HISTORIC CONTEXT FOR THE NATIVE AMERICAN THEME

MANAGEMENT REGIONS #4 AND #5

1830 - 1939

By

W. David Baird, Pepperdine University
(Project Director)

Doris Holly Love, Pepperdine University
(Anthropology Consultant)

David Gebhard, University of California, Santa Barbara
(Architectural History Consultant)

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CHAPTER I

REGIONAL OVERVIEW

This Historic Context for the Native American Theme pertains to Management Regions #4 and #5. Specifically, it addresses the experiences of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians within those regions between 1830 and 1939. The study region encompasses virtually the entire southeastern quadrant of the State of Oklahoma. Technically, it includes the following counties: Atoka, Bryan, Choctaw, Coal, Haskell, Hughes, Latimer, LeFlore, McCurtain, Pittsburg, and Pushmataha in Region #4; and Carter, Garvin, Johnston, Love, Marshall, McClain, Murray, Pontotoc, Pottawatomie, and Seminole in Region #5. Because the study is limited to the Choctaws and Chickasaws, however, Pottawatomie and Seminole counties and the northern one-half of Hughes County fall beyond its parameters. Relevant Native American properties in that sector are included, but the reader should remember that they pertain to the Seminole and other Indian groups. Altogether the nineteen counties included within this study incorporate 16,356 square miles, or 24 per cent of the total land area of the state (see Map I).

Extending from Red River on the South to the Canadian River on the North and from the 98th meridian on the West to the Arkansas border on the East, Management Regions #4 and #5 include diverse geographical features. Topographically it ranges from coastal plains, to rolling prairie, to

mountainous (Arbuckle, San Bois, Winding Stair, and Kiamichi). In elevation it rises from 287 feet above sea level along Little River in McCurtain County to 2,500 feet in LeFlore County. Vegetation is primarily woodland, with at least one-half of the area a part of the cross-timbers and covered with Post Oak and Blackjack Oak. Lobolly Pine covers the other half. Rainfall varies from 34 inches to 52 inches annually. Essentially, Management Regions #4 and #5 are a part of the Southern Uplands--hilly, timbered, some savannahs of tall grasses, and plenty of water.

The economic profile of the study area is varied as well. Agriculturally, both cotton and corn have been and are important. Over the years, ranching has become increasingly significant; indeed, by 1980 in most counties livestock generated more income than crops. Coal production was important as early as the 1870s, losing significance after the 1920s only to regain some of its vitality in the 1970s. Oil and gas production became noteworthy in the 1920s and then again in the 1970s and 1980s.

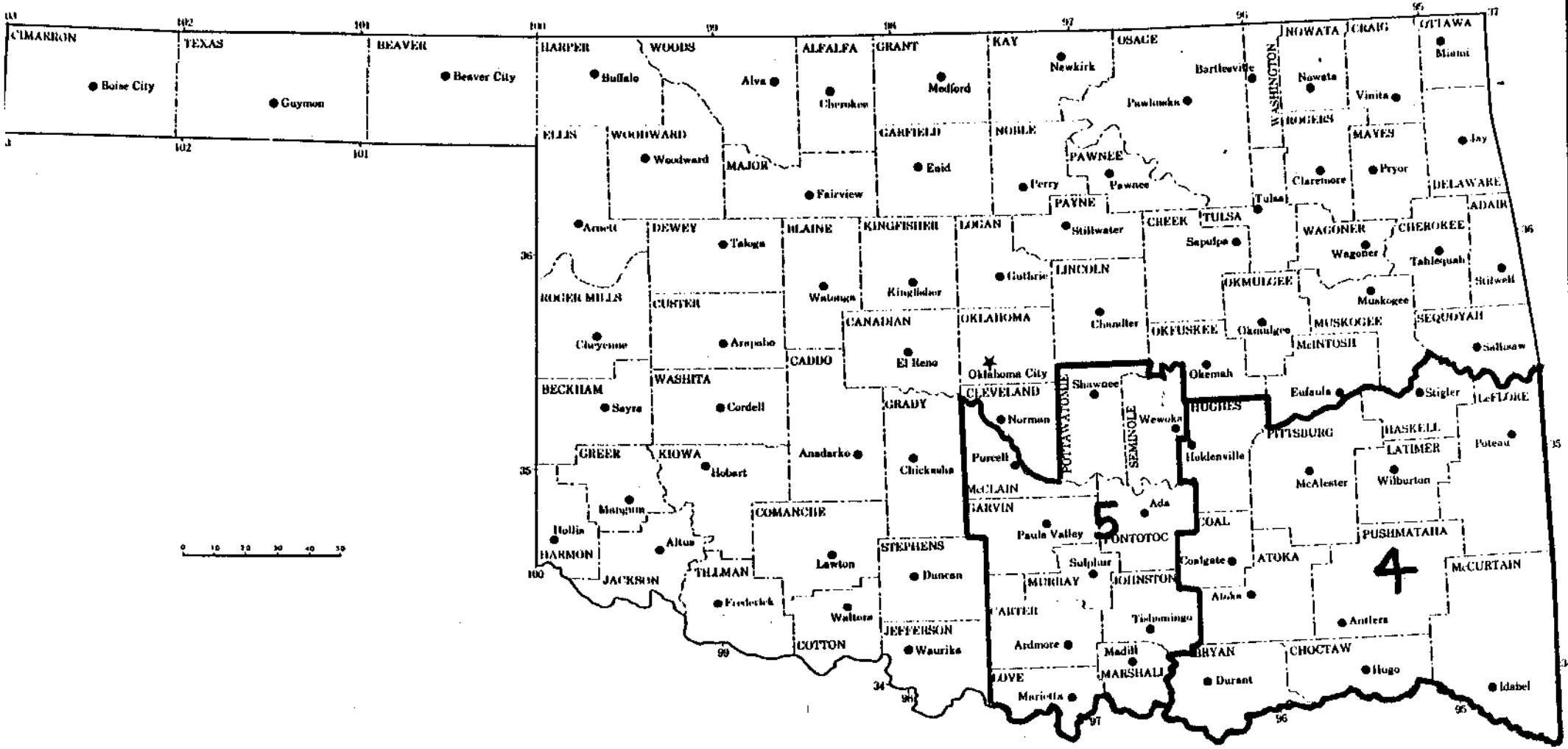
In the southeastern counties population has fluctuated significantly. In 1930 population totalled 456,266, or 19.5 per cent of all state residents. Mechanized agriculture, combined with the depression and New Deal policies, engendered a mass exodus from the region. Only in the last decade have population figures matched those of the pre-depression era, although in 1980 sixteen counties still had

less population than 50 years earlier. Moreover, the 394,725 persons residing in Management Regions #4 and #5 constituted only 13 per cent of Oklahoma's total population.

It is significant for this study that more than 31,000 Native Americans in 1980 lived in the project area, or just more than 18 per cent of Oklahoma's total Indian population. The greatest concentration of these was in McCurtain County with 3599, followed closely by Pittsburg and Leflore counties. Only one county had less than 500 Indians; only five more had less than 1000.

The nineteen counties of the study area are much less urbanized than other regions. Ardmore is the largest urban center with a population of 23,689. Only three other towns had a population in 1980 of more than 10,000: Ada, Durant, and McAlester.

If the southeastern counties are less urbanized than the rest of the state, they also have less personal income. Statewide in 1982 per capita income averaged $11,080. In the study area, however, it averaged only $7844. And this amount was not evenly distributed. Among Native Americans in the study area, personal income was no more than one-half the income of non-Indians.



MAP I

BOUNDARIES OF MANAGEMENT REGIONS #4 and #5

CHAPTER II

THE NATIVE AMERICAN THEME

Much of Oklahoma history is Native American history. Indeed, it can be argued that the latter is the dominant theme of the former, at least through the nineteenth century. And in Management Regions #4 and #5, the importance of the theme extends well into the twentieth century.

The nineteen southeastern counties that comprise the study area are primarily associated with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indian Tribes. They first arrived in significant numbers in 1830 and exercised sovereignty throughout the area until 1906. They did not abandon their homes with Oklahoma statehood but remained to contribute to the economic and social development of the area. The chronological parameters of the current study, therefore, are clear: 1830, when tribal relocation in southeastern Oklahoma began, to 1939, when, according to the fifty year criteria of the National Register, history ends and the present begins.

Dates, of course, are very arbitrary. The Native American Theme in Management Regions #4 and #5 has its genesis in antiquity, not 1830. Many of Oklahoma's most important prehistoric sites are located there. One, the famous Spiro Mounds site in northern Leflore County, reveals a people of considerable religious, artistic, economic, and political sophistication. Bernard de la Harpe, one of the earliest

Europeans to traverse the area, in 1719 found large settlements of people (doubtless Wichitas or Caddos) in what is now Latimer County. Other Frenchmen soon followed to engage the Indians in a network of trade that centered first on the Arkansas River and then on Red River.

Management Regions #4 and #5, as well as all of Oklahoma, became United States Territory by virtue of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. At that time the Quapaws and Osages as well as the Wichitas, Caddos, Comanches, and Kiowas claimed the area. The United States, however, saw it as a place to relocate tribes who resided further east and obstructed American expansion west of the Appalachians. Early on federal officials negotiated with the resident tribes to relinquish their claims to the region so that they might reassign it to emigrant tribes. The Quapaws, for example, ceded title in 1818 to the area south of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers and north of Red River.

The Choctaws and Chickasaws were among those Indians that American officials wished to remove to Oklahoma. Their traditional domain included what is now Mississippi, Tennessee, and Alabama. Through the 1820s the two tribes objected to removal, but pressure was intense. Finally, President Andrew Jackson and his administration during the 1830s forced them to cede their homelands and to relocate in the old Quapaw cession, or, put differently, in the current study area.

Substantial numbers of Choctaws followed their so-called "Trail of Tears" to Oklahoma as early as 1830. The majority of their kinsmen joined them over the next four years. By the end of the decade the Chickasaws too removed from their ancestral domain to take up homes adjacent to the Choctaws on the west. Most of the trauma of relocation was over by 1840.

The emigrants worked diligently to reestablish their social, economic, and political institutions. They did it so successfully that some historians call the decade of the 1850s "The Golden Years." "Golden" may be excessive, but certainly the existence of educational complexes, transportation facilities, substantial homesteads, government buildings, Christian churches and mission stations, and commercial centers reflect a successful and maturing society. Unfortunately this progress was interrupted by the American Civil War that began in 1861 and continued through 1865. Both tribes became participants in the struggle as allies of the Confederacy.

From the physical and social devastation of the war the Choctaws and Chickasaws only slowly recovered, if they ever recovered. The post-war era brought new pressures with which to cope. The M. K. & T. railroad completed a line across the Choctaw Nation in 1872. For the tribespeople it was a mixed blessing. The railroad gave them easier access to the consumer goods manufactured in "the states," a

phenomenon graphically reflected in housing, and to markets for their own agriculture produce and natural resources. But it also brought unwelcomed white intruders, criminals as well as entrepreneurs, who moved ruthlessly to control the economic resources of the tribe. One technique of exploitation was for white men to marry Indian women, after which they had full citizenship rights within the tribe (as, for example, J. J. McAlester).

The range cattle industry was to the Chickasaws what the railroad was to the Choctaws. Immediately after the Civil War it pushed north out of Texas, first as herds headed to rail heads in Kansas and then as ones that ranged permanently on tribal pastures. With the cattle came white ranchers and cowboys, many of whom took Indian wives, built homes near ever-flowing springs, and grew rich as beeves fattened on ranges owned in common by the Chickasaws.

It is significant that intermarried whites had with few exception always participated fully in the corporate life of the tribespeople. They were particularly influential economically; but only slightly less in politics, education, and religion. Their mixed blood children assumed positions of influence as well. To exclude them from any study of the Choctaw and Chickasaw experience in southeastern Oklahoma is to do violence to historical reality and to impose racial definitions that simply did not exist. Accordingly, herein "Native Americans" include Choctaws and Chickasaws by blood,

by intermarriage, by tradition, and by cultural preference.

Given the arrival of the railroad and the cattle industry, by 1880 there were more white intruders than Indians (regardless of ones definition) in the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, i.e. in what is now the nineteen southeastern Oklahoma counties. This demographic profile was matched elsewhere in Indian Territory, especially as the so-called Boomer Movement out of Kansas gained full force. Not surprisingly, the white majority soon called upon the federal government to end the Indian's common ownership of the land, to allot individual tracts to members of the tribes, and to open surplus lands for white settlement. For a time the Choctaws and Chickasaws as well as other tribes resisted these challenges to their sovereignty, but not for long.

In 1893, Congress authorized the Dawes Commission to negotiate with the Choctaws and Chickasaws (along with the Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles) for the allotment of tribal lands. When the Indians proved uncooperative, Congress directed the commission to go ahead with surveying tribal land and enrolling potential allottees. With this, further resistance seemed futile and the Choctaws and Chickasaws concluded the Atoka Agreement with the federal government in April, 1897, agreeing to allotment and, by 1906, the termination of tribal government.

In 1907, of course, Indian Territory and Oklahoma

Territory were joined to form the State of Oklahoma. With that momentous event, the Choctaws and Chickasaws did not descend into oblivion. Appointed by the president of the United States, a principal chief exercised some responsibilities for the Choctaws as did a governor for the Chickasaws. Royalties from coal and petroleum production supplied funds to help finance schools such as Bloomfield (later Carter), Burney, Wheelock, and Jones academies. They also underwrote in part health care facilities such as a tuberculosis center at Talihina. And tribespeople worshipped in Christian churches that they themselves administered.

The continuing sense of identity was reinformed by federal government policy in the 1930s. Like the better known Indian Reorganization Act, the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936 encouraged the Choctaws and Chickasaws, among others, to revitalize themselves economically and socially by organizing legally as a corporate entity. The legal provisions of the Indian New Deal the tribes generally ignored, but the spirit of the law that encouraged them to preserve their identity as a unique people they accepted eagerly.

Between 1830 and 1939, therefore, the Native American Theme in Management Regions #4 and #5 moved through a complete cycle. From the ashes of removal, it progressed first to a golden age of tribal achievement (1830-1860),

then to a period of struggle and challenge (1860-1890), and finally returned to ashes with the loss of sovereignty (1890-1936). By 1939, however, the theme moved back to embrace an era of Choctaw and Chickasaw vigor and creativity. Chronologically as well as geographically, then, the present study is both legitimate and appropriate.

CHAPTER III

CHOCTAW TRIBAL HISTORY

The following brief essay is designed to provide a historical overview of the Choctaw Indians during the course of their residence in southeastern Oklahoma, or Management Region #4. A more complete comprehension of their story requires some knowledge of their cultural characteristics and their long occupation of what is now Mississippi, but the focus of the essay is primarily upon the period from 1830 to 1939. The story of the Choctaws during much of that period is really the story of the area encompassed in Management Region #4.

Tribal mythology suggests the great antiquity of the Choctaw people. It holds that the Choctaws once lived in the far West, but that guided by a sacred pole and led by two brothers they moved east across a great river to what is now south-central Mississippi. When the pole remained upright rather than point toward the rising sun, Chahta and his followers took it as a sign to terminate their journey and to settle a new homeland. Chikasa and his people continued their trek for a short distance to become the Chickasaw Indians. Meanwhile, the group led by Chahta celebrated its safe arrival by constructing a gigantic earthen mound which they christened Nanih Waya.[1]

The sacred mound was also the focus of another creation account. This story held that the ancient Choctaws, rather

than construct the mound themselves, had actually been created by the Great Spirit within its depths. Following their genesis they had crawled through a hole where the sun then dried and nurtured them.[2]

Whatever their origins, in their Mississippi homeland the Choctaw people developed a material culture that brought to each an abundant life. Like the neighboring Muskogean tribes (Creeks, Seminoles, and Chickasaws) with whom they were classed linguistically, they sustained themselves both by agriculture and hunting. In individual plots near their homes they raised corn, beans, and pumpkins; from the forests they took white tailed deer, bears, turkeys, squirrels, and other creatures.[3]

The early Choctaws lived in single family dwelling units. These were constructed of vertical poles plastered over with mud and covered by a roof of bark or thatch. Holes were left in the gables of the house to provide an escape for smoke. A side door opened to a room with an earthen floor, a fireplace to the center, and bed platforms along the different walls. These structures were clustered together to form more than 100 permanent communities located near rivers or springs. The best information suggests that each village was then encompassed by one of three geographical (perhaps political) divisions: Sixtowns, or Okla Hannali, in the south; The Long People, or Okla Falava, in the northwest; and The People of the Opposite Side, or Okla

tannap, in the northeast.[4]

The governmental structure of the Choctaws was shaped by the geographical divisions. A non-hereditary chief ruled over each, assisted frequently by the wisdom of an assembly of elders. The three districts acted autonomously, but on special occasions of celebration and anxiety representatives of each met in a national council.[5]

Socially, the tribe was divided into two great divisions, or moieties, identified as the Imoklasha and the Iholahata. Each of the divisions was subdivided into six or eight clans, the exact names of which remain obscure. Family units that determined their descent through the female comprised the clans, which were exogamous.[6]

Unlike some Native Americans, the Choctaws were more noted for their social than for their religious ceremonies. Tribal dances were important occasions, especially the busk, or green corn dance. Choctaws often gathered to play Ishtaboli, a game where opposing teams sought to throw a deerhide ball by means of sticks with attached leather cups through goals at either end of an open field. So popular was the game and so often was it played that seemingly it left the Choctaws with few aggressions--at least, warfare with other Indians was more an exception than a rule.[7]

Compared to other Native Americans, then, the Choctaw people were most notable for their peaceful characters and friendly dispositions. They devoted more time to economic

and social activities than to war or religion. In short, they were practical, social beings who enjoyed "the good life."

