

found in the area, and a large proportion of the existing examples in Area E are in a condition rated as poor to ruins. Ranch style houses (24 percent) are next in proportion; although condition-wise among the best housing in Area E, most of these are very modest and are less than 30 years old. The third most common architectural style found in the area is that of the Bungalow/Craftsman style (22 percent), of which most are in good to ruinous condition. Mobile homes make up approximately 9 percent of the occupied dwellings in Area E. At least one Colonial Revival, Queen Anne, and cinder block house is also located within Area E, none of which are of architectural/historical significance or adequate integrity to warrant further study for National Register consideration.

Non-contributing Properties:

The properties within Area E generally lack any historical or architectural significance and/or integrity. It is a former industrial/transportation area that was never successfully developed for residential use, and the few pre-1955 residential properties surveyed have suffered severe loss of integrity through abandonment and dilapidation. The southern part of the study area—south of Lenapah Street—contains the most and best quality resources, but these are mostly comprised of 1920s-era Bungalow/Craftsman and 1940s-era National Folk style buildings that have no architectural/historic significance, and have been heavily altered through the years so that they have lost their integrity. Additionally, a substantial percentage (24 percent) of all resources in Area E are recently-built Ranch style houses that lack architectural/historic significance. The northern two-thirds of Area E remain marshy, covered with scrub forest, and contain the ruins of the

abandoned railroad right-of-way that lack architectural/historical significance.

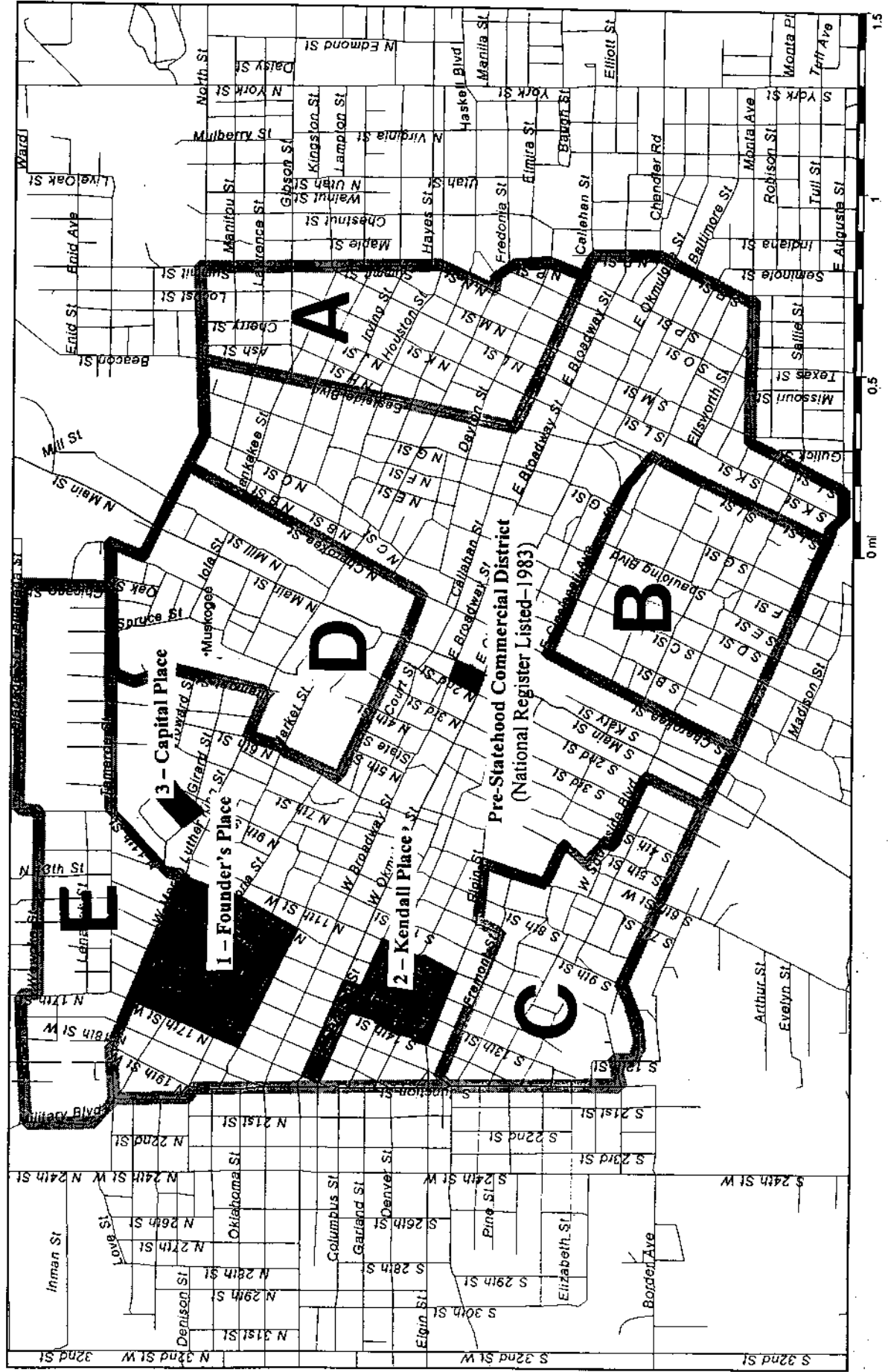
Recommendations:

Although a majority of the existing housing stock in Area E is more than 50 years old, Area E does not warrant further study. The earliest examples of National Folk housing are generally in a state of severe dilapidation and ruins. Later examples lack architectural/historic significance, and have generally lost integrity through alteration. The area contains vacant lots, abandoned ruins, undeveloped area, and/or is overgrown with trees. The area lacks any visual architectural cohesiveness. It is recommended that Area E not be considered for future study.

BOUNDARIES OF AREAS WARRANTING AND NOT WARRANTING FURTHER STUDY

Muskogee Study Area

Reconnaissance Level Survey of a Portion of Muskogee, 1997-98



MAP KEY

BOUNDARIES OF DESIGNATED AREAS

Muskogee Study Area

Areas That Warrant Further Study

- 1 – Kendall Place Residential District
- 2 – Founder's Place Residential District
- 3 – Capital Place Residential District

Areas That Do Not Warrant Further Study

- A – East Muskogee Residential Area
- B – South Central Muskogee Residential Area
- C – Southwest Muskogee Residential Area
- D – North Central Muskogee Commercial Area
- E – Northwest Muskogee Residential Area

**X-E. NOTE ON AREAS NEITHER WARRANTING FURTHER STUDY
 NOR NOT WARRANTING FURTHER STUDY**

Due to the peculiarly high variation in the condition of Muskogee's built environment, a large share of the Muskogee study area was neither designated as part of a potential district, nor not warranting further study. The reason that this relatively large share of the study area is located outside both the areas recognized by this survey as warranting further study (i.e., the three proposed historic districts), and the five areas recognized as clearly not warranting further study is because it contains significant amounts of properties that individually warrant further study. Nevertheless, within this "neutral zone" there is not enough cohesion to designate potential historic districts.

The majority of the area is composed of a great variety of land uses, including working class single dwellings constructed prior to 1940, as well as upper-middle class single dwelling and commercial examples of high style architecture. Commercial strip development prevails along the major traffic arteries, such as Okmulgee and Broadway Avenues, Main Street, and Eastside Boulevard. Scattered about are small patches of single dwellings and commercial buildings that warrant further study on an individual basis only. Since this non-district area contains over fifty (50) properties that individually warrant further study, it was decided to limit the areas designated as not warranting further study to parts of the study area beyond the main distribution of these individual properties.

XI. HISTORIC CONTEXT

Introduction

The following overview presents some of the physical and cultural qualities of Muskogee. The town's historical context represents that of only a few other Oklahoma towns that developed in Indian Territory. Shortly after its founding in 1872 until Oklahoma statehood in 1907, Muskogee was the undisputed seat of Indian Territory. The city was the base of United States Indian affairs in the region and was designated the location of the first United States District Court for Indian Territory. Muskogee's political importance, its situation along regional transportation routes and the Creek and Cherokee Nations, and its access to important agricultural lands all attracted white settlement and railroad development. Muskogee's political and physical centrality also made it a commercial center; railroad connections spawned thriving warehousing and agricultural processing industries, and these activities, combined with Muskogee's legal centrality, made it an early banking center for Indian Territory and eastern Oklahoma. Although its importance as a regional center was eclipsed by the rise of Tulsa shortly after Oklahoma statehood, Muskogee merits the title, "Seat of Indian Territory."

The location of the city of Muskogee is 35.45° North Latitude and 95.3° West Longitude, i.e., its absolute location. The relative location of the city is in central eastern Oklahoma, on the Arkansas River, 47 miles (76 kilometers) southeast of Tulsa. Muskogee is the county seat of Muskogee County, which lies within Management Region 3 of the Oklahoma Comprehensive Preservation Plan.

The physical geography of the Muskogee area reflects its location in the Arkansas

River Valley. Muskogee's average sea level elevation is quite low for Oklahoma at just under 500 feet. Muskogee lies entirely within the Arkansas River drainage basin. The early town, and hence the present study area, lie several miles south and west of the bluffs of the Arkansas River flood plain on relatively high, rolling ground. The Arkansas was originally unnavigable upstream of Muskogee, but has been extensively channelized with an elaborate lock and dam system that enables heavy barge access to Muskogee and points as far upstream from Muskogee as the Port of Catoosa near Tulsa. Several major man-made reservoirs lie within a short driving distance from Muskogee, including Fort Gibson on the Grand River system to the northeast, Tenkiller on the Illinois River system to the east, Robert S. Kerr on the Arkansas system to the southeast, and Eufaula Reservoir on the Canadian system to the south.

The climate of Muskogee includes an average annual rainfall that ranges between 42 and 46 inches. The average daily air temperature in January is 34°F, and the average July temperature is 84°F. The growing season in the Muskogee area is quite long, with approximately 280-290 days with temperatures above 32°F, and well-suited for crops such as corn and cotton. Muskogee's climate is considerably warmer and more humid than most of Oklahoma, a fact that made it more desired by settlers from the southern United States.

In terms of vegetation, Muskogee is located on the boundary between the oak-hickory forested region of eastern Oklahoma and the tall grass Prairie-Plains of northeast Oklahoma. The deep soils and abundant water of the Arkansas River Valley provide sustenance for some of Oklahoma's tallest hardwood trees in and around Muskogee. The

high quality timber of the area attracted settlers and lumbermen to Muskogee in the 1870s, and the high quality trees remain a notable aesthetic resource in the city today. Most of the native black walnut was cut and sent to the eastern United States and Europe in the latter nineteenth century. Muskogee settlers also had access to excellent grazing and hay pastures in the Prairie Plains, a region that has supported a significant hay cutting industry since initial settlement. The fertile tall grass prairies surrounding Muskogee attracted intense farm settlement after 1890, and produced marvelous cotton crops until the middle 1920s. Since the drought and depression of the 1930s, much of the farmland around Muskogee has been gradually returned to grazing land and improved pasture.

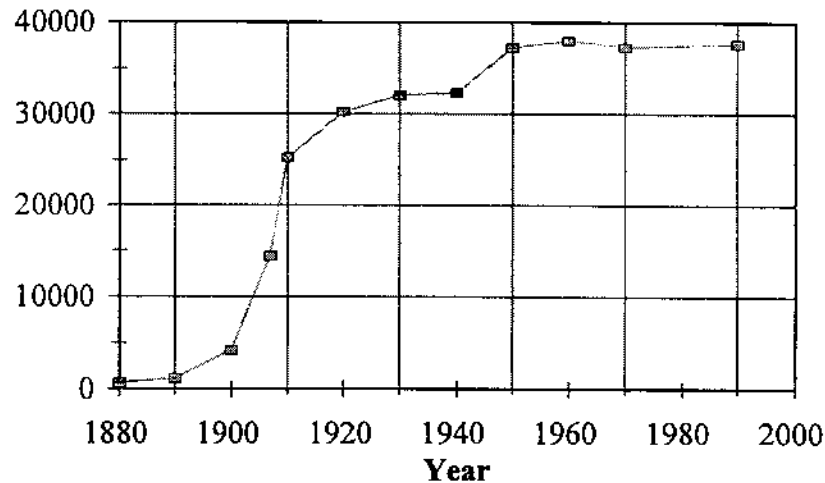
In addition to timber and agriculture, settlers were also attracted to Muskogee by its variety of natural resources. In the 1910s and 1920s, the Muskogee area produced a significant amount of petroleum, and even supported a local refinery, yet its level of production never rivaled those in the giant fields such as Glenpool, Seminole, or Cushing. Low quality coal is abundant in the Muskogee area, and a modest amount was strip-mined in the 1950s and 1960s. Perhaps more important to Muskogee were its important industrial minerals, namely sand and gravel dredged from the Arkansas River, which gave rise to important glass and construction materials industries in Muskogee.

