Speech Activities in Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, During the Seventies.

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SPEECH ACTIVITIES IN TAHELEQUAH, CHEROKEE NATION,
DURING THE SEVENTIES

A Dissertation

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Louisiana State University and
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in

The Department of Speech

by
Ruth M. Arrington
B.A., Oklahoma College For Women, 1946
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ABSTRACT

During the 1870's Indians residing in the vicinity of Tahlequah, the western capital of the Cherokee Nation, attended and participated in school and community speech activities comparable to those popular in the United States in the same period. This study reports the Tahlequah activities, noting their origin and the implications of their growth and influence for the Nation.

Early Cherokee tribal accomplishments are chronicled in the study to provide a background for the development of speech activities. Particularly significant advances include acceptance of the Christian religion and establishment of churches and schools, perfection of an alphabet for writing the Indian language, establishment of a republican form of government with a written constitution, and publication of a bilingual weekly newspaper. Two periods of hardship and suffering were especially difficult. The first tribal ordeal was their forced exodus to an unsettled western wilderness. The second crisis, the Civil War, left the land of the red men in ruins.

By the 1870's Cherokees launched into a period of development that was a high point of their cultural growth. Religion and education contributed to advancement, as did
travellers who brought ideas to and from the Nation. The tribal newspaper encouraged Cherokee progress by publicizing local events and printing items that furthered knowledge of a variety of topics.

As early as 1827 speech activities were performed at the mission schools in the Nation and continued to be a part of life in the Cherokee capital in the West after its establishment in 1839. During the seventies speech activities, consisting of the end of term exercises, oral examinations, and public exhibitions, took place in the public schools, Cherokee Female Seminary, Cherokee Male Seminary, and Cherokee Orphan Asylum, and at educational events in the town. Meetings of debating societies, sometimes called literary societies, were the scene of speech activities, as was the Teachers' Institute. Elocutionary and musical performances were included in "concerts" staged to benefit local causes. Orations, declamations, essays, debates, dialogues, and tableaux were included on the programs.

In the community organizations designed mainly for self-improvement of the citizenry included reading circles and debating societies. The local amateur dramatic club sometimes performed a benefit for a community project, but the major purpose was enjoyment by players and audience. Performances by skilled solo readers were attended and appreciated by Tahlequah citizens. Professional touring
companies were rarely available because of poor transportation, but a few circuses, minstrel troupes, and magician shows came to Tahlequah and nearby towns.

Throughout the nineteenth century there were Indians who clung to the old ways; that segment of Cherokee society is not represented in this study. Those Indians who were influenced by the culture imported from the United States and who assimilated it were the ones who took part in and attended speech activities in the seventies in Tahlequah, the capital of the Cherokee Nation.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Speech activities were part of the cultural life of America in the nineteenth century. Elocution helped the school boy learn to read with greater effectiveness; oratorical or debate activities enabled the lawyer and minister to perform professional responsibilities more skillfully; the reading circle offered participants a keener insight into literature. About 1870 "there was a great demand for organizations which would uplift and polish the great mass of common people." Activities grounded in elocution helped to fulfill this need, as entertainment and adult education joined forces. The extent and manner of the spread of these cultural activities to the American frontier is a subject of interest to the speech historian. Thus far slight attention has been given to their occurrence on that part of the frontier occupied by the aboriginal Indian Nations. Participation in these activities by the Indians might well be an index to the encroachment of American culture on native ways, or, depending on one's view, the successful adoption of civilized ways by the tribes.

This study focuses attention on the cultural center of the Cherokee Nation, Tahlequah, the Nation's capital, in the present state of Oklahoma, during the era of the seventies. Its purpose is to determine the nature of speech activities that were part of the life of citizens of Tahlequah in comparison with those popular in the United States during the same period, the avenues through which the activities were introduced into the life of the people, and the importance of the activities in community affairs.

The introductory chapter of this study provides information concerning the sources of data for the study, references to related studies, a brief review of the history of the Cherokee Nation before the period of this study, a description of typical American speech activities during the period, and a note on the ways by which American culture spread along the frontier.

The second chapter details the history of Tahlequah from 1839 until the end of the sixties. Instances of speech activities occurring during the period are included. The cultural rebirth of Tahlequah and the Cherokee Nation in the seventies is the topic of the third chapter. Educational institutions of the town, their histories and practices, and the speech activities performed in schools are chronicled in the fourth chapter. The speech activities and performances of community groups are considered in the fifth chapter, together with information concerning nearby communities and
their entertainments. The final chapter is an overview of the findings of the study.

**SOURCES OF THE STUDY**

Information basic to this study is contained in documents concerning Cherokee affairs that are maintained at several locations. Extremely valuable source material is to be found at the Oklahoma Historical Society in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, where in the Newspaper Library various publications printed in the Indian Nations are to be found. The Cherokee Advocate (tribal newspaper published in Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation), Cherokee Rose Buds (student publication of Cherokee Female Seminary), Sequoyah Memorial (student publication of Cherokee Male Seminary), Indian Journal (first published in Muskogee, Creek Nation, later at Eufaula, Creek Nation), the Vindicator (first published at New Boggy, Choctaw Nation), and other newspapers are available for study. The Historical Society's Indian Archives are another useful source.

Northeastern State College in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, which occupies the campus that was the last location of the Cherokee Female Seminary, is the holder of much information concerning the Cherokees. School records of the Male and Female Seminaries are filed in the Registrar's Office at the college. The John Vaughan Library has special collections in the Cherokee Room to provide data on the early inhabitants of Tahlequah and the region. Worthy of special attention are
the Nave Letters, a collection containing a miscellaneous group of letters and documents concerning activities before, during, and immediately after the Civil War.\(^2\) Other tribal materials are preserved in this library.

For the researcher in Indian history the holdings of the Western History Collection at the University of Oklahoma Library are helpful, as well as the Alice Robertson Collection at the University of Tulsa Library. The University of Arkansas Library is the source of useful related materials. Newspapers of that state are available, in addition to an excellent assortment of nineteenth century textbooks on elocution. Not to be neglected is the Louisiana State University Library, which holds useful works providing background material for this study. Additional data are to be found in the nineteenth century periodical collections at the city libraries of Tulsa, Oklahoma, and Cincinnati, Ohio.

**RELATED HISTORICAL INVESTIGATIONS**

Although few studies of cultural history include the achievements of Cherokees in the nineteenth century, there have been scholarly works applicable to this study. A

\(^2\)This material was organized and arranged by Dr. T. L. Ballenger, now emeritus professor of history at Northeastern State College, Tahlequah, Oklahoma. In an article in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* Ballenger describes the collection (T. L. Ballenger, "The Andrew Nave Letters: New Cherokee Source Material at Northeastern State College," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXX [Winter 1952], 2-5).
rhetorical study of messages of three Principal Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation, John Ross, William P. Ross, and Dennis W. Bushyhead, provides helpful data concerning these leaders. Cullen Joe Holland collected significant information on the Cherokee Indian newspapers for three periods: the first was from 1828 when the Cherokee Phoenix was published in New Echota, Georgia, until it ended in 1834, then from 1844 when the Cherokee Advocate started in Tahlequah until the paper was discontinued in 1853, and finally from 1870 until the series terminated in 1906. Tahlequah, the Cherokee capital, is the subject of a study by Louise Crafton Baker, whose work contains informative background material.

"A Study of Theatrical Entertainments in Northwest Arkansas from their Beginnings through 1889" presents data of amateur and professional productions, including circuses, minstrels, and community programs. The region used in the study borders the Cherokee Nation on the east and provides opportunity for comparison with Tahlequah activities.

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6 Harold Calvin Tedford, "A Study of Theatrical Entertainments in Northwest Arkansas from their Beginnings through 1889" (Ph. D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1965).
Two other regional speech studies concern the nearby state of Missouri. "Theatrical Entertainments in Rural Missouri Before the Civil War" gives thorough coverage to both amateur and professional entertainments in the settled section of the state, the area near the Mississippi River. A study of a later period and a different region of Missouri, "Theatrical Elements in Folk Entertainments in the Missouri Ozarks, 1885-1910," includes information on literary societies, closing of school programs, and local dramatic productions. Its findings are helpful in measuring Tahlequah's cultural advancement.

THE CHEROKEE NATION

From ancient times the Cherokee tribe of North American Indians lived in parts of what are now the states of North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia. The transformation of this warlike people into civilized Christian citizens of their own Indian republic was indeed noteworthy. Before the nineteenth century few outsiders were welcomed by the hostile Cherokees who lived by war; they fought all invaders, white men and red men. Some traders with necessary goods and winning ways had been absorbed into the tribe by marriage.

7Elbert R. Bowen, "Theatrical Entertainments in Rural Missouri Before the Civil War" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Missouri, 1950).

Such unions produced remarkable offspring whose contributions to the Cherokee Nation are noted later.

Before the Revolutionary War and immediately thereafter white settlers moved into the habitat of the Cherokees. Not wishing to be crowded out of their native homes, the Indians fought to evict the invaders, first by force and later by learning some of the useful ways of the white men. A tribal patriarch explained this change in attitude as he addressed a group of students in 1827. "Remember," he said in Cherokee, "the whites are near us . . . unless you can speak their language, read and write as they do, they will be able to cheat you and trample upon your rights."9

While missionaries worked diligently to convert and educate in the 1820's, an unschooled, mixed blood Cherokee, George Guess, whose Indian name was Sequoyah, perfected an eighty-five character alphabet. The invention of this system provided a means to read and write the Cherokee language and triggered additional advancement among these people. Samuel Worcester, a missionary for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, reported that late in the 1820's Cherokees had a concern for learning and "great numbers have learned to read: they are circulating hymns and portions of Scripture, and writing letters every

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9The speech was translated into English by David Brown, a Cherokee educated in the East. The translation was included in the publication of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Missionary Herald, XXIII [December 1827], 381).
With such interest soon there was a demand for reading material in the native language and Worcester, who had worked with his father in a printing office in Vermont, assisted the tribe in obtaining a printing press with English and Cherokee type. In 1828 the first aboriginal newspaper, the Cherokee Phoenix, was published in New Echota, Georgia, with subscribers who could read only Cherokee receiving the journal free of charge. The editor was Elias Boudinot, a part blood Cherokee, who, as Buck Oowaite, had been a promising student and attended a school sponsored by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Cornwall, Connecticut. While he was out of the Nation this talented young scholar took the name of his patron, Dr. Elias Boudinot, the president of the American Bible Society. When he returned to his native home he brought with him a wife, the former Harriet Gold, a Cornwall girl. Boudinot, with the assistance of Samuel Worcester, prepared the Cherokee Phoenix, a newspaper that represented the Cherokee tribe and provided a record of the deeds of that people for future historians.

Not only did the Cherokees have a weekly newspaper, but they had a written constitution, modeled after that of

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10Ibid., p. 213.


the United States. The document called for the election of the executive officer or Principal Chief every four years with "every sane male Cherokee citizen who had attained the age of eighteen years being entitled to vote." Thus it was in 1827 that John Ross, a man of one-eighth Cherokee blood, was elected to the office of Principal Chief. As there was no provision in the constitution to prevent a person from being reelected, Ross continued to win the office until his death in 1866. This respected gentleman, who was educated at an academy in Kingsport, Tennessee, and who served under Andrew Jackson in the War against the Creek Indians in 1813, devoted his life to his people.

As evidence of cultural interests in the 1820's, Cherokee youth declaimed orations on programs that followed oral examinations held at the close of school terms. The programs, or exhibitions as they were called, entertained the entire audience and enlightened the uninformed visitors as to the various skills acquired by the pupils. The Reverend John Allan, a minister from Huntsville, Alabama, who visited in 1827 the Creek-Path Mission School for Cherokee students, reacted favorably to the elocutionary skills of the Indian children who performed in English.

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14 Cherokee Advocate, September 26, 1844.
Several single speeches, and a very interesting dialogue, founded on the story of Joseph and his brethren, were spoken uncommonly well. This was indeed novel and unexpected; and though the children had never witnessed any thing of the kind in their lives, yet I am confident I do not exaggerate, when I say that the performance was excellent. The speech of Brutus on the death of Caesar, and that of Mark Antony on the same occasion, were spoken by two of the boys with great animation. I was much interested in another spoken by a full blooded boy. It was taken from the Columbian Orator, attributed to an Indian, and begins with these words—"Father, when you crossed the great waters"—This piece, as you may suppose, appeared quite in keeping with the little Cherokee orator, who delivered it with great propriety.  

The achievements of the Cherokees in the 1820's were disrupted in the next decade. White settlers sought legal means to acquire the lands occupied by the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole Indians. The attractiveness of the country increased when gold was found in the land of the Cherokee Nation. Treaties had been made earlier encouraging members of the five tribes to move. Some had departed and established new homes in the West. Then in 1830, when Andrew Jackson was President of the United States, the Indian Removal Act calling for the eviction of the sixty thousand members of the five tribes was passed by Congress. A section of the recently obtained Louisiana Purchase was set aside for the Indians and by 1838 nearly all the Indians had accepted their fate and moved to the West, except for fifteen thousand Cherokees

16Missionary Herald, XXIII (December 1827), 379.
17Woodward, The Cherokees, pp. 159-161.
who were among the last to leave the South. This forced exodus has been labeled by later historians the Trail of Tears. Before and after the Indians reached the land west of the Mississippi they faced the material losses and physical suffering that resulted from this long and difficult move. The eastern half of what is now the state of Oklahoma became the home of the Five Civilized Tribes.\footnote{Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole tribes of Indians, who had established an advanced civilization before their removal from the South, are called the Five Civilized Tribes in various historical studies (Grant Foreman, The Five Civilized Tribes [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934], Morris L. Wardell, A Political History of the Cherokee Nation 1838-1907 [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938], Woodward, The Cherokees). The term is used in the state of Oklahoma without any explanation. For example there is a museum in Muskogee, Oklahoma, named The Five Civilized Tribes Museum. The title communicates that this institution contains materials relating to the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole Indians and to no others.} The Cherokee Nation was assigned the northern section that was bordered on the east by the state of Arkansas, on the south by the Choctaw Nation, on the west by the Creek Nation, and on the north by the territory of Kansas. The eastern and northern borders were altered during the nineteenth century, but the town that was designated as the seat of government in 1839 remained the same throughout the century. The capital, Tahlequah, in the southern part of the Nation, was visited in 1874 by a reporter for the New York Times, who described it as "the most enlightened in the Indian
This reputation, endorsed by local citizens, was supported by enthusiastic tribesmen.

Citizens of bordering states were aware of the advance made by the Indians; in fact, as the editor of the New Era, a newspaper published in Fort Smith, Arkansas, named the accomplishments of the Cherokees, he bemoaned the lack of such achievements in his state.

The Cherokees across the border have free schools of common and high degree. Arkansas has none and legislature has just stolen the last dollar of the school-fund.

The Cherokees are building an asylum for the insane. Arkansas has none.

There is also a fine flourishing female seminary at Talequah and additional buildings are being erected at the cost of $20,000.

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20 Efforts to preserve tribal accomplishments are underway. Presently in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, a four phase project is underway at the site of the original Cherokee Female Seminary. The Cultural Complex sponsored by the Cherokee Historical Association consists of a Cherokee village before the white man came to America, an outdoor theatre where every summer the epic drama, The Trail of Tears, is staged, a museum, and an archives building. The village and drama are completed and open to the public each summer. In February, 1971, the first marker in the Cherokee Hall of Fame was dedicated, marking the achievements of Robert L. Owen, a part blood Cherokee, who was a teacher and banker before he was elected to the United States Senate to represent Oklahoma in 1907. Helping to write the Federal Reserve Bank Act was one of Owen's major achievements during his more than twenty years in the Senate. As Hall of Fame monuments are added they will outline a circular plaza between the village and the museum.

21 The incorrect spelling of Tahlequah by the New Era editor reflects a problem that troubled other writers. In the Atlantic Monthly (April 1879, p. 448) the name was spelled "Tahlegwah." "Tallequah" was used by Ethan Allen Hitchcock (Ethan Allen Hitchcock, A Traveller in Indian Territory, ed. Grant Foreman [Cedar Rapids, Ia.: Torch Press, 1930], p. 35).
A handsome new jail has been erected at Talequah, the capital of the Cherokee Nation. The Cherokee legislature at its late session abolished the whipping post.22

This town, Tahlequah, the center of progress in the Cherokee Nation and the envy of her neighbors, is the setting of this study.

The time period of this study, the decade of the seventies, climaxed two periods of Cherokee rebuilding, first after removal and then after the Civil War. One historian has observed that the time following the Civil War "culminated in the best conditions reached under tribal government."23 Consequently the growth and development of Cherokee culture during this period is of special interest.

SPEECH ACTIVITIES IN THE STATES

Speech activities treated in this study include organized oral experiences performed by individuals or groups for audiences or for the groups themselves. In the nineteenth century "elocution" was the word most often used

22New Era, March 3, 1875.

23V. A. Travis, "Life in the Cherokee Nation a Decade After the Civil War," Chronicles of Oklahoma, IV (March 1926), 16.
to name such experiences. These events were a part of school and community life in the states of the Union.

Because oral reading was basic to instruction, in nineteenth century schools all reading teachers taught speech. Readers often contained instruction for oral delivery and progress was measured by oral performances.

The term "elocution" was used in a general sense to encompass almost any speaking situation before an audience. The nature of some of the definitions in the texts of the time invited this usage. For example, "Elocution is the art which enables one to deliver written or extemporaneous composition with ease, force, accuracy, and variety, i.e. eloquently" (Rev. B. W. Atwell, Principles of Elocution and Vocal Culture [Providence: Bangs Williams News Co., 1867], p. 9). "Elocution is nothing else but the art of speaking or talking" (J. H. McIlvaine, Elocution [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1870], p. 19). "Elocution is the delivery of extemporaneous or written composition" (J. Madison Watson, Hand-Book of Calesthenics and Gymnastics [New York: J. W. Schermerhorn and Co., 1868], p. 12).


Similar criteria were used for oral examinations administered at the close of school. Additionally, these tests were used, as indicated by a popular nineteenth century educator, to aid the student to remember, reason, and speak extemporaneously. He continued:

Unless a man is able to think without embarrassment, in a situation in which he may probably be placed; unless he can express his thoughts on any subject with which he is acquainted, with accuracy, and without hesitation; unless he is able to generalize his knowledge with rapidity, so as to construct an argument, or defense, upon the shortest notice, he is not educated; at least he is not educated suitably for this country, and especially for the West.27

Public exhibitions at the end of school terms included musical selections, orations, declamations, essays, dialogues, debates, tableaux, or plays.28 The debating or literary society was an outgrowth of the exhibition.

Adults in the American community organized speech activities similar to those in the schools. Citizens performed at town literary and debating societies. Amateur theatrical groups blossomed, staging plays, tableaux, and declamations for worthy causes and for the enjoyment of performers and audiences. Other groups read aloud and discussed literature for both cultural advancement and sociability. Occasionally communities sponsored touring

27 Wm. H. McGuffey, "Examinations," Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers, VI (Cincinnati, 1836), 241.

performances of plays, variety shows, circuses, minstrels, and magic acts.

Sermons, political addresses, and like speeches had their place in the communities. However, they are excluded from consideration in this study, their number and nature being more suitable to a separate rhetorical treatise. An exception to the rule are those orations found to be part of school and community ceremonies.

THE SPREAD OF CULTURE TO THE FRONTIER

Many of the trends popular in the States spread to some of the sparsely populated sections of the country. Visitors and newcomers brought ideas in and local citizens who travelled to centers of culture told those who stayed at home of the latest notions. To staff schools in the newly settled regions it was necessary to recruit teachers from other sections of the country. If the frontier community had a healthy respect for education and could afford to do so it imported as instructors from schools of good scholastic reputation newly trained graduates who brought with them recent techniques in teaching. Innovations from a variety of fields sometimes travelled rapidly because of these teachers.

Education was a measuring rod of growth on the frontier. The teacher, the schoolroom, the accompanying books, were all a part of the advancement that varied from
place to place, and at times from year to year, but the town that supported education, through good and bad moments, was on its way to better days.

The church accepted a responsibility for the spread of education as well as religion. This effort required the assistance of many dedicated men and women who answered the call and served willingly. As the frontier became more civilized the missionary became the minister who continued to exert influence for right and good. With the passing of time both the church house and the school building provided space for meetings of various community groups.

Another important contribution to life in the small town was the weekly newspaper. Editors filled their publications with news, mostly local, some national, plus an occasional comment about occurrences outside the continent. Advertising was included, too, along with borrowed materials from various sources, sometimes representing the best in popular literature. At times a paper sprang up and was gone almost before the outside world was aware of its existence, but if a journal was consistently reliable then the community had a solid stabilizing influence that added greatly to the prestige of the town. A good newspaper was a definite sign of progress.

The construction of a railroad system across the continent in the last half of the nineteenth century did much to spread and speed civilization to once isolated sections of the country. Realizing that new comforts were
as far away as the nearest railroad station, most frontier citizens were eager to give up a little of the large quantity of land that they owned. The railroads offered good prices for the land and the settlers knew that the possibilities for improving their own lives were enormous.

Visitors and newcomers, education, religion, newspapers and literature, and later, railroads, helped spread culture across the continent in the nineteenth century. Some cultural historians have surveyed the entire movement, while others have examined a single facet. A few writers have devoted limited space to conditions among the Indian tribes that inhabited part of the United States. Rarely is indication given of aboriginal cultural advancement, the subject of this study.

Tahlequah is the petite and beautiful capital of the Cherokee Nation, lying in a romantic vale, surrounded by protecting hills and undulating meadows. . . . No pensive poet nor dreamy artist could have selected a sweeter spot.1

This description, written by a visiting journalist, was published in the Cherokee Advocate in 1879. Here was Tahlequah after forty years of struggle and tireless effort by its citizens. Perhaps these words delineated the vision seen by the Old Settlers, who came to the West before and immediately after the passage of the Removal Act of 1830. Or they outlined the dream of the leaders of the faction of Cherokees known as the Treaty Party, who agreed to move from Southern states to Indian Territory just before the infamous "Trail of Tears." Or they embodied the hope that kept the last members of the tribe alive and moving on their forced exodus from their homes in the South to their homes in the West. But in 1839 in Indian Territory there was little time for visions, dreams, or even hopes, for this was a time when action was necessary.

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1Cherokee Advocate, July 2, 1879.
After much dissension and intrigue the majority of the Cherokees met on July 12, 1839, at the Illinois Camp Ground, only a short distance from the present town of Tahlequah, and pledged themselves to be united in their tribal affairs. At last the Cherokees were ready to begin their life in Indian Territory.

A convention was called to adopt the new tribal constitution with Tahlequah named as the place for the meeting. There on September 6, 1839, the constitution was approved. In a later action Tahlequah was named as the seat of government for the Cherokee Nation, and on October 28, 1843, it was established as a town, to become the oldest incorporated town in the present state of Oklahoma. Many tribal leaders built their homes at Park Hill, a few miles south of the capital.

T. L. Ballenger, a historian who has a wide knowledge of Cherokee history, called Tahlequah the political center of the Cherokee Nation, while Park Hill was the social center. Tahlequah was the focal point of activity in the Cherokee Nation as long as Indian Territory existed.

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3 Ibid., pp. 9-22.

4 Grant Foreman, Advancing the Frontier (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933), p. 205, n. 11.

In this chapter attention is given to the development of the town of Tahlequah and the Cherokee Nation from their beginnings in Indian Territory to 1870. During this thirty-year period the town and the Nation were founded, struggled to stay alive, enjoyed times of plenty, suffered hardships, and after the upheaval caused by the Civil War rebuilt and revived their old institutions. Although some references to speech activities are included in this chapter, major emphasis is placed on the growth of this community.

Ten years before the "Trail of Tears," the Cherokees in the South had "a constitutional government, a stratified society, a highly literate population, and a national newspaper." All of these characteristics of civilization were re-established in the new Nation. The discussion of these four achievements, with an additional section covering the Civil War and other problems, provides the framework for this chapter.

I. CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

The ideas of civilized culture had attracted the Cherokees soon after their contact with the white man. In 1730 Sir Alexander Cuming, an unofficial representative of King George II of England, took seven Cherokees including one who was later to be Chief Attakullaculla, or Little

Carpenter to London. They were presented to His Majesty at Windsor Castle, visited Westminster Abbey, Parliament, theatrical performances, and fairs, and sat for a group portrait for the Duke of Montague. While the English court was fascinated by the Cherokees, the Indians were being enlightened as to the ways of the white man. In later years Attakullaculla remembered with pleasure his visit and talked of it to his people.7

Tribal law ruled the Cherokees, the first written laws to govern them being recorded in 1810.8 Within ten years the Cherokees in the South had laid out their land in districts and had established a system of law enforcement. In 1827 a republican constitution was adopted at New Echota, Georgia.9

By the 1820's some Cherokees had already emigrated to the West, and eventually they set up an organized form of government. The Old Settlers, as they were called, living near Fort Gibson, had been sufficiently successful in agriculture in 1837 to fill contracts to supply the garrison, as well as to contribute to the needs of the Indians who were arriving from the East. Eighty bushels of salt a day could be produced in the area known as the Grand Saline. This asset, along with the operation of sawmills, gristmills,

9Ibid.
and other successful ventures, provided some of the Old Settlers with situations in the West that were enviable.\textsuperscript{10}

There were approximately two thousand Old Settlers who for twenty years, or longer in some cases, had cultivated the land and created new homes in the West. They were joined by some four thousand members of the Treaty Party whose presence and activities were not totally acceptable to the first immigrants to the area. Before these two groups had resolved their differences, a new group of about twelve thousand in number arrived.\textsuperscript{11} These newcomers were loyal to their chief, John Ross, who had supported and assisted them in their efforts to remain in their rightful homes in the South and who had accompanied them on their sorrowful march to the West. The majority arrived, tired, sick, hungry, and in need of assistance from their fellow Cherokees who were already settled. Instead the new arrivals encountered another problem: the Old Settlers and the Treaty Party had united to attempt to determine the destiny of the tribe.

The presence of the military did not make unity easier. Fort Gibson, situated on the Arkansas River that divided the Cherokee and the Creek Nations, and Fort Wayne near the Arkansas state border were subjects of complaints from many Indians. Rumor was rampant and confusion reigned.

\textsuperscript{10}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 358. \textsuperscript{11}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 323.
The generals listened and armed the forts in case of an Indian uprising. All the while the Cherokees were trying to resolve their differences in order to start life in their new land.

The approval and acceptance of the Cherokee Constitution in 1839 was a shaky start. Disgruntled factions were numerous. Yet John Ross was elected to serve as Principal Chief and in spite of the disturbances that existed he started to work for all of his people.

The United States Constitution served as a model for the Cherokee Constitution, which started with a Preamble and specified departments of government to be legislative, executive, and judicial. In the legislative department there were two branches, the Committee, comparable to the United States Senate, and the Council, comparable to the House of Representatives. Membership in the Committee included two men from each of the eight districts of the Nation, while the Council was composed of three representatives from these districts. These two groups convened on the first Monday in October in Tahlequah.

The executive officers of principal chief and assistant chief were elected every four years at an election

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12 Ibid., p. 302.

13 After 1869, the National Committee was known as the National Senate (Emmet Starr, History of the Cherokee Indians [Oklahoma City: The Warden Co., 1921], p. 266).

14 Constitution and Laws, pp. 9-14.
held in the odd-numbered years on the first Monday of August. The constitution required that these officers be at least thirty-five years old.\textsuperscript{15} There was an Executive Council of five members and a National Treasurer.\textsuperscript{16}

The judicial division of the government was made up of a Supreme Court and "such circuit and inferior Courts as the National Council may from time to time, ordain and establish."\textsuperscript{17} The term for the Supreme Court was four years and the age requirement was thirty. The court met in Tahlequah each October.\textsuperscript{18}

The Cherokee Nation was divided into eight districts: Illinois, Canadian, Tahlequah, Going Snake, Flint, Delaware, Saline, and Sequoyah.\textsuperscript{19} Later the number was increased to nine with the addition of the Coo-Wee-Scoo-Wee District.\textsuperscript{20} Each district had its own sheriff and judge to handle local affairs.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{15}At the first election John Ross was chosen to serve as chief and he won the office at each election until his death in 1866, when his nephew, William Potter Ross, was appointed by the National Council to complete the unexpired term. At the election in 1867, Lewis Downing became the Principal Chief.

\textsuperscript{16}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 14-18.  \textsuperscript{17}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 18.

\textsuperscript{18}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 18-20.

\textsuperscript{19}\textit{Laws of the Cherokee Nation passed During the Years 1839-1867} (St. Louis: Missouri Democrat Print, 1868), pp. 70-72.

\textsuperscript{20}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 73.

\textsuperscript{21}\textit{Constitution and Laws}, pp. 21, 81-2.
The Cherokee people were not taxed. "All expenses attending the administration of their public affairs are defrayed out of annuities received from the United States," the national newspaper editor proudly stated in the first issue of the Cherokee Advocate.\textsuperscript{22} When funds became scarce in the 1850's an effort was made to levy taxes, but the council refused to pass the bill.\textsuperscript{23}

The men who wrote the Cherokee Constitution could not foresee every situation that might arise in the Nation. Some citizen must have been using the grassy court house grounds to fatten his cattle when the governmental session convened in 1852, for a law was passed to "Protect the Public Square against person or persons putting stock on it."\textsuperscript{24} As in any republic the body of law could be changed to fit the circumstances.

II. STRATIFIED SOCIETY

In a study of writings about the frontier Ralph L. Rusk commented that "the records left by travellers and observers who set down their impressions of the new country," are a significant part of the history of the frontier.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{22}Cherokee Advocate, September 26, 1844.

\textsuperscript{23}Grant Foreman, The Five Civilized Tribes, p. 411.

\textsuperscript{24}Laws, p. 34.

\textsuperscript{25}Ralph Leslie Rusk, The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1926), I, 79.
Allen Hitchcock and Henry Benson visited and wrote about the Cherokees soon after the Indians had settled in the new land. Both observed and discussed the various levels of Cherokee society.

Ethan Allen Hitchcock, a major in the United States Army, who came to Indian Territory to investigate charges that the tribes had been unfairly treated during their removal, arrived in Tahlequah late in 1841. Hitchcock wrote in his personal journal:

There are classes of people here, rich and poor, cultivated and uncultivated and they occupy the same relative position as with us. The habits of life appear simple and natural. Savage customs and manners have disappeared. After visiting the other tribes Hitchcock prepared a report in which he spoke highly of the educated, religious, and industrious people of the Cherokee Nation, but he also reported that there was a lawless element. Some of this group were whites who sought refuge with the Cherokees, according to Hitchcock.

As Henry Benson, a missionary and a teacher from Fort Coffee Academy in the Choctaw Nation, traveled across the Cherokee Nation to attend an Indian Mission Conference to be held in Tahlequah in 1844, he noticed that "the contrasts and

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26Henry Benson, Life Among the Choctaw Indians, (Cincinnati: L. Swormstedts and A. Poe, 1860) and Ethan Allen Hitchcock, A Traveler in Indian Territory, ed. Grant Foreman (Cedar Rapids, Ta.: Torch Press, 1930).

27Hitchcock, Ibid., p. 29. 28Ibid., p. 244.
differences were more marked than among the Choctaws. The better classes were more refined and wealthy, while the lower classes were more destitute and thriftless. This visitor saw other extremes among the Cherokees. Here was a well equipped farm with a neat and comfortable house and close by was "a smoky hovel and the little irregular patch of corn and pumpkins." A similar story of stratification was told in the Cherokee Advocate. The newspaper did not report the deeds of the rich and the poor, but rather the "good" and the "bad." In the Advocate and in other records the activities of the "extremely good" and the "extremely bad" people in the Cherokee Nation were discussed. On one side there were missionaries and their followers inviting others to join them in their good works, providing the evil doers with an opportunity to shed their old ways and take up the ways of the "right and good."

The newspaper carried notices of meetings of the Cherokee Bible Society and the Cherokee Temperance Society. The Bible Society was organized in October of 1841, in Tahlequah, its guiding purpose being "to disseminate the Sacred Scriptures in the English and Cherokee languages among the people of the Cherokee Nation." This group held its yearly meetings in

29 Benson, Life Among the Choctaw Indians, p. 228.
30 Ibid.
31 Cherokee Advocate, September 26, 1844.
October, the time of the convening of the National Council, since many tribal leaders were affiliated with the society and would be in Tahlequah at that time. The annual meetings of the Cherokee Temperance Society were called at the same time and for the same reason. The first meetings of these societies announced in the Advocate were scheduled two days apart, the Bible Society meeting on October 16 and the Temperance Society on October 18 of 1844. At the temperance meetings speeches were in Cherokee and English, as well as songs.32 Popular melodies of the day were often used with words written by Samuel Worcester, the missionary to the Cherokees for the American Board of Foreign Missions.33 At their spirited sessions numerous

32Ibid. Stephen Foreman was secretary of both organizations. This Presbyterian minister, who attended Princeton Theological Seminary, led one group of Cherokees on "Trail of Tears," served as National Superintendent of Education, and Chief Justice of Supreme Court (Carolyn Foreman, Park Hill [Muskogee, Oklahoma: The Star Printery, Inc., 1948], pp. 42-3.

33A graduate of Andover Theological Seminary, Samuel Austin Worcester married Ann Orr, when he was twenty-seven years old, and set out to serve as a missionary to the Cherokee Indians. Worcester aided the Cherokees in the printing of their national newspaper, the Cherokee Phoenix, in New Echota, Georgia. In 1831 he was imprisoned in Georgia because of his loyalty to the Cherokees. His conviction was later reversed by the United States Supreme Court. The Worcester family moved to Indian Territory in 1835 and settled at Union Mission. The press that Worcester had transported to the Cherokee Nation produced the first book in the state of Oklahoma, a child's book in the Creek or Muskogee language. Park Hill Mission became the Worcesters' home in 1836. After Ann Orr Worcester's death in 1840, Worcester married Erminia Nash. His death at Park Hill in 1859 brought an end to a life
people signed the pledge of abstinence and by 1845 there were 3,058 members in the society.\textsuperscript{34}

There was a Children's Temperance Society, too. The meetings of this organization were first mentioned in the Advocate in 1845.\textsuperscript{35} Boys and girls marched around the public square, carrying banners, singing temperance songs, and delivering and listening to speeches, after which they were served a "cold collation" of spring water. The forces of "good" made an effort to engage everyone in their activities.

