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TOGETHER IN HEART:  
SOUTHERN FRONTIER FAMILIES  
IN SOUTHWESTERN OKLAHOMA TERRITORY

presented by

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has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

M.A. degree in History

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TOGETHER IN HEART:  
SOUTHERN FRONTIER FAMILIES  
IN SOUTHWESTERN OKLAHOMA TERRITORY

By  
Claire Fuller Martin

A THESIS

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

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## ABSTRACT

### TOGETHER IN HEART: SOUTHERN FRONTIER FAMILIES IN SOUTHWESTERN OKLAHOMA TERRITORY

By

Claire Fuller Martin

This thesis examines the lifeways of the white southerners who settled Old Greer and Washita Counties in southwestern Oklahoma Territory from the mid-1880s until the early 1900s. Written reminiscences and oral history interviews collected by the WPA and by the author are used to explore the perceptions, values and ambitions that brought the southern settlers to southwestern Oklahoma Territory and the systems of community, kinship and family that made their survival and success on the frontier possible. The goals and expectations of the settlers were limited by poverty, but flexibility of kinship and friendship networks, and of methods of providing for their families, was integral to their survival and success.

DEDICATED TO GLADYS HERRIN BOONE

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I am particularly grateful to the informants (listed in Appendix A) and their families. Mary Katherine Sappington arranged and participated in two of the interviews. Her aid and insight have been especially helpful.

Daryl Morrison and Jack Haley, of the Western History Collections at the University of Oklahoma contributed valuable advice and discussions. Ms. Morrison and her staff spent many hours making the Indian-Pioneer Papers available to me. Also in Oklahoma, Dean Cecil R. Chesser of Western Oklahoma State College in Altus and Dee Ann Ray of the Western Plains Library System in Clinton were helpful in recommending sources and providing their knowledgeable perspectives on southwestern Oklahoma.

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My research in Oklahoma was aided by a grant from Michigan State University. I benefited from many discussions with Berle Reiter and Charles E. Cleland of Michigan State University and Donald Heldman of the Mackinac Island State Park Commission. Drs. Peter Levine and David Bailey stepped in at the eleventh hour to act as a thesis committee.

Dr. Richard White, now at the University of Utah, was my major advisor and committee chairman throughout the research and preparation of this thesis.

Any errors are my own.

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## PREFACE

This is not a history about my family, but it is a history from my family. For as long as I can remember my grandmother has told me about her family and her childhood on the Oklahoma frontier. When I began to read works on the history of the family and of the frontier, I found that they did not always sound like my grandmother's family on its frontier. This study originates in an attempt to understand these discrepancies.

There are a number of disadvantages to studying anything related to one's own experience or family. I have tried to minimize these by not directly using evidence obtained from my own family members. Twice I have used an example or quotation from a distant cousin. I did, however, interview my grandmother, her eldest brother, and three of her first cousins; their recollections and insights have been valuable. I hope by not making direct reference to them I have avoided the obvious pitfall of self-aggrandizement so common to family histories and genealogies.

The greatest disadvantage of studying a group of people whom one knows, or thinks one knows, is that personal experience or knowledge can lead one astray. Since I know a

great deal now about my own pioneer family, it has been a constant struggle not to assume that they were either typical or atypical of the families in their region. I believe that I have succeeded in not converting my family's peccadillos into social norms.

The advantage to my family's involvement in this study is that I was able to personally interview about twenty people who had been children or young adults on the Oklahoma frontier. I am indebted my grandparents, their good reputation and many friends for several of these interviews.

## INTRODUCTION

This study examines the lifeways and values of the southerners who settled southwestern Oklahoma Territory from the mid-1880s until a few years following statehood in 1907. Most of these people were the descendents of English, Scotch, and Scotch-Irish immigrants who had come to the South, in many cases, before the Revolution. They were not the descendents of the great landowners of the ante-bellum South, but of the white yeomen and tenant farmers who had owned, at most, only a few slaves; at worst, not even their own land. Since before the Civil War they had roamed Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, and Indian Territory. For some a fourteen-by-fourteen foot dugout in Oklahoma Territory was only one more camp in a lifetime of wandering. For others it was, but for the rattlesnakes and dust storms, the "paradise of the world."<sup>1</sup>

This study is confined to these white southerners who settled a small part of the American frontier. Many of their attitudes, customs, expectations and limitations will also apply to other regional and ethnic groups, other times, and other frontiers; some will not. It is the purpose of this study to present a single ethnic group in one time and

place with as few variables as possible, so that its customs and values can be easily and accurately compared with those of other people in other times and places.

This study is confined geographically to the settlers of Old Greer and Washita Counties (Figure 1). Originally influenced by the author's access to informants and long-standing interest in this area, Greer and Washita Counties were ultimately selected because they are in the heart of the region of Oklahoma Territory that was dominated by southern homesteaders.

It is important to distinguish between Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory. When Oklahoma became a state in 1907, two territories were combined. Indian Territory formed the eastern and south-central portions of the new state. This was the land to which the Five Civilized Tribes of the Southeast had been removed. Much of this land was actually occupied by whites who were agents, missionaries, outlaws, traders, "squaw men", or the tenants of Indians and "squaw men". So many of these tenants were from the South that part of Old Indian Territory is still referred to as "Little Dixie". Oklahoma Territory formed the western and north-central portions of the new state. With the exceptions of the Osage reservation and the smaller reservations of various eastern and midwestern tribes, Oklahoma Territory was comprised of land that had been opened for homesteading from 1889 to 1906 and of Greer

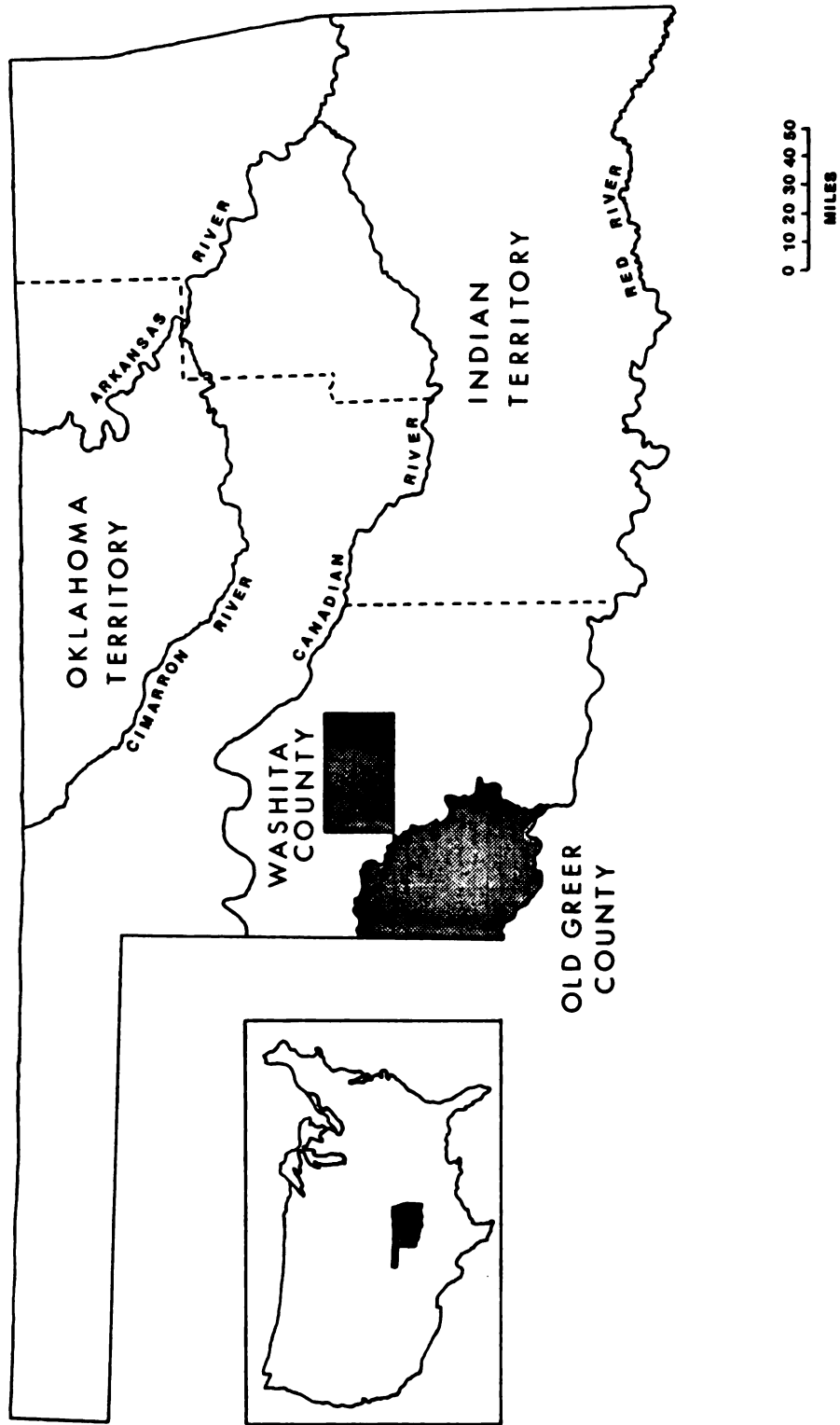


Figure 1. Map of Oklahoma showing the study area.

County, which had belonged to Texas until 1896.<sup>2</sup> Many of the settlers of Oklahoma Territory also came from the South.

Michael Frank Doran, using the Oklahoma Historical Society's "Indian-Pioneer History", estimates that from eighty to one hundred percent of the settlers of the regions south of the Cimarron River were southerners (southerners accounted for forty-one percent of the native-born population of the U. S. in 1900).<sup>3</sup> From J. D. Tarver's analysis and maps of the religious and political patterns of Oklahoma, it can be inferred that the Canadian River would make a more conservative and reliable northern boundary of southern dominance.<sup>4</sup> The counties studied here are in the extreme southwestern corner of Old Oklahoma Territory, well within the regions Doran and Tarver suggest southerners dominated.

Cattlemen and farmers had begun settling Greer County, Texas by the 1880s, but a U. S. Supreme Court decision in 1896 found that it was in fact a part of Oklahoma Territory. "Old Greer County" encompassed what are now Jackson, Harmon, and Greer Counties and a part of Beckham County. Ninety-one percent of the native-born heads of households and their spouses listed in the 1900 U. S. Census schedules from Altus Township, Greer County, were born in southern states (Appendix B, Tables 1 and 3).

The Cheyenne and Arapaho Lands, including County H, or Washita County, were opened by run on April 9, 1892. The



run provided a spectacle similar to the opening of the Unassigned Lands in 1889, but the result was less than spectacular. By the end of June, four-fifths of the country was still unclaimed. Oklahoma Territory was in the midst of an eleven-year drought, and many people believed the western part of the territory was unfit for agriculture. There were no railroads to bring settlers in or to ship produce out. Furthermore, the opening was announced one week before the run so that it was restricted to those who were already waiting on the borders.<sup>5</sup> More than eighty-two percent of the native-born heads of households and their spouses listed in the 1900 U. S. Census schedules from Elk Township, Washita County, were born in southern states (Appendix B, Tables 2 and 3).

Nearly eighty per cent of the southern settlers came to Oklahoma Territory from either Texas or Indian Territory. Thirty per cent of a fifteen per cent sample of the Indian-Pioneer Papers informants from Greer and Washita Counties were born in Texas; sixty-four per cent specifically mentioned that they came to Oklahoma from Texas. Less than five per cent were born in Indian Territory, but fifteen per cent lived there immediately prior to coming to southwestern Oklahoma. Most of these came from the Chickasaw Nation (Appendix C, Table 6). Of those who came from Texas, most came from counties that fall within the region dominated by an upper southern culture (Appendix C, Table 7)<sup>6</sup>.

It should be remembered that these white southerners could be found throughout both territories of Oklahoma and that they were not the only regional or ethnic group even where they were dominant. Northerners, especially people from Kansas and the Midwest, dominated the northern part of Oklahoma Territory and could be found individually and in groups throughout the southwestern part of the territory. Several European groups, most notably the Lutheran and Mennonite Germans from Russia and the Czechs, or Bohemians, contributed significantly to the settlement and development of agriculture in southwestern Oklahoma. Almost no blacks lived in this part of Oklahoma Territory. In 1900 there were nine black people in Greer County and seven in Washita County.<sup>7</sup> Most white settlers had no individual contact with Indians other than to be terrified of some lone Native American asking directions or begging a meal: "The Indians never really bothered us except to scare our women folks."<sup>8</sup>

This study is essentially an oral history; it is based largely on the reminiscences of pioneers of southwestern Oklahoma Territory. Oral history cannot provide a full historical account of a region, but how people thought and how they felt can best be understood from their own words. There are, however, some dangers inherent in the use of this kind of source. The most obvious problem is that informants will describe what should have been rather than what was. Fortunately, much of the information sought for this study

was best found, not in answers to direct questions, but in the context of stories that were actually about other subjects. This indirect approach allows the interviewer, rather than the informant, to make interpretations. Another problem is that the interviewer cannot always be certain that the informant has not strayed into some other time frame. Elderly informants interviewed in the 1980s tended to blend the hard times of their childhood with the hard times of their adulthood. The periods of frontier settlement, statehood, both world wars, the 1920s and the Dust Bowl were sometimes indistinguishable. I have tried to avoid using evidence or examples where there is any indication that time may have been blurred.