The Choctaws--some 20,000 strong--got their first glimpse of white men in 1540 when the Spaniard Hernando de Soto invaded their Mississippi homeland. Well over a century elapsed before other Europeans disturbed them again. The English came overland west out of Carolina to outposts among the Chickasaws; the French came south from Canada to settle the Gulf Coast. Each wanted to recruit the Choctaws for a particular national purpose, ambitions that had devastating consequences for the tribespeople over the next 100 years.

Among other things, the English and the French involved the Choctaws in bloody warfare. Initially the English sent Chickasaw warriors among them to take captives for the slave trade. To defend themselves the Choctaws allied with the French, who supplied guns and other trade goods. In the 1730s they even joined their European ally as auxiliary troops in military attacks upon Chickasaw and English positions. That and other efforts never fully eliminated English influence, despite the huge cost in Choctaw lives.[8]

The advent of the whiteman also cost the tribespeople their economic and political independence. Before their arrival, they had sustained themselves by the harvest of the field and the results of the hunt. After the whiteman arrived, the Choctaws invested much of the proceeds of their

labor, especially deer hides, to trade for the creature comforts (guns, pots, cloth, etc.) he offered. In time they became so dependent upon those products of civilization that they neglected their agriculture and compromised their sovereignty. Indeed, by the 1760s they hunted for deer as far west as Oklahoma and were the military allies of France.*

Unfortunately for the Choctaw people, they chose the wrong side in the international competition for the control of the Mississippi valley. In 1763, military loses caused France to cede its territorial claims in North America. The Choctaws had to come to terms with the British on their own, only to have the English withdraw in 1783 at the end of the American Revolution. Thereafter the tribe was caught in a diplomatic and economic sandwich with the United States on one side and the Spanish, operating out of New Orleans, on the other. By 1803, however, the United States had bought out not only the French but the but most of the Spanish claims in the Gulf Coast area, clarifying thereby the diplomatic picture for the Choctaw people. For them the "Great Father" was no longer in London, Paris, or Madrid, but in Washington, D.C.

The tribal leadership had met representatives of the new Great Father as early as 1786. The Treaty of Hopewell of that year, the first ever signed between the Choctaws and the United States, defined the boundaries of the tribal

hunting grounds, stipulated United States protection over the tribe, and authorized the establishment of trading posts and trading relations within the Choctaw domain.[10]

Within two decades three other treaties were signed, e.g. in 1801, 1803, and 1805. These documents made clear what the United States government expected of the tribespeople--cession of their tribal domain. Indeed, in the three treaties the Choctaws relinquished title to 7.5 million acres of land, in return for which they obtained some remission of debt and a $3000 permanent annuity. A fourth treaty, in 1816, recognized the support of the Choctaws during the course of the Creek War (War of 1812) by increasing compensation for land cessions. But dispossession of the tribal land base in Mississippi remained the principal issue.[11]

Signed in 1820, the Treaty of Doaks Stand reflected that the whiteman's thirst for Choctaw land would not be quenched. It provided for tribal cession of five million acres of what is now west-central Mississippi. In return, the United States gave to the tribe permanent title to a thirteen million acre domain roughly encompassing what is now the southwestern corner of Arkansas and the southern one-half of Oklahoma. Assuming that the Choctaws would want to remove to this new domain, the treaty also provided for emigration assistance, a resident agent in the West, funds to sustain the "lighthorse," and educational benefits. The

treaty, however, did not demand the forcible removal of the Choctaws.[12]

The relationship with the United States focused upon more than land. Despite government regulations to the contrary, the number of non-Indians among the Choctaws increased. White trader infiltrated the tribal domain, prospered, and intermarried. In August, 1818, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent the Presbyterian Cyrus Kingsbury to establish centers of Christian activity first at Eliot and then at Mayhew. Even more important were the numerous white farmers who took up homesteads in the lands recently ceded by the Choctaws and who saw themselves as foreordained to dominate the totality of the North American continent.

The presence of these non-Indians had a profound impact upon the course of Choctaw history. The intermarried whites produced large mixed blood families who, with a better understanding of the times, soon spoke for the tribe. Though initially unsuccessful in promulgating the Gospel, by 1828 missionaries met with some important triumphs. After something resembling a religious revival, earlier practices such as scaffolding of the dead, picking of bones, witchcraft, polygamy, and infanticide--customs deemed heathen by the preachers--were exceptions rather than the rule among the Choctaws.[13]

A commitment to education also resulted from the

whiteman's presence. Reasoning that only through education could they compete with the intruders, tribal leaders earmarked the $3000 annuity received in 1805 for the support of the mission schools. They applied later treaty benefits to underwrite the instruction of selected youths enrolled at the Choctaw Academy, a school opened in 1825 at Blue Springs, Kentucky, by Senator Richard M. Johnson. By 1830 eighty-nine boys attended the academy; 260 others were registered in the eleven mission schools in the tribal domain. This profound interest in education was nearly unique in early American Indian history and demonstrated that the pragmatic Choctaws expected to investigate if not emulate the whiteman's ways.[14]

The non-Indian residents among them also worked to alter the material habits of the Choctaw people. The demands of the traders for furs had brought a mass slaughter of the animals that once supplemented tribal agriculture. With the extinction of game, the tribe embraced subsistence farming as its principal means of support. Some mixed-blood Choctaws even purchased black slaves and engaged in cotton cultivation. Most also adopted the dress and the house styles of the Europeans.

Equally significant were the changes wrought in the form of tribal government. In August, 1826, the Choctaws abandoned their native system in favor of a written code of laws. A general council of the tribe adopted a constitution

that established a decentralized and weak executive of the three district chiefs and a national council of representatives from the different political divisions. The legislative body was to meet annually to adopt written statutes, the enforcement of which would be left to the "lighthorse," a police force renowned for its curtailment of the liquor traffic.[15]

The Choctaws entered into many of these changes assuming that they would demonstrate themselves a progressive people worthy of the respect of their white neighbors. Hopefully, the western removal envisioned by the Treaty of Doaks Stand in 1820 could then be averted. The tribal leadership miscalculated! Pressured by President Andrew Jackson, the United States Congress passed in 1830 legislation that required the Choctaws, as well as other native neighbors, to negotiate a treaty whereby they would relinquish their Mississippi homeland and remove to Oklahoma. With considerable resentment as well as internal turmoil, the Choctaws accepted the inevitable removal treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in September, 1830.[16]

The forced emigration of the tribespeople began almost immediately. In October some 1000 residents of the northwestern district made the trek west. After a house to house census enumerated 17,963 Choctaws in early 1831, more than 4000 others moved by foot, horseback, wagon, and steamboat to the New Land. Ineptness and bad weather

delayed arrival until March, 1832. 5500 other members of the tribe moved in late 1832; less than 1000 removed in 1833. When the removal program officially terminated in 1834, some 6000 Choctaws, or a third of the tribe, remained in Mississippi. In the 1840s, at least one-half of these removed to Oklahoma; fifty years later, several hundred more came. The rest remained in their native homeland where their descendants still reside.[17]

Once in Indian Territory the Choctaws struggled to retrieve the life style common to them in Mississippi. Their new settlements pretty much conformed to the old geographical units: the old residents of the northeastern district took up homesteads in the northern portion the new domain known as Moshulatubbee; those from the northwest in the old nation settled in Apukshunnubbee in the southeast; southern district residents in Mississippi moved to the southwestern district in the new nation known as Pushmataha. The constitutional government that was built upon these districts, however, was not implemented in the West because the United States insisted upon selection of new leadership.[18]

The Choctaws slowly recovered from much of the trauma of removal. They soon developed a satisfactory if not flourishing economy. Using plows and hoes furnished by the government, they planted corn, potatoes, peas, beans, pumpkins, and melons. So proficient were they that

surpluses were frequently marketed to garrisons at Fort Towson, Fort Coffee, and Fort Smith. Along Red River some Choctaws produced cotton on plantations cultivated by slave labor. Five hundred bales from these farms went to the New Orleans market in 1836 alone. Throughout the nation the Indians also raised cattle, hogs, and horses. Many continued to hunt the forests for white tailed deer, while some traveled to the Plains to hunt buffalo, but usually more for sport than food.[19]

A thriving commerce evolved simultaneously with agricultural reconstruction. Annuity payments and the profits from agriculture were used to purchase goods imported by white firms such as Doak and Tims, and Berthlet, Heald, and Company. Enterprising Choctaw traders like Robert M. Jones also participated in the commercial activity. In 1836 he imported goods valued at $20,000; he also owned five large Red River plantations cultivated by more than 500 slaves, shipping his cotton to market on his own steamboats.[20]

Jones and other merchants centered their operations in towns that grew up at strategic locations. The most important of these was Doaksville, although Skullyville, Eagletown, Perryville, and later Boggy Depot vied for top honors. Their establishments were generally linked by military roads that connected federal forts, major thoroughfares such as the north-south Texas Road and the

east-west California Trail, and the famous Butterfield Overland Mail Route that cut southwest out of Fort Smith through Boggy Depot and Colbert Crossing on Red River.[21]

In their western domain the Choctaws also engaged in limited yet significant industrial activity. Dynamic members of the tribe operated grist and saw mills, while others established salt works and cotton gins. One even entered into a contract to manufacture looms for government distribution among the Indians, and another operated a wheelwright shop. Activity of this type was unique to the western domain and illustrated the ability of the Choctaws to adapt to a new environment.[22]

Religious observations and guidance had terminated at the beginning of removal. Indeed, in the Moshulatubbee district a significant anti-Christian movement developed. Fearful that their exertions would come to naught, the Christian missionaries gained the tribe's permission to build new stations in Indian Territory. The ABCFM missionaries successfully reestablished the Presbyterian work, in large part because they were able to translate most of the Bible into the Choctaw language. In the 1840s other denominations instituted successful mission efforts, including the Methodists and Baptists. By 1860s a host of church buildings dotted the landscape of the new Choctaw Nation, among them the oldest church building in Oklahoma, Wheelock Church near present Valiant in McCurtain County.[23]

The most remarkable social development in the post-removal era was the reconstruction of the Choctaw educational system. Again the initiative was taken by the missionaries whom the tribe required to provide educational facilities for the privilege of spreading the Gospel. In 1836 they reported eleven schools in operation; tribal annuity funds supported eight others. In 1842 the Choctaws created a system of boarding schools financed by funds once distributed per capita and managed by different Christian mission boards. The crown jewels of the tribal educational system, these schools included Spencer, Fort Coffee, Pine Ridge (Chuwahla), Stockbridge (Iyanubbi), Goodwater (Koonsha), and Wheelock academies. Later Armstrong and New Hope academies were added.

The Choctaws also supported neighborhood day schools and "Sunday Schools," the latter a form of adult education. Largely because of these two programs, both of which employed the vernacular language in instruction, the Choctaws were a literate people by the time of the Civil War.[24]

The diplomatic skills the Choctaw people had learned as they had dealt with the French, English, Spanish, and the United States served them well in Indian Territory. In 1837 when the Chickasaws sought a new homeland, the tribal leadership refused to sell part of the Choctaw estate but it did agree to grant the Chickasaws the privilege of

citizenship, the prerogative of indiscriminate settlement, and the right of forming a district in the central portion of their domain. For these concession, the Choctaws received $530,000.

In 1855 the Chickasaws, growing increasingly unhappy with their status in Indian Territory, and the Choctaws negotiated another agreement. A new treaty, to which the United States was also party, authorized the creation of an independent Chickasaw Nation in a tract co-extensive with the earlier "Chickasaw District." Tribal funds would remain in separate funds, but both tribes would hold joint title to the Chickasaw domain. The land west of the Chickasaw Nation the Choctaws agreed to lease to the United States as a permanent home for the Wichita and other tribes for $800,000 to be divided between the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes on the basis of three to one.[25]

Internal government affairs were even more significant than external relations. Having established a constitutional government prior to removal, the Choctaws were at pains to recreate a similar national government in Indian Territory. On June 3, 1834, representatives of the tribe gathered at a point near Tuskahoma to write Oklahoma's first constitution and to form a permanent government. The constitution adopted called for a unicameral council of ten representatives from each of three districts that would meet annually. It vested executive authority in the three

district chiefs, elected for four years, sitting together. The document contained a bill of rights, extended suffrage to all males sixteen years of age and over, and established a judiciary. To house their new government the Choctaws built a commodious log council house which they christened Nanih Waiya.[26]

The 1834 constitution was only the first of a succession of such documents. Over the next 26 years they met periodically to modify their organic law to respond to the demands of an increasingly complex society. A constitution in 1838 provided representation for the Chickasaws; another in 1842 established a bicameral council to prevent domination by the government by the more populous southeastern district; still another in 1850 created counties and improved the judicial system; and one more in 1857 recognized the independence of the Chickasaws and abolished the office of district chief in favor of a tribal governor.