"Probably the most pervasive cultural influence in the early West was religion," said Rusk in his study of the frontier.\textsuperscript{36} So it was among the Cherokees. Missions and missionaries were a part of the life of the Cherokees from their arrival in Indian Territory to the 1850's, by which time the church replaced the mission.

The brick church built in Park Hill in 1854 was financed in part by entertainments presented by the girls at the nearby Cherokee Female Seminary. The spire on the church stood fourteen feet high, and the bell was inscribed

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of devotion and accomplishment. Through his descendants his work continued. His grand-daughter, Alice Robertson, was the first woman to represent Oklahoma in the United States Congress (Althea Bass, Cherokee Messenger [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936]).
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\textsuperscript{34}Grant Foreman, The Five Civilized Tribes, p. 394.

\textsuperscript{35}Cherokee Advocate, September 11, 1845.

\textsuperscript{36}Rusk, Literature, p. 38.
"Park Hill, Cherokee Nation, Rev. S. A. Worcester, Missionary. Holiness unto the Lord." The Nation's second brick church was Sehon Chapel, located closer to the Female Seminary and completed in 1856. This chapel was one of the few spared from destruction during the Civil War.

Matters related to the church were often discussed in the letters written in and around Tahlequah in the fifties and sixties. When Lou Ross wrote to her cousin she mentioned the preacher she had heard the preceding Sunday and expressed interest in the one she would hear the next Sunday. Jane Nave wrote of a "cold snowy Sunday," when the crowd was small, but six people affiliated with the church. In a letter to her daughter, a student at Fayetteville Female Seminary, Mrs. Nave commented concerning her religious attitude:

Nor do I confine your attendance to the Methodist church alone. No dear, I am not so bigoted--I wish you to be guided by Mrs. Van Horn if she should see fit to attend the Camelite [sic] Church even.

Another letter reported that one Sunday in the Fourteenmile
Creek section of the Nation, when there had been no church services, the school teacher took her Bible and went down to the creek to read it.42

There were those who did not participate in the activities of the "good"; they were the lawless inhabitants of the territory, a group composed of Indians and whites. At times the United States Army represented the forces of evil in the Indian Nation. In the spring of 1845 letters in the Advocate told of various affronts, including murder, committed by Fort Gibson soldiers.43 During the summer similar crimes were reported from the Arkansas border communities of Evansville and Maysville.44 Some local rascal tried to burn Mrs. Taylor's new brick hotel built north of the capital square in Tahlequah.45 Shortly after the Park Hill home of Return Jonathan Meigs, son-in-law of Chief John Ross, was burned by Thomas Starr and his band, Starr's father was killed.46 By 1846 the Starr gang had been pursued all over the Cherokee Nation. Most of them had been captured or killed by the time Ellis Starr was caught and imprisoned in Arkansas

42Mary to sister Lizzie, 2 April 1862, The Nave Letters, Social Correspondence.

43Cherokee Advocate, March 27, 1845.

44Ibid., June 19, 1845. 45Ibid.

Three and a half months later his escape was reported in the *Advocate*, along with this editorial comment on military justice:

> Unless very much tired of confinement, he ought not to have done this, but remained quietly with the 'General,' to whom he and several like him owe a debt of lasting obligation for having fed, protected, and screened them from justice.⁴⁸

Some of the Cherokee women were a part of the lawless element. While Hitchcock was at Fort Gibson he attended a horse race where he observed "a knot of whiskey sellers--women whiskey sellers."⁴⁹ One of the older women stood on the outskirts of the crowd with the supply of illegal spirits, while a younger woman mingled with the group, selling a drink for "a bit a gill."⁵⁰

When the offenses exceeded the tolerance level the principal chief would call a "day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer."⁵¹ These days were frequent in the 1840's and continued throughout the seventies.

Hitchcock wrote in his journal in 1841, "I have seen one gallows in the Cherokee Nation in the precincts of the capital Tallequah [sic]. A gallows has been pronounced as

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⁴⁷*Cherokee Advocate*, May 21, 1846.
⁴⁹Hitchcock, *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, p. 96.
⁵⁰*Ibid*.
⁵¹*Cherokee Advocate*, March 6, 1846.
a sign of civilization." The sign was small comfort to those who suffered at the hands of the ones for whom the gallows were intended. However, the presence of the instrument indicated that there was law in the Nation and most of the citizens obeyed that law.

As in other frontier settlements the Cherokee Nation had the good and the bad and the rich and the poor. Yet there were average citizens who made up this society. They were the men who bought their saddles at George M. Murrell's store after it was moved into Tahlequah from Park Hill. They were the ladies in the vicinity who bought calico at ten cents a yard and silk handkerchiefs that started at one dollar each at the store of John Ross. They were Cherokees

52 Hitchcock, A Traveler in Indian Territory, p. 62.
53 George M. Murrell, a native of Virginia, came to Tahlequah in the early 1840's. He married the eldest daughter of Lewis Ross and built for her the stylish "Hunter's Home" in Park Hill. The Murrell family lived in this home only a part of the year. The rest of the time they resided at Bayou Goula in Louisiana (Carolyn Foreman, Park Hill, pp. 50-52.
54 Cherokee Advocate, October 5, 1844.
who enjoyed training and racing horses and the ones who liked to read good books, as the Indian Agent observed in his official report printed in the local paper. They were the men who belonged to Tahlequah's Masonic Lodge that was chartered in 1848 under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge at Little Rock, Arkansas, to become the oldest Masonic organization in the state of Oklahoma. They were the citizens who attended the meetings of the Franklin Debating Society that were scheduled regularly in Tahlequah in 1847. They were people who sent their children to the Cherokee Male and Female Seminaries in the 1850's. They were the ones who stayed in the Nation during the dreadful days of the Civil War and rebuilt with amazing rapidity when that war was over. They were the people spoken of in the Annual Report made by the Indian Agent in 1870 when he said "a fair, or exhibition of stock and farm produce, lately held in Tahlequah had been a matter of much interest to the people and was largely attended." There were all types of people in the Cherokee Nation; rich, poor, good, bad, and average citizens lived there.

56 Cherokee Advocate, February 20, 1845.

57 Masonic Lodge in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, has photocopy of record that is kept in Little Rock, Arkansas (Interview with T. L. Ballenger, August 4, 1970).

58 Holland, "Cherokee Indian Newspapers," p. 376.

III. HIGHLY LITERATE SOCIETY

Education was encouraged and respected by the Cherokees. Their constitution contained a section that read:

Religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government, the preservation of liberty, and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education, shall forever be encouraged in this Nation.60

Shortly after those words were written and approved the schools were in operation.

Schools. In a report dated September 30, 1843, P. M. Butler, the United States Agent to the Cherokee Indians, listed eleven schools completely supported by tribal funds, four schools under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and two schools operated by the Baptists.61 The same report described the cultural level of the Cherokee people as follows:

As a people, the Cherokees generally envince an increasing interest in the importance of education; some of them have a decided taste for general literature and may be said to have reached respectable attainment in it. . . . A few have full and well selected libraries. . . . Thousands of them can speak and write the English language with fluency and comparative accuracy.62

Less than five years after the removal the Cherokees were able to rekindle their earlier interests and to find time for cultural pursuits.

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60Constitution and Laws, p. 22.
61Cherokee Advocate, October 5, 1844.
62Ibid.
In the late spring of 1845 Nancy Hoyt, granddaughter of tribal leader George Lowrey, was welcomed back to the Territory and the educational institution that she was to open was heartily recommended in an Advocate account.63

In a subsequent report by the Cherokee Agent the school in Tahlequah taught by Miss Hoyt was highly complimented.64

Her classroom was the first in the town of Tahlequah according to official records, but the unofficial first was a school opened in 1841, and taught by Benjamin Carter.65

United States Agent Butler remarked in his 1846 report that there was "a change of sentiment relative to females" teaching in Cherokee schools,66 a reference to the earlier policy that the schools of the Nation should be taught by men. An announcement appearing in the Advocate in January, 1845, discouraged women from coming into the Nation to look for teaching positions.67 A year later another item repeated that teachers in schools supported by the national school fund were men, most of whom were at that time citizens of the United States.68 Miss Hoyt's school was in operation

63Ibid., June 19, 1845.  
64Ibid., April 2, 1846.  
66Cherokee Advocate, April 2, 1846.  
67Ibid., January 30, 1845.  
68Ibid., January 29, 1846.
by this time, but it probably did not receive support from the Nation.

By 1846 the Cherokees had eighteen common schools whose teachers were paid four hundred dollars a year. There were two terms, each five months in length, with "the months of February and August for vacation."69

The schools listed in Butler's 1843 report as being supported by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions were Dwight, Fairfield, Park Hill, and Mt. Zion. Henry Benson, the Methodist missionary and teacher, visited three of those schools during a trip into Cherokee country in 1844. His work in the neighboring Choctaw Nation prepared him to make observations that would not occur to other visitors.

First he stopped at Fairfield Mission, a day school, unlike Fort Coffee, which was a boarding school. Benson noted that the schoolroom at Fairfield was equipped with "maps, cards, and globes for purposes of illustration," and he concluded that it was the best and most "conveniently furnished" of any he visited.70

Park Hill Mission, where Samuel Worcester was superintendent, was the subject of the following description:

69Ibid.

70Benson, Life Among the Choctaw Indians, p. 231.
There was a good farm; a frame church of proper size; a good frame school-house; a two-story building used for a book establishment, having its printing-presses and book bindery. There were two frame buildings, each two stories high, for family residences.\textsuperscript{71}

Much diligent effort had gone into obtaining and setting into operation this excellent mission station from which Worcester and his family tried to satisfy the spiritual and intellectual needs of the tribes in the Territory.

On the way back to his own station Benson visited historic Dwight Mission, which he recalled was "a Presbyterian mission and the oldest one in the tribe."\textsuperscript{72} At Dwight Female Seminary, a boarding school, Benson noticed that the students provided their own clothes, while at Fort Coffee the boys were issued complete outfits including suits with coats and trousers "of Kentucky jeans; good stout shoes, seal-skin caps, white shirts of stout cloth, and cotton handkerchiefs."\textsuperscript{73} Some of the Choctaw boys at Fort Coffee needed the clothes and others required assistance as to what was suitable in dress. The Cherokee girls at Dwight did not appear to have these problems.

Many of the missionary-teachers who worked in Indian Territory spent their entire lives in giving to these people the benefit of their knowledge and skills, as well as their beliefs. One such man was Samuel Worcester, who came with

\textsuperscript{71}Ibid., pp. 231-232.  \textsuperscript{72}Ibid., p. 255.  \textsuperscript{73}Ibid., p. 187.
the Cherokees from the South to continue his service to them. Nancy Thompson was another missionary who made this journey. Benson met her and wrote of her devotion to the people and the country. Some years after her arrival in Indian Territory she decided to retire. She went back to New England but soon found that she missed her work in the land west of Arkansas. At the time of Benson's visit she had recently returned to find her place at Park Hill Mission had been filled, so she started a new school.

Even a determined teacher had some problems to face in teaching Indian youth. In an Advocate item about the opening of the school for girls, which was connected with the Baptist Mission, the superintendent encouraged students to be present for the beginning of the term. Some of the Indians found it difficult to realize that school started on a specific day, for to them the day they came was the day to start.

74 Nancy Thompson worked with Worcester at Park Hill. In 1850 she moved on west to Tullahassee Mission where she served the Creek Indians. Her association with the Worcester family continued. Ann, the eldest of the Worcester children, had married William S. Robertson and they moved to the Creek mission station. Miss Thompson stayed at Tullahassee until her death in April of 1881 (Althea Bass Papers [MSS in Western History Collection, Oklahoma University Library, Norman, Oklahoma]).

75 Benson, Life Among the Choctaw Indians, p. 232.

76 Cherokee Advocate, August 7, 1845.
Private schools offered additional educational opportunities to the student in the Cherokee Nation. A curriculum that included composition and declamation was proposed for a school in 1845. In an Advocate advertisement Frederic William Lynde, who would serve as teacher, announced that a debating society would be formed and there would be weekly recitations, both "original and selected."77 The twenty-five students needed to open the school must not have enrolled, for there was no later indication that Park Hill ever enjoyed such an institution.

The school that did open at Park Hill in the winter of 1845 was taught by Dwight Hitchcock, a recent Amherst graduate.78 This was the same Dr. Daniel Dwight Hitchcock who was later graduated from Bowdoin Medical College and married Sarah Worcester, Samuel Worcester's daughter, one of the first teachers at the Cherokee Female Seminary.79

From time to time the Advocate called attention to schools in the nearby sections of Arkansas. A summer term was announced for Elms School in Cane Hill, Arkansas, in

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77 Ibid., January 9, 1845.
78 Ibid., February 20, 1845.
79 Sarah Worcester Hitchcock died in 1857. Later Dr. Hitchcock married his wife's sister, Hannah, who was a widow (Carolyn Foreman, Park Hill, pp. 84-85).
1845, to be taught by the Reverend Samuel Newton and his wife. There was another Lynde, this one M. A. Lynde, who taught a Classical and English School at Cane Hill in 1846. The Fayetteville Female Seminary taught by Miss Sawyer and Miss Trimble was also fully endorsed by the Advocate editor. An education of almost any type was available in and around Tahlequah less than ten years after the last segment of the Cherokee Tribe arrived in Indian Territory, but the most significant schools were yet to materialize.

Seminaries. After his return to Washington at the end of his tour to investigate conditions in Indian Territory in 1842, Major Ethan Allen Hitchcock made a report to the Secretary of War in which he urged that schools of higher learning be established in the Indian Nations in order that the youth might be educated without leaving their home land. The Cherokee Nation, not the United States Government, transformed Hitchcock's suggestion into a reality.

The most notable achievement of the Cherokees in the 1850's was the opening of the Cherokee Male and Female

80 Cherokee Advocate, May 1, 1845. Newton had been in the Territory since 1836, when he started Park Hill Mission (Carolyn Foreman, Park Hill, p. 2).

81 Cherokee Advocate, April 2, 1846.

82 Ibid., March 13, 1845.

83 Hitchcock, A Traveler in Indian Territory, p. 261.
Seminaries. These schools, which had long been a dream of the Nation's leaders, started to take shape in 1846. William P. Ross, the editor of the Cherokee Advocate, wrote in the tribal newspaper of "an Academy at which the higher branches of a common education should be taught." Then in October Chief John Ross recommended to the National Council that such schools should be established and on November 26, 1846, the Council passed the bill creating the Cherokee Male Seminary and the Cherokee Female Seminary. The cornerstone for the Female Seminary was laid on June 21, 1847.

The building of the Seminaries cost the Cherokee Nation eighty thousand dollars. The Male Seminary opened on May 6, 1851, with Thomas B. Van Horne from the Theological School at Newton, Massachusetts, as principal teacher and O. L. Woodford, formerly a student at Yale, as his assistant. When the Female Seminary opened the next day the girls were greeted by principal teacher Ellen Whitmore, and assistant teacher Sarah Worcester, both of whom had been educated at Mount Holyoke in South Hadley, Massachusetts.

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84 Cherokee Advocate, January 29, 1846.
85 Carolyn Foreman, Park Hill, p. 78.
86 In 1858 Mr. and Mrs. T. B. Van Horne were principals of the Fayetteville Female Institute in Fayetteville, Arkansas, some sixty miles east of Tahlequah. See Appendix for copy of the 1858 Announcement of the school. The original is found in the Alice Robertson Collection, University of Tulsa Library, Tulsa, Oklahoma.
87 Grant Foreman, The Five Civilized Tribes, pp. 408-409.
The selection of the two women teachers is an interesting story. When the Cherokee leaders were faced with the difficult task of finding teachers for the Seminaries, David Vann, the national treasurer, and William P. Ross, former editor of the national newspaper, went to Mount Holyoke to interview applicants for positions at the Female Seminary. As a result of this visit Miss Whitmore and Miss Worcester were employed, and, accompanied by William P. Ross, started on their journey to Indian Territory from Philadelphia on October 3, 1850. On that date Ellen Whitmore also began the journal in which she recorded the events of the next two years of her life. In her diary she described the six-week train, boat, and coach trip, as well as the first year that the Cherokee National Seminaries were open.

88The selection of Mount Holyoke as the source for the Female Seminary Teachers was not a chance affair. The success of the South Hadley experiment in female education was known in the Cherokee Nation. Sarah Worcester, daughter of missionary Samuel Worcester, had attended the eastern school for nearly four years. Moreover, her mother, Ann Orr Worcester, and Mary Lyon, Mount Holyoke's founder, had been classmates in 1819 in Byfield, Massachusetts, where their teacher was the Reverend Joseph Emerson, an early proponent of education for women. Mary Lyon's school, established in 1837, was one of the first academies for women in the United States (Althea Bass, A Cherokee Daughter at Mount Holyoke [Muscatine, Ia.: Prairie Press, 1939], pp. 6-14).

That first year Miss Whitmore taught "the history, one class in grammar, two in arithmetic, and the reading," while Miss Worcester was responsible for "writing, botany, one class in grammar, one in arithmetic, and singing." The twenty-seven boys who enrolled at the Male Seminary were offered courses of a more solid classical nature. They would study "geography, history, arithmetic, algebra, English grammar, composition, elocution, and French, Latin and Greek languages." By 1854 the Female Seminary's course of study had been strengthened with the third and fourth classes taking "arithmetic, mental and written, geography, botany, and Latin," the second class having "algebra, philosophy, Watts on Improvement of the Mind, and Latin," and the first class studying "geometry, history of Greece, Paley's Natural Theology, and Intellectual Philosophy."

This curriculum was patterned after the offerings at Mount Holyoke at the suggestion of the Cherokee officials. In his letter to the South Hadley school in 1850, David Vann had asked for suggestions for a "course of studies for the four years." Later, Ellen Whitmore wrote in her journal

90Ibid., p. 20.
91Grant Foreman, The Five Civilized Tribes, p. 408.
93Ibid., p. 14.
Out-of-town destinations sometimes included Muskogee when the fair was in progress or when a circus was advertised. Travel beyond the Indian Nations was not unknown. R. D. Seals, the dentist from Fort Smith, sent a story to the Advocate in which the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad announced a Grand Excursion to Chattanooga and Atlanta. The editor encouraged his fellow Cherokees to take advantage of the bargain rate of thirty dollars for a round trip in order to visit the homes of their tribal ancestors. Earlier the "Local News" had carried a report that Mrs. Campbell Taylor had returned from a visit to the old home.

When the Centennial Exposition opened in Philadelphia in 1876 the Advocate devoted at least six columns to news about the event. "The whole world has not gone to the Centennial Exposition, but some hundreds of thousands have," reported the editor. Six weeks later when the term of the Cherokee Female Seminary was completed the principal teacher, Miss Florence Wilson, and a member of the teaching staff, Miss Mary L. Stapler, departed for Philadelphia and other eastern cities.

83 Cherokee Advocate, December 10, 1879.
84 Ibid., March 16, 1878.
85 Ibid., May 27, 1876.
86 Ibid., July 15, 1876.
that the leaders of the Nation wanted the Female Seminary to "become as much like Holyoke as possible."\textsuperscript{94} Miss Whitmore saw only a part of that wish materialize, for in the summer of 1852, she married Warren Goodale at Rose Cottage, the home of Chief John Ross. She was replaced by Harriet Johnson, another Holyoke product who taught at the Female Academy before she too married. Ellen Whitmore Goodale left Indian Territory as the wife of a missionary, but Harriet Johnson Loughridge stayed to assist her missionary husband in his work among the Creek Indians.\textsuperscript{95} Once again Mount Holyoke supplied the principal teacher, Pauline Avery. She stayed until 1856, when Charolotte Raymond moved from assistant to the position of leadership.\textsuperscript{96} This period of Seminary history was full of weddings, another being on November 18, 1856, in Buffalo, New York, when Pauline Avery and O. L. Woodford were married.\textsuperscript{97} Woodford came to the Cherokee Nation the first year the Male Seminary was open to serve as assistant teacher but later became the principal teacher.

\textsuperscript{94}Whitmore, \textit{Journal}, p. 23. 
\textsuperscript{95}Carolyn Foreman, \textit{Park Hill}, p. 84. 
\textsuperscript{96}Ibid., p. 102. 
\textsuperscript{97}Cherokee Rose Buds, February 11, 1857.
In the Cherokee Nation significant steps had been made regarding the employment of women. At the beginning of the 1840's women could not teach in schools supported by the Nation, but in the 1850's women were employed and at the Female Seminary received the same amount of pay as the Male Seminary teachers. The principal teachers received eight hundred dollars annually, plus board, while six hundred dollars and board went to the first assistants. Schools in the United States were slow to follow the example of the Cherokee Nation in the matter of equal pay to men and women.

The Cherokees adopted the type of examination popular in the States at the time—a public test that required the student to provide an oral answer to a specific question. The oral examination was a part of the seminary system.

For some Cherokees examination day was an opportunity to get new clothes. It was for Samuel H. Gunter, a student in the Third Class at the Male Seminary in 1856.

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101Sequoyah Memorial, July 31, 1856.
Gunter, his father, wanting the son to be suitably attired for the exercises, wrote Andrew Nave, who had a store at Park Hill, to request a pair of new pants for Samuel.102 Reacting similarly, just before the next examination, Jane Van wrote a note to her "Cousin Felix" that read:

> Will you oblige me by executing a little commission if it is not too much trouble. I wish to get something for an examination dress, like this sample if you can find it [sic] it was at Mr. Nave's. If that is gone find some thing else that will be pretty I want about ten yds. also 3 yds. of black velvet an inch or two wide one doz. black glass buttons, and a large collar, and oblige.103

Felix was an exceptional cousin if he was able to fulfill all of his "commission."

The seminary publications, the Cherokee Rose Buds issued by the Female Seminary and the Sequoyah Memorial of the Male Seminary, were important to the Cherokees, because they recorded the activities and preserved the writings of students. One of the news items in the Cherokee Rose Buds concerned a recent Temperance Meeting in Park Hill. The writer admonished the student speakers who spent too much time apologizing rather than talking on the subject.104 Students expected their fellows to practice in public the

102 G. M. Gunter to Andrew Nave, 22 June 1856, The Nave Letters, Social Correspondence.
104 Cherokee Rose Buds, August 2, 1854.
principles they were taught in the classroom and one of the requirements of the oral examination was to stick to the point.

While a small amount of space in the *Rose Buds* went to news items and only a little more was devoted to material printed in the Cherokee language, the bulk of the space was given to compositions, poetry, and a few dialogues written by the Seminary girls. In the issue of August, 1855, there was a selection called "Two Scenes in Cherokee Land" that could have been used for a tableau.105

Appearing on the masthead of each issue of *Cherokee Rose Buds* were the words, "Devoted to 'The Good, the Beautiful, and the True,'" which served as a guide to the editors. In 1855 exchanges were listed with the *Chickasaw Intelligencer*,106 the *New York Musical World*, and the *Boston Cultivator*.107

Somehow or other the exchanges for the Male Seminary publication, the *Sequoyah Memorial*, included *Godey's Lady's Book*. In January of 1857 in a regular section of *Godey's* called "Places of Education for Young Women," the writer expressed pleasure to learn of the school for girls in the

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106 *The Chickasaw Intelligencer* was published at Post Oak Grove, Chickasaw Nation, in 1854. It was later moved to Fort Washita (Carolyn Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints 1835-1907* [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936], p. 115).

107 *Cherokee Rose Buds*, August 1, 1855.
Cherokee Nation. This information had been gained from an article in the Sequoyah Memorial of July 31, 1856, from which a rather lengthy extract was quoted.108

The masthead of the first issue of the Memorial was dated August 2, 1855, and carried the motto, "Truth, Justice, Freedom of Speech and Cherokee Improvement." As in the girls' school publication there were a few articles in the Cherokee language, but the boys gave several columns of news of interest to both community and school. The young editors expressed the wish that the national newspaper, the Cherokee Advocate, could be published again.109 They also observed that while there had been a number of California travelers going through the Nation, few Cherokees had answered the call to look for gold.110 Business and the weather were two other topics that received attention. In 1856, the wheat crop developed rust and was nearly destroyed.111 In the summer of 1855 there had been so little rain that the Arkansas River was too low for boats to navigate safely; hence such products as coffee, tobacco, and sugar were difficult to obtain in Tahlequah.112 In news related to the Seminary

109 Sequoyah Memorial, July 31, 1856.
110 Ibid.
111 Ibid.
112 Ibid., August 2, 1855.
the newspaper listed the staff, the students, and the course of study for the four classes. The officers and members of the literary society, the Sequoyah Institute, were reported in the Memorial in 1856, and two of the orations given at the meetings were published.

In addition to the activities of the literary society there were other speech activities at the Male Seminary. The course of study listed in the newspaper stated that there were regular exercises in declamation by the boys and in 1855 "Russell's Elocution," was studied by the Fourth Class. If this was a reference to a text book by William Russell, a prolific writer of elocution texts in the United States, 

113 Ibid., August 2, 1855, July 31, 1856.
114 Ibid., July 31, 1856. Copies of the orations, "Discontent and Its Effects" and "Literary Societies," are in the Appendix.
115 Ibid., August 2, 1855, July 31, 1856.
116 Ibid., August 2, 1855.
117 By 1855, William Russell had written several books. Erickson lists the following: A Grammar of Composition (1823); Lessons in Enunciation (1830); Rudiments of Gesture (1830); Exercises in Elocution (1841); The American Elocutionist (1844); Orthophony, or The Cultivation of the Voice (1845); Elements of Musical Articulation (1845); Pulpit Elocution (1846); Harpers' New York Class Book (1847); Primary Reader (1847) (Marceline Louise Erickson, "Speech Training in the Common Schools, Academies and High Schools from 1785-1885 as revealed by a Study of Books Used in the Schools," [Ph. D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1948], p. 336).
the young student speakers at the Male Seminary had a solid foundation for future elocutionary activities.

The Female Seminary girls were aware of the current vogue in speech activities. A poem titled, "Our Christmas Festival," appeared in the Cherokee Rose Buds. The writer named the tableau and the dialogue as "old" forms of entertainment, while something new in entertainment was sought for the current year. In a cryptic poem, "Literary Day Among the Birds," by Lily Lee, various species of birds were cast in roles of performers for a program:

The exercises opened with a scientific song,
By the united voices of the feathered throng.
Then was delivered a brilliant oration,
By 'Squire RAVEN, the wisest bird in the nation,
Master WHIP-POOR-WILL next mounted the stage,
Trying to look very much like a sage.
Eight pretty green PARROTS then spoke with art;
Though small, with credit they carried their part.
Again an oration by Mr. QUAIL,
Spoken as fast as the gallop of snail.
And lastly, Sir BLACKBIRD whistled off an address,
Of twenty odd minutes, more or less.

This poem could be describing the content of a literary program, starting with a song and ending with a lengthy address. If the parrots were the youngest students at the Seminary, who said their piece in a group, they probably did sound like the birds who learn to talk through imitation. That may have been the method by which the girls learned their selections.


119 Cherokee Rose Buds, August 1, 1855. See Appendix for complete text of "Literary Day Among the Birds."
Students at the Female Seminary wrote about speech activities in the Cherokee Rose Buds. They also attended and performed these activities. The May 7 program provided such opportunity. To commemorate the opening of the Seminaries a program was planned for May 7, 1855, to be held in "the grove, a few rods from our Seminary," according to the girl who wrote the account of the exercises. Performers included students from the Male Seminary who presented three orations and an original poem, Seminary girls who "personified Spring," and members of the National Board of Education who gave speeches. After the program a "cold collation" was served. Lily Lee could have written her poem after attending these exercises.

At the celebration the next year the crowning of a May Queen and music provided by the Brass Band of Fort Gibson were added features. The tradition of remembering the opening of the Seminaries is an annual event at Northeastern State College in Tahlequah, Oklahoma. Most recently on May 7, 1970, Seminary graduates met for entertainment, a business meeting, and lunch served under the trees on the campus.

When the first issue of the periodical The American Journal of Education and College Review appeared in 1855, friends of education in the States read about the Seminaries in the Cherokee Nation. Friends of education among the

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120 Cherokee Rose Buds, August 1, 1855.
121 Sequoyah Memorial, July 31, 1856.
Cherokees were no doubt proud to read the article that appeared to be a transcript of a discussion in which William P. Ross furnished information about Cherokee schools. That pride must have doubled when Sequoyah and his eighty-six character alphabet were praised by a Mr. Richards, who was clearly not supposed to take an active part in the discussion, for his first statement was, "I can't keep still." The stimulus for Richards' reaction was the discussion about the speed with which the Cherokee-speaking person could be taught to read his language by using Sequoyah's syllabic alphabet. Richards was impressed and urged the use of "phonetics, or writing the English language with characters which have but one meaning," to facilitate learning to read.

Friends of religion also read of the Seminaries. In the Missionary Herald, a publication of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, a report from the Cherokee Nation informed the readers that "the two national seminaries are doing an important work." But limited funds put a stop to that work. Earlier in the decade the national newspaper had suffered a similar fate. Now the Male Seminary closed on October 28, 1856, and the Female Seminary followed in February.

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123Ibid.
124Missionary Herald, January 1853, p. 11.
of 1857.  Tribal problems and the distant drums of civil strife in the United States required solution before those Seminary doors opened again, nearly twenty years after the closing date.

**Education After the Close of the Seminaries.** While the Seminaries were the giant achievement of the Cherokees in the 1850's, the public schools continued to function. In 1856, there were twenty-one common schools in the Cherokee Nation. Teachers in the various districts wrote news of the schools to their families and friends. A teacher at Forest Hill reported thirty-three scholars in her class in 1859. Large classes were not uncommon, for Lou M. Ross had fifty-one pupils at Oak Grove. Miss Ross also wrote that she needed to work out some "very difficult sums," for two especially bright girls in her class made it necessary for the teacher to be sure she had the correct answers to all problems. On Christmas Eve Miss Ross did find time to attend a candy pull, which she reported was quite enjoyable.

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125 *Cherokee Rose Buds*, February 11, 1857.
126 *Sequoyah Memorial*, July 31, 1856.
127 *Victoria to Cousin*, 1 October 1859, *The Nave Letters, Social Correspondence*.
130 *Lou Ross to Cousin*, 27 December 1858, *The Nave Letters, Social Correspondence*. 
Although the Seminaries were closed, they were not forgotten. In 1860, Annie B. Ross wrote that her father, the chief, was trying to get the Female Seminary open again. Because John Ross had more serious problems to solve, the girls had to wait. One wrote of her concern, "I do hope there will be school for young ladies some where about [sic] if they don't be we will go to rack." This writer needed to be in school.

Some of the local youth were able to attend boarding schools in Arkansas. Several Cherokee girls were enrolled at Fayetteville Female Institute operated by T. R. Van Horne and his wife. Room and board was one hundred thirty dollars for the school year, plus extra for such instruction as music and drawing. Jane Nave wrote her daughter at Van Horne's school in the fall of 1860, "You can take painting lessons. I will try & raise means to pay for it myself." It was an expensive undertaking, especially since her son Henry was enrolled in school at Cane Hill.

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132 Ruth to Lizzie, 4 September 1861, The Nave Letters, Social Correspondence.

133 See listing of fees in Announcement for Fayetteville Female Institute for 1858 in Appendix.

134 Jane Nave to daughter Lizzie, 29 September 1860, The Nave Letters, Social Correspondence.

135 Jane Nave to daughter Lizzie, 18 September 1860, The Nave Letters, Social Correspondence.
Classes continued to be held in the public schools during the Civil War period. School boys who spent the noon hour singing gaily at the school on Fourteenmile Creek in 1862 hardly seemed disturbed by the turmoil in the Nation. For that matter, neither did their teacher, whose letters contained talk of the boys singing, her trips to and from Tahlequah and Fort Gibson, as well as mention of her several beaux, but she wrote that she would wait to find a "kindred spirit" until after the War.\footnote{Mary to sister, 2 April 1862, The Nave Letters, Social Correspondence.}

Both the Male and Female Seminary buildings and properties suffered during the War. The buildings were used for various purposes including hospitals, and storage places. The furnishings were stolen, stored, or at the very least, scattered. A proposal was made in 1865 to get property belonging to the Seminaries "collected together." Then in an act approved on December 6, 1869, funds were provided to repair the academies.\footnote{File on Cherokee Schools, Miscellaneous, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.}

Of the thirty-two common schools in operation in the Cherokee Nation in 1868,\footnote{Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1868, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868), p. 281.} one was in Tahlequah, where for...
a time classes were held in the Masonic Hall.\textsuperscript{139}

No doubt education suffered because of the unsettled conditions in the Cherokee Nation in the 1860's, but the business of learning was never completely discontinued.

IV. THE NATIONAL NEWSPAPER

Soon after his arrival in the new home of his chosen people, Samuel Worcester unpacked his belongings and started his printing press. The first result was a book for the Creek Indians, published at Union Mission on the Grand River, northwest of Tahlequah. After a year at that station, the missionary to the Cherokees moved to Park Hill Mission, where he lived the rest of his life.

Worcester must have dreamed of the day when the national newspaper, the \textit{Cherokee Phoenix}, which had been published in Georgia, would rise out of the ashes of the past as did the fabled bird for which it was named. When Elias Boudinot, the editor of that newspaper, arrived in Indian Territory, Worcester's hopes increased. Boudinot was a member of the Treaty Party, which had signed an agreement with the United States to leave Georgia, and moved to Indian Territory before the main body of their fellow tribesmen were removed by force. The signing of the New Echota treaty caused dissension among the Cherokees. On June 22, 1839, three of

the signers Major Ridge, his son, John, and Elias Boudinot, were assassinated. If Worcester had a dream it was shattered on that bloody day.

After the tribal difficulties were somewhat quieted the National Council authorized the publication of a national newspaper on October 26, 1843, to be called the Cherokee Advocate. Soon came the appointment of the first editor, William Potter Ross, a nephew of the principal chief and the "best schooled man in the Cherokee Nation." He served as editor for four years at a salary of five hundred dollars a year. W. P. Ross had been a student at Princeton at the time of the removal. There he was a member of the American Whigs, a debating society, and represented his organization as one of the four junior orators at the commencement activities. Ross graduated with honors and returned to his people to begin a life of service to them.

