the post was abandoned amidst the turmoil of the Civil War in Indian Territory. The Cherokee Nation, whose mixed bloods included slaveholders, officially sided with the Confederacy during the conflict. Under the leadership of Stand Watie, Cherokee troops served the southern cause with distinction in a number of Indian

Territory battles.[8] None of these confrontations, however, occurred near Bartlesville, although some local residents speculate that Indian and Union forces clashed in the vicinity of the "mound," a local landmark in the northwest part of town. This seems entirely unlikely. The supposition rests on the discovery of numerous arrowheads in a semi-circular pattern, the supposed remnants of an attack on white soldiers who so positioned themselves defensively. Surely, Indian troops at this time would have used guns and rifles rather than bows and arrows.[9]

The consequences of peace, not war, had far greater impact on the Bartlesville area. Similar to all the Five Civilized Tribes, the Cherokees' 1866 punitive Reconstruction treaty, in addition to abolishing slavery, allowed railroad rights-of-way through the Nation, demanded land cessions, and forced the acceptance of other tribes removed to Indian Territory. For the Cherokees, this specifically meant the often ambiguous advantages of improved transportation, the creation of an Osage reservation on its western border, and the introduction of the Delaware tribe. All three significantly influenced Bartlesville's subsequent development.[10]

In anticipation of these changes, Nelson F. Carr came to Indian Territory from Oswego, Kansas. Whites were forbidden to enter Indian Territory unless they married into a tribe, received special tribal permission, or obtained a

government trading license. Carr's marriage to Sarah Ann Rogers, a quarter-blood Cherokee entitled him to enter the Bartlesville area in 1867. Approximately two miles northwest of the future town, he established a trading post on the Black Dog trail and ford of the Caney River. The New York native prospered at this location until an Osage raiding party destroyed his stock of goods in 1869. Undaunted, Carr turned his energies toward raising corn along the bottomlands. In order to increase the market for his product, he also decided to erect a grist mill. Downstream from the site of the trading post, the Caney makes a sharp horseshoe bend, and a limestone ledge stretches across the river. Here was the ideal site for a mill. A race could be easily dug across the narrow neck of land formed by the bend, and the fall of water created by the natural dam provided additional power. Accordingly, Carr constructed his mill in 1870, just north of the present downtown. This was the immediate foundation upon which Bartlesville developed.[11]

Another important step came that same year when Congress provided for a one-million acre Osage reservation in Indian Territory, between the 96th meridian and the Arkansas River. Thus, some fifteen hundred Osage returned to Oklahoma. An agency for the tribe, established on Silver Lake in 1871, attracted several white traders to the area, including George B. Keeler. An employee of Louis P. Choteau

and the American Fur Company, Keeler became well acquainted with the region and its inhabitants. He also married into the Cherokee tribe. Nevertheless, his livlihood was tied to the Osage, so when officials discovered that the agency had been mistakenly placed east of the 96th meridian, Keeler accompanied the tribe to its new Pawhuska location in 1872. He would return, however, to help found Bartlesville.[12]

Even after the Osage agency was relocated, Silver Lake continued to attract settlers, including many of the Delaware who entered the Cherokee Nation under the Reconstruction treaty. In 1873, Jacob H. Bartles, a white who had married the daughter of the Delaware's primary chief, Charles Journeycake, built yet another trading post there. Although prosperous at the well-known spot, he moved to Turkey Creek one year later. An astute businessman, Bartles took note of Carr's grist mill and concluded that the horseshoe bend would be an excellent place for his store, and perhaps even a town. On March 20, 1875, he purchased the mill for $1000. While Carr turned his profit, and attention, to farming and stockraising, Bartles began fashioning the settlement which became his namesake.[13]

By 1877, the New Jersey native had enlarged the mill and constructed a rock dam across the river in order to increase the head of water needed to turn the new wheel. Instead of corn, Bartles planned to mill flour, so he encouraged wheat cultivation by distributing free seed to

nearby settlers. Shortly, the entire area that today comprises downtown Bartlesville was planted in wheat. In 1878, a combination store and residence was built next to the mill. This impressive solid black walnut structure served as a magnet, and a permanent settlement began to grow on the north bank of the Caney. A boarding house (later renamed the Thurston Hotel), implement sheds, a blacksmith shop, and a livery stable also appeared. As Bartles' enterprises grew and expanded, his employees occupied half-a-dozen homes.[14]

Although its population never exceeded one hundred, Bartles' north side settlement was quite modern and lively. Its founder installed a generator at the mill which produced electric lighting for the community, and a water system was laid. Bartles also brought telephone lines into his store. Still, the village retained some of its frontier character. During the 1880s and 1890s, Indian Territory served as a haven for outlaws, some of whom visited the town. Bartles himself was robbed on several occasions. Generally, however, life was peaceful. The electrically lit park northwest of the mill was the social center of the area, hosting dances, picnics, ball games, and Jacob Bartles' locally famous Fourth of July celebrations.[15]

In the early 1880s, the trading and milling complex certainly seemed well on its way to becoming an important town in the Cherokee Nation. However, in 1882, its founder

inadvertently planted the seed for its demise by hiring William Johnstone, the new husband of one of his nieces. A Canadian native who had been in Indian Territory since 1876, Johnstone clerked for his uncle by marriage, and was soon joined by George B. Keeler, the former Silver Lake trader. Together they concluded that business in the area was sufficient to support a second establishment. Therefore, the two men formed a partnership in 1884 and opened a rival store on the south side of the river, at what is now the northwest corner of First Street and Delaware Avenue.[16]

The Johnstone and Keeler mercantile, like Bartles' store, sought to serve a growing agricultural economy, largely stimulated by the availability of railroad transportation in the central Cherokee Nation after 1873. Bartles wheat promotions proved so successful that in the 1880s his mill was processing 40,000 to 50,000 bushels annually. Carr never gave up on corn, and the sale of some 10,000 bushels in 1889 reflects his accomplishments as a farmer. The former mill owner was also a noted area stockman. Typical of the mixed-blood Indian ranchers, he grazed large herds of cattle on the tribal-held open range between the Caney and Verdigris. A few hides, pelts, and some venison still found their way to Coffeyville, Kansas, the major trading center for the region, but most earned their living through farming and ranching.[17]

For fifteen years, essentially two communities

coexisted at the horseshoe bend. Both enjoyed the services of a doctor, and each had subscription schools attended by students who paid a monthly fee for their instruction. At first, residents of Bartles' older settlement pejoratively referred to the upstart south side as "slab town" due to the wooden plank construction of its one-story buildings. Nevertheless, the newer village clearly gained the ascendancy by 1895. Its population of nearly 200 was almost twice that of its neighbor. In addition to the Johnstone and Keeler Mercantile Company, it boasted a post office, newspaper, two drug stores, a harness shop, a blacksmith shop, and several two-story houses. The south side also seized the initiative to incorporate. Taking advantage of the recent expansion of federal courts into Indian Territory, residents submitted a petition to the United States Court in Muskogee on December 7, 1896, and on January 15 of the following year, Bartlesville, Indian Territory was formally organized. In the first election held April 6, Dr. Thomas A. Stewart became the town's first mayor, winning 20 of the 35 votes cast. Permanent organization also prompted William Johnstone to survey a townsite on lands claimed by him and Arthur Armstrong.[18]