As a rule the new constitutions were adopted without dissent, but the 1857 document occasioned the first serious controversy within the tribe since removal. More traditional citizens objected to the concept of a single tribal leader and wrote an opposing constitution that retained the office of district chief. The Choctaws averted civil war only by adopting a compromise document at Doaksville in January, 1860. The new frame of government

which remained in effect until 1906 created an office of Principal Chief but retained the district chiefs as assistants.[27]

The Choctaws were able to avert a civil war among their own people, but they were not able to prevent one among their white neighbors. Indeed, they even got involved in the War of Rebellion as an ally of the Confederate States of America. That they were a slave-holding people, that their agent was a southern sympathizer, that their Texas and Arkansas neighbors embraced the South, that they feared the Republican Party, and that the United States Army withdrew its forces from Indian Territory all accounted for the alliance. The treaty itself was signed on July 12, 1861, at North Fork Village in the Creek Nation.[28]

In the war that followed the Choctaws played only a minor role. They organized three regiments and participated in those early battles that forced the neutral Indians to retreat into Kansas and later ones at Fort Smith, Honey Springs, and Perryville. After 1863 when the Confederate fortunes soured, their domain became the site of refugee camps on the Boggy, Blue, and Kiamichi rivers that housed more than 6000 refugees. So long as the tribespeople shared their meager supplies with the migrants all lived in harmony, but when foodstuffs became scarce the refugees marauded and helped themselves to provisions and private property alike.[29]

Under these conditions, continued resistance was foolish. Chief Peter Pitchlynn surrendered the Choctaw Confederate units to officers of the United States Army on June 19, 1865. A conference at Fort Smith in September failed to produce a formal peace treaty. Such a document was not negotiated until the following year in Washington, D.C. Its terms made clear that the alliance with the Confederacy had been costly, although not as costly as for other "rebel" tribes.[30]

The Choctaws were encouraged to adopt their former slaves. If they and the Chickasaws did, then the government would pay $300,000 for relinquishment of any title to the Leased District which would then be used for the benefit of the Plains Indians. If they did not, the money would be used to colonize the ex-slaves elsewhere. The treaty also authorized right-of-way grants to north-south and east-west railroads, encouraged allotment of land in severalty, and established an elaborate structure for an Indian Territory of Oklahoma (a Choctaw word meaning "land of the Red Man"). Furthermore, it directed the settlement of not more than 10,000 Kansas Indians among the Choctaws and Chickasaws, the adjudication of claims of loyal Indians and traders, and the creation of United States courts with limited jurisdiction among the Indians.[31]

Recovery from the economic and social devastation of the Civil War was no easy task. In time agriculture flourished

as enterprising Choctaws imported white and black tenants to break and work the land. Cattle ranching became particularly important along the western border of the nation. Wilson N. Jones was especially successful. More dramatic was the arrival of the railroad. The Treaty of 1866 had granted right of way to one north-south and one east-west railroad through Indian Territory. The benefits of this provision fell to the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas, or the "Katy," which completed construction across the Choctaw country via the old Texas Road by the spring of 1872. Other roads, including the Frisco, the Choctaw Coal and Railway Company, and the Kansas City Southern, soon pushed into the nation. By 1902, 780 miles of line crisscrossed the tribal domain.[32]

Equally dramatic was the exploitation of the coal fields discovered in the Choctaw domain. Immediately after the Civil War, J. J. McAlester established a store at the location of the town that now bears his name and gained citizenship in the Choctaw nation by marriage to a Chickasaw girl. With the arrival of the MK&T, he and others organized the Osage Coal and Mining Company in 1872. Within fifteen years this and other companies mined 500,000 tons of Choctaw coal annually; by 1907 50 companies pushed the output to more than three million tons.[33]

This and other economic activities affected the tribe profoundly. The influx of tenants, railroad employees, and

miners raised the number of non-Indians from 200 in 1865 to 185,000 in 1907. Lawlessness was rampant, especially along the railroads. Consumption of alcohol was excessive. National and county Choctaw officials were virtually powerless if not defenseless to combat the lack of order. They gained some relief, however, when the Federal Court for the Western District of Arkansas sitting at Fort Smith and presided over between 1875 to 1896 by Judge Isaac C. Parker extended jurisdiction over the Choctaw Nation.

Although outnumbered almost ten to one by white intruders, the Choctaws maintained their national institutions and identity. The capitol of the nation remained at Armstrong Academy near Bokchito in Bryan County until 1882 when it was moved to a new and more commodious structure situated at Tuskahoma in Pushmataha County. The legislature met annually at the capitol, where the elected Principal Chief also maintained an office. Local officials also operated vital county governments, some of which occupied impressive public buildings such as at current Atoka and Caddo.[34]

The tribe also repaired much of the social fabric of its community life. They were at pains to reestablish their educational system. As early as January, 1867, the neighborhood school system was reestablished. Two years later the tribe resumed its practice of sending youngsters to colleges in the "states," and in 1871 it, with the help of mission boards, re-opened Spencer and New Hope academies.

Three more boarding schools opened in 1892: Jones Academy, Tuskahoma, and Tushka Lusa (the latter for freedmen). As they rebuilt their schools, the Choctaws also rebuilt their churches, many of which are in existence today.[35]

The ability of the Choctaws to maintain their nation was limited after 1887. In that year the United States Congress passed the Dawes Allotment Act, a measure that did not apply to the Choctaws and others of the Five Civilized Tribes but did foreshadow a somewhat later effort to force the tribes to terminate their independent governments and to allot their domains in individual tracts to members of the tribes. In March, 1893, Congress created the so-called Dawes Commission and directed it to negotiate with the Choctaws a termination of tribal government. When the Choctaw leadership proved reluctant to negotiate, Congress responded by giving the Dawes Commission even more authority.[36]

Fearful that allotment might be imposed upon them unilaterally, the Choctaws consented to negotiate the Atoka Agreement on April 27, 1897. This agreement provided that the entire tribal domain should be divided equally among the citizens save for the freedmen who would receive only forty acres; that allotments would remain inalienable and non-taxable for 25 years; that townsites would be reserved from allotment, sold, and the proceeds distributed among all citizens by blood; that mineral reserves should be used for the support of education; that elected tribal government

should continue until March, 1906.[37]

A supplementary agreement adopted in 1902 refined these provisions somewhat. It specified regulations for the allotment of land, created a citizenship court, and provided for the sale of mineral lands within three years. Legislation in 1906 authorized the president to appoint a principal chief of the tribe that would serve at the pleasure of the federal government in the post-allotment era.

Before allotment of the tribal estate could proceed, it was necessary to establish a roll of Choctaw citizens. That process was complicated by the fact that many persons improperly declared their citizenship, requiring lengthy judicial proceedings. The roll as finally established enumerated 18,981 Choctaws, 5,995 freedmen, and 1,639 Mississippi Choctaws. Thereafter allotment occurred whereby each enrolled tribesperson received 320 acres of averaged value land. According to this formula, a Choctaw could get as little as 160 acres of choice land or as much as 4,165 acres of less desirable land.[38]

Once the tribal government was terminated and the tribal estate was allotted the Choctaws found themselves as citizens of the new state of Oklahoma which entered the Union on November 16, 1907. They had little opportunity to capitalize upon their "blessings." Their land allotments, which were to have been protected--held in trust--by the

federal government for 25 years, were placed immediately at risk by grafters and guardians. White grafters, for example, leased allotments for a mere pittance. When Congress in 1908 removed restrictions against alienation of title from allotments assigned to intermarried whites, freedmen, and mixed-blood Choctaws with less than one-half Indian blood, they gained control of the land through intimidation, deceit, and fraud--at a fraction of its value. Some willed their property to grafters in return for a lifetime monthly pension of $10 only to meet an untimely death from carbolic acid or ground glass. Also court-appointed guardians would lease the allotment of their minor charges to a real estate dealer for a particle of its worth and then in a separate transaction share the profits of the person so favored.[39]

The federal government as guardian did little to prevent this exploitation of the Choctaws. By the late 1920s, nine of every ten allotments from which restrictions were removed were lost to the allottee. Awaking to this fact, Congress acted in 1928 and 1932 to preserve the inheritance of those tribespeople of more than one-half Indian blood: it extended restrictions against alienation of title until 1956.

Much of the three decades following the demise of the Choctaw Nation was devoted to disposition of tribal assets. These included a trust fund held by the tribal government, 1.3 million acres of timber lands, 3 million acres undivided

land not claimed by the Choctaws at the time of allotment, and nearly one-half million acres of coal and asphalt lands. All but 380,000 acres of the coal lands were disposed by 1920, producing a total revenue of nearly $20 million. Per capita payments to enrolled Choctaws and their heirs totalled $1070. Finally, in 1948 the coal lands were purchased by the federal government, which had failed to dispose of them within three years of allotment as it had promised, for $8.5 million. This sum was distributed per capita to some 24,000 Choctaws in 1949.[40]

Appointed by the president, the Principal Chiefs of the Choctaws operated without an organized council until 1934. In response to a recommendation from Washington, in that year a tribal council was selected with representatives elected from each of the ten Oklahoma counties that made up the old Choctaw Nation, plus one at large. This group endorsed the Wheeler-Howard bill (later the Indian Reorganization Act), but when the provisions of that legislation were extended to Oklahoma Indians in 1935 via the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act the Choctaws refused to organize under its terms.

They did, however, take advantage of some of the New Deal era legislation that benefited Indian tribes. A $1,000,000 congressional appropriations enabled the federal government to rebuild the Choctaw-Chickasaw Tuberculosis Sanitarium at Talihina, created in 1916 with coal royalty revenues, into a

modern health facility. Also, the tribe established a resettlement program for so-called homeless Indians near Wilburton.

How the Choctaws ultimately organized themselves governmentally is beyond the scope of this brief essay. Suffice it to say that they now have an elected Principal Chief and Council and that the administrative offices of the tribe are focused in Hugo and Durant, Oklahoma. Indians of Choctaw blood have increased from 20,620 in 1907 to an estimated 50,000 in 1985. At the same time there has been a steady decline of full bloods: from more than 7,000 in 1907 to no more than 4,000 in 1985. This biologic assimilation has also been accompanied by a population shift. Rather than concentrating in one area, members of the tribe have taken up residence in numerous communities and states far distant from the old tribal domain. Management Region #4, however, remains the home for most of the full bloods and the spiritual residence for most of the rest. It is there too that one finds evidences of a built environment that reflects the Choctaws' progression toward modernity.[41]

ENDNOTES

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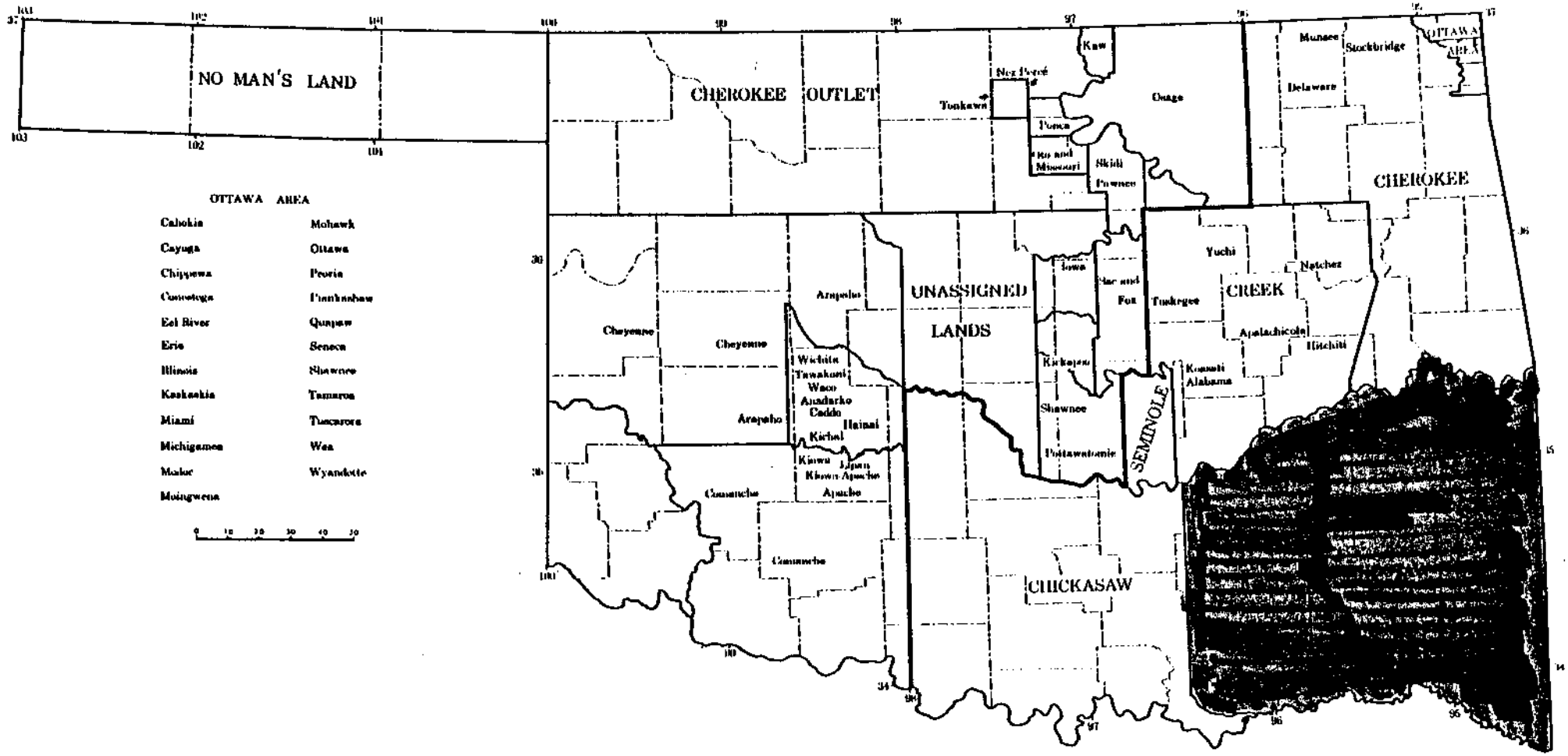
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MAP II

HISTORIC BOUNDARIES OF THE CHOCTAW NATION

CHAPTER IV

CHICKASAW TRIBAL HISTORY

The following brief essay is intended as a historical overview of the Chickasaw Indians during the course of their residence in southcentral Oklahoma, or Management Region #5. A more complete comprehension of their story requires some knowledge of their cultural characteristics and their long occupation of what is now western Tennessee and northern Mississippi, but the focus of the essay is primarily upon the period from 1837 to 1939. The story of the Choctaws during much of that period is really the story of the area encompassed in Management Region #5.

Chickasaw tribal legends record a beginning somewhere in the distant west in the land of the Setting Sun. At the dawn of their history, the tribespeople began a long and difficult journey to find a new homeland. A sacred pole accompanied them on this journey. Placed upright in the ground each evening, it pointed to the east every morning. In that direction the tribe faithfully marched until in the Tombigbee River highlands, near present Tupelo, Mississippi, the pole remained upright. Immediately, the tribespeople built settlements and planted corn in what became the Chickasaw Old Fields. From that point they dispersed to control an area bounded on the north by the Ohio, on the east by the Tennessee, on the south by Okitibbeha Creek, a tributary of the Tombigbee, and on the west by the

Mississippi River.[1]

Early European accounts of the Chickasaws give some insight as to the nature of life in their Mississippi homeland. Like the neighboring Creeks, Seminoles, and Choctaws, they spoke a language known as Muskogean. The Chickasaws sustained themselves both by agriculture and hunting. They raised corn, beans, pumpkins, and squash in plots near their homes. From the forests they gathered plums, persimmons, nuts, berries, and onions, and they hunted bears, turkeys, squirrels and especially white tailed deer.[2]

The Chickasaws generally lived in single family dwelling units adapted to seasons of the year. A circular winter house was covered with mud plaster and contained an earthen floor. The rectangular summer house had walls of woven mats and a gabled roof covered with bark or grass thatch. The tribespeople furnished their dwellings with beds on elevated frames around the walls, with small seats, wooden utensils, and clay storage pots.[3]

On the intermittent prairies of the Tombigbee highlands, the Chickasaws grouped their family dwellings together to form at least seven villages. Containing as many as two hundred households, each had a log palisade fort, grounds for councils, ceremonies, and ball games, and public building for religious and governmental functions. From these communities the restless and expansive Chickasaws

ranged as far east as the Atlantic, as far north as the Great Lakes, as far west as the Great Plains, and as far south as the Gulf of Mexico.[4]

The Chickasaw tribe was divided into two grand divisions, the Imosaktcan and the Intcukwalipa. These divisions were then divided into seven to fifteen clans. The ranking Minko clan selected the High Minko, known to Europeans as the King of the Chickasaws. Each clan selected a chief to represent it in the national council that met at Chukafalaya. A prestigious group, the council advised the High Minko on matters of peace and war. In the matrilineal Chickasaw society, however, the family unit provided the real foundation.[5]

The early Chickasaws manifested a deep religious faith. They directed their devotion to a supreme being, Ababinili, the author of all life who manifested himself on earth in the form of a sacred fire. Two Hopaya, or Beloved Holy Men, interpreted the mysteries of Ababinili. They and lesser priests also presided over tribal ceremonies, supervised religious observances, and advised leaders on questions of national importance. Of the ceremonies directed by the Beloved Holy Men, most important were the summer busk festival (for national renewal and health) and the Picofa ceremony (to heal the sick).[6]

The tribespeople gathered for occasions other than religious or ceremonial. At times of recreation, they

played games such as toli, similar to lacrosse, chunkey, throwing lances at a rolling stone, and akabatle, attempting to strike an object atop a pole with a ball. And they often gathered for war. The most notable social characteristic of the early Chickasaws was their martial spirit. Said English trader James Adair of them: "they are the readiest, and the quickest of all people in going to shed blood." Their enthusiasm for battle made them an unconquerable people, totally unwilling to be subservient to an alien power.[7]

On December 14, 1540, the expedition of Hernando de Soto disrupted the Chickasaw world. The sons of Spain, who had wandered near the Gulf Coast for more than a year, demanded accommodations, food, and women. The Chickasaws acceded to these demands for four months, but in March 1541 their warriors attacked de Soto's camp, forcing the intruders to retreat to the Mississippi River. The victory, however, could not obscure an ominous fact: the Chickasaws had witnessed the beginning of an international battle for control of the lower Mississippi Valley.[8]

