RESOURCE PROTECTION PLANNING PROJECT

PATTERNS OF WHITE SETTLEMENT IN OKLAHOMA, 1889-1907

REGION FOUR

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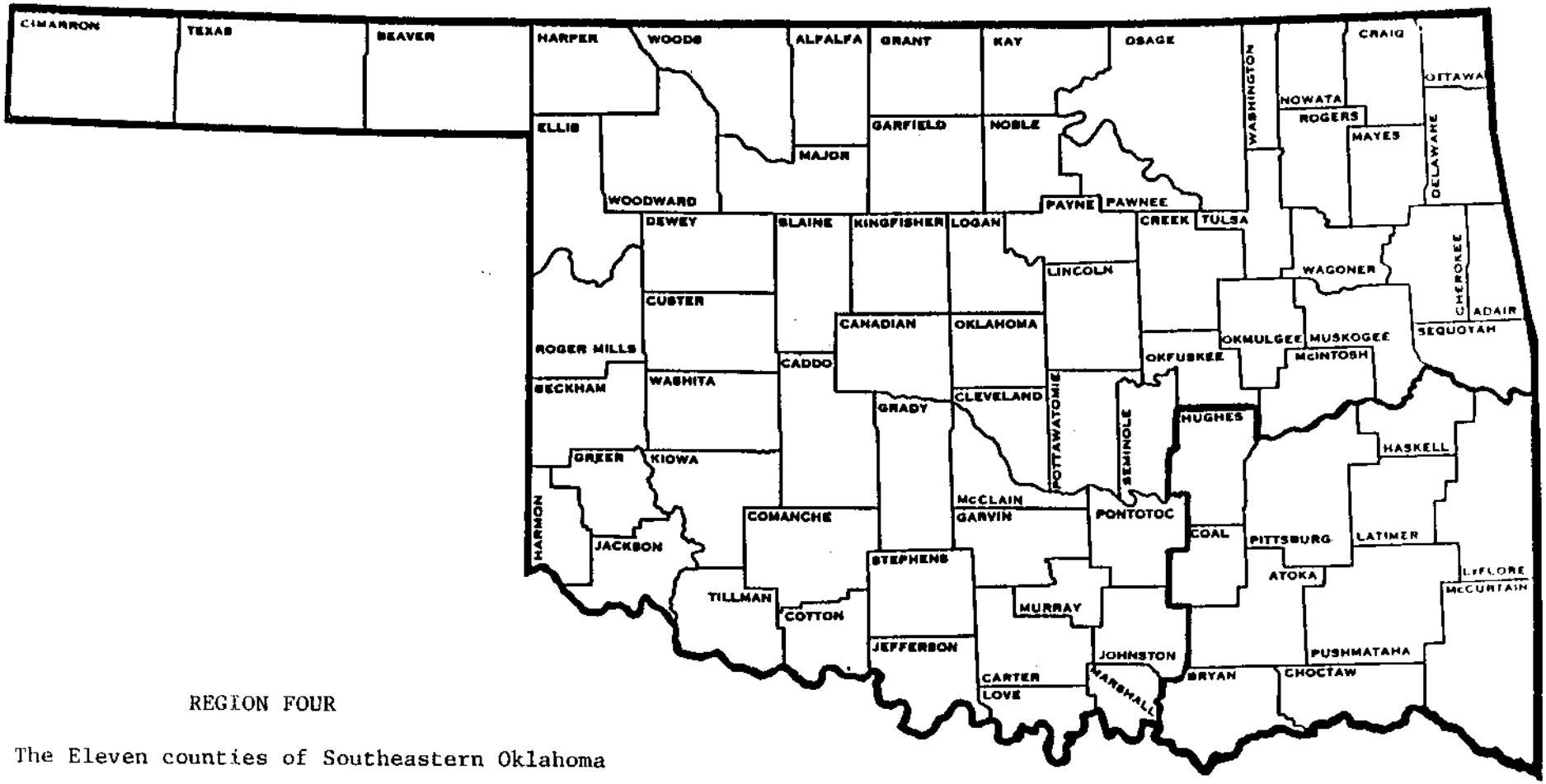
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PATTERNS OF WHITE SETTLEMENT IN OKLAHOMA, 1889-1907

The purpose of this study is to provide a historic context for the interpretation of white settlement patterns in Oklahoma. While one cannot overlook the significant role of Indians, Blacks, and other ethnic groups in populating and developing the state, their contributions merit separate attention. This work, therefore, focuses on the conditions, stimuli, and processes that determined rural settlement and urban development in the state between 1889, when the area was opened to white settlement, and 1907, when Oklahoma was admitted to the Union.