Another 1897 event, however, proved far more significant for the newly organized town's subsequent development. Discoveries of oil around Neodesha, Kansas in the early 1890s led many to speculate that petroleum could

also be found in the Bartlesville vicinity. Acting on this belief, George Keeler and several other local pioneers formed a partnership in 1892 and traveled to Tahlequah to secure drilling leases from the Cherokee Nation. After prolonged negotiations, they obtained a 208,000 acre lease but were unable to find a drilling contractor. The partners finally assigned their lease to Michael Cudahy of the Omaha meat packing house. The Cudahy Oil Company hired drillers, and twenty-six wagons hauled a wooden rig to Bartlesville from an abandoned operation at Red Fork, sixty miles away. The journey, hampered by muddy trails and the precariously thin ice of an Arkansas River crossing, required three weeks. In January 1897, drilling began on the south side of the Caney, just north of the present downtown. The rig struck oil at a depth of 1,303 feet in what became known as the Bartlesville sand. A shot of nitroglycerine, dropped by Keeler's stepdaughter, brought the crude oil from Oklahoma's first commercial well to the surface on April 15, 1897. Eventually, it became known as the Nellie Johnstone Number One, its location being on land later allocated to Johnstone's daughter.[19]

But the pioneer well was capped almost immediately because no efficient means of transporting the petroleum to market existed. The oil which seeped from the sealed well-head was used locally as a lubricant, rust treatment, and livestock liniment. Still, until access to refineries and

markets improved, petroleum was more a promise than a fulfillment of prosperity for the town. Undaunted, Johnstone in 1898 surveyed a second tract of land in anticipation of the seemingly inevitable growth.[20]

The transportation dilemma remained unsolved for only a few years. In the winter of 1897-1898, an investigator from the proposed Kansas, Oklahoma and Southwestern Railroad visited the area and reported favorably upon the potential of oil, cattle, and crops to generate profitable freight revenue. Jacob Bartles, hoping to secure the depot for the north side community, aligned himself with the railroad and began grading a right-of-way. The Kansas, Oklahoma and Southwestern (purchased by the Atchinson, Topeka and Santa Fe in 1900) extended its tracks from the Kansas border to Owasso in 1899, arriving in Bartlesville that July. Much to Bartles' disappointment, the south side received the station grounds. The town's namesake realized that his store and mill would always remain on the economic periphery, so in the same year he moved his operation, including the store building, to one of his wheat fields several miles north. Here emerged the town of Dewey.[21]

The arrival of the Kansas, Oklahoma and Southwestern marked a significant juncture in Bartlesville's history. Having access to a refinery in Neodesha meant that oil production could begin in earnest. Also, since the right-of-way bypassed the existing central business district at

First Street and Delaware Avenue, it became clear that the area adjacent to the tracks would experience substantial commercial development. Even before the tracks reached Bartlesville, George Keeler erected a native sandstone structure in the 100 block of West Second Street to house a general store. It would soon be joined by other businesses. In short, Bartlesville was ripe for a boom as it entered the twentieth century.[22]

The Oil Boom, 1900-1917

Bartlesville indeed experienced explosive growth during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Its population increased more than twenty-fold, from 698 in 1900 to 14,417 in 1920. In the process, the agriculturally-oriented village of wooden construction was transformed into a city of paved streets and brick buildings. The adjacent oil and gas fields literally fueled this impressive expansion.[23]

TABLE 1

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	PERCENT CHANGE	NATIVE WHITE	FOREIGN BORN WHITE	BLACK	ALL OTHERS
1900	698					
1907	4,215	503.9%				
1910	6,181	46.6%	5,633	199	212	137
1920	14,417	133.2%	13,250	454	526	187
1930	14,763	2.4%	13,309	240	610	604
1940	16,267	10.2%	15,371	215	748	148
1950	19,228	18.2%	17,741	204	1,056	227
1960	27,893	45.1%				
1970	29,683	6.4%				
1980	34,568	16.4%				

Sources: Twelfth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1900. Population, Part I (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Office, 1901), 427; Thirteenth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1910. Volume III, Population: Nebraska-Wyoming (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), 454; Fourteenth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1920. Volume III, Population (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1923), 824; Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930. Population: Volume III, Part 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932), 570; Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population: Part 5 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943); Census of the Population: 1950. Volume II, Part 36, Oklahoma (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1952), 27, 53; Census of Population: 1960. Volume I, Part 38, Oklahoma (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1963), 27; 1970 Census of Population: Volume I, Part 38, Oklahoma (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), 10; 1980 Census of the Population: Volume I, Part 38, Oklahoma (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1983), 18.

The railroad clearly served as the immediate catalyst for the boom, but production would have remained limited and difficult without some kind of accommodation with the Osage and Cherokee who owned the surface and mineral rights on the surrounding tribal lands. The federal government provided the answer with its policy of allotment, an attempt to acculturate Native Americans to white civilization by instilling the concept of private property. In 1893, Congress authorized the Dawes Commission to negotiate with the Five Civilized Tribes an agreement which would divide their common lands into parcels, title to which would be held by registered tribal members. The Cherokees resisted allotment, but finally agreed in 1901 to the subdivision of their tribal lands. As allotment proceeded, the Dawes

Commission in 1902 also surveyed the town of Bartlesville, adding considerable room to grow south of Johnstone's 1897 and 1898 townsites. More important for the future of the petroleum industry, individual ownership of land greatly eased the acquisition and leasing of oil properties by whites.[24]

In contrast, the Osage, while accepting the allotment of their surface rights, chose to maintain their mineral rights as a tribe. Therefore, development of the rich reserves just west of Bartlesville required concerted action. In 1896, Henry Foster secured a blanket lease which gave him the exclusive right to extract oil and gas on the Osage Reservation for a period of ten years. In exchange, the tribe received a ten percent royalty plus fifty dollars for each gas well, provisions which made the Osage among the wealthiest Americans during flush times. The term of the agreement also made them subject to traumatic economic downswings when the price of oil dropped. Nevertheless, the blanket lease served as the foundation for the Phoenix Oil Company, which H. V. Foster, the original leaseholder's son, forged into the famous Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company in 1901. This concern not only developed the oil and gas reserves on the reservation, it also subleased portions of the 1,500,000 acre tract to other companies. Thus, both the blanket lease and the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company helped invigorate Bartlesville

economy early in the new century.[25]

With readily available transportation, and allotment and the blanket lease easing production, Bartlesville emerged as the staging area for the region's rich petroleum reserves. A pipeline from the Osage lease brought crude to the depot, and in May 1901, the first oil shipped by rail from Indian Territory left for a Neodesha, Kansas refinery. By 1904, over one-hundred wells had been drilled in the Dewey-Bartlesville field just north of the city, and already about 150 oil companies maintained headquarters there. Until an ordinance outlawed the practice in 1909, wooden derricks even sprang up from town lots. This frenzy, which lasted approximately to 1917, attracted a host of businessmen, speculators, merchants, workers, salesmen, and would-be-millionaires.[26]