On September 26, 1844, the first issue of the Cherokee Advocate was published. It appeared each Saturday with news in English and Cherokee. The price of a subscription was three

140 Grant Foreman, The Five Civilized Tribes, p. 293.
141 Carolyn Foreman, Oklahoma Imprints 1835-1907, p. 79.
143 Starr, History of the Cherokee Indians, p. 183.
dollars a year, except for those who read only Cherokee, for whom the price was two dollars. 145

The first Advocate appeared a few days before the visit of Henry Benson from Fort Coffee Academy. Benson praised this accomplishment by the Cherokee Nation and complimented the editor as a man of "tact and marked ability." 146 These words were not exaggerations, for Ross knew how to get things done. He used proved techniques to ensure the success of the Advocate. One of his methods was to provide material to strengthen the local reader's pride in his community. 147 Ross carried out that precept when he wrote flatteringly of the capital of the Cherokee Nation in the third issue of the tribal newspaper. He described scenic Tahlequah with its "diversity of mountain, woodland and prairie scenery." 148 He extolled the man-made scenery as he mentioned the "commodious brick Court House" that was "surpassed by no building of the kind in Arkansas." 149

Any frontier town that managed to have a brick public building constructed less than five years after the founding

145 Cherokee Advocate, September 26, 1844.
146 Benson, Life Among the Choctaw Indians, p. 245.
148 Cherokee Advocate, October 18, 1844.
149 Ibid.
of the town had every reason to take satisfaction in it.

Another source of pride was the invention of the Cherokee alphabet by Sequoyah, the Indian name of George Guess. Since every Cherokee knew the story but liked to hear it again, one of the early issues of the Advocate bore a front page story about the man and his accomplishment. The following week there was a notice of his death. The next material in the national newspaper was an announcement that two hundred dollars would be paid for returning George Guess to the Cherokee Nation. In a few weeks the news came that he was alive in Mexico. Over two months later Advocate readers were informed that Guess was "undoubtedly dead."

Historians have pieced together these and a few other scraps of information to conclude that when Sequoyah was nearly eighty years of age he set out with a few other Cherokees to visit the Comanche Indians and then moved on into northern Mexico, where he died. The man who had

150 Cherokee Advocate, October 26, 1844.
151 Ibid., November 2, 1844.
152 Ibid., February 13, 1845.
153 Ibid., March 6, 1845. 154 Ibid., May 22, 1845.
155 Grant Foreman, The Five Civilized Tribes, p. 372.
provided the tool for the spread of learning in the land of the Cherokee would never be forgotten. His fellow tribesmen continued to honor his name. But without these items in the Advocate, incomplete and indefinite as they were, the final chapters of his life would have been an even greater mystery.

Ross and his successors, James S. Vann and David Carter, used another tried and proved technique of other small town editors when they clipped or borrowed material from other publications to fill the pages of the Cherokee newspaper.\textsuperscript{156} News, essays, poetry, and short stories were included. Another widely held tenet of journalism was that the editor, a man of importance in a small community, helped to shape the thinking of the people in his town.\textsuperscript{157} The Advocate editors, Ross, Vann, and Carter, molded the thinking and the reading habits of their subscribers with a wide range of borrowings from outstanding publications of the day, including Chamber's Journal of Edinburgh, Scotland, the New York Mercury, the National Intelligencer, Niles' Weekly Register, Godey's Lady's Book, the Manual of Electricity, Prairie Farmer, New Orleans Picayune, and the St. Louis Gazette. The wide coverage represented by these publications spoke highly of the potential

\textsuperscript{156}Holland, "Cherokee Newspapers," p. 216.

reading material available to Advocate subscribers, who were indebted to the editors for selecting such varied fare for them.

A local publication, the Cherokee Almanac,\textsuperscript{158} was also used for clipping. Tahlequah readers were probably pleased to see "How to Peel the Bark" reprinted in the national newspaper.

A physician not fifty miles from Park Hill had directed a patient to take a certain kind of bark. "Well, doctor," said the patient, "does it make any difference which way the bark is peeled?"

"Yes, indeed;" replied the doctor; "Yes, indeed; if you peel it upwards, it will act as an emetic if you peel it downwards, it will act as a cathartic; and if you peel it round and round, it will tear you all to pieces!"\textsuperscript{159}

Ross tried an interesting experiment in early issues of the Advocate when he printed on the front page an eighteenth century Creek Indian orator's plea to his people to be temperate. The speaker urged his listeners to "let the cup of moderation

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\textsuperscript{158}The Cherokee Almanac was printed each year from 1835 to 1861, starting at Union Mission with the arrival of Samuel Worcester and moving to Park Hill with him. Publication was continued only two years after his death. Some of the material in the Almanac was printed in the Cherokee language. Contents included the usual almanac material concerning planting, as well as the miscellany ascribed to it, such as accounts of the activities of the Cherokee Temperance Society and facts about the Cherokee and United States governments (Carolyn Foreman, Oklahoma Imprints 1835-1907, pp. 9-15).

\textsuperscript{159}Cherokee Advocate, September 26, 1844.
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be the crown of your festivities." The Creeks were the natural rivals of the Cherokees, having occupied bordering land before the removal and in Indian Territory. Here was a speech by a rival leader quoted in the Cherokee newspaper. The editor even went so far as to compare the condition of the Creek people nearly a century before with the Cherokee people in the 1840's. This issue of the paper also carried an announcement of a meeting of the Cherokee Temperance Society. Surely a number of Cherokees went to the meeting and encouraged their friends to attend so as not to be like the Creeks, even those of a century earlier.

News from the other tribes in Indian Territory was requested in the first issue of the Advocate. Responses were printed in the next edition. The Choctaw Nation reported the murder of a minister, and the Osage tribe reported that their annual buffalo hunt had resulted in a sizable kill. Later there was another story from the Choctaws about their new boarding schools.

After nine years of publication the Advocate presses stopped on September 25, 1853, because of "a lack of funds." The national newspaper had served the community

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160Ibid., October 12, 1844.
161Ibid.
162Ibid., October 5, 1844.
163Ibid., December 5, 1844.
164Carolyn Foreman, Oklahoma Imprints 1835-1907, p. 80.
well. Having a newspaper like the Advocate available every week made frontier life more tolerable for some and permitted others to form habits that enriched their existence. The weekly paper supplied intellectual nourishment to a reading public that needed it.

It was nearly twenty years before the tribal voice was heard again. The invaders and raiders who destroyed valuable properties in and around Tahlequah during the Civil War burned the newspaper offices but did not destroy the press, which was stored at Fort Gibson. Then, soon after the end of the War the Cherokee National Assembly ordered the newspaper's equipment returned to Tahlequah and set in operation, but publication of the Advocate, authorized on December 16, 1866, was not achieved until 1870.  

V. THE CIVIL WAR AND OTHER PROBLEMS

When the appalling war between the states started, the leaders of the Cherokee Nation made determined efforts to remain neutral. Yet there were Cherokees who joined the North. In an undated and unsigned journal of the period the following entry appeared:

300 Cherokees made their appearance at the chiefs [sic] with their white flag, showing they had espoused the Federal cause. These with 30 negroes marched on to the Federal Head quarters.  

165 Ibid.  
166 Journal, The Nave Letters, Civil War, etc.
There were also those who supported the Southern cause, one of the major leaders being Stand Waite, brother of Treaty Party leader, Elias Boudinot. Waite became a brigadier general in the Confederate army before the War was over and was the last general to surrender at the end of the War.\textsuperscript{167} He was Principal Chief of the Confederate Cherokees who organized when the South was in control of the territory. This group held two national assemblies, one in August of 1862, in Tahlequah, when Waite was elected, and another in July of 1863, in the Canadian District.\textsuperscript{168}

Cherokee neutrality was tested in June of 1861, when Albert Pike, as representative of the Confederate States, invited the Cherokee Nation to join in a treaty of alliance.\textsuperscript{169} Chief John Ross held firm to the decision to stay neutral, but as other tribes in the Territory were joining the Confederate cause, the Cherokee Nation accepted the South in the fall of 1861.\textsuperscript{170} In a letter from Van Buren, Arkansas, dated August 19, 1861, a business

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{167}Woodward, \textit{The Cherokees}, p. 289.
\item \textsuperscript{168}Starr, \textit{History of the Cherokee Indians}, pp. 300-301.
\item \textsuperscript{169}Albert Pike to John Ross, 6 June 1861, The Nave Letters, Civil War, etc.
\item \textsuperscript{170}Woodward, \textit{The Cherokees}, p. 264.
\end{itemize}
associate of Andrew Nave, a Park Hill merchant, commented that news had been received there that the Cherokees had "decided for the South which is gratifying to all their friends here." 171

The next year was one of misery in the Indian land. As summer came there was another trial for the Cherokees. With the Union forces planning to invade Indian Territory, the Nation was given a chance to return its loyalties to the Union. John Ross stated his intention of remaining loyal to the commitment made to the Confederacy. Then on July 15, 1862, Federal troops arrived at Rose Cottage and escorted the chief and his family out of the Nation. 172

The official records and funds of the tribe were moved to Philadelphia where the Ross family resided in a house that had been inherited by Mrs. Ross. 173 Soon the Union forces lost their hold in the Nation and the Confederates returned. In the fall of 1862 Major General Hindman issued a proclamation in English and Cherokee instructing loyal citizens

171 J. S. Dunham to Andy, 19 August 1861, The Nave Letters, Civil War, etc.

172 In the undated journal there was an entry that seemed to apply to the Ross departure from the Cherokee Nation. It read:
"Tuesday 15th, Capt. Greanough [Greeno] with a command of Federals returned to Park Hill and made prisoners of the Chief, Treasurer, Col. Ross, major Pegg, and 7 of his Lieutenants." (Journal Page, The Nave Letters, Civil War, etc.).

of the Nation to return to their homes under the protection of Southern troops. The document was approved by Stand Waite, as Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, on September 3, 1862, in Tahlequah.174

By the next spring the Federal army posted its notices. One dated April 8, 1863, and written in English and Cherokee invited the Indians to "return to the nation and be protected by the United States Government."175 Because of the scarcity of food, the Union leaders declared that "until peace and tranquility have been re-established, the Cherokees and the citizens of Indian Territory will farm in community."176 To secure the country further another proclamation was posted stating that after May 1, 1863,

All bands of irregular soldiers and plunderers, no matter to what party they pretend to belong, will be treated as brigands wherever found. A system of lawless pillage and murder will not be tolerated by the Government.177

These official statements, especially the last one, indicated something of the confusing state of affairs in Indian Territory. The personal letters of the period verify these conclusions. One girl wrote her sister, "What is going

174Special Orders, Maj. Gen. Hindman, 3 September, 1862, The Nave Letters, Civil War, etc.

175Circular, Col. Wm. A. Phillips, 8 April 1863, The Nave Letters, Civil War, etc.

176Ibid.

177Circular, Col. Wm. A. Phillips, 16 April 1863, The Nave Letters, Civil War, etc.
to become of us. our country's gone. our nation ruined and soon all the indians will wilt away beneath the glance of the white man."178 Communications in and out of the Nation were slow, but some letters were written and received. A Cherokee refugee in Philadelphia wrote to her mother in the Nation stories that had reached the East of "poor defenceless beings murdered and the cry for bread."179 John Ross, the chief, heard the news, too, and wrote his grandson later that year expressing shock at "the atrocities perpetrated upon our defenceless citizens, by the infamous maurading [sic] Parties under Waite & Jim Butler."180 The deeds referred to in the letters were similar to these on the night of October 28, 1863, when, among other horrible happenings, the son-in-law of John Ross was murdered and Rose Cottage was burned and looted.181

When the War was finally over conditions in the Cherokee Nation were pitiable. Loss of life had been great and scars of war were everywhere. In the Cherokee Advocate several years later the plight of the people was recalled in these

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179To Mother, 23 March 1863, John Ross Letters.
180John Ross to Henry, 6 December 1863, John Ross Letters.
words, "They emerged from an epoch of war, in which they should have been held neutral, the most plundered people that history chronicles."182 This point was emphasized by John D. Benedict, who concluded that "it would be difficult to find a section of the South which suffered more severely from the ravages of war than the vicinity of Tahlequah."183

Even more misery struck in 1867 when cholera raged through the nation.184 Another tragedy was the loss of John Ross, the chief who had served the Cherokees so faithfully until his death. Words of comfort for the stricken Nation were spoken by William P. Ross, in an address before the National Council:

Let us press forward in the development of the material resources which lie all around us, to the increase of our own comfort and to the elevation of our people by an enlightened and Christian civilization. Then new beauties will adorn the brow of our fair country. Then order will reign throughout our borders.185

The Cherokees took his advice and with a masterful effort prepared for progress in the seventies.

182 Cherokee Advocate, July 2, 1879.


184 Carolyn Foreman, Park Hill, p. 144.

CHAPTER III

THE CHEROKEE NATION FROM 1870 TO 1880

After the Civil War the United States was in "transition from an aristocratic to a middle class order, turmoiled by the last flare-up of the frontier spirit." Transition keynoted this era in the Cherokee Nation, and as the Nation grew and changed, so did its capital, Tahlequah, the setting of this study.

In the early seventies Clairborne Addison Young, an Eastern reporter, made a walking tour through the country. Young's account of his journey, printed on the front page of the tribal newspaper, described Tahlequah as a town of "50 to 100 houses, mostly one-storied, grouped around a square on which stands a large brick building." That structure was the capitol building, the center of activity in the town. Later in the seventies the editor of the Advocate extolled some of the distinctive features of his town:


2Cherokee Advocate, July 25, 1874.
Tahlequah had a total population of five hundred (500) inhabitants and the Cherokee Nation had nineteen thousand (19,000) people (Theodora R. Jenness, "The Indian Territory," Atlantic Monthly [April 1879], pp. 449-450).
Tahlequah has a good new school house, one Masonic Hall, which is used as a place of worship occasionally, and one church building with its spire pointing heavenward and a large bell on top that sends it chimes up to God twice every week.3

Progress continued, and as for prospects, another editor proposed that the town become "a summer resort," for he reasoned, "it is pleasantly situated, high and cool, fine scenery, a good mineral spring, and near the best stream in the West for fishing and boating."4 admittedly the writer was generous in his praise, but there were reports written by non-residents that spoke flatteringly of the beauty of the surroundings. A writer for the Atlantic Monthly described the picturesque trip from Muskogee, a nearby railroad terminal, to Tahlequah:

We passed through forests whose red and brown and orange foliage formed the richest of chromatic combinations. Gnarled trees stretched out their giant arms loaded with mistletoe and waxen berries of pearl white, suggesting Druid temples and Christmas Eve in English halls.5

When a New York Times reporter came to the Cherokee capital on a beautiful late fall day, he too was impressed by the lovely setting in which the town was located. He noticed that when the weather was suitable the local "damsels" were engaged in croquet, the popular new game being played in the United States.6 The native beauty of the surroundings plus

3Cherokee Advocate, September 26, 1877.
4Ibid., February 26, 1879.
5Jenness, "The Indian Territory," p. 448.
the up-to-date innovations in the town resulted in an incongruity that added to the charm and appeal of Tahlequah. Here was suggested a uniting of the rustic past and the modern present. So much for the physical description of the Indian capital.

A special governmental report made in 1872 to the President of the United States described conditions among the Cherokees as "very encouraging." Those simple words are significant, for earlier in the report there had been a reminder that these Indians "had their lands devastated and their industries paralyzed during the war of rebellion, in the same relative proportion as other parts of the South." The Cherokee Advocate, which renewed publication in the seventies, commented:

It [the Nation] is only a place where a small tribe of North American Indians are struggling from a state of complete savagism to reach a state of high civilization with fair progress made and a fair prospect ahead.

That progress and that prospect are the delineated in this chapter.

I. POLITICAL CHANGES AND PROBLEMS.

Shortly after the Civil War several changes were made in the Constitution of the Cherokee Nation. The innovations

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8Ibid., p. 13.
9Cherokee Advocate, March 1, 1876.
included moving the convening date of the National Assembly to the first Monday in November, renaming the upper house of the national legislative body of Senate, and extending citizenship and voting rights to the Negroes in the Nation. Additional changes took place in the politics of the Cherokees. The National Party had elected John Ross as Principal Chief from 1828 until 1866. After the death of Ross the party split into two groups, one led by William Potter Ross and called the Ross Party, the other headed by Lewis Downing and referred to as the Downing Party. The majority of the members of the latter faction were full blood Cherokees who belonged to the Baptist Church and that portion of the tribe that had aligned themselves with the South during the Civil War. This combination was strikingly unusual, for the leading abolitionists in the Nation has been the Baptist missionaries, Evan Jones, and his son, John B. Jones. However, Lewis Downing, an early convert of Evan Jones, wanted to practice the Christian principle of forgiveness; hence the two seemingly opposite groups united under the leadership of Downing.

**Principal Chiefs.** The Downing Party elected its candidate, Lewis Downing, as Principal Chief in 1867 and

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11 The term "full blood" refers to an Indian born of parents both of one tribe. Often the American Indian uses the term as a noun.

re-elected him for a second term in 1871. Downing died the following year, and, repeating the action it took after the death of Chief John Ross, the National Council elected William P. Ross to complete the unexpired term. In the election of 1875 the Downing Party nominee, Charles Thompson, was victorious. Then in 1879 the Ross Party, which had re-established the use of the former name of National Party, succeeded in winning the highest office in the land for Dennis Wolfe Bushyhead.

Of the four men who served the Cherokees as Principal Chief during the seventies three, Lewis Downing, Charles Thompson, and Dennis Bushyhead, were Baptists; William P. Ross belonged to the Presbyterian Church. Downing and Thompson of the Baptist trio were ordained ministers. The extent of the influence the Baptist Church exerted on politics in the Cherokee Nation has been debated by several scholars.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{13}John Bartlett Meserve's article in the Chronicles of Oklahoma is based on the premise that the Baptist Church exerted considerable influence on the Cherokees, not only in their spiritual life, but in their political and social activities (John Bartlett Meserve, "Chief Lewis Downing and Chief Charles Thompson [Oochalata]," Chronicles of Oklahoma, XVI [September 1938], 315). Of the Baptist missionaries Evan and John B. Jones, Emmet Starr stated, "No man or men were ever able to sway the minds and policies of the full blood Cherokees as did this father and son" (Emmet Starr, History of the Cherokee Indians [Oklahoma City: The Warden Co., 1921], p. 257). Morris L. Wardell concluded that Evan and John B. Jones had political influence in the Cherokee Nation, but in regard to the formation of the Downing Party, he said, "Denominational affiliations had little effect on the creation of a new party [the Downing Party]" (Wardell, Political History, p. 210).
While there was little contrast in the church membership of the four men who lead the Cherokee Nation in the seventies, there were differences in them as speakers. Lewis Downing, who as a Lieutenant Colonel led the Union Cherokees during the Civil War, served as Assistant Principal Chief under Chief John Ross. Downing was a "convincing" public speaker who used the Cherokee language, yet understood and spoke English. While serving as a representative of his tribe in Washington he had gained much useful experience as a speaker and statesman. Furthermore, personal traits of dignity and poise enhanced Downing's performance as an orator and leader.14

In the 1875 election the victorious Downing Party candidate for Principal Chief was a man whose only political experience had been as Senator for the Delaware District from 1869 to 1873. The successful Senate candidate took the English name, Charles Thompson; previously he had been known by his Cherokee name, Oochalata. In spite of his limited political experience Thompson's tenure in the office of chief executive was remarkably successful.15

In his home district, north of Tahlequah, Thompson operated a trading post and served as a minister, preaching his sermons in the Cherokee language.16 Thompson continued to preach after his election as chief of the tribe. During


15Ibid., p. 324.

16Ibid., p. 325.
a visit to the Nation a writer for the *Atlantic Monthly* heard a Thanksgiving sermon delivered by Thompson in Cherokee to the students of the Cherokee Female Seminary. This was an unusual circumstance, for the girls were taught in English and encouraged to speak only that language while in school. The reporter described the Principal Chief as "a fullblood Indian, of a dignified and courteous bearing."  

The other Baptist and only National Party candidate to be elected by the people as Principal Chief during the seventies was Dennis Wolfe Bushyhead, the eldest son of the respected Baptist minister Jesse Bushyhead. Downing Party candidate W. P. Adair was elected Assistant Principal Chief. "In the election of 1879 personalities," concluded a Cherokee political historian, "ruled in the casting of votes."  

Bushyhead's "varied experience and complete divorcement from the petty jealousies which, at times had embarrassed the orderly processes of the tribal government" were strong recommendations for him and his administration.  

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17Jenness, "The Indian Territory," p. 449. Meserve states that Thompson was one-half Cherokee (Meserve, "Downing and Thompson," p. 323).


The language used in his annual messages was clear and definite, with few words used for ornamentation or stylistic effect.\textsuperscript{21}

William Potter Ross, who had been a debater at Princeton, was never elected by the Cherokee people to serve as Principal Chief, yet he held the office on two occasions, first after the death of his uncle, Chief John Ross, and again after the death of Chief Lewis Downing. In addition to filling the unexpired terms in the office of Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, Ross served his people in many other positions. To cite a few, he was named the first editor of the \textit{Cherokee Advocate} in 1844, elected to the National Council, and appointed National Superintendent of Schools, and he represented his tribe in Washington or elsewhere when the Cherokees needed respected delegates.

A rhetorical analysis of two of Ross' addresses reported them to be excessively long with highly ornate language contributing to the problem.\textsuperscript{22} Yet in the "contests" in Washington where members of the various Indian tribes pleaded for their people, Ross was said to be "an Indian


\textsuperscript{21}Annual Messages of Hon. D. W. Bushyhead, delivered at Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, A. D. 1879 to 1885, Cherokee Room, John Vaughan Library, Northeastern State College, Tahlequah, Oklahoma.

\textsuperscript{22}Allen, "Rhetorical Style," p. 102.
master of the English diction and eloquence" who "towered above them all [the delegates of other tribes] in his ability as an advocate." During a term as Principal Chief one of his speeches was printed on the first page of the Advocate. On an inside page Editor John Lynch Adair called special attention to the "classical diction" used in the address and urged people who were "fond of reading good speeches" not to overlook this one. In her Atlantic Monthly article Theodora Jenness named William P. Ross as the "most brilliant speaker" among the Cherokees. This devoted citizen, who never was elected by the people as leader of his tribe, served them faithfully and was known inside and outside the Nation as an outstanding orator.

Problems in the Nation. Although the four men who served as Principal Chief provided the Cherokee Nation with variety in their speaking styles, they faced many of the same national problems during their administrations. One of the difficulties was the uncontrolled invasion of the Nation by non-Cherokees. Outsiders who had taken up residence in the Nation for whatever reason were a severe disturbance to the Cherokees. Some of the intruders were roving bands of discharged soldiers who did not return to

24 Cherokee Advocate, October 11, 1874.
their homes after the Civil War. Others were workmen who were hired to do specific tasks when they came into the Nation and simply did not leave when the jobs terminated. 26

In the early days after the founding of the Cherokee Nation in the West, when conditions became intolerable the leaders called for a Day of Humiliation, Prayer, and Fasting. In 1870 Principal Chief Lewis Downing proclaimed November 17 as just such a day. The Cherokee Chief declared that the immigration problem threatened "the very foundation of our National and individual existence." 27 At the end of the decade Principal Chief Dennis W. Bushyhead spoke of the same difficulty in his first Annual Message to the Cherokee people. He said:

Within the year past an organized band of desperadoes have roamed on our western border, composed mostly of whites, committing acts of robbery and murder. 28

A twentieth century historian summarized the magnitude of the situation faced by the Cherokees:

During the decade of the seventies— and years following for that matter— thousands of white intruders were coming into the Nation. No power could or would remove them. 29

Closely related to the dilemma of immigration was the issue of territorialism. It was largely factions outside the

26Wardell, Political History, pp. 271-272.
27Cherokee Advocate, October 22, 1870.
29Wardell, Political History, p. 270.
land of the Indians that thought the Nations should be replaced by a United States territory. A Choctaw newspaper reprinted an account of a Bonham, Texas, debate on the territorialism question, during which an affirmative speaker fainted. The Texas reporter explained that a recent illness and the excessive heat that evening had brought the debater's collapse. To this story the editor of the Indian journal added a closing comment:

We are sorry to learn that the discussion of the question of opening the Indian Territory to white settlement terminated so disastrously to the affirmative. Swoons, however, are not unusual attendants of precautious intellectuals.30

The talk of territorialism started shortly after the Indians were established in the lands of the West. The area set aside for the tribes was soon surrounded by states of the Union, with Texas on the south and west, Arkansas on the east, and Kansas on the north. The Indians were in the position of being squeezed into statehood. Resistance was strong and active on the part of the tribes, who wanted to maintain their own tribal governments.

As a part of the settlement after the Civil War the Treaty of 1866 provided for a Territorial Council composed of representatives of all the tribes in the area. The first

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30 The Vindicator, June 21, 1873. This newspaper, published at New Boggy in the Choctaw Nation and later moved to Atoka, also in that Nation, was "Devoted to the Interests of the Choctaws and Chickasaws," according to the masthead (Carolyn Foreman, Oklahoma Imprints 1835-1907 [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936], p. 143).
meeting held in 1870 at Okmulgee, the capital of the Creek Nation, was called the Okmulgee Convention. When the United States government set up the council in the Treaty of 1866 the move was considered to be a preliminary step leading to the establishment of territorial government, but the Indians used the organization to unite the tribes in opposition to the idea. In 1876 when the Indians were notified that no more council meetings would be called, they realized that they had lost an effective tool in their fight against territorialism. 31

The Cherokees were recognized as leaders in the fight against territorial bills in the Congress of the United States. The battle continued throughout the century until statehood became the ultimate result. The delays provided in the 1870's merely postponed the extinction of the tribal governments.

In addition to problems of national magnitude there were others of local concern. When Indian law breakers disrupted life in the Nation sheriffs of the eight districts of the Nation had the responsibility of controlling them. The leading law enforcing official was the High Sheriff, appointed by the Principal Chief with approval of the Senate. 32 He was in charge of the National Prison in Tahlequah and saw to it that the inmates worked, often in

31 Wardell, Political History, pp. 292-296.
the brick yard or on the farm owned by the tribe. 33 When the capitol square needed mowing and cleaning, prisoners sometimes performed the tasks. 34

A criminal sentenced to death in the Cherokee Nation was executed by hanging. 35 In Tahlequah the scaffold was located within the walls of the penitentary, but limited space did not discourage attendance at the executions. The first item in the "Local News" column in the Advocate on December 3, 1879, stated, "John Wheat hangs today," and on the same page was a story describing the event. The condemned man was described as "cool and collected" when he spoke to the assemblage of his hopes for forgiveness and his desire to see all his friends in Heaven. As the large crowd gathered to witness Wheat's punishment for murder, some of the spectators were allowed inside the walls, but most were outside in the trees that grew near the prison. They chose these elevated positions to improve their view. 36

The national newspaper provided an especially vivid account of an execution that took place in the Flint District of the Cherokee Nation. The doomed man, called Big Bullet but only five feet four inches tall, was baptized just before his walk to the scaffold. When he arrived he turned to the

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33 Cherokee Advocate, July 2, 1879.
34 Ibid., June 13, 1877.
35 Constitution and Laws, p. 147.
36 Cherokee Advocate, December 3, 1879.
crowd of observers and spoke to them in Cherokee. A translation of his speech in the Advocate said in part:

Friends, this is the last time I will ever see you on earth. I want you to teach the young to do different from what I have done.37

Then he confessed his guilt, shook hands with relatives and friends, and stepped to the gallows.38

Interest in hangings was typical of the frontier. Comparable reports came from the Ozark region of Missouri. The size of the small community of Ava, Missouri, was greatly increased by the three thousand people who came to a public hanging in that town. Those who could approach close enough heard the condemned make his speech and watched the execution, but most of the visitors returned home without seeing the spectacle.39 A hanging was a well attended public gathering during the last half of the nineteenth century in the lands west of the Mississippi River, whether in Indian Territory or not.

Cherokee Advocate. Once publication of the Cherokee Advocate terminated in 1853 for lack of funds, the Cherokees were without a national voice, but as soon as affairs in the Nation were sufficiently under control after the Civil War, publication of the newspaper was renewed. The first issue

37 Ibid., May 11, 1878.
38 Ibid.
came off the press April 26, 1870, with news printed in English and Cherokee, as in the past. Except for cessation when a fire destroyed the office and press on December 26, 1874, the weekly newspaper continued throughout the decade. The guiding philosophy followed in the past served the journal in the seventies. In his second annual address Principal Chief Dennis W. Bushyhead reminded his listeners that the Advocate was designed to communicate news of the Cherokee Indians to residents and non-residents of the Nation. The newspaper "which the Government has established and supports," he continued, served as "the voice of the people," the Cherokee people.

The paper [Cherokee Advocate] is of folio shape [size], of convenient size, and printed on clean, white paper, and general typographical appearance will compare favorably with many weeklies of much greater pretentions. The matter is well arranged, of first-class selections; and the editorials [give] evidence of experienced journalism.

These comments about the Cherokee newspaper reprinted from the Washington Chronicle indicate that the Advocate met journalistic standards of the day. Reprinting of materials from other publications was an accustomed practice frequently used in Tahlequah and elsewhere. The Indian editors borrowed from the London Times, the Baltimore Sun, and New York Times, and the New York Sun, as well as from Texas and Arkansas

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40Carolyn Foreman, Oklahoma Imprints, pp. 80-81.
41Annual Messages of Hon. D. W. Bushyhead, 1879 to 1885.
42Cherokee Advocate, February 10, 1877.
papers. In the early seventies the Advocate was the only news source published in the Indian Nations, but before the decade ended there were other tribal newspapers, including The Vindicator in the Choctaw Nation and the Indian Journal in the Creek Nation. Materials from the neighboring journals were often reprinted in the Cherokee paper.

While the Nation was still rebuilding its economy the Advocate printed helpful information on agricultural subjects. Most of the articles contained practical ideas for planting, but one reprint from the American Agriculturist gave advice on "How to Make Boys Good Farmers." One of its suggestions was that men should talk about agriculture rather than politics around boys. Another was that boys should be encouraged to dress up from time to time. Cherokee boys probably wished that all the stories on agriculture concerned only their fathers.

Some of the literary borrowings provided the Cherokees with reading material of a humorous nature. A speech made in Chicago by Mark Twain appeared under the headline, "Our Babies." Reprints of writings by Josh Billings were

43 Ibid., February 4, 1871.

44 Ibid., December 3, 1879.

Mark Twain made the speech as a response to the fifteenth toast given at a banquet for the Society of the Army of the Tennessee at the Palmer House in Chicago, Illinois. Though the hour was late when the humorist spoke Mark Twain did not fail to elicit the usual peals of laughter (New York Times, November 15, 1879).
provided. From the Atlanta Constitution the editor selected "Uncle Remus Advises a Convert." Frequently poetry was printed on the front page of the Indian newspaper, including at times the work of a local poet. After the murder of a former Cherokee Male Seminary student in Muskogee, a poem he had written was published. Other local poets whose work was identified included Frank Howard of Fort Gibson, and J. B. H. O'Reilly, a teacher of mathematics at the Male Seminary.

As provided in the Cherokee Constitution, the editor of the national newspaper was elected by a "joint vote of both branches of the National Council." Four men served in the post during the seventies: William P. Boudinot, John L. Adair, George W. Johnson, and Elias C. Boudinot, Jr. William P. Boudinot was the son of Elias Boudinot, who had edited the first Cherokee newspaper, the Cherokee Phoenix, in New Echota, Georgia. The tradition of editorship passed from father to son again in 1879 when William P.

45 Ibid., February 8, 1878, August 3, 1878, August 17, 1878.
46 Ibid., September 21, 1878.
48 Ibid., March 25, 1876, April 22, 1876.
49 Ibid., October 5, 1878.
50 Constitution and By Laws, p. 217.
51 Boudinot used "Junior" in order to avoid confusion with his uncle, whose full name was Elias Cornelius Boudinot.
Boudinot's son, Elias C. Boudinot, Jr., was selected to head the Advocate.

Not only did two Boudinots serve as editors in the seventies, but the father held the office twice during the ten year period. He started the publication of the paper in 1870 and reestablished it in 1876 after the entire plant had been destroyed by fire. The versatile Boudinot, who had been educated in the East, lived the remaining years of his life in service to his people, supervising schools in the Nation, representing the tribe in Washington, and operating a law office.

A talent of W. P. Boudinot was that of writing poetry, an interest he shared with John Lynch Adair, the second Advocate editor in the seventies. Poems written by Adair were published in a collection called American Poems. Lured to California to search for gold in 1849, he returned four years later without much gold, but with considerable adventure and experience to his credit.

During Adair's editorship, Vinnie Ream, a young sculptress whose statue of Abraham Lincoln had only recently

52Carolyn Foreman gives March 4, 1876, as the date of the first issue of this series of the Cherokee Advocate (Carolyn Foreman, Oklahoma Imprints, p. 31), but the date on the newspaper reads March 1, 1876.

53H. F. and E. S. O'Beirne, The Indian Territory (Saint Louis: C. B. Woodward Co., 1892), p. 466. Two poems by Adair and one by Boudinot are in the Appendix.

54Ibid., pp. 463-465.
been unveiled in Washington, visited the Cherokee capital. Her trips to the area were not uncommon, for she frequently came to see her brother who lived near Tahlequah. *Advocate* readers were told that this "celebrated American sculptress" had executed two plaster busts, one of John Ross and one of Sequoyah, to be exhibited at the Capitol Building.\(^55\) Adair encouraged the National Council to commission the artist to ensure that the great men of the Nation were remembered, but there was no further evidence as to how the Council reacted to Adair's suggestion or to the display.\(^56\)

In November of 1877 George W. Johnson was selected over W. P. Boudinot to serve as *Advocate* editor. Johnson, an attorney by profession, had represented the Cherokees in 1870 at the Okmulgee Convention, when the tribes met as provided in the Treaty of 1866. Along with W. P. Ross and Riley Keys, Johnson was appointed as the third Cherokee on a committee to write the constitution for the group.\(^57\) Participation in this work acquainted Johnson with one of the most pressing problems in the Nation during the seventies, territorialism.