Prior to the Civil War, the United States government set aside the present state of Oklahoma as an Indian preserve. Only those white people who married Indians or who obtained special permits would be allowed to reside legally on tribal lands. In the 1820s and 1830s, the Five Civilized Tribes--the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles--were forced to cede their territory in the Southeast in return for land in Oklahoma. Fierce nomadic tribes, however, controlled the western plains, and the Five Civilized Tribes settled only the eastern half of the region. The Indian custom of holding land in common, which persisted in Oklahoma, allowed each individual to exploit the amount of tribal land that suited his interests. While the full bloods kept to themselves on small subsistence patches, mixed bloods and adopted whites



REGION FOUR

The Eleven counties of Southeastern Oklahoma

operated farms, ranches, and plantations that often encompassed thousands of acres. The traditional Indian town, previously a communal center with adjacent common fields, declined in Oklahoma. Settlements functioned as trade, political, or educational centers, but they did not contain significant concentrations of population.

During the Civil War, the Five Civilized Tribes allied mainly with the Confederacy. As a penalty for secession, in 1866 the federal government forced them to accept new treaties that hastened the demise of Indian isolation and ultimately precipitated the opening of their land to white settlement. Among the provisions of the new agreements was the requirement that the tribes cede large portions of their western territory, upon which the United States would relocate other tribes, and the stipulation that they grant railroad rights-of-way across their domains.

During the 1870s and 1880s, railroad corporations constructed lines through the territory that facilitated the exploitation of natural resources in the Indian nations, provided greater access to regional and national markets, and stimulated increased agricultural activity. (For further information on the construction of railroads in Oklahoma, see the transportation historic context.) Section points along the rail lines became commercial and distribution centers and fostered the establishment of towns. Vinita, Miami, McAlester, Atoka, Durant, Ada, and Ardmore became significant railroad towns, service centers,

and the foci of areal agricultural development. The expansion of the rail facilities spurred the development of valuable bituminous coal deposits in Indian territory, principally in the Choctaw nation. Attracting thousands of workers, mining towns such as South McAlester, Krebs, Coalgate, and Lehigh comprised some of the most important population clusters in the Indian territory.

Concomitant with rapid economic development after 1870 was the dramatic increase in the number of white residents in Indian country. At first, most apparently obtained the required permits and engaged in legal activities. Many, however, were illegitimate "intruders." In 1889, the agent in charge of the affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes estimated that in a population of 175,000 there were 108,000 white residents, including 35,000 intruders. The number of illegal residents continued to rise in subsequent years and intensified the pressure upon the federal government to open Indian lands formally to white settlement.

During the 1870s, a rising tide of farmers, speculators, and businessmen streamed into the American West. A growing number of whites viewed land in the Indian territory as the last frontier and increasingly demanded the opening of the Unassigned Lands to white settlement. Many "boomers" refused to wait for official government sanction, organized colonizaton schemes in neighboring states, and carried out invasions of the Unassigned Lands

in defiance of federal authorities. Although the "boomers" failed to establish any permanent settlements, their encampments at locations such as those on the North Canadian River at the site of present-day Oklahoma City and on Boomer Creek near Stillwater did attract many settlers after the area was opened. The publicity that attended their activities, however, helped make the Oklahoma movement a national issue.

Events in the 1880s significantly advanced the boomers' designs. In 1887, the Santa Fe completed a line from Kansas to Texas directly through the Unassigned Lands. The company established station points at approximately ten-mile intervals, making such places as Alfred, Guthrie, Edmond, Oklahoma Station, and Norman prime future townsite locations. In 1889, the government of the United States acquired final title to the nearly 2,000,000 acres in the Unassigned Lands and authorized the president to open the area for white settlement. Because the number of expectant settlers far exceeded the approximately 12,000 sites available, the Department of Interior devised a procedure to give each person an equal chance--a land run. When the cannon blasts signalled the beginning of the run at noon on April 22, 1889, an estimated 60,000 people raced to stake a claim. By late afternoon, nearly all the land had been claimed--frequently by several persons. Almost as rapidly, urban clusters at Guthrie, Oklahoma City, Kingfisher-Lisbon, Orlando, Lexington, Crescent, and

elsewhere began the process of organizing towns.