Many of the newcomers stayed and conducted business at the Right Way Hotel, on the corner of Third and Johnstone. Those desiring more permanent quarters, however, faced a critical housing shortage, especially in the earlier years. Evelyn McGuire, a 1904 arrival, remembered: "When I arrived in Bartlesville, I thought it was the end of the world.... There was not a sidewalk or paved street here, and there were no houses for rent. We had to live in a tent for three months, and when we did find a house it was only two rooms and very dilapidated."[27] Another who came that same year recalled that "houses were scarce and we could not rent, buy

or beg a house and had to live in a tent where we lived all summer."[28] In such a market, land values skyrocketed quickly, and in at least one case, overnight. At the height of the boom, H. M. Thompson offered several town lots to a group of Kansas City investors. When the potential buyers balked at the seemingly high price, Thompson cooly informed them that if the deal were not consummated that afternoon, he would ask for $500 more the very next morning. Conversations with Bartlesville bankers convinced the incredulous Kansans that Thompson was serious and the volatile real estate market warranted the increase. Whether they made the purchase is not known, but the incident illustrates the effect of the boom on land values.[29]

Along with oil companies, commercial businesses also prospered with the times. The Almeda Hotel, opened in 1905 and reputedly the finest hostelry in the Midwest, gave the Right Way and several other smaller establishments competition for the steady stream of travelers and recent arrivals. By 1908, residents could choose from at least three drug stores and two large mercantiles, the Dollar Store and C. E. Burlingame's. In 1910, the May Brothers Store, a men's clothier, opened and remains in business to this day. The Zofness Clothing Store, operated by refugees from czarist Russia, also started that year. Five banks served the financial needs of the rapidly growing city -- First National, founded in 1900; Bartlesville National,

organized in 1902; American National, a 1904 addition; Union National, a 1908 concern acquired by American National the following year; and Bartlesville State Bank, another established in 1908. Those seeking repass from all the hustle and bustle, at least temporarily, might take in a show at the Oklaha Opera House or Air Dome, view the newly invented motion pictures at the Star Theatorium, or try the Collesium roller skating pavilion. More earthly pleasures could be obtained in the red-light district along Second Street, west of the railroad tracks.[30]

New industrial development added to the air of economic prosperity. Many, of course, came to Bartlesville specifically to service the oil and gas fields. These included the Western Torpedo Company, manufacturers of the nitroglycerine use to shoot wells, and Black, Sivalis & Bryson, one of the world's largest fabricators of oil storage tanks. Others sought to take advantage of the plentiful natural gas supply nearby and produced goods for a wide variety of markets.[31]

The Bartlesville Verified Brick Company, for example, tapped a gas well in the Osage field, less than a mile away. Organized in 1902 with a capitalization of $40,000, its plant covered a twenty-acre site half-a-mile west of the railroad tracks on Third Street (now Frank Phillips Boulevard). By 1904, it employed about sixty workers and could produce 50,000 bricks per day. Most of these were

used locally. The Bartlesville National Bank, erected in 1903, was the first substantial structure built with the company's product, which typically carried a telltale "Bartlesville, I.T." inscription. Soon, other brick business houses appeared on Second and Third Streets, and along Johnstone and Keeler Avenues. The company enjoyed a particularly good year in 1905, supplying some 500,000 bricks for the paving of two blocks of Second Street. Until closing in 1914, the brick plant provided materials for improving both the city's built environment and its streets.[32]

Inexpensive and plentiful natural gas also attracted two other firms serving the growing local and regional markets. In 1903, Henry McClintock, a former haberdasher, opened the Crystal Ice and Cold Storage Company, which remained in his family for the next sixty-two years. Its plant too was situated just west of the railroad tracks. In fact, that area, where TRW-Reda Pump now stands, became an early industrial park of sorts. The Great Western Glass joined the firms there in 1904, and almost immediately was running two shifts daily with its workforce of one hundred. Great Western primarily produced lamp and lantern globes. Constant changes in ownership, accompanied by frequent openings and closings, plagued the concern until it relocated to Blackwell in 1909. Within a year, however, the Bartlesville Bottling Works occupied the former glass plant

and, according to some local sources, soon produced the first glass bottle made in present-day Oklahoma.[33]

Zinc smelting was by far the largest local industry during the early twentieth century. Bartlesville was ideally situated to become a center for processing zinc ore. The rich lead and zinc deposits of the Tri-State District lay only sixty-five miles to the east, rail transportation was available, and natural gas could be easily and cheaply obtained. The Commercial Club, a forerunner of the Chamber of Commerce, recognized these advantages and actively promoted the city as a smelter site. Their efforts were rewarded in 1906 when the Lanyon-Starr smelter opened, followed the next year by the Bartlesville Zinc Company and the National Zinc Company. Their retorts produced zinc dust for clothes dyes, spelter for galvanizing steel and making brass, and zinc oxides for paints. At their peak during World War I, the smelters employed about 2000 and were the community's economic backbone. At this time, ten percent of the nation's processed zinc came from Bartlesville. After the war, however, the demand for zinc declined markedly, and by 1926, only National Zinc, which had acquired the other works, remained open. It continues limited operations as the Zinc Corporation of America.[34]

Smelting not only contributed to the community's payroll, but its ethnicity as well. Much of the workforce consisted of first-generation Poles recruited from

established smelters in Kansas and Missouri. To provide housing for these workers, and promote social stability, the Commercial Club purchased a ten-acre tract west of the city and built modest homes. A 1906 Christmas Eve lottery awarded the coveted homes, which became the nucleus for the part of town known as Fly Point and Mosquito Row due to its abundance of flying insects. Those not fortunate enough to obtain a home in the drawing usually lived in tents and tar-paper shacks, the latter often constructed from a dozen or so of the four-by-eight foot wooden boxes which lined the rail cars carrying ore to the smelters. Their improvised nature won these shelters the name of "ad hocs." Although the foreign-born population was never great, the Polish smelter workers and their community lent cultural and ethnic diversity to Bartlesville.[35]

The demands of a boom such as Bartlesville experienced between 1900 and 1920 often tax the coping ability of local government, social services, and the community's very infrastructure. As the 1904 housing shortage reveals, problems certainly arose. Nevertheless, Bartlesville generally managed to meet the challenges of rapid growth successfully.