That message was even clearer by the late 1670s when English traders reached the tribespeople on the Tennessee River. They brought with them guns and ammunition, cutting tools, and clothing which they offered to exchange with the Chickasaws for deerskins and Indian slaves. Eager for the creature comforts, tribal warriors now stalked white-tailed deer for profit and power rather than food. They also

launched slave hunting expeditions that provoked a long war with the Choctaws to the south. In sum, they became the economic and diplomatic allies of England.[9]

Meanwhile the French explored (LaSalle in the 1670s) and then settled (Mobile in 1702) the Mississippi River basin. To thwart the westward expansion of Britain, for two decades (1702-1722) they even sought to win the allegiance of the Chickasaws. Failing to achieve such an alliance, the French instead armed the rival Choctaws. For forty years, the French-allied Choctaws battled the British-armed Chickasaws in a life-and-death struggle for control of the Mississippi valley. In the battles of Akia (1736) and Chickasaw Bluffs (1739), the Chickasaws established their military preeminence. The French continued as a nemesis until 1763 when in the Treaty of Paris, signed at the end of the French and Indian War, they relinquished all their claims in North America, including the Mississippi valley.[10]

In 1765 English Superintendent of Southern Indians John Stuart praised the Chickasaws as "generous friends" of Britain. That relationship continued even during the course of the American Revolution, when the tribespeople led by James Colbert opposed the patriot cause by impeding American military operations in the West and by attacking Spanish-garrisoned Arkansas Post. No wonder that the Chickasaws felt betrayed when Britain recognized American independence and yielded her claims east of the Mississippi River in

1783! For them creation of an independent United States ended a century-long association with the English King and signaled the dawn of an era of uncertainty.[11]

Altered cultural patterns augmented this political uncertainty. Once a self-sufficient people, the Chickasaws were now dependent upon manufactured implements. To pay for these, tribal hunters had to search for white-tailed deer and other game well beyond the ancestral domain. Brandy and rum, introduced by European traders, debauched many proud warriors. Also, a number of white men took up permanent residence among the Indians, intermarried, and produced large mixed-blood families. These opted for a European style of existence, established plantations, and introduced Negro slaves. In due time, such families as the Colberts, the Loves, the Harrises, and the McIntoshes came to exert more influence within the tribe than their number warranted.[12]

The European contest for control of the Mississippi valley had also altered Chickasaw lifeways. The tribespeople had relished the combat but the losses had been heavy. To maintain their strength they had adopted into the tribe both captives and remnants of friendly tribes. This mingling of alien blood made it difficult by the end of the eighteenth century to find an "uncorrupted" Chickasaw. The international rivalry had also severed the ancient unity of the tribal council fire, with most leading men supporting

Britain but some committed to France or Spain.[13]

The competition for Chickasaw allegiance continued in the era following American independence. Spain hoped to enlist tribal support in its attempt to retain control of the Gulf Coast and Louisiana. Relying on the influence of Chief Piomingo, the United States, on the other hand, sought Chickasaw approval of its efforts to control the Mississippi valley. To that end, in 1786 the two signed at Hopewell in South Carolina, a treaty that defined boundaries and regulated trade. Ten years later Spain recognized its loss of influence and, in the Treaty of San Lorenzo with the United States, agreed to withdraw from Louisiana and to relinquish any claims to the Chickasaw homeland. Thereafter it asserted title only to the Gulf Coast south of thirty-one degrees.

The withdrawal of Spain left the expansive designs of the United States unchecked. For the Chickasaws this meant before 1818 four treaties by which their boundaries were either redefined or reduced, depriving them ultimately of all their remaining domain in western Tennessee. Why did the Chickasaws agree to these cessions? Primarily because the federal government bribed their leaders and made the tribespeople partly responsible for the costly Creek War of 1813-1814.[14]

The treaties that reduced the Chickasaw domain to northwestern Mississippi had resulted primarily from settler

pressure for more land. Those agreements were accepted by the tribe upon the assumption that they would quiet further demands. For the same purpose the tribespeople abandoned the hunt in favor of agriculture. Moving out of their villages, they took up homesteads on the intermittent prairies where the full bloods established subsistence-type farms and the mixed bloods created prosperous cotton plantations. Some mixed bloods also operated ferries, grinding mills, and blacksmith and mechanic shops.

To demonstrate their maturity as a society, the Chickasaws also altered their political and social customs. In 1829, for example, the council adopted a code of written laws. Simultaneously, Protestant religious groups, namely the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, were permitted to undertake mission activities. The Presbyterians combined this activity with an educational outreach, establishing schools such as Charity Hall, Monroe, Tokshis, Martyn, and Caney Creek. Welcomed as they were by the Chickasaw mixed bloods, these early religious and educational efforts were not particularly effective.[15]

As the political and social transformations demonstrated, the Chickasaws were resolved to retain their homeland despite the continued attempts to possess it by land-hungry Americans. Two important events, however, finally broke their resolve to stay in Mississippi. In 1830, President Andrew Jackson pushed through Congress the Indian Removal

Act, providing for the compulsory removal of eastern tribes to the West. More importantly, the states of Mississippi and Alabama, with federal support, acted to abolish tribal governments, authorized fines for those leaders who resisted, and declared all Indians subject to state laws. The Chickasaws were faced with a choice between losing their independence and identity as a people or submitting to removal.[16]

In a treaty signed at Franklin, Tennessee, in 1830, the Chickasaws agreed to cede their Mississippi homeland, provided a suitable home was found in the West. The agreement was scrapped when a tribal exploring party the following year found no land satisfactory to the needs of the Chickasaws. In a new treaty signed in 1832 on Pontotoc Creek, the tribe again committed itself to cession of the Mississippi homeland so long as the proceeds of its subsequent sale be paid to the Chickasaws themselves. The tribe would pay for its removal to and subsistence in the West. The Chickasaw leadership negotiated an amendment to the Pontotoc treaty in 1834 which granted to each family a fee simple title to temporary homesteads, enabling them later to sell the land and to control the proceeds.[17]

Although the Chickasaws were committed to removal, they were thwarted in their attempts to emigrate because of their inability to find a new home in the West. Delegations in 1833 and 1835 proposed to the Choctaws that they sell a

portion of their domain in what is now southern Oklahoma as a Chickasaw settlement site. The Choctaws rejected these proposals until January, 1837, when in a treaty signed at Doaksville they agreed to admit the Chickasaws into their nation with all the rights and privileges of citizenship. Furthermore, they set aside a Chickasaw District in the western portion of their domain (with boundaries similar to Management Region #5), the title to which they insisted be held in common by both tribes. For these rights and privileges, the Chickasaws agreed to pay the Choctaws $530,000 out of their national funds.[18]

Meanwhile the federal government had proceeded with the survey and sale of the 6,422,400 acre Chickasaw domain in Mississippi. Disputes with intruding white settlers usually left the Indian homeless, so the tribe was anxious to move. The Chickasaws, therefore, welcomed the appointment of A. M. M. Upshaw by the federal government to superintend the move West in early 1837.[19]

To prepare for emigration, Upshaw first conducted a census of the tribe. Quickly he and his staff enumerated 4,914 Chickasaws and 1,156 slaves. They next purchased 1.3 million rations and had them delivered to Memphis, Little Rock, and Fort Coffee, a post on the Arkansas River just west of Fort Smith. The first emigrant party left in early June, 1837, but it included only 450 Chickasaws and its members insisted upon following a route to Fort Towson on

Red River. The next year Upshaw managed to transport 4,000 tribespeople to Fort Coffee.[20]

Despite some painful personal losses, the Chickasaw removal was tranquil and orderly. Yet it was marred by massive scandals. Because the tribe paid for its own removal, the government was criminally derelict in its financial and budgetary controls. Of the $1.5 million removal cost paid by the Chickasaws, $200,000 was for spoiled food items and $700,000 was for rations never delivered. In addition, $37,749 was paid to a steamboat owner for the passage of 1000 Chickasaws who refused to travel on his vessel.[21]

With traditional governmental patterns suspended during removal, the emigrant Chickasaws in their new homeland were dazed and often helpless. Removal contractors had resettled them with little regard for clan or family in five temporary camps, four of which were located in the Choctaw Nation well east of the Chickasaw District. In these tent cities they suffered from fevers, dysentery, malnutrition, and even smallpox. Debilitated, the Chickasaws had little interest in relocating to their assigned district. But what was at first a necessity became a pattern. In 1844, of the 6,000 tribespeople (Indians and slaves) who had removed, more than 4,000 resided in the Choctaw domain.[22]

The Chickasaws showed little enthusiasm for moving to their reservation for at least two reasons. For one thing,

interest paid on revenue from the sale of their Mississippi estate totalled annually $75 to $100 for a family of five. With that kind of income there was little need to pioneer a new land. In addition, hostile Plains Indians threatened the lives and property of those who ventured into the designated district.[23]

Becoming reluctant hosts, the Choctaws demanded that the federal government force the Chickasaws to remove to their own domain. Federal officials responded with a plan designed to protect the emigrants from their greatest fear--attack by the frontier tribes. Accordingly, Col. Zachary Taylor constructed Fort Washita just southeast of modern Tishomingo in 1841, and a decade later Captain Randolph B. Marcy established Fort Arbuckle near present Byars. With their safety secured, the Chickasaws moved into their assigned district; by 1858, no more than 1000 remained in the Choctaw nation.[24]

In their own domain, the Chickasaws turned their attention to reconstructing the society dismembered by the removal process. Holding title to the land in common, each selected a site for farm or plantation along one of the many streams that emptied into the Red River. The full bloods usually engaged in subsistence agriculture, planting corn, peas, beans, Irish potatoes, pumpkins, squash and melons. Some mixed bloods, like George Colbert, operated large plantations cultivated by slave labor. The tribe often

produced a surplus--40,000 bushels of corn in 1843, some of which was sold at military forts, in Arkansas, or to Texas emigrants. The Indians also used the luxuriant prairie grasses to graze the renowned Chickasaw horse and to fatten large herds of cattle, sheep and goats.[25]

The new economy included a revitalized commerce. Per capita payments and agriculture profits purchased goods imported by white merchant firms. These concerns were situated in strategically located settlements such as Pontotoc, Hatsboro, Colbert, Fort Arbuckle, Tishomingo, and Burney. In these villages enterprising Chickasaws and intermarried white citizens operated grist and saw mills, cotton gins, and ferries. Benjamin Franklin Colbert's ferry on Red River earned him an annual income of $1000.[26]

As the tribespeople rebuilt economically, they also sought to resume a meaningful social life. Full bloods constructed two-room log dwellings connected by a dog trot, while mixed bloods often built commodious, plantation-style homes. Christian missionaries returned once more to do battle with Ababinili and general ignorance. Among these were Presbyterians, Baptists, Roman Catholics, and Methodists. The work of the latter was the most enduring. In 1844, for example, E. B. Duncan established a mission at Pleasant Grove near Fort Washita and prodded the Chickasaw leadership to re-establish some kind of educational system. In 1844 the Chickasaws appropriated $12,000 from their national

funds to construct the Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy (near present Tishomingo), which opened seven years later with a Methodist superintendent. After 1854 the Methodists also operated under contract Bloomfield Academy for girls (north of Kemp) and Colbert Institute for both boys and girls (near Perryville). The Presbyterians followed suit in 1852 with Wapanucka Institute for girls (near Wapanucka) and in 1859 Burney Institute for girls (near Lebanon).[27]

The five national academies so pleased the Chickasaws that they undertook other educational enterprises. In the 1850s they established a system of free elementary schools that enrolled as many as 180 day students. They also used part of their national funds to finance an advanced education for promising scholars in institutions in Kentucky, Connecticut, and New Jersey.

The 1837 Treaty of Doaksville made the Chickasaws citizens of the Choctaw nation. An amendment to the Choctaw constitution the following year authorized them to participate in the established Choctaw government by selecting a chief for their assigned district and electing nine members of a forty member council. In 1841, the Chickasaws elected their quota of council members and chose Isaac Alberson as District Chief.[28]

The Chickasaws, however, found minority status within the Choctaw Nation restrictive. In time a healthy nationalism developed, and tribal leaders determined to organize a

government that would function separately from the Choctaw Nation. In 1848 they drafted a constitution that provided for a thirty member council, with representation from the Chickasaw District and the three Choctaw Districts, and an executive selected by the council. Edmund Pickens was chosen as the first chief.[29]

Immediately, Pickens and the council argued that the Chickasaws should have an independent political existence. Their rhetoric did not impress the Choctaws, but it did convince the United States government that a different arrangement between the tribes was warranted. Federal officials thereafter opened discussions that ultimately led to the Treaty of 1855 between the Choctaws and Chickasaws.[30]

The terms of the treaty empowered the Chickasaws to create an independent and sovereign Nation with boundaries identical to those of the old Chickasaw District. For this right, the Chickasaws agreed to pay the Choctaws $150,000. The treaty also stipulated that the territory west of the tribal domain would be held in common by the two tribes but leased to the United States for $800,000 as a reserve for Plains Indians. The lease money would be divided at a ratio of three to one--the approximate population ratio--with the Choctaws receiving $600,000 and the Chickasaws $200,000.[31]

In August, 1856, the Chickasaws as an independent Nation met at Good Springs (later Tishomingo) to draft a new constitution. The measure ultimately written provided for a

popularly elected chief executive and bicameral legislature and for a judicial department of appointed judges. It also defined four counties: Pickens, Pontotoc, Tishomingo, and Panola. The document was promptly ratified, and several weeks later elections were held. Along with their new councilmen, the Chickasaws selected Cyrus Harris as their first governor. The new government of the independent Chickasaws assembled annually in a new capitol building at Tishomingo City.[32]

The Chickasaws demonstrated their independence when the southern states began to withdraw from the Union in 1861. A slave-holding people, they cast their lot with the Confederacy on July 12, 1861, in a treaty signed at North Fork Village in the Creek Nation. In the war that followed the Chickasaws played only a minor role. Commanded by Douglas Cooper, their troops were organized into four regiments to patrol the Arkansas-Canadian River line. Early on, these units assisted in the maneuvers that forced the neutral Indians to retreat to Kansas. Later they helped cover the retreat of Confederate forces defeated at Pea Ridge, Arkansas, and attempted to thwart Union occupation of Fort Smith. In 1864, the Chickasaws were unable to check a federal cavalry thrust that pushed to Fort Arbuckle.[33]

More important than the Chickasaw military effort were the social and economic dislocations that accompanied the war. After 1863 Confederate refugees from northern Indian

Territory fled to the Chickasaw domain, finding safety in a corridor that extended from Wapanucka south to Red River. When they found food supplies limited, the exiles formed marauding bands and took what was not given. Under such circumstances, economic development, educational efforts, and effective governmental operations all but terminated.[34]

The trauma of civil war ended finally for the Chickasaws on July 14, 1865, when Governor Winchester Colbert signed terms of surrender. The Chickasaws and Choctaws, however, did not accept a definitive peace settlement until April of the following year. Signed at Washington, the terms of the treaty encouraged the Chickasaws and the Choctaws to adopt their former slaves. If they did, the United States agreed to pay $300,000 to the two tribes for relinquishment of any title to the Leased District. If they did not, the money would be used to colonize the ex-slaves elsewhere. The treaty authorized two railroad right-of-way grants, called for allotment of land in severalty, and provided for an Indian Territory of Oklahoma. It also directed the settlement of 10,000 Kansas Indians among the two tribes, authorized compensation of loyal Indians and traders, and established a United States court with limited jurisdiction in Indian Territory. Finally, the federal government promised to restore pre-1861 trust funds and to resume annuity payments.[35]

After ratifying the Treaty of 1866, the Chickasaws went

about the business of reconstructing their nation. They wrote a new constitution that provided for the abolition of slavery. Neither in that document nor later ones, however, did the Chickasaws ever adopt their ex-slaves. The tribespeople also acted to reestablish their educational system. First, they reorganized neighborhood schools, and then in 1876 they reopened under secular administration their boarding schools--Chickasaw Male Academy, Bloomfield, Wapanucka and Lebanon Orphan School (previously Burney Institute). The tribe's enthusiasm for education paid immediate dividends: by 1880 the literacy rate among the Chickasaws was 50 per cent.[36]

In the post-war era, Christian missionaries--Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic--redoubled their efforts to convert the Chickasaws. Yet by 1876 the government agent reported only 500 church members and ten church buildings. This dismal record encouraged the missionaries to bolster their work with an educational program. After 1880 the Catholics established schools at Tishomingo and Purcell, while the Methodists opened Pierce Institute at White Bead Hill near Pauls Valley and Hargrove College at Ardmore.[37]

The vigorous economic expansion of the postwar period, heralded by the coming of the railroad, soon erased any signs of the military conflict. The Missouri, Kansas and Texas (Katy) line built across the southeast corner of the

Chickasaw Nation in 1872. The Santa Fe laid track south from Purcell, reaching Texas in 1887. Five other lines, including the Rock Island and the Frisco, also constructed roads through the nation.[38]

The completion of the railroad network stimulated agriculture, quarrying, and lumbering. With international markets accessible, the Washita Valley became a "solid farm for 50 miles" as new fields were opened to plant wheat, corn, and oats. Between 1875 and 1887 agricultural production nearly doubled, reaching 25,000 bushels of wheat, 125,000 bushels of corn, and 30,000 bushels of oats. Moreover, Ardmore received and shipped 60,000 bales of cotton annually.