White settlement in Oklahoma was not restricted to the Unassigned Lands for long. In 1889, the federal government negotiated treaties with Indian tribes (excluding the Five Civilized Tribes) who relinquished their exclusive claims to reservation lands and agreed to accept 160-acre allotments. After distribution of the individual parcels, the government purchased the remaining lands and opened them for general settlement.

The Organic Act of 1890, which provided formal political organization for the newly created Oklahoma Territory, annexed the Public Land Strip (the Oklahoma Panhandle) and stipulated that all reservation lands in the western Indian region would be incorporated into the new territory as they were opened to whites. Between 1891 and 1906, approximately 13,500,000 acres of land were opened by a series of runs, lotteries, sealed bids, and public auction. Those areas opened by land runs usually duplicated the process of settlement in the Unassigned Lands. Those opened by lottery, sealed bids, and public auction were more orderly. But in either case, the establishment of farms and the formation of towns largely followed the patterns and vicissitudes that characterized the initial opening.

Homesteaders who succeeded in obtaining land staked their claim, located the corners of their quarter section, made rudimentary improvements on their tract, and filed at

the land office as soon as possible. The settler's first home was small and crudely built of whatever material was available. After securing their own shelter, they then proceeded to plow their land, plant a crop, build a shed for the live stock, and set out a few fruit trees. If the land was productive and the farm thrived, a more substantial, multi-room wood frame or stone house (see, for instance, the old Herbert farmstead southeast of Mulhall) replaced the more primitive family quarters.

Many of the new settlers were not farmers and had no intention of becoming farmers. The urban impulse in Oklahoma Territory was almost as compelling as the hunger for land. Although not completely unique in American frontier experience, a significant characteristic of the settlement of Oklahoma Territory was the creation of instant cities and towns. The "boom towns" of Guthrie, Oklahoma City, Lawton, and Enid literally sprouted on the prairie on the day of the opening and contained 10-15,000 or more people by nightfall. Railroad towns evolved from stations or locations along the major lines and enjoyed the advantages of transportation and communications facilities. Inland towns--those settlements that had no initial connection to rail lines, such as Stillwater, El Reno, and Altus--were created to serve the needs of the rural population and in hopes of becoming thriving communities in their own right. The success and durability of these ventures largely depended upon a variety of

factors, the most important of which was the success of their efforts to secure the interest of a railroad. Many aspiring communities, such as Ingalls, Lawrie, or Paradise, just "bubbled up" after an opening and then collapsed almost as quickly.

The business district of the average town, at first comprised of from four to twelve stores along the main street, was the heart of the settlement. The earliest stores were often located in tents, but frame buildings replaced the temporary quarters as soon as possible. As the town prospered, brick, stone or concrete structures gradually supplanted many of the wooden buildings.

Between 1890 and 1907, a tremendous increase in the white population of Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory generated almost irresistable pressure on Congress to admit Oklahoma to the Union. The population of Oklahoma Territory grew from nearly 61,000 in 1890 to almost 400,000 in 1900. A special census in 1907 set the population at over 722,000. By statehood, the population of Indian Territory had risen to over 690,000 inhabitants, with non-Indians outnumbering the Native Americans by seven to one. Before admitting Oklahoma, however, Congress insisted that Indians accept the concept of the private ownership of land. The Dawes Commission was authorized to survey the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes, enroll allottees, and determine eligibility. Ultimately, 101,526 persons received land allotments of 160 acres in Indian

Territory. The remainder was assigned to townsites, schools and other public purposes, and segregated coal and timber lands. There was no surplus land for homesteading. On November 16, 1907, Oklahoma's nearly 1,500,000 inhabitants entered the Union as citizens of the forty-sixth state.