In direct proportion to the increase in commerce and industry, local government naturally expanded during this period. By 1904, the city consisted of four wards, with an alderman representing each in the council. The following

be constructed in the center of the thoroughfare. Not until 1912 did voters approve a $115,000 bond issue for the building, which was formally dedicated on May 2, 1914.[37]

The services which residents looked to local officials to provide included education. The first public school, a two-room building, opened in 1899 and quickly supplanted the subscription classes. As the population grew, the lack of space increasingly became a problem. Rooms at the Southern Methodist Church were pressed into service, but even that proved insufficient. By 1904, seven different buildings or rooms overflowed with Bartlesville's students. After rejecting the initial bids, the city council and school board finally approved construction of the Garfield School on Cherokee Avenue, between Sixth Street and Adams Boulevard. Some 660 students of all grades attended that first year, 1905. It was not long, however, before the classrooms were again crowded. Completion of a high school in 1910 partially alleviated the problem, as did the construction of six new elementary buildings and a junior high between 1907 and 1920.[38]

Booming times also required that the city expand its infrastructure and utilities. Gas became available in residential areas as early as 1898, hardly surprising given the nearby supply. In 1901, the Cherokee National Telephone Company entered Bartlesville, bringing with it better communications for the community. In May 1904, the city

council awarded a twenty-year franchise to W. E. Mitchell of New York for construction of a water plant. The agreement resulted in organization of the Bartlesville Water Company, and by March 1905 parts of the city enjoyed running water. At the same time, work began on a sewage system and electric lines were strung. As noted earlier, the first streets were paved in 1905 and the improvement of the city's notoriously muddy thoroughfares continued throughout the period. By 1917, twenty miles of streets had been surfaced and nearly all commercial properties had sidewalks.[39]

Getting to and about the area also became easier. In 1903, a second railroad--the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas--entered the city. Actually, the Katy, as it was known, shared the Bartlesville right-of-way and depot with the Santa Fe. Like many other Oklahoma communities at this time, the city also enjoyed trolley service. The Bartlesville Interurban Railway Company was incorporated on December 8, 1905 for the purpose of operating a line connecting the bustling oil capitol with nearby Dewey, a distance of approximately four miles. Service began in May 1908, following the ceremonial driving of a golden spike. The company's main terminal, power house, and car barn sat at Fourth and Commanche. Eventually a western spur connected the smelters with the main line. The interurban provided convenient mass transportation until falling victim to the increasing popularity of the automobile on July 15,

1920.[40]

One last development, late in the period, deserves special note because of its far reaching consequences for the future. In February 1905, at the height of the boom, a former Creston, Iowa barber turned bond salesman stepped off the train in Bartlesville hoping to find a niche in the infant oil business. Frank Phillips and his brother L. E. (Lee Eldas) had already formed the Anchor Oil and Gas Company among Iowa investors, and they immediately began sinking wildcat wells. After the first three failed to produce the expected fortune, the brothers were ready to quit. But, in September, the Anna Anderson Number One, three-and-a-half miles north of the city, gushed in. The strike put Anchor on sound financial footing and provided the seed money for several other small oil companies. In one of these, the Lewanda Oil Company, Waite Phillips, who later gained prominence in Tulsa, temporarily joined his brothers. Rather than production, these firms primarily organized and promoted drilling ventures.[41]

Oil at this time was merely a sideline to Frank Phillips. He initially concentrated his considerable business acumen on banking. Flush with the success of their first well, the brothers organized the Citizens Bank in 1905 with a capitalization of $50,000. Three years later, they acquired the rival Bartlesville National, and in 1911 merged the two financial institutions. The Phillips may well have

been content only to dabble in oil had not World War I driven the price of crude from forty cents to one dollar a barrel. Encouraged by the increase, they formed the Phillips Petroleum Company on June 13, 1917, with the visionary Frank presiding and L. E. tending to details. The new concern soon opened its first offices on the second floor of what is now the Home Savings and Loan Association at Fifth and Johnstone.[42]

By the time Phillips Petroleum was founded, Bartlesville had already passed through an oil boom and gave the appearance of a small but prosperous city. The fourth largest community in Oklahoma, its 266 businesses and industries paid more than $3.5 million in wages annually. Much of this payroll originated with the zinc smelters, but oil, as it had from the start, contributed significantly. In 1917, Phillips joined some 150 other petroleum firms in maintaining Bartlesville offices. Their ranks included the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company, the Barnsdall Oil Company, and the Empire Gas and Fuel Company. The city enjoyed many modern utilities and conveniences, and the school system boasted seven grade schools, a high school, and a junior high. What government and private enterprise could not do, public-minded citizens usually accomplished. The first hospital, for instance, opened in 1907, and when it became clear that a bridge across the Caney was needed, the Commercial Club organized a stock company to build the

span.[43]

Bartlesville also offered much, socially, to its residents. By 1917, a total of fifteen churches attended to the community's religious needs. Young people could participate in Young Men's Christian Association, Boy Scout, and 4-H programs. Nearly all major fraternal organizations had local lodges, including the Elks, Eagles, Knights of Phythias, and Masons. After 1911, the more affluent gathered for golf or swimming at the Bartlesville Country Club, west of town. Others spent their time cheering or playing for the local baseball team or perhaps playing in the city band. Certainly, Bartlesville offered a variety of activities to its residents, but it also should be remembered that these were restricted to the white population. Typical of the times, segregation still existed, and the relatively small black community would wait until the 1960s to share more fully in the city's life.[44]

The formation of Phillips Petroleum serves not only as a convenient juncture at which to measure Bartlesville's progress during the boom; it also foreshadowed a major shift in the city's development. After 1917, as the zinc smelters declined in importance, Bartlesville's economy became increasingly dependent upon petroleum and related industries. Nowhere is this better exemplified than in the rise of Phillips Petroleum into one of the nation's largest oil companies during the mid-twentieth century.

Consolidating the Gains, 1918-1950

The period after the boom was characterized by the consolidation of gains achieved during the first seventeen years of the twentieth century. The forces which would drive the city's future development were already in place--a petroleum oriented economy complimented by a healthy commercial sector, an efficient transportation network, progressive city government, and a forward-looking citizenry. Building, and improving, upon this foundation, Bartlesville entered an era of constant, albeit relatively unspectacular, growth.

The census figures applicable to the 1918-1950 period illustrate this trend. Between 1920 and 1950, the city's population rose by just 4811, a modest cumulative gain of 33 percent. Moreover, its ethnic and racial composition remained essentially the same. Native whites consistently comprised over 90 percent of the residents. While the proportion of foreign-born declined noticeably between 1920 and 1930, a testimony to the decreasing importance of zinc smelting, it remained basically the same thereafter. The portion of the population which was black increased slightly, but was never very large. Through 1920, census takers included Native Americans among "All Others," so it is difficult to measure precisely their presence in Bartlesville. However, the entire category never exceeded 4.1 percent of the total. Exact figures available for 1930

(488), 1940 (134), and 1950 (181) reinforce that Indians remained a distinct minority. Many of them probably were Osage who used their headright payments from oil and gas production on tribal lands to live in Bartlesville rather than their former reservation in Osage County.[45]