A third problem with using reminiscences is that a long selection process, over which the researcher has no control, has already occurred. Most of the informants were people who came to Oklahoma Territory and stayed through the settlement period and for many years afterward. They were individuals who may have been more interested in telling their life stories than the average person, who were not ashamed of their families or backgrounds for any reason and, in the case of written reminiscences, who were more literate than average. Still, we cannot ignore the testimony of those who were actually there, and can tell us what official records and documents cannot: how they perceived themselves and the world around them. Quotations from interviews and

reminiscences are used frequently throughout this study. They should be regarded as examples, not as the sole evidence, of the points they illustrate. It is hoped that they will also provide a sense of the dialect of the informants.

The U. S. Census of Agriculture schedules for 1900, which would have provided some documentary reinforcement of the sources used here, were destroyed by congressional authorization.

This study will explore the perceptions, values and ambitions that brought the southern settlers to southwestern Oklahoma Territory and the systems of community, kinship and family that made their survival and success on the frontier possible.

## CHAPTER 1

### 'COMING THROUGH'

"I came through in a covered wagon, and I brought my family through with me."

James Allen Bannister  
Indian-Pioneer Papers  
Volume 5, page 137

The Bowie family "landed" in Washita County, Oklahoma Territory in the spring of 1898. The circumstances of their decision to move to Oklahoma Territory and their subsequent arrival were in many ways typical:

We were in Montague County, Texas, a little place called Nocona. And we were farmers and the land was just "blackjack land", they called it--rolling hills, rolling, sandy hills. My daddy was eking out an existence there growing cotton and raising a few calves and hogs. I think he had eighty acres. Grandpa told him to sell the land for what he could get and come up here to file on good land up here. He talked to Mother about it. Mother said, "Well, I've heard a lot about that Cheyenne country, . . . there's nothing up there but Indians and rattlesnakes and blue northers and prairie fires." She said, "I just don't want to go up there." Dad said, "Well, if you don't want to go, we won't go. I don't know what's up there. Dad thinks it's a great country, the Cheyenne country." So he went ahead and made another crop and my grandfather wrote him again in the fall. . . . Dad said to Mother, he said, "He talked like they're givin' it away. I believe I'll get in the wagon and go up there and see about it." And do you know he was gone six weeks or two months. I began to think he never would come home. While he was there he filed on our old home place.<sup>9</sup>

The grandfather, Johnson Isaiah Bowie, was born in South Carolina but had spent many years in Georgia and Texas. His son Milton E. Bowie, was born in Georgia and had grown up and married in Texas. Johnson had taught school in Collins County, Texas and when he filed on a quarter section near Port, Washita County in 1894, he began teaching school in a dugout. In 1898 he finally persuaded his son Milton to buy a relinquishment in the neighborhood. Whether the Bowies had literally lost their farm in Texas or were only on the verge of losing it is unclear, Marvin Bowie states that they lost their farm but Ross Bowie suggests they were able to sell it. In either case, it is clear that they felt they were no longer able to farm successfully in Texas when they decided to emigrate to Oklahoma.<sup>10</sup>

Milton Bowie brought with him his wife Ada Gibson Bowie, a native of Texas, and five children: Ross, Marvin, Joe, Mary, and Sam. Ross, the eldest, was nine years old and Marvin six. Two more sons, Jim and Bert, were born in Washita County. The Bowies brought with them from Texas enough "boxes and boards" to build a one room sixteen-by-sixteen foot house. Four mules pulled a single wagon with the lumber and household goods. Milton rode one of the mules and two neighbors who came along on horseback helped drive the two cows. Milton brought a cotton planter with him and bought a cultivator and other equipment when he arrived.<sup>11</sup>

It is not clear exactly why the two neighbors made the trip, but it is possible that they took the opportunity to look over the territory for themselves. Milton Bowie did attract another neighbor to the area:

Dad had wanted him to come with him when he came to file. He said, "No, I just can't get away. I'll take your word for it. If you think it's alright, pick me out a place and I'll come up and get it."<sup>12</sup>

Like the Bowies, the settlers of southwestern Oklahoma Territory most often gave the intertwining reasons of poverty and the desire to own land, or more and better land, as the reasons for leaving their former homes.<sup>13</sup> They hoped to "do better" in Oklahoma:

Mr. Atwood came to Greer County with 80 cents, three children, two cows and a team of gray mules.

We were all very poor, and I think that was the deciding factor in our coming to Oklahoma. It was a land of opportunity.

. . . [W]e were just renters and wanted to come up here and get a free homestead.

My wife and I lived in Wise County, Texas, and rented land. We realized that we were barely making a living and saw no possibility of accumulating anything.

. . . I had bought a piece of land, but found it difficult to make much headway towards final ownership. . . , the proceeds of a crop were so small that not much could be applied to the principal of a loan.

I thought I could do better up here; this was a new country and there was a better outlook for the future.<sup>14</sup>

These motives are difficult to measure. The Indian-Pioneer Papers informants were not asked a standard set of



questions and only a few happened to mention their reasons for coming to southwestern Oklahoma Territory. Nearly half (forty-nine percent) of these gave motives such as opportunity for the future and the availability of free land. Almost as many (forty-three per cent) gave kinship as a motive (Appendix C, Table 8). This sample is small and arbitrary, but it provides a general sense of the two most significant motives for immigration to southwestern Oklahoma Territory: opportunity, specifically in the form of free land, and kinship. The latter will be discussed in Chapter 2.

Some intriguing questions arise when the actual behavior of those seeking opportunity and free land is examined. Most of the settlers were interested in owning their own land, but many never did and some passed up opportunities of ownership in favor of renting. Some of the tenant farmers seemed to be satisfied with renting as long as they had good land and a good landlord:

. . . [W]e were just renters and wanted to come up here and get a free homestead. . . . We located near Commanche, where my father took up an Indian lease . . . . [W]hen I was older I came out to the west [part of the state] to visit my brother and while here I rented a farm.<sup>15</sup>

Why did this father go to Indian Territory and lease land if his goal was to own his own land? Some people did not get to Oklahoma Territory before the best land was taken and others, once they proved up claims, mortgaged their land

and then lost it through foreclosure. If they arrived in the first few years after the country was opened, they could buy a relinquishment for about twenty-five dollars. Once homesteads were proved up, late comers had to pay three thousand dollars or more to purchase a quarter section. Carrie Bradshaw declared, "All during my childhood there was always talk of going to Greer County for free land. . . .", yet her family continued to wander around Texas and Indian Territory, renting for a year or two and moving on. Her father was at first reluctant because of the uncertainty of Greer County belonging to Texas. After the U. S. Supreme Court settled the case in 1896, he returned a second time to Greer County but could find no land with the good water his wife demanded, so he rented a farm in Indian Territory. He had been to Greer County at least once before; he must have known the land was dry.<sup>16</sup>

Albert Bradley "thought that he could get more land up here. . . ." The Bradleys went to Rocky, Washita County because Mrs. Bradley's brother was there. They rented a hundred and sixty acres. <sup>17</sup>

Mrs. R. L. Hamilton's parents went to Oklahoma Territory because they "wanted more land and better land." They rented a half section near Altus. Mrs. Hamilton and her husband "rented the same farm for twenty-seven years."<sup>18</sup> W. T. Kerbo raised one crop on his claim. It "did not amount to much" so he rented a farm for four years before buying

another.<sup>19</sup> In 1937 Claude E. Hayes told a WPA interviewer, "I farmed around that one place for over twenty five years but I have never owned a farm yet."<sup>20</sup>

Was this a complaint, an admission of personal failure, or merely a statement of his legal relationship with the land? People passed up free homesteads to lease land in Indian Territory, they relinquished claims because of homesickness or a single crop failure. Owning one's own land was a frequently stated goal of the southerners who went to southwestern Oklahoma Territory, but it does not seem to have been the driving force in their lives. It did not override the logical desire to obtain the best land available so as to be a successful farmer and provider and it frequently did not override the desire to be near one's kith and kin. In the case of Mrs. Hamilton's parents, the half section they rented in Greer County was probably four to eight times what was available to rent or to own in Texas.

It is a traditional belief that the homesteaders of the American West had a strong attachment to the land or a hunger for land. This has a romantic connotation that is misleading. The settlers of southwestern Oklahoma Territory were closely tied to the land; farming was as much or more a way of life as it was a way to make a living. They did not, however, have deep emotional attachments to whatever piece of land they owned and owning and keeping that particular

piece of land forever was not of paramount importance.

The farmers of southwestern Oklahoma Territory had modest expectations of the frontier and of commercial farming: "I wanted to own something of my own--to accumulate a reserve, to realize something in exchange for my efforts", John Matthew Connor told an interviewer in 1937.<sup>21</sup> Many of the settlers interviewed in the 1930s looked back with apparent satisfaction on modest achievements:

The country prospered. . . . In a few years we moved up from the break and built a four-room house.

The second year after we were married we bought a cow and fared very well.

I do not feel like I had a very hard time for there was always plenty to eat and wear and a nice fire to keep warm. . . . My children were always healthy and fine so life has been good.

Well, our pioneer days were fraught with danger and hardships, but we won out and got our start in life.

At this time [1938] I have a nice house, a barn and a windmill and I have never had a mortgage on my place but I have worked hard all my life.

I have made a fairly good success in life. I have always been a dirt farmer and I am not sorry, because it's a free life and I like it.<sup>22</sup>

Elmora Messer Matthews has shown that even within the larger, success-oriented society of the twentieth century there can exist segments of society that hold a "non-success" ideal.<sup>23</sup> The settlers of southwestern Oklahoma cannot be compared closely with Matthews' analysis of the Tennessee Ridge folk who, according to Matthews, scorn work,

efficiency, ambition, bragging, education, and economic or social advancement. However, Matthew's work should help us to understand that the settlers of Oklahoma Territory might not have aspired to the same goals or held the same values as their contemporaries on the prosperous commercial farms of the Midwest or in the urban, industrial North. The southwestern Oklahomans worked hard and were proud of it. They tolerated education, providing as much as their children wanted and no more. But like the Tennessee Ridge folk, limits were placed on ambition and individual advancement. Ambition and advancement were limited as much by the reality of poverty as by social norms:

Poor folks have poor ways. Of course we had just about what everybody else had.

It was pretty primitive then, but we didn't think much about it.

[W]e didn't think they was hard [times], really. Everybody was in the same boat.<sup>24</sup>

Nearly all of the settlers perceived themselves as poor people. There was a certain sense of egalitarianism in the eternal and almost universal poverty. The southern settlers held, not so much a "non-success" ideal as a "reasonable success" ideal. They hoped to improve their conditions but they did not aspire to become the agrarian equivalents of the robber barons.

Most of the settlers who achieved a reasonable success continued to class themselves as poor people. In January of

1907 A. L. Hammons responded to a request by the editor of the Rocky Weekly Advance for statements from local citizens detailing their progress in the territory. Hammons stated that he had been "worth about three thousand dollars" when he had arrived in December of 1896. His present crop of wheat, oats and cotton had sold for close to two thousand dollars and his net worth was currently about thirty-five thousand dollars. "Which I think spells a right good sum for a poor farmer", he added.<sup>25</sup>

Once they arrived in Oklahoma Territory, the settlers found living conditions that, by today's standards, were not much better than those left behind. Like the prairie dogs that preceded them, most of the settlers lived in the ground. Some, especially women, were horrified by their new homes. Most would build a two- or four-room frame house as soon as possible but for many a house above the ground was several years in the future. A few would regret leaving their dugouts:

A house with rooms half in the ground that way is a lot warmer than one all on top of the ground and a lot safer, too, but I did not know that until years later when we got everything we had blown away and were nearly killed besides.<sup>26</sup>

With little or no wood available, most settlers were forced to build either a 'full-blooded' dugout--a hole carved out of the ground with ridgepoles laid across it and sod heaped over them for a roof--or, more commonly, a half-dugout. The walls of a half-dugout were partially above and partially

below the ground, depending on how much lumber was available for the top half. Sizes varied from fourteen-by-fourteen feet to twenty-by-thirty feet. In addition to being inexpensive, dugouts were cool in the summer, warm in the winter and safe in the cyclone season. On the other hand, they were dark, airless, impossible to keep clean, and inhabited by fleas, bedbugs, rats, prairie dogs, centipedes, tarantulas, rattlesnakes, and skunks. Range cattle were not particular about tromping across sod roofs and a good rain would flood the dugout and often cave in the roof. It was several years before most of the southern settlers built barns, sheds or privies. Stock was left outdoors unprotected and tiny sod houses were built for the chickens.