PATTERNS OF WHITE SETTLEMENT IN REGION FOUR

The eleven counties of region four comprise the southeastern corner of Oklahoma and encompass virtually the entire Choctaw Nation as well as small portions of the Chickasaw and Creek nations. The major geographical areas of the region include the Red River Plains, which form its southern extremity; the Ouachita Mountains, occupying most of the central third of the region; the Sandstone Hills in the northwest; and the Prairie Plains in the northeastern corner. The Red River Plains are generally low in elevation with few hills and fertile soil. In the Ouachita Mountains, the topography is rough and the soil thin. Farming here is confined to the valleys, while the hillsides are used for grazing and growing trees. Between the rounded mounds of the Sandstone Hills are extensive areas of fertile land for farms or pastures; a wide variety of crops flourish in the Prairie Plains. Generally well watered, the area receives between thirty-eight and fifty-

two inches of rain annually. It is drained by a number of important water courses, including the Red, Canadian, Blue, Boggy, Kiamichi, Poteau, and Little rivers. Region four also contains extensive coal deposits and vast stands of oak, pine, and hickory trees. Before statehood, early settlers produced such crops as corn, wheat, cotton, potatoes, and fruits, and also exploited rich mineral and lumber resources.

After passage of the Indian Removal Act (1830), the Choctaws, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Seminoles emigrated to various sections of region four. In 1830, the Choctaws received all lands between the western border of Arkansas and the 100th meridian below the Canadian and Arkansas rivers. They settled mainly in the eastern third of their land. In 1837, a treaty permitted the Chickasaws to move to the area west of the Choctaw settlements. The governments of the two tribes were combined, and members of both groups had the right to settle any part of the Choctaw Nation. In 1833, the Creeks had received that part of region four north of the Canadian River. They later invited the Seminoles to settle on their lands; and by 1840, the Seminoles had also begun to arrive in Oklahoma.

After removal, the tribes developed relatively prosperous economies. While most full bloods farmed small subsistence plots, many mixed bloods cultivated extensive tracts along the river bottoms and produced large amounts of grain, cotton, and livestock. Although land was held on

a tribal basis, individual members could develop large scale operations. A number of Indian planters owned black slaves; others, however, employed white laborers, who needed a special permit to enter Indian land.

In 1855 and 1856, new treaties more specifically delineated areas of tribal occupation. In 1855, a separate Chickasaw Nation was created, leaving the Choctaws in virtually exclusive possession of all land in region four below the Canadian River. In 1856, when the independent Seminole Nation was formed, all of region four above the Canadian River fell entirely within the western portion of the Creek Nation.

As punishment for their support of the Confederacy during the Civil War, the United States government forced the Indian nations to accept new treaties in 1866. The tribes agreed to cede their western lands to the federal government for the resettlement of other Indian groups, abolish slavery, and permit the construction of railroad lines through their territory. Despite the new agreements, Choctaw and Creek lands in region four remained intact. Although the Civil War had ruined farms, destroyed property, and decimated livestock herds, the economy of Indian Territory had revived in a remarkably short time. During the next few decades, however, a series of developments would destroy the tribes' independence and exclusive control over their lands.

The construction of railroads through Indian Territory in 1870s initiated the tribes' ultimate demise. Beginning in 1872, the Katy, Rock Island, Frisco, and other railroad corporations laid hundreds of miles of track through region four, spurred exploitation of coal and lumber resources, encouraged agricultural production, stimulated urbanization, and attracted a flood of whites. The Missouri, Kansas and Texas (Katy) constructed the first railroad line across region four in 1872. A continuation of the route that had been built through the Cherokee and Creek nations, it sliced across the Choctaw Nation and a spur of the Chickasaw Nation before crossing the Red River to Denison, Texas. Along the path of the Katy, a number of towns sprang up, including South Canadian, Crowder, Reams, McAlester, Kiowa, Stringtown, Atoka, Caney, Caddo, Durant, and Cobert.