The vast prairies in the western portion of the nation made ranching a large part of the Chickasaw economic boom. By 1882 as many as 140,000 head of cattle and a substantial number of horses and sheep belonged to Indian owners. Even more cattle were owned by Texans who leased land from individual Chickasaws to establish ranches like the Hook Nine. Perhaps as many as 200,000 head of cattle grazed the Chickasaw range.[39]

This economic growth was not always positive. The Chickasaw Nation, for example, with a relatively constant Indian population of 6000 was inundated by white men. Within ten years of the Civil War, the whites numbered more than 4,500, compared with 800 among the Cherokees and 200

among the Choctaws. Governor B. F. Overton's raising of the permit fee to $25 during the 1870s did not stem the tide: by 1893, there were 40,000 non-Indians settled among the Chickasaws. The influx changed tribal society from rural to urban, focusing it upon bustling communities such as Ardmore, Chickasha, Purcell, Ada, Pauls Valley, and Tishomingo. Unfortunately, the white residents of the towns acted as if they had title to the land--ignoring and segregating the out-numbered Indians and refusing to be bound by Chickasaw law.[40]

Indeed, lawlessness accompanied the non-Indian intrusion. Despite federal and tribal statutes, white entrepreneurs imported whiskey with apparent impunity and woeful results. Drunken brawls in 1883 alone accounted for the murders of eleven Chickasaws. Generally beyond the reach of tribal and United States courts, non-Indian intruders also made the Chickasaw domain a theater for robbery, cattle rustling and assassination.

In reaction to these social and economic changes, the Chickasaws formed two loosely organized political parties. The mixed bloods, who welcomed most of the transformations, established the Progressive party. The Pullbacks, supported primarily by the full bloods, preferred to restore the ancient ways. Both groups often angrily disputed tribal elections, and one in 1888 had to be settled by United States officials. Leaders of these parties in the

postbellum era who attained public office met annually at the capitol building in Tishomingo to transact national business. Among the distinguished governors that served, most of whom were Pullbacks, were Cyrus Harris, B. F. Overton, Jonas Wolf, William M. Guy, William L. Byrd, Palmer S. Mosley, and Douglas H. Johnston.[41]

The ability of the Chickasaws to maintain their independent nation was limited after 1887. In that year the United States Congress passed the Dawes Allotment Act, a measure that did not apply to the Chickasaws and others of the Five Civilized Tribes but did foreshadow a somewhat later effort to force the tribes to terminate their independent governments and to allot their domains in individual tracts to members of the tribes. On March 3, 1893, Congress created the so-called Dawes Commission to negotiate with the Chickasaws and Choctaws a termination of tribal government. When the leadership of the two tribes proved reluctant to negotiate, Congress responded by giving the Dawes Commission even more authority.[42]

When their lands were suddenly surveyed and a tribal roll was prepared, the Choctaws agreed at Muskogee in December, 1896, to an allotment of the combined Choctaw and Chickasaw domain among enrolled citizens. Chickasaw Governor Palmer Mosley objected to the unilateral decision and succeeded in preventing final congressional approval. But at Atoka in April, 1897, Chickasaw officials joined Choctaw leaders in

accepting a compact that provided for allotment of the tribal domains equally among all citizens save for freedmen who would receive only forty acres; that allotments would remain inalienable and non-taxable for 25 years; that townsites would be reserved from allotment, sold, and the proceeds distributed among all citizens by blood; that mineral reserves should be used for the support of education; that elected tribal government should continue until March, 1906.[43]

With allotment approved, the Dawes Commission proceeded to establish a roll according to which land could be distributed. It was a difficult task, for many unqualified persons, seeing an opportunity to share in a property division, improperly declared that they too were Chickasaws. Most applicants were rejected, but federal courts admitted thousands--including over 4000 freedmen, despite the fact that the Chickasaws had never owned more than 1,000 slaves or agreed to adopt them. Tribal leaders hired the McAlester law firm of Mansfield, McMurray, and Cornish to protect their inheritance. In 1902, these attorneys negotiated a Supplemental Agreement to the Atoka accord, creating a citizenship court to rule on disputed applications and authorizing the Chickasaws to argue the question of freedmen allotments before the United States Court of Claims.[44]

Although eventually ratified by the Chickasaws, controversy over the Supplemental Agreement produced

political turmoil and armed conflict. But the effort was not wasted. The Citizenship Court authorized by the measure admitted only 156 of the 3,403 applicants to the Chickasaw and Choctaw rolls. In addition, tribal attorneys later convinced the federal courts that unadopted Chickasaw freedmen were not entitled to share in the tribal estate, compelling Congress in 1910 to appropriate $606,936 in compensation for this error. The roll as finally established by the Dawes Commission enumerated 1,538 full blood Chickasaws, 4,146 mixed bloods, 635 intermarried whites, and 4,670 Negroes.[45]

With the tribe enrolled, the Dawes Commission surveyed the 4,707,904 acres of the Chickasaw Nation during 1899 and 1900. The commission assigned each forty acre tract an arbitrary monetary value based on physical features. Entitled to 320 acres of average land evaluated at $1,040.28, each Chickasaw could select as little as 160 acres of choice bottom land or as much as 4,165 acres of less desirable terrain. Allotments began in 1903 and continued for a decade in offices at Tishomingo and Atoka.

Some three million acres of the combined Chickasaw and Choctaw domain were not distributed in the general allotment. These lands included 444,052 acres of coal and asphalt reserves, a large tract of timber land, and tracts for ninety different towns. The dissolution agreements directed that this property be sold and the proceeds

distributed per capita to the tribes. The sale of town lots and timber lands brought more than $3 million in per capita payments to the tribes in 1904, 1906, and 1908. A nationwide depression, however, prevented the coal and asphalt lands from being sold until well after the tribal period.

Once tribal government was terminated and the tribal estate was allotted the Chickasaws found themselves as citizens of the new state of Oklahoma which entered the Union on November 16, 1907. But they had little opportunity to capitalize upon their "blessings." Their land allotments, which were to have been protected--held in trust--by the federal government for 25 years, were placed immediately at risk by grafters and guardians who used techniques ranging from courtroom chicanery to murder to gain control of the land.[46]

The most successful method of taking Indian land, however, had the full consent of Congress and the state of Oklahoma. Federal legislation in 1904 allowed enrolled adult whites and Negroes to sell all but their 160-acre homestead, opening some 299,000 Chickasaw acres to white purchase. In 1908, Congress permitted whites, blacks, and mixed-bloods of less than one-half Indian blood to sell their entire 320-acre allotment. Chickasaws of between one-half and three-fourths Indian blood also could market all but their 160-acre homestead. Grafters used this legislation to gain

control of Chickasaw land at a fraction of its value. By the late 1920s, nine of every ten allotments from which restrictions were removed were lost to the allottee.

Much of the three decades following the demise of the Chickasaw Nation was devoted to disposition of tribal assets. These included a trust fund held by the tribal government, 1.3 million acres of timber lands, 3 million acres of undivided land not claimed by the Chickasaws and Choctaws at the time of allotment, and nearly one-half million acres of coal and asphalt lands. All but 380,000 acres of the coal lands were disposed by 1920, producing a total revenue of nearly $20 million. Per capita payments to enrolled Chickasaws and their heirs totalled $1070. Finally, in 1948 the coal lands were purchased by the federal government, which had failed to dispose of them within three years of allotment as it had promised, for $8.5 million. This sum was distributed per capita in 1949.[47]

Appointed by the president of the United States, the governors of the Chickasaws operated without an organized council for sixty years after 1906. D. H. Johnston, the last elected chief executive, served as governor until his death in 1939. He was succeeded by Floyd E. Maytubby, who continued in office until 1963. Overton James replaced Maytubby, acting as governor for 25 years, when he was succeeded by Bill Anoatubby.[48]

The renaissance of the Chickasaws under the leadership of

Maytubby, James, and Anoatubby is beyond the scope of this brief essay. Suffice it to say that as governor they were ably assisted by a tribal council and had administrative offices at Ada. Indians of Chickasaw blood have increased from 4,800 in 1907 to an estimated 12,000 in 1980. At the same time there has been a steady decline of full bloods--to less than 200 in 1980. As among the Choctaws, this biologic assimilation has also been accompanied by a population shift. Rather than concentrating in one area, members of the tribe have taken up residence in numerous communities and states far distant from the old tribal domain. Management Region #5, however, remains the home for most of the remaining full bloods and the spiritual residence for most of the rest. It is there too that one finds evidences of a built environment that reflects the Chickasaws' progression toward modernity.

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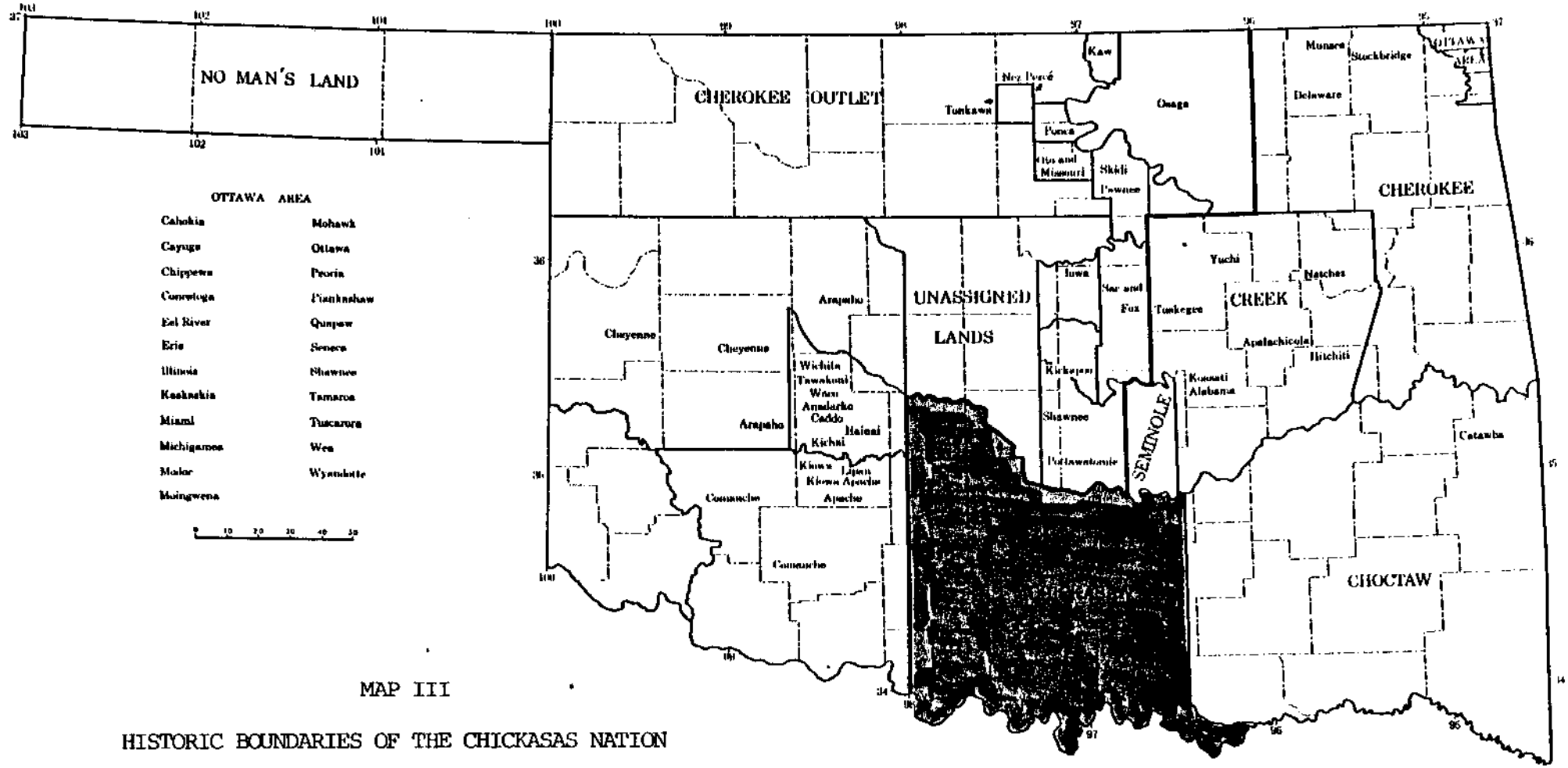
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MAP III

HISTORIC BOUNDARIES OF THE CHICKASAS NATION

TABLE IV

CLASSIFICATION OF NATIVE AMERICAN PROPERTIES
BY PROPERTY TYPE

I. Tribal Properties

- A. National Buildings
- B. District Council Grounds
- C. County Buildings

II. Spirit Life Properties

- A. Mission Station Sites
  - 1. Missionary Residences
  - 2. School House
  - 3. Church Buildings
- B. Christian Church Complexes
  - 1. Church Building
  - 2. Fellowship Facilities
  - 3. Dwellings
- C. Encampment
- D. Cemeteries

III. Educational Properties

- A. Boarding Schools
  - 1. Instructional/Residential Building
  - 2. Classrooms
  - 3. Dormitories
  - 4. Activity Buildings
  - 5. Staff Residences
  - 6. Cemeteries
- B. Day Schools
- C. Church Buildings

IV. Economic Properties

- A. Agricultural Facilities
- B. Ranching Facilities
- C. Commercial Establishments
- D. Natural Resources

V. Pre-Railroad Transportation Properties

- A. Roads
- B. Stage Station Sites
- C. River Ferries
- D. Bridges

VI. Residential Properties

A. Pre-Railroad Dwellings
B. Post-Railroad Dwellings
C. Outbuildings
D. Cemeteries

VII. Townsites

VIII. Recreational/Encampment Sites

IX. Health Care Buildings

A. Hospitals
B. Staff Residences
C. Utility Buildings

X. U. S. Military Properties

A. Fort Complexes
   1. Enlisted Men's Barracks
   2. Officer Quarters
   3. Utility Structures
   4. Sutler's Store
   5. Cemeteries
B. Camps
C. Engagement Sites

XI. Indian Agency Buildings

XII. Archaeological Sites

CHAPTER V

PROPERTY TYPE ANALYSIS

I. TRIBAL PROPERTIES

Description: The Choctaws and Chickasaws had sophisticated governmental institutions even before they removed to southeastern Oklahoma. Indeed, the Choctaws had a written constitution that established a national government with an elected council and an executive of three district chiefs. After removal in 1834 a constitution with similar provisions was adopted, which also designated a site near Tuskahoma in Pushmataha County as the tribal capitol. When the Chickasaws removed they participated in the Choctaw government as a fourth district. The site of the Choctaw capitol later moved to Doaksville (Choctaw County), Boggy Depot (Atoka County) and Armstrong Academy (near Bokchito in Bryan County). In 1856 the Chickasaws separated from the Choctaws and established their independent capitol at Tishomingo in Johnston County.