Agriculture played an important role in the settlement of the Muskogee area. Deep, highly-fertile, well-drained soils, a long growing season, and abundant rainfall give the area one of the state's highest productivity levels per acre. Commercial-minded Creek and Cherokee farmers and planters early sought the sandy loam soils of the Arkansas, Verdigris, and Grand River bottoms prior to the Civil War, and these people

were followed by non-Indian settlers later in the century. Due its unique political geography, open range cattle ranching dominated the area longer than in similar lands, and this tradition impressed the area with a strong cowboy culture. In addition to cattle ranching and hay pasture, important early crops included corn, cotton, and lesser amounts of small grains, such as wheat, oats, and sorghum. Cotton production never recovered after a major decline in the 1930s, but much of the best land around Muskogee was converted to truck crops (spinach, okra, beans), orchards (such as the peach country northwest of Muskogee) and livestock feed crops (sorghum, alfalfa, corn for silage). Due to falling transportation costs since the 1950s, however, many of these field crops have given way to newer crops, such as irrigated soybeans and turf grasses.

To appreciate Muskogee 's **population** growth requires perspective of the town's population growth through time (Figure 1). Founded in 1872, today Muskogee has a population of about 38,000. Muskogee has not grown steadily through the years, but experienced a high rate of growth in the quarter century between 1895 and 1920. In the census decade 1900-1910, Muskogee grew at a phenomenal rate (nearly 500%) from 4,254 to 25,278. This "boom" period centered on the year of statehood, 1907. More than 10,000 people came to Muskogee in the three years between the special census of 1907 and 1910.

Figure 1 Muskogee Population 1880-1990



Muskogee's population growth ended rather abruptly. Population growth all but ceased in the 1920s and the 1930s due to regional and national economic downturn. Muskogee's economy was hurt by the collapse of agricultural commodity prices in the 1920s, and then by national economic stagnation during the Great Depression of the 1930s. The latter period was also aggravated by severe drought, though Muskogee was east of the area impacted most by Dust Bowl conditions. The collapse of cotton prices in the 1920s made sharecropping very difficult in eastern Oklahoma, which had led the nation in the rate of farm tenancy. Intended to raise prices by lowering farm production, the Agricultural Adjustment Act (1933) allowed landowners to gain farm subsidies for taking land out of production, which allowed them to mechanize and evict tenant farmers. That year, thousands of displaced tenant farm families from eastern Oklahoma and parts of surrounding states initiated the "Okie" migration to California.

The New Deal provided economic and environmental assistance to Oklahomans through make-work projects, but genuine economic recovery came with the military build-up preceding the United States' entry into the Second World War. The 1950 census revealed that the 1940s were years of significant population gain in Muskogee. Wartime employment revived Muskogee's industrial base, although this would never develop on the scale of Oklahoma's new metropolitan areas, Tulsa and Oklahoma City. Rural families who had remained in Oklahoma in the 1930s, as well as those who had returned, found new manufacturing employment in Muskogee's industries. Muskogee's population has not changed significantly since 1950, when the population reached the 37,000 mark.

Geographical Boundaries of the Study Area

The geographical boundaries of the study area for this historic context include the portion of Muskogee described by a boundary starting at the initial point of Chicago and Talladega Street, proceeding west to 11th Street, then south to Wewoka Street, then west to North 17th Street, then north to Talladega Street, then west to Military Boulevard, then south to Emporia (Martin Luther King Street), then east to North 21st Street, then south to Dennison Street, then east to Junction, then south to Maryland Avenue, then east to South 12th Street, then south to Lincoln Avenue, then east to Kalamazoo, then southeast on Kalamazoo to "L" Street, then northeast to Geneva Avenue, then east to "R" Street, then northeast to Callahan Street, then west to "P" Street, then north to Fredonia Street, then northwest to "N" Street, then northeast to Hayes Street, then north on Summit Street to

North Street, then west across the railroad tracks to Kinsley Street, then west to 3rd Street, then north to Tamaroa Street, then west to Chicago Avenue, then north to point of beginning. The area surveyed includes properties on both sides of the street.

The location of the study area of this reconnaissance level survey includes most of the original townsite surveyed in 1899 and portions of several small additions made shortly thereafter. The study area, however, does not include a large portion of the original townsite south of Kalamazoo Avenue. Additions covered in the study area include "Ceasar," "Bucher's," and part of "Factory," located in the northern part of the study area, as well as McKellop's Addition along the eastern study area boundary. Among these, the northern additions were not fully developed as residential areas, while the eastern one became a very substantial residential section of the Muskogee study area.

Chronological Periods of Change

The portion of Muskogee surveyed in this project is the oldest and most complex part of Muskogee's urban landscape. Existing properties represent five major periods, based on population change, in the city's historical development. The table of Muskogee's population change over time (Figure 2) compares population growth with the proportion of surveyed properties built during each of the five periods. The data portray—rather convincingly, given no idea of population change was known by the surveyors ahead of time—that the built environment of Muskogee accurately reflects growth and change through time.

Figure 2 Chronological Periods of Change in Muskogee, 1872-1950.

<u>Period</u>	<u>Years</u>	<u>Population Added</u>	<u>Percent Max. Pop. Added (%)</u>	<u>Percent of Surveyed Properties Added (%)</u>
1872-1898	27	2,800	7%	4%
1898-1912	15	22,500	60%	61%
1912-1928	17	5,000	13%	28%
1928-1941	14	2,000	5%	6%
1941-1950	10	4,708	14%	1%

For example, during the Allotment/Railroad Period (1898-1912), Muskogee gained 60% of its maximum population. This rapid rate of growth is also reflected in the fact that 61% of the documented properties in this survey were constructed in this period. Likewise, the Great Depression/New Deal Era (1928-1941) was a time of very little population growth, and this too is reflected in the cultural landscape, in which only 6% of the surveyed sample were constructed during this period.

The first and longest of these historic periods, called here the **“Indian Territory Administrative Period” (1874-1898)**, is represented by very few surviving resources in the study area’s cultural landscape. Among the few surviving buildings of this period when Muskogee was the thriving seat of federal Indian policy are the Grant Foreman Home (1319 West Okmulgee, NR listed 1973), the Severs Block and adjacent commercial buildings in the Muskogee Pre-Statehood Commercial District (between Main and Second and Okmulgee and Broadway, NR listed 1983), and the Spaulding Mercantile Building, owned by H. B. Spaulding (309 1/2 West Okmulgee).¹ These oldest of Muskogee properties are in fair condition. Their contemporaries were eliminated in

the last century, at times by fire, but more commonly by new development, especially that which followed the de facto opening of Indian Territory to white settlement in 1898.

Muskogee's greatest period of growth was the **"Allotment/Railroad Period" (1898-1912)**, which began in 1898, the year that the Curtis Act mandated the allotment of the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes. The land reform process begun in 1898 lasted more than a decade and extended after Oklahoma entered the Union as a state. Muskogee also grew from the statehood movements (Sequoyah and Oklahoma), which began in earnest after Oklahoma Territory was created in 1889.² The anticipation of statehood for Indian Territory promised vast material opportunity that attracted hundreds of thousands of non-Indians to Indian Territory in the 1890s. Much of this opportunity was related to the potential for hundreds of thousands of acres of Indian land to enter private holding. Again, Muskogee's status as the administrative center of the federal Indian bureaucracy made it a magnet for people directly and indirectly interested in obtaining land and mineral rights allotted to the citizens of the Five Civilized Tribes. To white settlers wanting land, the Curtis Act signaled the end of tribal sovereignty and a countdown to statehood that began an unofficial land run into the nations of the Five Civilized Tribes. After 1898, Muskogee's population grew incredibly, and railroad connections made it a regional focus of warehousing and agricultural processing. Half of the study area's National Register eligible properties and most of the contributing resources within the three proposed residential districts were built during the 1898-1912 period.

Muskogee's first boom (1898-1912) was extended beyond allotment and railroad construction by the opening of the Muskogee oil field during a period referred to here as

the **“Eastern Oklahoma Oil Boom Period” (1912-1928)**. Although it likely would not have occurred without major infusions of capital during the Allotment/Railroad Period, this second half of Muskogee’s three-decade-long era of growth was distinguished from the first period by major industrial growth. In 1912 Muskogee became the site of oil and gas production and refining and, perhaps even more significantly, it continued to be the site of federal Indian mineral land administration for all of eastern Oklahoma during the height of the Oklahoma oil boom. Muskogee’s service economy expanded with the increased infusion of money in the 1910s and 1920s, adding hundreds of new businesses and commercial buildings, new residential developments, and several skyscrapers. But even with such increased prosperity, the 1920s were difficult years for farmers served by Muskogee. With by far the nation’s highest rate of farm tenancy, eastern Oklahoma was hit hard by steep declines in agricultural commodity prices following World War I. Many farmers stayed in business during the 1920s by mechanizing production and expand their holdings and going into tremendous debt that proved disastrous when banks began to fail in the late 1920s and drought struck in the 1930s.

The Great Depression/New Deal Period (1928-1941) arrived when new petroleum discoveries worldwide forced oil prices down while Oklahoma oil producers were in the midst of a regional oil glut. Muskogee’s economy slowed with Oklahoma’s, and came to a stand-still when stock prices crashed in 1929 and the United States entered the Great Depression. The early and mid-1930s were years of negative population change in Muskogee; business closings outnumbered openings, and uncounted personal fortunes were lost. In terms of agriculture, cotton prices fell to \$.05 per pound, which eliminated

sharecropping. The decade-long drought following 1931 also forced thousands of tenant farmers off the land and many landowners into bankruptcy. By 1935, the collapse of the region's agricultural economy sent thousands of people in eastern Oklahoma to search for a better life in California. Many farm families in Muskogee County turned to government make-work programs and other employment opportunities in the city of Muskogee. Federal relief programs brought several positive changes to Muskogee during the Great Depression. Make-work programs created an array of new public works projects, including those built by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC).

The escalation of World War II in Europe prompted the United States to embark on an unprecedented military build-up by 1940, the economic results of which pulled the country out of depression and into the **"WWII/Post-WWII Period" (1941-1950)**. Muskogee soon benefitted from federal infusions of military-industrial capital through the retooling and expansion of its industrial base. Several new military industrial plants were established in northern Muskogee County that continued operation after 1945. The area economy especially benefitted from the establishment of nearby Camp Gruber, and training facility at Braggs, southeast of Muskogee. The postwar economic boom of the late 1940s brought new manufacturing activities to Muskogee that fueled new retail and service activities. In terms of the built environment, the robust postwar economy, falling freight costs, and new manufacturing and construction technology all prompted a wave of new home construction in and around the study area. New house types, namely modest, affordable National folk and Ranch styles, dominated new housing additions and began to

invade older established neighborhoods. The new housing styles reflected the postwar regional and national pattern of a middle class, nuclear family, wage-earning, urban majority.

These five periods, although somewhat arbitrary, economically-based, and chronologically convenient, represent fairly logical periods in the development of the Muskogee study area's historical cultural landscape. After a brief section on the historical antecedents and founding of Muskogee, the following discussion examines each of these periods in greater depth and more specifically in regard to their effects upon the landscape of the Muskogee study area. Landscape change within each period is examined through an analysis of representative properties, and according to the relevant historical themes developed by the Oklahoma State Historic Preservation Office.

Historical Antecedents and Town Founding (to 1873)

Exploration

From the late eighteenth century, the Muskogee area was known as the "Three Forks" region for the junction of the Grand or "Neosho" River and the Verdigris River enter the larger Arkansas River. European exploration in the area was mostly for trading and mapping purposes. Notable European and American explorers and adventurers who passed through the Muskogee area include Don Juan Oñate (1695), Zebulon Pike, James B. Wilkinson and James Bogy (1806-1807), William Lovely (1816), Thomas Nuttall (1819), Washington Irving (1832).³

Native Americans

The Creek Nation of Indian Territory, within which Muskogee emerged, was established after the Indian Removal Act of 1830. While small groups of Cherokees had arrived in the late 1820s, the first historically-documented, large-scale settlement of the region occurred in the early 1830s as the result of the forced removals of the Muscogee (Creek) people from their lands in Alabama and Georgia. The Creek people were divided into traditionalist and acculturated factions, the latter of which owned black slaves and settled along the better agricultural lands of the lower Arkansas River near Muskogee. By the time of the Civil War, the area that became northern Muskogee County and southern Wagoner County was some of the most agriculturally-developed land in Indian Territory. In the 1850s, the area was dotted with Creek plantations that raised large numbers of livestock, corn, wheat, fodder crops, and cotton. By the late 1850s the region exported cotton down the Arkansas River and large herds of range cattle northeast to Missouri.