The establishment of a U.S. Bureau of Mines Petroleum Experiment Station signaled that oil would not only affect Bartlesville in the future, but that the city itself would impact the industry. In 1917, Congress authorized ten mining experiment stations, and the Secretary of the Interior decided that one of them should concentrate on petroleum. Federal officials required the hosting community to provide a suitable site plus $50,000 to defray the cost of construction and equipment. The Chamber of Commerce, in true booster fashion, pledged the funds, while George B. Keeler donated five acres of land at Virginia Avenue and Cudahy Street. The Chamber and Bureau of Mines signed a cooperative agreement on March 28, 1918, and by the following January 20, both the administrative building and laboratory were occupied. Partially funded by the state, the station later became known as the Bartlesville Petroleum Research Center and gained industry-wide acclaim for finding scientific and engineering solutions to oil and gas production problems.[46]

Of course, Bartlesville continued to be the home of numerous oil companies, although two came to dominate the

interwar years. Formed in 1912 by Henry L. Dougherty and his associates, the Empire Gas and Fuel Company was the city's largest oil concern ten years later. Most of its 750 employees worked in the firm's Masonic Building offices at 401 Dewey. In comparison, the Phillips workforce at this time numbered about 250. In 1936, Dougherty's Empire Companies, as his oil and gas interests became known, merged with H. V. Foster's Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company to form Cities Services. Until Cities Services moved its corporate offices to Tulsa in 1971, Bartlesville enjoyed the distinction of being the headquarters for two major oil companies.[47]

Phillips lagged behind the Empire Companies for only a short while. As a pioneer in the manufacture of liquids from natural gas, the company's stature grew along with the increasing popularity of the automobile. Within seven years of its incorporation, the company's assets escalated from $3 million to $103 million. Building on discoveries in the Burbank field west of the city, and in the Texas panhandle, they reached $266 million in 1926, with net earnings totaling an impressive $21.4 million. Like everyone else, Phillips suffered through the Great Depression, but the worst was over by 1937. During World War II the company expanded its facilities and production to meet wartime demands, and during the post-war boom that followed emerged as a multinational corporation.[48]

Managerial offices, not production facilities, marked Phillips presence in Bartlesville. The rapidly expanding oil company quickly outgrew its original offices above Citizens National Bank, so in 1925 construction began on a seven-story building, expected to meet the company's needs for the distant future. However, the addition of an eighth floor and attached tower soon became necessary. This structure served as Phillips' central headquarters until its post-World War II emergence as a multinational resulted in several other downtown buildings. These included the Adams Building (1950), Phillips Building (1963), Information Center (1978), and Tower Plaza Building (1987). On the west side of town, the company also established its own major research center.[49]

The presence of companies like Empire, Phillips, and later Cities Services naturally attracted other firms offering related and support services. Two of them gained national, and even international, prominence. In 1921, H. C. Price opened the Electra Welding Company in a small shop on Second Street. From this location, Price developed a superior welding technique which used electricity rather than acetylene, which he applied to oil storage tanks and pipelines. After the name changed to the H. C. Price Company, it won large government contracts during World War II, including one for the construction of liberty ships. Using the electric welding technique, the firm became one of

the world's largest pipeline contractors. When they decided to erect an office building in Bartlesville, the Price family commissioned Frank Lloyd Wright as the architect. Completed in 1956, the Price Tower, which is listed on the National Register of Historic Places, is a nineteen-story glass and copper skyscraper built on a cantilevered design.[50]

In early 1926, several Phillips executives attended a Los Angeles meeting of the American Petroleum Institute and noted with great excitement the demonstration of an electrically driven centrifugal pump which could be lowered into a well and lift large quantities of oil to the surface. Recognizing the potential value of such a device, Phillips arranged to have the inventor, Armais Arutunova, brought to Bartlesville from Russia. Using the initials of the pump's original manufacturer--Russke Electro Dvigatel Arutunova--the Reda Pump Company was organized in 1930. It quickly became a major supplier of submersible pumps and motors worldwide, and is now a division of the TRW Corporation. Its plant, west of town, occupies the site of Bartlesville's early industrial park.[51]

The ascendancy of the H. C. Price and Reda Pump Companies reflect the dominant influence of petroleum on Bartlesville's economy following World War I. As noted earlier, zinc smelting, formerly the city's largest industry, declined markedly after the war. Eventually, the

National Zinc Company acquired the other two smelters, a move designed more to bring efficiency to an ailing enterprise than to squelch competition.[52]

Bartlesville as a whole fared well during the Twenties. In 1920, two new banks, Central National and Exchange National, appeared. Eight years later, they merged under Central's name. In 1922, deposits in the city's five banks--including Bartlesville State Bank which would be closed later that year and reopened by Central--totaled over $18 million. Also in 1922, Memorial Hospital, a tribute to World War I veterans, opened. In addition to caring for the ill, it also served for several years as a nurses training school. As early as 1919, citizen groups began agitating for a convention center, but the Civic Center did not become a reality until 1923, when it was inaugurated with a locally produced pageant titled "Oklahoma." Remodeling enabled the library to occupy a north wing in 1927, the same year that Bartlesville adopted a commissioner-manager form of government. The relatively slow population growth required no considerable improvements of the city's infrastructure and utilities, although the Washington County Good Roads Association, formed by the Chamber of Commerce in 1921, championed the paving of area highways.[53]

Few, especially in Oklahoma, escaped the devastation which followed the 1929 stock market crash, but Bartlesville apparently weathered the Great Depression better than most.

In 1930, the Chamber of Commerce believed the city was progressing normally, despite the downturn evident elsewhere. Their primary reason for optimism lay in the plans for expansion announced by several local oil firms, most of which were postponed as economic conditions worsened. General construction in 1930 also showed an increase thanks to an addition to the Phillips Building, a new bridge over the Caney, the remodeling of the Civic Center to accommodate city offices, enlargement of the town's athletic field, construction of a municipal stadium, street paving, and new sewer installations. By 1931, however, reality set in as Phillips, for the first time in its history, lost money, and its stock plummeted from $36 per share prior to the crash to $3. Some employees lost their jobs, others took pay cuts, and still others attempted to minimize the dislocation by sharing jobs on a part-time basis.[54]

The magnitude with which the depression affected Bartlesville defies precise calculation. Yet, if participation in government-sponsored relief is taken as a measure, the adversities seem to have been minimal. A 1934 report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration's Oklahoma program reveals that of the $474,584.56 of approved federal, state, and local relief funds, Washington County expended only $35,409.80, or 7.5% of the allocation. Just Adair, Grant, and Major counties spent less. The large

federal public works projects also apparently bypassed Bartlesville. The only Works Progress Administration endeavor was the Limestone School, on the outskirts of the city at Nowata Road and Washington Boulevard. The nearest Civilian Conservation Corps camp, at least in 1934, was at Keystone, west of Tulsa.[55]

Several factors explain this lack of participation in the federal programs. Washington County, as late as 1928, was a Republican stronghold, so conservative residents were probably reluctant to share in public welfare projects guided by a Democratic administration. Also, the local relief effort seems to have been well organized. A Welfare Association appeared in 1930, and in 1932 and 1933 the Chamber of Commerce cooperated in the very limited federal programs. Finally, the New Deal's National Recovery Act, passed in 1933, included an oil code which addressed chronic overproduction in the industry nationwide and helped boost the price of crude from twenty-five cents to $1.08 a barrel in its first year. By the time the Supreme Court declared the Act unconstitutional in 1935, recently-strengthened state oil and gas conservation laws allowed the improved conditions to improve. Indeed, in 1937, Phillips' net earnings reached a then record of $24.1 million, and all employees, except executives, received raises. By 1940, the depression was all but over. Nearly 82 percent of the city's male population over fourteen years old was in the

work force, and only 125 males and 39 females remained employed in public emergency works.[56]