\(^55\) *Cherokee Advocate*, November 14, 1874.

\(^56\) Shortly before her death in 1914 Vinnie Ream Hoxie perfected a model of the bust of Sequoyah. The bronze of this piece was completed in 1914 by George Zolnay and was added to Statuary Hall in Washington, D. C., representing the state of Oklahoma (*Dictionary of American Biography*, Dumas Malone, editor, IX [New York: Charles Scribner Sons, 1932], 318.)

\(^57\) "Okmulgee Constitution," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, III (September, 1925), 216-228.
Editor Johnson gave subscribers a newspaper that carried out the intended purposes of the national press, yet added some extra features. A column called "Fashion Notes" was included intermittently. Tahlequah folk who visited such metropolitan areas as St. Louis, New York, and Washington, and there were several who did, were glad to know that plum color was popular again and that orange wood canes with gold or silver mountings were acceptable to complement the costume of the well-dressed man.

The next editor, Elias C. Boudinot, Jr., had prepared himself for the position by assisting his father and then by going to St. Louis where he furthered his knowledge of the printing craft by working for Ennis and Company. After his term as editor the young Boudinot continued to work with editing and printing, practiced law, and was a member of the town council that gave Tahlequah a code of laws.

Under the leadership of these four men, the two Boudinots, Adair, and Johnson, the national newspaper mirrored the activities and interests of Tahlequah and the Cherokee Nation in the 1870's. The subjects of territorialism, immigration, education, agriculture, styles, etc., were discussed in local stories, editorials, letters from interested citizens, and borrowed articles. News of Tahlequah, the Cherokee Nation, other Indian Nations, and

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58 Cherokee Advocate, January 12, 1878.
59 O'Beirne, The Indian Territory, pp. 462-463.
the United States appeared in the weekly issues of the Advocate. Anyone who read the journal regularly was a well informed citizen.

II. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

None of the changes that took place in Tahlequah and the vicinity could have occurred if the economy of the Nation had not returned to solid footing after the devastation of the Civil War and the difficulties of Reconstruction, but by the seventies conditions invited changes in the Cherokee way of life. Early in the decade the United States government agent to the Cherokees reported that stock-raising was the major source of income and suggested that efforts should be made to vary the crops grown in the area. Significantly, that agent, John B. Jones, known to later historians as a Baptist missionary, was also known in Tahlequah as an aspiring nurseryman. His experimentation with fruit trees, especially the apple, was frequently discussed in the Cherokee Advocate during the early part of the 1870's. Advertisements for the Cherokee Nursery, operated by Jones and J. M. Smith, contained advice as to the proper planting of trees, and a reminder that no stock other than hogs and fowls should be allowed to graze among the young trees. The fruit specialists urged:

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Let everybody plant trees and then take care of them. We have one of the best fruit countries in the world. Apples especially, can be grown here to perfection.61

The Cherokees took the advice given by Jones in the Advocate and cultivated orchards, thus carrying out his recommendations for diversity made in the 1873 report.

The national newspaper included various useful suggestions concerning agriculture. On a sunny spring day farmers were urged to plant while the weather was favorable. They were especially encouraged to drop corn early, and then, before the heads were two inches high, "plow or hoe the crop clean." If plants were cultivated three times, success was assured.62 Growing wheat was also recommended. "We cannot depend entirely upon corn," wrote the editor, echoing Jones.63

In addition to the crops that were new to the Cherokees there were old favorites. The coming of spring was heralded by the appearance of wild onions. The palate of any Indian was tantalized with the words "Wild onions are on sale" in the "Local News" column of the Advocate. Other seasonal treats that grew wild, frequently mentioned in the newspaper, were strawberries, huckleberries, and blackberries.

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61 Cherokee Advocate, September 30, 1871.
62 Ibid., March 18, 1871.
63 Ibid., September 13, 1873.
Few cultivated crops caused much stir, but the ripening of watermelons was news worth printing in Indian country.

Farming was not the only enterprise engaged in by the Cherokees. Advertisements for the local mercantile stores were carried in the town weekly, best buys sometimes being mentioned in the "Local News" column. One of the advertisements departed from the usual format when an outlined space was filled with these words:

This space belongs to J. W. STAPLER & SON who were too busy to write their advertisement this week being constantly waiting on customers who say he sells cheaper than anyone else.64

While Stapler and Son usually had a more formal advertisement, so did Johnson Thompson and Son, and R. H. Fields, their business rivals. About the middle of the seventies the tribal press announced that William F. Rasmus, who had a store in Flint District, would come into the Tahlequah store operated by Charles M. McCellan.65 In the summer of 1879 Mrs. J. C. Cunningham advertised that she was selling out her stock that included some especially stylish "lawn and swiss dresses."66 No doubt the teachers who came into town for their annual meeting enjoyed the bargains that were available.

Not only were there changes in the local stores during the decade, but the National Hotel, located across the square

64 Ibid., December 10, 1879.
65 Ibid., March 1, 1876.
66 Ibid., July 16, 1879.
from the capitol building, added the services of a livery stable in 1876.  There horses were fed, watered, and groomed for two dollars and fifty cents a week or for fifty cents a day.

Business was transacted in the Cherokee Nation by using, instead of money, script redeemable by the national treasurer. While Dennis W. Bushyhead served as Principal Chief he value of the script was raised from "about 20 to 30 cents on the dollar to par, which was one of the outstanding accomplishments of his administration."

Although there was no bank in Tahlequah until the end of the century, some of the stores with especially good safes maintained depositories for people who did not wish to keep their money at home. Forms much like checks, except that there was no bank name, were printed for use by these depositors. One firm, J. W. Stapler and Son, offered some loan services.

The national newspaper listed professional services that were obtainable, primarily from physicians and lawyers.

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67 Ibid., April 8, 1876.
68 Ibid., December 9, 1876.
69 V. A. Travis, "Life in the Cherokee Nation in the Decade after the Civil War," IV Chronicles of Oklahoma (March 1926), 21.
Throughout the seventies dental services were administered by Dr. R. D. Seals of Fort Smith, Arkansas, whose trips to Tahlequah were announced in the Advocate as an aid to those who needed him. By 1879 the town had a resident dentist, Dr. S. D. Luther, formerly of Nashville, Tennessee, who was listed with the other professionals.  

III. SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

Various types of social gatherings occupied the Tahlequah citizens during the seventies. Nostalgic memories of earlier times were surely recalled by the older Cherokees when they read in the Advocate of plans for "a game of regular old-fashioned Indian ball" to be played between Male Seminary students and some of the men of the Nation. Other thoughts of the past were remembered at meetings of the Cherokee Historical Society, which met in Tahlequah during the seventies. An item in the local paper encouraged attendance of those who could contribute to "the history of our people." Notices of other Tahlequah meetings included the Cherokee Bible Society, the Y. M. C. A., the Tahlequah Literary Association (organized for the purpose of establishing a library), The Cherokee Temperance Society, the Masonic Lodge, and the Grange.

71 Cherokee Advocate, March 12, 1879.
72 Ibid., July 27, 1878. Ball-play was a favorite Cherokee group activity. Similar to lacrosse the game was known to develop into a bloody melee.
73 Ibid., June 22, 1878.
Tahlequah men attended so many meetings during this time that the Advocate editor wrote the following item in the "Local News" column:

Some of the ladies are talking about forming a club (to be about three or four feet long). The purpose of which will be to induce their "hubbies" to spend their evenings at home.74

The situation may have resulted from such activities as the horse races held at the Tahlequah or Fort Gibson race track. Or the women may have reacted unfavorably when the editor encouraged the formation of a baseball club.75 Not only would husbands be gone nearly every evening, but sons would certainly join the exodus.

Ladies were not completely left out of the sporting activities, for they frequently participated in the fashionable game of croquet. The New York Times reported that Tahlequah girls were engaged in this popular new sport in the late fall of 1874.76 A few years later at the annual May 7 celebration of the opening of the Cherokee Male and Female Seminaries the young people spent the afternoon playing the game.77 But at times males took over. Several men played for four days straight in spite of the intense heat of one hundred degrees in the shade.78 A croquet

74Ibid., October 19, 1878.
75Ibid., July 6, 1878.
76New York Times, December 26, 1874.
77Cherokee Advocate, May 11, 1878.
78Ibid., July 25, 1877.
epidemic hit Tahlequah. Although it spread to Muskogee the players in the Creek Nation were not so devoted as in the Cherokee town. 79

Other outdoor activities were enjoyed by people in Tahlequah and vicinity. The banks of the Illinois River were frequently the scene of fun and food, if the fishermen were successful. 80 In spite of the fact that the river was close by, health benefits to be derived from Elk Springs, eighteen miles south of Tahlequah, made that mineral spring a popular place. 81

Springs in the Nation were the setting for picnics, parties, and political rallies. It was the practice of the Downing Party to assemble at Double Springs, some six miles northwest of Tahlequah, and members of the National Party gathered at Bug Tucker Spring, north of the tribal capital about seven miles. At these locations the candidates invited potential voters to enjoy a barbecue, listen to speeches, visit with friends, and stay as long as they liked at the camp site nearby. Merchants were also present to sell their products, both legal and illegal. This was an important summer social event as well as a vital political meeting. 82

79 Indian Journal, May 29, 1878.
80 Cherokee Advocate, July 25, 1877.
81 Ibid., July 6, 1878.
82 T. L. Ballenger, "Springs in the Cherokee Nation," unpublished manuscript.
Mary L. Stapler taught at the Seminary for three years before she resigned in 1879 and left Tahlequah for a short visit to St. Louis and Washington. Shortly after Miss Stapler's departure Mrs. J. B. Jones and her daughter Mary returned from a six months stay in New York City. Trips of shorter distances were made to Hot Springs, Arkansas, the popular health resort, as well as to Little Rock and Fort Smith, Arkansas.

Weddings were notable social events in the town. The home of Mrs. J. B. Jones was the scene of the wedding of Miss Nippie Thorne to G. W. McFarlin, the ceremony being performed by Baptist minister Daniel Rogers, who demonstrated his "usual impressive manner." Another wedding of interest to citizens of the Cherokee Nation took place in Abington, Massachusetts, in 1877 when William A. Higgins, formerly of Fort Gibson, married Ella M. Noyes, who had been principal teacher at the Cherokee Female Seminary in 1874.

Animated social conversation was surely in order the day a live buffalo appeared on the streets of Tahlequah. The beast was "harnessed in shafts and appeared very gentle," but was definitely a curiosity, because few "of our sort of

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87 Ibid., February 1, 1879.
88 Ibid., February 26, 1879.
89 Ibid., January 6, 1877.
90 Ibid., April 4, 1877.
savages ever saw anything of the kind," said the local press.91 The changes of the seventies made a wonder of a creature that was commonplace in the same locale earlier in the century.

The past was not forgotten by the Negro citizens of Muskogee on August 4, 1876 when the anniversary of the freeing of the slaves by Abraham Lincoln was celebrated with a picnic and speeches in which education, agriculture, and self-support were discussed.92 The next year the Negroes of Tahlequah enjoyed a parade that took them to the spring "above town, where a plentiful repast was provided and all were invited to partake and be happy."93 The commemoration of this day by the Negroes was understood and respected in the vicinity.

In spite of the strong opposing influence of the church in the community, dancing was a part of some of the entertainments. Such was the case at a party reported in the "Local News" where several "terpsichorean inclined ladies and gentlemen" gathered.94 Yet it was more common for groups to assemble only for food and fellowship, as at the social held at Jesse Wolfe's home where the prize,
a hugh cake, was to be awarded to one of the five girls nominated to receive it. Guests bought votes to support their favorite candidate for ten cents each. As a result a church library fund received fifty-seven dollars and everyone enjoyed a pleasant evening. The cake served at the John W. Stapler home was highly praised in the Advocate account of the social gathering at which Professor McCandless presented violin music for the assembled young people.

Music was a part of many of the social gatherings. Not only did the schools train musicians, there were some additional instructions available. Two singing schools were named in the "Local News" column. For instruction by A. P. Harnest a student paid three dollars for twelve lessons. There was a Friday night meeting of would-be singers taught by Mrs. John W. Stapler. Some sort of instrumental training must have been conducted because Tahlequah had a String Band that was credited with at least one concert in 1876.

Perhaps some people studied with Professor G. Bellstedt of Muskogee who taught both vocal and instrumental

95 Ibid., August 3, 1872.
96 Ibid. 97 Ibid., May 6, 1876.
98 Ibid., October 11, 1873.
99 Ibid., September 16, 1876.
music. Citizens of Fort Gibson and Tahlequah were given the opportunity to observe the teacher perform. At a concert in Fort Gibson Bellstedt soloed on his violin, his daughter sang, Charles Lipe played the cornet, and several ladies played the piano. The popular musician was working to raise money to buy instruments for the Muskogee Brass Band and had over one hundred dollars in 1876. The following year the entire area was greatly shocked to learn that Bellstedt had been murdered near his home in Muskogee. Announcement of the crime appeared in the Advocate along with the notice that the accused murderer was last seen as he left Fort Gibson and headed toward Tahlequah.

People gathered in Tahlequah for social activities of all types. Except for an occasional game of Indian ball, social life in this town during the seventies was much like that of towns in the United States.

IV. RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

From the days of the mission schools in the South religion played a significant role in the life of the Cherokee Indians. In the 1870's there were four organized

100 Indian Journal, June 22, 1876.
101 Ibid., August 10, 1876.
102 Ibid., May 17, 1877.
103 Cherokee Advocate, May 23, 1877.
church groups in Tahlequah. The New York Times named the Baptist as the "leading church." The other three denominations, Noravians, Methodists, and Presbyterians, were also active. The Cherokees had special descriptive terms for the ministers of all four churches to be used instead of the names of the denominations. The Noravians were called "The Ravens" because of the long black coats worn by their churchmen, but no explanation was needed for the other labels, which were "Loud Talkers" for the Methodists, "Soft Talkers" for the Presbyterians, and "Baptizers" for the Baptists. All of these groups had been active in the Cherokee Nation before the Civil War and continued to play an important role in the changing life in Tahlequah in the seventies.

Moravians. The Reverend E. J. Mock of the Moravian faith was one of the first churchmen to return to the Nation in the mid-sixties. Mock, who had served in the area since the 1840's, was asked by the Cherokee National Council to conduct the funeral services for Chief John Ross in 1867. Ross was a Methodist, but his daughter, Mrs. Jane Nave, who had been educated at the Salem Female Academy in North Carolina, was a leader in the Noravian Church in the Cherokee Nation. 106

106 Ibid., pp. 289-293.
When Brother Theodore M. Rights and his wife came to join Mock in his work with the Cherokees in 1870 they were assigned to the section of the Nation around Park Hill and Tahlequah; Mock was moved to the nearby station of Springplace. Two years later a Moravian leader visiting the area found that the church conducted by Rights had fifty-seven members. Through his report permission was obtained to build a church for the congregation. Within a year the building was completed, given the name Woodmount, and dedicated by Mock who returned for the occasion. Rights continued as minister of Woodmount until 1876, when he was asked to serve as Superintendent of the Cherokee Female Seminary. The church leaders were pleased that one of their ministers had been so honored by the Cherokees and granted Rights permission to accept. However it was necessary for him to return to the service of the church the next year when Mock retired after thirty years as a missionary in the Indian lands west of the Mississippi River.\(^{107}\)

After Rights was appointed to the Seminary post Brother Joseph Hillman was in charge at the Woodmount station. The remote location of the church prevented the expected growth in membership. As a result when citizens of Tahlequah suggested moving the building into town the

\(^{107}\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 294-296.}\)
offer was accepted. An item in the Cherokee Advocate in 1877 pointed out that the presence of the Moravian Church in the northern part of town was an asset to Tahlequah. The Moravians had agreed that the building was to be used by the community. Subscriptions from citizens provided the means to refurbish the interior.

Methodists. Tahlequah was a "preaching place" on the circuit of the Indian Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South in the 1870's. At least once each month services were conducted in Tahlequah by the "Loud Talkers" circuit riders. The national newspaper identified T. R. B. McSpadden, James C. Daily, and J. F. Thompson as ministers who held Methodist meetings in the Cherokee capital during the decade.

Presbyterians. The Presbyterian minister, Sidney Allen, was one of the busiest men in Tahlequah. In addition to being a preacher, Allen was also a teacher in the Nation. He served the Tahlequah church, assisted in Fort Gibson when he was needed, visited inmates in the National Prison, and

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108 Ibid., p. 297.
109 Cherokee Advocate, July 18, 1877.
110 Ibid., January 26, 1878.
112 Cherokee Advocate, January 14, 1871, April 8, 1876, July 11, 1877.
worked with his Tahlequah congregation to obtain a building. His sermons were the object of comment in the local newspaper. On one occasion it was stated that "Rev. Dr. Allen preached in our new church last Sabbath an interesting sermon, occasionally digressing." Earlier it had been reported that the "Soft Talker" spoke "without notes" and the sermon "was remarkable for its pure and powerful language, convincing argument, and earnest tone." 

Baptists. The Baptists had been faithfully served in the Nation by Evan Jones and his son, John B. Jones. From their mission located in the extreme eastern part of the Nation they had exerted considerable influence on tribal activities. In the late sixties the missionaries moved to Tahlequah and continued to work for Cherokee improvement. By the middle of the seventies death had claimed both of these strong leaders.

New strength for the Baptist Church appeared when the Reverend Daniel Rogers and his wife Harriet came to the Choctaw Nation as missionaries for the Baptist Home Mission Society. The next spring the couple moved to Tahlequah, where he was superintendent of the Cherokee Male Seminary and she served as a teacher. Rogers held his educator's position for one term and then returned to the ministry,

113 Ibid., July 25, 1877.
114 Ibid., December 2, 1876.
serving the Baptist Church in Tahlequah. Before the end of
the decade the Baptists, under his leadership, had their
first building. 115

As a minister in Tahlequah for eighteen years
Daniel Rogers was well known in the community. When his
mode of transportation changed from horseback to a "handsome little buggy," there was news of it in the local paper. 116
Rogers and his wife conducted meetings of the Bible Reading
Society every Tuesday at the Baptist Mission House. 117
Mrs. Rogers organized the ladies into missionary societies,
taught a well attended Sunday School class, and created
interest in prayer meetings among the female members of
the church. Her death in the spring of 1877 was mourned
by her many Cherokee friends. 118

The local newspaper printed news of all four denomina-
tions, the Moravians, the Methodists, the Presbyterians,
and the Baptists. Page three of the Cherokee Advocate
often carried a list of the churches, the times and places
of services, and the names of ministers. Religion, which
has attracted the Indians in the early part of the century,
remained important to them.

115 T. L. Ballenger, History of the First Baptist
Church of Tahlequah, Oklahoma (Muskogee, Oklahoma: The
Star Printery, 1946), pp. 4-7.
116 Cherokee Advocate, January 11, 1879.
117 Ibid., February 25, 1877.
118 Ibid., May 9, 1877.
Life in Tahlequah in the seventies reflected the notion that men's lives are governed by political, economic, social, and religious agencies, as well as educational organizations. The last, together with speech activities growing out of them, are the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

SCHOLASTIC ENLIGHTENMENT AND ENTERTAINMENT

From 1870 to 1879 the Cherokee Nation continued to stress the importance of the school. The Civil War had hampered all education, but by 1871 there were fifty-nine schools in operation in the nation, three of which were for Negroes. The Seminaries that had been closed before the Civil War opened their doors again during this decade. The National Council approved the founding of the Cherokee Orphan Asylum, which opened in 1872. It was temporarily housed at the Male Seminary, but in 1875 the permanent site some thirty miles north of Tahlequah was occupied. By the end of the decade the Nation was supporting eighty day schools and four boarding schools.

From in and around the Nation voices were raised in support of education. The citizens of Oak Grove organized the Sequoyah Literary Society, whose purpose was to encourage

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3Located near the Arkansas border on Oklahoma highway 100 in what is now Adair county. A two-story log house built in 1835 by the Adair family still stands near the site of the community (Interview with T. L. Ballenger, February 4, 1970).
educational pursuits that would prepare youth for a useful life. In 1871 the constitution of this organization was printed in the recently reactivated national newspaper, the Cherokee Advocate.\footnote{Printing of the Cherokee Advocate was resumed on April 26, 1870 (Carolyn Foreman, Oklahoma Imprints 1835-1907 [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936], p. 80).} According to the document women were encouraged to participate in the work of the society.\footnote{Cherokee Advocate, July 8, 1871.} In nearby Muskogee, which was in the Creek Nation, the Indian Journal was first published in 1876. The first Advocate editor, William P. Ross, who had served as Principal Chief of the Cherokee tribe at two different times,\footnote{William Potter Ross became Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation in 1866, following the death of John Ross. Then when Chief Lewis Downing died in 1872, W. P. Ross completed the unexpired term (Grace Woodward, The Cherokees [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963], pp. 305, 318).} edited this paper, the masthead of which carried the words, "We Seek to Enlighten." The entries that appeared in "Local Affairs," a column in the Indian Journal, suggested that some of the inhabitants of the Indian Nations were already enlightened. Several Cherokee families owned copies of Sir Walter Scott's poems and "a Greek lexicon and the classical poets" were observed on the desk of a Creek Indian.\footnote{Indian Journal, December 21, 1876.} In an earlier issue readers were informed that "a first class education" was
available more reasonably in the Cherokee Nation than any place in the states.  

In Tahlequah during this decade speech activities connected with educational practices were frequently noted and described in the Cherokee Advocate, as well as in the other newspapers and records of the period. These activities were performed in connection with the Cherokee Orphan Asylum, Cherokee Female Seminary, Cherokee Male Seminary, and the public schools of the area. This chapter will chronicle the pertinent events that were related to speech activities: oral examinations, exhibitions, concerts, May celebrations, meetings of the debating and literary societies, and parts of the Teachers' Institute meetings.

I. CHEROKEE ORPHAN ASYLUM

When the Cherokee Indians lived in the southern part of the United States they prided themselves on the care they provided the orphan children of their tribe. This pride must have sparked the passage of a bill concerning the establishment of an Orphan Manual Labor School by the Cherokee National Council in 1842, shortly after the removal. Because of lack of funds the bill was not implemented, but finally some money was provided to assist the orphan children to attend public schools. Then came the Civil War and the destruction of life and property caused by that calamity compounded the problem.

\[8\text{Ibid.}, \text{September 14, 1876.}\]
of the orphan. In his address to the National Council in 1886, William Potter Ross, who had just become chief after the death of his uncle, John Ross, recommended assistance to the destitute children. National funds being especially scarce, it was necessary for missionaries and the more prosperous members of the tribe to provide the needed assistance. In November of 1871 W. P. Ross, now a member of the Cherokee Senate, introduced a bill calling for the establishment of the Cherokee Orphan Asylum. The long intended dream of the Nation was carried out once the bill was passed.

Reverend Walter Adair Duncan was appointed to serve as superintendent when the school opened in March of 1872 in the building of the Male Seminary, which had not been restored to usefulness after the damage of the Civil War. The permanent home of the Asylum was to be on land formerly owned by Lewis Ross, the merchant prince of the Ross clan, who had moved from Park Hill to Grand Saline before the Civil War. The Ross home was described in the Advocate as "a costly and spacious brick residence 80 feet square." This property was purchased by the Nation at the cost of seventy thousand dollars. The main


10Cherokee Advocate, July 6, 1878.


12Cherokee Advocate, July 6, 1878.
building was enlarged to "150 x 80 feet, with a wing 75 x 35 feet, entirely of brick, located in the midst of primeval oaks, and further beautified by the addition of maple, locust, and other trees and shrubbery." When the building was ready for occupancy the move from Tahlequah to what is now Salina, Oklahoma, required two days. Some of the students walked the thirty miles over an area that included rolling prairie land along with numerous steep and rocky hills. On the first day of the hike the students were accompanied by their superintendent, but on the second day Duncan found it necessary to seek other means of transportation. The formal dedication of the Cherokee Orphan Asylum took place on October 13, 1875, with numerous tribal dignitaries present, including W. P. Ross. Now the orphans of the Nation had a home, until it was destroyed by fire in 1903.

After the school was provided for the orphans they were not forgotten by the people of the Cherokee Nation. There were especially large crowds at several of the oral examinations and exhibitions during this period. When the

13 Ibid.
16 W. A. Duncan to Principal Chief W. P. Ross, 23 October, 1875, Indian Affairs, Miscellaneous Papers, Cherokee Room, John Vaughan Library, Northeastern State College, Tahlequah, Oklahoma.
school was still housed at the Male Seminary the public school teachers of the Nation, who were in session in Tahlequah at their annual meeting, recessed in order to attend the closing exercises at the Orphan Asylum. The writer of the item in the Advocate said of the crowd, "a larger concourse of people was never seen in our country upon a similar occasion." A citizen who attended the exercises in 1879 wrote of the "numbers of two horse wagons, Hacks, Ambulances, and carriages" which were used to transport the numerous visitors. When Superintendent Duncan wrote up his annual report in 1875 he recalled that on examination day there were "many distinguished visitors from abroad in attendance."  

Closing exercises seemed to follow the pattern used elsewhere in the Nation and the States with examinations in the morning and entertainment in the afternoon. By the end of the seventies the exercises had increased in length. The longest were those in 1878 that started on Tuesday and ended on Friday with the "declamations, essays, speeches, etc." Only two days were required the next year. However, the "songs, dialogues, declamations, and plays" were all performed at night. Of all the activities performed on the  

18Cherokee Advocate, July 25, 1874.  
19Ibid., July 16, 1879.  
20W. A. Duncan to Principal Chief W. P. Ross, 23 October, 1875, Indian Affairs, Miscellaneous Papers.  
21Cherokee Advocate, July 6, 1878.  
22Ibid., July 16, 1879.
exhibitions during the seventies at the Orphan Asylum, "The Graces" was the only one reported by name. It was "sung and acted" by the children on the 1874 program with such effect that the audience was "swayed in sympathy." 23

During the time the school was located in Tahlequah there were weekly meetings of an organization called the Sequoyah Literary Club, whose members included students and staff. In his report to the principal chief the superintendent described the purposes of the club as being to

... promote a knowledge of composition, criticism, style, taste; the rules of controversy together with parliamentary usage; good behavior, lady-like and gentlemanly learning. 24

The terms "composition, criticism, style, taste" suggested that the writer may have been exposed to the belles lettres movement based on the writings of Hugh Blair, Scottish preacher and writer, whose theories were frequently the basis of rhetorical teaching in the nineteenth century. 25 If, as the aims suggested, the Sequoyah Literary Club met regularly to debate and discuss in an orderly manner, utilizing acceptable forms of preparation and presentation, the Orphan Asylum enjoyed an "intellectual entertainment" that was

23 Ibid., July 25, 1874.

24 W. A. Duncan to Principal Chief W. P. Ross, 23 October, 1875, Indian Affairs, Miscellaneous Papers.

popular across the United States. The group also provided Cherokee citizens with useful training for a life of service to their Nation.

One of the popular events in Indian Territory during the seventies was the fair. The Indian International Fair was held in Muskogee, Creek Nation, in the fall of 1875. Thirty-eight children from the orphan school went to the fair and competed for the prizes that were offered for the best compositions. Duncan reported that a visiting Comanche Indian was so impressed by the children of the Asylum that he asked one of the teachers accompanying the group to come to teach the Comanche children. 27

II. CHEROKEE FEMALE SEMINARY

Some women from the Cherokee Nation were educated in eastern schools, but after 1851 a similar curriculum was available in their own school, the Cherokee Female Seminary. This institution, which had served the Nation for nearly a decade before it was closed in 1859, was finally opened again in May of 1872 with Mrs. E. S. Eblin as principal teacher. 28 Classes continued to be held at the original location near Park Hill until a fire destroyed the school in 1887. Then a

26 Ibid., p. 294.

27 W. A. Duncan to Principal Chief W. P. Ross, 23 October, 1875, Indian Affairs, Miscellaneous Papers.

28 Cherokee Advocate, July 1, 1872.
site was selected north of Tahlequah for a new building in which classes were held until Oklahoma became a state in 1907, when the name was changed to Northeastern State Normal School. In 1970 another new name, Seminary Hall, was given the building, which remains in use by classes at Northeastern State College at this writing.

During the 1850's nearly all the teaching staff of the Seminary had been educated at Mount Holyoke in South Hadley, Massachusetts. This tradition was repeated in the seventies when Ella Noyes, who had just recently graduated from the eastern school, became principal teacher. While Florence Wilson had not attended Mount Holyoke, she had attended Miss Laura Graham's Select School in Cane Hill, Arkansas, which had been founded by a graduate of the Massachusetts academy. Earlier Florence Wilson had been a teacher in the public schools in Tahlequah, but when she returned in 1875 she became principal teacher at the Seminary, staying for twenty-six years. Under her capable leadership many Cherokee women received an excellent education.

At the Female Seminary the exercises at the end of a term included the oral examination, scheduled for the morning, and the exhibition, performed in the afternoon. Beginning in 1877, in addition to announcing the coming event and then

29 Ibid., Oct. 11, 1873.
reporting the exercises, the Advocate started printing the outstanding essays given at the closing ceremonies. The first to be published was "Might Have Been" given by Tennie Steele. The following month the Tahlequah newspaper reprinted an item from the Baltimore Herald praising the work of the student who wrote the essay, the school, and the Cherokee Nation. The Herald noted that few schools in the States produced results of this caliber. At the end of the next term three essays appeared in the Advocate: "Words" by Mattie Bell, "Act Well Your Part" by Clara Hicks, and "Treasures" by Adele Nicholson. Delilah Wilson's composition, "We Know Not What Sword Is In the Scabbard, Till It Is Drawn," was the only one published the next year.

In the story describing the exercises of the winter of 1877, the writer voiced a new sentiment, at least new in the Cherokee Nation.

Only the forenoon was devoted to class examinations, and we think properly. From our experience in the school room—and observation here and elsewhere, we have long since come to the following conclusion: That it is impossible to expose in one day the result of five months work—or in other words, in thirty minutes to test the knowledge of any class in any branch of study. Hence any examination which undertakes to do this, will result in failure—not a failure to exhibit or properly show the work that has been done during the term. Again,

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31 Cherokee Advocate, February 10, 1877. See Appendix for copy of speech.
32 Ibid., March 28, 1877.
33 Ibid., July 4, 1877.
34 Ibid., July 6, 1878.
a majority of the persons who attend these examinations do so for the purpose of being entertained and judge the school a success or not in just the proportion that they are entertained.  

The staff at the Female Seminary was trying a new method, the written examination in use in the East. When the national school for Cherokee girls adopted the technique, the national newspaper recognized and supported the innovation.

Admiration for skillful oral readers was expressed in the Advocate in the summer of 1874. The effective reading of essays by the young ladies at the Seminary prompted the writer to comment:

Good readers are one in ten thousand, and while it is possible for almost any ninny to have some education pounded into him, it takes genius to comprehend and give expression to embodied thought and emotion.  

This sentiment was echoed through the pages of this newspaper during the decade.

The girls at the Seminary assisted in raising money for community and school projects by presenting concerts or entertainments. "Songs and instrumental music, tableaux and dialogues" made up the program in 1874, from which approximately eighty dollars was collected and contributed to a fund to build a church. On another occasion the students, thinking that an organ or a piano was needed at their school, 

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35 Ibid., February 3, 1877.
36 Ibid., July 11, 1874.
37 Ibid., July 25, 1874.
announced a concert for November 23, 1877, to raise money for this project.  

At the May 7 celebration there was nearly always a program. This holiday, commemorating the opening of the two Seminaries, had been a highlight of the year in the fifties. Now the national newspaper helped rekindle the pride of the Cherokees by reminding readers that this celebration was as logical here as the celebration of the fourth of July was in the States.  

Often the day was a joint effort by the Female and Male Seminaries, as it was in 1877 when William P. Ross made the major address, followed by declamations and essays by the students. The next year a large crowd gathered for "our only National Holiday." At this event the May Queen was crowned in a ceremony that prompted the reporter from the Advocate to comment, "so well was every part performed that it was hard not to believe all a reality." The festivities that started at 9 a.m. included the program, the abundant noon meal, and finally, games of croquet. The setting for these activities was "a few hundred yards north of the Female Seminary, on the Tahlequah road."

38 Ibid., November 7, 1877.  
39 Ibid., May 2, 1877.  
40 Indian Journal, May 17, 1877.  
41 Cherokee Advocate, May 11, 1878.  
42 Ibid.  
43 Ibid.
Six girls from the Seminary must have been tremendously excited in July of 1874, as they anticipated their appearance before the teachers of the Cherokee Nation at the annual Teachers' Institute in Tahlequah. These girls were elocution students of Ella Noyes, principal teacher at the Female Seminary, who had been asked to share her knowledge of elocution with the Nation's teachers. First Miss Noyes told her audience that there would be no speech, but rather a demonstration of methods she used each day in her elocution class. Drills preceded each lesson, the six students performing breathing exercises, sounding vowels, and then reading together part of Byron's poem, "Waterloo," in which soldiers were called from the ballroom to the battle.

Preliminaries completed, each student announced the name of a selection that she would like to read and described to the class how she thought it should be read. The girls were reminded by their teacher of the need to use the voice with effectiveness and to relay the feeling of the selection to the listener, or as the Advocate writer expressed it, "to give the emotion of the author as well as his words."\(^4\)

The pedagogical methods used in the demonstration at the Tahlequah meeting indicated that reading aloud effectively was based on mastery of vocal control and a plan for the performance that included communicating the feeling and meaning of the selection. Two other sentences in the

\(^4\)Ibid., July 13, 1874.
article provided additional understanding of another technique used by the teacher, that of example.

Miss Noyes is more fortunate than most of the teachers, being able to instruct her class as well by example as precept. Her mode is to read before her class any difficult parts, and require her pupils to give as near as may be the same rendering.  

III. CHEROKEE MALE SEMINARY

"They are a sign, a symbol, a proof of the national advancement to which every Cherokee may point with justifiable pride." This statement from the Cherokee Advocate expressed the feeling of the Nation about the two tribal seminaries that were both open again by the spring of 1876.

When the time came for the first examination day at the Male Seminary guests from all over the nation were present. The premises had been decorated by an industrious and inventive group. Not only had they used flowers and leaves but they had arranged evergreen boughs to spell out "God bless our school" and to form various designs. Examinations at 9 a.m. were followed by a program, after which the Female Seminary students and staff joined the others for the noon meal.