The Civil War devastated the Three Forks area's economy. Plantations were looted and destroyed, and much of Indian Territory was depopulated for several years as people sought refuge in Kansas and Texas. The Three Forks area was a pivotal location during the war: it was the scene of several skirmishes and was the location of Fort Davis, a Confederate fort taken and occupied by the Union. After the war, Creek and Cherokee families returned to the Three Forks area and reestablished their former land holdings. Their former slaves also returned and established distinct rural farm communities in the area. It was clear that the antebellum economy was a thing of the past; the area had always been on the economic margin of viable slave-based cotton production, and

without rail transport, abolition ended any possibility of rebuilding an agricultural economy.⁴

White Settlement

Muskogee is essentially the product of the Three Forks region. While not extraordinary for its strategic location or quality of site, the Three Forks emerged as a French fur trading post in the late eighteenth century. August Pierre Chouteau, Samuel M. Rutherford, and Robert Mosby operated trading posts that imported hides from western Indian groups and exported European and American trade goods to them from the Three Forks area during the early nineteenth century. Thus the first European settlement co-existed with indigenous groups and preceded Creek settlement by several decades.⁵

Muskogee was created in 1872 when a railroad station was established on the new Missouri, Kansas, and Texas (Katy) Railroad. In 1872 a small cluster of board-and-batten false-front store buildings hugged the Katy's narrow 1,000-foot by 200-foot right-of-way, the only place of legal settlement, since the Creek Nation did not allow the sale of land for townsites. Merchants were required to be licensed by the Creek Nation, and there were no surveyed streets or lots, since town surveying and private land ownership were against tribal law. Nevertheless, merchants and settlers built Muskogee according to their preconceptions of what a "town" should look like, adjacent to the Katy tracks in rows that faced each other across unofficial streets.

Transportation

Muskogee emerged as a settlement because of its location along major transportation thoroughfares. Important east-west routes that preceded Muskogee's founding included tributaries to the Santa Fe Trail and the California Trail prior to the Civil War. During and after the Civil War various east-west overland freight routes connected Muskogee with military forts on the western Great Plains. The transport route connecting central Missouri to north Texas was more consequential to the establishment of Muskogee. Missourians migrating south to Texas called this the Texas Road, while Texas and Indian Territory cattlemen driving herds to Missouri markets called it the East Shawnee Trail. Oklahoma's first railroad, the M.K.&T. ("Katy") followed the same route when it was built in 1872, the year Muskogee was established.

Agriculture

Prior to the completion of the Katy Railroad in 1872, agricultural production in the Muskogee area remained limited. Marketing of small grains and fodder crops was limited to the local market. A few individuals produced commodities for military camps like Fort Gibson and for overland export to military posts on the western plains. These were the exceptions, though; commercial scale grain farming remained uneconomic until after the railroad came in 1872 and brought access to eastern markets and farm machinery. Labor intensive production was the rule until then. Cotton, shipped down river, and range cattle, which could be driven to market, brought in revenue to a select group of entrepreneurs.

Ranching

Open range cattle raising and subsistence agriculture dominated the Muskogee area after the Civil War and before the arrival of the railroad in 1872. Creek and Cherokee citizens, primarily whites who had gained tribal citizenship through marriage, controlled this industry. They employed white and Black cowboys to manage herds of thousands of head on huge spreads of thousands of acres that they claimed though tribal law. Among them was Captain Frederick B. Severs, a former Creek Confederate officer, whose ranching operations extended from the Texas Road to Okmulgee.⁶

Commerce

Muskogee slowly became a modest railroad-oriented commercial center after 1872. Most of the traders and merchants located at other Three Forks settlements, like the Creek Agency, eventually relocated to Muskogee. The Katy also allowed Muskogee merchants to supplant Fort Gibson as a viable trading settlement, since it depended on (very unreliable) steam packet service from Fort Smith. By the 1880s, the Katy pulled most of Fort Gibson's business to the Creek side of the boundary. Muskogee's proximity to the most productive parts of the Creek and Cherokee Nations, its rail transport access, and its later rise as the administrative hub of Indian Territory, drove its pre-statehood development.⁷

Urban

One of the first accounts of Muskogee by an outsider was that of John Beadle in

1872. Beadle had much to say about the crime and gambling present in the new settlement, but also reveals the early layout, landscape, and population of the place.

According to Beadle, Muskogee was

“a long, straggling, miserable railroad town, the exact image of a Union Pacific ‘city,’ in the last stages of decay. Some two hundred yards from the railroad, a single street extended for nearly a quarter of a mile; the buildings were rude shanties, frame and canvas tents, and log cabins. . . . They say bilious diseases of all kinds prevail, and complain particularly of fever, ague, and pneumonia. We ate in the ‘Pioneer Boarding Car,’ and slept in another car attached; five of them being placed on a side track, anchored down, and converted into a pretty good hotel. Here, and about the depot, were the citizens employed on the road. Of the town proper, a majority of the citizens were negroes, formerly slaves of the Indians.”⁸

Indian Territory Administrative Period (1874-1898)

Native Americans

The last quarter of the nineteenth century may be called the Indian Territory Administrative Period because it saw the overtaking of Creek tribal autonomy by the United States and the initiation of the allotment of tribal lands against the will of the majority of the Creek people. The period began with the dissolution of the individual government agencies among the Five Civilized Tribes and their consolidation in the Union Agency at Muskogee in 1874.⁹ Federal laws passed during this period generally reduced sovereignty for the Five Tribes and aggravated political factionalism between traditional and “progressive” groups.

From 1874 until 1889, Indian Territory was under the authority of the United

States District Court of the Western District of Arkansas, which led to serious violations of Indian civil rights by U.S. marshals operating out of Judge Isaac Parker's court at Fort Smith. A new federal court was established at Muskogee in 1889, and in 1890 the Oklahoma Organic Act was passed. These recognized Indian Territory as a quasi-territory (not actually in the constitutional sense) which made Muskogee, since it was the seat U.S. District Court location, its de facto territorial capital.¹⁰

Throughout the period 1874-1898, white encroachment and illegal settlement steadily increased. By the 1880s, as good land on the U.S. frontier of settlement was becoming scarce, the Oklahoma Boomer Movement gained momentum, and with it political pressure on the part of Congress to persuade the Five Civilized Tribes to allot their lands. The tribes opposed allotment, both because a majority of tribal citizens were against it, and because white ranchers who leased their lands opposed land alienation to individuals. But since there were more voting, white settlers desirous of Indian Territory land, in 1893 a Senate select committee known as the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes ("Dawes Commission") was assigned the task of negotiating allotment agreements with the tribes.¹¹

In 1896 the Dawes Commission became permanently based in Muskogee, which further increased the town's importance as a focus of Indian Territory politics and legal matters.¹² In the 1880s and 1890s, factionalism split the Creek Nation so severely that several armed disturbances, such as the Green Peach War (1882-83) between Creek groups took place.¹³ After five years of refusing to negotiate the allotment of their lands, Congress unilaterally mandated allotment in the Act for the Protection of the People of

Indian Territory, and for Other Purposes, generally known as the Curtis Act (1898). The Curtis Act allowed towns in Indian Territory with 2,000 or more people to incorporate immediately, which Muskogee did. The act required the Creek Nation to arrive at an allotment agreement within a number of months, which they did in 1899.¹⁴

Settlement

Settlement in the study area between 1874 and 1898 was slow at first but gradually increased until 1890. In 1880, Muskogee had about 700 inhabitants, and the town consisted of a small cluster of a slightly over a dozen businesses (mostly merchants and traders). By the end of the decade it had become the rising administrative and trade center of Indian Territory. A “Main Street” ran along the west side of the Katy tracks and was flanked by four primary avenues. These were later named Denison (for the Katy’s headquarters in Texas), Court (for the Indian Territory court established in 1889), Broadway, and Okmulgee (after the Creek capital). The internal morphology of Muskogee would continue to develop without a survey of streets, lots, and blocks until 1899, after the Creek Agreement for the allotment of the Creek Nation was ratified by Congress.

The Oklahoma Organic Act signaled that Indian Territory was eventually bound for statehood, which drew ever larger numbers of whites during the 1890s. Whites were drawn to the towns along the railroads in Indian Territory because employment opportunities were greater there and their chances of being evicted as “intruders” were lower. White laborers seeking work or wanting to live in the Creek Nation were required

by Creek Nation law to purchase tribal permits (which were costly) and to pay tribal taxes on their earnings. This succeeded in keeping white in-migration levels to a minimum until the mid 1880s, when Congress began to strip tribal governments of their judiciary authority over non-Indian crimes. Congress neglected its responsibility to enforce federal laws against white encroachment, and when the U.S. District Court was established in 1889, tribal officials could no longer enforce tribal laws, including requiring permits and collecting taxes, against non-Indians.¹⁵

There were also financial reasons behind the takeoff of white settlement in Muskogee after 1890. Perhaps the most important reason is that the expansion of federal civil jurisdiction allowed banks to lend money and contracts to be drawn between individuals for the first time. Prior to 1890, the Union Agency's primary function was as to hear and attempt to settle disputes between individuals and businesses who had no legal recourse for civil disputes. After 1890 (and despite a national depression), Muskogee's economy began to grow as individuals and banks capitalized.

As a rule, Muskogee's relative isolation and the barriers to securing capital in the nineteenth century kept its built landscape plain at best and crude and unkept at worst. Commercial buildings were typically of the cheapest, most functional frame construction. Public space, especially the streets, were poor, and sidewalks were nonexistent except where storekeepers had paid for them. Homes, on the other hand, displayed higher levels of aesthetic taste among residents who could afford it. Historic photographs point to Folk Victorian and Queen Anne styles as dominant among the earlier homes. Excellent examples of the former included the Thomas-Foreman Home, a National Register-listed

Folk Victorian home built in 1898, and the Saint Mary's Hospital (the first hospital in Indian Territory), built in 1893. Undoubtedly Muskogee's best example of the Queen Anne style was the Adams Hotel, built in 1889, a four-story mansion reputedly the finest in Indian Territory before it was destroyed by fire in 1899. Several of Muskogee's nineteenth century churches were Gothic Revival frame buildings. Notable examples include the First Presbyterian Church, built in 1875 at what became Fourth Street and Court Avenue; the Methodist "Rock Church" (constructed of native sandstone) at Cherokee Street and Okmulgee Avenue, which stood from 1878 to 1903; and the Catholic Church built in 1886 on what became 2nd Street. Examples of high style architecture in nineteenth century Muskogee were limited to the campuses of the town's educational institutions. The oldest example, which is outside the study area, is the 1874 Union Mission (used by Evangel Mission, a manual labor school for Creek freedmen from 1878), built in the Greek Revival style before the addition of a cupola and other Italianate features. Harrel International Institute, built in 1881, was a three-story, towered Second Empire building that was destroyed by fire in 1899.

Residential and commercial building began to pick up momentum after 1889. The business district suffered two major fires in the latter 1880s, one in 1887, and another in 1889, but each time, merchants quickly rebuilt. Some 1,200 people lived in Muskogee in 1890, and throughout the decade new settlement brought the construction of several new frame churches, private homes, and a substantial business district of false-front stores lining Main Street. At this time the local economy grew with an increase in cotton, corn, and cattle production in the surrounding countryside. A fire in 1894 destroyed eight

buildings in the business district.¹⁶ Muskogee grew substantially after the federal government moved its operations relating to the allotment of the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes there in 1897. Muskogee's population grew from 1,200 in 1890 to 4,254 in 1900, making it one of the largest towns in Indian Territory.

Schools and Churches

Much of the Muskogee study area's relevant education and religious history is grounded in the late 1880s and 1890s, when the first churches and parochial education institutions organized. Although public schools were unheard of in Muskogee until after 1898, Christian mission societies established several institutions of higher education, including the Muskogee Institute for Young Ladies (1875); Harrell International Institute (1881), located on East Okmulgee Avenue between B and C Streets; Minerva Home (1885) operated by Alice Robertson and the Presbyterian Church; and a few subscription schools and other institutions located outside the study area. In 1899 Harrell Institute burned and was replaced by Spaulding Institute. In 1894 Minerva Home expanded to become Henry Kendall College, which later became the University of Tulsa.¹⁷

The Presbyterian Church was established at Fourth and Court in 1875, the (Methodist) Rock Church was built at Cherokee and Okmulgee in 1878, the first Catholic Church was erected in 1886, the First Baptist Church in 1894, and the First Christian Church in 1895. Most of the first church buildings in Muskogee were modest-size, Late Gothic Revival style, weatherboard-clad buildings. Most were replaced within a decade, due to swollen congregations and the advance of commercial development.