Both the Choctaws and the Chickasaws divided their nations geographically. There were three basic districts among the Choctaws, each of which had a chief and deliberative body. Annually these district leaders met in council at a regularly appointed site, or capitol, to discuss common concerns and interests. After 1850 the Choctaws divided their three districts into seventeen different counties which also had a designated location, or court ground, where a judicial court convened regularly. With a smaller population, the Chickasaws had nothing comparable to the Choctaw district government, but they did have four counties. Associated with these different levels of tribal government were the following types of structures:

A. National Buildings: Facilities where business associated with tribal government was conducted, national buildings were constructed of different materials over time. Built in 1838 near Tuskahoma, the first Choctaw national council house was 25 by 45 feet in size, constructed of trimmed logs six inches thick, had a gable roof, rested on fifteen pillars, had two external chimneys of native stone, the gable-end front had a double door entry, there were single entry doors on either side, and six, shuttered windows were sashed with nine lights above and nine below. In 1856 at Tishomingo the Chickasaws built a similar structure as their first national council house.

After 1856 national capitol buildings were constructed of brick or native stone. The Chickasaws replaced their log council house in 1858 with a two-story, brick building that had a hipped roof topped by a tower and rails and was four bays long and three bays wide. Wood sash windows, placed singly, had nine lights above and below, rested between cut-stone sills and lintels, and were framed by shutters.

Double entry front and rear doors had transom lights.

The Choctaws erected a similar but much larger structure at Tuskahoma in 1884. It, however, had a mansard roof, dormers, four cupolas, arched windows with crowns placed singly and by twos, and pilasters. Still standing, it was an example of Second Empire architecture in the wilderness of Pushmataha County!

In 1896, the Chickasaws constructed their last capitol building at Tishomingo. A two story structure, it was built of native limestone with a hipped roof topped with a cupola and eight gable dormers. Windows are placed by twos; the front facade is extended to enclose a recessed entry framed by an arch with columns.

B. District Council Grounds: Early on in their settlement of southeastern Oklahoma, the Choctaws met in district councils. Structures at these sites were usually single penned cabins of hand hewn logs with gable roofs and exterior end chimneys. Later district buildings were more substantial if not sophisticated. At New Mayhew in Choctaw County the council house was constructed of native stone.

The district council grounds often included structures that served as jails. Most notable of these was the jail at New Mayhew, a metal cube constructed in the 1890s of quarter inch plate steel with a door of strap steel and small windows covered by steel bars.

C. County Buildings: County buildings did not differ significantly from district buildings. At first they were always log with gable roofs like the Towson Court House near present Valiant in McCurtain County; later they were constructed of wood frame and board and batten siding as was Eagle Court House near present Eagletown. The Tobucksy Court House at McAlester was hall-and-parlor in design. At least one, at Atoka, was two-stories and constructed of brick.

In addition to court houses, Choctaw counties also constructed jails. If the Skullyville County jail near present Panama in Leflore County is an example, these were usually native stone structures of double wall masonry with steel strap doors and windows.

Significance: The significance of tribal properties is essentially historical. No other structures illustrate so vividly the sophistication of the constitutional governments organized and perpetuated by the Choctaws and Chickasaws at the local, regional, and national levels. They also demonstrate the extent of cultural accommodation that had taken place among the tribespeople even before their removal to Oklahoma.

Eligibility: To be eligible for listing in the National

Register of Historic Places, Tribal Properties should retain integrity of design, setting, and materials. National, district, and county buildings must be located at the site of an historic Choctaw or Chickasaw governmental center and have been used by tribal officials prior to 1906. They will vary in style and materials depending upon the time period of construction and the historic function of the structure. Most, however, will be single story, of either logs or board and batten siding, single penned or hall-and-parlor in design.

II. Spirit Life Properties

Description: The Native American residents of Management Regions #4 and #5 were and are a spiritual people. Because of vigorous mission work among them by Presbyterians--or representatives of the American Board of Foreign Missions (A.B.C.F.M.)--and Methodists, Christianity was firmly rooted among the Choctaws and Chickasaws by the time of removal to Indian Territory in the 1830s. Indeed, missionaries from those denominations followed them to the new land, joined shortly by the Baptists and Cumberland Presbyterians, and after the Civil War by the Catholics.

In what is now southeastern Oklahoma representatives of these denominations established permanent "stations." There they preached their message, ministered to their converts, organized secular day schools for Indian youngsters, and buried the faithful dead. From these locations they went out to organize satellite congregations among converts at more distant locations, the results of which are perpetuated in churches vital to this day. Sub-types of properties associated with the spirit life of the Choctaws and Chickasaws in the study area are the following:

A. Mission Stations: Since mission stations were multi-functioned, different structures were associated with them.

1. Missionary residence: Early on these one-story structures were constructed of logs, were single or double penned, had gable ends, included a full-width porch on the front, and had external chimneys. The residence of Cyrus Byington at Stockbridge (near present Eagletown) had two doors and a floor of unplaned and unjoined planks. Toward the end of the tribal era, missionary houses were generally wood frame with clapboard siding. In both periods housing did not differ significantly from that described in "Residential Properties" below.

2. School House: Not far from the residence--indeed, perhaps within it--was a structure where classes were held for day students. Generally these were at first also constructed of logs and in style were identical to the missionary residence.

3. Church Building: When the church associated with the mission station met, it often met in the structure used for educational purposes. At other times, it met out of doors. When possible, however, a building was constructed. At Wheelock the church was built from cut native stone, had a gable front with a bell tower, was entered by double-doors on the front and one of the side, and had singly placed wood-sash windows. Mission churches

constructed after the Civil War, like St. Patrick's in Atoka, were wood frame buildings with clapboard siding, gable ends, and an adjacent bell tower.

B. Church Complexes: Christian church buildings associated with the Choctaw and Chickasaw experience in the study area, but separate and apart from Mission Stations, have unique qualities. There are exceptions, but almost always they appear as a part of a complex of buildings that include the following:

1. Church Building: The first structures built for worship services were little more than brush arbors. Somewhat later facilities were either replaced by or improved by addition of a crude log structure. After the 1870s, however, more permanent church buildings were constructed. Most common of these was a single story, gable front structure of wood frame and clapboard siding. There was generally a single entryway on the front and a side entry to the rear; double sash windows were confined to the sides. Decorative details were limited but might include a steeple, cupola, or a bell tower. The Chish Oktok Church in Bryan County is a classic example of this style of architecture.

Many church buildings of this type have been replaced within the last thirty years. The architectural style remains similar, although construction material is often concrete blocks or bricks. Of this type the Pigeon Roost church in eastern Choctaw County and the South Rock Creek Baptist Church in Latimer County are good examples.

2. Fellowship Facilities: A common characteristic of Native American church grounds in southwestern Oklahoma is the fellowship facility unattached to the church building itself. Often these structures were or are little more than brush arbors, a thatch roof supported by four to six poles, where religious services or common meals could be held out of doors. In some complexes the thatch has been replaced by sheet metal or wood, but "arbors" remain at functioning Indian churches throughout the study area. The Chupco Church in southern Latimer County provides a good example of this feature.

Since Indian church meetings might go on for days and since Indian people are famous for their hospitality, church grounds almost always had a combination kitchen-fellowship hall. These usually were of simple design--gable front or hall-and-parlor--and constructed of wood frame and clapboard siding, as at Old Bennington Presbyterian Church (north of Bennington), or of native stone, as at the Spring Baptist Church (west of Sasakwa).

3. Dwellings: Often Indian church complexes

include wood frame structures that serve as the residence of the minister or caretaker or that shelter members who attend a seasonal encampment. The former are likely to be massed, have end gables, and feature an entryway off a front porch. The latter are usually one or two room cabins that are very temporary in appearance. The Homas Chapel complex west of Boswell in Choctaw County offers an example of both types of structures.

C. Encampment: Some Spirit Life Properties are associated with an event rather than particular structures. Early on Methodists had an annual conference of their different churches at predetermined but undeveloped locations that were central to the membership, had abundant water, and sufficient wood for fires but open enough for camp sites. All meetings were held in the open or under make-shift arbors. Of such a site the Double Springs Camp ground near present Panama in Leflore County is a good example.

E. Cemeteries: For fifty years or more after their removal to Indian Territory, the Choctaws and Chickasaws most often buried their dead in family plots similar to the Garland Cemetery in McCurtain county. Frequently individual remains were covered by grave houses, e.g. rectangular, wooden structures with gable ends and sides that rose one to two feet above the ground. Toward the end of the nineteenth century some of the tribespeople, as their black freedmen had been doing for some time in Coal and Atoka counties, adopted the practice of burying their dead in community cemeteries such as the Waterhole Cemetery in McCurtain County.

Significance: Spirit Life Properties have both historical and religious significance. Those associated with Christian mission activity symbolize the conviction on the part of the United States government that "civilization" of the Choctaws and Chickasaws in the first one-half of the nineteenth century depended upon the christianization of the tribespeople. They also demonstrate the humanitarian, albeit ethnocentric concerns of Anglo-Americans who came to Indian Territory as missionaries and who supported those that did. At they same time, they also illustrate the widespread and general acceptance of the tenants of Christianity by the Choctaws and Chickasaws. And today, ironically, the Spirit Life properties, especially Christian churches, work to preserve rather than eradicate Indianness.

Eligibility: To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, Spirit Life Properties should retain integrity of design, setting, and materials. They must be associated with those facilities through which

certain Christian missionary groups provided religious instruction to the Choctaws and Chickasaws between 1830 and 1939. Current knowledge limits these to those religious denominations listed in the first paragraph of this section. Depending upon the date of construction and the sub-type of structure, Spirit Life buildings will vary somewhat in architectural style but all will be simple in design and constructed of inexpensive materials. Cemeteries will not be eligible unless buried in them is some especially notable Choctaw or Chickasaw, e.g. David Folsom, Green McCurtain, Douglas Johnston, Edmund Pickens, Alfred Wade, or grave houses make them exceptional. Encampments will need careful documentation from archival sources as to their religious significance.

III. EDUCATIONAL PROPERTIES

Description: The interests of the Choctaws and Chickasaws in education predated removal to Indian Territory. Accordingly, once in the new land the leadership of the two tribes determined to reestablish and to expand educational opportunities as rapidly as possible. They looked to three groups, individually or together, to undertake this task: the tribe itself, Christian missionaries, and the federal government. And they expected two types of institutions to provide the instruction: the boarding school and the day school.

Both Choctaws and Chickasaws had an elaborate boarding school system. Constructed with tribal money and administered at first by missionary representatives, the Choctaws in 1842 established Wheelock (east of Valiant), Spencer Academy (north of Fort Towson), Iyanubbee (north of Eagletown), Chuwahla or Pine Ridge (west of Fort Towson), Norwalk (east of Valiant), Armstrong (near Bokchito), Koonsha or Goodwater (southeast of Hugo), Fort Coffee, and New Hope (both near Spiro). After the Civil War the Choctaws also created Tuskahoma Academy (west of Tuskahoma), Tuskalusa (southeast of Tahilina), and Jones Academy (west of Hartshorne). During this period tribal authorities assumed complete control over the schools, authority that they relinquished reluctantly in 1899 to officials of the federal government.

Some boarding schools among the Choctaws were financed and managed primarily by missionary groups. Among these were the Folsom Training School (near Smithville), Goodland Indian Orphanage (southwest of Hugo), and Elliott Academy (east of Valiant).

The Chickasaws, too, had their own system of boarding school constructed largely by their own funds but administered initially by missionary personnel. After the Civil War and as had the Choctaws, tribal authorities assumed direct responsibility for them. These included Chickasaw Manual Labor (at two sites near Tishomingo), Wapanucka (northwest of Wapanucka), Burney (near Lebanon), Chickasaw National Academy (southeast of Frisco), Collins (southwest of Frisco), Bloomfield (south of Achille), and Carter (north of Ardmore).

In addition to boarding schools, both Chickasaws and Choctaws funded a large system of day schools. Examples of this type of institution were the schools at Lukfata (west of Broken Bow) and at Canyon Creek Springs (south of Fittstown). Similar facilities were also provided by missionary groups. Notable here was Saint Agnes School (near Antlers). Associated with the different schools were the following property types:

A. Boarding Schools: Because they were complex

institutions, boarding schools featured different categories of structures:

1. Instructional/Residential Building: Common to most boarding schools was a multi-purpose structure where classes were taught and students (and even faculty) lived. At some institutions there was little else other than such a building. Before the Civil War, these structures were always two stories, had gable ends, may have had an L extension on the rear, and featured full-length verandas on either level covered by extended or dropped roof. Many were wood frame, but some were constructed of cut native stone or brick. Some had a hipped roof rather than a gabled one.

After the Civil War, the instructional residential building tended to be more elaborate. Constructed of cut native stone, the Tuskahoma Academy for Girls rose four stories, was H-shaped with cross gables, had dormer windows, included a second level porch covered by a flat roof with rails and reached by fourteen stairs, and featured a two-story cupola symmetrically placed. Bloomfield Academy in 1900 was a wood-frame, three-story building with a hipped roof and tent dormers. Its two story veranda had a dropped hipped roof with an abundance of rails and spindles.

2. Classrooms: Some boarding schools had separate structures for instruction and student residences rather than combine them into one. In the 1840s, both Spencer and Koonsha academies had free standing classroom building. The one at Spencer seems to have been wood framed with clapboard siding, while the one at Koonsha was constructed of logs. Toward the end of the tribal era and into the twentieth century, unattached classrooms were common. At Elliott it was a single-story wood-frame structure with a gable front and roof and sash windows singly placed. Wheelock had clapboard sided building four units wide and two units deep with a hipped roof and that set on stacked stone piers. At Folsom Training School, however, it was a large, two-story building with a hipped roof, H floor plan, recessed double door entries with transom lights, and singly placed wood sash windows. In the 1930s the WPA built at Goodland Indian Orphanage a single story school building with massed units of uncut native stone and with end gables.

3. Dormitories: Like classrooms, dormitories were apparent on boarding school campuses early on and then toward the end of the tribal period. At Spencer Academy four dormitories were wood framed and clapboard sided, were two-stories, had gable end with two internal chimneys, featured a full-width double veranda with an extended roof cover, off of which were single-door entrances to four apartments two units deep. To the side of each door was a double sash, wood window. Late in the tribal era

dormitories were larger and more elaborate. At Folsom one was three storied, had a gable roof and front, and possessed porches on each level that were stacked. Rooms were entered from interior hallways. At Wheelock, Pushmataha Hall was two storied, seven bays deep and nine bays wide, had a hipped roof with a ridge, and featured a bell tower and a full-width front porch with a flat roof with railings. There were similar structures at Jones and Carter but constructed of brick and stone.

4. Activity Buildings: Much of the curriculum at the Choctaw and Chickasaw boarding schools was designed to introduce male students to agriculture and mechanical arts. These activities required buildings suitable for instruction, namely shops and barns. Toward the end of the tribal era shops were constructed of wood frame and clapboard siding, were rectangular, single storied, hipped roof, and had garage doors in multiple numbers. Others were constructed of bricks and had flat roofs with parapets but with similar entries and windows. Two different styles of barns were used. With a gable front and straight sloped roof line, one (as at Jones Academy) was constructed of a wood frame and clapboard siding. Another (as at Carter Institute) was fashioned of similar materials but was stuccoed and had a gambrel roof line.

Some schools had special dining halls as at Wheelock. Constructed of wood frame and clapboard siding, it was rectangular with a hipped roof and a ridge, had a double door, center-gable entryway with fan lights, and presented a fenestration pattern of 1-2-1 on the sides and 1-3-1 on the front. Rearward there was a two-story, rectangular extension with gables. At Goodland the WPA built a two-story hospital facility that was constructed of native stone, had four gables, and contained a porch and cover in the U.

5. Staff Residences: Toward the end of the tribal era and especially after the federal government assumed control of most of the boarding schools, teachers and staff were often supplied with personal and family housing. Such structures generally followed the Craftsman style popular between 1910 and 1930. Veneered with either brick or clapboard, they were single storied, gable front houses that sat on poured-concrete foundations with symmetrically placed entryways but had asymmetrical, half-width porches with pediments supported by brick or wood piers. Windows were generally double hung sash, and roofs were often covered with asbestos-concrete shingles.

Units that were not designed for single families were occasionally constructed as a Wheelock. These usually had a massed floor plan and were side gabled; they were one or two stories; they were generally wood frame and clapboard sided.