Shelter was uncomfortable for humans, but water was the bane of the settlers' existence. Most of the water in southwestern Oklahoma is heavily tainted with gypsum. Eventually most people would build cisterns, but in the early years water was hauled from creeks and hand-dug wells. "Gyp" water had a "bitter, disagreeable taste, and also a purgative effect. Many ribald stories were current of transients and their first acquaintance with gyp water."<sup>27</sup> It made the back-breaking task of washing clothes and dishes nearly futile: ". . . the more soap one used the thicker and stickier the water seemed."<sup>28</sup>

Yet this was an improvement over what many had left behind. When the Socialist organizer Oscar Ameringer



arrived in Oklahoma just after statehood was achieved in 1907, he toured old Indian Territory and then old Oklahoma Territory. He found Oklahoma Territory a welcome relief after the appalling poverty he had witnessed among the white tenants of Indian Territory:

When I arrived in the free homestead land, . . . many of the original settlers still lived in their dugouts, or sod houses, or the regulation fourteen-by-fourteen homesteader shacks. Even the worst of these dwellings were often preferable to the share-cropper shacks and cotton-picker breeding pens I had found in Indian Territory. . . .

And the food, oh, so much better! Poor as these people were, they had at least a quarter section of dirt under their feet. Virtually all of them had cows, chickens, hogs, sheep, a vegetable garden, and had planted some fruit trees. All this meant a better balanced diet, explaining the greater energy and higher degree of health and education of the population as compared with that of the tenant population of Indian Territory and those who lived east and south to the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico.<sup>29</sup>

It is difficult to define the pioneer farmers of southwestern Oklahoma Territory as either subsistence or commercial farmers. In their reminiscences they frequently claim that they grew nearly everything they ate, but there were several important foodstuffs that they did not grow, including coffee, sugar and flour. Later, wheat growers would "swap" grain for flour at the mill, but even in the early years wheat growers did not consume their own flour. It was bought in one hundred pound sacks and used to make enormous quantities of biscuits, breads, cobblers, pies and gravy. Some families grew their own sorghum, but most found it as economical to buy the ever-present syrup. Before the

orchards began to produce, fresh fruit was a luxury but dried fruits were cheap and popular. A number of seldom-mentioned minor necessities like baking powder, cream of tartar, spices and salt were also purchased.

In addition to food, the goods for clothing had to be bought. Like wheat, cotton was not actually used by its growers. Some ready-made clothes, including shoes, were purchased but most were made at home of inexpensive yardgoods. If a family could afford it, they bought a sewing machine; poorer women used a neighbor's machine.

Because wood was scarce in Oklahoma, fuel for lamps and lye for soap and for "breaking" gyp water also were bought. Most could not yet afford to buy coal, so cow chips, corn, cottonseed, twisted hay, and coal that had been picked up along the railroad fueled the settlers' stoves.

Any farm machinery not brought to the Territory had to be purchased. Many brought one-row Georgia stock plows and made planters by punching holes in washpans. They were eager to try more sophisticated machinery whenever possible, but little credit was available in the early years, and farms that had not been proved up could not be mortgaged. The homesteaders of Washita County received a windfall in 1900. They were originally required to pay \$1.50 per acre upon proving their claims, but the Free Homes Bill waived this fee. It was generally believed that most families would have failed to produce the full amount necessary to

obtain the deeds to their quarter sections, but those who had been saving for the final purchase of their farms now had up to \$240.00 to spend on new machinery and livestock.<sup>30</sup>

Most of the supplies and equipment that were not produced at home or bartered between neighbors were purchased with money obtained from the sale of farm produce. What cash a family had on hand between crops was likely to be "butter and egg money" made from the sale of dairy and poultry products and used to buy whatever groceries were not grown at home. When cotton was harvested, some farmers sold it to the ginner or a buyer at the gin, but many took their bales home, where they would be either bought by travelling buyers or hauled, one by one, into town whenever the family needed school clothes or other supplies.

Steven Hahn has found that nearly all of the antebellum yeomen of upcountry Georgia, who still manufactured their own cloth, raised cotton but only half raised "a bale or two or three" for sale.<sup>31</sup> Like the upcountry Georgians of the 1850s, the homesteaders of southwestern Oklahoma Territory did not fit into the "neat categories of subsistence and commercial agriculture".<sup>32</sup> On one hand they produced many of the necessities of survival but on the other hand they were dependent upon the commercial system for some necessities and any improvements of their condition. Occasional references to families completely running out of food cast doubt on whether they could have survived as

purely subsistence farmers had they tried.

The settlers were not fully involved in commercial agriculture, but they were not lacking in the spirit of enterprise. In spite of poverty and scarcity, southwestern Oklahoma Territory bristled with entrepreneurial activity. People picked up bones on the prairie and hauled them to market centers; they hunted wild ducks and rabbits and shipped them East; they gathered buffalo horns and sold them to "people going to the World's Fair in Chicago."<sup>33</sup> Some settlers peddled garden surplus, chickens and pigs from carts and wagons or set up stores in their dugouts. Others operated sorghum mills or were blacksmiths. A family who did well on its own one hundred and sixty acres might rent or buy more land:

We proved up on this place and got more land by renting from neighbors who had more than they could handle.

Mr. Boyd sold out his holdings two or three times, "improving my condition a little along by degrees," he explained.<sup>34</sup>

Women seemed to be especially adept at making the proverbial silk purse out of a sow's ear. The child of a blacksmith showed a cowboy how to make stake pins: "He paid her 50 cents and [she] used the money to buy a calf, and later started a small herd from the investment."<sup>35</sup>

I would raise chickens and get five cents a piece for fryers. My husband wouldn't sell them for that much [i.e., that little] so I would sell the chickens.

My mother sent me 20c in a letter to buy stamps to write her. We did not live over twenty-five or thirty miles apart but did not get to see each other very often. I took that 20c and bought calico and made a pretty sunbonnet which I sold to a neighbor for 40c. I got pretty speckled [sic] calico and kept making bonnets and selling them until I had enough money to get one dozen hens. I paid twelve and one half cents apiece for the hens and the woman I bought them from threw in a rooster.

I had lived in this dugout and made down beds for four years and began to wish for a house on the top of the ground. I now had plenty of chickens so I sold them for \$1.00 apiece, netting me \$75.00. My husband went to Quanah and bought lumber to build two rooms [above] the ground which he built just in front of the dugout and I took my \$75.00 and got me some furniture. Did I feel proud! <sup>36</sup>

These were poor people striving simultaneously to survive, to maintain their modest role in the commercial system, and to "accumulate a reserve", a buffer that would give them some protection in bad times. An important tool in this struggle was the loosely woven network of kith, kin and family that made up the rural frontier community.

James A. Henretta, in his discussion of families and farms in pre-industrial America, points to six features of the rural community and family of the pre-industrial Northeast:

. . . [T]he community was distinguished by age- and wealth-stratification and (usually) by ethnic or religious homogeneity, while on the family level there was freehold property ownership, a household mode of production, limited economic possibilities and aspirations, and a safety-first subsistence agriculture within a commercial capitalist market structure.<sup>37</sup>

Five of these features apply to the communities of southern settlers of southwestern Oklahoma. As we have seen, they

were ethnically homogeneous, they were freeholders, they had limited aspirations and a "safety-first" subsistence agriculture within a commercial structure. In the following chapters it will be seen that they also had a household mode of production but that they did not have communities that were highly stratified by age and wealth, or families in which children remained economically bound to their parents well into adulthood. Rather, it was the flexibility of familial and kinship ties that was integral to their existence on the frontier.

CHAPTER 2  
NEIGHBORS AND KIN

"Everybody was your friend and your neighbor."

Viola Sumrall Clark

"Pioneer women lived nearer together in heart  
if they were not so close together [as] in cities  
and loved more and shared what they had more."

Mary Jane Wright  
Indian-Pioneer Papers  
Volume 100, page 454

If poverty was the major reason for leaving a former home, the choice of new home was usually influenced by the presence of kith or kin on the frontier. Forty-three per cent of the Indian-Pioneer Papers informants who mentioned their motives for migrating to Oklahoma Territory gave kinship as at least one of their reasons for choosing Oklahoma (Appendix C, Table 8). Half of those interviewed mentioned, often fortuitously, kin in the neighborhood (Appendix C, Table 9). The actual incidence of kin was probably far higher than these figures indicate. All of the informants interviewed for this study either followed or were followed by kin to Oklahoma.

Like the Bowie family, most people either were attracted to Oklahoma by friends or family or in turn attracted more settlers to the Territory. P. B. Woodruff, for example, left Virginia for Washita County when he was fifteen years old. He travelled by covered wagon with a family of prospective homesteaders. Once he arrived he stayed with, and worked for, his aunt and uncle for several years.<sup>38</sup> Meanwhile, his parents in Virginia "became dissatisfied." His mother's health was poor and their crops failed: "This gave my husband an excuse to sell out and come to Oklahoma Territory," reported his mother.<sup>39</sup>

When Price Francis' parents came to Greer County, his maternal grandparents came along as part of the household. His paternal grandparents and uncles were already there:

In other words, my father's brother filed on a place and his wife died and he was fixin' to take off somewhere and called Dad to come up and take it over. . . [Dad's] parents were already there. This place was adjoining.<sup>40</sup>

Couples and single men and women followed their parents, siblings, children, aunts and uncles, as well as former neighbors, to new communities.

The nuclear family was the principal familial and economic unit, but a loose network of kin and kith continued to play an important role in the settlement of the frontier and the personal lives of the settlers. Friends and relatives were constantly being divided and reunited. Old neighbors, grandparents, parents, aunts and uncles, and



married children were left behind; some would follow later, others would not. Ties to those "back home" remained important. Ross and Marvin Bowie's mother left all of her kin behind, but was still dependent upon them for emotional support:

My mother. . . was raised in east Texas and we had been in north central Texas. It was so much different [in Oklahoma], that she'd get awful discouraged the first few years she was here. . . . As soon as Dad got able, he put her on the train and sent her back home and told her to stay until she got her visit out. She stayed a month, I guess. . . . When she came back she was more contented and more satisfied.<sup>41</sup>

Viola Sumrall Clark still treasured her ties with her grandparents back in Texas after more than eighty years:

Now, my grandparents brought us a little dog from Texas. See, there wasn't any railroad. This Rock Island Railroad was here after we come here. I remember as soon as it was passable, my grandparents on my mother's side came out here on a visit and they brought us a little white dog. . . . I remember so well that one morning the livery man drove up in front of our dugout and there it was my grandparents. And I can remember that so well. Then another thing that I remember was that one morning he stopped and he said, "I've got a parcel package for you." It was a jar of peach preserves from my grandmother that she had shipped to us. I've got the jar in there, a little crock jar. . . come from Texas in nineteen hundred.<sup>42</sup>

Some of the settlers who gave up and went home cited emotional ties as the reason for deserting the frontier:

I recall one old fellow, a sort of ne'er-do'well, with a large family, who, though he had never owned a bit of land before, sold his choice claim for five hundred dollars. He told me that he just wanted to get back to Jack County, Texas, to be near his relatives.<sup>43</sup>

Although individuals and nuclear families depended on the extended kin for information about new land, a place to stay when they first arrived, and for emotional support, the extended family was not particularly important for economic support. Most people came to southwestern Oklahoma Territory in conjunction with some kin, but they did not necessarily stay together. Homesteads might be claimed thirty miles apart; some family members might move on in search of newer frontiers or return to a former home.

Many members of the community who were not related by blood or marriage were nevertheless referred to and addressed by kinship terms. Adults were often called "aunt" or "uncle", or "grandma" or "grandpa" by children and by adults younger than themselves. These titles were not always consistently applied. For example, a middle-aged man might be called "uncle" and his wife called "grandma". This may actually have denoted more respect for the wife, since "aunt" or "uncle" usually preceded the given name and "grandma" or "grandpa" preceded the surname. Within the church community preachers and those who were "saved" called each other "brother" or "sister"; a middle-aged or elderly woman was frequently addressed as "mother". These titles tended to be used with the surname. People who were only vaguely related by marriage might be addressed in the same way as their mutual relatives would. When Carroll Burson was interviewed in 1982, he spoke of "Grandpa Herrin" and

"Uncle Frank Herrin". These men were actually the grandfather and uncle of Carroll's cousins who lived on the next quarter section.<sup>44</sup> Thus, virtually everyone in a community became kin, real or fictive, to one another.