A number of other railroad companies expanded rail services into the area over the next three decades. Between 1886 and 1887, the Frisco built from Ft. Smith, Arkansas, to Paris, Texas, across the Choctaw Nation from northeast to southwest and stimulated the growth of Cameron, Poteau, Wister, LeFlore, Talahina, Albion, Tuskahoma, Clayton, Stanley,, Moyer, Antlers, Speer, Hugo, and Grant. From 1889 to 1890, the Choctaw Coal and Railway Company (Rock Island) built from Wister to a point on the Katy near McAlester and constructed additional branches to numerous coal mining camps: Caston, Fanshawe, Red Oak,

Wilburton, Hartshorne, Haileyville, Alderson, and Krebs were thus connected to wider markets. In 1895, the Rock Island extended this line to Oklahoma City through Haywood, Stuart, Calvin, and Holdenville. Between 1900 and 1901, the Frisco built from Sapulpa to the Katy junction near the Red River. Towns benefitting from this extension included Dustin, Wetumka, Yeager, and Holdenville. From 1901 to 1903, the Arkansas and Choctaw (Frisco) laid a line from the Arkansas border to Ardmore, following a route a few miles north of the Red River. This trackage linked Idabel, Valliant, Ft. Towson, Hugo, Speer, Boswell, Bennington, Bokchito, and Durant to the growing transportation network. In addition to these more extensive construction activities, dozens of shorter spur lines connected the numerous coal mining caps and towns with the main rail lines and population centers within and outside the region.

Railroad promotion and construction in region four greatly stimulated large scale exploitation of coal deposits. Such endeavors had been impossible without adequate transportation facilities. In the years after the Civil War, J.J. McAlester obtained field notes from a geologist who had helped survey the Choctaw Nation. The notes described coal seams near the Cross Roads (present McAlester). Since he was married to an Indian woman, McAlester was able to establish a claim to the coal deposits. He organized the Oklahoma Mining Company and later the Osage Coal and Mining Company. After the Katy

arrived in 1872, commercial coal mining in the McAlester area began in earnest.

Over the next three and a half decades, nearly forty mining companies exploited the vast Choctaw coal fields, and numerous mining towns arose near the workings. The coal region was divided into a number of districts: the McAlester-Hartshorne district, the Wilburton-Red Oak district, the McCurtain-Bokoshe-Panama district, the Stigler-Tamaha district, the Hughes-Howe-Poteau district, and the Coalgate-Lehigh district. Other mining towns established at this time included Krebs, Dow, Gowen, Haileyville, Alderson, and Savanna. Because the Indians generally refused to work in the coal mines, companies at first imported miners from Pennsylvania. Soon, however, they began to recruit European immigrants to do the work. By the mid 1880s, European immigrants comprised the majority of the coal miners in the district. (See the Ethnic, non-Indian historic context.)

The railroads encouraged the exploitation of forest products, which also brought many white workers to region four. Sawmills multiplied, and lumbering became increasingly important after 1872. Initially, much of the lumber was used for ties and timbers in railroad construction, but coal mining operations also required timbers. In addition, large quantities of telegraph poles, fence posts, staves, and construction materials poured from the region. Millions of feet of pine and walnut lumber

were marketed throughout the United States. By the mid 1880s, Stringtown on the Katy line had become Oklahoma's most significant lumber shipping point. As rail lines were built elsewhere in the eastern portions of the region, other lumber centers such as Valliant also arose.

As each town sprang into existence, a cluster of white businessmen, professionals, artisans, laborers, and scoundrels took up residence. Although non-citizens were required to obtain a permit to reside and work in Indian Territory and those without licenses were classified as intruders subject to expulsion, many whites entered and remained illegally. Towns on Indian land were established only through the patronage of a tribal citizen who had received permission from the native government to exploit an unoccupied tract. He would then lease town lots or surrender his claim for a price. Some of the communities were company towns located near the coal mines. Owned by the coal companies, most of the company towns contained all the necessities for the mining families. Some, however, were little more than camps, and living conditions were extremely crude through the 1890s.

Describing settlements in Indian Territory during the 1880s, a federal report had stated that "towns have all been built and peopled by white residents, whose capital has been invested in large amounts in structures necessary for the great and increasing trade which is being carried on at these centers. Costly and attractive residences have

been erected in many of them, and in character they compare favorably with towns in any of the new states." It continued that white settlers "with few exceptions are doing a surprisingly large and prosperous business. And yet those who have built these towns, invested their capital in these expensive structures and have made these beautiful homes, have no title to the land on which they rest. This remains in the nation."