Transportation

Muskogee was established as a railroad town in 1872 on the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas (Katy) Railroad. The railroad planners named the site "Muskogee" in honor of the Muskogee (Creek) Nation. Paralleling the old Texas Road, the Katy connected Denison, Texas to the rail network of Missouri. Due to its Three Forks location, in its first three years, the town attracted enough merchants from surrounding trading posts to rise above the functions of other stations along the Katy Railroad.

River transport along the Arkansas remained important despite the expansion of the railroads. Shallow-draft steam packets plied the shallow waters of the Arkansas as far as Webbers Falls most of the year, and as far up as Fort Gibson during high water months. Cotton, grown in the bottom lands north and east of Muskogee was their main down river cargo.¹⁸

Within the settlement of Muskogee itself, the inability to incorporate prevented the establishment of municipal organization, and since Creek law forbade the sale of real estate, no property taxes to support public works could be collected. The result was that Muskogee became a larger and larger mess of a town, having no surveyed streets, blocks, or lots, and no organization to fund public amenities, such as streets and sidewalks.¹⁹ The streets were exceedingly poor, variously described as dustbins in dry weather and quagmires in the rain, were littered with refuse, and scoured by pigs and stray dogs. By the 1890s, as more people settled in Muskogee, the annoyance of lousy streets was overshadowed by the absence of public schools, as unruly, illiterate children became part of the Muskogee streetscape.

The first telephone service in what became Oklahoma was established in 1884 when the Cherokee Nation financed the construction of a line from Tahlequah to Muskogee. The impetus for the line was for the Cherokee government to better coordinate legal activities in Muskogee. Another phone was installed at the Turner Hardware Store in 1886.²⁰

Agriculture

Agriculture in the Muskogee area remained fairly limited until the 1890s. During the 1870s and 1880s ranchers kept commercial agriculture limited to better bottom lands, where crops were grown. Few traditional Creeks, who practiced a form of partial subsistence agriculture lived near Muskogee. On the other hand, a large population of Black Freedmen families farmed around Muskogee. They practiced part-subsistence, mixed grain and livestock farming, and benefitted from the growth of the Muskogee market. The primary crop of the Muskogee area into the late 1890s was corn, some of which was shipped north, and some of which was used to feed cattle in Muskogee. The second most important crop was hay, also for both shipment (south) and local use. Some wheat and oats were grown for local use. By the 1890s, the availability of new equipment and ginning facilities made cotton production again profitable as a cash crop, and this no doubt helped attract the wave of white settlers to the area in latter 1890s. By 1898 cotton production had experienced tremendous growth and was making Muskogee one of Indian Territory's premier export points for this valuable crop.²¹

Certainly one of the most important milestones in Muskogee's agricultural history

is the establishment in 1874 of the International Indian Fair, an agricultural exposition for all of Indian Territory, which has been held continuously in Muskogee. After statehood, the fair became the Muskogee State Fair, the state's third largest.²²

Ranching

After construction of the Katy in 1872, Muskogee evolved as a cattle ranching center with a fairly unique function. The long distance cattle drives had been pushed far to the west by 1874, as Missouri and eastern counties in Kansas enacted quarantine laws against Texas cattle. Some Texas ranchers sold their herds to Cherokee and Creek middlemen who marketed them in Missouri and Kansas as Indian cattle. Creek and Cherokee citizens in the Muskogee area in the 1870s and 1880s also entered the cattle trade by expanding their holdings westward beyond timbered country, onto the prairies of their western nations, and by 1884 they had organized a cattlemen's association to battle rustling and horse theft. Blacks played a prominent role in providing the skill and labor needed on the Creek and Cherokee-owned ranches. Tribal governments attempted to tax the cattle traffic that crossed the region, but Indian ranchers did not allow it, since they benefitted from leasing grazing lands and buying and selling Texas cattle.

Indian Territory pastures offered excellent grazing, but there were also other benefits. By the mid 1880s, the cattle business began to diversify. Stocker-feeder operations emerged as growing surpluses of locally-grown corn began to be used to fatten livestock shipped north from Texas. Frederick B. Severs, one of Muskogee's most prominent citizens, reputedly managed a herd of 20,000 head of cattle between Muskogee

and Okmulgee, which he finished in stock pens and shipped north to Kansas City. Other prominent tribal citizens, including Chief Pleasant Porter, J. E. Turner, and Robert L. Owen (a Cherokee citizen) also claimed large spreads under tribal law and leased these to cattlemen.²³

Ethnic (Non-Native American)

In terms of non-Native American ethnic settlement in the study area, two groups contributed significantly to the ethnic milieu of early Muskogee. The first, and by far the largest ethnic group was that of African-Americans. Blacks had lived in the Creek Nation as long as had the Creeks, coming first as their slaves and concubines. After the Civil War, Creek slaves were made full citizens of the Creek Nation, where they established all-Black farming communities, such as Taft, west of Muskogee. The Creek Nation's African-American population increased after the war as southern freedmen sought to build new lives for themselves in Indian Territory. Thus there were two groups of African-Americans in the Muskogee area in the latter nineteenth century, legitimate Creek Freedmen and Black intruders from southern states. While the Cherokee and Choctaw governments tended to view all Blacks as intruders, the Creek Nation tended not to interfere as Black immigrants migrated to the all-Black towns. Muskogee had a substantial Black community from the outset that grew during the 1890s with new employment opportunities.

A few families of German Jews also settled in Muskogee during the 1880s as a result of a chain migration begun by the Sondheimer family. As early as 1883, the

Sondheimers were purchasing deerskins, furs, wool, pecans, and walnut logs from area traders, which they shipped to Germany.²⁴

Industrial

Few heavy industrial activities were present in Muskogee prior the arrival of Muskogee's second and third railroads at the turn of the century. After agriculture rose with increasing settlement, Muskogee functioned as an important grain milling and cotton ginning center. The industrial section of the town was along the Katy Railroad north of the twin business districts. During the period under study, this industrial sector expanded north and south through the study area. Muskogee's first cotton gin and warehouse was built in 1883 by J. E. Turner, and the Patterson Roller Mill and Cotton Gin opened in 1895. In 1898 Muskogee became one of the most important processing centers in Indian Territory when the Muskogee Cotton Oil Mill and Gin opened for business at Fond du Lac (Martin Luther King) and North Main Street.²⁵ The busiest time of year in pre-statehood Muskogee was in the fall after the cotton was picked and wagons loaded with cotton bales lined up to await sale and processing of the year's crop. Also, lumber yards, such as the one opened by Anderson and Long in 1890, provided some cutting of lumber imported by rail, and served a vital role in new house construction.

Energy

Muskogee was an early location of oil exploration in Indian Territory, although its own oil and gas production boom would come later. A group of Muskogee investors

formed the Creek Oil and Gas Company in the mid 1890s. The first producing well, located at the site of Severs Gin on the east side of the Katy Railroad Tracks, struck oil at 1,200 feet on October 30, 1896. Wells continued to be drilled, and by 1897 three more had struck oil. But because there was no real market for crude oil yet, and since no pipeline system existed, this field remained idle for nearly a decade.²⁶

Commerce

Muskogee's early stores were well-known. Two early stores were the Atkinson and Robb Store and Joshua Ross' Red Front Store, both of which had relocated from further north at Gibson Station in the 1870s. After a fire in 1888, Muskogee received its first insurance agency. Two large stores, the Maddin Hardware Store and the Turner Hardware Store, which provided farm implements and building supplies to settlers in the Muskogee region, opened in 1894.²⁷

A major step toward economic develop in Muskogee occurred in 1890 when federal legislation creating the U.S. Court for the Indian Territory allowed federal banking laws to take effect.²⁸ Past Union Agent/future Senator Robert L. Owen and J. A. Paterson established the First National Bank of Muskogee that year in a new landmark Commercial Style building called the Severs Block, located between Main, Broadway, Okmulgee, and Second (National Register listed 1983), built by F. B. Severs. In 1897 the Commercial National Bank, housed in the new English Block building, opened its doors at Main and Broadway. In 1897 the Muskogee Times reported that the town had a total of 75 businesses.²⁹

Urban

A lack of planning and municipal government in Muskogee prior to 1898 kept the condition of its business district poor. Work on wooden plank sidewalks had only begun in 1898. Travelers and residents alike complained about the poor streets, lack of sidewalks, garbage, and persistent crime in Muskogee throughout the 1890s. The town was also completely vulnerable to fire, a constant threat due to the close proximity of the railroad. At least two major fires swept uncontrolled through Muskogee in 1887 and again in 1888, wiping out a portion of the board-and-batten false-front store buildings. Muskogee's first volunteer fire department was organized in 1893, and as soon as the town incorporated in 1898 a paid fire department was established on Second Street.

Two milestones in the development of Muskogee's infrastructure was the drilling of the first water well at Main and Okmulgee and the privately-funded construction of electricity power lines in 1890. Prior to this time water was costly because it had to be hauled overland from several miles away. Water and electricity allowed the landmark Hotel Adams, built adjacent to the Katy depot in 1889 and perhaps the largest in Indian Territory at the time, to have steam heat and running water. This four story, electric-lighted, Queen Anne mansion also featured individual guest bathrooms for its visiting travelers, lawyers, businessmen, and bureaucrats. It burned in 1899.

Social/Cultural

Social and cultural life in Muskogee followed the pattern of most other young, vibrant towns during the latter nineteenth century. It was also a quite violent place

marked by theft, gun battles, and vigilantism.³⁰ Muskogee's first newspaper, the Indian Progress, was established by Elias Boudinot in 1875. The Indian Journal, which eventually became the Muskogee Phoenix and Time Democrat, has been published continuously since 1876, and ranks as the oldest continuously-published newspaper in Oklahoma. Fraternal orders, lodges, and the like were active early, beginning with the Knights of Pythias and Masonic lodges established by 1887. A brass band entertained Muskogee after it was organized in 1890, and beginning in 1894, the Turner Hardware Store converted its upper floor to an opera house, which also featured plays put on by the college drama clubs.³¹

Allotment/Railroad Period (1898-1912)

Native Americans

The Creek Agreement of 1899 initiated the allotment process in the Creek Nation and induced a flood of white settlement to Muskogee. For the next ten years, land speculators and lawyers dealing in allotted lands across Indian Territory flocked to Muskogee, the seat of the Dawes Commission and the U.S. District Court.³² Traditional Creeks, having been shut out of the political process that was dividing their land, revolted in the Snake Rebellion of 1900, which caused only slight agitation in Muskogee before U.S. marshals rounded up imprisoned Indian dissenters. Allotment proved to be worse than most traditional Creeks could imagine, involving large scale fraud and encouraging a type of legalized swindling known as "grafting." Still, whether made wealthy or impoverished by it, the Creek people endured allotment. Traditional communities

withdrew in isolation while allotted land was plowed, mined, and drilled by white settlers.

Urban Settlement

By 1899 Muskogee was attracting additional railroad connections, it had become the center of cotton production in the region, it was a major cattle transshipment point, and it had a thriving business district. Symbolically, the old century ended on a blustery, sub-zero February day, when the volunteer fire department could not obtain water to try to control the fire that razed Muskogee's substantial Victorian business district.

Although Muskogee incorporated under the Curtis Act in 1898, all of the land on which its 4,000 inhabitants lived, worked, and played still belonged to the Creek Nation (despite the town's lively illegal real estate market). However, the Curtis Act and the Creek Agreement, which outlined the specifics of how the land of the Creek Nation would be allotted, directed federal surveyors to "segregate" the many towns of the nation from the allottable domain. Such segregated "government" towns, including Muskogee, were to be platted into streets, blocks and lots to conform as best as possible with the existing pattern of the town.

The next process involved the appraisal of the values of lots without regard to the improvements on them and the "scheduling" of lots to claimants. The appraisal values of lots took into account only the areal size and location of the lot within the townsite, and not their improvements. Moreover, the entire appraised value of each lot was rarely paid: the Creek Agreement allowed occupants to pay a fraction of the appraised price. Vacant and unclaimed lots were required to be sold for their appraised values.

The federal townsite commission—based at the Muskogee Federal Townsite Survey Office (1899) at 416 West Court Street—was required to schedule lots to their occupants or whomever held legal tribal claim to them. But the federal laws directing the procedure made it much easier for non-Indian squatters to claim town lots for a nominal sum than for the tribes to receive fair market value for their town lands. Lot claimants were not required to prove tribal citizenship; rather, they merely had to have a “permanent” improvement on a lot by the date of the appraisal and scheduling to file. Most vacant lots, it turns out, were claimed by a handful of wealthy citizens who used their tribal affiliation to claim multiple lots. These were most often the merchants who controlled trade in the town and the federal bureaucrats who controlled the information pertaining to the process.