The reminiscences of old pioneers make frequent reference to neighborly aid. Some of these neighbors were relatives or old friends, others were strangers:

If some of the neighbors had not helped us, I don't know what we would have done. They helped us in many ways, even to loaning us cows to milk.

My father frequently took his turning plow and ran a furrow around a new-comer's claim. This served as a sort of fence to determine the boundary.

We had drouths those first years even as we do now and we neighbors had to go on each other's notes and tie up everything we had to get supplies from Vernon.<sup>45</sup>

The ways in which neighbors helped each other varied and whether a particular kind of help was given, traded or sold also varied. Well-digging, carpentry and freighting provided extra income for many men. Some traded help in well-digging or house-building with their neighbors, while others received aid in moving, building and even harvesting from friends and relatives who came from a former home to help out while looking over the country themselves. Farm tools and machinery circulated frequently, but truly communal work was rare. For example, women made quilts but apparently did not take up the practice of quilting bees until later. Neighbors gathered to butcher their hogs

together or else came to help a friend or relative butcher and process the meat and lard, carrying home some of the meat in thanks. Other neighbors, who were in need or were owed favors, were sent portions. Several families formed "beef clubs" to more efficiently distribute beef which could not be preserved as well as pork. None of these activities was a spontaneous turn-out of the entire community. Individual families chose whom they would offer to help or ask to help. Their choices were based on a combination of factors including friendship, kinship, availability, charity, skill, and favors owed.

The neighborly aid so celebrated in pioneer reminiscences, while real, was always in some sense reciprocal. Everyone was expected to help his neighbors and sooner or later the person who had been helped was expected to return the favor in labor, gifts, or money. A fine distinction was made between charging money and receiving pay. Women without sewing machines went to the home of a woman with a machine to do their sewing. The owner of the machine might even cook dinner for them while they sewed.<sup>46</sup> She did not charge or receive pay for this act of neighborly kindness, but she was no doubt remembered at canning or butchering time. On the other hand, Lissie Bailey sewed for other women:

I brought a sewing machine with me to this country  
. . . . I have always sewed for the public. I  
never charged until after the World War--people

just paid me what they wanted to.<sup>47</sup>

Some women who acted as nurses or midwives refused any payment, others accepted whatever was offered:

She delivered hundreds of babies and never charged a cent. Of course she was often given handsome presents and sometimes money.<sup>48</sup>

This system of reciprocal aid and favors, combined with previously established ties of kinship and friendship, reinforced the rapid development of a sense of community. Evidence of this is the power exerted by the community over the individual. Scandalous behavior frequently resulted in the offender and his family leaving the community:

Now, they had a man and his wife out at Port before I went out there. The man run the route and the woman was the postmistress. He got into trouble out there, lost his route and liked to have to go to the pen. And when he lost his route, why his wife resigned and they left. He got in trouble with a woman out there. They should have sent him to the pen for life.<sup>49</sup>

In a society made up almost entirely of people who perceived themselves as poor and where poverty verged on being a virtue, the individual was judged on his moral reputation. A fall from grace was a fall from community respect and favor. It proved intolerable for some.

Religion reinforced community standards of morality. Allie B. Wallace remembered that the sermons of the time tended to be "a multiplicity of 'don'ts' or 'thou shalt nots'. Christian virtues such as faith, knowledge, temperance, brotherly kindness, and charity were not

emphasized."<sup>50</sup> Nearly every settler aligned himself with one of the common southern Protestant denominations, usually Southern Baptist, Methodist, or "Campbellite", Church of Christ. In the early years, the same congregation gathered at the schoolhouse each Sunday and for every revival; only the preachers changed. By the 1920s and 1930s, denominational differences would become bitterly divisive, but in the settlement period religion was a cohesive force in the community.

The settlers apparently found no contradiction between Christianity and their adherence to ancient folk beliefs. There was a division of opinion regarding whether crops should be planted in the proper sign of the moon or, as the local wit would put it, "in the ground". This division was not based on any feeling that these beliefs were un-Christian. In one community the strongest proponent of astrological planting was the Baptist preacher.<sup>51</sup> Those who planted their crops by the moon also made soap and weaned babies and colts by "signs".<sup>52</sup> What today are called superstitions, they considered to be the laws of nature:

There were many signs that we pioneers observed that made crops surer and things better, I think. For instance, you never killed hogs except in the dark of the moon for sweet meat and so the lard would render out good. Otherwise your cracklings would be soggy and full of grease and your yield of lard would not be half so much. Another rule we observed was, Never begin a thing on Friday that you cannot finish on the same day or you might never live to finish it. Corn must be planted after the full of the moon for big ears and little stalks. All root

vegetables that "make" under ground in the dark of the moon and all things like tomatoes, cabbage, or collard in the light of the moon. Now I have tried all of these things and they work. And if one would watch Nature and abide by her laws there would not be so much failure to make good. We always had plenty to eat and wear so long as we went by rule in our planting and harvesting.<sup>53</sup>

Some farmers and many elderly gardeners in the area still plant by the moon. Today the opposing faction takes a tolerant view: "It might work, I don't know."<sup>54</sup>

These traditional folk beliefs, like the religious denominations, were potentially divisive elements in the community. Yet in the pioneer years they were more cohesive than divisive.

The pioneer communities of southwestern Oklahoma Territory were made up of a loose collection of relatives, old friends, neighbors and the relatives and friends of old neighbors. They shared similar religious and regional backgrounds, the same moral and ethical standards and, roughly, the same economic level. Neighbors, regardless of kinship, were expected to help those in need and kindnesses were returned. While the emotional attachment of family and friends should not be underestimated, they did not move or stay in closely knit or stagnant groups. For the settlers of southwestern Oklahoma Territory, as in most societies, the heart of their community was the nuclear family.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE NUCLEAR FAMILY

#### Division of labor within the family

In 1979 Julie Roy Jeffrey and John Mack Faragher published books on frontier women and men.<sup>55</sup> Both relied heavily on the diaries and reminiscences of Overland Trail emigrants of the mid-nineteenth century, although Jeffrey discussed a broader frontier, the trans-Mississippi West from 1840 to 1880. Both found that women did not achieve greater equality with men through their frontier experience. Both attributed this to the fact that the westering families brought with them deeply entrenched ideals of male and female roles. The origin of these ideals causes considerable confusion in both books. Jeffrey contends that the role of women was prescribed by the Cult of Domesticity (also called the Cult of True Womanhood), itself a confusing and contradictory concept. As urbanization and industrialization grew in the early nineteenth century, the middle class men and women of eastern industrial centers were increasingly segregated into separate spheres. Men were expected to be ambitious, aggressive, self-disciplined, self-reliant, and self-made.<sup>56</sup> Women, no longer a part of the economic support of the family, were expected to provide



a haven for these men and a balance to their potentially destructive attributes. Women were supposed to be pious, pure, submissive and domestic. This "cult" was prescribed and propagated by sermons and ladies' periodicals, rising and flourishing in the period from 1820 to 1860.<sup>57</sup> What was it doing among the midwestern farmers about whom Jeffrey and Faragher write? Neither is clear on this point. Jeffrey has a disconcerting tendency to refer to the attributes of the cult as "traditional", when in fact it was very new, less than a generation old, when her frontier women were on the Overland Trail.<sup>58</sup> Faragher also is contradictory on this point:

Feminine farm roles had little to do with the fetishized domesticity that was a part of the womanly cult flowering in the East. . . .

Eastern ideologies of femininity certainly filtered into the West, but they simply reinforced the existing traditional roles.<sup>59</sup>

In his latter remark Faragher has hinted at a realistic explanation of the contradictions inherent in our understanding of the Cult of True Womanhood: many of the attributes expected of men and women in the nineteenth century were traditional, carried over from the past and adapted to fit changing conditions by the rising eastern urban, industrial middle class, by the midwestern and southern commercial farmers, and by the frontiersmen.

By the time southwestern Oklahoma was opened for settlement, these eastern ideals and ideologies had

certainly had time to filter into the West. However, as Faragher suggests, if they were present, it was as reinforcement of traditional roles. The women of southwestern Oklahoma were expected to be pious and pure, but the prevailing southern fundamentalist religions demanded the same of men. Feminine submission to men would be better described as a display of deference. The pioneer women of southwestern Oklahoma Territory were domestic in the sense that their share of the division of labor included the home and childcare but, as will be seen, this was not rigid. In this section we will see that although they had a division of labor, the husbands and wives of southwestern Oklahoma Territory did not spend their lives in the physical or emotional isolation of segregated spheres. They worked side by side with each other and with their children in the daily economic and survival activities of their families.

The nuclear family of the settlers of southwestern Oklahoma Territory was moderately patriarchal in structure. Single and widowed women could, and did, file on homesteads. In the event of a husband's death or absence, his wife, not a grandfather, uncle or son, became the sole owner of the farm and head of the family. Otherwise the husband and father held the ultimate authority within the nuclear family and he was universally credited with its economic support. In reality all family members worked hard to support the family. Geneva Harvey Reaves reflected the typical attitude

when she stated that "Dad was a good provider" and then later mentioned "we all worked and we all had jobs when we was growin' up."<sup>60</sup>

Generally, the husband was responsible for the fields and stock and the wife was responsible for the house and children. These distinctions are vague, however, and become easily blurred. Fathers frequently took tiny children with them to the fields:

I wore dresses until I was five years old. I picked cotton to get my first pair of pants. I'd been pickin' cotton for a year or two and when I was five years old I was getting about seventy-five pounds. My dad and mother told me if I'd pick a hundred pounds of cotton, she'd make me a pair of pants. So along about the middle of the afternoon, she seen I was going to get it and she went to the house and made me a pair of pants and brought them to the cotton patch and I put them on out in the cotton patch, first pair of pants I ever wore.<sup>61</sup>

A child of three could be of help in a cotton field, but this activity must also be recognized as childcare on the part of the father whose harvest crew could include as many as four children under school age. Children could also be found in the fields during plowing, planting and cultivation.

In addition to producing cash crops, adult married men made extra money by hauling freight, peddling surplus garden truck, or working on special jobs for their neighbors. It was rare for them to leave their families for long periods of time to go great distances in search of work, although a whole family might pack up and go to Indian Territory to

harvest cotton. Some men, however, were "ramblers" and would occasionally depart in search of new lands to settle or would return to their old homes to visit. As the child of an itinerant preacher put it, "Father squatted on a claim and mother lived there. . . ."62

Adult women worked in the fields with their husbands and children when they had time, but a woman with a garden, several children, half a dozen cows and a couple of hundred chickens had all she could do at the house. Women and children were not quite as common in the wheat field as they were in the cotton patch, where they planted, chopped and picked cotton. At the wheat harvest they helped bind and shock and later, when the wheat was harvested by threshing crews with steam threshers, young women were often hired to work in the cook shack. In extreme cases, women were forced to perform what were usually male tasks. Relatives and other neighbors helped out Allen Harper's widowed mother, but it was not enough:

The schoolhouse where I got my education, which wasn't much, was just a half a mile south. . . at recess I looked down there and she was plowing. She had a young horse in there and he was the kickin'est son-of-a-gun there ever was. And then, my lord, a woman wouldn't put on a pair of pants for nothing in the world, or overalls or anything. And I just gathered my books up and that was my last day of school.<sup>63</sup>

Many families sold chickens, turkeys, eggs, cream or butter if they could find a local market. This was often the only income they had between crops. It was used to buy

groceries and was frequently controlled by the wife who usually owned the chickens and supervised the butter churning. A woman without a husband, like the widowed Mrs. Harper, might concentrate more on raising livestock or keeping orchards than growing cotton and wheat.<sup>64</sup> Men and children worked in the garden, but it was generally the wife's domain. Since most of what the family ate was grown in the garden and the rest bought with butter and egg money, the economic role of the woman in the family must not be underestimated.

Although married women contributed directly to the family income by selling poultry and dairy products, they almost never worked outside the home. The postmistress was one exception. Sometimes granted to a married or widowed woman, the job required a spotless reputation of all concerned, as was seen in the story of the Port postmistress and her errant husband.

At home, cooking and sewing were distinctly female chores and they could be enormous. Several whole families might come for Sunday dinner or, if they lived fifteen or twenty miles away, a family would stay for two or three days. Viola Sumrall Clark's family was so large that it took one person to cook the ham or sausage for breakfast, one to cook the eggs, one to make gravy, and a fourth--twelve-year-old Viola--to make biscuits:

Girls now would die if they had to do what I had to do. My job was to make the bread. . . . I made a hundred and forty-eight biscuits every morning for breakfast [and lunch buckets].<sup>65</sup>

Occasionally clothing was ordered ready-made through mail-order catalogs. However, most clothes were made and washed at home by the mother. The days of spinning and weaving were gone, except in the memories of the grandmothers whose families had revived it of necessity during Reconstruction. Cheap yard goods were available in the country stores and small towns that sprang up as soon as the territory was opened. One or two bales of cotton were taken to town each fall to purchase goods for new school clothes. Most men seemed to be capable of cooking, but not sewing, if they were reduced to "batching it".