While taking advantage of the federal programs only to a limited extent, many public improvements were completed during the 1930s. Even before the depression, the Chamber of Commerce and postmaster sought a federal building for the city, and construction on the three-story structure finally began in March 1931. On August 31, 1932 the post office moved into its new quarters at Fifth and Johnstone and remained there until Washington County assumed the building as its new courthouse in 1973. Also in 1932, the city's offices relocated from the Kopple Building to the south wing of the Civic Center. Nine years later, a new central fire station, across Sixth Street, went into operation. A $150 million sewage disposal plant was completed in 1936, and in 1938 residents felt prosperous enough to approve a $655,000 bond issue for purchasing the Bartlesville Water Company and converting it into a public utility.[57]

The city's transportation network enjoyed some of the most extensive improvements, however. In recognition of the automobile's ever-increasing presence, traffic lights were erected at eight major intersections in 1930. By 1936, most of the city streets were paved, as were 10 miles of U.S. Highway 60 east to the Nowata County line and U.S. 75 south to Vera. Still needing some kind of public mass transit, the city awarded a franchise for a bus line in 1937. The

original 23-passenger vehicle operated between 6 a.m. and 7 p.m. weekdays. Service was gradually expanded, but a decline in ridership forced the City Transit Line to suspend operations on March 1, 1956. Bartlesville also entered the air age during this period, thanks largely to Frank Phillips promotion of flying as a means to market aviation fuel. In 1934, Phillips sponsored Wiley Post's experimental flight into the stratosphere, some 55,000 feet above Bartlesville, in a prototype of the modern pressurized space suit. Aviation came to the general public in 1940 with the dedication of a free airport, three-and-a-half miles east of town on Tuxedo Road. Officials thought the facility would attract transcontinental mail and passenger service, but nine years passed before commercial flights landed in Bartlesville. They also thought the airport might be designated a government-sponsored flight training center during World War II, but this too failed to materialize.[58]

Bartlesville, in fact, did not host any type of military installation during the conflict, although the American Boy Academy operated out of H. V. Foster's former mansion (now Bartlesville Wesleyan College) did change its name to the American Military Academy. The city's major contribution came as the managerial headquarters of several strategically important oil companies. Phillips, for instance, provided vital raw materials and some of the basic technology for producing synthetic rubber. The company also

encouraged its local employees--an increasing number of which were women--to ration commodities, save scrap metal, grow victory gardens, and buy war bonds. Other residents joined them in doing what they could to defeat the Axis on the homefront.[59]

With the return of peace in 1945, Bartlesville's development continued in the same, albeit accelerated, pattern established nearly thirty years earlier. If anything, the extraordinary expansion of the petroleum industry during the war only strengthened the city's ties to oil. After 1945, Phillips, now the dominant economic force in the community, emerged as a multinational corporation whose operations included off-shore drilling in the North Sea, wells and storage facilities in Saudi Arabia, and pioneering work in the manufacture and use of plastics. As the site of the company's headquarters and research center, Bartlesville was a part of it all. The immediate impact of petroleum in the post-war period is revealed in the 1950 census. In a state which suffered a net population loss of over 100,000 during the 1940s, Bartlesville enjoyed an increase of 2961, or 18.2 percent.[60]

Even greater growth accompanied the ensuing decades, most of it associated with Phillips worldwide activities. As a result, Bartlesville acquired much of the urbane and cosmopolitan character it retains today. The office buildings in and around the Phillips complex, the new

Community Center designed by the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation, and Wright's own Price Tower, all convey a sense of this most-recent period. Still, a walk downtown along Second Street and Frank Phillips Boulevard, and a visit to the reconstructed Nellie Johnstone Number One in nearby Johnstone Park, also serve as reminders of a more distinct past. Thus, the built environment of the central business district itself offers insightful lessons on the city's rich and varied history.

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PROPERTY TYPE ANALYSIS

Property types group together individual properties which share similar physical or associative characteristics. The defining and analysis of property types provides a framework by which large numbers of related properties may be compared for evaluation and nomination to the National Register. The historic context, moreover, guides this process by identifying the significant themes and events that give these properties meaning, and by providing an initial indication of the kinds of properties likely to occur in the study area.

The following property-type analysis draws on the historical narrative of Bartlesville. Since it was finalized after the survey component of the project was completed, it also contains reference to examples of the property types.

COMMERCIAL PROPERTIES

Description: Oil boom towns such as Bartlesville often experienced phenomenal growth in population and wealth. This prosperity can quickly change a commercial core from wood-framed store-fronts to the more permanent and substantial brick and masonry buildings. Later buildings reflect periods of growth or changes in social values.

As Bartlesville benefitted from the oil boom of the 1900s and 1910s, one would expect to find buildings

constructed in the dominant architectural styles of this era, namely Early Commercial and Italianate. The Early Commercial buildings can vary from small, one story properties to larger, three- or four-story buildings which can take up an entire block. This style of architecture has little decorative detail which is mostly confined to upper-story window treatments and roofline ornamentation. Italianate buildings feature windows (mostly arched or curved) which are highly ornamented with brackets and/or pediments, or hoods. Cornices are also bracketed. The exterior walls can be decorated with quoins and belt courses. Examples of Early Commercial architecture in Bartlesville include the building at 202 SE 2nd Street, Ajax Office Supply at 214 Frank Phillips Blvd., and Musselman Abstract at 216 SE 4th Street. Buildings which display Italianate influences are the Sumner and Laughlin Law Offices at 315 SE Osage Avenue, the Pioneer Building at 319 SE Dewey Avenue, and Curtis Sporting Goods at 227 SE Frank Phillips Boulevard.

In the 1920s, as the automobile began to emerge as the dominant mode of urban transportation, buildings were constructed to service the needs of the vehicles and the motorist. This trend engendered properties with their own distinctive features. These buildings were usually one story and often incorporated porte cocheres which afforded protection from the elements as the driver had his or her

car serviced. An example of this type of property is the Cotton Travis Service Station at 400 SE 4th Street. Prospective buyers could look over the latest models of automobiles at the dealership established to handle these popular machines. The car agency buildings also were typically one story and featured large window areas and paneled or sliding doors large enough for the vehicles to pass through, such as the Baker Automobile Dealership at 201 SE Cherokee Avenue. Automobile-related buildings of this era represent the social change from dependence on mass transportation, the horse, or foot to the self-reliance and freedom associated with the privately owned car.