Another report prepared during the eleventh census in 1890 offered the following observations on urbanization in the Indian lands:

> The towns occupied by the noncitizens (largely white intruders) are merely camps, but with valuable and important buildings. There are no town limits, sewers, water supply, police, fire departments or any of the ordinary features of organized communities.
> . . . Not one town in Indian Territory is incorporated, there being no law to incorporate townsites. Persons other than citizens (members of the various tribes) building homes in towns or cities do so at their own risk. They usually pay yearly rentals for the privilege to the Indian citizen who claims the land. Most of the towns are built adjacent to railroads and near the strips of land which the railrod companies own . . . where such towns or stations are located.

Despite the insecurity (and often illegality) of both their presence and their investment in these early communities, settlers in Indian Territory established towns much like those in other Oklahoma frontier settlements. A representative town in region four would contain at least one general store, a post office, a clothing store, a meat market, and furniture store. A wagon yard, a blacksmith

shop, a livery stable, a grist mill, and an implement store were essential to any community. Reflecting the agricultural nature of the region, an elevator, cotton gin, stock yard, or a shipping and storage facility became integral parts of the local business complex. A sawmill was also characteristic of many towns. Other common enterprises included hotels, boarding houses, and restaurants. Since federal law forbade the introduction of alcoholic beverages into Indian Territory, saloons were conspicuously absent.

A variety of professional and service concerns were available in the young towns. Most contained a doctor's office, a dentist, a pharmacy, and a barber shop. The furniture dealer might double as the town undertaker. Most settlements included at least one church; members of settlements usually established a school as soon as possible. The forming of a bank and the establishment of a local newspaper added prestige to the town and were clear indicators of progress in any settlement. The initial commercial enterprises in these early communities were commonly housed in wood frame buildings, but as the towns grew and prospered, brick, stone, or concrete structures gradually replaced them. In some instances, most or all of the original buildings of a town were destroyed by fire, and owners rebuilt using more durable materials.

While thousands of whites flocked to the railroad towns and mining communities in region four, the vast majority were attracted to the rural areas, where, as tenant farmers, they helped develop extensive agricultural and stock raising enterprises. Mixed bloods established claims to large tracts, leased or rented land to white workers, and collected their rents in dollars or shares. At the end of the lease period, the improvements--houses, barns, fences, and other structures--became the property of the Indian lessor. White tenancy enabled Indians to cultivate additional thousands of acres of agricultural land, and the production of wheat, cotton, oats, and corn rose dramatically.

As economic activities increased, the number of whites, with or without permits, grew apace. Although there is little reliable data concerning white residents in region four prior to statehood, a special census in 1890 revealed that 10,017 Indians, 4,406 blacks, and 28,345 whites, including citizens and claimants to citizenship, lived in the Choctaw Nation. After 1890, white immigration increased rapidly. By 1900, there were nearly 100,000 people in the Choctaw Nation; perhaps less than 10 percent were at least one-half Indian. The United States census of 1900 listed a total of nineteen towns in region four--eighteen in the Choctaw Nation and one in the Creek Nation. While twelve of these settlements had less than 750 residents each, four contained over 2000 inhabitants.

McAlester (3479) was the largest town in region four. Other significant population centers included Durant (2969), Coalgate (2614), and Hartshorne (2352). Whites comprised the vast majority of the residents of these cities.

The rising tide of white settlers signaled the ultimate demise of Indian control over tribal domains. Succumbing to the demand that Indians be required to take individual homesteads, in 1887 Congress enacted the Dawes Act. This legislation decreed that Indian lands, except those belonging to the Five Civilized Tribes, be allotted in severalty. Surplus land would then be made available for white settlement. After 1889, one reservation after another in western Oklahoma was opened to white settlers in this manner. In 1893, Congress created the Dawes Commission and empowered its members to enter negotiations with the Five Civilized Tribes to terminate tribal government and allot their lands. In 1896, the Choctaws reached an agreement with representatives of the federal government, and the Creeks finally came to terms in 1900. The distribution of allotments in region four began in 1903. White tenants, however, continued to farm the vast majority of these tracts. In 1906, the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention created eleven counties from former Indian lands in region four. Atoka, Choctaw, Haskel, Latimer, LeFlore, McCurtain, Pittsburg, and Pushmataha counties lay wholly within former Choctaw

territory, and, except for their western edge, Bryan and Coal counties also fell within the old Choctaw boundaries. That portion of Hughes county above the Canadian River previously fell within the Creek Nation.