The fire of 1899 eliminated a lot of headaches for the federal surveyors, since up to that time buildings had been placed without respect for straight streets. The surveyors had little problem making Muskogee’s new streets conform to a grid pattern. But since Indian Territory had not yet been surveyed, they aligned the street grid with Main Street, which paralleled the Katy Railroad, instead of the cardinal directions. Subsequent additions to the town, which were platted after section lines were established, now frame the 1899 plat plainly on Muskogee street maps; on the ground the original townsite is demarcated by numerous street jogs and odd-shaped (and mostly unused) lots.

When the Secretary of the Interior approved the plat in 1900, merchants had filed their claims to lots and began building stores, shops, offices, and homes. While claiming lots was fairly easy, securing deeds to them was a long process involving much red tape.

The law allowed lot claimants about three and a half years to pay off their lot(s), and most people took advantage of the deal, since they could use it tax free as long as title remained with the Creek Nation. Once a lot claimant had paid the entire required sum, it took another six months or so for Creek authorities to cede the land to the federal government. Then the Department of the Interior created a deed to the lot and conveyed it to the claimant. After about four years, the lot claimant gained a deed to his lot, which he could then legally sell or mortgage. Confidence in the final outcome did not stop some from buying and selling claims, but for most, and especially those who could afford to claim several dozen (even a hundred or so) lots, the government's lot alienation process provided a huge, tax-free windfall when their deeds were secure and could be mortgaged.³³

By 1904, Muskogee was growing so fast that most of the study area's lots had been alienated from the Creek Nation, and the first set of additions beyond the study area were opened for residential development. Included was Reeves Addition (1904). In August 1907, it was reported that more than 500 new homes were under construction. The future looked so bright that a "100,000 Club" was formed in that year, with the intention to boost Muskogee's population to a six-figure population. In 1908, Muskogee hosted the Oklahoma Democratic Convention, and was seen as the party's capital in Oklahoma.³⁴ Muskogee County's population did grow enormously between the census years of 1907 from 37,467 to 52,743, at least in part to federal legislation in 1908 that removed restrictions on many allotments and placed large amounts of land on the private market.³⁵ The city of Muskogee grew from 14,418 to 25,278 in the same period.³⁶

Transportation

Federal surveyors also changed the direction of Muskogee's growth by realigning it along its east-west transport routes. By 1899 the downtown was being squeezed in by railroad development on three sides. The Katy Railroad had become a barrier on the east side of downtown, the Katy pond blocked further development to the north, and a new east-west railroad line crossing the Katy was making the area south of downtown congested. So in 1899, federal townsite surveyors redirected Muskogee's downtown orientation from Main Street (which parallels the Katy from northeast to southwest) to Broadway (east-west), which focused growth toward the west.

The Muskogee Southern Railroad and Ozark and Central Railroad began service to Muskogee in 1902 and 1903, and the Midland Valley Railroad arrived in 1904. By 1904, six railroads served Muskogee, including 14 daily passenger trains. An interurban line connected Muskogee directly to Tahlequah, and in 1904 the Katy Depot and Roundhouse and the Missouri, Oklahoma, and Gulf Railroad station grounds were built in Muskogee. The Missouri Southern, Katy, Pullman Company, and Muskogee Union Railroad established their division headquarters in Muskogee by 1904, making the town a major regional rail center.³⁷

Plans for an electric streetcar system came to fruition in 1904 when the Muskogee Traction Company, operated by C. N. Haskell and others, began providing service. By 1905 streetcar service was operational in the business districts of both the East and West Sides (made possible by the construction of the Court Street Viaduct in 1904), and was extended the entire length of the original townsite along West Broadway and South

while larger regional service centers like Muskogee attracted more business, experienced economic diversification and manufacturing job creation, and increased population.

Ethnic (Non-Native American)

Racial tensions arose in Muskogee after a race riot in 1904, which tended to isolate the Black population for much of the century. A separate business district, located near the junction of the Katy and Midland Valley Railroads, became a separate commercial center for Muskogee's African-American population. A number of prominent Black professionals and merchants led the creation in 1904 of the *Muskogee Comet*, an African-American newspaper.

The German immigration stream that began with the Sondheimers in the early 1880s brought a number of German families to Muskogee during the pre-statehood years. Additionally, a large proportion of Midwesterners who came to Muskogee had German ethnic heritages. The penchant for things German was strong enough to lead a group of Muskogee men to form the German Athletic and Social Club, by the time of statehood.⁴¹

Polish Jews arrived in Muskogee after 1910 and became active in the retail clothing industry and banking. Worship took place in homes in the early years, and a synagogue was later built.

Industrial

The industrialization of Muskogee is the product of the town's successful railroad development, namely the arrival of the Midland Valley Railroad, in 1904. The industrial

Fifteenth Street on the West Side, and north C Street and Lawrence on the East Side. The streetcar line pushed residential and commercial activities away from the twin business districts and allowed development of posh new residential developments on the periphery of the original townsite and beyond.³⁸

Downtown streets finally began to be paved in 1904, and construction on a waterworks was initiated. Also in that year, the predecessor of Oklahoma Gas and Electric began installing gas and an updated electrical grid throughout the town. By 1905 telephone service had reached approximately 400 residences and was growing.³⁹

Agriculture

Muskogee's urban construction boom just prior to statehood was echoed in the countryside, where thousands of families were carving farms from previously uncultivated land. Their rapid conversion of prairie land to cotton and corn fields was assisted by revolutionary new farm machinery that had been invented and manufactured in the Midwest and transported by rail to Muskogee. A round of good crop years and crafty lawyers encouraged rapid alienation of Creek allotments into private hands after 1904 and even more again after 1908, when Congress rescinded the restrictions on the sale of non-Indian and the allotments of mixed blood allottees.⁴⁰

According to the 1910 census, corn remained the most common crop raised. By 1916 corn production had been exceeded by cotton production in the Muskogee area. The changeover from rail to automotive transport, as well as farm enlargement resulting from increased mechanization, began the decline of smaller agricultural market centers

sector that emerged along the Katy Railroad north of the business districts in the 1880s and 1890s by this time had reached to the south of the study area by the turn of the century, where the Midland Valley connected with the Katy Railroad. This spawned the development of a new warehousing district south of the twin business districts. At the same time, Muskogee boosters (who included statehood-minded Congressmen and railroad board members) managed to convince the railroads to locate their regional machine shops in Muskogee, which provided hundreds of new railroad jobs and spun off several related industries.

Sand from the Arkansas River has contributed much to the local economy as a source of construction materials and in the manufacture of glass products by local industries. Corning and other manufactures established factories along the railway north of Muskogee's business district in the boom years following statehood.

In the way of agricultural processing, in 1903 Muskogee had a cotton compress, 3 cotton gins, a cottonseed oil mill, and 2 grain mills. The number of lumber yards grew almost every year to keep up with the construction industry. By 1912, the area had attracted a diversity of heavy industrial activities including the Muskogee Foundry, the Muskogee Iron Works, the Muskogee Metal and Culvert Company, the Muskogee Vitrified Brick Plant, the Muskogee Tool Company, the Muskogee Crushed Stone Company, and the Miracle Cement Block Plant. Lighter manufacturing included the Muskogee Furniture Factory, Muskogee Bottling Works, Acme Engraving, Ford Cigar Manufacturing Company, Cunliff Sash and Door Manufacturing Company, Hoffman-Speed Printing Company, Bowman Stationery, and Pioneer Bookbinding Company.

Between 1903 and 1911, the number of manufacturing plants grew from a few dozen to 144.⁴²

Energy

The Muskogee oil field was opened in 1903, eight years after oil was discovered in the town. By December of that year, a gusher was spraying oil on the homes near the field. The shallow wells produced enough petroleum to convince a subsidiary of Standard Oil to construct a refinery south of Muskogee under the name of the Muskogee Oil Refining Company, which was located outside the present study area. The refinery produced lamp kerosene, lubricating oil, and industrial fuel, and was the state's earliest oil refinery.⁴³

Government/Politics

When the United States went to war with Spain in 1898, some 200 mounted volunteers were mustered from the Muskogee. After training in Muskogee, they saw action in the Caribbean, giving Muskogee a special connection to the Rough riders.

More locally, Muskogee incorporated in that year, and Muskogee elected its first mayor, P. J. Byrne, on June 1, 1898. One of the first acts of the Muskogee City Council was to allocate funds to support a Fire Department. The period 1898-1912 saw some major bond issues passed, including \$550,000 for waterworks and sewers (1908), \$300,000 for schools (1909), and \$565,000 enlarging waterworks and schools (1911).⁴⁴

The most important political event that took place in Muskogee during the 1898-

1912 period was the Sequoyah Convention, which met in the town in the summer and fall of 1905. The constitution of the proposed State of Sequoyah was drawn by 182 delegates and was chaired by Pleasant Porter. The constitution was ratified by the people of Indian Territory by a margin of 86% in 1905, but Congress denied statehood for Sequoyah. When Congress approved statehood for the combined Indian and Oklahoma Territories two years later, two prominent Muskogee democratic proponents of the Sequoyah movement, Charles N. Haskell and Robert L. Owen, became the first Governor and Senator, respectively, of the State of Oklahoma. Moreover, Muskogee was made the county seat of the county with the same name, and a large courthouse building was built on the West Side business district.⁴⁵

Muskogee played host to a number of famous people at the turn of century, including William Jennings Bryan and George Washington Carver. The largest event, and a major coup for Muskogee boosters, was the Transcontinental Commercial Congress, which Muskogee hosted in 1907. To attract the conference, Muskogee financed the construction of a large, 2,000-seat Conference Center.⁴⁶

Commerce

The Allotment/Railroad Period began with the fire of February 1899, which destroyed half of Muskogee's West Side businesses, including the Adams Hotel, the English Block Building, the Turner Hardware Store, and the Katy Depot. But this was the start of Muskogee's boom period, and the fire hardly put a damper on Muskogee's prosperity. Clarence W. Turner cashed his insurance check on his smoldering hardware

store and used it to import several train carloads of merchandise that he sold at a discount before beginning construction on his new, bigger, brick building.⁴⁷ In 1901, Congress allowed corporations to organize in Indian Territory, which allowed easier capitalization of firms and increased the scale of business activity in Muskogee. Larger office buildings began to be constructed, such as the Brown-Dunkin Building (1901), the Iowa Building, with the first elevator to Indian Territory (1904), the Indianola Building, a five-story skyscraper (1905), the Steward Building (1910), located at 300 East Broadway Street, the Markert Block Building (1910) at 300-400 East Dayton Street, and the new Federal Building (1911), the most impressive yet, was built at 107 North Fifth Street.

The banking industry thrived as real estate transactions accelerated. Between 1903 and 1911, the number of banks increased from 6 to 10 (three were added in 1904), including one owned and operated by and for African-Americans. To this were added a number of building and loan associations. After 1905 the home construction boom could be gauged by several new lumber yards and construction company openings. The best-known of these was the H. E. Ketcham Company, established in 1907. By 1912, Muskogee had become a thriving town filled with a variety of businesses serving a large agricultural and petroleum-producing hinterland. Muskogee businesses provided a number of urban services, including the full-service laundry provided by Parisian Cleaners (b. 1926) located at 316-318 West Court Street.⁴⁸ Muskogee's place in the railroad network was undoubtedly behind this phenomenal growth, as can be seen in the rise of wholesaling in Muskogee: in 1903, when the town had only the Katy, there were 10 wholesale companies, but by 1911, when Muskogee had seven railroad connections,

there were at least 53 wholesale companies.⁴⁹

Schools and Churches

In 1900 three public schools were built: one on the Westside, one on the Eastside, and one for Blacks. College attendance, which included that of two institutions beyond the study area, was 1,200. By 1904 three new schools were added beyond the study area. Churches continued to build for larger and larger congregations. The late Gothic Revival style Grace Episcopal Church, for example, was built in 1905, and the Baptists built a larger building on Division Boulevard (Seventh Street).

Social/Cultural

As Muskogee grew between 1898 and 1912, its social relations evolved from that of a town to a full-fledged city. The community baseball league begun in 1899 evolved into one with dozens of teams supported by Muskogee's business by 1912. The Lyric Theater was built at Third and Broadway in 1901, and this was followed by construction of the Hinton (later called the Ritz) opera house in 1904 at Third and Court Street. Muskogee's theaters at the time of statehood were the Hyde Park, the Wigwam, the Hinton, the Broadway, and the Lyric. The Convention Hall was also used as a theater.⁵⁰

Muskogee's largest full service hospital during this period was the Oklahoma Baptist Hospital, built in 1909 on the 500 block of Martin Luther King Street. The period was also marked by serious social matters, including a violent labor strike by brick workers in 1903, a race riot in 1904 and other forms of persecution of Blacks by white

hate groups. Newspapers were also complaining of prostitution and organized crime by 1910.