Children were put to work at any chore they were able to do. All girls were taught to cook and sew. By the time they reached adolescence they made and washed their own clothes and were accumulating hope chests of "linens"; cotton bedsheets edged with crochet, pillowcases embroidered with pious slogans, floursack dishtowels, and quilts. Yet even in a family with several sons, the daughters also worked in the fields.

Boys and girls rounded up the range cows for milking, held the calves during milking, and drove the cattle to water. Who did the actual milking varied from family to family. Geneva Harvey Reaves was the eldest child in her

family: "My daddy and I milked the cows. . . . My brother wasn't as old as I was and his job was to rope the calves."<sup>66</sup> Price Francis inherited the job:

My sisters, older sisters,. . . did the milking and the boys did the feeding (horses). And I come along, I thought I was smart. I learned to milk, they taught me to milk. Well, directly they married off and I did the milking.<sup>67</sup>

Girls and boys also helped separate cream and churn butter.

A family with several school-aged children could harvest its cotton and wheat quickly and cheaply, hiring few, if any, extra hands. After their own crop was in, older children hired themselves out to pick cotton for neighbors who were not as well blessed. They made fifty cents per hundredweight and usually that money was theirs to spend as they chose, although some were expected to buy the goods for their school clothes.

Some teenaged boys left home to become more or less permanent hired hands or, in Greer County, cowboys, before they settled down with a farm and family of their own. Frequently they would stay with an older sibling or aunt and uncle, helping with the farm work until they struck out entirely on their own.

Young men and women also taught school. Teaching was increasingly dominated by women, but many of the early teachers in the country schools were men. In a two-room school in which the "upper" and "lower" grades were separated, a man was sometimes hired to teach the older

children. These men were addressed as "Professor". Ironically, education was considered to be more important for girls than for boys: "I sent my girls to school more than I did my boys as I thought that all a boy needed to know was how to be a farmer", recalled one old pioneer.<sup>68</sup>

As a whole, a family might add to its cash income by operating a fruit orchard, a sorghum mill, a tiny store in their house or dugout, or, if they lived on a road, by taking in travellers. Most strangers, however, were welcomed as guests into any home they happened upon.

In summary, the pioneer family of southwestern Oklahoma Territory had a division of labor that, while not unusual, was flexible. Some tasks, such as childcare and fieldwork, were the ascribed responsibility of one family member, but were frequently performed by other members. Other tasks, like milking, had no clear association with either sex or age. A few, like cooking, sewing, and maintenance of machinery, were ascribed to one sex and performed by the other only in instances of dire need.

#### Roles within the family

As we have seen, the husband was called the provider though in actual fact all family members were providers. As provider and patriarch he received deference from his wife and children. Allie B. Wallace remembered:



I was taught never to be in his way but ever ready to serve him. . . . Not even mother ever argued with him, for she seemed to respect him more than Lena and I did, and I never knew her to call him anything but Mr. Stewart, in speaking either to or of him.<sup>69</sup>

This is probably an extreme case, as Mrs. Stewart was twenty years younger than her husband.<sup>70</sup> Also, Mrs. Stewart may not have always been quite as reverential as this sounds. Elsewhere, her daughter says that she ". . . harangued father until he dug a cistern. . . ."<sup>71</sup>

Most men discussed important matters with their wives, although final decisions rested with the husband, as was seen in the case of the Bowie family's decision to go to Oklanoma. Women did influence decisions and when decisions were made with which they did not agree or in which they had not been consulted, they did not necessarily submit quietly. The simple alternative of refusing to cooperate was a real option:

In 1888 I found a man north of old Doan's Crossing who would relinquish to me for \$100.00. So I bought his dugout and right to prove up for a homestead. I went back to Ellis County [Texas] to get my family to come but my wife did not want to come. I leased out my dugout to a man and continued to go back and forth. I did not persuade my wife to come with the children until 1897.<sup>72</sup>

A woman might even stand up against a community decision with which she disagreed:

There was a long neighborhood discussion over the moving of this schoolhouse. . . . Mrs. Caver had been instrumental in building it and she refused to allow it to be moved. She had gone out among the cowboys and solicited money from them with the promise

that they should have dances in the schoolhouse when it was built and she was determined to keep her promise so she went down and locked the door and would not let anybody in or allow the house to be moved. This lasted for several years. . . .<sup>73</sup>

Important family decisions were sometimes discussed with older children whose cooperation and labor might be integral to any new plans:

After a few years, why a neighbor had eighty acres south of [Dad] and wanted to sell it for two thousand dollars. . . . He asked Mother, "What do you and the boys think about that?" He said, "I'd have to borrow the money, six percent interest." I said, "Well, I believe it's worth that, I believe I'd buy it if I was you." Mother said the same, so he went and bought it.<sup>74</sup>

Ideally, the husband was the ultimate authority in the nuclear family, but he did not make decisions in isolation and, having made a decision, was not always able to enforce it.

Contrary to the opinion expressed by Bernard Wishy and reiterated by Carl Degler that farm fathers "were not likely to be around the house enough to take an active part in the rearing of very young children", fathers in southwestern Oklahoma Territory were in constant contact with their offspring.<sup>75</sup> Children worked with their fathers in the fields and slept in trundle beds next to their parents' bed at night. Consequently, relationships between fathers and children were potentially very different from, for example, those of an urban middle class family of the industrial Northeast. Fathers and daughters had significantly greater

opportunities to form close relationships than in a world dominated by the Cult of True Womanhood and the Self-Made Man. "Now my mother was a wonderful mother to us children, but my daddy was my favorite because he made me his favorite," said Geneva Harvey Reaves, who always milked the cows with her father.<sup>76</sup> Mothers in southwestern Oklahoma Territory were the primary caretakers but, by virtue of the fathers' presence and cooperation, they did not bear this burden to the same extent as eastern middle class women.

Children were clearly subordinate to adults. An illustration of this is the etiquette for mealtime. A family dining alone had space at the table for all of its members to eat at the same time. The parents sat at either end of the table, the father saying grace before the meal. The children, sometimes seated on benches or standing, were along the sides. When company came the adults were served first while the children entertained themselves:

We always got the wings and the backs and the boney pieces. Never, never did the kids eat first. . . . We'd go out in the garden and play or, if someone had a piano, they'd play the piano until the folks got ready for us.<sup>77</sup>

If all of the adults could not be served at once, the men ate first.

The universal principle of childrearing among the settlers of southwestern Oklahoma Territory was "'spare the rod and spoil the child', so they didn't spare the rod" and it is mentioned in nearly every reminiscence of children of

that frontier.<sup>78</sup> Physical punishment was regularly used by parents; they considered it a Christian duty and necessary insurance against turning out immoral and ill-behaved adults. Mrs. Stewart's remark as she switched her daughter's legs for losing her temper and sloshing milk from the butter churn is revealing: "'I'll teach you not to have temper tantrums like your Grandmother Bird.'"<sup>79</sup>

However, while this was the only stated principle of childrearing, it was not the only one commonly used. Some other methods revealed in pioneer reminiscences add another dimension to parent-child relationships. Allie B. Wallace, whose mother switched her for displaying her temper, compared her mother's style of infant care to that of their German neighbors:

I used to wonder at my own mother's efforts to cater to her babies' every whim, sometimes carrying one around on her hip while she cooked a meal or performed some other task, so that the baby could watch. But those babies of the German women lay quietly in their cradles, often cooing happily as they looked mostly upward. . . . I decided then and there, at the age of ten or eleven, that I would employ the German way of training my babies and not let them become little tyrants like mother's infants.<sup>80</sup>

Allie's baby sister, of whom she seemed to be extremely jealous, "was father's prize package, and he saw to it that no possible whim was denied her. . . . [T]he whole family became slaves. . . . "<sup>81</sup>

Viola Sumrall Clark remembered her mother saying, when she was about nine, "'Well, the churning's got to be done.

I believe Viola's a little more particular with the churning than the rest of you. I'm going to let her churn. . . .'  
 Oh boy, did I feel up in the air," remembered Mrs. Clark,  
 "That was really something."<sup>82</sup>

Geneva Harvey Reaves also remarked on the encouragement she received from her parents' obvious confidence in her:

My daddy always made me feel so important in life and I always tried to do everything, you know, to make him happy. [If he'd] ask me to do something, I'd a did it, if it was sometimes almost impossible.<sup>83</sup>

It could be argued that this coexistent use of indulgence, physical coercion and positive reinforcement reflects the transition, common in nineteenth-century America, away from the goal of breaking the child's will in order to make him receptive to moral, social and academic teaching. Americans were turning away from physical punishment and becoming more interested in the internalization of rules than in breaking the will. Parents were more permissive and displayed greater affection for their children.<sup>84</sup> Yet in southwestern Oklahoma Territory, physical coercion was still closely associated with religion, as the frequent use of the biblically inspired expression "spare the rod and spoil the child" exemplifies. It was not used only as a last resort, as Degler has described its use by the modern parents of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the frontier society of southwestern Oklahoma Territory was by no means child-centered. Its

childrearing philosophy and techniques were closer to those found in the older, traditional, pre-industrial, pre-modern family. What makes them appear less rigid, more humane and loving here is that at last we have evidence, not from theoreticians or religious fanatics (as were several of Degler's sources), but from very ordinary people.<sup>85</sup> The use of both positive and negative reinforcement by parents may reflect, not a general change taking place in American society, but the reality of living closely together day in and day out: parents discovered and used a variety of strategies in the daily care and management of their children.

#### Families and the land

The parents and children of southwestern Oklahoma Territory were unlike their rural eastern counterparts of earlier times in one significant way. Although nuclear families and families of origin helped each other, parents were not responsible for giving their children a financial start in life. Fathers did not move to Oklahoma Territory because they had the responsibility of supplying farms or dowries to their children nor did grown children stay at or near home waiting to come into the family farm. Unlike the early residents of New England or Georgia, youth was not synonymous with landlessness.<sup>86</sup>

Parents and their grown children often came to Oklahoma Territory together; the possibility of filing on claims near each other was one of the attractions, but this was an individual decision on the part of each child and frequently some of the children or the parents stayed behind. Some, once they got to Oklahoma, settled in different communities. A large number of children was seen as making it possible, rather than necessary, to obtain more land and to grow more cash crops, especially cotton:

. . . my father thought that he could get more land up here and with six boys to help him farm could provide better for his family.

He had a big family, he could raise cotton.<sup>87</sup>

Sometimes aged parents, especially widows or widowers (or bachelor uncles), would either give, sell, or turn over management of their farms to a child. If no children were left in the area, they would sell their holdings, distribute the proceeds among their children and then move around, living with one child and then another until old age or infirmity forced them to settle with one child's family.

Occasionally an inheritance from a deceased parent made it possible to buy some luxury for the family or to add acreage to the farm. Most parents, however, did not have a great deal to leave their children and there were frequently a large number of children to divide an estate. Ross Bowie remembered that some people were interested in accumulating "a fortune" to pass on to their children, but not his

father:

My father used to say, "I don't want to leave a fortune to my children." He said, "I've watched these people where they'd save everything. They'd leave it to their children. The children don't have to make it, don't know how to keep it, so it gets away from them." He said, "I don't want to lay up no fortune for them." And he didn't. He left his farm.<sup>88</sup>

It should be remembered that "a fortune" may have been three hundred and twenty acres and a frame house to be divided among eight children: "Anybody [who] had two farms was rich."<sup>89</sup> It was the custom, once both parents were dead, to divide the estate, but not the farm, equally among the children. The farm was sold or leased and the proceeds divided up, or some arrangement made between brothers and sisters for one of them to continue farming the land or to buy out the others.

Some children did not want help from their families:

One day Austin made the casual remark to his wife that if he could save enough capital, he would start a drug business. Upon hearing that three hundred dollars was the amount needed, Mrs. Austin informed him that was the exact amount her mother had wanted to give them when they were married. She had refused to take the money because they wanted to be entirely independent.<sup>90</sup>

While some gift of money or livestock might be given to a couple when they married, the accumulation and acquisition of dowries was not a family goal.

Dowries and inheritances were not counted upon and young couples did not expect their parents to start them out financially. Their own nuclear family would be economically



self-sufficient. They would continue, throughout their lives, to look to their parents, siblings, aunts, uncles, cousins and in-laws for information, companionship and emotional support, but the family they created would be the center of their lives.