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45 Ibid., July 18, 1874.
46 Cherokee Advocate, October 7, 1876.
47 Ibid., July 8, 1876.
At the afternoon session an interesting demonstration was presented by Harriet Rogers,\textsuperscript{48} wife of the superintendent of the Male Seminary.\textsuperscript{49} Before her marriage to Daniel Rogers in 1875 Harriet Jones taught at the Institute for the Deaf at Northampton, Massachusetts. There she had learned "visible speech,"\textsuperscript{50} a type of phonetic alphabet designed as "a physiological alphabet in which each symbol showed the position of the organ of speech necessary to make a particular sound."\textsuperscript{51} This former teacher of the deaf thought that it might be possible to adapt some part of "visible speech" to

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}[48]
\item Harriet Rogers made a sizable contribution to the Male Seminary that term. As a skilled elocutionist and musician she taught elocution and singing and shared her talents by performing in community entertainments and activities. Her death the next year was mourned by the entire community, in spite of the fact that she had lived in Tahlequah less than two years (\textit{Ibid.}, May 9, 1877).
\item \textit{Ibid.}, July 8, 1876.
\item The system had been perfected by Alexander Melville Bell, whose son, Alexander Graham Bell, spent several months at Clarke School in Northampton, Massachusetts, in the spring of 1872, demonstrating the system to the teachers of that school for the deaf. Some time later a three year experimental program was set up at the Institute to test the value of the system as a means of teaching speech to the deaf person. While teachers found the method helpful as a means of gaining a thorough knowledge of the speech mechanism and the accurate production of sounds, the system was determined to be unsuccessful for the deaf person. "Visible speech" was finally discontinued at the Clarke School (C. V. Hudgins, "Some Symbolic Systems for Teaching the Deaf," \textit{History of Speech Education in America}, ed. Karl Wallace [New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954], pp. 371-8).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
assist the Cherokee speaker to learn English. A few days later when the teachers of the Nation met in Tahlequah Harriet Rogers shared her knowledge of the new method with them. Some five years after it was introduced in America Alexander Melville Bell's system reached the Cherokee Nation.

While the boys at the Male Seminary frequently contributed their talents to community projects, they staged concerts for their own entertainment and needs. Intending to raise money for a library at the Seminary, the young men planned and performed a concert in early December, 1879. The event was reported with much more detail than that provided in stories of similar performances. The following account appeared in the "Local News" column:

... The boys of the Male Seminary made twenty-five dollars for their library from the Concert last Friday.

... The Concert at the Male Seminary last Friday evening was largely attended by the Tahlequah folks although the weather was rather unpleasant. The programme consisted of Charades, Tableaux, Orations, and Music. The school room, in which the concert was given was large and commodious, and although many people were present there was no crowding. We had hardly taken our seat when the large curtain that hid the stage was slowly drawn aside and showed a tastely decorated room, to the right of which another curtain was drawn aside and a grave studious looking young man entered and bowed to the audience. This was Mr. Evans Roberson, a promising young man now attending the Seminary and who will shortly graduate.

--Mr. Roberson then spoke upon the subject of "Our Fathers." His language and delivery were highly praised worthy. The instrumental music was

---Cradoke Advocate, July 8, 1876.
furnished by Mr. Robert Hanks, Henry Boudinot, and Miss Mary Stapler.

A tableau called "now and then" was spoken of as very good. Seated to the left of the stage was a brave in his war paint and red blanket enjoying his pride and leisure while his squaw in her Indian Costume was employed in beading a pair of slippers. This represented "then." To the right of the stage sat a lovely girl dressed in the latest fashion apparently listening to whispered words spoken by a gallant and fine-looking young man who stood by her--this was "now." "Then" represented the Cherokees, we suppose fifty or more years ago. "Now--" their present condition. The tableau was happily conceived and took well. The comical part of the entertainment was played by Messrs. Pernot and Stone, our jolly picture takers, who know how to act funny.

The orations by Mr. Coaderay and Mr. Mayfield were both well delivered. The solo "Drifting Away" sung by Miss Maggie Stapler at the concert in town not long since was repeated with success. The Charades "Wooing under Difficulties" and "Irresistibly Impudent" were interesting. The best received performance of the evening was a quartette sung by Misses Sally Rogers, Lilly Maxfield, Nannie Daniels, and Carrie Armstrong, young ladies from the Female Seminary.

The stump speech by Mr. Henry Chamberlain created considerable merriment. "The flying nigger" concluded the entertainment.53

Since this concert was presented at the end of the decade some of the practices of the period can be deduced. First of all, audiences had grown to expect variety, which was provided on this program by vocal and instrumental music and several types of speech activities, including serious and comic speeches, orations, tableaux, and charades. Second, there was a practice in this community of sharing talent and this concert had several examples. Maggie Stapler had sung her selection "at the concert in town not long since" and

53 Ibid., December 10, 1879.
the "best received performance of the evening" was the Female Seminary quartette. Furthermore, the December 3 issue of the Advocate had announced the coming concert and pointed out that the boys "will be assisted by several young ladies." The girls were needed to perform "Wooing under Difficulties." The last evidence of talent sharing concerned Mary Stapler, no longer on the Female Seminary staff, but a Tahlequah citizen, who helped provide instrumental music at this program. The third practice to be cited concerned staging devices. The use of a front curtain and stage settings had been mentioned in stories of other concerts in the vicinity. The three practices (variety, talent sharing, and staging devices) were common for programs in Tahlequah, but no other account noted the use of special costumes. The costumes were an essential part of the tableau, "Now and Then."

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54 Ibid., December 3, 1879.

55 This selection was called a farce in the December 3 story and a charade in the December 10 account. A pantomime, "Courting under Difficulties," with two men and two women in the cast in addition to the person who read the story, is in the Appendix. A humorous farce, "Courtship under Difficulties," with a cast of two men and one woman is also in the Appendix. Since the announcement of December 3 described the piece as a "farce," perhaps "Courtship under Difficulties" was the one staged in Tahlequah in 1879.

56 Mary Stapler taught at the Female Seminary from September 4, 1876 until January 17, 1879, according to the records of Cherokee Female High School, in Office of Registrar, Northeastern State College, Tahlequah, Oklahoma.
communicated approximately the same idea. William S. Robertson, the Superintendent of the Tullahassee Manual Labor School in the Creek Nation, wrote a letter to his son, Samuel Worcester Robertson, a student at Dartmouth at the time, in which he advised his son to be a "strong society man," because "in the oration and debate of the college literary society you get the real life training."  

There had been a literary society at the Male Seminary in the period before the Civil War. A debating society was organized in the community of Tahlequah in 1871. There were also reports from Webbers Falls, a town in the southern part of the Cherokee Nation, that twenty members of the local debating society attended a meeting at which the question, "Resolved that the white man has been an injury to the Indian," was debated.

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57 Although this Creek school was some forty miles from Tahlequah this family had strong ties in the area. The wife of William S. Robertson was the daughter of Samuel Worcester, the missionary to the Cherokees.

58 Letter to son Samuel, 24 August 1879, Folder 1, Robertson Collection, Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma Library, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

59 Cherokee Advocate, October 21, 1871.

60 Ibid., March 28, 1874.
With this background of organizations in the vicinity and with encouragement from J. F. Thompson, a debating society was organized at the Male Seminary when it reopened in the spring of 1876. When the term started in the fall the organization was reactivated.

Cherokees believed that the debating society was an excellent training ground for citizenship. It was the practice of the group to appoint various members to present declamations at the next meeting of the society. Such a speech, made by E. P. Roberson in the fall of 1877, was printed in the Advocate. In his talk he stated an important purpose of the debating society to the Cherokee Nation.

... I regard this debating society as the first step, or as a preparatory step to future usefulness. In a few years some of us are expected to stand in the halls of the capitol at Tahlequah there to discuss the most important questions pertaining to our country.

This same sentiment had been expressed in an earlier Advocate item in which the editor commented that the students "will

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61 J. F. Thompson had been a student at the Male Seminary before the Civil War. Thompson was on the staff of the school in 1876. According to T. L. Ballenger, it was Walter Thompson, son of J. F. Thompson, who contributed to the John Vaughan Library at Northeastern State College in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, the Constitution of the F E W Society. There is no date on this penciled document (Indian Affairs, Miscellaneous Papers). See Appendix for copy of Order of Business from the Constitution of the F E W Society.

62 Cherokee Advocate, June 24, 1876.

63 Ibid., October 14, 1876.

64 See Appendix for Order of Business of F E W Society.

65 Cherokee Advocate, September 19, 1877.
fit themselves for public life," and then continued, "of course, 'there is no excellence without great labor,' young men."66

In 1878 two unidentified societies at the Male Seminary united their talents to perform an exhibition. The Sir Walter Scott collectors, mentioned earlier in the Indian Journal, must have enjoyed the scene between Roderick and Fitz-James from "The Lady of the Lake," the sole selection named on a program that included orations, recitations, and a farce. Special stress was given to the fact that the boys were totally responsible for the program and that the teachers "had but little, if anything, to do with it, except to attend the performance."67

Although boys at the Seminary demonstrated that they could exercise leadership and produce worthwhile results, they also impeded progress at times. When the "mail hack" passed near the school "several" boys jumped on the vehicle and broke it, thus delaying the post.68 Pranks were a normal part of life at the Male Seminary.

IV. PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The Cherokees in the West had a well organized system of public education. The major responsibility for handling

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66 Ibid., November 18, 1876.
67 Ibid., January 26, 1878.
68 Ibid., May 6, 1876.
the schools rested with the national superintendent, who was elected by the national council for a term of two years at a salary of five hundred dollars per annum. The local schools were open for two terms of five months each year with three local commissioners to handle their operations. After the Civil War school was held in the Masonic Building in Tahlequah with chairs borrowed from the possessions of the Male Seminary. Later classes were held in the Senate Chamber of the Capitol Building.

Since there was no school building some of the activities of the Tahlequah Public School were probably limited, but as early as 1871 an impressive exhibition was scheduled for the close of the term. The event was announced in the Advocate a week before it occurred. The published program listed twenty-two selections, fourteen of which were dialogues, recitations, and speeches. The other eight were musical selections.

Mary Stapler and Eloise Butler appeared more frequently on that program than did any of the other students. Both gave recitations and both sang. Mary Stapler was in four of the

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72 Cherokee Advocate, July 8, 1871. See Appendix for copy of program.
five dialogues and Eloise Butler appeared in two of them. Before the end of the decade these two versatile young women were teachers at the Cherokee Female Seminary. After a few years of teaching the beautiful and talented Mary Stapler died of consumption. In a special article with the headline "A National Loss" tribute was paid to her for her numerous contributions. Eloise Butler became the second wife of Chief Dennis Bushyhead.

On a quiet day in the summer of 1874 the calm of Tahlequah was shattered by the barking of dogs, the clanking of wagon wheels, and the cheering of children. Eureka School students had arrived to challenge the local school to an oral examination in mental arithmetic. At the beginning twelve contestants represented Tahlequah and six Eureka. When an entrant missed a problem he was eliminated, tension mounting as the number of contestants decreased. Those remaining became more and more thoughtful, but "caution and well pondered words were not proof against mistakes." At the end of the four-hour contest the "five dollar medal" was awarded to Willie Thorne of Tahlequah, who had solved every problem he had been given.

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73 Ibid., January 27, 1882.
74 Ibid., February 10, 1882.
76 Cherokee Advocate, July 18, 1874.
77 Ibid.
Another oral examination was presented at the 1874 Teachers' Institute, its purpose being to find the outstanding scholar in the Nation under thirteen years of age.\textsuperscript{78} Guests from outside the Nation conducted the exercises, thus following the recommendations of William H. McGuffey, one of the editors of the popular \textit{Eclectic Readers}, that "examinations should not be conducted by those who have conducted the recitations of the class."\textsuperscript{79} Yet this occasion seemed to be one of the few times that the practice was used for oral examinations in the Cherokee Nation.

A boy had applied to take part in the examination but withdrew when he discovered that all the other contestants were girls. Mamie Adair entered from the Saline District, the daughter of Clem Vann was the competitor from the Coo-Wee-Skoo-Wee District, and Flora Thorne represented Tahlequah. The winner could select her own prize, either a Webster's unabridged dictionary or a large pictorial Bible. During the morning the girls were questioned in disciplines from mental arithmetic to grammar. To save time spelling and writing were examined together by asking the contestants to write the word on a blackboard. At the end of the afternoon session an announcement was made that the winner, who 

\textsuperscript{78}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{79}William H. McGuffey, "Report on the Most Efficient Method of Conducting Examinations," \textit{Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers}, VI (Cincinnati, 1836), 239.
selected the dictionary as her prize, was the Tahlequah entrant. 80

Educational contests at the Teachers' Institute had been part of an earlier program in 1872, when three student compositions were read and the prize awarded to Mary Stapler of Tahlequah. 81 Performing before an audience was not a new experience for this girl, who had been the mainstay of the public school exhibition the previous year.

In a report made to Principal Chief William P. Ross in 1875, Superintendent of Public Schools William P. Boudinot listed the requirements for a successful school, as "a capable and faithful teacher, a supply of books and implements to teach with, and a comfortable and suitable furnished School Room." 82 Yet it was two years before Tahlequah could comply with the last requirement. However in the summer of 1877 interested citizens read in the Advocate:

Next Friday evening at early candle lighting is the time set for a committee composed of Messrs. Samuel Sixkiller, Jas. McSpadden and Capt. Adair to report the amount of funds they have been authorized to raise to build a school house for this place. 83

80 Cherokee Advocate, July 18, 1874.
81 Ibid., July 20, 1872.
82 Superintendent of Public Schools William P. Boudinot to Principal Chief William P. Ross, 1875 Report, Indian Affairs, Miscellaneous Papers.
83 Cherokee Advocate, July 25, 1877.
In less than three months that school building was completed and occupied.\textsuperscript{84} Even before it was finished the teachers of the school announced a benefit concert to raise money to equip the building with desks.\textsuperscript{85}

Two hundred people filled the new school to witness the two-hour program that inaugurated this community project. The entertainment included the tableau, "A Young Man's Slave and An Old Man's Darling," and another with the contrasting title, "Nun."\textsuperscript{86} These were described as "equal with the best," while "Little Red Riding Hood" was only "complete as far as it went."\textsuperscript{87} This was an unusual comment to find in a community newspaper, most comments concerning local activities being normally complimentary.

The stage on which the concert was performed was "well designed and very pleasing to the eye."\textsuperscript{88} The imagination of the audience was required to accommodate the various scene changes. The newspaper's readers were wisely reminded that "it is the presentation of character that finds the locality

\textsuperscript{84}Ibid., October 24, 1877.
\textsuperscript{85}Ibid., October 10, 1877.
\textsuperscript{86}The article in the Advocate listed "A Young Man's Slave and An Old Man's Darling" as a tableau. In Tableaux, Charades, and Pantomimes there are two tableaux, one called "A Young Man's Slave" and another called "An Old Man's Darling," as well as a tableau titled "A Nun at her Devotions." See Appendix for copies of these tableaux.
\textsuperscript{87}Ibid., October 24, 1877.
\textsuperscript{88}Ibid.
more than the side boards and painted scenes."89 In the short time since the school was completed it was surely a major accomplishment to have performers ready; scenery could be prepared when there was more time and money.

The community's pride in its own accomplishments was shown in another quotation from the same account about the public school benefit performance.

The fact is, Cherokees can furnish everything they need. They need a school house and they need intellectual entertainments as much as other civilized communities. If they can manage to make both for themselves and make one produce the other, they get both for nothing.90

No doubt the conclusion seemed somewhat strained to a reader from outside the Nation, but Tahlequah and the Cherokee Nation managed to use the school building for the purposes mentioned through the years that followed.

Schools in and around Tahlequah often had special programs during the month of May. At the public schools the May activities were festive in nature, following the pattern used in schools in the States. In 1876 six schools in the vicinity combined their efforts to present a giant May party with speeches, songs, music by a string band, a spelling contest, and the crowning of the May Queen. As a part of that ceremony a speech was made by the Maid of Honor of the Queen's court.91 Earlier that month May activities took

89 Ibid.
90 Ibid.
91 Ibid., May 20, 1876.
place at the Tahlequah School and at the Negro schools in Tahlequah and Fort Gibson. The following May a humorous note was added when a student gave a speech "burlesquing the practice of making apologies" at one of the May celebrations. Although the activities performed at the May parties varied slightly, they were all based on the theme of tribute to the season. They could be likened to some of the tribal rites to Nature performed by many Indian tribes.

Teachers' Institutes. The end of school programs at the various schools brought visitors to Tahlequah late in June each year, but early in July the annual meeting of the teachers brought even more. As the schools of the Nation grew during the decade, so did the number of teachers; hence each succeeding Teachers' Institute involved more people. Also in attendance at the meetings were guest performers from the States, salesmen representing school supplies, reporters from various newspapers, and friends of education from among the Cherokees. All brought with them news of their communities to share with Tahlequah citizens.

The Institutes were brought to the territory by educators from the East. This type of convention had been organized in Connecticut by Henry Barnard in 1839 to provide teachers in small or remote areas with an opportunity to

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92 Ibid., May 13, 1876.
93 Ibid., June 6, 1877.
increase their knowledge and improve their teaching skills. While the teachers found the sessions profitable, they also found time to shop and socialize, two important by-products of any such gathering.

Information on a variety of subjects was shared at the meetings. In 1874 elocution was discussed and teaching techniques were demonstrated by Ella Noyes, principal teacher of the Female Seminary. Five years later the subject was an outstanding feature when M. H. McClure of Pennsylvania demonstrated exercises and drills. On the second day McClure "rendered some selections in a highly interesting and able manner." One of the problems facing the public school teacher was that of the student who spoke and understood only Cherokee. In a United States Government report made early in the decade the Cherokees were praised for all their educational efforts, the only problem mentioned being "a want of any system of teaching English to them." Suggestions for a solution were voiced at various Institute sessions. Harriet Rogers discussed "visible speech" in 1876 as a possible method. The next year the topic, "What is the

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95 Cherokee Advocate, July 18, 1874.

96 Ibid., July 16, 1879.

best method of teaching English to the Native language talkers?" was explored by several speakers who projected a variety of ideas. Mr. Hitchcock suggested that the Cherokee speakers should be boarded in what he called "Family Boarding Schools." Mr. Stephens offered a modified plan of boarding the Cherokee-speaking children with families whose children spoke English. It was also recommended that the best teachers of the Nation be assigned to schools with the largest population of native speakers. Although useful remedies were proposed, the underlying hope was that the native language should not be lost.  

A number of the speeches made at the Institute of 1874 were related to elocutionary practices of the time. Professor Fales of Ottawa, Kansas, presented a speech entitled "English Language" in which he declared that the practice of reciting Milton and Shakespeare by ten year olds was unwise. Rather he urged that the years of childhood should be spent in youthful pursuits. Other topics discussed were "Thought and Expression," "Phonetics," "Teacher's Culture," "Object of Recitation," and "The Early Steps of Language." The last, a speech given by R. B. Blackstone, formerly secretary of the Institute in 1872, was printed in the Advocate. In the address Blackstone cited theories of Dugal Stewart, an early nineteenth century Scottish philosopher, who advanced the

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98 Cherokee Advocate, July 11, 1877.
99 Ibid., July 25, 1874.
idea that language arose through the efforts of man, but Blackstone maintained, and used Biblical illustrations to establish, language as the gift of the Gods and not the creation of man." The fact that Stewart's name was mentioned without identification suggests that listeners were acquainted with his theories.

At some of the Institute sessions questions were debated and decisions were rendered. On the evening of July 16, 1872, the meeting closed with a debate on the topic, "Resolved that the Monarchy is the best form of Government." The observers went home happy to know that the negative had triumphed. The next evening the affirmative won with the subject, "Resolved, that the works of Nature are more pleasing to the eye than the works of Art." In later years subjects were related to timely educational problems. Two days after Flora Thorne won the dictionary as a result of the oral examination the evening session of the Institute was devoted to the debate, "Should prizes and medals be given as rewards for superiority and conduct?" Spirited speeches were followed by discussion from the group, after which "the President deeming further discussion unnecessary" declared the negative the winner. In like manner decisions were made by the presidents of debating societies in the United

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100 Ibid. See Appendix for copy of speech.
101 Ibid., July 20, 1872.
102 Ibid., July 25, 1874.
States and topics similar to those used in Tahlequah were selected for argumentation.103

Some of the performances at these meetings were designed for entertainment. Readings performed by M. H. McClure have already been mentioned. The day before she presented her class demonstration on elocution Ella Noyes read "Lochiel's Warning" by the Scottish poet, Thomas Campbell.104 Next she performed Lord George Gordon Byron's "Apostrophe to the Ocean" (from Childe Harold's Pilgrimage), which was requested by a member of the audience.105 "Waterloo" (also from Childe Harold's Pilgrimage) was used as a demonstration by Ella Noyes' elocution class. Another Byron poem was read by Mrs. Williams at the 1874 meeting. The newspaper account gave "I Had a Dream that was not all a Dream," the first line of the selection, as the title. The actual name of this long and difficult poem is "Darkness." With material of this nature the comment "well read" was deserved.106 The popularity of Lord Byron among the teachers in the Cherokee Nation bears out a conclusion reached by a


104A copy of this popular selection may be found in McGuffey's Sixth Eclectic Reader.

105Cherokee Advocate, July 18, 1874.

106Ibid., July 25, 1874.
scholar of the frontier who reported that this English poet was a favorite of settlers in the West. 107

Other performances at Institute meetings included the reading of Reynell Coates' poem, "The Gambler's Wife," by Miss Kenuchee, whose performance was described as being "very creditably" done, 108 and the oral presentation of an original poem of "considerable excellence" by Mr. McCord. 109

In addition to acquainting Tahlequah with "visible speech" Harriet Rogers was responsible for introducing a new poet who was becoming popular in the States, Will Carleton, who published a book of poems called Farm Ballads in 1873. Three years later Harriet Rogers read from Carleton's Home Ballads the poem, "Gone With A Handsome Man." 110 The Indian Journal called her "an elocutionist of high rank." 111 The Advocate commented that her reading "brought tears to the eyes of many in the audience." 112


108 Cherokee Advocate, July 16, 1879. See Appendix for copy of selection.

109 Ibid., July 25, 1874.

110 Ibid., July 8, 1876. See copy of poem in Appendix. Farm Ballads was the first book of poem published by Will Carleton and the only one he wrote before 1876. (W. J. Burke and Will D. Howe, American Authors and Books, 1640-1940 [New York: Gramercy Publishing Co., 1943], p. 118).

111 Indian Journal, July 18, 1876.

112 Cherokee Advocate, July 8, 1876.
extended special recognition to this helpful and talented woman by passing two resolutions complimentary to her. One was for her musical contributions at the meetings, and the other singled out her reading of "Gone With a Handsome Man" as the highlight of the meetings. Both newspaper editors and teachers in the Nation appreciated the skilled performer. Poems of Will Carleton were heard again in Tahlequah. "The New Church Organ," a selection from *Farm Ballads*, was recited on a program at the Female Seminary in 1877.

Literary societies of this period followed the practice of closing their meetings with reports from critics who pointed out the merits and demerits of the speakers. This procedure was used at the 1874 Institute when comments from the critics were given at the end of each session. Their remarks produced varied reactions. Some were accepted politely, some prompted the performer to make excuses, and some caused hostility. The following description of one of the reports may explain why this technique was not repeated at later Institutes.

The report of Critics was then called for, when they proceeded to exercise the function of their office, and cut into the remarks of some of the gentlemen to such an extent as to make things quite lively for a while. The Critics and the criticized

113 *Tbid.*
had about reached "Touchstone's" third stage of a quarrel, when the Chairman poured the oil of peace on the troubled by adjourning the institute until 1 o'clock p.m.\textsuperscript{116}

It should be noted that the writer of the article not only knew Shakespeare's As You Like It but expected his readers to recognize the "third stage of a quarrel."

Throughout the seventies the schools made contributions to the cultural life of Tahlequah. Scholastic speech activities enriched the lives of those who performed and those who attended the performances. The activities provided enlightenment and entertainment for a sizable segment of the Cherokee Nation.

\textsuperscript{116}Cherokee Advocate, July 25, 1874.
CHAPTER V

CIVIC SELF-IMPROVEMENT, BENEFITS, AND FUN

A community on the frontier commonly had a desire for entertainment, but in the nineteenth century this longing brought a twinge of guilt unless the activity served "some useful purpose."\(^1\) If a local cause benefited financially, then the guilt was replaced by the glow of self-satisfaction, an acceptable substitute. Of course intellectual stimulation was a suitable motive for taking part in or attending a reasonably enjoyable gathering, although some staunch family men maintained that the meeting had to include parents and children.\(^2\) Groups of this sort were sometimes difficult to assemble, but in Tahlequah in the 1870's citizens joined, presented, and attended such activities.

As soon as the institutions existing before the Civil War were re-established, people in the Cherokee Nation discovered that they had time for amusements. A story appeared in the Cherokee Advocate, the national newspaper, telling of a literary society organized in Webbers Falls, a


leading town in the Canadian District of the Nation. The article closed with the question, "Could not the young men of Fort Gibson and Tahlequah organize for the same purpose and thus try to improve themselves?" Later Tahlequah folk lost interest in joining forces with Fort Gibson when they heard that a touring minstrel show played in that adjacent town. Then the local paper printed this plaintive plea, "Can't a troupe pay Tahlequah a visit?" Both questions were answered before the end of the decade when self-improvement groups met with considerable regularity and some touring performers were booked into the Cherokee capital. A citizen could decide for himself whether he wanted to join an organization for personal development, contribute to the success of an activity by attending a public performance, or support an event designed solely for entertainment. At the end of the seventies the Advocate reported that "Tahlequah has had a plenty of amusement for the last week or two. Two concerts and three slight-of-hand shows." The term "concert" in this context referred to an evening of entertainment not solely musical. Although the program may have presented music, just as possibly it included some speech activity: a play, tableau, declamation, essay, oration, or other type of oral performance.

3 Cherokee Advocate, March 7, 1874.
4 Ibid., April 15, 1876.
5 Ibid., December 10, 1879.
One historian of the frontier has noted that as soon as a community built a school house cultural activities started to spring up. So it was in Tahlequah. Once the school was completed the available space prompted people to devise uses for it. The debt on the building motivated some citizens to stage benefit performances, while others planned programs for self-improvement. Rivalry with the towns of Webbers Falls, Fort Gibson, and later Muskogee encouraged others to organize and attend meetings and programs. For whatever reasons, in the seventies Tahlequah and the neighboring communities had a variety of entertainments.

I. ORGANIZED COMMUNITY GROUPS

Reading Circles. The reading circle meeting in the home became a popular activity among the ladies in the western states of America. Gatherings of this type in Tahlequah during the 1870's included men and women. An invitation was extended to any interested citizen to attend the weekly meetings of the Sequoyah Reading Circle, which convened on Friday evenings in various Tahlequah homes. The popular group assembled in the residences of J. L. Adair, J. W. Stapler, Wallace Ross, and others to achieve the aims

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7Ibid., p. 229.
of "social enjoyment and individual improvement."\(^8\) The membership combined "the abounding gaiety of youth and the gravity of maturer years,"\(^9\) thus garnering the approval of those individuals who thought that worthwhile entertainment had to include people of all ages.\(^10\)

In March, 1876, the Cherokee press stated that "a Reading Circle has been founded by the young people of this place."\(^11\) Perhaps it was only a coincidence, but one month earlier the citizens of nearby Fort Smith, Arkansas, had announced the organization of the Social Literary Club to meet semi-monthly for entertainment. Since the Fort Smith group was an auxiliary of the Public Library Association and met in the library building, self-improvement, an unstated purpose, was a desirable side effect.\(^12\)

Two participants in the Fort Smith Social Literary Club were Dr. R. D. Seals, a dentist, and his wife. At the first program meeting of the group Mrs. Seals read an essay.\(^13\) Dr. Seals recited a poem and provided some of the musical

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\(^8\)\textit{Cherokee Advocate}, September 30, 1876. The official name of the organization was the Sequoyah Reading Circle, but the group was frequently referred to as the Reading Circle.

\(^9\)\textit{Ibid.}


\(^11\)\textit{Cherokee Advocate}, March 11, 1876.

\(^12\)\textit{New Era} (Fort Smith, Arkansas), February 9, 1876.

\(^13\)\textit{Ibid.}, February 23, 1876.
entertainment at a meeting the next year. Regular trips by Dr. Seals to Tahlequah and other towns in the vicinity were announced in the *Advocate*. Visitors like Dr. Seals helped the community newspaper spread news from town to town. In this manner some members of the Fort Smith's Social Literary Club became aware of Tahlequah's Reading Circle, and the reverse was also true.

In Tahlequah the Nation's press described the activities of the Reading Circle in two lengthy articles, possibly to acquaint the citizenry with the procedures of this group. When the organization was "apparently permanent," the first story explained that at the meetings of the

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15 There was a similar circumstance concerning the founding of a Muskogee organization called the Literary Sociable and a man who had just moved to town from Fort Smith, Arkansas. The newcomer, Ed J. Brooks, lawyer, former United States Commissioner, and twice mayor of Fort Gibson, may have assisted in establishing the Muskogee group, though not so credited. Brooks read an essay entitled "Times, Changes, and Ruins" at one of the society's first meetings in December, 1876 (Indian Journal [Muskogee, Creek Nation], December 14, 1876). If he did help establish the club after his arrival in Muskogee in August, 1876, he may have brought the idea with him from Fort Smith, where the Social Literary Club was active. Although Brooks is not known to have participated in the Fort Smith group, he was surely aware of its activities. The formation of the organization in Muskogee with a similar name and program may have happened by chance, but at least it was another interesting coincidence. Certainly Ed J. Brooks and Dr. R. D. Seals served much of the same function, helping to spread the news of cultural progress from community to community in the West.

16 *Cherokee Advocate*, September 30, 1876, December 2, 1876.
Sequoyah Reading Circle everyone who attended took part. As the roll was called each member read a short selection of any type of literature he wished. After each reading the entire group took part in a discussion of "the article itself, the author, any incident connected with either," or comments on the manner of reading. The pattern of organization suggested that the individual member needed to find a selection that lent itself to discussion, was required to plan and execute the oral reading of the literature with special efforts, and must be ready and willing to accept criticism. In addition all members were supposed to contribute to the free exchange of ideas after each reading. Apparently the implied responsibilities were accepted.

The second article in the Advocate pointed out that the meetings of the Reading Circle served as "a school for manners." Appropriate behavior has to be required in order to meet the organizational aim of self-improvement. At these gatherings Tahlequah citizens practiced elocutionary skills they had been taught at school and cultivated abilities necessary for cooperative and agreeable community life. The Sequoyah Reading Circle met with considerable regularity during the last half of the decade.

17 Ibid., September 30, 1876.
18 Ibid., December 2, 1876.
Both articles in the Cherokee Advocate were written while William Penn Boudinot was editor. Boudinot, who was appointed to this position for two terms in the 1870's, was a Cherokee educated in the East, where as a Philadelphia engraver he had learned current journalistic practices.19 Publicly and privately interested in cultural activities, he encouraged readers to participate in the Cherokee Literary Society when an organizational meeting was announced in 1871.20 When J. A. Richardson, a public school teacher, presented a program of readings in the summer of 1877, Boudinot was so favorably impressed that he encouraged Richardson to offer private elocutionary instruction.21 Later another friend of education, this time the superintendent of the Cherokee Male Seminary, appeared on a local program and successfully displayed his talent as an oral readers. After the event Boudinot remarked that much skill was an "essential requirement of a good education."22 A biographer writing of Boudinot late in the nineteenth century described him as a man who served the Cherokee Nation in various governmental offices, including the editing of the


20Cherokee Advocate, October 21, 1871.

21Ibid., August 8, 1877.

22Ibid., October 24, 1877.
national newspaper, and was known for his skill as a "natural musician" and poet, though Boudinot made no such claim.23

During his editorship Boudinot's support of the Reading Circle was demonstrated on the pages of the local paper when he wrote of its meetings, yet his membership in the organization is not in evidence. He must have attended meetings for he commented on the meaningful criticism from some of the circle members. The remarks would have cost dearly as a part of private lessons in elocution, according to the editor, but at the circle meetings they were "gratuitous given."24 Boudinot himself supplied these penetrating suggestions as a part of one article:

To know how to read well involves the necessity of thoroughly appreciating the written thoughts of others, and the best mode of using the voice to convey one's own understanding of a subject to the mind of the listener.25

The comments indicate an understanding of what the reader must do in order to perform successfully: first, gain an understanding of the material, and second, find the best vocal treatment to convey the meaning.

The circle members who subscribed to the Advocate were especially well supplied with material on literature


24Cherokee Advocate, December 2, 1876.

25Ibid.
in the summer of 1877. The issue published on the first day of August bore a front page story, reprinted from Printers' Circular, a Philadelphia publication, headlined, "The Profits of Literature," setting forth the financial success of several American writers, including Longfellow, Emerson, Hawthorne, and Lowell. In the same issue of the Tahlequah paper was an article entitled "Reading Aloud," the second of three items reprinted by the Advocate from Richard Grant White's books, Everyday English, as reproduced in the New York Times from May 13, 1877, through December 9, 1877.26 In the Advocate account, "Reading Aloud," White defined his subject as "the natural utterance of sentences, read according to their meaning."27 Success in reading literature aloud, the Easterner asserted, could be achieved through gaining a thorough understanding of the selection, using the natural voice, and losing oneself in the performance of the material. The use of the natural voice was based on White's idea that the beginning reader was self-

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26 New York Times, July 8, 1877, p. 4, July 15, 1877, p. 5, July 22, 1877, p. 8. Parts of the articles printed on the above dates were reprinted on the following dates in the Cherokee Advocate: July 25, 1877, August 1, 1877, August 22, 1877. Richard Grant White, who wrote this material, was a popular writer, critic, and Shakespearean scholar of the post Civil War period, who often had material printed in Putnam's Magazine, Galaxy, and Atlantic Monthly. He wrote several books, including Everyday English, published separately in 1880 (Dictionary of American Biography, ed. Dumas Malone, XX [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936], 113-114).