Significance: One can categorize the significance of properties within a commercial core under several functions. Their primary significance lies in their representation of the economic stability and prosperity of a community. When towns such as Bartlesville grew and prospered as the result of an oil boom, so did the commercial core. Oil companies needed buildings from which they could conduct their business. This in turn created the need for supporting commercial establishments to meet the demands of a thriving town. Similarly, the significance of these properties is reflected through architecture, as merchants and entrepreneurs expressed their aspirations and achievements through their buildings. As Bartlesville is more affluent than many other towns its size, it is reasonable that it

should have more elaborate and substantial buildings, including those from its earliest years as an oil town. Certain commercial properties also have social significance as they reflect changes in lifestyles from dependence on mass transportation, the horse, or foot to reliance on the automobile as the primary means of transportation.

Eligibility: To be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, buildings associated with the commercial core of a community should retain their integrity of design, location, and materials. Exceptions may be allowed for the alteration of the first floor window areas as it is extremely rare for commercial buildings to survive without alterations. These alterations should not detract from the overall integrity of the building's design. Commercial buildings can also be judged eligible for the National Register if they are contributing resources to a historic district.

TRANSPORTATION PROPERTIES

Description: It was especially important for commercial centers such as Bartlesville to have efficient transportation systems. As the town was the focal point for the surrounding oil fields, it was essential to have a means of shipping the oil to processing centers. The oil industry attracted other commercial establishments which would have the same needs. In turn, Bartlesville's citizens required

modes of transportation which would allow them to conduct their daily business.

A. Railroads: Before pipelines, the railroad provided the most efficient means of transporting oil from the field to the market. As the headquarters for many oil companies, Bartlesville benefitted from the presence of the Atchinson, Topeka, and Santa Fe (A.T. & S.F.) and the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas (Katy) railroads. The most visible way for a railroad to announce its presence in the commercial core of a town (besides the appearance of the tracks) was to build an attractive depot. The A.T. & S.F. and Katy depot in Bartlesville is just such an example. Constructed in 1909, it reflects a Mission/Spanish Revival influence in its architecture.

B. Interurbans: Between 1905 and 1920, Bartlesville enjoyed the presence of the Bartlesville Interurban Railway Company which connected the city with the town of Dewey a few miles to the north. Its main terminal, powerhouse, and car barn were located outside of the study area. As the line has been out of operation for nearly seventy years, it is doubtful if any properties associated with it still survive.

C. Bus Transportation: Most every community located on a major highway had bus service to other towns. For a short time, Bartlesville even had its own intracity bus service. The depots or stations for these were also usually located

in the commercial core. These could be specially designed as depots or else occupy a previously established building. Bartlesville's bus depot was located at 128 SW 2nd Street and occupied a building constructed c. 1930. It is an example of Mission/Spanish style architecture.

D. Automobiles (cars and trucks): As the automobile became the dominant mode of urban transportation it helped to shape the appearance of the commercial core. One of the earliest changes it brought about was the construction of paved streets. For Bartlesville, the early streets were paved with bricks. Asphalt and concrete paved streets usually appeared later. Other changes in the commercial core came with the establishment of automobile-related businesses as discussed in the section on commercial properties.

Significance: The significance of railroad transportation is primarily economic. Railroads connected towns to distant markets. This was especially important to the oil companies and other related businesses located in Bartlesville which were able to ship their products on the railroad lines. Railroads also attracted other industries and commercial activities to the city, including zinc smelting, as they provided for the importation and exportation of goods. Lines such as the Santa Fe and Katy also had passenger service, allowing for the ease of personal travel, making them socially significant as well.

The significance of interurbans is primarily social and economic. They made it possible for people to commute to their places of employment. As a result, residents of Dewey could commute to Bartlesville or vice versa. The interurban also connected the zinc smelters and workers' neighborhoods to the commercial core.

Bus transportation permits those without cars or who do not like driving long distances to travel on regularly scheduled routes. Although bus travel is no longer as important as it once was, it still provides a valuable service to certain segments of the population. Its significance is primarily social.

Car and truck traffic has had an economic impact on the commercial core. Whether automobile travel was leisure or business oriented, it required its own special commercial activities to meet the needs of the automobile user. These were often located in the heart of the city. Automobile transportation has social significance, as it provided greater personal freedom and mobility. It is also responsible for the decline in railroad and bus traffic, as both passengers and shippers preferred the directness and convenience of the automobile and truck. Ironically, as the automobile once brought economic benefits to the commercial core, in more recent years it has contributed to the growth of strip developments which draw business away from the downtown.

Eligibility: Railroad and interurban buildings such as depots, stations, and related properties should retain their integrity of location, as well as design and materials. Their historic association with these modes of transportation should be clearly defined. The same is true with bus depots. Buildings and structures associated with automobile transportation should possess historic significance such as a symbolic connection with the rise of the automobile as the dominant form of transportation in the United States. They also should retain their integrity of design, setting, and materials.

GOVERNMENT PROPERTIES

Description: In oil boom towns such as Bartlesville, the rapid increase in population placed a demand on the community to provide the semblance of law and order. This called for the creation for such institutions as a courthouse, city hall, fire station, and post office. Whether administered by the federal, state, county, or local government, these institutions furnished vital protection and services to the community and its citizens.

A. Courthouse: Bartlesville became the seat of Washington County in 1907 when Indian Territory became a part of the new state of Oklahoma. Until the time that the county could construct a courthouse, it used the upper floors of several commercial buildings for offices and

courtrooms. When the county finally constructed a courthouse, it was located at a site that is not within the study area of this survey. In 1973, the courthouse moved to the old Federal Building at Fifth Street and South Johnstone Avenue.

B. City Hall: The city hall was the location for the seat of the local government. Sometimes a city would construct a special building for this purpose or occupy space in an already established property. This was the case in Bartlesville when the city moved its offices to a wing in the Civic Center in the early 1930s. Prior to this, city offices were in the Kopple Building (non-extant) on Fourth Street.

C. Fire Stations: Fire stations were a necessity for the protection of lives and property. Early fire stations could be of a variety of styles. They were often located in the center of town to provide quick access to both the commercial core and the surrounding residential area. An example of this in Bartlesville is the fire station located at 601 S. Johnstone Avenue, built in 1941 in the Early Commercial style.

D. Post Offices: The construction of a permanent post office building was an important sign that a community had established itself sufficiently to gain the federal government's recognition of its stability and prosperity. It was usually built of brick or stone on a monumental scale

with elaborate detailing. The three-story Federal Building at 420 S. Johnstone Avenue, which housed both federal court chambers and a Post Office, is one such example. It was constructed in 1931 in the Italianate style.

Significance: The significance of government properties varies according to the level of government with which they are associated. The post office has the widest scope of significance because of its part in a federally operated communication network. The courthouse is important to all citizens of Washington County, whereas the city hall and fire station have local significance only.

Eligibility: To be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, government properties located in Bartlesville's commercial core should retain their integrity of design, setting, and materials. They should be associated with either the city, county, state, or federal government and that body's enactment and administration of laws or other activities associated with the political process.