### Siblings

It was very common for adult siblings or their offspring to go together or to follow each other to Oklahoma Territory. A survey of households in which extended kin were present in 1900 shows that in Altus Township, Greer County fifty percent of the kin had a sibling-related tie to the head of the household. That is, they were siblings, siblings-in-law, nephews, nieces or grand-nephews and nieces. In Elk Township, Washita County, the sibling-related kin accounted for nearly sixty percent of extended kin within the household (Appendix B, Table 5). Obviously the bond between siblings was a significant one, continuing throughout adulthood, but it is seldom dealt with in the study of the history of the family. Just as fathers were less segregated from their children on the rural frontier than in the industrial East, so were siblings more continuously in each other's presence. They worked together, played together (sometimes lacking any other playmates), and attended one-room schools together.

Brothers and sisters began their relationships with a great deal of jealousy. New additions to the family invariably arrived unannounced. Older children were suddenly sent to stay with neighbors. Young children, while possibly wondering at the presence of a neighbor woman in their home, knew nothing until they heard the baby's cry. Many women wore "Mother Hubbards" all of the time and most young children seemed to be unaware of their mothers' pregnancies. The sudden and unexpected displacement as the indulged baby of the family was experienced in turn by all but the last child in every pioneer family.

As we have seen, siblings worked together in the house, garden, barnyard, dairy and field. They walked or rode to school together where they were taught in the same room by the same teacher. They slept together in the same bed or the same small room for most, if not all, of their childhood.

Siblings exercised a great deal of control over each other. Esther Alford Gibson was the eldest, and only daughter, of nine children:

Papa'd tell Mama,. . . "If you don't need Esther here at the house let her go out there [to the field] with them boys. They won't do nothin' if they're out there by theirselves, you know." He said, "I don't care whether she does anything or not, as long as she keeps them boys busy." . . . They're old men now and they still pay attention to me.<sup>91</sup>

Groups of siblings attended social activities together, brothers escorting, advising, and spying on their sisters:

In them days, a boy that had a sister or two sisters, whatever, he seen after them. And his sisters would ask him, if a boy would ask for a date, if [he] knowed anything about what kind of a boy was he. They taken care of each other, seen after each other. I had three sisters, they'd come to me lots of times to know what I thought of some boy. Wherever they went I went with 'em.<sup>92</sup>

A girl who had no brothers might be chaparoned by her sister, even if the sister was younger.<sup>93</sup>

Because siblings had so much control over each other's social behavior and choice of friends, they ultimately influenced each other's choice of marriage partner by eliminating friendships of which they did not approve. This indirect participation in the selection of one's siblings-in-law must have contributed to the general compatibility necessary for pioneering together.

We have seen that the southern families of southwestern Oklahoma Territory had a division of labor that was relatively flexible. Husbands and wives, parents and children, and brothers and sisters lived in close association with each other. Thus, the roles within the family of male and female, of parent and child, and of siblings, were well defined, but not without some degree of flexibility also.

## CHAPTER 4

### CONCLUSION

If a nuclear family could produce enough good crops to offset the bad ones, if it could produce enough that Dad could be recognized as a good provider, it was successful. If, in addition, the family could "accumulate a reserve" against hard times, it was very successful. In the course of their lives families and individuals had some choices available to them. They could choose which relatives they wanted to live near and with which ones they wanted to maintain affective ties. They could choose to be as closely, or more closely, allied with neighbors as with kin. If not desperately needed at home, their children were free to pursue any amount of education they desired and could acquire. Land ownership was possible through the homestead system, but if that did not work out they could claim, rent or buy another farm or move on to another land of opportunity. Their goals and expectations were limited by poverty but a flexibility of kinship and friendship networks and of methods of providing for their families and accumulating a reserve was integral to their survival and success.

This flexibility of kinship and friendship was not so much an adaptation to the frontier as it was to the constant mobility that had occurred even in settled areas. It was a system that allowed wandering people to retain the emotional support of their friends and family without being burdened with any more obligations than they as individuals chose to assume or inflict.

When they arrived in Oklahoma Territory, the southerners had a long history of migration for people engaged in a sedentary form of subsistence. Some tenant farmers found new homes as often as every year or two, others moved only five or six times in their lives. Leaving home to go to Oklahoma Territory was not in itself a unique experience. Those who did so brought with them a tradition, indeed a habit, of moving from home to home as well as a social system that was compatible with this constant shifting around.

Mobility was so deeply ingrained in the southern settlers that it was frequently reflected in popular religious imagery, especially in hymns, which for many were the only songs acceptable for social singing. "Roaming" and "wandering" could mean moving about from place to place; they also meant living away from God, without salvation. Heaven was often referred to as home: "heavenly home", "immortal home", "home beyond the skies", "home on God's celestial shore." Coming home could also mean receiving

salvation and living a Godly life on earth. The heavenly home was where the believer would at last be reunited, not only with God and Jesus (with whom the southern fundamentalist enjoyed very personal relationships), but also with all of his friends and relations.

It was always painful to leave loved ones to find yet another home, but many loved ones went ahead or followed. Those who remained would write, visit and be visited. If they were not met beyond the Red River they would surely be met beyond the Jordan. Moving on had become a common alternative used when crops were poor, land was scarce or worn out, landlords oppressive, mortgages inescapable, families too restrictive, or communities too censorial. Geographic mobility was as much a custom as were the social systems that evolved out of it and supported it.

While pioneering in southwestern Oklahoma Territory may have been personally traumatic to many people, it was in no way culturally traumatic. The culture of the southern settlers did not undergo any fundamental change because of their frontier experience in Oklahoma, although many were able to substantially improve their standard of living as a result of homesteading. Rather, the social system which the settlers brought with them to Oklahoma was already adapted to absorb a remarkable degree of environmental change and even a certain amount of escalation of their aspirations. Their social system continued to function when friends and

relatives were separated, when farmers found themselves tilling different soils in a different climate, when they met the opportunity to expand their role in the commercial system, and when, in many cases, they achieved a far greater material status than they could ever have hoped for if they had not come to Oklahoma Territory.

It has not been the intent of this study to suggest that the southern settlers were unique in or to American society. Rather, it has attempted to concentrate on the farmers of one regional and ethnic group in one frontier situation with the hope that, having eliminated as many variables as possible, this group may be easily and accurately compared to other segments of American society through time. We must realize that poor southern homesteaders on the Oklahoma frontier in the 1890s probably had different values, customs and ambitions from their contemporaries on midwestern farms and in northern factory towns, or from their fellow farmers of colonial New England. At the same time, their flexibility of kinship and community; their division of labor and sex roles; and their attitudes toward marriage and childrearing may have been shared partially or entirely by their neighbors to the north and by pioneers from other ethnic groups and on other frontiers. It has been the purpose of this study to show, in part, how this group functioned in its frontier environment. It is hoped that this study will contribute to future research and further

further understanding of our history and our society.



NOTES

## NOTES

1. U. S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Twelfth Census. Census schedules from Altus Township, Greer County and Elk Township, Washita County, 1900; Lissie Bailey Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 4, p. 74.

2. Except for the Unassigned Lands (opened in 1889) and Greer County, the land homesteaded in Oklahoma Territory was what was left over after Indian lands had been divided into individual allotments under the Dawes Act of 1887.

3. Michael Frank Doran, The Origins of Culture Areas in Oklahoma 1830-1900. PhD dissertation, University of Oregon, 1974, p. 174; Twelfth U. S. Census: Population. Part I, Table 25, pp. 686-689. The "Indian-Pioneer History" at the Oklahoma Historical Society is the same collection of WPA History Project interviews as the University of Oklahoma's Indian Pioneer Papers, used extensively in this study.

4. J. D. Tarver, "The Regional Background of Oklahoma's People", Proceedings of the Oklahoma Academy of Science, Vol. 37 (1956), pp. 95-99.

5. Michael H. Reggio, "Troubled Times: Homesteading in Short-Grass Country, 1892-1900." Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. 57 (1979-80), pp. 196-211.

6. Terry G. Jordan, Texas Log Buildings: A Folk Architecture. University of Texas Press, Austin, 1978, pp. 10-13; 181-185.

7. Twelfth U. S. Census: Population. Part I, Table 22, p. 597. Most of these were female servants (see Appendix B, Table 1<sup>n</sup>)

8. John D. Bailey Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 4, p. 63.

9. Ross Bowie, August 26, 1982.

10. Marvin Bowie, August 24, 1982; Ross Bowie, August 26, 1982. There is a discrepancy over J. I. Bowie's place of birth. It is listed in the 1900 U. S. Census schedules from Elk Township as South Carolina, as are his parents' birthplaces (Family Number 748). Milton lists his father's birthplace as Georgia (Family Number 439), as do all of the other Bowie sources (see the following note).

11. Ross Bowie, August 26, 1982; Marvin D. Bowie, August 24, 1982; Washita County Heritage Volume 1: Wagon Tracks, Washita County History Committee, Inc., Cordell, Oklahoma, 1976, pp. 37-38.

12. Ross Bowie, August 26, 1982.

13. Elva Page Lewis believes that most of the farmers who first settled in Oklahoma Territory were poor and that they were followed later by "more prosperous farmers". Elva Page Lewis, "Social Life in the Territory of Oklahoma 1890-1906", M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1945, p. 36.

14. R. W. Atwood Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 3, p. 290; Mrs. D. S. Austin Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 3, p. 346; Sam Penley Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 70, p. 328; J. H. Fitzgerald Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 30, p. 136; John Matthew Connor Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 20, p. 99; Lee Adams Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 1, p. 209.

15. Sam Penley Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 70, p. 328-330.

16. Carrie Bradshaw Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 10, pp. 237-243.

17. Gertrude Bradley Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 10, p. 223.

18. Mrs. R. L. Hamilton Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 37, pp. 447-8.

19. W. T. Kerbo Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 50, p. 354.

20. Claude E. Hayes Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 40, p. 239.

21. John Matthew Connor Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 20, p. 99.

22. Mrs. J. D. Cone Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 20, p. 29; Lue Ann Corcoran Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 20, p. 413; Mary Ann Box Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 10, p. 65-6; Mrs. D. S. Austin Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 3, p. 349; Daniel Corcoran Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 20, p. 407; Thomas Guston Sappington Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 80, p. 223.

23. Elmora Messer Matthews, Neighbor, and Kin: Life in a Tennessee Ridge Community. Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville, 1966.
24. Neva Hand Cowles, February 8, 1980; Ross Bowie, August 26, 1982; Alcyone Parks King, August 19, 1982.
25. Rocky Weekly Advance, Vol. 1, No. 38, January 10, 1907, p. 1. Mr. Hammons also notes that this was a "one hand crop"; plowed, cultivated and harvested solely by himself and his family.
26. Lissie Bailey Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 4, p. 67.
27. Thomas A. Edwards, Early Days in the C & A", Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. 27 (1949), p. 154.
28. Mrs. C. E. Keener Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 50, p. 81.
29. Oscar Ameringer, If You Don't Weaken. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1940, pp. 261-2.
30. Allie B. Wallace, Frontier Life in Oklahoma. Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C., 1964, p. 110.
31. Steven Hahn, The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeomen Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890. Oxford University Press, New York, 1983, p. 29.
32. Hahn, p. 29.
33. Rosabel De Berry in Annie Laurie Steele, "Old Greer County", Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. 42 (1964), p. 32.
34. Edward G. Barbee Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 5, p. 159; George Washington Boyd Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 10, p. 117.
35. Mrs. Charlie Sands Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 80, p. 195.
36. Lue Ann Corcoran Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 20, p. 413; Mary R. Austin Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 3, p. 361-2.
37. James A. Henretta, "Families and Farms: Mentalite in Pre-Industrial America", William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Ser., Vol. 35 (1978), p. 20.
38. P. B. Woodruff Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol.

100, p. 122.

39. Mrs. H. N. Woodruff Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 100, p. 122.

40. Price Francis, August 19, 1982. The maternal grandparents do not appear in the 1900 Census schedules as part of the household. (Family Number 491, Mangum Township, Greer County). They may have arrived a short time later--Price's parents did not arrive until 1900--or they may have been staying temporarily with other family or friends.

41. Ross Bowie, August 26, 1982.

42. Viola Sumrall Clark, June 30, 1981.

43. Thomas A. Edwards, "Early Days in the C & A", Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. 27 (1949), p. 153.

44. Carroll Burson, August 26, 1982.

45. Mrs. D. S. Austin Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 3, p. 347; Cora Fitzgerald Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 30, p. 130; Thomas Arthur Banks Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 5, p. 124.

46. Wallace, p. 44.

47. Lissie Bailey Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 4, p. 70.

48. Lucy E. Boyce Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 10, p. 80.

49. Ross Bowie, August 26, 1982.

50. Wallace, p. 35.

51. Allen Harper, August 26, 1982.

52. Neva Hand Cowles, February 8, 1980.

53. Josie Pendergrass Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 70, pp. 292-3.

54. Marvin D. Bowie, August 24, 1982.

55. Julie Roy Jeffrey, Frontier Women: The Trans-Mississippi West 1840-1880, Hill and Wang, New York, 1979; John Mack Faragher, Women and Men on the Overland Trail, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1979.