6. Cemeteries: Residence at a boarding school--for both teachers and students--risked good health at best and death at worst. Many paid the ultimate price. Accordingly, there is associated with virtually every school established in the nineteenth century a cemetery of one kind or another. Some are well maintained; others have deteriorated; still others have been plowed up and lost.

B. Day Schools: The tribal governments of both the Choctaws and the Chickasaws supported scores of day schools. Our knowledge of the structures in which these schools were conducted is limited, and thus we can only speculate that they were not dissimilar to one room schools at other locations on the American frontier during the nineteenth century. Doubtless many were constructed of logs, had gable ends and shake shingles, but some were probably fashioned of wood frame and board and batten siding.

Saint Agnes at Antlers, however, was an exception. A Catholic mission day school, its building was constructed of a wood frame with part of it sided with clapboard and another part with board-and-batten; a portion of the building was single story, while another portion was double story; with five gables, its shape was most irregular.

C. Church Building: Because most boarding schools and some day schools were either originally administered by Christian missionaries or completely within their jurisdiction, they often had a church building on the campus. That structure was generally single storied, wood framed and clapboard sided, rectangular, had a gable front and a bell tower that rose above the front facade or, as an extension; in front of it.

Significance: Educational properties associated with the Choctaws and Chickasaws are significant historically. They obviously illustrate the remarkable commitment of the two tribes to providing formal educational opportunities for their youngsters from the moment of their arrival in Indian Territory to the end of the tribal era--and beyond. Of the financial resources available to them, surely 70 per cent went toward education. The properties also demonstrate the desire of most of the tribespeople to accommodate themselves to the cultural patterns of the white majority that surrounded them. Equally important is that they demonstrate the different dimensions of missionary service among the Choctaws and Chickasaws. Much of the historic leadership of the two tribes was educated in these structures. Finally, the buildings have some architectural significance. They constitute some of the best example of late nineteenth century "institutional" style in the southeastern counties.

Eligibility: To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, Choctaw and Chickasaw educational properties should retain integrity of design, setting, and materials. They must be associated with those boarding and day schools through which the tribe, missionary agencies, and the federal government provided educational opportunities for the tribespeople in Management Regions #4 and #5 between 1830 and 1939. Excepting day schools, current knowledge limits these largely to those historic properties referenced in the first paragraph of this section. Depending upon the date of construction and the sub-type of structure, educational buildings will vary somewhat in architectural style. All will have been built by one of the two tribes, by some Christian mission group, or by the federal government. Properties not already on the national register with some promise for inclusion are those at Carter Seminary (Ardmore), Burney Institute (Lebanon), and Goodland Indian Orphanage (near Hugo). Cemeteries are not listed here, for as a general rule they are not be eligible for nomination to the register.

IV. ECONOMIC PROPERTIES

Description: Well before the Choctaws and Chickasaws removed to Indian Territory they had become participants in the market economy prevalent in the United States. Rather than sustain themselves totally by the hunt and subsistence agriculture, they maintained large cattle herds and cultivated field crops such as cotton and corn (sometimes with the help of black slaves). What they profited from this effort was sold in the market place so that they could then purchase desired creature comforts. Put differently, by the time they reached Indian Territory, the tribespeople were wholly integrated into the national market economy--both as producers and consumers. Properties associated with this economy included the following sub-types:

A. Agricultural Facilities: Despite the fact that most Choctaws and Chickasaws engaged in agriculture and that some had vast cotton plantations cultivated by slave labor, we know little of the structures (excluding houses, which are discussed below) that supported that activity. Surely there were cabins and barns as well as bins and gins, but few contemporary descriptions of those have yet surfaced. If the much altered Casey barn (near Spiro) is any example, agricultural buildings on any single farmstead were constructed primarily of cut and uncut logs. One would also assume, however, that after the Civil War that wood frame and board-and-batten siding would characterize some, if not most structures. The two-story John McClure barn (west of Poteau) was so constructed, which also included a gable front, large double doors that enclosed an opening large enough for vehicles, side horse stalls covered by a shed roof, and cupola vents.

In the 1930s resettlement experiments among the Indians produced some unique agricultural structures. West of Wilburton native stone was used to construct a machine shop that was single story, rectangular, gable ended, and had three double garage doors with interspersed sash windows. A two-story, administrative building constructed of rough cut native stone with gable ends and with single story additions on the front and rear covered by roof extensions is also a part of the property. The architectural style of all structures is distinctly "institutional." Associated with this experiment there were also houses occupied by individual Indian families. Their characteristics are unclear, although they may have been simple two-penned log cabins like those at Kalohoma, a similar resettlement program for the Chickasaws just south west of Allen.

B. Ranching Facilities: Cattle ranching was an important economic activity among the tribespeople immediately after removal, but it became increasingly

significant after the Civil War. This was particularly true in the western part of the Chickasaw Nation which set astride the famous trails followed by Texas cattle on their way to market in Kansas. Aside from a few residences of the cattlemen (discussed below), little structurally seems to have survived to document this important epoch. Current knowledge reveals little about barns, bunk houses, or bins. Yet they probably differed little from similar structures we associate with agriculture: early they were single story buildings constructed of logs; later they were fashioned from wood frame and siding, with some barns rising to two stories.

C. Commercial Establishments: Many Choctaw and Chickasaw citizens, some of whom were intermarried, facilitated the market economy by operating commercial establishments. On the western frontier, some of the more notable establishments were operated by non-Indians (like Holland Coffee) or non-Choctaws and Cherokees (like Jesse or William Chisholm). Early on these operated out of the crude and temporary structures generally associated with the frontier--one or two pen log cabins. Our knowledge of this kind of facility is, however, sketchy at best.

We know more of the second phase of development that began after the Civil War. Most commercial establishments by then were wood framed with board-and-batten siding, rectangular and gabled but with the front gable covered by a square facade, and with a full-width porch crowned by a shed roof. It was the kind of structure that is always associated with a southern country store.

Toward the end of the tribal period and as the Choctaw and Chickasaw country experienced the effects of the railroad and town development, commercial establishments operated along Main Street. Like the Scott Store at Kinta, they were distinctly Prairie Commercial: rusticated native stone masonry, rectangular, single-story, flat roofed with parapets, large plate glass store-front windows, and a double-door entry. Some were much more elaborate (like the Joel Spring buildings at Hugo) and were constructed of limestone blocks, were two story, had a clipped corner entry, and had decorative features such as a balustrade, pilaster columns, frieze. But none matched the Bank of the Chickasaws at Tishomingo: olithic limestone masonry, arched entryways, ornate cupola, pilasters, and parapets.

D. Natural Resources: The Choctaw and Chickasaw domains were rich with natural resources that some citizens, and especially intermarried ones, exploited for profit. These ranged from salt springs utilized by David Folsom, to coal deposits mined by J. J. McAlester, to a stone quarry used to construct a half dozen major Chickasaw buildings, to oil springs publicized for their medicinal powers by Robert

Love, to copious springs that empowered grist mills. Associated with these resources were structures that facilitated their exploitation. Our knowledge of them, however, is very limited.

Significance: Economic properties associated with the Native American theme in Management Regions #4 and #5 are significant historically and economically. Farming and ranching facilities demonstrate that the Choctaws and Chickasaws were an agriculture people who produced for a market economy like other residents who lived on the American frontier but unlike most other Native people. Since the cattle industry attracted white entrepreneurs, ranching properties also point to an activity that grew beyond the point that Indians could control it, a fact that challenged tribal sovereignty. Commercial properties also illustrate that the tribespeople were active participants in the market economy, that they were not passive pawns in the grip of white intruders.

Eligibility: To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, Choctaw and Chickasaw economic properties should retain integrity of design, setting, and materials. They must be associated with Indian people and located at sites where the tribespeople are known to have had their settlements and homesteads. All will have been constructed with private funds after 1830 and before 1939, although the resettlement projects in Latimer and Pontotoc counties will have been financed with tribal funds. They may vary in style and materials of construction, but commercial structures constructed after 1880 will reflect a Prairie commercial style. The New Deal resettlement programs referred to above will have an institutional appearance.

V. PRE-RAILROAD TRANSPORTATION PROPERTIES

Description: When the Choctaws and Chickasaws first arrived in Indian Territory, surface transportation was wholly undeveloped. To facilitate movement of men and materials from one post to another, the United States Army, charged with protecting the Indians, undertook to build a network of roads. And in the 1840s and 1850s they marked an east-west road that connected Indian Territory with California. In 1858, under contract with the federal government the Butterfield Overland Mail Company established a stage route with twelve different "stands" that entered the Choctaw Nation at Fort Smith and exited it at what is now Colbert. Meanwhile, the famous Texas Road--today U.S. Highway 69--funneled thousands through Indian Territory into Texas. These roads gave the tribespeople greater access to the non-Indian world, facilitated their participation in the market economy, gave them opportunities for financial gain, and spawned additional roads and other improvements such as ferries and bridges. Since rail transportation was imposed upon the Indians, was largely beyond their control, and undermined their political sovereignty, railroad properties are excluded from this analysis. Sub-types of those properties associated with the pre-railroad transportation classification include the following:

A. Roads: Along the route of historic roads such as the military road between Fort Smith and Fort Towson, the Butterfield Overland Mail route, and the California Road traces (ruts) are often to be found, especially at river banks and through mountain passes. An exceptional example of this is in the Winding Stair Mountains (northeast of Talihina) where the military road is readily apparent. Sometime the road was marked by notable natural features such as the Big Cypress Tree where it crossed Mountain Fork River, "The Narrows" where it crossed Jacks Fork Creek, and Delaware Mount where it rose to the highlands between the Canadian and the Boggy. These landmarks are still geographical points of reference.

B. Stage Stations: Primarily along the Butterfield Overland route, but on less traveled routes as well, stage stations appeared at regular intervals. To our knowledge no Butterfield station has survived, but contemporary descriptions tell us what most of them looked like. Usually they were double pen log cabins with a dogtrot, a gable roof, external chimneys, a full-width porch on the front, and often an L extension reward. Associated with each station property today are trail traces, especially apparent at Walker's Station (near Spiro) and Pulsey's Station (southeast of Hartshorne).

C. River Ferries: Where roads crossed rivers, enterprising Indian citizens often provided ferry service. We have very limited knowledge of these facilities before the 1880s, although descriptions of them elsewhere would suggest that they were little more than wood rafts that were "poled" across the river or pulled by means of a guide cable. At a later date, Colbert's Ferry on Red River was more elaborate with sides and pilot house and could carry several vehicles. There was even a small "toll" house. Tuck's Ferry and Brown's Ferry in Love County were almost as substantial.

D. Bridges: Bridges appeared along major transportation routes before the Civil War. Some of these, as on Brazil Creek west of Panama, were single-span and constructed of iron. Others seem to have been constructed of wood planks and concrete piers. In the 1874, B. F. Colbert constructed from wood a wagon bridge across Red River. A year later after it was damaged by a flood, the wood structure was replaced by one with a steel frame. There must have been a lot of other bridges such as at Nail's Cross of the Blue River in Bryan County, but our limited knowledge of engineering developments prevents us from locating them.

Significance: Pre-railroad Transportation Properties associated with the Native American theme in the study area are significant historically and economically. They demonstrate that the Choctaws and Chickasaws were not isolated from the rest of the world, that non-Indians passed through their domain offering military protection, information, political expertise, and economic opportunity. But there was a negative side too. This connectedness accounted for their involvement in the Civil War, the tide of white intruders after 1872, and eventually the demands that tribal government terminate and the tribal domain be allotted individually.

Eligibility: To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, Pre-Railroad Transportation Properties associated with the Native American theme should retain integrity of design, setting, and materials. They must be situated at sites along historic roads, the existence of which can be documented by official records, and they must have been associated with Choctaw or Chickasaw citizens. They may vary in style, engineering, and materials of construction, although most stage stations will have been constructed of logs and have two pens and a dog trot. Almost all will have been constructed between 1830 and 1876.

VI. RESIDENTIAL PROPERTIES

Description: Well before the Choctaws and Chickasaws removed to what is now Management Regions #4 and #5 in Oklahoma they had adopted styles of housing common to the non-Indians of the rural South. Indeed, it was difficult to identify the homestead of a tribesperson on the basis of architecture. That conclusion is amply documented by extant residential properties associated with Native Americans in the study area. Using the classification scheme of Virginia and Lee McAlester, those properties can be divided as follows:

A. Pre-Railroad Dwellings: With their arrival in Indian Territory, most of the Choctaws and Chickasaws lived in structures made of hand-hewn logs. The same was true as they settled any new area of their domain, even if well after railroads were constructed. They may have been single-pen like the Lowrence cabin (south of Sulphur) or double-pen as the Johnston cabin (north of Byars), but many were double-pen with a dog trot, gable roof, and a full-width front porch covered by a shed roof. Like the Everidge cabin (southeast of Hugo), these were usually single-story and often had an L-extension rearward. Some were one and a half stories like the Choctaw Chief's Cabin (near Swink) and the Choate Cabin (at Indianola).

As tribal society matured, residential dwellings became more elaborate. Hand-hewn logs gave way to wood frame and sided structures; double-pen cabins were replaced by hall-and-parlor houses. The Harris House (near Hayworth) illustrates this transformation, as does the Edmund McCurtain House (near Kinta). Similar in design but of cut stone masonry is the Smith Paul House (in Pauls Valley).

Robert M. Jones's Rose Hill plantation house attained a level of architecture unique in the Choctaw and Chickasaw country. Built by slave labor, it was a two-story wood frame and clapboard sided dwelling that contained fifteen rooms. The roof type is unclear, although artists have depicted it as flat. On the front there was a single-story porch with the roof supported by columns, an entry with side and transom lights and flanked by two windows on either side, and on the second level five sash windows symmetrically placed with small side windows (almost as lights) on the middle one.

B. Post-Railroad Dwellings: The completion of the railroad through the Choctaw and Chickasaw domain in the 1870s gave the tribespeople greater access to milled building materials. This was reflected in the dwellings they constructed, although it did not alter the basic folk styles of architecture. The two-story I-house--with clapboard siding, gable ends, and either a full or partial

one-story front porch--was a preferred configuration in the study area as suggested by the Charles LeFlore house (Limestone Gap) and Jefferson Gardner house (near Eagletown). These houses often had rearward extensions, but occasionally, as in the Maytubbee house (at Tishomingo), forward as well as rearward.

The pyramidal house was another common architectural style. The John Wesley Leflore house (near Milton) typified the single-story of the pyramidal design; the M. V. Cheadle House (near Emet) the two-story. The latter is also unique for its two-level veranda covered by an extended roof that enwraps three sides. The Willie Wilson House (at Fort Towson) and the Murray/Lindsay House (at Erin Springs) are essentially pyramidal houses, but they also have spectacular classical features: a full-height entry porch, with triangular gable above and an upper porch supported by four columns. The gable-front-and-wing style is represented by the two-story Peter Conser house (near Hodgens), while the massed-plan, side-gabled configuration is visible in the E. N. Wright home (southwest of Olney).

Some dwellings among the Choctaws and Chickasaws, although usually constructed by intermarried whites, reflect academic architectural styles. The Overstreet house (near Cowlington) makes references to both Victorian and Italianate; the McAlester house (in North McAlester) began as a double-pen log cabin and ended up as a remarkable example of Victorian style; the Washington ranch house was delightful Victorian from the beginning.

C. Outbuildings: Virtually all Choctaw and Chickasaw dwellings, despite period or style, had adjacent buildings of one kind or another. Spring houses, or cooling houses, constituted one type of such structure. These were usually rectangular, constructed of cut native stone, and had single-door entries. If there were windows, they were very small. Such buildings are apparent on the Green McCurtain property (near Kinta) and adjacent to the Overstreet house (near Cowlington). Barns, almost a universal outbuilding, are discussed above.

D. Cemeteries: Until the end of the tribal period in 1906 most Choctaws and Chickasaws buried their dead in family cemeteries adjacent to the home place. This is reflected by the grave yards near the Peter Conser house (Hodgens), the Coleman Nelson house (north of Soper), Overton Love homesite (southeast of Marietta), Rose Hill (near Hugo), and Jackson Kemp homesite (near Kemp). By way of contrast, intermarried citizens--the Overstreets and McClures in Leflore County and the Byars in McClain County--tended to use community cemeteries.