When Oklahoma achieved statehood in 1907, the total population of region four reached 202,910, encompassing 168,408 whites (including an indeterminate number of immigrants), 20,316 blacks, and 14,177 Indians. Pittsburg county contained nearly 37,000 inhabitants, while Bryan and LeFlore counties had over 24,000 each. The region counted fifty incorporated places, fifteen of which claimed over 1000 residents each. Nine of the towns were county seats; all fifty were on a railroad line. McAlester was the largest community in region four with over 8,000 inhabitants. Other major population centers included Durant (4510), Coalgate (2921), Hugo (2676), Hartshorne (2435), and Lehigh (2188). Although less than 30 percent of the white residents of region four lived in towns, they dominated the urban settlements. Blacks constituted just 8.8 percent of the town residents, while Indians comprised a minute 2.2 percent of the total.

PROPERTY-TYPE ANALYSIS OF WHITE SETTLEMENT STRUCTURES IN REGION FOUR

Between the 1870s and statehood, white tenancy, railroad construction, coal mining, and lumber operations stimulated agricultural activities and the development of numerous settlements and towns in region four. Although most whites entered Indian lands illegally, they established most of the permanent towns and brought thousands of acres of land under cultivation before 1907. Region four contains the following property types: 1) townsites, 2) commercial buildings and structures, 3) non-commercial buildings, 4) farmsteads and related structures, 5) houses, 6) churches, 7) schools, and 8) cemeteries. To determine the significance of specific properties, preservationists should strictly apply the National Register criteria as follows:

A: Properties that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

B: Properties that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.

C: Properties that embody the distinctive chracteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction.

D: Properties that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

1. Townsites: Townsites established in region four before 1907 include those that remain as only archeological sites (such as Lodi, in Latimer county, and Milton, in LeFlore county), others that are virtual ghost towns (such as Lehigh, in Coal county and Adamson, in Pittsburg county), and those that continue to function as vital social and economic units.

2. Commercial Buildings and Structures: Urbanized districts contain a wide variety of commercial buildings. In some instances, wood-frame buildings with false fronts and tin roofs, which are typical of the settlement period, still remain. The vast majority, however, are more substantial brick, stone, or concrete block buildings. In the days of settlement, they were used for stores, hotels, boarding houses, restaurants, banks, newspaper offices, print shops, doctor's offices, pharmacies, saloons, blacksmith shops, agricultural implement stores, harness shops, feed and grain stores, lumber yards, and a wide variety of other business purposes. Typical commercial structures within the towns included grain elevators, cotton gins, saw mills, wagon yards, livery stables, and stock yards. Few of the remaining buildings contain the original enterprises for which they were built.

3. Non-Commercial Buildings: Non-commercial buildings typical of early settlement communities include jails, post offices, and lodge meeting halls.

4. Farmsteads and Related Structures: Although there were no homesteads (as provided by the Homestead Act of 1862) in region four, there were many farmsteads established by white tenants throughout southeastern Oklahoma. In addition to the rural home, one would expect to find such structures as barns, sheds, silos, corn cribs, windmills, and fences. Even in cases where they have been unused for many years, some of these structures remain in salvageable condition.

5. Houses: Settlers built a variety of types of houses during the early period. Initial shelters included log cabins, dugouts, half-dugouts, small frame houses, and residences of stone and crude lumber. Frequently these houses served as stores, post offices, churches, and schools as well. Climatic conditions and inadequate maintenance undoubtedly have destroyed most of the dugouts and other crude shelters, but some surviving examples should remain in the rural districts. In both the towns and the countryside, small wood-frame, brick, or stone houses remain from the period prior to 1907. Many are virtually unchanged on the exterior, expecially in the smaller and lesser developed communities.

6. Churches: Excellent examples of churches built before statehood should be found in the region. Churches functioned as centers of social and cultural activities as well as religious services. They range from small wood-frame buildings to substantial structures of brick or

stone. Representative churches inflect not only some of the most important architectural survivals of town life in the pre-statehood period, but they are also an integral aspect of the rural lnadscape as well.

7. Schools: Like churches, schools dotted the rural landscape and served important social, as well as educational, functions in the towns. Preservationists should encounter a number of representative wood-frame, stone, and brick schoolhouses in region four.

8. Cemeteries: Cemeteries were significant components of the urban and rural environment. Frequently a cemetery was located near, but outside, the townsite limits on land donated by a farmer. Lots within a townsite were set aside for cemeteries as well. It was also common to place a cemetery beside a rural church. At some sites, the only reminder of previous settlement is an abandoned cemetery.

REGION FOUR:

Atoka County:

1. Oklahoma State Bank, S.W. corner of Ohio and Court Streets, Atoka, OK

2. Old Atoka State Bank, Ohio and Court Streets, Atoka, OK (N.R. 1980)

3. The Pioneer Club, First and Mississippi Streets, Atoka, OK (N.R. 1980)

Bryan County:

4. Hollis Marshall House, 623 North Thirteenth Street, Durant, OK

5. J.L. Wilson Bldg., 202 West Evergreen, Durant, OK (N.R. 1982)

Choctaw County:

7. White's Auto Store/Furniture, 108 West Jackson, Hugo, OK (N.R. 1980)

8. Swink Photo/Folk Insurance/Hartwell's, 104 West Jackson, Hugo, OK (N.R. 1980)

9. Grimaud Medical Center, 109 East Jackson, Hugo, OK (N.R. 1980)

10. Williams Store, 115 Ninth Broadway, Hugo, OK (N.R. 1980)

11. Sherman's Western Wear, 109 North Broadway, Hugo, OK (N.R. 1980)

12. Charlie's Junior & Ladies Apparell, 103 North Broadway, Hugo, OK (N.R. 1980)

13. Juniors Recreation Center & Storage, 118 & 120 West Duke, Hugo, OK (N.R. 1980)

14. Vacant Building, 122 West Duke, Hugo, OK (N.R. 1980)

15. Belmont Hotel, 124 & 126 West Duke, Hugo, OK (N.R. 1980)

16. Patterson's Appliances, Hardware, Furniture, 107 East Duke, Hugo, OK (N.R. 1980)

17. K-Arm's Women's Apparell, 102 North Broadway, Hugo, OK (N.R. 1980)

18. Edinger Hardware, 104 North Broadway, Hugo, OK (N.R. 1980)

19. Kiddie Koral, Kasual Corner, 109 North Broadway, Hugo, OK (N.R. 1980)

20. Otasco & Babcock Bros., 114 & 116 1/2 North Broadway, Hugo, OK (N.R. 1980)

21. Claud Patterson's, 113 West Duke, Hugo, OK (N.R. 1980)

22. John Wyche House, 1000 East Duke, Hugo, OK

23. First Baptist Church, Block 4, lot 4 and part of lot 5, Soper plat, Soper, OK

Coal County:

24. Hudson's Big Country Store, Coalgate, OK

25. Old Merchants Bank Building, Lehigh, OK

Hughes County:

26. First National Bank Building, Main and Broadway, Holdenville, OK

27. Stuart Hotel, Stuart Vicinity.

Latimer County:

28. Rosenstein Building, 111 East Main, Wilburton, OK

Pittsburg County:

29. Thrower House, 900 Lehigh, Hartshorne, OK

30. Hokey's Drugstore, Main Street and Washington, Krebs, OK

31. Busby Office Building, 113 East Carl Albert Parkway, McAlester, OK (N.R. Dec. 6, 1979)

32. Busby Theatre, Washington and Second Streets, McAlester, OK (N.R. 12/6/79)

33. First Presbyterian Chruch, 101 East Washington, McAlester, OK (N.R. 12/11/79)

34. McAlester Scottish Rite Temple, Second and Adams, McAlester, OK (N.R. 11/22/80)

Pushmataha County:

35. Citizens National Bank, 111 West Main Street, Antlers, OK

36. Dr. J.H. Nash House, 420 West Main Street, Antlers, OK

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