56. Ronald Preston Byars, The Making of the Self-Made Man: The Development of Masculine Roles and Images in Ante-bellum America. PhD dissertation, Michigan State University, 1979.
57. Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860", American Quarterly, Vol. 18 (Summer 1966), pp. 151-174.
58. Jeffrey, p. 73, 106, 198.
59. Faragher p. 171; 182.
60. Geneva Harvey Reaves, June 27, 1981.
61. Marvin D. Bowie, August 24, 1982.
62. Albert Banks Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 5, p. 3.
63. Allen Harper, August 26, 1982.
64. Allen Harper, August 26, 1982.
65. Viola Sumrall Clark, June 30, 1981.
66. Geneva Harvey Reaves, June 27, 1981.
67. Price Francis, August 19, 1982.
68. Sam Brandon Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 10, p. 315.
69. Wallace, p. 94.
70. U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census, 1900. Census of population schedules, Union Township, Washita County, Oklahoma Territory, Family Number 29.
71. Wallace, p. 12.
72. Thomas Arthur Banks Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 5, p. 121.
73. Robert W. Attwood Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 3, p. 287.
74. Ross Bowie, August 26, 1982.
75. Carl Degler, At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present, Oxford University Press, New York, 1980, p. 77. Wishy acknowledges the physical

proximity of farm fathers and children but he assumes that young children did not work near their fathers and may have seen them only at mealtimes (Bernard Wishy, The Child and the Republic. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1968, p. 26.)

76. Geneva Harvey Reaves, June 21, 1981.

77. Alcyone Parks King, August 19, 1982.

78. Neva Hand Cowles, February 8, 1980.

79. Wallace, p. 73.

80. Wallace, p. 22.

81. Wallace, p. 78.

82. Viola Sumrall Clark, June 30, 1981.

83. Geneva Harvey Reaves, June 21, 1981.

84. Degler, p. 101.

85. Degler, pp. 86-110.

86. Philip J. Greven, Jr., Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1970; Steven Hahn, The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeomen Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890. Oxford University Press, New York, 1983.

87. Gertrude Bradley Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 10, p. 223; Viola Sumrall Clark, June 30, 1981.

88. Ross Bowie, August 26, 1982. When Ross and Marvin's father died, their mother inherited the farm. She rented it, but in the 1930s the tenant could not make enough from it to support her, so she gave the farm to her second son Marvin and went on welfare. (Marvin D. Bowie, August 24, 1982).

89. Alcyone Parks King, August 19, 1982.

90. Monroe Billington, "W. C. Austin: Pioneer and Public Servant", Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. 31 (1953), p. 67.

91. Esther Alford Gibson, June 25, 1981.

92. Oscar Lee Presley, June 30, 1981.

93. Wallace, p. 120.



## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

### List of Informants

Boone, Gladys Herrin

Born: 1899, Washita County, Oklahoma Territory

Interviewed: February 4, 1980

Sentinel, Oklahoma

Discusses relationship between her father and maternal grandmother, her courtship in the early 1920s, her aunt's wedding in 1907, children at work and school, describes furnishings and sleeping arrangements in the family's first house. First cousin of Carroll Burson, Isaac Burson, and Esther Alford Gibson; sister of Pinkney Herrin. Grandmother of Claire Fuller Martin.

Bowie, Marvin Dwight

Born: 1891, Montague County, Texas

Interviewed: August 24, 1982

Sentinel, Oklahoma

Discusses trip from Texas to Oklahoma in 1898, work and division of labor, crops, fuel, mail order catalogs. Brother of Ross Bowie.

Bowie, Ross (Roswell)

Born: 1889, Montague County, Texas

Interviewed: August 26, 1982

Sentinel, Oklahoma

Discusses conditions in Texas, early churches, debates, post office, crops, saloons, murders, people who left, inheritance. Brother of Marvin Bowie.

Burson, Carroll

Born: 1896, Washita County, Oklahoma Territory

Interviewed: August 20, 1982

Rocky, Oklahoma

Discusses dugout, widows and widowers, inheritance, stock, crops, farm tools, division of labor, wild animal pets, stock thieves, midwives, World War I experiences in France, Depression. First cousin of Gladys Boone, Isaac Burson, Esther Gibson, and Pinkney Herrin.

Burson, Isaac

Born: 1900, Washita County, Oklahoma Territory

Interviewed: August 25, 1982

Rocky, Oklahoma

Discusses women who filed claims, gardens, orchards, wild

game, chickens, mercantile business. First cousin of Gladys Boone, Carroll Burson, Esther Gibson, and Pinkney Herrin.

Clark, Viola Sumrall (Bobo)  
Born: 1893, Parker County, Texas  
Interviewed: June 30, 1981  
Mangum, Oklahoma

Discusses trip from Texas, dugout, wild animals, food preservation, work, crops, home remedies, midwives, death, schools, contacts with grandparents in Texas, egg money.

Cowles, Neva Hand  
Born: 1897, Cooke County, Texas  
Interviewed: February 8, 1980  
Sentinel, Oklahoma

Discusses mother's blindness due to measles; morals, stock, groceries, division of labor, fuel, clothing, children playing, death, parties, signs of the moon.

Fields, Verna Freeman  
Born: 1896, Sugar Grove, Arkansas  
Interviewed: March 22, 1982  
Lawton, Oklahoma

Discusses childhood in Arkansas: marriage, divorce and widowhood, nursing, hospitality to strangers, impressions of Oklahoma Territory (came to O.T. in the 1910s).

Francis, Price  
Born: 1906, Greer County, Oklahoma  
Interviewed: August 19, 1982  
Sentinel, Oklahoma

Discusses division of labor, crops, extended kin, butchering, credit, thieves, horses traders, murder, gypsies, parties. Son of Gumell Francis.

Francis, Gumell (Jumell) Johnson  
Born: 1876, Mississippi  
Interviewed: 1971 by Price Francis

Discusses moving from Mississippi to Texas, living in a dugout in Greer County, O.T., kin, wild animals, nursing babies. Mother of Price Francis. Price Francis allowed me to make a copy of this tape and use it in this study.

Gibson, Esther Alford  
Born: 1895, Washita County, Oklahoma Territory  
Interviewed: June 25, 1981  
August 18, 1982  
Hobart, Oklahoma

Discusses father's "rambling" through Texas, Oklahoma, Mexico and California, division of labor, sibling relationships, practical jokes, extended kin, cooking. First cousin of Gladys Boone, Carroll Burson, Isaac Burson,

Pinkney Herrin.

Harper, Allen

Born: 1904, Washita County, Oklahoma Territory

Interviewed: August 26, 1982

Sentinel, Oklahoma

Discusses mixed northern and southern background, widowhood of his mother, saloons and murders, credit, doctors, home remedies, extended families, butchering, planting by the moon, fuel, Socialists, Dust Bowl.

Herrin, Pinkney Allen

Born: 1894, Washita County, Oklahoma Territory

Interviewed: June 25, 1981

Hobart, Oklahoma

Discusses in detail the half-dugout in which he was born, also prairie dogs as pets, refuge disposal, crops, early steam threshers, child labor. Brother of Gladys Boone, first cousin of Carroll Burson, Isaac Burson and Esther Gibson.

King, Alcyone Parks

Born: 1904, Custer County, Oklahoma Territory

Interviewed: August 19, 1982

Sentinel, Oklahoma

Discusses midwives, death, disease, extended kin, neighbors, visiting, crops, wild game and fish, division of labor, home remedies, signs of the moon, cooking, Indians, stock thieves.

Presley, Oscar Lee

Born: 1883, Marshall County, Mississippi

Interviewed: June 30, 1981

Mangum, Oklahoma

Discusses extended kin, crops, farm implements, wildlife, outlaws, social activities, life in Texas, sibling relationships.

Reaves, Geneva Harvey

Born: ca. 1900, Montague County, Texas

Interviewed: June 27, 1981

Sentinel, Oklahoma

Discusses kin networks, moving from farm to farm, parent child relationships, father's role, the Depression and farming in the 1940s.

Stowers, Wallace

Born: 1890, Marshall County, Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory

Interviewed: August 25, 1982

Washita County, Oklahoma

Discusses father's practice as a self-trained country

doctor, conditions in the Chickasaw Nation, stock, crops, farm implements, credit, kin network, wildlife, prairie fires.

Wolfenbarger, Katy Ella Redmond  
Born: 1883, Cooke County, Texas  
Interviewed: August 30, 1982  
Sentinel, Oklahoma

Discusses childhood as orphan in Texas and Indian Territory, kin network. Her daughter Ruby, who was present, was an interviewer for the WPA History Project. She conducted and wrote many of the interviews from Washita County that were used in this study.

Zuma Walker Robinson of Carter, Oklahoma was also interviewed, but did not wish to have her voice recorded. Zela Banks Roberson did not wish to be interviewed, but carried on a long telephone conversation with me. Both of these interviews were productive and provided insights which aided me in subsequent interviews. Mary Katherine Sappington allowed me to borrow and take notes from a tape recording she had made of her father Hudson Powell discussing his early years in Greer County. This also was very helpful.

## APPENDIX B

### Information on Regional Origins and Extended Families, Based on the U. S. Population Census

The following tables are based on the U. S. Population Census schedules from 1900. At that time Washita County was comprised of only three townships and Greer of four. Elk Township, Washita County was selected for study here because most of the people from Washita County interviewed by the WPA and by this author lived in this township. Its 6,096 residents accounted for more than forty per cent of the county's population. Altus Township, Greer County was selected largely because of its comparable size to Elk Township. 6,803 people lived there in 1900, thirty-eight per cent of the county's population.

Because this study is concerned primarily with families, Tables 1, 2, and 3 use only the birthplaces of heads of households and spouses of heads of households in order to determine the regionality of the families of southwestern Oklahoma Territory. Children, extended kin, servants, and lodgers are omitted.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Servants or lodgers were present in nine per cent of the Altus households and four per cent of the Elk households.

Table 1. Places of Birth of Heads of Households and Their Spouses: Altus Township, Greer County, Oklahoma Territory, 1900<sup>1</sup>

Native-Born Residents

| <u>State of Birth</u> | <u>No. Heads/Spouses</u> | <u>% Native-Born<br/>Heads/Spouses</u> |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|--|
| Texas                 | 679                      | 28.6                                   |
| Tennessee             | 305                      | 12.8                                   |
| Alabama               | 225                      | 9.5                                    |
| Missouri              | 192                      | 8.1                                    |
| Arkansas              | 184                      | 7.7                                    |
| Kentucky              | 142                      | 6.0                                    |
| Mississippi           | 135                      | 5.7                                    |
| Georgia               | 130                      | 5.5                                    |
| Illinois              | 80                       | 3.4                                    |
| North Carolina        | 66                       | 2.8                                    |
| Virginia              | 56 <sup>2</sup>          | 2.4                                    |
| Indiana               | 34                       | 1.4                                    |
| Ohio                  | 26                       | 1.1                                    |
| Iowa                  | 22                       | 0.9                                    |
| South Carolina        | 21                       | 0.9                                    |
| Louisiana             | 20                       | 0.8                                    |
| Kansas                | 12                       | 0.5                                    |
| New York              | 8                        | 0.3                                    |
| Wisconsin             | 8                        | 0.3                                    |
| Indian Territory      | 5                        | 0.2                                    |
| Michigan              | 4                        | 0.2                                    |
| Minnesota             | 4                        | 0.2                                    |
| Pennsylvania          | 4                        | 0.2                                    |
| California            | 3                        | 0.1                                    |
| Florida               | 3                        | 0.1                                    |
| Maryland              | 2                        | 0.1                                    |
| Massachusetts         | 2                        | 0.1                                    |
| Nebraska              | 1                        | <.1%                                   |
| New Jersey            | 1                        | <.1%                                   |
| South Dakota          | 1                        | <.1%                                   |
| Unknown               | 1                        | <.1%                                   |
| <b>TOTAL</b>          | <b>2376</b>              | <b>100%</b>                            |

Table 1, continued  
Foreign-Born Residents

| <u>Country of Birth</u> | <u>No. Heads/Spouses</u> | <u>% Foreign-Born<br/>Heads/Spouses</u> |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Germany/Prussia         | 6                        | 19.4                                    |
| England                 | 4                        | 12.9                                    |
| Ireland                 | 4                        | 12.9                                    |
| Canada                  | 3                        | 9.7                                     |
| France                  | 3                        | 9.7                                     |
| Sweden                  | 3                        | 9.7                                     |
| Denmark                 | 2                        | 6.5                                     |
| Norway                  | 2                        | 6.5                                     |
| Bohemia                 | 1                        | 3.2                                     |
| Scotland                | 1                        | 3.2                                     |
| Switzerland             | 1                        | 3.2                                     |
| Turkey                  | 1                        | 3.2                                     |
| TOTAL                   | 31                       | 100.1%                                  |

Foreign-born heads and spouses make up 1.3% of all heads and spouses in Altus Township.