Significance: Choctaw and Chickasaw Residential Properties

in Management Regions #4 and #5 are significant culturally, economically, and even architecturally. The houses demonstrate that the tribespeople had already abandoned "traditional" dwellings for ones typical of the white majority on the southern frontier by the time of their removal to Indian Territory. Here "Indian" housing takes on an entirely different meaning from such housing on the Plains or in the southwestern deserts.

These properties also document the influence of the railroad in Indian Territory and the growing economic power of intermarried white citizens. They speak as well to settlement patterns among the Choctaws and Chickasaws. Generally they congregated their homes in river valleys, maintaining a historic sense of community.

Residential properties are significant architecturally. The evolution in style over time reveals something of the transformations within and the increasing complexity of tribal life before and after the Civil War. That transition is reflected in the J. J. McAlester house in North McAlester: it began as a log cabin but became in time an elegant Victorian house.

Eligibility: To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, Residential Properties associated with the Native American theme in the study area should retain integrity of design, setting, and materials. They must be located in areas where the tribespeople were known to have made their settlements, usually in river valleys or along major roadways. They must be associated with Choctaws and Chickasaws by blood or intermarriage and have been constructed between 1830 and 1939. Also, they must be outstanding examples of the architectural type. If constructed before the demise of tribal sovereignty and beyond the limits of a surveyed townsite, a family cemetery will ordinarily be a part of the property. All properties must be documented by literary, pictorial, oral, and/or archaeological source materials.

VII. TOWNSITES

Description: Among the Choctaws and Chickasaws during the course of the nineteenth century, "townsite" was a loosely defined term if not concept. No surveyed and platted community existed. Yet the term has meaning if used to designate a commercial center or a settlement of unusually dense population. Within the study there were a number of those, the most prominent commercial centers being Doaksville, Boggy Depot, Mayhew (Old and New), Tamaha, Skullyville, Perryville, Stonewall, Cherokee Town, and Sorghum Flats. Current knowledge of such towns before the Civil War is minimal at best, although we know that there was a "main street," that there were some commercial structures, and that peripheral to the business district there were individual dwellings. The Allen Wright residence at Boggy Depot, for example, was a wood frame, two story hall-and-parlor house will full-width double verandas, including rails on the second level, covered by an extended roof supported by six columns. The first level entry had side lights; there was a single story extension rearward.

The post-Civil War period is better documented. At Old Stonewall, the Robert Cochran store was a rectangular frame building with a ware room along one side; a second story was added later. Sorghum Flats in Murray County even had a church, Price's Chapel, that was constructed of native stone and had a gable front that featured a double-door entry and fishscale siding, as well as a gin, grist mill and saw mill.

Some "townsites" were merely settlements with concentrations of population. Between Atwood and Allen in Hughes County, there are a lot of historical references in the 1840s and 1850s to "Shawnee Town." Here the term describes an unusually large collection of Absentee Shawnee Indian farmsteads, including log houses and outbuildings. It was also applied to a site southwest of Idabel in the 1830s that had similar characteristics, and to one just west of present Shawnee in the post-Civil War era.

All "townsites," whether commercial centers or population clusters, have a cemetery associated with them.

Significance: Townsites within the study area are significant historically and economically. They demonstrate that village life was a part of the Chickasaw and Choctaw experience in Indian Territory, and they document the evolution of the tribal economy. At the same time, communities like Sorghum Flats illustrate that economic power was not held by the tribespeople but by white intruders.

Settlement concentrations such as the different Shawnee towns address a little-known aspect of the Indian experience in the study area: that Native Americans had farmed and were farming the area extensively even before the arrival of the

Choctaws and Chickasaws.

Eligibility: Despite their importance, most townsites in Management Regions #4 and #5 will not be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Few retain integrity of design, setting, and materials. If eligible at all, it would be because the property is associated with a major historical event(s)--like Doaksville--or because it is significant as an archaeological site. The later is justifiable because we know virtually nothing about village life among Native Americans during the nineteenth century. In such an event, the property must be relatively undisturbed.

VIII. RECREATIONAL/ENCAMPMENT SITES

Description: The Choctaws and Chickasaws in the study area were a gregarious people. They gathered for different reasons--to take part in a religious service, to participate in a political event, to enjoy a fish fry, or to engage in athletic competition. The latter was especially pleasant when "stick ball" was played. That traditional game was to the Choctaws and Chickasaws what football is to modern Oklahomans. Teams from one geographical or political district played another; Choctaw teams played Chickasaw teams. Expert players, like William Atoka, became national heros. Often particular sites were dedicated merely to playing stick ball games--as a stadium is dedicated to football today. Atoka County had such a field in the post-Civil War period, and by the end of the tribal era, one was in regular use for matches between a Chickasaw team and a Choctaw team (southwest of Allen). After the game, little physical evidence remained of the competition. The site was no more than--a site.

Some sites important to the Indians were not associated with a game. At them the tribespeople congregated for special purposes, to stage a hunt, or merely to enjoy the particular site itself. Most, therefore, were identified with some natural wonder like the Sulphur Springs and Turner Falls in Murray County, a well-water valley like Buffalo Valley in northeast Pontotoc County, a bottomless natural lake (Witches Hole) such as south of Swink, or a verdant grassland like Horse Prairie south of Hugo. Occupation of these sites, however, was temporary and little physical evidence remains that points to Indian usage.

Significance: Choctaw and Chickasaw Recreational/Encampment Sites have considerable cultural and historical significance. Associated with the recreational sites are some of those activities that make Indian people unique, that demonstrate the richness of their culture and traditions. Certain sites are more historic than others in that they were the locations of a major event: where emigrants just over the "Trail of Tears" drew subsistence rations for the first year in Indian Territory, or where an Osage hunting party was encountered by a United States military troop. And some are significant because of their natural wonder.

Eligibility: To be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, Recreational/Encampment Sites must retain their natural integrity. More important, they must be associated with a major event, a significant group, or a particular person. Their location must be well documented by both literary and oral sources. And the significance and utilization must pre-date 1939.

IX. HEALTH CARE BUILDINGS

Description: In fulfilling its trust responsibilities toward Native Americans, the federal government often created and administered health care facilities. Among these was the Choctaw-Chickasaw Tuberculosis Sanitorium at Talihina. First constructed in 1916 with tribal funds, it was completely rebuilt in 1936 as a New Deal project at a cost of $1,000,000. Thereafter it was staffed by physicians and other health care providers paid by the United States government. Associated with this operation were at least three different types of buildings:

A. Hospital: Our knowledge is incomplete, but the first buildings on the site were apparently wood frame. The building program after 1936, however, produced a complex with cut native stone and red tile masonry. The three story and basement central unit of the Hospital Building is cross-shaped with a tile roof and gables. Attached to it are multiple two-story gable end extensions, often end to end, and a two-story unit with flat roof and parapets that is the principal entryway. The fenestration pattern is singly and by twos. In all, the building manages a hint of mission revival architecture.

B. Staff Residences: Attending physicians and health providers assigned to the sanitarium were supplied with personal and family housing. Accommodations were also available for patient families. These and nurses quarters were in a single story structure, fashioned from materials identical to those in the hospital and built around an open plaza. Almost "motel-like," they had gable roofs of red tile, doors off the courtyard, and sash windows within and without the courtyard.

Doctors and employees residences were of varying styles. Some were single-story, wood frame and sided structures with a massed floor plan, a gable-on-hip roof, and a symmetrically placed porch covered by a hipped roof supported by two wood shafts on brick piers. Another was two-story with a hipped roof, gables, dormers, and multiple windows, while others were single story but constructed of native stone or wood logs.

C. Utility Buildings: Utility buildings include a rectangular storage building that is wood framed and clapboard sided with a hipped roof, shed dormer, and a set of garage doors. A machine shop is also rectangular but constructed of brick; additionally it has a flat roof with parapets, pilasters and a continuous sill.

Significance: The significance of Indian Health Care buildings is primarily historical. They illustrate the

unique relationship that exists between the United States government and the Choctaws and Chickasaws. Because the land once belong to them and because, once allotment deprived them of most of their economic resources, they were left without means of support and therewith resistance to disease, the government committed itself to providing appropriate health services. The Choctaw-Chickasaw TB Sanitarium demonstrates the extent of that commitment. It also suggests the pervasiveness of the federal public works program in the 1930s, and that Native Americans benefitted from it as well.

Eligibility: To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, Indian Health Care Buildings in general and the Choctaw-Chickasaw Tuberculosis Sanitarium in particular should retain integrity of design, setting, and materials. Buildings associated with those facilities must have offered health care services to the Indians of Management Regions #4 and #5 between 1907 and 1939. Current knowledge limits them to Talihina, although other facilities may well exist. Hospital buildings may well vary in style, although most will have features mission revival or art deco. All will have been built by the federal government and staffed by government-service employees. Staff residences will be situated at the site of an historic hospital, and most will be built of wood frame and clapboards and have a massed floor plan. Some may have the noted Craftsman style of the early 20th century. Utility buildings will vary in style according to function but all will be located on the grounds of the health care facility.

X. U.S. MILITARY PROPERTIES

Descriptions: With their relocation in Indian Territory, the Choctaws and Chickasaws looked to the United States military to protect them from their enemies. These included the Plains Tribes beyond the Cross Timbers as well as the Mexicans and Texans south of Red River. Additionally, the army marked trails and built roads, enforced laws prohibiting the sale of whiskey, provided some medical services, and purchased agricultural products on the local market. And when it withdrew from the area, the building it left vacant were often recycled as educational facilities. The importance of military activities is suggested by the following property sub-types:

A. Fort Complexes: To the best of our knowledge, there were only four major United States military forts in the study area: Fort Towson (1824-1854) in Choctaw County, Fort Coffee (1834-1838) in Leflore County, Fort Washita (1842-1861) in Bryan County, and Fort Arbuckle (1851-1870) in Garvin County. Situated around a central parade ground, the structures making up the forts were generally constructed of a combination of rough cut native stone and wood (logs and planks) and were comprised of the following types:

1. Enlisted Men's Barracks: Rectangular with side gables and massed floor plans, the one or two-story barracks had full-width porches or verandas covered by an extended roof. The buildings were accessed by multiple, single-door entries; wood sash windows were singly placed; chimneys were internal.

2. Officer Quarters: Almost always single story buildings, officer quarters were side gabled, two unit structures with full-width porches. Single door entryways accessed each unit; chimneys tended to be external. Single family quarters existed as well. These tended to follow the hall-and-parlor design common elsewhere during the period.

3. Utility Structures: Every fort had a series of support structures ranging from a bakery, to a kitchen, to a mess hall, to a hospital, to a corral. These often set back from the central quadrangle, but they varied little in appearance from the rest of the fort.

4. Sutler's Store: Virtually every fort had a sutler, e.g. a private entrepreneur who stocked for sale to the troops merchandise like whiskey, clothes, and personal items. The Fort Towson the building, which has been restored, is wood frame and clapboard sided, gable ended, and features full-width porches on either side. At Fort

Washita it is a double-pen log cabin with a saddlebag chimney.

5. Cemeteries: Virtually every military post had its cemetery. The forts situated among the Choctaws and Chickasaws were no different. Almost always they contain the remains of soldiers stationed at the facility, but occasionally one finds the grave of a military dependent or a civilian.

B. Camps: Whereas military forts were essentially permanent installations, camps were temporary. As Camp Leavenworth in Marshall County, they were established when the United States Army was campaigning in the field or merely on a scout. They emerged at other times when the military built an installation that proved only temporary, such as Fort Holmes in Hughes County and Camp Arbuckle in McClain County. Confederate encampments like those at Fort McCulloch in Bryan County and Camp Pike in Haskell County fall into this category as well. Under these conditions but excepting the Remount Station at what is now Wewoka, quarters for officers and men were cloth tents or crude log structures; animals had no shelter. When the military unit moved away from the "camp" it left behind little of value--broken tools, horse shoes, piles of logs. Today camps are generally indistinguishable from the rest of the landscape.

C. Engagement Sites: In Management Regions #4 and #5, military engagements between the U. S. Army and hostile Indians seldom if ever occurred. There were, however, pitched battles involving the United States Army and Confederate soldiers who were Choctaw and Chickasaws. The most notable of these was at Middle Boggy River just north of Atoka, but there were others: at Perryville, just outside of Fort Smith, at the Iron Bridge in eastern Haskell County, to name only three. Little remains of these sites to mark the drama of the event.

Significance: Military properties in the study region are significant historically and architecturally. More than other properties they illustrate that the U.S. Army facilitated the occupation of Indian Territory by the Choctaws and Chickasaws. They also demonstrate that the federal government took seriously its pledge to protect the tribespeople in their new homes following removal. Here the army was a "friend" rather than a "foe."

Civil War battle sites remind us that the Choctaws and Chickasaws were active participants in the war between the states. They demonstrate that, as allies of the Confederacy, the tribespeople felt so strongly about slavery--were so economically tied to it--that they were willing to do battle in defense of it.

Military properties in the study area also have considerable architectural significance. Between 1830 and 1860, virtually all forts of consequence constructed by the United States were built in the Choctaw and Chickasaw domain. A full chapter of military architecture was written there, a chapter that is largely unknown.

Eligibility: To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, Military Properties should retain integrity of design, setting, and materials. They must be associated with those facilities or events that enabled the Choctaws and Chickasaws to take peaceful occupation of their Indian Territory homes. Or they must be associated with the bloody conflicts fought during the American Civil War. Buildings on military properties will vary somewhat in architectural style and materials of construction. And, unless new evidence becomes available, they will be on the grounds of Fort Towson, Coffee, Wichita, or Arbuckle. All will have been built before 1870. Cemeteries will not be eligible unless buried in them is some especially notable military figure. If eligible at all for the National Register, camp and engagement sites must be clearly documented by literary as well as archaeological sources, and their boundaries must be narrowly determined.

XI. INDIAN AGENCY BUILDINGS

Description: For most Indian groups, the federal government appointed an agent to facilitate communication and coordinate policies between it and the tribe. The Choctaws and Chickasaws were among the first Native Americans to have a resident agent. His offices became a focus of activity, not unlike an American embassy in some foreign country. When the tribespeople were forced to remove to Indian Territory, the agent relocated as well. Early on the Choctaw agency building was located at Skullyville (near Spiro). In 1854 it was removed to the abandon garrison at Fort Towson. Two years later it was combined with the Chickasaw Agency at Hatsboro, a settlement just west of Fort Washita. After the Civil War, the combined agency was situated for a time at Skullyville and then at Boggy Depot. In the 1870s it was incorporated with the Five Civilized Tribe Agency at Muskogee. Sub-agencies were established in the 20th century, but our knowledge of them is limited.

We have a description only of the agency building at the Skullyville location. There it was a one and one-half, double pen log cabin with a dog trot and two external chimneys on the gable ends. At a latter date clapboard siding was added. The Hatsboro agency was no doubt similar in construction.

Significance: The significance of Indian Agency buildings is essentially historical. No other structures illustrate as vividly the unique relationship that existed between the American Indian and the United States, e.g. domestic dependent nations, ward-guarding, etc.

Eligibility: To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, Indian Agency buildings should retain integrity of design, setting, and materials. They must be located at the site of an historic agency compound and have been occupied by an official tribal agent or sub-agent of the United States prior to 1938. They will vary in style and materials depending upon the time period of construction and will have been built by the federal government.

XII. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

Description: Identified Archaeological Sites in Management Regions #4 and #5 are relatively numerous. Not all that many, however, have been excavated. Those that have not been fully investigated are little more than archaeological resources--a promise rather than a fulfillment. On the other hand, excavated sites reveal much about their pre- and proto-historic occupants as in the marvelous Spiro Mound complex. Excavation of other sites, however, will enable us to better understand the human occupation that preceded Spiro as well as followed it.

Significance: Archaeological sites are significant because they tell us about the pre-historic people who occupied southeastern Oklahoma. They help us establish whether there was a link between those tribespeople who were there upon the arrival of Europeans and those who were pre-historic occupants. Archaeological sites also enable us to establish patterns of commerce involving Oklahoma's earliest settlers. The Spiro people, for example, apparently traded regularly with natives in the Great Lakes area, the Rocky Mountains, and the Gulf Coast.

Eligibility: To be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, Indian archaeological sites must retain integrity and show, by a surface evaluation, potential of revealing new and significant data about pre- and proto-historic man. Detailed and technical criteria is available in published form from the State Historic Preservation Office.