Eastern Oklahoma Oil Boom Period (1912-1928)

Transportation

By the end of the First World War, automotive transport was taking over as the chief form of overland transportation. Muskogee was still a railroad town, and its industrial base depended on multiple railroad connections, but better county roads, paving of streets in town, and the great availability of automobiles was reshaping Muskogee. Growth of the county tax base allowed bridges and roads to be built, and with the advent of the automobile, allowed farmers to market their crops much further from their farms than when they had to use a horse and wagon. Within Muskogee, by the early 1920s, the streetcar was becoming an obsolete form of intraurban transportation as people chose the speed, flexibility, and freedom of their cars over slow, public, electric rail service.⁵¹

As in many areas of the Great Plains, the railroads tended to overbuild during the boom years. As automotive transport became more important, typically the last railroad lines built were the first to be abandoned, since they were not as profitable as the original lines. Passenger lines were very unprofitable after 1920, making this service a very short-lived one in Muskogee.

Agriculture

Although farmers experienced good crop years and returns generally in the 1910s,

the third and fourth decades of the century were much bleaker. Mechanization and rising farm production prior to the war met collapsing prices during the 1920s. Since 1900, Indian Territory and Oklahoma led the nation in the rate of farm tenancy. Many of these small farms were lost due to low farm commodity prices after 1919. Muskogee's maximum cotton acreage was reached in 1924 and has declined steadily ever since. Most of the period between 1912 to 1928 was one of increasingly poor circumstances for farmers in the Muskogee region.⁵²

Industrial

Warehousing and food processing activities continued to grow during the 1912-1928 period in Muskogee. The Hale Halsell Grocery Company Warehouse (1904), located at 424 North Main Street, represents one of that corporation's earliest operations in Oklahoma. Hale Halsell's East Side competition was Griffin's Cash and Carry Grocery (1917), located at 324-328 South Cherokee Street. This first Griffin store in Muskogee was a subsidiary of a large family business based in McAlester. By 1925, however, the firm relocated its headquarters to Muskogee, where it began a very successful business specializing in the processing of canned goods and other food processing activities. Their main plant is the Griffin Food Company Canning Facility (1925), located at 211 South Cherokee Street, a four story factory building.⁵³

Other industrial activities established during this period were the Knotts Bakery Company (c. 1915), located at 204 East Okmulgee Avenue, a Tudor Revival building apparently designed by the same builder of Smith's Drugstore, the Federal Townsite

Survey Office, and the filling station at 303 East Okmulgee Avenue. Nelson Furniture Company, one of Oklahoma's oldest, continually-operating furniture retailers, was established in Muskogee in 1922.⁵⁴

In terms of warehousing, reputedly the first poured-concrete commercial building in Oklahoma is the Owen Building (1927), located at 319-430 Elgin Avenue, a three story, flat-roofed, concrete Commercial Style warehouse with a Midland Valley Railroad spur between twin warehouses. It is the longtime home of Muskogee Transfer and Storage Company.

Energy

Oil production in Muskogee leveled off during the 1920s, but the town continued to be important as a federal Indian policy administrative center. Access to mineral rights on Indian allotted lands opened for oil and gas development throughout the former Indian Territory required business interests to be in Muskogee. Muskogee's Pure Oil Refinery, located south of the study area, doubled its capacity in 1926, just prior to the collapse of oil prices in 1928, the year Oklahoma's oil industry plunged the state into a depression.⁵⁵

Commerce

The 1912-1928 period was one of increasing retail and consumer-related business growth. Among the surveyed properties built during this period were Smith's Drugstore (1915), located at 821 West Broadway Street, the Muskogee Hotel (1922), the Peters Building (1922), located at 820 West Broadway Street, and the Art Moderne building

located at 300-308 East Callahan Street (c. 1925).

Urban

Between 1910 and 1920, Muskogee County's population grew from 52,743 to 61,710, which was relatively slower than the previous decade. The City of Muskogee grew from 25,278 to 30,277, increasing its share of the county's population from 47% to 49%. By the mid 1920s, Muskogee's population boom was essentially over (Figure 1).

Social/Cultural

The boom period of the 1920s was one of strong civic activity. Fraternal organizations were formed and built new clubhouses, such as the Masonic Temple (1925), located at 121 South Sixth Street. The Muskogee Daily Phoenix and Times Democrat Building (c. 1920), at 214 West Wall Street, housed the oldest newspaper in the state. In 1910 Muskogee was designated to receive a Carnegie Library, which was built three years later at 401 East Broadway.⁵⁶

Muskogee became a regional health care center for east central Oklahoma during the 1910s. In 1911, the Oklahoma School for the Blind was moved to Muskogee from Fort Gibson. It received a new site in 1914 on land donated by Charles Haskell and was visited by Helen Keller in 1915. Physicians Hospital was built in 1914. A national smallpox epidemic of 1919 tested Muskogee's health care infrastructure.⁵⁷

Muskogee's theaters were constructed in the 1920s and provided entertainment for people in the area for the next few decades. These included the Hinton Theater

(1925), the Ritz Theater (1925), and the Roxy Theater (c. 1925). The Ritz was the first to convert to enable sound-equipped movies in 1928. The Roxy is the only surviving theater from this era in Muskogee.⁵⁸

The Great Depression Period/New Deal Period (1928-1941)

Agriculture

Having gone through a decade of falling prices, by 1928, the problems of farmers in the Muskogee area were compounded by the onset of the Great Depression and the most severe drought in recorded history. Farm acreage declined during the 1930s. Wheat production became virtually impossible, while cotton and beef production were severely affected by drought and low prices. Cotton production received its final blow in 1933, when the Agricultural Adjustment Act subsidized landowners to take land out of production. This resulted in the eviction of a huge share of the area's tenant farmers and almost all the sharecroppers. Many farms were lost to foreclosure, and the population of Muskogee declined as people migrated to the West Coast and to metropolitan areas in search of labor opportunities.

The later part of the 1930s brought the introduction of new federal financial support and conservation measures for eastern Oklahoma's hard-hit agricultural economy. Erosion control techniques and rangeland improvement measures developed by agencies such as the Soil Conservation Service helped the region's farm economy begin to heal. The federal government instituted price controls in the marketing of cotton and designated Muskogee as a regional market center. In time these led to a gradual removal

of cultivated land from cotton production for improved cattle grazing land. While Muskogee remained a regional cotton market, this industry would wither after the 1940s as more and more land was converted into cattle grazing land. Thus Muskogee's most important agricultural processing activity, cotton ginning, was eliminated by mid-century.

Government/Politics

New Deal make-work programs brought a degree of relief to the Muskogee area's economy. Four of Muskogee's government-related properties were built in the study area during the Great Depression period. These include the Muskogee Municipal Building (1930), located at 231 West Okmulgee Avenue, and the National Guard Armory (1936-37) a W.P.A.-constructed property, and about 1940, the two Moderne fire stations at 807 East Okmulgee Avenue and Junction Street and West Okmulgee Avenue. Other Depression era construction projects helped put Muskogee citizens back to work in the 1930s, but most of these are located outside the study area. Other improvements include work on public school buildings and park improvements, namely a number of facilities at Honor Heights Park on the west side of Muskogee.

Commercial

Since the Great Depression/New Deal Period was a time of enormous economic stagnation, few commercial-related properties represent this period. Exceptions include the 1932 Bon Oil Company service station at 328 East Okmulgee Avenue and the Bradley Funeral Home at 1020 West Okmulgee, which was constructed about 1940.

Religion

In terms of religious activity during the Great Depression/New Deal Period, many of the church congregations of Muskogee did not markedly grow, since the town's population generally stagnated and very little capital was available to erect new facilities. An exception to this rule was the 1938 construction of Muskogee's Beth Israel Jewish Temple, located at 320 South Ninth Street.

New Deal/War Period (1937-1950)

Agriculture

Agriculture finally began to recover somewhat after federal intervention in the late 1930s and adjustments in farm practices in the 1940s. One of the adjustments that helped stabilize the Muskogee region's agricultural economy was the successful introduction of truck farming. Truck farming crops in the Muskogee area focused on the production of spinach, beans, and orchard crops (peaches) which could be processed and sold on the national market. Truck farming focused on the better bottom lands of the Arkansas River, and steadily brought land formerly used for cotton back into stable production. The growth of truck cropping also provided Muskogee's canning industry, led by the Griffin Food Company and the Bush Canning Company, to expand their operations and markets. The Marshall Plan, which followed the war, increased farm commodity prices as the United States exported billions of dollars worth of aid to rebuild western Europe.⁵⁹

Transportation

The period dominated by the Second World War was one of recovery in the Muskogee area. By 1940 automobile use was ubiquitous, and was beginning to shape the retail and residential landscape. Road improvements, such as the expansion of U.S. 69, connected Muskogee with other towns formerly founded as Katy Railroad towns. Retail businesses, like restaurants and service stations, also reflected the importance of the automobile in everyday life. Moreover, residential properties began to have larger and more obvious garages. By 1940, the study area had been completely developed for at least two decades, so transportation changes generally resulted in intrusions and destruction of earlier properties. One of two properties documented from the WWII/Post-WWII Period reflects the rise of the automobile in American life after the war, the 1948 Chrysler-DeSoto Dealership Building at 540 West Court Street.

One of the longest-discussed and eventually most significant transportation-related watersheds in Muskogee's history was the planning and construction of the Kerr-McClelland Navigation Channel. Formal studies for a waterway linkage to the Mississippi began in 1928. Construction on the canals, locks, and dams began in 1952. The channel was operative beginning in 1971.⁶⁰

Industrial

The military industrial complex associated with the Second World War brought increased industry to Muskogee (albeit not to the study area per se). The construction industry, always important in Muskogee, benefitted enormously by the construction of

nearby Camp Gruber, an army training facility that brought millions of federal dollars into Muskogee's economy during the war and postwar years. Muskogee's glass industry was also expanded due to government contracting. The north side of Muskogee (outside the study area) gained a new industrial complex to which Fort Howard Paper Company located after the war.

Government/Politics

Two nearly identical local government-related properties were documented by this survey: the Muskogee Fire Department Station Number 4 (c. 1940), located at 807 East Okmulgee, and the Muskogee Fire Department Station Number 3 (c. 1940), located at Junction and West Okmulgee. These are one story, flat-roofed, stucco Art Moderne fire station buildings with parallel grooves, curved walls, vertical projections, and glass block windows.

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A standard comprehensive account of the state by one of Oklahoma's most prolific authors.
- . Muskogee: The Biography of an Oklahoma Town. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1943.
One of two of Foreman's histories of Muskogee, this book is an invaluable source on understanding Muskogee's development and growth prior to statehood. A thematic history that focuses primarily on Muskogee's growth during the 1890s, prior to Foreman's arrival.
- . Muskogee and Eastern Oklahoma. Muskogee: Star Printery, no date.
A brief historical summary of Muskogee's development.

Foulke, William Dudley. "Despoiling a Nation." The Outlook 91 (January 2, 1909): 40-44.

Critical account of how federal Indian policy facilitated fraudulent town lot claims in Muskogee at the turn of the century. Extremely valuable in understanding how sections of the Curtis Act were used to claim lots at a low price by town settlers.

Franks, Kenny A. The Oklahoma Petroleum Industry. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980.

The best historical overview of the petroleum industry in Oklahoma.

Fugate, Francis L. and Roberta B. Roadside History of Oklahoma. Missoula, Mont.: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1991.

Useful listing of major events related to specific locales in the state.

Fullerton, Eula E. "The Story of the Telephone in Oklahoma." The Chronicles of Oklahoma 12 (1934), 251-257.

Interesting and valuable account of the development of telephone service between Muskogee and Tahlequah in 1886 and subsequent development of telephone service development after statehood.

Gibson, Arrell Morgan. Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries. Second Edition. Norman, Okla.: Harlow Publishing, 1981.

The most widely-used text on Oklahoma history in high school history classes. Authored by a pre-eminent Oklahoma historian.

Gill, Ed (ed). Through the Years: A History of the First Baptist Church, Muskogee, Oklahoma, 1890-1965. Muskogee: Hoffman Printing Co., 1965.

A locally-published history of the Muskogee First Baptist Church.

Gittinger, Roy. The Formation of the State of Oklahoma, 1803-1906. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939.

A scholarly history of events leading up to the creation of the state.

Goble, Danney. Progressive Oklahoma: The Making of a New Kind of State. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980.

A political and social history of the evolution of the Oklahoma Constitution, including an examination of labor relations and socialism in the state.

Goins, Charles R. and Morris, John W. Oklahoma Homes: Past and Present. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980.

This handsome collection of photographs plus introductory text categorizes Oklahoma homes by chronological period.

Gottfried, Herbert, and Jan Jennings. American Vernacular Design, 1870-1940: An Illustrated Glossary. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1986.

An outstanding guide to both residential and commercial building design in the United States, including simple illustrations. Extensive, well-thought-out text accompanies a systematic treatment of house and building styles.

Gould, Charles N. Travels Through Oklahoma. Oklahoma City, Okla.: Harlow Publishing, 1935.