RESIDENTIAL PROPERTIES

Description: In a town such as Bartlesville, where there has been a good deal of post-World War II construction, one would not expect to find many homes left standing near the historic commercial core. As the central business district grew, commercial structures took the place of many

residences. In Bartlesville, it should be noted, such businesses sometimes used the original residence and adapted it to a commercial building. Most homes in the study area are found on the outskirts of the modern commercial area. Some apartment houses and hotels are interspersed among the commercial buildings.

A. Single dwellings: In the study area, the predominant property type is commercial. Around a central core of commercial buildings one can find a variety of single family homes. These vary in style, quality, and scale. They range from the large Italianate and Prairie Style homes of prominent oilmen to modest Bungalows. Some newer homes, mostly custom designed, are located in this residential border.

B. Multiple dwelling: Apartment housing

Apartments were built early in the development of cities the size of Bartlesville in order to house singles, couples, and small families. These dwellings were located near the commercial core for easy accessibility to the workplace. The most common style used in Bartlesville was Italianate, usually executed in brick with stone and wood details. An example of this style is the multiple dwelling at 320 SE Cherokee Avenue.

C. Multiple dwelling: Hotels

Hotels were constructed in the downtown area to house visitors to the area. They varied in size, quality, and

style from medium sized Early Commercial buildings to large Italianate hotels. Most are now used for retail and office space.

Significance: Residential properties may be significant for many reasons, depending on their association value, style, and location. The historic owner or resident of a house may give the property its importance, or the architectural style may be the source of significance. In the Bartlesville study area, houses associated with oilmen and the working class attached to the oil industry seem likely. The architectural styles range from Italianate and Prairie to modest Bungalows. These residences are useful reminders of the importance of the oil industry to early Bartlesville construction, residential as well as industrial and commercial. Many homes have probably been lost due to post-World War II construction. The presence of apartments and hotels often attests to the fact that a booming oil industry necessitated temporary homes for oil field workers, businessmen, and others who traveled from oil town to oil town.

Eligibility: To be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, residential properties should retain integrity of design, setting, and materials. Exceptions may be made for residences with uncommon associational value or as contributing parts of a district. In these instances some alterations may be considered

acceptable if the overall design and details have not been obscured.

EDUCATIONAL PROPERTIES

Description: Education was typically a high priority for the settlers of early Oklahoma towns. In Bartlesville a two room wood frame schoolhouse was constructed to be replaced in 1905 by a more substantial schoolhouse, the Garfield School (non-extant), located on Cherokee Avenue between 6th Street and Adams Boulevard. The only education related property left in the study area is the Public Library, a part of the Civic Center.

Significance: The significance of education related properties is as evidence of a long tradition affirming the importance of schooling, not only to individuals, but for the community. The construction of a public library shows an interest in making information available to the community as a whole.

Eligibility: To be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, educational properties in Bartlesville must retain integrity of design, setting, and materials. Schools and libraries are often altered to allow for increased attendance and changes in methodology. It is, therefore, difficult to find historically pristine examples of these properties. They must, however, retain their association with the city's provision for educational

opportunities for its citizens.

RELIGIOUS PROPERTIES

Description: Religion has played a role, not only in individual spirituality and the establishment of an accepted moral code, but in community involvement and social life. A church is not a place of worship alone; it is where people come together to socialize and organize to benefit their community. The establishment of churches in a new town was a source of pride and expressed the need for social and moral order.

A. Churches: The early congregations typically met in the backrooms of stores, individual homes, depots, meeting halls, or other public buildings until they could secure land and build their own churches. The first churches were usually one story, front gabled, wood framed buildings with a bell tower or steeple. As the congregations grew and prospered, more substantial churches of wood, brick, or stone with Italianate or Classical Revival influences replaced the more modest churches. The First Church of Christ Scientist on SE Cherokee Avenue in Bartlesville is a good example of the Classical Revival church property in the study area.

Significance: The significance of these properties is religious. They represent the spiritual beliefs and faith of the congregation as well as their dedication to the

community. Churches may also have architectural merit because the building has traditionally been a symbol of the congregation's faith and is therefore of monumental scale and excellent quality. Some churches are also significant through their historic association with a person or event.

Eligibility: Normally, most churches are not eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places because of the exclusion of religious properties. However, a religious building is eligible if it derives its significance from architectural distinction or historic merit. To be eligible, a religious property must also retain its integrity of design, setting, and materials.

SOCIAL PROPERTIES

Description: Social organizations are usually established very early in the development of a town. Although they were often housed in downtown commercial buildings, sharing space with banks or retail stores, the organizations were sometimes prosperous enough to construct their own buildings.

A. Meeting halls: Meeting halls were built by fraternal, political, and patriotic organizations. Their style of architecture varies from city to city. In Bartlesville, it seems likely to find the meeting halls housed in Italianate or Early Commercial buildings, the predominant styles of the historic downtown area. The

Masonic Lodge, on the corner of SE 4th Street and SE Dewey Avenue, is perhaps the most impressive property of this sort in the study area. It is a multi-story Italianate building constructed of brick with stone detailing. The Masons shared their space in the building with the offices of such companies as the Empire Gas and Fuel Company, later Cities Services.

Significance: The significance of these properties is primarily social. The organizations were integral to the formation of the town's social structure. The buildings they constructed are indicative of the extent of the group's commitment to becoming a permanent part of their society.

Eligibility: To be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, properties associated with the social history of Bartlesville must retain integrity of design, setting, and materials. Exceptions may be made for properties with uncommon associational values.

RECREATIONAL AND CULTURAL PROPERTIES

Description: Boom towns such as Bartlesville needed recreational and cultural outlets for its growing population. The types of properties usually associated with recreation and culture within the commercial core vary widely from theaters and concert halls, to bowling alleys and poolhalls. Because of Bartlesville's affluence, elaborate and substantial examples of cultural properties

can be expected.

A. Cultural properties: Theaters were often housed in Early Commercial style buildings. It could share a facility with another establishment such as a small restaurant or retail shop. Here, one could witness a locally produced play or watch a moving picture show. Many buildings historically associated with these activities were destroyed or altered for other purposes. An example of such a building is the former Yale Theater at 304 SE Dewey. In 1922 Bartlesville constructed a Civic Center at Sixth and Johnstone. This large and impressive Italianate building served multipurposes as a convention center, theater, and cultural center.

B. Recreational properties: For those looking for other ways of spending their leisure time, one could repair to the local pool hall or bowling alley. These, too, were often found in the commercial core of a city. An entire building could be devoted to these activities or just an upper floor. In Bartlesville, the Rex Bowling Alley at 324 S. Johnstone Avenue was housed in a 1911 two-story Italianate style building.

Significance: Properties associated with recreation and culture serve as evidence of the increase in leisure time among the population. This in turn represents the stability and well-being of the community. Therefore, these properties possess both economic and social significance.

Eligibility: To be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, properties associated with recreation and culture in Bartlesville's commercial core should retain their integrity of design, location, and materials. Because these properties are often converted to other uses, allowances are made for the alteration of the first floor window areas, as it is extremely rare for buildings converted to commercial use to survive without alterations. If a property is being nominated for its historic function such as a theater or concert hall, it is also important for the interior to retain its historical integrity.