27 Cherokee Advocate, August 1, 1877.
conscious and consequently used his voice in an unnatural manner. The oral performer was encouraged to take his mind off himself, although unfortunately no suggestions for accomplishing this feat were included. Yet White's idea was an early recognition of a performer's need to control his nervousness. The inner conflicts that beset public performers were seldom mentioned in the literature of the period.

Many of White's recommendations reflected popular elocutionary practices of the day, such as his suggestion that the novice observe and follow the example of a good reader. The week before the "Reading Aloud" reprint appeared, editor Boudinot commented that "a young lady member of the Sequoyah Reading Circle is as fine an amateur reader as we ever hear."\(^{28}\) When members of the Tahlequah group imitated that young lady, and they surely tried, they were following methods advocated by other nineteenth century elocutionists, as well as White.\(^{29}\)

\(^{28}\)Ibid., July 25, 1877.

\(^{29}\)"Where the passions are much involved, to read well, we must study nature. If we would assume the character of Shylock, take as a model a penurious, money-getting person of your acquaintance, and imitate his manner—or to express sorrow correctly, study the conduct of the parent at the grave of a child" (Rev. B. W. Atwell, Principles of Elocution and Verse Culture [Providence: Bangs Williams News Co., 1867], pp. 20-21. "Cultivate your power of imitation in every way sanctioned by good taste that your inclinations may direct. Avail yourself of every opportunity of hearing eloquent speakers of every class,—clergymen, lawyers, lecturers, or politicians,—study their delivery, their source of power, points of excellence, their faults, defects, and distinguishing characteristics" (Robert Kidd, New
In summary, the Sequoyah Reading Circle gave all of its members a chance to participate in worthwhile activity well publicized by the local press. Editor Boudinot not only wrote of the organization but reprinted material of special interest to members of the group, often after its appearance in Eastern publications. In the late 1870's the Reading Circle adopted goals of enjoyment and improvement, purposes that frequently guided community groups in the United States, but the activities of the Sequoyah Reading Circle were uniquely their own in the Indian Nations and vicinity.

Debating Society. Every fall when the Cherokee National Council convened, citizens of Tahlequah observed a sudden increase in the size of their town while debates on national issues took place in the brick statehouse on the square. Hence many inhabitants of the Cherokee capital thought of a debating society as a laboratory where man gained experience to prepare them for more effective service to their Nation. Naturally, when a frontier town had such trappings of civilization and culture as schools, churches,

Elocution and Vocal Culture [New York: American Book Company, 1883], p. 96). "The teacher of elocution must always be prepared to exemplify by his own reading, any selection or passage in the lesson assigned to his pupils. It is impossible to teach them how to read well without frequent illustration and example" (Ibid., p. 113), "The best speakers and readers are those who follow the impulse of nature or most closely imitate it as observed in others" (McGuffey's Fifth Eclectic Reader, 1879 Edition [New York: The New American Library, 1962], p. 21).
and a newspaper, that community was ready and capable of supporting a debating society.\textsuperscript{30} It made little difference whether the society and town were in the United States or Indian Territory.

While many of the debating organizations in the United States were connected with educational institutions, one nineteenth century student of debate pointed out that there were "thousands of societies all over the country" having no tie with a school but serving a useful purpose to the members of the community.\textsuperscript{31} Such was the case in Tahlequah in the late 1840's when interested citizens first enjoyed such a club.\textsuperscript{32} But once the Cherokee Male Seminary opened and a debating society was formed there, the town organization was forgotten.

In the 1870's history repeated itself. When the Advocate presses started to roll again in 1871, Editor Boudinot encouraged the establishment of a town club for Tahlequah debaters. He noted that "there is certainly talent enough in Tahlequah to make it a success."\textsuperscript{33} The idea took hold, for a debate was reported on October 18,


\textsuperscript{32}Holland, "Cherokee Newspapers," p. 376.

\textsuperscript{33}Cherokee Advocate, September 30, 1871.
From time to time there items in the paper about the community debating society, but early in 1877 Editor Boudinot seemed to be putting forth special efforts to encourage citizens to support the local organization. Frequently there were notices of meetings, announcements of topics for debate, and comments on the various activities of the group. Yet by summer Boudinot reported that possibly the debaters had assembled for the last time. The Male Seminary had reopened in 1876 and the Sequoyah Debating Society had been organized there.

The community debaters were inactive for a little more than a year, when in the fall of 1878 the Advocate announced a reorganizational meeting. In the same issue of the paper the Male Seminary group invited the young men of Tahlequah to join them. The rivalry between the two societies continued with the town group coming out second best.

The debating organizations in the Cherokee capital followed procedures much like those of groups in the United States. For example, it was common practice in the nineteenth century to use from two to six speakers in a debate. In

34Ibid., October 21, 1871.
36Ibid., October 26, 1878.
one account in the Advocate six local men were named to debate at the next meeting of the Tahlequah society.38 It was also acceptable at this time for decisions to be handed down by the president of the organization,39 a practice followed by the clubs in Tahlequah.

Topics for debate in the western part of America reflected "national, local, and international policies" in the 1870's.40 In the Indian Nation the last were somewhat neglected among the subjects reported in the Advocate, but if "national" referred to the United States and "local" referred to the Cherokee Nation then these categories were well represented.

One of the most pressing local issues during the decade was the question as to whether railroads should be granted permission to enter the Nation. The Cherokees feared not only loss of their lands to the railroads but also the flood of immigrants that improved transportation would bring. In the early seventies one railroad line was granted the right to build across the northern part of the Nation, and in the south another line built into Cherokee land without permission from either the United States or

38Cherokee Advocate, January 13, 1877.
40Ibid., p. 255.
the Cherokee governments. When the Tahlequah Debating Society argued "Is the introduction of railroads in the Indian Country a benefit to the Indians?" the negative won.

The decision reflected a sentiment prevalent in the vicinity throughout the century.

As previously mentioned, it was accepted practice for the chairman of a debating society to judge the debate. His verdict was based on the merits of the case presented.

When the issue "Is the Cherokee title to their country 'perfect'?" was debated, clearly an unbiased verdict would be especially difficult; hence the Advocate provided more detail than usual concerning this meeting. The article explained that historical evidence furnished by the affirmative established the validity of the transfer of the title of the land to the Indians. The negative admitted this transaction but maintained that the United States had not afforded proper protection to the Cherokee title right, as had been given to others; hence the title should not be termed "perfect." The affirmative replied that the question of security did not enter into the matter. The final verdict was awarded to the affirmative, who had shown, according to

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42 Cherokee Advocate, October 21, 1871.

the president of the society, that "a title or right might be perfect or imperfect independent of the protection afforded."\(^{44}\)

Some of the debate topics were of both national and local interest. The right of women to vote had been argued in the United States as early as 1792 by the Brothers in Unity, a society at Yale University.\(^{45}\) Nearly a century later Cerokee Indians debated "Resolved that women should be allowed to vote."\(^ {46}\) The subject was not new in Tahlequah. Three years earlier John L. Adair, when editor of the Advocate, wrote an editorial discussing the action taken by several states in the Union to extend voting rights to women.\(^ {47}\) On both sides of the Mississippi men were debating this issue at official and unofficial meetings.

When "the expediency of abolishing capital punishment" was a topic for the society's debaters, Editor Boudinot commented in the Advocate:

> The question is a mooted one among philosophical politicians, the point in the main being, whether imprisonment for life or the death penalty is best calculated to prevent murder by operating upon the fears of the tempted.\(^ {48}\)

\(^{44}\) Cherokee Advocate, May 9, 1877.

\(^{45}\) Ibid., p. 250.

\(^{46}\) Cherokee Advocate, March 14, 1877.

\(^{47}\) Ibid., March 28, 1874.

\(^{48}\) Ibid., March 28, 1877.
The decision on this debate was not announced, but the practice of public hanging continued in Tahlequah, as did the practice of murder. Advocate readers were reminded that "John Wheat," who had murdered a Creek Indian, "hangs today." Many people considered this an invitation and came to the national prison to watch.

When the debaters argued the justification of dueling there was no evidence of any such problem in the Nation. However, the week after the debate topic was announced, a story in the tribal journal described a duel that had taken place in Maryland. Although the encounters was cloaked in secrecy, somehow the newspapers reported it. The participants exchanged shots but drew no blood. The sudden disappearance of the combatants signaled the end of the duel. Whatever the local decision on dueling the newspaper editor seemed to be supporting the negative view that the practice of dueling was ridiculous.

Societies in the United States featured other types of speaking in addition to debate. In the Cherokee capital oratory had been a part of the debating society meetings in the past and continued to be used in the 1870's. On the night that the Tahlequah men considered the Cherokee land title, Henry Dobson Reese, a respected local leaders, gave

49Ibid., December 3, 1879.
50Ibid., January 20, 1877.
an oration on "Young Manhood--Its Strength and Weakness," the same subject he had used for a similar group nineteen years earlier when he was Superintendent of Education in the Nation. He reminded young men that a conscience based on right and good ought to guide them to a successful life, as individuals and as citizens of the Cherokee Nation.52 Cherokees in the West believed that participation in the activities of the debating organizations prepared members for a more useful life.

Throughout the decade of the seventies the debating society in Tahlequah struggled for survival with efforts familiar to those who knew the past. Recognizing the importance of the group, men who had been members of earlier societies were willing to reorganize the club. The procedures followed by the Cherokees were similar to those of groups in other communities in the United States.

Tahlequah Amateur Dramatic Society. At least from 1730, when Sir Alexander Cummings took seven Cherokee leaders to the theatre in London,53 some members of that tribe were interested in drama. More than twenty years later, when the Hallam Company was performing in Virginia several Cherokees attended the production of Othello staged in Williamsburg. The sword play was so believable that the

52Cherokee Advocate, May 9, 1877.
Indians attempted to stop the performance to prevent injury to the actors. While visiting New York in 1767 on a state mission a Cherokee delegation asked to see a play. The group was taken to a performance that included Richard III, followed by The Oracle, and a pantomime, Harlequin's Vagaries, was added especially for the enjoyment of the Indian dignitaries, who considered the evening a success. Probably curiosity accounts for much of the attraction of the Cherokees to the theatre, but tribal ceremonies with their color, movement, and ritual were familiar to the Cherokees and similar in part to the productions they witnessed.

In view of this interest in drama in the eighteenth century, it is not surprising that the "elite and fashion of the Cherokee Nation" attended plays performed by local actors who had organized their own dramatic society in the tribal capital of Tahlequah in the 1870's. Such organizations frequently supplied additional recreational activities in small communities across the United States. In the state of Arkansas, just across the eastern border from the land of the Cherokees, plays were staged by community groups. The Public Library Association of Fort Smith


55 Ibid., pp. 75-76.

56 Cherokee Advocate, July 6, 1878.

sponsored an evening's entertainment by amateur actors from the neighboring town of Van Buren, Arkansas. The popular temperance piece, *Ten Nights in a Bar Room*, was acclaimed as a hit.\textsuperscript{58} Actors in Fort Smith were sufficiently inspired to produce their own shows. In a few months they organized an amateur dramatic society and contributed its profits to the local library.\textsuperscript{59} Another amateur group celebrated Washington's birthday by staging a "highly amusing" three act play called *English*.\textsuperscript{60} Whether the purpose was entertainment or benefit to a local cause, amateur theatre organizations sprang up in small towns in Arkansas and in the Cherokee town of Tahlequah in the 1870's.

As soon as the school building in Tahlequah was completed in the fall of 1877 the teachers planned and presented an excellent benefit program. The presentation prompted the *Advocate* editor, William Penn Boudinot, to write under the heading, "Cherokee Art," that the Indians' "craving for amusement" was natural, indeed, civilized. Further he recommended that the townspeople had shown themselves capable of providing their own entertainment and that there was no need to wait for a touring show of suitable quality to be booked. With local performers the

\textsuperscript{58} \textit{New Era}, June 30, 1875.
\textsuperscript{59} \textit{Ibid.}, April 12, 1876.
\textsuperscript{60} \textit{Ibid.}, February 9, 1876.
profits, economical and social, would stay at home. This thinking matched the rejection of the railroads by the Cherokees and reflected the tribe's concern over the immigration of whites into their land. The Cherokee Nation wanted to exist, and to prove its worthiness citizens were now working to do more for themselves, including provision of their own entertainment.

Boudinot's ideal of performances by local people was realized in the founding of a dramatic society. The first name used in the Advocate to designate the acting group was Tahlequah Amateur Concert Troupe. The term "concert" as a part of the title for such a group was not strange in the nineteenth century. In Tahlequah and other towns the term meant that the entertainment might or might not include music. Later Tahlequah Amateur Dramatic Society was the name adopted, still later "society" became "association," and on another occasion "club" was used. Apparently there was no official name for the organization.

Because of the debt contracted by the town when the school house was built, the Advocate published in January, 1878, news of plans for a benefit performance by the Tahlequah Amateur Concert Troup. The story stated that the material used was to be "entirely new from any former

61 Cherokee Advocate, October 24, 1877.
62 Ibid., January 5, 1878.
63 Ibid., April 20, 1878, May 11, 1878, July 6, 1878.
The comment implies that earlier performances had been given by the troupe, yet this was the first time the organization had been mentioned in the national newspaper.

Toward the end of April of the same year the local press reported a production by the dramatic society would by staged in May. After several meetings the troupe selected the plays to be presented, cast them, and scheduled rehearsals to begin the next week. Nearly a week before the benefit program the Advocate listed the cast members and their roles, as well as the reminder that advance tickets were available at the stores in town. The debt on the school house was reduced by proceeds from the performance of "two charades, a farce, and music, both vocal and instrumental." The charades were titled Contest and Wayward; the farce was Box and Cox. The twelve roles in the plays were portrayed by ten actors; two of the performers in Contest were also in Box and Cox.

Written in 1847, the three-character one-act play, Box and Cox, was the best known work of British playwright, 

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64 Ibid., January 5, 1878.
65 Ibid., April 20, 1878.
66 Ibid., May 11, 1878. See Appendix for names of casts.
67 Ibid.
68 Ibid.
John M. Morton. 69 This popular farce was performed six times by Harvard's Hasty Pudding Club before 1870. 70 The play concerned a landlady who rented a room to two men, one an occupant only at night, the other only during the day. The woman attempted to keep one unaware of the other and some humorous situations resulted. 71 The crowded conditions suggested in the play possibly reminded some of the audience of conditions at the local hotel during the National Council sessions. Even a reporter from the New York Times was aware of the lodging problems, when as a visitor in Tahlequah in 1874, he could find no space at the hotel until one of the legislators decided to go home for the Sabbath. Then the New Yorker was housed in his place, not his room, but his "place," in a room occupied by "four beds and their occupants." 72 Local folk who had heard of or experienced similar circumstances must have appreciated Morton's play as performed by the town's amateur actors.

As time passed certain local traditions evolved as a part of Tahlequah's entertainment. For example, no evening


was ever completed without a few words from some important national leader. On one occasion closing comments were provided by William Potter Ross, president of the National Board of Education, after the dramatic society's performance during the Teachers' Institute in July, 1878. The former Princeton debator, former Advocate editor, former Principal Chief, and always supporter of Cherokee progress, praised the Tahlequah Amateur Concert Troupe, not only for the fifty-four dollars they contributed to the school benefit, but for the enjoyment they had provided for the "elite and fashion of the Cherokee Nation." His remarks also included a "brief history of Tahlequah from her infancy, up to the present time." How he achieved the feat of covering nearly forty years in a "short address" was not explained in the Advocate story.

II. OTHER PERFORMANCES IN TAHLEQUAH

In addition to the activities provided by organized community groups other performances were available in Tahlequah in the seventies.

Benefit Concert. Strangely the Advocate story detailing a benefit concert staged in 1879 provided no identification as to a sponsoring group. In a type of entertainment similar to the school exhibition that was

73 Cherokee Advocate, July 6, 1878.
popular in Tahlequah, six men and six women performed to raise funds for pictures of Cherokee heroes of the past. The portraits were to be hung in the halls of the Capitol building as a reminder of the accomplishments of the tribal leaders.\(^7\) Hence, the project was important to the Cherokee Nation. The "concert," as it was termed in the Advocate, included "instrumental and vocal music, tableaux, and an address."\(^7\) Musical entertainment was provided by two violinists, an organist, and a singer. The newspaper account dubbed the vocal solo "Drifting Away" by Maggie Stapler, a Female Seminary student, "the best of the evening."\(^7\) Background music was an accompanying production technique for the tableaux. At the Female Seminary before the Civil War and early in the seventies tableaux were familiar forms of entertainment.\(^7\) Consequently the Advocate comment "well acted," concerning the tableaux on the 1879 benefit concert, would be thoroughly appreciated by the paper's readers, who realized that the only instrument available to the actor was his body, no words being

\(^{7}\)Ibid., December 3, 1879.

\(^{7}\)Ibid.

\(^{7}\)Ibid.

\(^{7}\)See poem, "Our Christmas Festival," in Appendix. The tableau was called an "old" form of entertainment in the poem written before the Civil War (Cherokee Rose Buds, February 11, 1857). Newspaper account of benefit performance at Female Seminary cited tableaux (Cherokee Advocate, July 25, 1874).
spoken by the performer. The last event of the evening was an oration, "Our Illustrious Dead," delivered by the former National Superintendent of Education, Spencer S. Stephens.78

This concert provided evidence that some of the participants were experienced performers, but new talent was also introduced. The twelve persons appearing were:

Misses Mary Jones, Addie Foreman, Jane Annie Thompson, Maggie Stapler, Eloise Butler, and Mary Stapler. The gentlemen—Al Gott, Robert Hanks, Capt. Jackson, Dr. R. O. Trent, John F. Lyons, Spencer S. Stevens.79

From this group only Jane Annie Thompson had played a role in the one-act plays given by the dramatic society in the summer of 1878. Stories in the Advocate early in the seventies had named Eloise Butler, Mary Jones, and Mary Stapler as student performers. Later Eloise Butler and Mary Stapler were teachers at the Female Seminary. There they trained students, arranged programs, and continued to take part in entertainments. Spencer S. Stephens was also associated with education in the Nation. Another of the members of the benefit concert group was Dr. R. O. Trent, graduate of the University of Maryland Medical School and known in Tahlequah as a physician and surgeon,

78Ibid., December 3, 1879. The speech, "Our Illustrious Dead," was printed in this issue of the paper. A copy is in Appendix.

79Ibid.
who now became a contributor to a concert that aided the Nation. There were certainly enough talented citizens in the Indian capital to provide variety among the personnel appearing on the town's programs.

Literary Entertainment. An unusual activity staged in Tahlequah in the summer of 1877 was the "literary entertainment" by J. A. Richardson, reported to be an accomplished elocutionist and a highly educated man, who spoke French fluently after living in Paris for several years.80 For the previous term Richardson had been employed as a first grade teacher at Spanish Creek school in the Canadian District of the Cherokee Nation.81 At the time of his reading performance in Tahlequah he was not employed as a teacher in the Nation. When the appointments for the coming term were printed in the Advocate in July neither Richardson's name nor that of the school at Spanish Creek was on the list.82

The ambitious program of readings took place on the first day of August in 1877, the same day that the Cherokee Advocate reprinted the Richard Grant White article on "Reading Aloud" from the New York Times. The elocutionist recited selections of poetry and prose written by English and American writers of the past and present. Richardson's

80Ibid., August 8, 1877.
81Ibid., February 10, 1877.
82Ibid., July 18, 1877.
oral performance of these works was complimented by Advocate Editor Boudinot, in reporting the activity.

He read selections from Dickens, also the Raven, in masterly style, and expressing the beauties and depths of the Authors. His recitations from Shakespeare, Moore, etc., were excellent. 83

The performer's taste and versatility were further demonstrated by his last selection, "To Mary, Queen of Scots," which he sang in French. The local editor seemed to be complimenting himself when he observed that in the audience at Richardson's recital were "some of the best critics in town," for surely among them was Boudinot, who in his review urged the performer to stay in Tahlequah to teach private lessons in elocution and French. 84 Before the month was over the pages of the Advocate provided two echoes of the "literary entertainment." Printed on the first page in the space usually reserved for verse was a poem by Chatebais entitled "To Mary, Queen of Scots." 85 The next week an announcement indicated that several students had enrolled for lessons with Richardson. 86 With Boudinot's assistance, for a complete month Tahlequah followed the activities of J. A. Richardson, elocutionist.

83 Ibid., August 8, 1877.
84 Ibid.
85 Ibid., August 22, 1877.
86 Ibid., August 29, 1877.
Touring Shows. Entertainment by other than local groups was minimal in Tahlequah in the 1870's. At least two factors contributed to this dearth of traveling entertainment. First, the railroads that were making travel easier in neighboring areas were not granted permission to build into Tahlequah during the decade. Second, some members of the community preferred to support local programs.

Touring companies were using railroads to spread entertainment from coast to coast in America. No railroad came into Tahlequah, but a terminal was established in Muskogee by the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Line in the early seventies. Few entertainment troupes braved the journey from the railroad to Tahlequah, because crossing the Arkansas River was required, after which it was necessary to hire a local transportation system from Fort Gibson to the destination. At least one breakdown was to be expected when weather was good, but when heavy rains caused flooding on the river the trip became hazardous. An occasional company risked the dangers. The Streeper Dramatic Company was delayed in 1884 by high water and bad roads, but when the actors arrived the day following their booking they presented their play to an appreciative audience.

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Tahlequah audience. This incident encourages conjecture as to the number of times similar circumstances prevented Tahlequah from enjoying a performance by a touring show during the seventies.

Cherokee pride is not based on conjecture; it did exist. Hence, a preference for local entertainment in the national capital was a reaction to be expected. William Penn Boudinot's article, "Cherokee Art," reflected the thinking of the Indians who worked to preserve their Nation and felt that providing their own entertainment was another means of achieving that end. An incident involving a touring minstrel troupe strengthened the case for local programs advocated by Boudinot. From Fort Gibson had come reports of the amusing revues performed in that town. When the school house became available so that Tahlequah had a place for staging such a show, a "fullblooded African Minstrel" was booked. After the appearance of the company the local newspaper not only omitted any story praising the performance but even printed an angry statement about the condition of the new community building after the company left. "Filthy" was the word used to describe the quarters, the writer adding that the visitors had promised to clean up.

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89 Cherokee Advocate, December 12, 1884.

90 Ibid., October 24, 1877.

91 Ibid., April 27, 1878.
In spite of this experience other minstrels were booked into Tahlequah in 1878 and 1879.92

The sound of a brass band welcomed Cherokees to a tent near town where they were entertained by a carnival troupe that had rejected offers made by the local press to help the visitors with publicity. Because of this rebuff, or else the nature of the activities performed by the group, the Advocate report of the entertainment suggested that the community was fortunate to be rid of this "travelling wonder."93 There were citizens who considered such incidents to strengthen the need for "Cherokee Art." Rather than be insulted or victimized they preferred to stage their own entertainment.

At least one company accepted the assistance of the Cherokee Advocate. Editor John L. Adair wrote of the "full assortment of wild animals, including the elephant, lions, tigers" promised by the Stevens and Begun's Roman Hippodrome Circus and Menagerie. With encouragement from the local press the Tahlequah citizenry looked forward to a "first-class" circus.94

At the end of the decade a different type of performance was popular in Tahlequah. In one week of early December, 1879, there were three "sleight-of-hand shows" at the

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92 Ibid., December 14, 1878, October 8, 1879.
93 Ibid., October 26, 1878.
94 Ibid. July 18, 1874.
Masonic Hall. "Varied just enough to be interesting," was the comment in the "Local News" column. Entertainment based on mystery and mysticism attracted people in the Cherokee Nation and all across the continent.

The decade of the seventies was a slow and difficult one for touring companies in Tahlequah. Some troupes were booked, but the public schools, the Seminaries, and the organized groups in the community provided most of the programs attended by the people in the Cherokee capital.

III. SOME ACTIVITIES IN OTHER TOWNS

Not only did Tahlequah have some of the entertainments that were prevalent in the United States at this time, but other towns in the Cherokee Nation and in the neighboring Nations enjoyed similar activities. In 1872 a newspaper published in the community of New Boggy in the Choctaw Nation contained this item:

Did you attend the Lecture of Prof. Coleman last Tuesday eve? If not, you should have taken your "dolcenia [dulcinea]," and heard the Professor play his "dulcimer." To appreciate the entry a reader needed to know the name of

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95Ibid., December 10, 1879.

96The Vindicator, July 11, 1872. The first issue of this newspaper was printed in March of 1872 in New Boggy, a town in the Choctaw Nation. The paper was later moved to Atoka, another Choctaw community. Publication during the 1870's was spasmodic (Carolyn Foreman, Oklahoma Imprints 1835-1907 [Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1926], pp. 143-144).
Don Quixote's beloved, Dulcinea. Apparently the printer was unaware of this, else the spelling error would have been corrected. Nevertheless, the article confirmed the fact that there were cultural activities in the Choctaw Nation in the early seventies. Still other newspapers carried accounts of programs in communities that were located closer to Tahlequah.

Webbers Falls was situated on the Arkansas River in a prosperous farming area of the Canadian District in the southern part of the Cherokee Nation. Some of the first Cherokees who came West before the Removal Act was implemented settled in the area. This group known as Old Settlers were largely Southern sympathizers during the Civil War; hence it was appropriate that this locale served as the scene of the second Cherokee Confederate Convention in 1863. After the War former Confederate Brigadier General Stand Watie and other Southern Cherokees established homes in this vicinity. Factional rivalry not being completely forgotten, Tahlequah citizens were aware of and somewhat nervous about progress in the southern area of the Nation, but since the Advocate was the voice for the entire Nation material sent to the paper by inhabitants of Webbers Falls was published. These accounts contained information

97 Starr, History of the Cherokee Indians, p. 300.
about the history of the town as well as present conditions, including the activities of the various organized groups. One of the earliest self-improvement organizations was formed in Webbers Falls. Called the Anonymous Club, it met weekly for discussions of current topics. A debating society boasted a membership of twenty. The reporter of a "musical concert" held for the benefit of a Sunday School Library was especially careful to point out that "Tableaux Vivant[s]" were a feature of the program. Tableaux were part of a second entertainment that also included songs and instrumental pieces. Suitable credit was given to all performances, but the singing and acting of "My Daddy's Only Son" was dubbed the hit of the evening and inspired the reporter to close his article with the popular old rhyme:

A little nonsense now and then
Is relished by the wisest men.

Tahlequah and Fort Gibson had been rivals from the time of the founding of the Cherokee capital, when Fort Gibson was an army post. This spirit of rivalry was not completely forgotten in the seventies. Realizing that

99 Cherokee Advocate, March 7, 1874.
100 Ibid., March 28, 1874.
101 Ibid., May 13, 1876.
102 Ibid., June 10, 1876.
Tahlequah needed a school, the Advocate editor wrote, "Let us not be behind our sister town of Fort Gibson, which has not only a school house, but a church, and is making preparations for building another one." Later, a committee was appointed to gather funds to finance the building of the school. As the end of their task neared a meeting to hear the results of the collection was announced in the "Local News" column of the paper. Just below the item the following appeared:

The young folks of Fort Gibson have greatly assisted in building and furnishing a church in that place by giving concerts, and harmless pleasurable entertainments occasionally. The building of the school house in this place might in the same way be greatly assisted and much also be had to enjoy.

The editor anticipated or knew that the committee needed more funds and wisely used that old Fort Gibson-Tahlequah rivalry to provide the necessary motivation to get a school house for the capital city.

Entertainments for fund raising were staged in Fort Gibson during the Christmas season of 1876. The Presbyterian Church fund received twenty-five cents from each person who came to enjoy tableaux, music, and refreshments. Then

103 Ibid., March 14, 1874.
104 Ibid., July 25, 1877.
105 Indian Journal, December 21, 1876.
on Christmas evening at the Methodist Church a benefit to help finance repairs of the town school featured "speeches, music, dialogues, etc." 106

A Strawberry Festival was held in July, 1877, as the first in a series of summer concerts for the Presbyterian Church of Fort Gibson. This program, presented on a carpeted stage and "curtained with large and beautiful flags," included a reading of Oliver Wendell Holmes' poem, "The Wonderful One Horse Shay," by Edith Hicks and some selected readings from Mark Twain by the Reverend S. A. Stoddard, the minister of the church. 107 In the Advocate under the heading "Fort Gibson Items" was this uncomplimentary remark on the performance:

One of Mark Twain's 'Innocents Abroad,' has got away, and let loose in the Presbyterian church last Monday night, to the disgust of Mark's many friends. The imitation was so feeble 'however' that it is not likely to hurt Twain to any great extent. 108

Such criticism of a minister, no matter how "feeble" his presentation and even if he was from Fort Gibson, was likely to be offensive to Tahlequah citizens who were steeped in religious tradition that included a supreme respect for the clergy.

106 Ibid.
107 Ibid., July 5, 1877.
108 Cherokee Advocate, July 4, 1877.
One community group brought entertainment from Fort Gibson to Tahlequah. An Advocate announcement in the winter of 1879 stated that the Fort Gibson Dramatic Club would perform a play, Ten Nights in a Bar Room, in Tahlequah.¹⁰⁹ The choice of this famous temperance drama foretold a revival of the temperance movement in this vicinity in the eighties. A peak was reached in 1884 when a temperance leader, Mrs. Emily Molloy, came to preach and stayed several months, speaking in Tahlequah, Fort Gibson, and other locations in the Nation.¹¹⁰

As all Tahlequah knew, Fort Gibson enjoyed minstrel shows, "the only indigenous form of American drama."¹¹¹ A performance by one troupe featured "comic songs, dances, burlesque, farces, funny stump speaking, etc."¹¹² These were the ingredients necessary for the standard blackface revue of the period.¹¹³ In Fort Gibson audiences laughed at the type of show that people across America were flocking to see.

Activities in another nearby town caught the attention of people in the Cherokee Nation. In the summer of 1876

¹⁰⁹Ibid., January 27, 1879.
¹¹⁰Ibid., January 11, 1884, February 1, 1884, February 22, 1884, February 29, 1884.
¹¹²Cherokee Advocate, April 22, 1876.
¹¹³Moody, America Takes the Stage, pp. 42-44.
that industrious Cherokee, William P. Ross, became a newspaper editor again. The first issue of the Indian Journal, the paper he edited, was published in Muskogee, Creek Nation, on June 1, 1876. Located in a Creek town and edited by a Cherokee, the newspaper carried news of both Nations. This policy continued even after Ross concluded his editorship and the newspaper offices were moved to Eufaula, a Creek community some thirty miles southwest of Muskogee.  

Entertainment in Muskogee was much the same as that in the other towns. The Indian International Fair held in Muskogee in the fall of 1876 circulated a Premium List with the usual prizes for the "Best Draft Stallion" and the "Fastest mile horse," but there was an additional division called "Education." Under this title the following prizes were listed:

- Best poem, by member of Indian Tribe, Bible worth $5.00.
- Best declamation-original—pupils only, History worth $3.50.
- Best declamation-selected—pupils only, History worth $3.50.
- Best declamation or essay in any Indian language, Bible, worth $5.00.

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114Carolyn Foreman, Oklahoma Imprints, pp. 179, 191.

115Premium List, Indian International Fair, Muskogee, I. T., October 17, 18, 19, and 20, 1876, File X, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
The prizes were offered, but none were awarded because the only entries were the Creek Nation's Tullahassee Mission School students, whose principal, the Reverend William S. Robertson, thought it not suitable that his students compete against one another. However, they did present a public exhibition with essays, songs, and speeches. A Cherokee writer contributed a report to the Indian Journal confirming the excellent work of the Tullahassee teachers and students. Somehow a little Cherokee boy appeared on the program. The following remarks about his speech provided a glimpse of the speaker and his speech, plus insight into some audience reactions.

His subject was the "Formation of Character," and he handled it with the experience of one who had his life behind instead of before him. Youngsters always understand the whole system of ethics and at any time can lecture their "daddies" on any of the virtues or duties of life. We've been all along there, and from the time we read of all the good boys and bad boys, the smart boys and the lazy boys, in McGuffey's series of readers, we thought we were competent for such business.116

The circus was another popular entertainment in Muskogee and vicinity. In October, 1876, the Great London Menagerie and Circus was enjoyed by Muskogee people and visitors from Tahlequah, Fort Gibson, and other nearby towns.117 An article in the Tahlequah paper told of several

116 Indian Journal, November 2, 1876.
117 Ibid., October 7, 1876.
worthwhile features of the show but pointed out weaknesses that made the circus less enjoyable. First, there was no water to drink. Lemonade was on sale, but not all the thirsty found that liquid to be satisfactory. Another complaint was directed toward some sales people who were unfair in dealing with the Indians. The Advocate editor wanted all readers to know that while the Eherokees enjoyed the circus they expected the management to take more care to insure a good day for all.118

Late in 1876 a group called the Literary Sociable organized in Muskogee. The purposes of the society were the same as those ascribed to the Reading Circle in Tahlequah; both groups sought pleasure in addition to self improvement. However at the meetings of the organizations different activities were performed. In Tahlequah all readings of selections were followed by discussion of the material and criticism of the performances. At the Muskogee gatherings essays, readings, music, and spelling matches were presented by the members.119

In addition to circulation of newspapers to spread information in frontier towns, some people visited, and others moved from one town to another, increasing the flow

118 Cherokee Advocate, October 7, 1876.
119 Indian Journal, December 14, 1876.
of ideas. In the Cherokee capital there were groups for reading aloud, debating, public speaking, and acting. Citizens who had gained experience in these activities as students in local or eastern schools had the opportunity to further their skills through participation in these organizations. Local performances were staged with encouragement from the tribal press and from Cherokees with strong nationalistic feelings. Entertainment in towns in the vicinity, especially Tahlequah, was provided by community organizations and a few touring shows in the seventies.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Until the nineteenth century Cherokees were known as warlike natives who fought off any outsider seeking entry into the land they occupied. Only a few white traders managed to settle with the Indians. Visits by tribal leaders to American and European centers of civilization provided contacts with the outside world. In the nineteenth century missionaries were first permitted and then encouraged to bring their religion and accompanying educational pursuits into the land of the Cherokees. Some tribal leaders thought that learning the English language would aid Cherokees in protecting their own interests. Especially promising students were sent to schools outside the Nation for more advanced instruction. Early in the 1820's, before any scholar solved the riddle of how to write the native tongue, an unschooled mixed blood Cherokee perfected a system that enabled the Indians to record and read their own language. Sequoyah's achievement, plus missionary Samuel Worcester's aid in obtaining Cherokee type for a printing press, hastened the spread of knowledge among and of the Cherokees through publication of the Cherokee Phoenix, the tribal newspaper, printed in both Cherokee and English. Other evidences of
development included approval of a tribal constitution and the election of a principal chief. While not all Cherokees were amenable to civilized ways, the tribe made much progress.