An excellent early description of Oklahoma's physical geography, such as soils, vegetation, and landforms. Written by the director of the Oklahoma Geological Survey.

Green, Donald E., ed. Rural Oklahoma. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1977.

This collection of readings focuses on specific crops and livestock that played important roles in Oklahoma's agricultural history.

Harger, Charles Moreau. "The Indians' Last Stand." The Outlook 70 (January 25, 1902): 217-222.

Important critical examination of the process of land alienation that was emerging in Indian Territory during the allotment process. Details process of claiming town lots in Muskogee and other towns, and describes Muskogee as the center of Indian Territory land alienation.

———. "Oklahoma and the Indian Territory as They are To-Day." American Monthly Review of Reviews 25 (February, 1902): 177-81.

Details life in the "twin territories" at the turn of the century. Includes description of how individuals claimed town lots, and the local economies of Indian Territory towns. Includes description and photo of downtown Muskogee.

Harris, Phil. This is Three Forks Country. Muskogee: Hoffman Printing Company, 1965.

A brief book of historical snippets on the nineteenth century Muskogee area.

Harrison, Henry S. Houses: The Illustrated Guide to Construction, Design and Systems. Chicago: National Institute of Real Estate Brokers, 1973.

A comprehensive introduction to house design and construction components. Includes excellent sketches of major house styles, their distinguishing characteristics, and histories, as well as good illustrations of decorative details.

Henderson, Arn, et al. Architecture In Oklahoma: Landmark & Vernacular. Norman: Point Riders Press, 1978.

This book includes a collection of excellent photographs on a wide array of buildings and structures taken throughout the state. Organized by chronological period.

Hendricks, Allan. "The Land of the Five Tribes." Lippincott's Magazine 58 (1896), 670-76.

Description of economic patterns and social relations in Indian Territory during the 1890s.

Hinton, Richard J. "The Indian Territory,—Its Status, Development, and Future." American Monthly Review of Reviews 23 (April, 1901), 451-58.

A lengthy article describing Indian Territory towns, the future of Indian land tenure, and the town platting process. Devotes long paragraph to description of Muskogee.

Historical Records Survey. Division of Women's and Professional Projects, Works Progress Administration, Inventory of the County Archives of Oklahoma, No. 51 Muskogee County (Muskogee). Oklahoma City: The Historical Records Survey, 1937.

Depression-era catalog of county archives in Muskogee County.

Hofsommer, Donovan L. (ed.) Railroads in Oklahoma. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1977.

Written by an author who probably knows more about Oklahoma railroad history than any other student of the subject, this anthology provides general information

as to dates of construction of railways that influenced the development of the study area.

Hudson, E.H. "Ten Days' Outing in Indian Territory." Outing 34 (1899), 566-71.

Account of recreational hunting expedition in Indian Territory. Describes abundance of game and includes several illustrations.

Jenness, Theodora R. "The Indian Territory." Atlantic Monthly 43 (April 1879), 444-53.

This article is one of the earliest, most descriptive traveler's accounts of railroad towns in Indian Territory. The author, a woman traveling along the M.K.&T. Railroad, wrote descriptively about each station at which she stopped, including Muskogee, at the time the region's major entrepot of overland freighters moving supplies west to the southern plains.

Jordan, Terry G. "Early Northeast Texas and the Evolution of Western Ranching." Annals of the Association of American Geographers 67 (1977), 66-87.

This excellent piece of geographical scholarship documents the spread of Anglo Southern ranching skills. Includes an important discussion of the role played by Indian Territory ranchers in the evolution of western ranching systems.

Longstreth, Richard. The Buildings of Main Street: A Guide to American Commercial Architecture. Washington, D. C.: Preservation Press, 1987.

A handy guide to commercial building styles and their principal architectural features in small towns and large cities of the United States. Excellent photos.

Kyvig, David E. and Marty, Myron A. Nearby History: Exploring the Past around You. Nashville: The American Association for State and Local History, 1982.

Excellent introduction to conducting local historical research, such as the use of local archives, county records, family histories, and Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps. A methodological must for developing historical contexts.

Masterson, V.V. The Katy Railroad and the Last Frontier. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952.

A colorful, yet well-researched history of the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad, the first line built through what became Oklahoma. Much of the book relates directly to the early development of Muskogee, one of the Katy's primary towns in Indian Territory.

Maxwell, Amos. "The Sequoyah Convention." The Chronicles of Oklahoma, 28 (1950), 161-187.

A detailed, day-by-day account of the Sequoyah Convention, held in Muskogee in the summer of 1905 in order to write the constitution for the proposed state of Sequoyah.

McAlester, Virginia and McAlester, Lee. A Field Guide to American Houses. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984.

The most important field guide for identifying architectural styles and decorative details when conducting historic preservation surveys. A standard in the field.

McReynolds, Edwin C. Oklahoma: A History of the Sooner State. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954.

A detailed political history of the state written by a history professor at Oklahoma State University. This book was used as a text in university-level Oklahoma history courses.

Merserve, Charles F. The Dawes Commission and the Five Civilized Tribes of Indian Territory. Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1896.

A reform-minded, pro-allotment indictment of corruption and avarice among tribal governmental leaders and the socioeconomic elite of Indian Territory in the years leading up to the congressional mandate of allotment in 1898.

Miner, H. Craig. The Corporation and the Indian: Tribal Sovereignty and Industrial Development in Indian Territory, 1865-1907. Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1976.

One of the best-researched histories of political and economic conditions in Indian Territory prior to statehood. Examines how business interests seeking access to natural resources were able to undermine the political ideals that protected the governments of the Five Civilized Tribes. Describes the importance of Muskogee as the legal center for economic control of Indian Territory resource wealth.

Moore, Matthew R. Moore's Directory of the City of Muskogee, Oklahoma. Muskogee Phoenix Publishers, 1909.

Brief but valuable narrative of Muskogee's founding and early development. Listing of area, locations, and dates of construction and addresses of office

buildings in Muskogee in 1909.

Morris, John W. et al. Historical Atlas of Oklahoma. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986.

This is the best historical atlas of Oklahoma that exists. It covers a variety of topics, from cattle trails to railroads. Includes excellent, well-researched textual material with each map.

———, ed. Cities of Oklahoma. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1979.

A good collection of essays on urban patterns and specific cities and towns in Oklahoma. Includes chapter by C. W. "Dub" West titled "Muskogee and the Three Forks Area."

———, ed. Geography of Oklahoma. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1977.

A useful collection of essays on various topics relating to the geography of Oklahoma, such as agriculture, transportation, and cities and towns, in which Muskogee is mentioned.

Morris, Mary E. "Bibliography of Theses on Oklahoma in the University of Oklahoma Library." Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1956.

An very useful guide to theses relating to Oklahoma in the University of Oklahoma library prior to 1956.

Muskogee Chamber of Commerce. Muskogee, Indian Territory. The Industrial Pordigy of the New Southwest. Muskogee: John H. N. Tindall Company, Publishers, 1903.

A rare, but excellent commercially-produced book on Muskogee. Extensive, documentary-style photographs of Muskogee landscape and buildings as they appeared at the turn of the century.

Peterson, Fred W. Homes in the Heartland: Balloon Frame Farmhouses of the Upper Midwest, 1850-1920. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992.

Interesting and useful source on commercially-produced frame construction homes for farm and middle class urban families during the latter nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Extensive chronological and stylistic analysis of foursquare "box" houses, which are extremely common in Muskogee.

Platt, Orville H. "Problems in the Indian Territory." The North American Review 160 (1895), 195-202.

Presents the many arguments for bringing Indian Territory into the Union as a state. Describes town settlement processes in Muskogee and other places and their need for adequate government and public infrastructure for non-Indian citizens.

Phillips, Steven J. Old House Dictionary: An Illustrated Guide to American Domestic Architecture, 1600-1940. Lakewood, Colo.: American Source Books, 1989.

A very handy reference guide to terms relating to architectural features. Filled with simple drawings and includes an excellent cross-referenced index.

Ralph, Julian. "The Unique Plight of the Five Nations." Harper's Weekly 40 (January 18, 1896), 10-15.

An anti-allotment, pro-Indian description of Indian Territory written during the period when allotment was being debated by Congress. Describes conditions in each of the Five Nations, including a section on land use in the Creek Nation.

Reps, John W. Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979.

The most comprehensive work to date on the history of frontier town planning in the United States. This large volume is full of early plats. Each state is treated in a separate chapter, including one for Oklahoma. Federal town planning in Indian Territory is discussed at length, with much space given to Muskogee.

Ruth, Kent. Oklahoma Travel Handbook. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977.

Compiled by one of the state's more noted historians, this travelogue of the state contains brief local histories. Muskogee is examined on pages 157-158.

Shirk, George H. Oklahoma Place Names. 2d ed. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974.

This is the most recent study on the origins of city and county names in Oklahoma. A long list of town names, their origins, and post office operation dates.

Sizemore, Jean. Ozark Vernacular Houses: A Study of Rural Homeplaces in the Arkansas Ozarks 1830-1930. Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1994.

An excellent, analytical, cross-disciplinary study of vernacular housing in a section of the Ozark region. Includes many historical and field photographs of house types also found in the Muskogee study area.

Smith, Henry A. 500 Small Houses of the Twenties. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1990.

Reproduction of a 1921 publication on middle class houses. Full of photographs, floor plans, and elevation sketches. Good resource for determining authenticity of stylistic details on houses.

Snider, L.C. Geography of Oklahoma. Norman: Oklahoma Geological Survey, 1917.

Provides good overview of physical geography in Oklahoma.

Thoburn, Joseph B. and Wright, Muriel H. Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People. 4 Vols. New York: Lewis Publishing company, 1929.

A four-volume set that give a detailed story on Oklahoma to the 1920s.

Thurston, Emily. "A Ride Through the Indian Territory." The United Service n.s. 5 (June, 1891), 563-67.

An early, popularly-published account of a stage traveler passing through Indian Territory. She encounters several people who live in Muskogee who describe the town.

Tindall, John H. N. Muskogee, Indian Territory. Muskogee: John H. N. Tindall Company Publishers, 1907.

Good early historical description of Muskogee and surrounding area prior to statehood.

Watts, Fred G. "A Brief History of Early Higher Education Among the Baptists of Oklahoma." The Chronicles of Oklahoma 17 (1939), 26-34.

Examines early history of Muskogee's Bacone College.

West, C. W. "Dub." Muskogee, I. T. The Queen City of the Southwest. Muskogee: Muskogee Publishing Company, 1972.

This is perhaps the most-detailed collection of historical facts on Muskogee from its founding in 1872 to statehood written by Muskogee's most energetic community historian. Newspaper-based accounts are organized chronologically. Large number of historical photographs of Muskogee. Includes extensive index.

———. Muskogee: From Statehood to Pearl Harbour. Muskogee: Muskogee Publishing Company, 1976.

Continuation of newspaper-retrieved chronicle of Muskogee's development from 1907 to 1941. Arranged chronologically and filled with useful historical photographs. Includes extensive index.

———. Turning Back the Clock. Muskogee: Muskogee Publishing Co., 1985.

A useful, but briefer examination of Muskogee's history written by the city's most knowledgeable community historian.

Williamson, Harold F., et al. The American Petroleum Industry: The Age of Energy, 1899-1959. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1963.

A comprehensive history of petroleum production organized by economic regions, including a history of Oklahoma's petroleum production.

Williams, John and Meredith, Howard L. Bacone Indian University: A History. Oklahoma City: Heritage Books, Inc., 1980.

An overview of the Indian University, later known as Bacone College, located in Muskogee.

WPA Guide to 1930s Oklahoma. Lawrence, Kans.: University Press of Kansas, 1986.

With a new introduction by Anne Hodges Morgan, this is an updated version of the 1941 edition compiled by the Writer's Program of the Works Progress Administration.

Wright, Muriel H. A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951.

Covers Creek (pp. 128-145) Nation of eastern Oklahoma.

———. "The Indian International Fair at Muskogee." The Chronicles of Oklahoma 49 (1971), 14-25.

Interesting examination of the origins of the Indian International Fair at Muskogee as told in account of Will R. Robinson.

Historic Contexts

Black Protestant Churches of Muskogee

Buildings Associated with T. F. Renfrow

Pre-Statehood Commercial District of Muskogee

Pre-Depression Skyscrapers of Muskogee

Territorial Homes of Muskogee

WPA in Region #3

XIII SUMMARY

The Reconnaissance Level Survey of a Portion of Muskogee, Oklahoma identified, evaluated, and documented a total of 184 properties in the approximately four-square mile study area designated by the OK/SHPO. All properties were surveyed with minimum level documentation, including the completion of the OK/SHPO Historic Preservation Resource Identification Form and at least two 5 X 7 black and white glossy photographs.