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<sup>1</sup>U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Twelfth Census, 1900. Census schedules from Altus Township, Greer County, Oklahoma Territory.

<sup>2</sup>Included in this number is the only black head of a household in Altus Township, a ninety-year-old single man living in a rented house. There were four other black people in Altus Township in 1900, all women or young girls who were servants.



Table 2. Places of Birth of Heads of Households and Their Spouses: Elk Township, Washita County, Oklahoma Territory, 1900<sup>1</sup>

Native-Born Residents

| <u>State of Birth</u> | <u>No. Heads/Spouses</u> | <u>% Native-Born<br/>Heads/Spouses</u> |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|--|
| Texas                 | 590                      | 25.1                                   |
| Missouri              | 254                      | 10.8                                   |
| Arkansas              | 230                      | 9.8                                    |
| Tennessee             | 224                      | 9.5                                    |
| Alabama               | 142                      | 6.1                                    |
| Kentucky              | 135                      | 5.8                                    |
| Georgia               | 117                      | 5.0                                    |
| Mississippi           | 115                      | 5.0                                    |
| Illinois              | 91                       | 3.9                                    |
| Iowa                  | 71                       | 3.0                                    |
| Indiana               | 66                       | 2.8                                    |
| Ohio                  | 43                       | 1.8                                    |
| North Carolina        | 38                       | 1.6                                    |
| Kansas                | 35                       | 1.5                                    |
| Virginia              | 34                       | 1.5                                    |
| Pennsylvania          | 29                       | 1.2                                    |
| Louisiana             | 20                       | 0.9                                    |
| Nebraska              | 20                       | 0.9                                    |
| South Carolina        | 14                       | 0.6                                    |
| Wisconsin             | 12                       | 0.5                                    |
| Michigan              | 9                        | 0.4                                    |
| West Virginia         | 9                        | 0.4                                    |
| New Jersey            | 8                        | 0.3                                    |
| Maryland              | 7                        | 0.3                                    |
| California            | 6                        | 0.3                                    |
| New York              | 6                        | 0.3                                    |
| Indian Territory      | 4                        | 0.2                                    |
| Maine                 | 2                        | 0.1                                    |
| Massachusetts         | 2                        | 0.1                                    |
| Colorado              | 1                        | <.1%                                   |
| Connecticut           | 1                        | <.1%                                   |
| Florida               | 1                        | <.1%                                   |
| Minnesota             | 1                        | <.1%                                   |
| Nevada                | 1                        | <.1%                                   |
| New Mexico            | 1                        | <.1%                                   |
| Oklahoma              | 1                        | <.1%                                   |
| Oregon                | 1                        | <.1%                                   |
| Vermont               | 1                        | <.1%                                   |
| Unknown               | 6                        | 0.3                                    |
| TOTAL                 | 2348                     | 100.%                                  |

Table 2, continued  
Foreign-Born Residents

| <u>Country of Birth</u> | <u>No. Heads/Spouses</u> | <u>% Foreign-Born<br/>Heads/Spouses</u> |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Russia                  | 19                       | 33.9                                    |
| Germany/Prussia         | 15                       | 26.8                                    |
| Bohemia                 | 6                        | 10.7                                    |
| England                 | 6                        | 10.7                                    |
| Canada                  | 3                        | 5.4                                     |
| France                  | 2                        | 3.6                                     |
| Ireland                 | 2                        | 3.6                                     |
| Norway                  | 2                        | 3.6                                     |
| Scotland                | 1                        | 1.8                                     |
| TOTAL                   | 56                       | 100.1%                                  |

Foreign-born heads and spouses make up 2.3% of all heads and spouses in Elk Township.

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<sup>1</sup>U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Twelfth Census, 1900. Census schedules from Elk Township, Washita County, Oklahoma Territory.

Table 3. Regional Origins of Heads of Households and Their Spouses: Altus Township, Greer County and Elk Township, Washita County, Oklahoma Territory, 1900<sup>1</sup>

| REGION             | <u>No. (%) Heads/Spouses</u> |             | <u>% Native-Born<br/>Heads/Spouses</u> |            |
|--------------------|------------------------------|-------------|--|------------|
|                    | <u>Altus</u>                 | <u>Elk</u>  | <u>Altus</u>                           | <u>Elk</u> |
| South <sup>2</sup> | 2166 (90)                    | 1934 (80.5) | 91.2                                   | 82.6       |
| North <sup>3</sup> | 210 ( 8.7)                   | 408 (17)    | 8.8                                    | 17.4       |
| Foreign-born       | 31 ( 1.3)                    | 56 ( 2.3)   | ----                                   | ----       |
| Unknown            | 1 (<1%)                      | 6 (<1%)     | —                                      | —          |
| TOTAL              | 2408                         | 2404        | 100.0                                  | 100.0      |

<sup>1</sup>U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census. Census schedules from Altus Township, Greer County and Elk Township, Washita County, Oklahoma Territory, 1900.

<sup>2</sup>Former Confederate and border states and Indian Territory.

<sup>3</sup>Former Union states and western states, including Oklahoma Territory.

Table 4. Households with One or More Extended Kin: Altus Township, Greer County and Elk Township, Washita County, Oklahoma Territory, 1900<sup>1</sup>

|  | <u>Altus</u> | <u>Elk</u> |
|--|--------------|------------|
| Number of households                             | 1301         | 1339       |
| Number (%) of households<br>with one or more kin | 244 (18.8)   | 126 (9.4)  |
| Number of kin                                    | 425          | 179        |

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<sup>1</sup>U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census, Census schedules for Altus Township, Greer County, and Elk Township, Washita County, Oklahoma Territory, 1900.

Table 5. Relationships of Extended Kin to Heads of Households: Altus Township, Greer County and Elk Township, Washita County, Oklahoma Territory, 1900<sup>1</sup>

|                     | Number (%) of Kin |            |
|---------------------|-------------------|------------|
|                     | Altus             | Elk        |
| SIBLING-RELATED     |                   |            |
| Brother             | 73 (17.2)         | 40 (22.4)  |
| Brother-in-law      | 21 ( 4.9)         | 15 ( 8.4)  |
| Sister              | 39 ( 9.2)         | 20 (11.2)  |
| Sister-in-law       | 14 ( 3.3)         | 12 ( 6.7)  |
| Nephew              | 42 ( 9.9)         | 9 ( 5.0)   |
| Niece/niece-in-law  | 19 ( 4.5)         | 9 ( 5.0)   |
| Grandnephew/niece   | 5 ( 1.2)          | 1 ( 0.6)   |
| Sub-total:          | 213 (50.1)        | 106 (59.2) |
| PARENT-CHILD        |                   |            |
| Grandparent         | 2 ( 0.5)          | - -        |
| Mother              | 45 (10.6)         | 24 (13.4)  |
| Mother-in-law       | 18 ( 4.2)         | 10 ( 5.6)  |
| Father              | 11 ( 2.6)         | 1 ( 0.6)   |
| Father-in-law       | 5 ( 1.2)          | 7 ( 3.9)   |
| Widowed/divorced    |                   |            |
| child with children | 7 ( 1.6)          | 3 ( 1.7)   |
| Daughter-in-law     | 20 ( 4.7)         | 4 ( 2.2)   |
| Son-in-law          | 15 ( 3.5)         | 3 ( 1.7)   |
| Grandchild          | 78 (18.4)         | 14 ( 7.8)  |
| Great-grandchild    | 1 ( 0.2)          | - -        |
| Sub-total:          | 202 (47.5)        | 66 (36.9)  |
| AVUNCULAR           |                   |            |
| Uncle               | 2 ( 0.5)          | 3 ( 1.7)   |
| Aunt                | 2 ( 0.5)          | 2 ( 1.1)   |
| Cousin              | 6 ( 1.4)          | 2 ( 1.1)   |
| Sub-total:          | 10 ( 2.4)         | 7 ( 3.9)   |
| TOTAL:              | 425 (100%)        | 179 (100%) |

<sup>1</sup>U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census, Census schedules from Altus Township, Greer County and Elk Township, Washita County, Oklahoma Territory, 1900.

## APPENDIX C

### Information on Migration, Based on the Indian-Pioneer Papers Interviews

Fifteen per cent of the volumes of the Indian-Pioneer Papers interviews of the Western History Collections at the University of Oklahoma were sampled. Of the interviews that took place in Old Greer and Washita Counties, those of people who had come after statehood (1907) were eliminated, as well as the interview of one northerner from Michigan. Four other northern-born informants were included because they were the children of southerners and were raised in southern states before coming to Oklahoma. The final sample numbered sixty-seven.

Table 6. States from Which Southern Settlers Migrated to Oklahoma Territory<sup>1</sup>

| State or Territory | Born in this state |         | Left this state for Oklahoma Terr. |         |
|--------------------|--------------------|---------|------------------------------------|---------|
|                    | #                  | (%)     | #                                  | (%)     |
| Alabama            | 2                  | ( 3.0)  | -                                  | -       |
| Arkansas           | 5                  | ( 7.5)  | -                                  | -       |
| Georgia            | 3                  | ( 4.5)  | -                                  | -       |
| Illinois           | 3                  | ( 4.5)  | -                                  | -       |
| Indian Territory   | 3                  | ( 4.5)  | 10                                 | (14.9)  |
| Kansas             | 1                  | ( 1.5)  | -                                  | -       |
| Kentucky           | 3                  | ( 4.5)  | -                                  | -       |
| Mississippi        | 2                  | ( 3.0)  | -                                  | -       |
| Missouri           | 7                  | (10.4)  | 2                                  | ( 3.0)  |
| Oklahoma Territory | -                  | -       | 1                                  | ( 1.5)  |
| Tennessee          | 10                 | (14.9)  | 3                                  | ( 4.5)  |
| Texas              | 20                 | (29.9)  | 43                                 | (64.2)  |
| Virginia           | 3                  | ( 4.5)  | 1                                  | ( 1.5)  |
| Not Given          | 5                  | ( 7.5)  | 7                                  | (10.4)  |
| TOTAL              | 67                 | (100.2) | 67                                 | (100.0) |

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<sup>1</sup>Based on a fifteen per cent sample of the volumes of Indian-Pioneer Papers interviews.

Table 7. Culture Regions in Texas from Which Settlers Departed for Oklahoma Territory<sup>1</sup>

| Culture Region                        | # Informants | % Informants |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Upper Southern                        | 25           | 58           |
| Lower Southern                        | 1            | 2            |
| Hill Country/<br>Medina County German | -            | -            |
| Anglo-Western                         | 3            | 7            |
| Unidentifiable county                 | 2            | 5            |
| County/town not given                 | 12           | 28           |
| TOTAL                                 | 43           | 100          |

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<sup>1</sup>Based on a fifteen per cent sample of the Indian-Pioneer Papers interviews. These settlers indicated they left Texas for Oklahoma. The culture regions are those described by Terry G. Jordan, Texas Log Buildings: A Folk Architecture, University of Texas Press, Austin: pp. 10-13; 181-184.



Table 8. Motives for Migrating to Oklahoma Territory<sup>1</sup>

|                       | #              | %   |
|-----------------------|----------------|-----|
| Opportunity/free land | 10             | 48  |
| Kin                   | 9 <sup>2</sup> | 43  |
| Health                | 2              | 10  |
| Drifted in            | 2              | 10  |
| Confederate veteran   | 1              | <5% |
| TOTAL                 |                |     |

<sup>1</sup>Based on a fifteen per cent sample of the Indian-Pioneer Papers interviews. Only 21 (31%) of the sample of 67 mentioned their motives for coming to Oklahoma Territory.

<sup>2</sup>Three of the informants who gave kinship as a motive also gave other reasons.

Table 9. Indian-Pioneer Papers Informants Who Mention  
the Presence of Kin in Their Communities<sup>1</sup>

|   | #               | %   |
|---|-----------------|-----|
| Kin other than nuclear family mentioned:    | 33              | 49  |
| No kin other than nuclear family mentioned: | 34 <sup>2</sup> | 51  |
| TOTAL                                       | 67              | 100 |

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<sup>1</sup>Based on a fifteen per cent sample of the Indian-Pioneer Papers interviews.

<sup>2</sup>This includes an informant who, because he was a distant cousin, the author knows came with nearly all of his mother's kin. This indicates the discrepancy between the number of informants who mentioned kin and the number who actually had kin in the neighborhood.

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