The presence of Indians in the southeastern states was a source of annoyance to white people in the vicinity. Efforts were made to evict the "savages," some of whom left before "civilized" whites moved too close. When the United States Congress passed the Indian Removal Act in 1830, five tribes, including the Cherokees, were forced to move to a tract of land west of the Mississippi River. The removal halted Cherokee progress for a time. In addition to natural problems resulting from the long and hazardous journey, tribal dissent hampered the Cherokees during the 1830's. These conflicts within the tribe, as well as difficulties with rebellious and lawless Indians and whites, plagued the Cherokee Nation after arrival in the West and continued throughout the century.

In spite of tremendous problems the drive toward unity prevailed and a republican form of government with written laws and elected officials was re-established. Missionaries who had accompanied the Indians to the new land assisted them once again. Mission schools were opened and both private and public centers of learning were soon in operation. A tribal newspaper, this time called the Cherokee Advocate, but with many features of the former Phoenix, published news in both Cherokee and English. The opening of two seminaries for Cherokee youth, modeled after the academies
existing in the United States, was considered a notable accomplishment by citizens of the Cherokee Nation and the United States. Graduates of Eastern institutions were employed to teach in the Indian schools. Then in the 1850's, as if foreshadowing the coming disaster, first the tribal newspaper, then the Cherokee Male Seminary, and finally the Cherokee Female Seminary ceased to function.

When the Civil War erupted the Cherokees found it impossible to remain neutral. The people were divided in their loyalties and Indian land was overrun and ravaged by rival armies and local renegades. At the end of the War the determined Cherokees started to set their Nation in order again. Soon they faced a different kind of problem in the selection of new tribal leadership. Since the 1820's when the election of the principal chief was instituted, John Ross had been elected to that office every four years. From 1866 at the death of Ross through to the end of the seventies, four men served in the office of Principal Chief, providing the Nation with the greatest variety of leadership it had ever experienced. The period brought a resurgence of development similar to that occurring in the United States. During these years institutions of the past, including the Cherokee Advocate and the two seminaries, were reactivated.

Reports of advances made by the Cherokee Indians reached people in the United States. Information was spread by the religious groups (Baptists, Moravians, Methodists, and Presbyterians) that served the Cherokees and contributed
to their development. Accounts of achievements by the Indian people were to be found in periodicals and newspapers such as Godey's Lady's Book, The American Journal of Education and College Review, Atlantic Monthly, New York Times, Baltimore Herald, and New Era (Fort Smith, Arkansas).

People in Tahlequah and the Cherokee Nation were made aware of events, movements, and social and cultural developments in the United States through their newspaper, schools, and travel. The Cherokee Advocate informed readers of current affairs happening outside the Nation. For example, it published a fully detailed story describing the Centennial Exposition held in Philadelphia in 1876. Its articles told of women's suffrage, dueling, capital punishment, the latest literary lecturers, fashion tips, and agricultural suggestions. Only two weeks after the New York Times had published chapters of a forthcoming Richard Grant White book, Everyday English, portions were reprinted in the Cherokee paper.

In spite of limited transportation people travelled into and out of the town. Attending the Teachers' Institutes that convened every summer were teachers from the Cherokee Nation, representatives of commercial firms, educators from more distant areas, and distinguished guests who stayed in Tahlequah for nearly a week. Other visitors included writers for the New York Times and the Atlantic Monthly, a dentist from Fort Smith Arkansas, who came regularly to the vicinity, and business people, friends, and relatives. All the while there were local folk who travelled outside the Nation for
business, pleasure, and health. These visits resulted in formal and informal sharing of ideas.

Recreation and education were among Tahlequah's activities affected by the importation of ideas from beyond the Nation. Croquet, the latest fashionable and popular game, was enjoyed by many Tahlequah citizens. The trend toward use of written examinations by some schools in the United States led members of the staff at the Cherokee Female Seminary to vary their methods in the seventies, although most schools in the Nation used oral testing.

It was through education, deemed necessary by some tribal leaders as a means of protection against the white man, that speech activities common in the United States found their way into Cherokee life. Teachers trained in the Eastern tradition of education came to teach in mission schools and later in public and tribal institutions in the land of the Cherokee, where they continued to include elocutionary training as a part of the student's routine. Subsequently the educated adult Cherokee took part in organizations and attended gatherings that permitted him to perform and witness speech activities.

The Indian's fondness for ceremony contributed to his interest in speech activities. In earlier centuries significant occasions were celebrated through ceremonials; hence the celebration of May Day, the end of a school term, the anniversary of the founding of the Seminaries, and the opening of the new school building in the town were all worthy of
special observances. Programs that included speaking and musical entertainment were the result.

During the seventies the inhabitants of Tahlequah, the capital of the Cherokee Nation, participated in and witnessed a variety of speech events and activities similar to those taking place in nearby and distant towns of the United States. Especially notable were the following types and occasions:

1. Public oral examinations tested learning at the close of a school term.

2. Following the examinations public exhibitions featured numerous elocutionary exercises for the entertainment of those assembled.

3. To raise money for local projects or to commemorate significant occurrences school and community performers presented individual and group speech events (orations, declamations, recitations, dialogues, tableaux, charades) interspersed with musical numbers. In these "concerts," as they were most often called, there was no apparent effort to have more musical than speech selections.

4. Debating societies were organized in the schools and community to argue issues of interest and to allow members to perfect the skill of oratory for future national usefulness.

5. Young people and adults formed a community reading circle for social and intellectual purposes. At these meetings talented oral readers reportedly assisted beginners.
6. The performances of skilled solo readers were favorably received in Tahlequah.

7. An amateur dramatic society functioned in the town.

8. Some professional troupes (minstrel shows, circuses, magic shows) were booked.

Tahlequah audiences were exposed to some up-to-date ideas related to speech pedagogy. A teacher at the Cherokee Male Seminary, Harriet Rogers, whose husband was a Baptist minister, had learned Melville Bell's system of "visible speech" while teaching at the Institute for the Deaf at Northampton, Massachusetts, where the method was tried. Alexander Graham Bell, son of the originator, demonstrated "visible speech" at the Eastern school in 1872 and Mrs. Rogers told Tahlequah audiences about it in 1876. Her death terminated efforts to adapt the system to assist Cherokees to learn English.

Works of writers popular in the United States were performed orally in Tahlequah. The poems of Will Carleton were introduced by Harriet Rogers in 1876. Her presentation of "Gone With a Handsomer Man" from Carleton's book published in 1873 was acclaimed by the press in Tahlequah and Muskogee and given special recognition in a resolution issued by the Teachers' Institute at which she performed. Another Carleton selection, "The New Church Organ," from the same collection, was recited by a student on a Female Seminary program in 1877.

Selections by Lord Byron, Sir Walter Scott, and Mark Twain were included on programs in the Indian Nation.
John M. Morton's popular play, *Box and Cox*, was staged by local actors.

People in Tahlequah demonstrated an interest in studying and retaining the Cherokee language. Methods of teaching Cherokee-speaking children were discussed at meetings of the Nation's teachers.¹ At one of those meetings a respected tribal leader gave an address concerning the contributions made by Sequoyah, the Cadmus of the Cherokees. Several organizations, among them the Sequoyah Reading Circle, were named for this revered tribesman. When Principal Chief Charles Thompson addressed his people in Cherokee in the seventies his remarks were translated into English. The opposite had been the practice from the time of the founding of the town; the speeches of Principal Chief John Ross were spoken in English and translated into Cherokee.

Clearly the decade of the seventies was a time of growth in Tahlequah, where citizens of a remote and isolated community became an educated informed segment of society taking part in many of the same cultural activities that prevailed in the United States. Speech activities were both symptomatic of that growth and productive of it. However,

¹A sufficient number of Cherokee-speaking children exist in Cherokee, Adair, and Delaware counties of Oklahoma to justify Northeastern State College of Tahlequah, Oklahoma, initiating a Bilingual Education Program in 1969. The plan, designed to train teachers and prepare materials for schools where numerous Cherokee-speaking elementary students are in attendance, received an award of Distinguished Achievement in March of 1971 from the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education.
it would be inaccurate to portray complete unity of purpose and uniformity of attitude among the residents of Tahlequah and its environs. All through the nineteenth century a segment of Cherokee society clung to the old ways, unable or unwilling to adjust to change. Their part of the "stratified society" is not represented by speech activities reported here, activities that were imported from the United States and that encouraged assimilation of the two cultures.

The cultural renaissance in the Indian capital in the seventies seems to have been the last effort of the Cherokee Nation to postpone extinction. When cries of territorialism were being heard from outside and even a few from inside the Nation, and when railroad companies were jingling their gold to tempt the susceptible Indians, Cherokee leaders encouraged the use of the white man's ways while attempting to maintain their own Nation as a separate political and cultural entity. A proud people made their last stand. They acquired the modes of civilization but eventually lost their Nation. The squeeze of white settlers won out as it had in the South before the removal. When the state of Oklahoma was admitted into the Union in 1907, Tahlequah and the Cherokee Nation were a part of it.
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PERSONAL INTERVIEW

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APPENDIXES
APPENDIX A

ADDRESSES, ORATIONS, AND COMPOSITIONS
DISCONTENT AND ITS EFFECTS

Mr. President and Members

The observations of every reflecting mind, as well as the experience of the present age, teach us that success in every pursuit depends to a great extent on the contentment of the man, and that this success is not the result of a single day's labor, but that all the great achievements, which have been performed by man both mental and physical, are the results of uninterrupted exertion; yet we see men who may be following some honorable pursuit and exerting themselves, while their minds are entirely absorbed on other things. For an illustration of this, no better example can I bring before your minds, than that of your own observation since you have been members of this Institution. We have witnessed the effects of inquietude over the minds of many of our former number, while as friends we have sympathized with them in the result of their recklessness, and our feelings have been touched at the thoughts of parting with some old school-mate to whom we have become attached, and with whom we have spent many pleasant times; but who perhaps has thoughtlessly violated some regulation of school and must bear the consequences. The result of the reckless spirit

Copy of address delivered at meeting of Sequoyah Institute by a member (Sequoyah Memorial, July 31, 1856).
which has long been maturing within him now causes him to feel the importance of having checked his momentary desires previously to acting. Again we see men more or less idling away the vigor of their lives—youth impairing their blooming health by dissipation, merely to gratify a contracted appetite brought on by discontent, and thus even losing the last relics of self respect. The outward circumstances of a man matter little whether he may have reached the summit of national distinction, or whether he may be considered among the most insignificant; his conscience must be unstained by the materials of discontent, if he would be successful in his undertakings. Peace of mind combined with the proper degree of spirit, alone can accomplish many of his attempts. But what is there on earth that can extinguish his desires? Is it fame, or wealth. The proudest monarch that ever graced a throne, with all the titles of honor that the world can confer upon him, cannot enjoy as much of real contentment as the most insignificant savage. The rich man who is generally looked up to as being "Charley at the wheel" we see him with his thoughts entirely absorbed on his abundant treasures, and still his only desire is to obtain more. Exerting both mind and body beyond excess for the sake of gaining a dime, and this causing him to pass many a sleepless night while he should be quietly reposing and restoring his exhausted frame to its wanted vigor. Ask the poor man which he would prefer and how often will his answer be "give me wealth and I'm a happy man." Observe the thousands who have left the
comfortable homes of their "native land," and the kindest of friends in exchange for the recently settled country of California. Imagine them traversing the scorching plains of the West, and scaling the snowy peaks of Sierra Nevada—exposing their health and lives to the many dangers of a wild and unsettled country—arriving at their desired place of destination, weary and worn by the distance over which they have traveled—discouraged and almost brokenhearted—many forever lose their former good health, and soon breathe their last, without sympathy they die, with no kind friend or sister to smooth their burning brow, or to receive their farewell advice—and perhaps 'tis only by chance that they are found by some one who has feelings of humanity enough to bury their remains. And are they thus fortunate perhaps they are laid in a temporary grave, and but partially hidden from wild beasts by them to be found and destroyed. This my friends has often been the sad fruit of discontent. Why then should we not be contented where we are surrounded with the kindest of friends, and where we can easily receive the smiles of our nation, which truly being a part of our good fortune it becomes us then to persevere and nobly act our part in carrying out the object for which we are placed here.
LITERARY SOCIETIES

Literary societies have been established in various parts of the world for the purpose of cultivating the mind and improving the intellect, so as to be able to discuss on any subject and before any community. And from these societies some men have become most influential among manhood. By the aid of these societies, have men reached that point of ability which has elevated them in the scale of being far above the mass of men. No doubt but the great men who have borne the greatest reputation among mankind have once been members of a society similar to this. Such societies are always highly valued by those who know the advantages to be derived from them. Let us strive to gain that knowledge which shall fit or enable us to develop our thoughts on such occasions as this. The time is approaching when we as members of this society shall go abroad into the world to discharge the duties which will devolve upon us in future life, when we shall have completed the course which we are at present pursuing: both in school and in the society; and when we shall be scattered abroad in the world to successfully or unsuccessfully discharge the duties and responsibilities which at present rest upon our fathers. Now is the time to

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2 Copy of oration delivered at meeting of Sequoyah Literary Society by a member (Sequoyah Memorial, July 31, 1856.)
form our characters and minds in such a manner that we may be honored and also may set good examples for those who may come after us.
MIGHT HAVE BEEN\(^3\)

by Tennie Steele

Who is there that does not sometimes reflect on what might have been? We may plan a happy future and for a time be lost in building air castles and dreaming of pleasures yet to come, but unconsciously, and sometimes unwillingly, when left to our own meditations, we look back and sigh as we think of the "might have been". At the close of each school term neither teachers or pupils are quite satisfied with what has been done. Though we have worked very diligently, we feel that all has not been done that could have been accomplished. We enter upon each new year with high hopes, and a resolution to do much for ourselves and those around us, we know there is great room for labor and improvement, and believe that we shall accomplish all at which we aim. But the days that open so bright at the morning fade away, one by one, in the waning light of evening, just as the glowing coals in the grate drop off, little, by little till only a handful of worthless ashes remains. At the encounter of difficulties resolutions vanish like smoke up the chimney, and hope melts away before disappointment, like a castle of frost before the rays of the summer sun. At the close of the

\(^{3}\)Copy of composition read at Cherokee Female Seminary, January 28, 1877 (Cherokee Advocate, February 10, 1877).
year we look back upon dreams unrealized and of all that "might have been" we see only hours of wasted time. It is sad to recount the "might have beens" of some lives, lives swept away by the storms of adversity, leaving the bark to be wrecked upon the coasts of disaster, or to sink in the whirlpool of misfortune. Yet every life that has been as near perfection as that of erring mortal can be, has its "might have beens". Let us look around at the persons with whom we come in daily contact, and judge of their lives. Someone has truly said, "The countenance is a faithful index of the mind and power of character." Every thought or emotion of the soul whether of joy or grief, kindness or cruelty, love or hate, has manifest there. All conditions and grades of mind look out through the eyes, the "windows of the soul", and lighting the countenance "like angels of mercy or spirits of evils". The man we meet with the haggard and careworn look, is evidently in distress. He is perhaps a merchant who has failed in business and is now bankrupt. Each day he expects to see his wife and children who are dependent on him, turned out of doors, and his house sold to meet his heavy debts. The lady robed in velvet, adorned with jewels, has an air of discontent. The eyes have an expression of many longings, and disappointment is making its furrows on the delicate brow. That youth with the irreligious look, and rumpled hair, cravat not straight and general appearance of untidiness, showing that the half hour usually spent before the
looking glass, had been passed in the luxury of woe, thinks himself in love, and the object of his affections irrevocably lost. The maiden moping about, or sitting quietly with a faraway look, but who instantly is brought back to present surroundings if a step is heard in the hall, will tell you a story of what "might have been" if a lover had not gone to sea, or "if Papa and Mamma had only been willing." While these and hosts of others are sighing over what "might have been" we will leave them and pass to the history of nations.

As in the life of man, "might have been" is equally applicable in the history of nations. The history of Egypt is the most wonderful in the world. Most nations may be traced in their progress, from ignorance and rudeness to the degree of civilization which they have attained; but Egypt appears in the earliest light of history "already skillful, erudite and strong." Some of her buildings are older than the immigration of Abraham. Yet, the oldest of these buildings modern architects admire but cannot surpass. But Egypt adopted the luxurious habits of countries she subdued; gave up military glory for that of wealth, and thereby lost her power. So that what once was and might still be the greatest and most powerful nation on the globe has now only a place in the annals of the past.

The two greatest states of Greece were Sparta and Athens. The Spartans won the world's admiration by her great military pursuits, and sacrifice of her personal interest for the good of the State. The Athenians were the models and
leaders of all civilized nations in the arts that add grace and loveliness to the life of man. Had it not been for the selfish and furious jealousy of Sparta, which involved herself and her rival in the calamities of war, both might still have held the world in awe and admiration. But it does not follow that if the "might have beens" had really come to pass they would have been most for the welfare of man. By the loss of wealth the merchant may find that he has been a slave to earthly possessions. By the trials of poverty the father is brought nearer to his family which has become more dear to him than ever before. He has learned that, "He that trusteth in his riches shall fall;" and he will lay up treasures in heaven, "whither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through and steal."

After various obstacles, should the lover and maiden be finally united, does it always follow that they are happy? This is the idea of some, and is a pretty one theoretically, but like some machines, does not always work. If those Ancient Nations were still holding their power, the world would never have reached the degree of civilization which it now has; for they were ambitious only in subduing weaker nations, not in building them up. As their subjects other nations of the world would have remained in a half civilized state. As memory stands holding aside the veil which time has woven; if we will only take a second thought on these "might have beens", we will find that many of them, Providence in mercy has deprived us of, to save us the misery which, through them we would have had to bear.
OUR ILLUSTRIOUS DEAD⁴

by S. S. Stephens

Ladies and Gentlemen. Ages have past since the Cherokee people became a Nation; from whence they came no recording pen was present to transmit to their now wondering posterity information that would have been cherished with so much sacredness.

The earliest traditions that we have of them prove that they were a formidable and warlike people; proud of the rank they maintained among the Nations surrounding them, forcing their friendship, and exacting their homage.

The records concerning them show that they were intelligent above their neighbors; were disdainful, and held them in contempt.

They inhabited a country well calculated [sic] to increase this feeling of superiority, clear running streams abounding with fish, rich and productive valleys, and mountains whose summits were bathed in the clouds, were the grand resorts of the abundant supply [sic] of game that they delighted to capture to satisfy the wants of their families. This power, with the wonderful resources of their domain, and the more powerful defences of their country afforded

⁴Copy of address delivered at community benefit (Cherokee Advocate, December 3, 1879).
them much leisure, which was spent in the pursuit of war whether laudable or not, many better informed and in all ages of the world have followed with an almost supernatural energy, that their names might be enrolled as conquerers [sic] of their race.

A change came over the spirit of their dream. A more powerful race surrounded them. A few hard fought battles taught them that peace and its pursuits was their true policy as a people.

The acquisition of a wonderful art of transmitting thought by means of written language impressed one of the people as being an engine of power, and under this belief a Guess has placed himself among the renowned of the ancient world; giving to his people the key to civilization and enlightenment, opening new sources of information, affording them the means of studying the mysteries of a new and accepted religion. He has passed from the stage of action, acknowledged in life, and honored after death, as a reward for his labors.

These changes brought about very rapidly a state of comparative civilization, books were printed, a facility with which they were taught to read them, very soon filled the country with men informed where they had been so recently ignorant.

A more permanent government was now considered as a necessity.

A constitution and written laws were adopted. Prominent among those engaged in this work of framing a new
government, can be named a Pathkiller, Hicks, Ross, Lowry, Fields, Downing, Watts, Ridge and many others of almost as much if not of equal note.

The calamities to which our Nation has been subjected since the reorganization of its government was sufficient, but for the powerful auxillary [sic] side thus brought to bear to have swept us from the earth.

The Government of the U. S. at the the [sic] instance of the cupidity of its own citizens, conceived the idea of removing the whole Nation from its lands--endeared to them by a thousand familiar associations--from the homes that years of labor had rendered comfortable. From where the bones of their fathers had lain bleaching for ages, and over whose graves they were wont to strew the beautiful flowers of their rich valleys and the evergreene [sic] of the frowning cliffs of their ever enduring mountains.

The fate that decreed that removal was inexorable. The Cherokee people as a Nation was transplant [sic] into what was at that day considered a wilderness. Instead of its proving to be a calamity, through the informed and well regulated influences of some of the illustrious names already mentioned, many other names now dead were added to this bright constellation in the reunion of the two branches of the Cherokee Nation in their Western prairie homes. With a well organized government surrounded by the comparative peace at home, and at peace with our neighbors, with ample means at our command, schools sprang up; beautiful and well
cultivated farms were opened, hundreds and thousands of
cattle and other stock grazing upon our our [sic] prairies;
the reward of a well directed industry, with contentment and
prosperity, and rapidly becoming civilized when the 2nd,
great calamity swept over our country as a devastating storm.
The war with all of its direful and appalling consequences
left us disorganized, stricken and poor, but wiser, and far
from being discouraged; a reorganization of our government
was soon affected, peace and harmony once more restored and
prosperity to our Nation followed the ordeal through which
we had passed; our numbers sustained, by offering remnants
of our race, less fortunate than ourselves, homes among us.
Our Nation through its numbers, its means, and its civiliza-
tion is stronger to-day than it was before the late
rebellion, all through the manly exertions in trying and
overcoming our prejudices and personal animosities growing
out of that rebellion and uniting in our country's common
interests.

Many of the courageous spirits whose names were
familiar throughout the land in those dark days of blood
and carnage, but who were as conspicuous in peace in healing
up the wounds thus made, and in restoring the country to its
normal condition, have since passed away and are now
answering to roll-call in the spirit [sic] land. It is the
shadow of these noble men that we wish to preserve, and
with which to decorate the halls of your Capital building,
not only in honor of their brilliant achievements here, but
that their acts may stimulate the youth of our much loved country to a laudible ambition.
THE EARLY STEPS IN LANGUAGE

by R. B. Blackstone

Ladies and Gentlemen: The duty devolves upon me to say something in regard to "The early steps in language." The subject is an extensive one if time be taken into consideration, for it extends from the present into that period of the world’s history when Adam was a youth in the beautiful Garden, and Eve was very young. What the words of Adam were, when his eyes first rested on the mother of mankind, arrayed in all the youth and loveliness which the Divine Architect could bestow, adorned with every charm which infinite skill could command in earth or Heaven—history has never recorded.

But a being like Adam, whose thoughts were unstained by the vices and folly of sin—whose mind was not weakened and enervated by the hereditary follies of six thousand years, and gazing upon a being embodying the gathered charms of a Universe, must certainly have spoken in the language of the Gods. There was none other for him.

There are however, two theories extant as to the origin of language. Dugal Stewart and others claim that the formation of language is an effort within the scope of

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5Copy of address delivered at meeting of Teachers' Institute (Cherokee Advocate, July 25, 1874).
the faculties which man has received from his Maker. That
the vocal organs of man were created with a view to his
expressing himself by speech. That the tongue, the lips,
the palate and other organs of speech, all show that they
were designed for producing such sounds as we employ in
articulate language. That men at first were mutes, dumb
herds, and roamed the fields in flocks, uttering only such
interjections as express feeling or emotion, which gradually
increased in extent, until it assumed the character in which
we now find it.

Such may do for a fine spun theory, but on the present
occasion we will let it tell its own story, and believe what
it proclaims, its heavenly birth. We want to inquire no
further into its genealogy than that Jehovah spake to man,
and language is the result. As the ear had never known
harmony in a soundless voice, so the tongue had never known
speech in a voiceless world. Now there are those who believe
that when Adam first awoke and looked upon Eve, he spoke to
her in the Hebrew language, but I cannot think so, from the
fact that when men commenced to build the tower of Bable,
the Almighty went down and confused their language so that
no one could understand the other. No, I still hold to the
first proposition, that the first language on earth was the
language of the gods, for we have it recorded in the VI
Chapter of Genesis "And it came to pass that when the sons
of God looked upon daughters of men that they were fair,
they took them wives of all which they chose." They must
have certainly spoken the same language.

Some commentators, however, claim that the sons of God alluded to, were those sons of Adam who were upright, and that Cain was the founder of a reprobate race called the sons of men, and while I dislike to differ with men who are learned and wise, yet I am impelled to do so. It is recorded in the I Chapter of Job, "That there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord and Satan came also among them."

Also in the XXXVIII Chapter where the Almighty himself demands of Job, "Where werst thou when I laid the foundations of the earth, when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy?" The descendants of Adam were hardly old enough to shout for joy when the foundations of the world were laid.

We next come to written language, whose origin is buried in the wave of Lethe. We first find it used in Africa, by a people whom we despise for their ignorance and superstition, but around whom still lingers the pale Ghost of a mighty enlightenment, and upon whom the Almighty himself passed a glorious compliment, when in praising Moses he said he was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."

There seems to be a correlative influence existing between the character of a people and their language. Some languages are the language of poetry, some are the language of facts. The Arabic language is a striking illustration of the former, and is also in some respects a copious language,
for it has 500 names for a lion, 200 names for a serpent, and 1000 names for a sword.

The uses of language—the necessities, I might say, are manifest in its varied power which is beyond expression. Men ruder and fiercer than the famishing lion whose wild roars echoed from the walls of the Coliseum, have been tamed by the magic of its moveings [*sic*].

It has brought angels down from Heaven on missions of mercy to man. And it will be the sublime machinery by which the Almighty will close the drama which has been enacting upon the stage of the world for six thousand years.

It is in language the weary mother sings her suffering babe to sleep. And it is in language the sorrowing soul is learned to look beyond the vale of tears where disappointment comes not, and where sorrow is no more. It is in language we express the joys, the hopes of childhood and the ambitions of mature years. It is in language we are taught the reverence due the great "I am" and at our mother's knee to give our first petitions to "Our Father who are in Heaven." It is in language, when in the flush and strength of health and manhood, we give our purposes and aspirations to the world—and it is language that soothes us in that hour when the damp of death is gathering on our brow, and we are warned the sands of life are out for us, with our work yet scarce begun. It is in language the soft low notes of love are whispered in the ear of blushing maidenhood, and it is in language the warrior chieftain thunders forth the
"charge" which sets on his legions to the mighty struggle, on which possibly the fate of nations rests, and in language his voice is heard to encourage and direct until the din of battle has drowned the echo of this God given gift, and this fair earth is crimsoned with the tide of life.

Then without written language where would be the world to-day. It is by means of written language all the experience of bygone ages, are placed within the reach of the student of the present. Without written language each one would have to depend on his own efforts in the investigation of science, receiving no assistance from those who had gone before him, leaving no legacy to those who come after him. What inducement would there be for effort? Of what use were his labors if they perished with him? Without written language, any accumulation of knowledge were impossible, and without it where to-day would be all those general achievements in science and art? Where the mighty printing press with its results? Where the steam engine, with all its applications? Where our knowledge, not only of the character and motions of this world, but of the myriads of words that surround us? But through perfection which this accumulation of knowledge has enabled us to reach, we can send our thoughts "to all parts of the earth" through the agency of printing. We have harnessed the giant steam in fetters of steel and compelled him to minister in his strength to our weakness. We have even seized the lightenings from Heaven--tamed them to do our bidding, and taught them to flash our thoughts a thousand
miles while the pulse beats once.

But ladies and gentlemen, I have, I fear, exhausted, both my time and your patience. Pardon me if in conclusion, I claim that these great and various uses of language, the real uselessness of intellect,—of mind, without language, proves my first position, that it is the gift of the Gods and not the creation of man.

Recognizing our ability through the medium of language to assist each other in the one great work, may we not hope to go on, aided by the effort of united intellect, in piling still higher that mountain of knowledge which shall reach its apex only where the wheels of time shall change their course and roll creation back into that chaos from whence it all came forth.
GONE WITH A HANSDOMER MAN

by Will Carleton

John

I've worked in the field all day, a-ploughin' the "stony streak";
I've scolded my team till I'm hoarse; I've tramped till my legs are weak;
I've choked a dozen swears (so 's not to tell Jane fibs)
When the plough-p'int struck a stone and the handles punched my ribs.

I've put my team in the barn, and rubbed their sweaty coats;
I've fed 'em a heap of hay and half a bushel of oats;
And to see the way they eat makes me like eatin' feel,
And Jane won't say to-night that I don't make out a meal.

Well said! the door is locked! but here she's left the key,
Under the step, in a place known only to her and me;
I wonder who's dyin' or dead, that she's hustled off pell-mell:
But here on the table's a note, and probably this will tell.

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Good God! my wife is gone! my wife is gone astray!
The letter it says, "Good-bye, for I'm a-going away;
I've lived with you six months, John, and so far I've been true;
But I'm going away to-day with a handsomer man than you."

A han'somer man than me! Why, that ain't much to say;
There's han'somer men than me go past here every day.
There's han'somer men than me--I ain't of the han'some kind;
But a lovin' er man than I was I guess she'll never find!

Curse her! curse her! I say, and give my curses wings!
May the words of love I've spoke be changed to scorpion-stings!
Oh, she filled my heart with joy, she emptied my heart of doubt,
And now, with a scratch of a pen, she lets my heart's blood out!

Curse her! curse her! say I; she'll some time rue this day;
She'll some time learn that hate is a game that two can play;
And along before she dies she'll grieve she ever was born;
For I'll plough her grave with hate, and seed it down to scorn!

As sure as the world goes on, there'll come a time when she
Will read the devilish heart of that han'somer man than me;
And there'll be a time when he will find as others do,
That she who is false to one can be the same with two!
And when her face grows pale, and when her eyes grow dim,
And when he is tired of her and she is tired of him,
She'll do what she ought to have done, and coolly count
the cost;
And then she'll see things clear, and know what she has lost.

And thoughts that are now asleep will wake up in her mind,
And she will mourn and cry for what she has left behind;
And maybe she'll sometimes long for me—for me—but no!
I've blotted her out of my heart, and I will not have it so!

And yet in her girlish heart there was somethin' or other
she had
That fastened a man to her, and wasn't entirely bad;
And she loved me a little, I think, although it didn't last;
But I mustn't think of these things—I've buried 'em in the past.

I'll take my hard words back, nor make a bad matter worse;
She'll have trouble enough, poor thing; she shall not have my curse;
But I'll live a life so square—and I well know that I can--
That she will always grieve that she went with that han'somer man.

Ah, here is her kitchen dress! it makes my poor eyes blur;
It seems, when I look at that, as if 'twas holdin' her.
And here are her week-day shoes, and there is her week-day hat,
And yonder's her weddin'-gown; I wonder she didn't take that!
'Twas only this mornin' she came and called me her "dearest dear,"
And said I was makin' for her a regular paradise here:
O God! if you want a man to sense the pains of hell,
Before you pitch him in just keep him in heaven a spell!

Good-bye--I wish that death had severed us two apart;
You've lost a worshipper here--you've crushed a lovin' heart.
I'll worship no woman again! but I guess I'll learn to pray,
And kneel as you used to kneel before you run away.

And if I thought I could bring my words on heaven to bear,
And if I thought I had some influence up there,
I would pray that I might be, if it only could be so,
As happy and gay as I was a half an hour ago!

Jane (entering)

Why, John, what a litter here! you've thrown things all around!
Come, what's the matter now? and what've you lost or found?
And here's my father here, a-waiting for supper, too;
I've been a-riding with him--he's that "handsomer man than you."

Ha! ha! Pa, take a seat, while I put the kettle on,
And get things ready for tea, and kiss my dear old John.
Why, John, you look so strange! Come, what has crossed your track?
I was only a-joking, you know; I'm willing to take it back.

Well, now, if this ain't a joke, with rather a bitter cream!
It seems as if I'd woke from a mighty ticklish dream;
And I think she "smells a rat," for she smiles at me so queer;
I hope she don't; good Lord! I hope that they didn't hear!

'Twas one of her practical drives—why didn't I understand!
I'll never break sod again till I get the lay of the land.
But one thing's settled with me: to appreciate heaven well,
'Tis good for a man to have some fifteen minutes of hell!
H. E. C. DIES
by John L. Adair, Sr.

To him whose hopes are far away,
To where life's sunset scene discloses
First to spring flowers and roses,
Of summer next, and winter snows
Further on, knows or thinks he knows
That far this scene beyond is day.

That to behold it, as we may,
It's but little more than a dream,
And of events, this turbid stream--
Beginning, ah where? And ending,
Ah where? and forever wending--
Is not a real scene to-day.

That we'll fall to sleep, as we say,
And, weary, would have it night
While the sun is yet warm and bright;
Will wake from sleep to find
That all we saw and left behind
Was nothing but a dream that day.

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Wonder how long we slept that way.
    Think we've been dreaming--nothing more--
And to those who had woke before
From sleep, will wish to tell our dreams,
    Of the unaccountable scenes,
We behold as we slept that day.

That our loved we'll find, as we pray,
    Who had grown weary and had slept,
And in their dreams had laughed and wept
O'er scenes that were so real
    That nothing could be ideal
Of what they say and felt that day.

Believe we were dreaming, some way,
    When we thought it was more than sleep--
It was so cold and calm and deep--
In which they lay, and sorrow's tears
We'll think were strange, as were the fears,
That made sad our dreaming that day.

That the gleams from the far away
    We sometimes have of better things--
Like strange birds upon helpless wings,
Blown from some isle in tropic climes--
Are memories of other times,
As we'll find when we wake that day.
JOY RETURNETH WITH THE MORNING\textsuperscript{3}

by John L. Adair, Sr.

A great storm has blown out the stars,
And the winds, rushing from their caves,
Lashed the sea into mountain waves;
And the ship, under bending spars,
In utter darkness plowed the deep.