1. Fourteen (14) individual properties were recommended for National Register consideration.
2. Fifty-seven (57) individual properties were deemed worthy of further study.
3. Ninety-eight (98) properties were recorded as contributing resources to the three proposed districts. These include Kendall Place Residential District (41 properties), Founder's Place Residential District (47 properties), and Capital Place Residential District (10 properties).
4. One National Register listed property was surveyed and updated with form and photograph, the Grant Foreman House (NR listed 1973), located at 1419 West Okmulgee Avenue. This property is a contributing resource to the Kendall Place Residential District.
5. Thumbnail sketches for three (3) proposed districts were outlined with tentative boundaries and justifications for intensive level surveys.

6. Twelve (12) non-contributing resources to the three proposed districts were recorded at a minimal level of documentation.
7. Five (5) thumbnail sketches of areas that did not meet qualifications for intensive level survey were developed.
8. One-hundred twenty-nine (129) of the surveyed properties were residential (both single or multiple). Single dwellings were by far the dominant property type surveyed in the Muskogee study area.
9. Eleven of the properties surveyed in the Muskogee study area were commercial-related. These were the second most common type of property in the study area.
10. Some seven transportation-related properties were surveyed in the study area. Transportation-related properties were the third most common type of property.
11. Additional types of properties surveyed in the Muskogee study area included government-related (6), religion-related (5), industrial (3), education (2), social (1), defense (1), recreation (1), and health care (1).
12. Residential areas in Muskogee are characterized by an exceptional variety of architecture, including both vernacular and high style. Within the study area, no fewer than eighteen (18) distinctive architectural styles were surveyed and recorded at a minimal level of documentation. These include: Colonial Revival (44 examples), Prairie School (27), Bungalow/Craftsman (17), Commercial Style (16), Queen Anne (15),

Classical Revival (15), Tudor Revival (14), Mission/Spanish Colonial Revival(6), Moderne (5), Renaissance (3), Late Gothic Revival (3), Shotgun (2), Beaux Arts (1), Shingle Style (1), Romanesque (1), National Folk (1), Folk Victorian (1), and W. P. A. Standardized Style (1).

13. The commercial area in Muskogee is characterized by a majority of one to three story buildings and includes several skyscrapers. Additionally, the central business district of Muskogee contains a one-block National Register-listed commercial district named the Pre-Statehood Commercial District (NR listed 1983), located between West Okmulgee Avenue, West Broadway Avenue, and North Main Street and North Second Street. This survey concluded that no further commercial districts were justifiable, although several individual properties in the commercial area were recorded as warranting further study.
14. The Muskogee study area contains a wealth of large, turn-of the century era, Classical Revival style single dwellings and several significant Classical Revival style non-residential buildings.
15. Five (5) Muskogee synagogue/churches were evaluated for their architectural significance. These include two of the Mission/Spanish Colonial Revival style, and one each of the Colonial Revival, Late Gothic Revival, and Classical Revival styles.

Overall, Muskogee possesses numerous cultural resources that meet age eligibility requirements and retain some degree of architectural and historical significance. An intensive level survey is advised for portions of the Muskogee study area. Several individual properties and proposed historic districts that retain a high level of historic and architectural integrity deserve immediate attention and early nomination to the National Register, while other individual properties and proposed districts are in need of rehabilitation.

In terms of individual properties, several are included on a proposed endangered historic properties list for Muskogee. These are:

1. Two National Register eligible railroad station buildings built in 1911, the Midland Valley Passenger Depot at the 200 block of Elgin Avenue, and the Frisco Freight Depot, at the 300 block of Elgin Avenue. The former is abandoned and the latter in use as a woodcraft shop, but both may be threatened by future roadway expansion.
2. Two National Register eligible properties demand immediate attention due to their potential for dilapidation: the Reuben Evans Home (1524 East Broadway) and the C. B. McCluskey Home (533 North Twelfth Street). These two large Classical Revival style single dwellings are among the oldest and architecturally significant single dwellings in Muskogee.
3. Additionally, the W. M. Gulagar Home (1503 East Okmulgee Avenue), the Charles C. Hultquist Home (1303 West Okmulgee Avenue), the Griffin-Hayes Home (1517 West Okmulgee Avenue), and the J. O.

Callahan Home (1604 East Broadway Street) each deserve National Register nomination, although their integrity appears not to be threatened at present.

4. National Register nominations for the Federal Building (107 North Fifth Street), the Masonic Temple (121 South Sixth Street), the Muskogee Municipal Building (231 West Okmulgee Avenue), the Muskogee Public Library (401 East Broadway), the National Guard Armory (328-336 East Callahan Street), and the Oklahoma Baptist Hospital (500 Block Martin Luther King Street) should be initiated, although none of these properties appears threatened.

In terms of districts, it is suggested that Kendall Place Residential District be given the strongest consideration for intensive level survey due to its high density of intact historic properties, its large number of National Register-listed properties, and its historic significance to Muskogee's historic context.

XIV. ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW

The built environment has long been understood to be a physical record of a society's values. For those versed in 'reading' the vocabulary of the built environment it is possible to identify, analyze and draw conclusions about that built environment. Through this process one is able to see where a culture chooses to spend its time, effort and money, and, by extension, one is able to understand the values of the culture that built that environment. The purpose of this architectural review is to make observations, based upon the evidence provided by the built environment, as to the values of the early community of Muskogee, Oklahoma, as well as to identify the most architecturally significant properties within the study areas. This review begins with general comments about Muskogee and the structure of this survey. This is followed by an identification and analysis of specific properties within the survey. Finally, a discussion of the values represented in the survey concludes this review.

As summarized in the Results (Part VII) of this survey, the physical record of Muskogee's historic built landscape represents five recognizable periods in the city's historical development: (1) the 'Indian Territory Administrative Period' (1874-1898); (2) the 'Allotment/Railroad Period' (1898-1912); (3) the 'Eastern Oklahoma Oil Boom Period' (1912-1928); (4) the 'Great Depression/New Deal Period' (1928-1941); and (5) WWII/Post-WWII (1941-1950). As was also noted, several of the architecturally significant properties from these periods have already been listed on the National Register, as is the Commercial District. This survey focuses on the built environment from these five periods that have not previously been documented. Given that this survey represents only a 'partial record' of Muskogee's built environment, one can only draw conclusions about the environment

represented by these particular properties, and not about the entire community of Muskogee.

Given the temporary focus and utilitarian nature of the 'Indian Territory Administrative Period' (1874-1898), one does not find many architecturally significant buildings from this era. Rather, the focus during this period of Muskogee's history must have been on the job at hand, and not on establishing a built environment which embraced permanence and/or design. The only building of note from this period is the Henry Kendall College President's home at 426 S. Kendall Blvd., an 1894 Queen Anne brick 2 ½ story structure located in the proposed Kendall Place Residential District.

This pragmatism continued during the beginning of the 'Allotment/Railroad Period' (1898-1912). As with other railroad communities of the time, growth must have happened rapidly, and, as identified in the Results, this growth was initially focused on warehousing and agricultural commodity processing. Neither this rate of growth nor the industrial nature of these pursuits typically lend itself to architecturally significant construction, and the examples present in this survey follow this tendency. The only commercial property worthy of note from the early part of this period is the Maddin Hardware Store Building, done in 1899, a three-part commercial brick and stone structure that emphasizes corner and entry with some Italianate characteristics. At the start of this period there were also a few residential properties worthy of note (again in the proposed Kendall Place Residential District), namely those at 414 (Tudor Revival) and 432 (Colonial Revival) S. Kendall Boulevard, both dating from 1900.

As the town matured during this period many of the Muskogee properties currently on the National Register were constructed, as were a majority of the properties included in this survey. It is from the latter part of this period that many of the survey's buildings of note originated.

Commercial properties from this period are the Oklahoma Baptist Hospital, a four story brick commercial structure dating back to 1909, the three-part commercial Markert Block Building, a unique tapered corner building at 300-400 E. Dayton Street, and the Classical Revival Federal Building, located at 107 N. 5th Street. Once the community established itself the people of Muskogee invested in several religious properties worth architectural mention: Grace Episcopal Church, a Late Gothic Revival design located at 218 N. 6th Street (1905); First Methodist Episcopal Church, a less sophisticated Classical Revival design with strong Italianate influences which is located at 520 E. Houston Street (1911); and the Church of the Assumption, an elaborate brick 1911 Colonial Revival design located at 550 S. 3rd Street.

Residential properties from this period are quite numerous. Those in the proposed Kendall Place Residential District are the residences at 210 (2 ½ story Craftsman Bungalow), 226 (2 ½ story Queen Anne), 229 (2 ½ story Romanesque) and 408 S. Kendall Boulevard (2 ½ story Craftsman Bungalow) as well as 1320 Boston Ave. (1 ½ story Prairie Style) and 415 S. 13th Street (2 ½ story Queen Anne), all dating from 1910. Those in the proposed Founder's Place Residential District include the Oscar Hayes' House, a 1907 Classical Revival residence located at 555 N. 12th Street, 510 N. 13th Street (a 1910 Prairie Style), the George Lyon House at 415 N. 16th Street (a brick 1910 Colonial Revival) and 438 N. 16th Street, a 1910 Mission/Spanish Colonial Revival, 117 S. 14th Street (1910, Italianate) as well as the following residences along West Okmulgee Street: 1303 (1906, 2 ½ story brick Colonial Revival); 1412 (1907, Prairie Style with Italianate influences); 1416 (1910, Craftsman Bungalow); and 1504 (1910, Tudor Revival). Other miscellaneous residences from this period include the 1903 Reuben Evans Home, a brick Classical Revival structure located at 1524 E. Broadway Street, 624 E. Callahan Street (2 ½ story wood Craftsman Bungalow), 1501 E. Okmulgee

Avenue (Queen Anne) and 1107 Elgin Avenue (2 ½ story wood Queen Anne from 1910).

The 'Eastern Oklahoma Oil Boom Period' (1912-1928) further established the downtown area with the following structures: the Muskogee Public Library, a 1913 brick and stone Classical Revival building; the Peters Building, a brick two part commercial building at 820 W. Broadway Street (1922); the Masonic Temple at 121 S. 6th Street, a 1925 Classical Revival building; and the Owen Building, a three-part commercial structure located in the 300 block of Elgin Avenue (1927). A curious commercial building from this period is the gas station located at 501 N. 7th Street, a petite, cupola-topped 1925 structure, which feels remarkably comfortable in it's residential context. During this period two apartment structures worthy of note were also established at 525 (1920 Colonial Revival) and 545 (1924 Late Gothic Revival) N. 6th Street. Residential properties from this period include the Graham-Carroll House, a three story brick and stucco structure located at 501 N. 16th Street (1924, Founder's Place Residential District), 1518 W. Okmulgee Street (1920 Craftsman Bungalow in the proposed West Okmulgee Residential District), and 821 W. Broadway Street, an energetic, playful 1915 eclectic structure.

The Great Depression/New Deal Period (1928-1941) saw Muskogee establish its 1930 Municipal Building (City Hall) at 231 W. Okmulgee Avenue. Other survey properties worthy of architectural note from the period are: the Muskogee Fire Department Station # 4, a stucco Art Deco structure with a strong horizontal emphasis (1940); and the modest Beth Israel Jewish Temple (1938), located at 320 S. 9th Street and curiously designed in the Spanish Colonial style. Even at this point in Muskogee's existence, the built landscape exhibited very simple, basic values by virtue of an unpretentious application of architectural style.

In reviewing the properties of this survey a general characteristic is evident, namely that

almost all building designs are modest in character, materials and execution. Many are difficult to identify as particular styles because they implement only partial elements of a style, and often when this is done it is without sophistication of detail and/or proportion. For this reason I question the use of the description 'grand' in the survey's narrative regarding its 2+ story residential properties.

Another curious aspect of both the survey and the list of National Register Buildings is that neither contains a school or a bank, both of which are typically significant structures in early communities of this sort. It was also noted that Muskogee was the location of the 'Henry Kendall College' which was later moved to Tulsa, eventually becoming the University of Tulsa. Considering these facts as a measure of the community's values, especially in combination with the previously mentioned modest nature of the building designs, I suggest that education, style, and fashion were, at the least, not high on the community's list of priorities. Some people might further conclude from this that the community lacked an educational level to implement or appreciate a more sophisticated existence; however, I do not feel that there is sufficient evidence to draw conclusions of this type in one way or the other.

Finally, I would like to support the survey's recommendation of establishing two residential districts, namely the Kendall Place Residential District and the Founders Place Residential District. My reason is not specifically because of the architectural character of the individual properties, but rather because there exists a concentration of period residences in these areas that are further supported by the development practices of landscaping, street right-of-way proportions, sidewalk placement and building placement. This combination results in clearly identifiable districts that should serve as models for future community development.