Unto Him whom the winds obeyed
Oh Gallilee, I humbly prayed
That in his keeping I might sleep.

In a haven, clam and bright
With tropic sunshine, where the scent
Of orange blooms make redolent
The breeze that was so soft and light
That scarcely there a wavelet broke
Upon the bosom of the bay,
When next morn' our good ship lay--
To glad consciousness I 'woke.

So may it be, good Lord of all,
When into darkness sinks my sun,

\textsuperscript{3}Ibid., pp. 466-467.
And my stars go out, one by one,
To such calm slumber may I fall
And that which only faith had been,
   Awake to find a truth to be,
Where no white sails go out to sea,
But are forever coming in.
LITERARY DAY AMONG THE BIRDS. 4
by Lily Lee

Dark night at last had taken its flight,
Morn had come with her earliest light;
Her herald, gray dawn, had extinguished each star,
And gay banners in the east were waving afar.

That lovely goddess, Beautiful Spring,
Had fanned all the earth with her radiant wing;
"Had calmed the wild winds with fragrant breath,"
And gladden'd nature with an emerald wreath.

Within the precincts of the Bird Nation,
All was bustle and animation;
For that day was to witness a literary feast,
Where only Birds were invited guests.

The place of meeting was a leafy nook,
Close by the side of a sparkling brook.
Soon were assembled a merry band,
Birds from every tree in the land.

4Cherokee Rose Buds, August 1, 1855.
Mrs. DOVE came first, in soft colors drest;
Then Mr. CANARY, looking his best.
The family of MARTINS, dressed in brown,
And Mr. WOODPECKER, with his ruby crown.

The exercises opened with a scientific song,
By the united voices of the feathered throng.
Then was delivered a brilliant oration,
By 'Squire RAVEN, the wisest bird in the nation.
Master WHIP-POOR-WILL next mounted the stage,
Trying to look very much like a sage.

Eight pretty green PARROTS then spoke with art;
Though small, with credit they carried their part.
Again an oration by Mr. QUAIL,
Spoken as fast as the gallop of snail.
And lastly, Sir BLACKBIRD whistl'd off an address,
Of twenty odd minutes, more or less.

Then came the applause, so loud and long,
That the air echoed the joyous song.
But the sun was low, so soon they sped
To their quiet nests and their grassy beds;
And rocked by the breeze, they quietly slept,
Ere the firstling star in the blue sky crept.
OUR CHRISTMAS FESTIVAL
by M.

Kind friends, let me trespass on space and on time
Just enough to relate a short story in rhyme;

We were swiftly approaching the close of the year
Looking forward to Christmas, its mirth and good cheer;
But it marred our delight as we glanced o'er the way
Whence came our good cousins each glad holiday.
The theme was discussed with very grave faces
What guests could be found who would come in their places,
At length from the country and neighborhood round,
Many youth of a goodly appearance were found:
Our compliments sent, their presence requested
If in Christmas amusements they felt interested,
Unlike occasions in seasons gone by.
Many sports were devised as Christmas drew nigh,
But tableaux were old and dialogues too
And the question arose "can't we find something new?"
Then we wisely concluded to invite Santa Claus
The bearer of presents and pretty gee-gaws.
We gave him the notice in season, well knowing

5Cherokee Rose Buds, February 11, 1957.
He would come with his ratling car overflowing.
The hours rolled by, and at last brought the night,
Our school-room was decked in evergreens bright,
And what was our wonder on entering to see
The gifts of good Santa Claus hung on a tree.
We found needle-book, pin cushions, work-baskets too,
But I can assure you the funniest by far

In a calico dress, and a turban quite gay
Just equipped for a journey "up North" I should say.
I will not detain you with further detail
If I should I am sure your patience would fail
'Tis sufficient to say we long shall remember,
The year fifty-six, twenty-fifth of December.
SEQUOYAH

by D. J. Brown

Thou Cadmus of thy race
    Thou giant of thy age!
In every heart a place,
    In history a living page:
The juggernant chariot time,
    May crush as she doth give!
But a noble name like thine.
    Shall ever with Kee-too-whah live.

Orion like thou dost stand,
    In every age and clime,
With intellect as grand,
    As ever shown by time,
Twas thy hand lit the spark,
    That heavenward flashed its ray,
Revealing the shining mark.
    The straight and narrow way.

Ignorance and superstitions awe,
    From high pedestals toppled o'er

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6Cherokee Advocate, Feb. 26, 1879.
When as the ancient giver of law.

    Smiling, there mad'st the waters pours'
Stand thou did'st on Pisgah's height,

    And gazed into the future deep,
But day was ne'er unclasped from night,

    E'er thy spirit silently fell asleep.
THE GAMBLER'S WIFE

by R. Coates

Dark is the night, how dark! No light, no fire!
Cold, on the hearth, the last faint sparks expire!
Shivering, she watches by the cradle-side
For him who pledged her love,—last year a bride!

"Hark! 'tis his footstep. No! 'tis past, 'tis gone!"
Tick, tick!—"Ho wearily the time crawls on!
Why should he leave me thus? He once was kind;
And I believed 'twould last!—How mad, how blind!

"Rest thee, my babe, rest on!—'Tis hunger's cry:
Sleep! for there is no food,—the fount is dry:
Famine and cold their wearying work have done:
My heart must break! And thou!"—the clock strikes one

"Hush! 'tis the dice-box! Yes, he's there, he's there!
For this,—for this he leaves me to despair!
Leaves love, leaves truth, his wife, his child! for what?
The wanton's smile,—the villain,—and the sot!

Yet I'll not curse him: no! 'tis all in vain:
'Tis long to wait, but sure he'll come again;
And I could starve, and bless him, but for you,
My child!—his child! O fiend!"—The clock strikes two.

"Hark, how the sign-board creaks! The blast howls by.
Moan! moan! A dirge swells through the cloudy sky.
Ha, 'tis his knock! he comes!—he comes once more!"
'Tis but the lattice flaps:—thy hope is o'er.

"Can he desert us thus? He knows I stay,
Night after night, in loneliness, to pray
For his return,—and yet he sees no tear.
No, no! it cannot be: he will be here!

Nestle more closely, dear one, to my heart!
Thou'rt cold! thou'rt freezing! But we will not part.
Husband!—I die!—Father!—It is not he!
O God, protect my child!"—The clock strikes three.

They're gone, they're gone! the glimmering spark hath fled:
The wife and child are number'd with the dead:
On the cold hearth, ourstretch'd in solemn rest,
The babe lay frozen on its mother's breast.
The gambler came at last,—but all was o'er;
Dread silence reign'd around:—the clock struck four!
THE SPECTRE

by W. P. Boudinot

There is a spectre ever haunting
All the living ones on earth;
Like a shadow it attendeth
Every mortal from his birth,
And his likeness is a demon's,
Horrible with mocking mirth.

And it never sleeps an instant,
Never turns away its eye,
Which is always fixed and greedy
Gazing on us ardently;
When at night we sleep it watcheth,
At our bedside standing by.

Low it crouches by the cradle
Where the new born infant sleeps,
Watching with the watchful mother
When it smiles and when it weeps,
Unseen, silent, absent never,
'Round the dreaming babe it creeps.

8O'Beirne, The Indian Territory, pp. 267-268.
Thus from life's first faint beginning,
   Till the dreaded close appears,
Does this still, unknown companion
   Dog us through our flying years;
And it mocks our silly pleasures
   As it mocks our useless tears.

(Thus attended the unconscious mortal grows up and enjoys life, until he begins to notice the passage of time, and the coming sunset. Then he perceives that something is half following, half urging him along.)

And we feel its icy fingers
   Tracing wrinkles on the brow,
While its breath, so cold and deadly,
   Turns the raven hair to snow,
As we hobble on our journey
   With a stumbling step and slow.

(The mortal, now an old man, is anxious at last to know where he is being led or driven to.)

Whither, pleads the weary traveler,
   Whither, whither do we fly?
But the darkness now descending
   Shuts the scene from human eye;
Still is heard the faint voice pleading--
   Never cometh a reply.
(Save that which the poet himself gives us.)

On the footsteps of each mortal
   From his first to latest date,
When he joys, or loves, or sorrows,
   Wretched, happy, humble, great,
Mocking glides the silent phantom—
   Child of clay it is thy fate.
APPENDIX C

PROGRAMS
CASTS

of

Plays presented by

Tahlequah Amateur Dramatic Association

The performance will begin with the play entitled, "Contest."

CAST OF CHARACTERS:

Adolphus Sparks, ....................... Walter Hammock
Chas. Beauchamp, ........................ Jas. Stapler
Mrs. Lockett, ........................... Mrs. Susan Harrison
Ada, ..................................... Miss J. A. Thompson
Susan, ................................... Miss Minnie McCoy

The next thing on the programme will be the highly entertaining drama, "Wayward," with the following

CAST OF CHARACTERS:

Mr. Mansfield, .......................... Jno. L. Adair
Frank Grayham Mansfield, ............... E. B. Carden
Lizzie Harding Colton, ................... Miss McGregor
Pattie, .................................... Mrs. R. L. McCellan

1Cherokee Advocate, May 11, 1878.
To conclude with the laughable farce, "Box and Cox."

CAST OF CHARACTERS:

Mrs. Bouncer, ......................... Mrs. Susan Harrison
Cox, .................................... Cornelious Boudinot
Box, ..................................... Walter Hammock
ENTERTAINMENT

GRAND EXHIBITION OF THE
TAHLEQUAH SCHOOL.²

Wednesday, July 12, 1871.

Introduction:

1. Music. "Come join our Happy Throng."--Delilah Daniels,
   Mary Stapler, Rachel Adair, Eloise Butler.


Recitation. "The Indian."--Eloise Butler.

Music. "Hail to the Chief."--Lewis Downing.

Dialogue. "Puppy Lost."--Mary Stapler, Delilah Daniels,
   Wm. McLain, Felix Duncan, John Stapler, Neppie Thorn,
   Eloise Butler, Wallace Ross.

Music. "Home Where the Heart Is."

²Cherokee Advocate, July 8, 1871.


Music. "Daisy Dean." -- Mary Stapler, Delilah Daniels, Eloise Butler, Neppie Thorn, Rachel Adair.


Speech. "Progression." -- Unknown


Recitation. "Only This Once."—Mary Stapler.

Music. "Be Kind to the Poor."

Recitation. "Logan's Speech."—Lewis Downing.
APPENDIX D

TABLEAUX, CHARADE, AND PANTOMIME
AN OLD MAN'S DARLING

An old gray-haired man is seated in a parlor, with an open jewel-case in his hand. He has lifted a sparkling bracelet [sic] from the case and is offering it to his young wife. The wife, elegantly attired in evening costume, stands near the old man, but with averted face and a weary look of scorn upon it. She has one hand slightly extended toward him.

A YOUNG MAN'S SLAVE

A young man, wearing dressing-gown and slippers, rests at ease in a reclining-chair, his feet elevated and crossed, resting upon another chair. He is holding a newspaper in one hand. His other hand is toying with a plate of fruit, placed on a small table beside his chair. His young wife, wearing a large working-apron, stands near, with a man's boot drawn over her left hand. In her right hand she holds a blackingbrush, which just touches the boot, as if in the act of polishing it.

\[2\text{Tbid., pp. 12-13.}\]
A NUN AT HER DEVOTIONS

"A Nun at her Devotions" is one of the simplest of all. It hardly needs description. A background of dark brown gauze, very faintly lighted at the upper right-hand corner; a dress of black serge or stuff, with black veil and white coif; a crucifix and rosary,—these are the very simple materials needed. Let the light fall from the left-hand upper corner in front, and use the parabolic reflector. Choose your nun for the beauty of her eyes, the regularity and refinement of feature, and the elegance of her hands.

Ibid., p. 42.
COURTING UNDER DIFFICULTIES

Humorous Romantic Acting Pantomime (Without words).

Characters: One woman, one girl, one young man, one boy.
Costumes: Ordinary every-day clothes or up-to-date society clothes.
Stage-Setting: Sitting room interior, with chairs, table, rug, etc.

Story to Be Read To Audience Before Pantomime Is Given:
Young man, trying to court girl, is thwarted by disapproving mother, and by girl's brother who at most inopportune times calls mother's attention to lover's advances.

Mother sits at table, darning stockings. Daughter sits opposite, also sewing. Small boy sits on floor, playing with tools. Loud knock is heard; mother arises, goes to door, opens it. Young man enters. He bows awkwardly to mother, goes to girl, and shakes hands with her. Mother seems displeased, and motions him to be seated in chair, at

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far end of room. He sits down. Mother resumes her seat, and begins sewing. Young man looks at girl, who in turn smiles at him. He pulls chair quietly over toward her. Mother, busy sewing, does not notice this, until boy gives loud sneeze. Young man starts in affright. Mother looks up, and scowls at him. She goes to daughter, examines work, and motions her to sew more rapidly. She takes her seat, picks up stockings, and begins sewing again. She turns back toward daughter. Young man takes advantage of opportunity, and again draws chair close to girl's side. He is in act of placing arm around her, when boy, who has been inflating paper bag, bursts it, making loud noise. They all jump. Young man grabs chair, and awkwardly pulls it back to corner of room. Mother scolds daughter, and boy is convulsed with laughter as young man frowns and shakes fist at him. Another knock is heard. Mother leaves room. Presently she returns, and motions to boy that she is going out again and insists on his watching young man and girl. She goes to girl, examines work, shakes head in evident displeasure, motions her to sew then leaves room. Young man goes to boy, and offers him some money; boy shakes his head in refusal. More money is offered; still he refuses. Third time he accepts, picks up hat, and rushes from room. Young man appears much delighted, brings chair near girl, sits down in awkward manner. Girl is trying to thread needle; young man offers to thread it for her. He tips chair forward, as he leans toward girl. Just then door opens, and in rushes boy, much
out of breath, holding large bag of candy in hand. As he hurries past young man, he catches foot in chair, upsetting it, and young man sprawls awkwardly on floor. At this juncture mother returns. Boy shows her bag of candy, motions that young man had given him money. Mother scolds him. Daughter is ready to weep, and young man shakes fist at boy. Mother attracts daughter's attention to clock. Daughter nods head, looks worried. Mother sits down, and resumes sewing. She soon falls asleep. Young man again attempts to place chair by girl's side, but boy, who has been playing with tools, suddenly pounds on floor. This awakens mother, who looks around in bewildered manner. She gazes sleepily at clock, then motions boy to go to bed. He rises slowly, and leaves room. Mother again commences sewing, but in short time is fast asleep. Young man rises, goes toward her on tiptoes, and gazes at her. Being satisfied that she is sound asleep, he picks up table by her side, and places it in middle of room; upon table he piles two chairs, then throws a cover over all. Back of this he places two chairs, then motions girl to sit down. She sits in bashful manner, and he sits beside her, looking happy. Presently door opens slowly, and boy peeps in; he gazes at couple, then at mother, then silently creeps into room. Young couple are too much absorbed in each other to notice his presence. Boy sits on floor, makes huge ball out of paper, ties long string to ball, crawls over to table, and throws ball over top of chairs, hitting young man on head. Young man looks up in
astonishment, but as ball has been pulled away, and he sees nothing, he again resumes courting. After a short time, ball is again thrown. This time young man gets up, and peers around corner of table. Boy conceals himself, and young man, after looking around corner several times, sits down. Boy throws ball third time. Young man jumps up angrily, and rushes round table. He spies boy, and tries to catch him. Boy eludes his awkward efforts and round and round table they go. Girl looks on in amazement and affright. Just as young man grabs boy, he stubs toe, catches at table leg, upsets table, chairs, etc. Mother awakens, jumps up, and grabs young man by collar. Girl weeps. Boy dances about in delight.
Snobbleton. Yes, there is that fellow Jones, again. I declare, the man is ubiquitous. Wherever I go with my cousin Prudence we stumble across him, or he follows her like her shadow. Do we take a boating? So does Jones. Do we wander on the beach? So does Jones. Go where we will, that fellow follows or moves before. Now, that was a cruel practical joke which Jones once played upon me at college. I have never forgiven him. But I would gladly make a pretence of doing so, if I could have my revenge. Let me see. Can't I manage it? He is head over ears in love with Prudence, but too bashful to speak. I half believe she is not indifferent to him, though altogether unacquainted. It may prove a match, if I cannot spoil it. Let me think. Ha! I have it. A brilliant idea! Jones, beware! But here he comes.

Enter Jones.

Jones. (Not seeing Snobbleton, and delightedly contemplating a flower, which he holds in his hand.) O, rapture! What a prize! It was in her hair,—I saw it fall from her queenly head. (Kisses it every now and then.) How warm are its

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Choice Readings from Standard and Popular Authors, Fulton and Trueblood, pp. 359-364.
tender leaves from having touched her neck! How doubly sweet
is its perfume,—fresh from the fragrance of her glorious
locks! How beautiful! how—Bless me! here is Snobbleton,
and we are enemies!

Snob. Good-morning, Jones,—that is, if you will shake hands.

Jones. What! you—you forgive! You really--

Snob. Yes, yes, old fellow! All is forgotten. You played
me a rough trick; but let bygones be bygones. Will you not
bury the hatchet?

Jones. With all my heart, my dear fellow!

Snob. What is the matter with you, Jones? You look quite
grumpy,—not by any means the same cheerful, dashing,
rollicking fellow you were.

Jones. Grumpy,—what is that? How do I look, Snobbleton?

Snob. O, not much out of the way. Only a little shaky in
the shanks—blue lips, red nose, cadaverous jaws, blood-shot
eyes, yellow--

Jones. Bless me, you don't say so! (Aside.) Confound the
man. Here have I been endeavouring to appear romantic for
the last month; and now to be called grumpy,—shaky-shanked, cadaverous,—it is unbearable!

Snob. But never mind. Cheer up, old fellow! I see it all. Egad! I know what it is to be in--

Jones. Ah! you can then sympathize with me! You know what it is to be in--

Snob. Of course I do! Heaven preserve me from the toils! What days of bitterness!

Jones. What nights of bliss!

Snob. (Shuddering.) And then the letters,—the interminable letters!

Jones. O yes, the letters! the billet doux!

Snob. And the bills,—the endless bills!

Jones. (In surprise) The bills!

Snob. Yes; and the bailiffs, the lawyers, the judge and the jury.

Jones. Why, man, what are you talking about? I thought you said you knew what it was to be in--
Snob. In debt. To be sure, I did.

Jones. Bless me! I'm not in debt,—never borrowed a dollar in my life. Ah, me! (Sighs.) it's worse than that.

Snob. Worse than that! Come, now, Jones, there is only one thing worse. You're surely not in love?

Jones. Yes, I am. O Snobby, help me, help me! Let me confide in you.

Snob. Confide in me! Certainly, my dear fellow! See, I do not shrink,—I stand firm.

Jones. Snobby, I--I love her.

Snob. Whom?

Jones. Your cousin, Prudence.

Snob. Ha! Prudence Angelina Winterbottom.

Jones. Now, don't be angry, Snobby! I don't mean any harm, you know. I--I--you know how it is.

Snob. Harm! my dear fellow. Not a bit of it. Angry! Not at all. You have my consent, old fellow. Take her. She is yours. Heaven bless you both!
Jones. You are very kind, Snobby, but I haven't got her consent yet.

Snob. Well, that is something, to be sure. But leave it all to me. She may be a little coy, you know; but considering your generous overlooking of her unfortunate defect,--

Jones. Defect! You surprise me.

Snob. What! and you did not know of it?

Jones. Not at all. I am astonished! Nothing serious I hope.

Snob. O, no! only a little--(He taps his ear with his finger, knowingly.) I see, you understand it.

Jones. Merciful Heaven! can it be? But really, is it serious?

Snob. I should think it was.

Jones. What! But is she ever dangerous?

Snob. Dangerous! Why should she be?

Jones. (Considerably relieved.) O, I perceive! A mere airiness of brain,--a gentle aberration,--scorning the dull world,--a mild--
Snob. Zounds, man, she's not crazy!

Jones. My dear Snobby, you relieve me. What then?

Snob. Slightly deaf. That's all.

Jones. Deaf!

Snob. As a lamp-post. That is, you must elevate your voice to a considerable pitch in speaking to her.

Jones. Is it possible! However, I think I can manage. As, for instance, if it was my intention to make her a floral offering, and I should say, (elevating his voice considerably,) "Miss, will you make me happy by accepting these flowers?" I suppose she could hear me, eh? How would that do?

Snob. Pshaw! Do you call that elevated?

Jones. Well, how would this do? (Speaks very loudly.) "Miss, will you make me happy--"

Snob. Louder, shriller, man!

Jones. "Miss, will you--"

Snob. Louder, louder, or she will only see your lips move.
Jones. (Almost screaming.) "Miss, will you oblige me by accepting these flowers?"

Snob. There, that may do. Still you want practice. I perceive the lady herself is approaching. Suppose you retire for a short time, and I will prepare her for the introduction.

Jones. Very good. Meantime I will go down to the beach and endeavour to acquire the proper pitch. Let me see: "Miss, will you oblige me--"

Exit Jones

Enter Prudence

Prud. Good-morning, cousin. Who was that speaking so loudly?

Snob. Only Jones. Poor fellow, he is so deaf that I suppose he fancies his own voice to be a mere whisper.

Prud. Why, I was not aware of this. Is he very deaf?

Snob. Deaf as a stone fence. To be sure, he does not use an ear-trumpet any more, but one must speak excessively high. Unfortunate, too, for I believe he is in love.

Prud. (With some emotion.) In love! with whom?
Snob. Can't you guess?

Prud. O, no; I haven't the slightest idea.

Snob. With yourself! He has been begging me to obtain him an introduction.

Prud. Well, I have always thought him a nice-looking young man. I suppose he would hear me if I should say, (speaking loudly,) "Good-morning, Mr. Jones?"

Snob. (Compassionately.) Do you think he would hear that?

Prud. Well, then, how would, (speaks very loudly,) "Good-morning, Mr. Jones!" How would that do?

Snob. Tush! He would think you were speaking under your breath.

Prud. (Almost screaming.) "Good-morning!"


Enter Jones

Snob. (Speaking in a high voice.) Mr. Jones, cousin. Miss Winterbottom, Jones. You will please excuse me for a short time. He retires, but remains in view.)
Jones. (Speaking shrill and loud, and offering some flowers.)
Miss, will you accept these flowers? I plucked them from
their slumber on the hill.

Prud. (In an equally high voice.) Really, sir, I--I--

Jones. (Aside.) She hesitates. It must be that she does
not hear me. (Increasing his tone.) Miss, will you accept
these flowers--FLOWERS? I plucked them sleeping on the
hill--HILL.

Prud. (Also increasing her tone.) Certainly, Mr. Jones.
They are beautiful--BEAU-U-TIFUL.

Jones. (Aside.) How she screams in my ear. (Aloud.) Yes,
I plucked them from their slumber--SLUMBER, on the hill--HILL.

Prud. (Aside.) Poor man, what an effort it seems to him to
speak. (Aloud.) I--perceive you are poetical. Are you fond
of poetry? (Aside.) He hesitates. I must speak louder.
(In a scream.) Poetry--POETRY--POETRY!

Jones. (Aside.) Bless me, the woman would wake the dead!
(Aloud.) Yes, Miss, I ad-o-re it.

Snob. (Solus from behind, rubbing his hands.) Glorious!
glorious! I wonder how loud they can scream. O, vengeance,
thou art sweet!
Prud. Can you repeat some poetry--POETRY?

Jones. I only know one poem. It is this:
   You'd scarce expect one of my age--AGE,
   To speak in public on the stage--STAGE.

Prud. (Putting her lips to his ear and shouting.) BRAVO--bravo!

Jones. (In the same way.) Thank you! THANK--

Prud. (Putting her hands over her ears.) Mercy on us! Do you think I am DEAF, sir?

Jones. (Also stopping his ears.) And do you fancy me deaf, Miss?

(They speak in their natural tones.)

Prud. Are you not, sir? You surprise me!

Jones. No, Miss. I was led to believe that you were deaf. Snobbleton told me so.

Prud. Snobbleton! Why, he told me that you were deaf.

Jones. Confound the fellow! he has been making game of us.
ANNOUNCEMENT

of

THE FAYETTEVILLE FEMALE INSTITUTE,

MR. & MRS. T. B. VAN HORNE, Principals.

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This Institution will be opened for the reception of Boarding and Day Scholars on the 2d Monday in September, 1858, and will furnish facilities for the attainment of the highest Intellectual, Esthetic and Moral Culture. There will always be a sufficient number of competent Teachers for the pupils in attendance. The Principals will be assisted the ensuing year by Mrs. Mary L. Smith, Miss Pauline D. Jones, and Miss Cornelia A. Corwin, the latter as Teacher of Music.

Boarding Pupils will be required to dress in uniform. This regulation will place all on equality in respect to a matter, which often, when left to the taste and inclination of pupils, demands more consideration than the legitimate purposes of school attendance. The schedule of expenses will show its economy. The costume for Summer will be pink calico or lawn dresses, white aprons, and white sun-bonnets; for Winter, maroon-colored woolen dresses, green hoods with red silk lining, dark aprons for common use, and white for

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1Alice Robertson Collection, University of Tulsa Library, Tulsa, Oklahoma.
special; white dresses will be worn on festive occasions. The material for the adopted mode of dress, and text books, (when not provided by parents and guardians,) will be purchased by the Principal. No shopping will be allowed, unless under the direction of Teachers, and no accounts are to be made, except with the Principal.

Pupils will be allowed to wear out the Clothing they bring with them, which does not conform to the prescribed costume.

The family arrangements and government will be such as will conduce in the highest degree to the comfort, health, and improvement of Pupils. Especial attention will be paid to the cultivation of refined manners and pure morals. Pupils will be required to attend such places of religious worship, on Sunday, as parents or guardians may designate.

The School-Year, commencing annually on the Second Monday in September, and closing on the last Wednesday in June, will be divided into two Terms of equal length, with no intervening vacation.

Pupils completing the prescribed course of study creditably, will receive Diplomas; Certificates manifesting Scholarship and Character, will be given, upon solicitation, to those who take a partial course.

COURSE OF STUDY.

Reading and Spelling, Penmanship, Mental Arithmetic, Vocal Music, English Grammar and Analysis, English Composition,
Ancient and Modern Geography, in conjunction with History, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Plain and Spherical Trigonometry, Physiology, Botany, Geology, Zoology, Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Rhetoric, Logic, Elements of Criticism, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Political Economy, Natural Theology, Evidences of Christianity, Butler's Analogy.

EXPENSES.

The whole expenses of a Young Lady, including charges for boarding, fuel, light, washing, and instruction in the regular course, will be $130 for the school year.

No extra charges except for branches designated below. The cost of Clothing essential to the uniform, need not exceed $40 per year. The estimated expense for each Term must be paid in advance. Day-Scholars will be charged, for instruction per Term, $8, $10, or $12, according to advancement; and all pupils will be charged extra

For Music on the Piano, (with use of Instrument,) per Term, - - - - - - $25 00
" Drawing, (Penciling,) per Term, - - - - 5 00
" " (Crayon,) " - - - - 5 00
" Painting, (Oil Colors,) " - - - - 8 00
" " (Water Colors,)" - - - - 5 00
" Embroidery, " - - - - 3 00
" French, " - - - - 5 00
" Latin, " - - - - 5 00
No Pupil will be received for a less period than a Term, and no deduction will be made for absence, except when caused by protracted illness. A deduction of twenty per cent. will be made for daughters of Ministers of all denominations.

All communications should be addressed to the Principal.

THOS. B. VAN HORNE, A. M.

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REFERENCES.
Robt. Graham, Pres't of Arkansas College; Hon. A. M. Wilson;
Z. M. Pettigrew, Esq.; Jos. L. Dickson, Esq., Fayetteville,
Arkansas.
Order of Business
of
F E W Society

1st Pres. takes the chair.
2nd Roll Call
3rd Inauguration promise given by officers.
4th Prayer given by Chaplain.
5th Inaugural Addresses.
6th Election and Initiation of applicants for membership.
7th Reading of minutes of last meeting by Secy.
8th Declamations and Orations
9th Debate on Question
10th Decision of Question
11th Report of Critic
12. Address of Critic - if any
13. Motions and propositions
15. Elections
16. Appointment of Committees
17. Announcement by Secy. of Question for debate and names of Disputants.
18. Declaimers & Orators appointed.

Indian Affairs, Miscellaneous Papers, Cherokee Room, John Vaughan Library, Northeastern State College, Tahlequah, Oklahoma.
20. Reports of Officers
21. Last Roll Call
22. Meeting of Tribunal
23. Adjournment
Scene 1.

On a hill-side, by a merry little brook, stood a rude lot inhabited by a Cherokee family. There was no fencing to be seen about it: no neat grass-plot bordered with flowers; no shrubbery or rose-bushes to add the beauty of cultivation to the wild scenery of nature. No vine had been taught to twine its delicate tendrils over the doorway. A few large trees were standing about. Here might be seen a broken mortar, and there a pestle, while the ground was strewn with rocks, skins, rags, and a few spears of yellow-looking grass, struggling for life. Every thing about the habitation made it look more wild and desolate.

Now, if you have no objection, we will take a peep within. In rudeness and uncivilization, we find the inmates bearing a striking resemblance to their little hut. In one corner is a roll of buffalo skins, which doubtless serve for beds. The floor is the earth upon which the hut stands.

A woman is seated by the fire-side, smoking a pipe. Stretching along over her head, are a few strings of dried venison, and on the sides of the hut are fastened some beads, feathers, etc. No little stand of books, no vase of flowers,

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3Cherokee Rose Bud, August 1, 1855.
filling the room with fragrance, no neat papers are to be seen; nothing but the mere necessaries of life.

Several large, swarthy-looking boys in one corner, are repairing their bows and arrows for a hunt. In another corner stand two girls with mortar and pestle, preparing to beat "Conihany." They are dressed in calico skirts with red jackets fastened with silver brooches, their feet are covered with moccasins. Their hair is plaited and hanging down their backs.

A whoop starts the boys. They gather up their bows and arrows, get some dried venison, and parched corn-meal, and other necessary articles, and go out where a large company of hunters are waiting for them. Soon the woods seem to be alive with their whoops, yells, and the barking of dogs.

In the mean time [sic] the girls have finished beating the Conihany. A large kettle, filled with the Conihany, is placed on the fire; the little ones of the family sit watching it with great eagerness. When it is done it is taken up in a large earthen bowl of home manufacture. Each member of the family then partakes of it with a wooden spoon until their hunger is satisfied.

After two or three weeks of absence, the company of hunters return loaded with the game of the forest, which they throw down for the females to cut up and dry for food.

Thus pass the days of their wild life, without any intellectual pleasure or enjoyments, only varied from the same monotonous round by some great gathering or public
festival. The most noted of these were the "green-corn dances," as they were called. They were a kind of religious festival, held at the time when the corn began to "silk." At them were gathered young and old, male and female. After making merry several days, they returned to the same passive, un-interesting life.

NA-LI.

Scene II.

The birds are singing merrily as they hop from tree to tree in the green woods. The wide prairies are robed in their Spring dress, gemmed with flowers. By the fenced fields of wheat and corn, we see that civilization and nature are here united in our Cherokee land. White cottages peep forth from the same spot, perhaps, where some warrior's rude wigwam once stood. What a contrast to the scenes of olden-time! What has produced the change? The Missionaries came and brought with them the BIBLE. They taught our ancestors the precepts of religion and the arts of civilization; to cultivate farms and to erect neat little cottages. They taught them also the knowledge of books, and the value of education. Thus, under the influence of the religion of the Missionaries, the wild Indian was changed and became a new man.

Let us enter one of these white cottages. As you approach it, look around you and take a survey of the yard,
enclosed within neat white palings. Here is found, bordering the smooth walks, flowering shrubbery of various kinds, sending forth spicy odors upon the air. Before you is the cottage, with a portico in front. The windows are shaded by vines twining themselves here and there, wherever their tendrils can find a place to cling to.

It is Spring. The tall, noble oaks have clothed their skeleton forms in robes of beautiful green; the claws of Bears and Panthers no more leave their prints upon the bark; the Buffalo and the Deer repose no longer beneath their shade.

Within the cottage we find ourselves in a room most tastefully arranged. Books are here for leisure hours; while flowers from Nature's own garden, the prairie, as well as those most rare, and a musical instrument are their companions. What other evidences of civilization and refinement are needed? Books, flowers, music, and what is far better, the Holy Word of God is here to study, showing that religion has shed its pure light over all.

But where are the occupants of this dwelling? Have they gone to celebrate the festival of some unknown power? Have they gone to a ball-play, or to have a gossip at a green-corn-dance, as in the days gone by? No; for the general observance of these customs has ceased. Other festivals or 'gatherings,' have taken their places, where the mind is exercised instead of the body. The Indian lad, in place of his bow and arrow, is now taught to use the pen and wield the powers of eloquence. The girl, instead of
engaging in the dance, keeping time with the rattling noise of the terrapin-shells, bound to her ankles, sic keeps time with the chalk, as her fingers fly nimbly over the blackboard, solving some problem in Algebra or Geometry. It is at such a gathering that you will find those for whom we inquire. It is Examination Day at the Female Seminary, and here are assembled, father, mother, brother, and friends, listening to the prompt recitations of a daughter and sister. The next day another examination is to be held at a similar institution, where many of the Cherokee youths are now pursuing a course of studies that they may be useful to their nation. And who does not remember another merry gathering in the grove on the Seventh of May, to celebrate the Fourth Anniversary of the opening of our Seminaries. The bright, happy faces that were witnessed on that day cannot be very soon forgotten. Other evidences of civilization may be seen among us, and although there are seen dark clouds, I hope we may advance, never faltering, until all the clouds of ignorance and superstition and wickedness flee from before the rays of the Suns of Knowledge and Righteousness.

FANNY.
VITA

The writer of this study is a graduate of Oklahoma College for Women. After earning this degree she taught speech at Northeastern A and M College, Miami, Oklahoma. She earned a Master of Arts degree from University of Michigan. At present she is a member of the speech staff at Northeastern State College, Tahlequah, Oklahoma.
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Major Field: Speech

Title of Thesis: Speech Activities in Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, during the Seventies

Approved:

Francine Merrill
Major Professor and Chairman

Max Goodwin
Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

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W.J. Oline

Date of Examination: