A Tour on the Prairies
21st Century

Washington Irving’s A Tour on the Prairies
Autumn 1832
Reproduced on 21st Century
Oklahoma Roads
Today’s Names for Yesterday’s Places

Tour Guide
Julia Brady Ratliff

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My STORY

Natural Cathedral

Our family lived on the trail that Washington Irving followed on his way through Tulsa. My dad and my grandpa told me all about him – often. Grandpa loved Fort Gibson, another spot on the trail, but for dad it was the neighborhood. Every time my dad and I came over the ridge east of the river, I would hear about the Robin Hood Scene that Irving saw. Dad would say that Mr. Irving came over the same ridge into the Arkansas River Valley. Dad would talk about the huge fires and the tents and the young rangers that Irving and his friends saw in 1832. He would encourage me to think about the smells of the fires and the roasting venison. We would wonder together about what men would smell like who didn’t use much soap and had no washing machines. While we talked and he told his stories, I would imagine.

Since Irving’s Tour was in autumn, that time of year would bring it back to mind. On Halloween we had huge bonfires in our back yard. There we would roast wiener and marshmallows on long, strong sticks. My dad and I would take the short walk down to the river to find and whittle those sticks. By the time we took the trip to the Arkansas River through golden trees and leaves as crisp as the weather, dad was in the mood for stories. He would ask me if I thought the huge trees arched above us, looked like the roof of a cathedral. Of course I did. Certainly it was as beautiful and sacred as any church I’d ever been in. And the trees with their deep shadows at noon were just the least bit scary too. Daddy would suggest that maybe Irving camped right at this place on the river, right where we were whittling sticks. Later in the evening darkness as we placed the food on the sticks, as we roasted and ate, the firelight would bounce off the huge trees in my yard and again I would remember Irving and I would imagine.

I hope that as you enjoy this 21st Century Tour that recreates Washington Irving’s 19th Century Tour, you can imagine too. I hope you can enjoy today and get delightful glimpses into yesterday.

© 2017 Julia Brady Ratliff (918) 743-5751
juliabrady@cox.net
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A Tour on the Oklahoma Prairies
21st Century Tour, 19th Century Commentary

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Ever After & Bibliography
A Tour on the Prairies
October 10, 1832 – November 9, 1832

Autumn was perfect that year. There were days with a pure transparent atmosphere that seemed to bathe the very heart with gladness, sunsets of a clear apple green, and calm beautiful nights. Even experiences with fire and water were nothing more than counter notes to all the perfection. Washington Irving, author of The Tales of Sleepy Hollow, enjoyed a month long Tour in what would be Oklahoma in 1832. He told us all about it in the book he called A Tour on the Prairies. He saw a West that has disappeared forever, yet one that still exists. For example the prairies, the hardwood forests, and the Cross Timbers are diminished, but still on the trail. The Muscogee Creeks, the Osages, the Delawares, the Pawnees, and the Cherokees are still with us here in Oklahoma. Now they are our friends and neighbors, our teachers and our preachers, our doctors and our lawyers. Before you start to meet everyone else, you need to know something about the author and Tourist.

Who is Washington Irving?
A 19th Century Author who is popular in the 21st Century
New Editions

1985
Tales of Sleepy Hollow
Headless Horseman and Rip Van Winkle
Tales from the Alhambra
The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus
The Life of George Washington
A Tour on the Prairies

2004
Prince of Birds, Adapted from an Irving Story

2005
Three Western Narratives, A Tour is one of the Three
The Original Knickerbocker, Washington Irving Biography

2007

An Exemplary American
1832 Super Star Author
Ambassador to Spain
Friend Extraordinary to All, Great and Common
2007 Star Author
He has 95 Books in the Tulsa City-County Libraries.

A Friend to his Fellow Travelers
And those travelers were an excitable teenager, Count Albert Alexandre de Pouriutâé, a brilliant Renaissance Man, Charles Joseph Latrobe, and a nearly perfect Commissioner to the Indians, Henry Leavitt Ellsworth.
Why did Washington Irving come West?

In the autumn of 1832 Washington Irving and three friends came west for adventure, for research, and for buffalo. A series of events had to take place to bring them here to Oklahoma. If any of these events had not occurred, the Tour would never have included Irving and friends and *A Tour on the Prairies*, an incomparable view of the American West, would not have been possible.

1. The Indian Removal Bill was passed on June 30, 1830.
2. Southeastern Indians would be forced to new homes in Oklahoma.
3. In 1832, Commissioners were appointed to help prepare for the Removal.
4. One Commissioner resigned.
5. Henry Leavitt Ellsworth took his place and headed west.
6. Washington Irving came home to America in 1832.
7. As Irving boarded the ship homeward, he met a scholar and a teenager.
8. The three became friends as they traveled from Europe to America together.
9. Irving the author, Charles Joseph Latrobe the scholar, Count Albert-Alexandre de Pourtalès the teenager, and Henry Leavitt Ellsworth the Commissioner headed west from New York toward Detroit.
10. All four travelers boarded a ship and began to see Lake Erie.
11. They met and after discussion decided to continue west together.
12. They forgot all about Detroit.
13. They headed south to the Ohio River, and toward St. Louis.
14. They met Colonel Auguste Pierre Chouteau of the great French trading family, when they reached St. Louis.
15. Chouteau needed to take a trip from St. Louis to his home near Fort Gibson so he accompanied Commissioner Ellsworth, and the other Tourists.
16. On June 15, 1832, Secretary of War Lewis Cass called for the recruitment of a ranger battalion. Rangers were mounted soldiers, a better match for the Indian horsemen of the prairies.
17. Captain Jesse Bean recruited rangers in Arkansas and came to Fort Gibson.
18. When Ellsworth and Irving reached Fort Gibson, the rangers were already traveling out toward the prairies.
19. Ellsworth and Irving decided to follow the rangers and they did.
20. Ellsworth and Irving met Pourtalès and Latrobe at Three Forks and they left together.
21. They met the rangers in Tulsa, before it was Tulsa.
22. *A Tour on the Prairies* started and ended at Fort Gibson.

Autumn 1832 in Oklahoma


A Tourist in the West, Autumn 1832

Washington Irving Meeting the Osage

East of Tulsa near the Arkansas River on October 12, 1832

Oklahoma State Senate Art, at Capitol

![Image](image_url)

(At the Osage village) We found that all the young men of the village had departed on a hunting expedition, leaving the women and children and old men behind. WI

Where did A Tour on the Prairies take place?

The information about the date and crossing of each of these Oklahoma Rivers is presented in Washington Irving’s own words in A Tour on the Prairies.

- Start at Fort Gibson, October 10, 1832.
- Across the Grand and Verdigris Rivers, October 10, 1832.
- East along Arkansas River, October 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 1832.
- West across Arkansas River, north of Cimarron River, October 15, 1832.
- West, traveling north of Cimarron River, October 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 1832.
- South across the Cimarron River, October 22, 1832.
- South from Cimarron River to North Canadian River, October 22, 23, 24, 25, 1832.
- South across North Canadian River. October 25, 1832
- South across the Little River, October 31, 1832. East across the Little River, November 1, 1832.
- North across the North Canadian River, November 3, 1832.
- East across the Deep Fork River, November 6, 1832. North across the Arkansas River, November 8, 1832.
- East across the Verdigris River, November 8, 1832. East across the Grand River, November 9, 1832.
- Return to Fort Gibson, November 9, 1832.
Maps

Early Editions of *A Tour on the Prairies*

21st Century Maps

All of the national, state, and county roads are identified in detail as you follow the Tour Guide.
Are there other Washington Irving Trails?

Washington Irving’s Trail in New York

Up the Hudson River

Bottom - Born, Wall Street, New York City
Middle - Beloved Home, Sunnyside on the Hudson
Top - Burial, Sleepy Hollow Cemetery

La Ruta Washington Irving in Spain

La Ruta Washington Irving takes tourists from Seville to Granada.

www.spain.info
What was it like in Oklahoma in 1832?

SETTING

In 1832 Fort Gibson looked much like the fort looks today. It was rebuilt during the Great Depression. Your 21st Century Tour begins here.

*On the morning of the 8 of Oct, we reached the north side of Neosho or Grand River; and came in site of the numerous little log buildings, that compose Fort Gibson lying on the opposite side of the river . . . the barracks were erected in a square form 700 by 800 feet.* – HLE 2

In the autumn of 1832, the Arkansas, Grand, the Verdigris, the Cimarron (Red Fork), the North Canadian, the Deep Fork and all the feeder streams and creeks were the resting-places and campsites for the Tourists for twenty-nine days. There were open prairies and deep woods, gentle ridges and bald hills. Lofty trees forming thick canopies were the rule along the Arkansas River. Dwarf forests of cast iron called the Cross Timber, Irving’s spelling, appeared as the Tourists approached the buffalo prairies. In 1825, the Osages had given over their lands to the Cherokees and to the Muscogee Creeks. The Cherokees and Muscogee Creeks were here and so were the Osages.

1832 was a time before the west knew of cameras, railroads, or highways. Eastern and western Indians met in curiosity, suspicion, and hostility along the Arkansas River. Buffalo roamed. Cougar prowled. William IV was King of England and Victoria was a young girl; who will be queen. Washington Irving was an established and honored writer and a very young Charles Dickens was writing, but not published.

The War of 1812 was long ago. The great Shawnee Chief Tecumseh was dead. The 49’ers in their hundreds will pour out across these prairies and buffalo plains for gold. The Trails of Tears were nearing. In Illinois, the Black Hawk War was over. Black Hawk received our Tourists, as they were traveling west. A young man from Illinois won a first election to become an officer in that war. His name was Abraham Lincoln. The Mexican War and the Civil War were ahead. Fort Gibson will feel those wars, but not yet. Future enemies are still friends. In the fall of 1832 Ellsworth reported in a letter that cholera was raging.

* . . . cholera has broken out among the Choctaw emigrating Indians who have reached Little Rock – CIL HLE 91 (Appendix)*

The worst the Tourists developed on the Tour, were rashes and chronic diarrhea, annoyance, more comical than fearsome and there were the little blue pills for diarrhea. There were native plants to make you sleep or sweat and coarser ways of curing man and beast.

*My horse has thus far performed the journey very well—His back has occasionally swollen, but whenever the swelling appeared, Billet or Antoine plunged in a knife and by letting out the blood, the back immediately recovered.* – HLE 99

Mostly, the Tourists, the guides, and the rangers were happily healthy.

* . . . Our physician has become a useless piece of furniture.* – CP 41

Missouri was a state; Arkansas was not. Washington, Jefferson, Adams and Monroe were gone. Madison remained. During the Tour, Andrew Jackson, friend to the poor white man, enemy to the Southeastern Indian Nations, was reelected President. There was no telegraph so the Tourists would know who won much later.

In 1832 religion was everywhere...

*The churches are open sheds in which the people pray when the weather is good, or miserable little shacks into which they pile for the same reason when the weather is bad . . . much more numerous than they are beautiful.* – CP 32
TECHNOLOGY

If you saw Washington Irving at work on his journal in the evenings before sleep, you would have seen pencils and pens in his hand. “Notes Concerning the Far West” was his working title for the journals. The journals themselves were small string bound books roughly 2.5 x 4 inches in size. He purchased one particular brand before the trip, “Livermore, Hall & Company Approved Memorandum Books with Metallic Pencils.” It was still a hard task to write in ink, so his drawings were all in pencil.

On the eastern waterways, even as far as Fort Gibson, steamboats were a common sight. Irving and his friends traveled down the Ohio and on to the Mississippi on steamboats. There were so many steamboats on American rivers by 1832, that collisions were common. The first American train ride took place in 1825, just five years before Irving’s Tour. Still, as a general rule, people traveled on or behind horses.

On the Tour, there were two preserved foods, salted pork which they brought with them, and jerked meat which they salted and smoked on the trail.

The soldiers had long poles over their fires covered with small pieces of venison, which had been salted a very little—After the meat has been smoked a few hours, it is called jerked, and can be transported a great distance without damage—indeed, it is excellent to eat without any farther cooking . . . I often relieved my appetite by chewing a small slice of jerked venison. HLE 31

Axes, knives, rifles, pistols, and cooking pots were used on the Tour. Everything was carried by pack horse, not wagons. The Rangers brought their own weapons to Fort Gibson, ancient guns that might have been used in the Revolution and the latest and most up to date with revolving chambers and percussion caps instead of flintlocks.

Stacks of rifles . . . leaning against . . . the trees, and saddles, bridles, and powder-horns hanging above them . . . WI 48

Pourtalès carried a glass to see off into the distance, probably a monocular or a spyglass. It could also be a binocular as Irving called it an opera glass in his Western Journals. The glass was used for safety and curiosity out on the open prairies.

Were they Indians? If Indians, were they Pawnees? . . . Our conjectures were soon set at rest by reconnoitering the two horsemen through a small spyglass . . . WI 84

Lighting in the east was by candles and lamps, as it was in the settled west. Lighting on the prairie campsites was from immense fires. The rangers and the guides had kits to create their fires which they did even in pouring rain.

-- spunk, & flint, & steel . . . the spunk, when fired by a spark from the steel will communicate a blaze to many dry objects, by a little blowing – small dry sticks, are first added – then larger limbs, until logs, are burnt with ease – when there is no spunk, a piece of paper saturated with wet gun powder, will by the aid of a spark, communicate a blaze – but, it is when the leaves are drenched with rain, when nothing dry, is seen around, that difficulties and delays beset you . . . once . . . I was wet “through & through” . . . my excellent servants . . . looked for an old dry tree – the outer bark was wet – but they cut into the tree, and found some light decayed wood, that was dry – with . . . the help of dry roots which have been protected from the rains by the inclination of the tree . . . a fire was slow(l)y got up – HLE 27 28

We know that Ellsworth and Irving shaved each morning. So there must have been razors with them or at least something as sharp as a razor. And there was soap, though not often in use.
PLANT LIFE

TREES
The trees the journalists saw and recorded included (American) beeches, butternuts, wild cherries, cottonwoods, dogwoods, (American) elms, haws (hawthorns), hickory, black locusts and honey locusts, mimosa, (red) mulberries, blackjack oaks/scrub oaks (a scrubby tree), burr oaks, pin oaks, post oaks, pawpaws/papocans, pecans, persimmons/plaquemines, pines, Chickasaw plums/sand plums/sand hill plums/sloes (eastern plums), poplars, sassafras, sumacs, sycamores/plane trees, walnuts, and willows. The plane trees that were mentioned were probably a variety of sycamore, common along the streets of London.

Irving and his fellow Tourists never mentioned redbud or cedar. There are perhaps reasons why each of these was not mentioned. The redbud shows its glory each spring. In the fall it is a rather small kind of a tree and it fairly droops with long brown papery leaves. So it is not as noticeable at the time the Tourists would have seen it. It also was not common in Irving’s home in the northeast.

Cedar trees, ubiquitous in the 21st Century, were controlled by the Indians with fire in the 19th. This was to shape the landscape for deer and to destroy insects and their eggs. Cedar does not thrive when there is annual burning. Probably the only place cedar was seen by Irving and his fellow Tourists was in a few deep canyons.

... we observed, as on former nights, a dusky, red glow in the west, above the summits of the surrounding cliffs. It was again attributed to Indian fires on the prairies... WI 75

Then again on October 20, the fires blended in with the feeling of fall.

The weather was verging into that serene but somewhat arid season called the Indian Summer. There was a smoky haze in the atmosphere that tempered the brightness of the sunshine into a golden tint... This haziness was daily increasing, and was attributed to the burning of distant prairies by the Indian war parties. WI 106 107

Osage Orange or Bois D’Arc or hedge apple or hedge or if you are very southern bodark, was not mentioned by the Tourists. You will see Osage Orange Trees at the picnic ground at Fort Gibson and read more about this interesting tree.

To identify the trees on the Tour, use the source Forest Trees of Oklahoma edited by Elbert L. Little, Jr., Chief Dendrologist (retired), published by the Oklahoma Forestry Services, State Department of Agriculture in 2002. Using the Irving’s list of trees, identification is easy using this source. The pen and ink drawings are beautiful and precise. Seasonal colors are described. Shape, size, and growing conditions are detailed.

OTHER PLANTS
One plant was everywhere at the beginning of the Tour, pea-vine or peavine or pea vine or pea-vines. For horses, it was what catnip and milk together were for cats. When the horses weren’t eating pea vines and getting plump, they were rolling in pea vines and getting happy.

The horses banqueted luxuriously on the pea-vines, and some lay down and rolled amongst them. WI 41

Pea-vines, perhaps Astragalus Canadencens, were plants of the eastern river bottoms. They began to play out mid trip and then the horses began to play out. It is difficult to get a handle on just exactly what plant the journalists were talking about as they extolled the virtues of pea-vines. The possibility of the plant mentioned comes from Doyle McCoy’s books on Oklahoma plants and from www.missouriplants.com.

Here, at this season, they feed upon the pea-vine, a very nutritious plant which abounds in all the wooded alluvial grounds of ‘bottoms’ of the Western Prairies. CIL 7
Commissioner Ellsworth also understood the worth of pea vines.

... At noon we stopped to rest our horses amidst pea vines (their most delicious food)... HLE 14

Even before the coffee was gone, the Tourists enjoyed the plant life around them. Sassafras tea with its miscellaneous collection of leaves is mentioned. It smells a lot like root beer and is tolerable. It is goldenrod tea though that is beloved.

... my nerves cannot bear coffee, or East India tea, I asked him to gather the first he found... it is sudorific, gently stimulating and an active diuretic—in large quantities it is a laxative. HLE 17

The scientific Latrobe gave goldenrod its scientific name, solidago odora. He grieved when the supply of this delicious tea maker was exhausted.

... flour, sugar, and salt, was all exhausted; the bundle of ‘solidago odora’ which we had made use of as tea, had long been expended. CIL 83

At one point a scented brake of mint and sumac is described. The plants that Irving and the other journalists saw and recorded included horse bean, brambles, buffalo grass, cane/canebrakes, golden rod, grape vines/sour grapes/fox grapes/winter grapes, grass/buffalo grass, green briar/tear blanket, mint, mistletoe, pea-vines, water lilies, and whortleberries. To help identify plants along the Tour, use Roadside Flowers of Oklahoma by Doyle McCoy, published by Doyle McCoy in Lindsay, Oklahoma in 1976. This source is invaluable. Mr. McCoy gives an accurate view of pea vine, his spelling. He gives a good description of the pea vine and a detailed color photograph. Other Tour plants described in this source are brambles/blackberries, goldenrod, his spelling, mint, mistletoe, sumac, and water lilies.

GRASSLANDS, WOODLANDS, FORESTS

The primary ecosystems of the Tour are the Prairie Grasslands, the Cross Timbers, and the River Bottom Forests. You will see them all on your Tour.

Prairie Grasslands with Creek

There are short grasslands, mixed grasslands, and tall grasslands. The Tour crossed the mixed grasslands, but in many places the tall grasses would rule. Irving mentions grasses in general and buffalo grass in particular. Buffalo grass grows short, 8 to 10 inches, in dry uncultivated places. Among the other grasses of the prairies of Oklahoma are Indiangrass, switchgrass, the little bluestem, and the big bluestem. The big bluestem can reach a height of six feet, eight feet, and more. It is often called turkey foot because of the shape of its seed heads. Once the dense stands of big bluestem are established, they squeeze out other grasses. It has deep, deep roots and keeps neighboring grasses in the shade. It may well have been bluestem that the young Count experienced on October 21.

... riverbanks were covered with grass so tall... the horses disappeared. CP 63

Cross Timber Woodlands

The tourists anticipated the Cross Timber with dread before it appeared and remembered it with distaste when it disappeared. The Cross Timber or Cross Timbers or Cross-Timbers or cross-timbers formed a formidable barrier. You can still see the Cross Timbers on your Irving Tour. Watch for thick dwarf forests of post oak and
blackjack oak interspersed with cedar. As you know, Irving would not have seen the cedar. Irving describes these woodlands as loathsome.

. . . that scattered belt of forest land, about forty miles in width, which stretches across the country from north to south, from the Arkansas to the Red River . . . called the “Cross Timber.” WI 108

Irving continued his comments.

The Cross Timber . . . a rough country of rolling hills, covered with scattered tracts of post-oak and black-jack . . . fires made on the prairies by the Indian hunters . . . penetrated these forests, sweeping in light transient flames along the dry grass, scorching and calcining the lower twigs and branches of the trees, and leaving them black and hard, so as to tear the flesh of man and horse . . . It was like struggling through forests of cast iron. WI 124 125

River Bottom Hardwood Forests

Today the ancient trees along Oklahoma’s waterways are majestic. The canopies still evoke the gothic arches of Europe’s spectacular cathedrals. In 1832 on Oklahoma’s major rivers, the oaks, elms, and cottonwoods towered, willows danced, and vines laced. It was in these places, with fertile soil, places rich with vegetation, that the horses reveled in pea-vine.

We were overshadowed by lofty trees, with straight smooth trunks, like stately columns; and as the glancing rays of the sun shone through the transparent leaves . . . I was reminded of the effect of sunshine among the stained windows and clustering columns of a Gothic cathedral . . . there is a grandeur and solemnity in our spacious forests of the West, that awaken in me the same feeling I have experienced in those vast and venerable piles, and the sound of the wind sweeping through them, supplies occasionally the deep breathings of the organ. WI 41

ANIMALS

There are animals the Tourists exult about and those they mutter over. A beautiful wild horse could send the entire encampment into a high state of excitement. A Prairie Dog Republic could make everyone walk the entire mile from the fireside to sightsee. A snake of any kind was anathema at night. Lice were not to be suffered.

Birds The Tourists watched all the birds. They ate the turkeys and sometimes the prairie hens. Other birds mentioned were Bustards, Cranes (snow white), Wood Ducks, Falcons, Wild Geese, Prairie Hens (chickens), Meadow Larks, Burrowing Owls, Owls, Pelicans, Quail, Ravens, Starlings, Swans, Turkeys, Vultures/ Turkey Buzzards. To identify any birds that Irving saw, use The Audubon Society Field Guide to North American Birds, Eastern Edition by John Bull and John Farrand, Jr., published by Alfred A. Knopf in New York in 1992. This is the book that stays beside the author’s window to be used at a moment’s notice if a new bird appears in the forest. It is a Chanticleer Press Edition. A bird can be identified according to behavior, range, size, shape, diet, color, and wingspread.

Fish The fish they saw included the Pickerel, Roache/Sunfish. With all the warm blooded game to choose from, the Tourists did not mention meals of fish. Once Mr. Latrobe did go fishing, but it didn’t seem fish met with the fire or the frying pan.

Mr Latrobe tried angling in the creek which surrounded us with much success The fish were not large, but
Insects The insects were nearly quiet by the end of the Tour. The insects mentioned included Bees, Catydids (Katydid), Centipedes, Crickets, Grasshoppers, Lice (Louse), Mosquitoes, Moths, Wood Bugs. To identify these insects, use Insects and Spiders by John Farrand, Jr., published by Alfred A. Knopf in New York in 2003. This is A Chanticleer Press Edition of the National Audubon Society Pocket Guides. The color photographs are brilliant. There are also black silhouettes, short narratives, and a written description for identification. Also included are habitats, ranges, and life cycles.

Mammals Domestic Domestic animals were increasing in the farms established by the Creeks and the Cherokees.

The numerous swine that started every now and then, by the side satisfied us that the Creeks had a great supply of Pork . . . HLE 11

Dogs were everywhere. Colonel A. P. Chouteau, their guide to the Fort, had eight dogs. The estimable Latrobe mentioned the fitting names he gave his dogs.

. . . they all had appropriate names . . . among which, note Henry Clay, a greyhound; Jackson, a bull-dog; and Mrs. Trollope, a hound with a number of whelps. CL 5

Mammals Wild Sighting animals was an excellent and enjoyable pastime as was eating them. Today’s tourists can sight many of these native animals as the travel through Tulsa and see the beautiful bronzes, gifts of NatureWorks. Hunting these animals and capturing them was exciting and intense. The other mammals mentioned included Antelopes, Badgers, Bats, Bears, Grizzly Bears/Gristly Bears, Beavers, Prairie Wolves (Coyotes), Deer, Dogs, Prairie Dogs (A Republic of Prairie Dogs), Elk, Wild Horses, Horses, Marmots (Marmout), Moose, ‘Possums (Opossums), Panthers/wildcats (Cougars), Raccoons, Skunks, Squirrels, Wolves. To identify any of these mammals, use Mammals of North America by Noland W. Kays and Don E. Wilson, published by the Princeton University Press in Princeton, New Jersey in 2002. This is a well-photographed guide to North American mammals, their habits, and their tracks. You can see many of these animals in Tulsa. Thanks to NatureWorks, beautiful bronze works of art are everywhere. They are on the Arkansas River, Irving’s Trail through Tulsa, in abundance.

Reptiles Rattlesnakes and Copperheads caused both fear and inquiry.

Who were the people in Oklahoma in 1832?

CHARACTERS

In 1832, Irving met a motley crew.

The Tourists described the Osages and the Muscogee Creeks in detail. They noted the squatters of European stock they saw and the blacks, slave and free, they spotted among the other frontier visitors and settlers.

Samuel Houston’s home, Wigwam Neosho was near the first miles of the Tour. He was soon to be the President of Texas, late the Governor of Tennessee, and just back from representing the Cherokees in Washington, D. C.
He lived with his Cherokee wife Tiana Rogers. John Jolly, Cherokee Name, Oo-loo-te-la, He-Puts-the-Drum Away, Sam Houston’s adopted Cherokee father, was here. To the south of Fort Gibson was the home of the Cherokee genius Sequoyah. He had created a syllabary for his people the Cherokee and they became literate. The Indians lived among missionaries of many denominations. On the first day of the Tour, you will pass Tullahassee Mission founded by Presbyterians. On the last days your Tour, you will pass near Sacred Heart Mission founded by Roman Catholics. Today’s Indian Nations reflect the first missionaries.

Muscogee Creeks had found their way to the rivers around Fort Gibson as early as 1828. They cleared the brush and thickets, built their homes, and started their crops. They were well established by 1832 and were selling surplus corn. The border between Cherokee Country and Creek Country was not fixed.

Irving’s view of Auguste Pierre Chouteau’s trading post, a group of rough log houses, on the first day out from Fort Gibson can give a feel for 1832 Oklahoma. It presented an interesting frontier view.

... a motley frontier scene ... a group of Osages: stately fellows; stern and simple in garb and aspect. ... In contrast to these (the Osages) was a gayly dressed party of Creeks ... there was a sprinkling of Trappers, hunters, half-breeds, creoles, negroes of every hue ... WI 21 22

At Fort Gibson, there was the Seventh Infantry, foot soldiers against and amidst fierce horse nomads that rivaled the Mongols. The rangers were organized just for this reason. On foot, soldiers were insulted. They were unable to retaliate against the mounted Indians who harassed them. These rangers would be followed in 1833 by the mounted and heavily armed dragoons. Cavalry would replace the dragoons by 1861.

TOURISTS

Washington Irving, Tourist in Oklahoma

The first Tourist came west for adventure, to keep a journal, and perhaps write a book. He was officially named Secretary for the Commissioner.

_The Secretary of War had authorized us, to appoint M. Irving, Secretary ... and required the army to obey him ... He was much gratified, by my desire to make the journey economical & safe_ — HLE 9

Irving kept notes on his 2.5 x 4 inch notebooks and he made much of them. He saw almost impossible beauty each night. His camping places with their huge oaks, elms, and sycamores seemed to him to be like cathedrals. He was liberal in religion, but the sky spoke of God. When he looked at the stars, the words of the Bible looked back.

_How often, while contemplating their mild and benignant radiance, I have called to mind the exquisite text of Job: “Canst thou bind the secret influences of the Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion?”_ WI 200

Washington Irving loved animals. His beavers lived in a commonwealth. His prairie dogs had a system of civil government and a domestic economy. His horses were gentle and thoroughly trustworthy, excellent, powerful, active, and generous spirited. A favorite horse put his nose over Irving’s shoulder and shared Irving’s book.

Washington Irving used many pen names before he settled on his birth name. He was known as Fray Antonio Agapida, Geoffrey Crayon, Diedrick Knickerbocker, Lancelot Langstaff, and Jonathan Oldstyle. Ellsworth became his friend and fan.

... _Neither M Irving or Myself liked to bundle, ... Before he sits down to write his sketches or other works, he always washes himself up nice, and with everything clean on him and around him, he says his ideas flow properly – but when he is dirty, the power of association dries up every literary pore ... His mode of recording events, is ... to sketch in a little book every occurrence worthy of remembrance ... adds the ... ‘filligree work’_ HLE 70 71
Commissioner Ellsworth studied Irving like a university class. He learned all these things:

1. He was proud to be an American.
2. He liked to sleep alone, no bundling.
3. Dirt stilled the creative urge so he must be neat and clean to write.
4. He cultivated his imagination with recorded dates and facts.
5. He was an amateur in most things, skimming the surface.
6. He was liberal in his religion.
7. He was courteous and kind.
8. He had the same complexion, height, weight, hair color, and shape of whiskers that Ellsworth has. 
   Now if we only knew more about Ellsworth.
9. In 1832, he was 49 years old.
10. He was a poor scholar, actually the class clown.
11. He loved to read, especially about faraway places.
12. His first writing appeared under pen names.
13. He tried to be a businessman and went bankrupt.
15. Money came pouring in.
16. He became the guardian of his nieces and nephews.
17. He received an LLD degree from Oxford University.
18. He was a world famous author in 1832.

21st Century Tourists are happy that he came to Oklahoma in 1832 and told the world.

**Henry Leavitt Ellsworth, Tourist in Oklahoma**

Commissioner Ellsworth came to Oklahoma to visit and examine the country reserved for the soon to be emigrating Indians. Irving admired him.

_The Commissioner has an_ . . . innate simplicity and benevolence of heart. . . ._days_ . . . passed in the bosom of his family and the society of deacons . . . on the banks of the Connecticut; when suddenly he had been called to mount his steed, shoulder his rifle, and mingle among stark hunters, backwoodsmen, and naked savages, on the trackless wilts of the Far West._ Wi 12

The young Count Pourtalès was a great burden to this honorable man. He felt that his young friend didn’t weigh consequences often enough. The young Count also had his view of the Commissioner and his assignment out here in the West.

_ . . . Lord Commissioner is one of those good old philanthropists, one of those peaceful and calm Yankee republicans who, devoted to his cause like a prophet of old, imagined that peace would follow immediately and the Indians would shake hands . . . A stride a peculiar kind of horse, wearing an otter-skin hat, he left Fort Gibson full of apostolic ideas and with a gentle, sleepy look about him._ . . _CP 46 47

The Commissioner had his comic side.

_ . . . my pistol was . . . so heavy, as to make my holster side unbalanced & so I took a very large ear of corn to preserve the balance . . . _HLE 8

**Count Albert Alexandre de Pourtalès, Tourist in Oklahoma**

The third Tourist came to the American West for adventure. He was a handful and his family thought that far
away was a good place for him to be. He was in love with every Indian maiden. Pourtalès letters were published in 1969. In them, he described himself.

. . . the author of this interesting account presented a rather curiously colored outfit to the observer’s eye. He wore leather trousers and a stylish hat tilted over one ear and carried a rifle on his shoulder. CP 24

Irving liked Pourtalès.

. . . full of talent and spirit, but galliard in the extreme, and prone to every kind of wild adventure. WI 12 . . . well mounted . . . a bold and graceful rider . . . caracoling his horse, and dashing about in the buoyancy of youthful spirits. His dress was a gay Indian hunting frock . . . dyed of a beautiful purple, and fancifully embroidered with silks of various colors . . . he wore leathern pantaloons and moccasons, a foraging cap, and a double-barreled gun swung by a bandoleer athwart his back. WI 39, 40

Commissioner Ellsworth didn’t like Pourtalès quite so much.

M Pourteles, who is extremely car(e)less lost his boots . . . he . . . depended upon moccasins to wear through the journey . . . I rejoiced that he was not considered as M Ellsworth’s party—His passions led him to great extremes—His conduct at the Union mission was censureable in the highest degree . . . he attempted to seduce an amiable young indian girl at that school—the mother had been won by presents, and went to talk with Mrs. Vail, the wife of the superintendent about the matter, & see whether the girl might go—what presumption! Indignation and refusal, ought to have covered the Swiss gentleman (with?) shame—There were other instances of misconduct more gross, but I will not pollute my pages with a recital of them—. . . HLE 12 14

Alexandre was irreprensible. While still in St. Louis, but with plans underway for his Tour on the Prairies he is ecstatic and savoring every possibility. In his own words, he will make you understand the way he approached life. Irresistible and oblivious would describe him. This letter was dated September 14, 1832.

I am overjoyed at the prospect of realizing all I have hoped for on this trip: visiting the Indians, seeing them in their meetings on assemblies, watching them dance, joining them in buffalo hunts, killing bears with a carbine. I am about to die of excitement. Today I bought a carbine and a complete leather outfit embroidered Indian fashion. CP 21 24

With all his flights of western folly, the Count cared about the Indians.

If ever I settle in America . . . I would become the advocate of the Osages before the government, which each year pushes them back a little more into the wilderness and the grave. CP 62 63

Charles Joseph Latrobe, Tourist in Oklahoma

Latrobe was the best and the brightest of young men. His friends called him the virtuoso. The fourth Tourist came as keeper and mentor to the young Count, to guide his adventure and to be understanding. He was the Tourist most esteemed by the others. He had already done great things. He wrote his own report of the Tour.

. . . an Englishman by birth . . . rambled over many counties . . . citizen of the world . . . a thousand occupations; a botanist, a geologist, a hunter of beetles and butterflies, a musical amateur, a sketcher . . . a complete virtuoso . . . never was a man more busy or more cheerful. WI 12

Commissioner Ellsworth was as approving of Latrobe as he was disapproving of Pourtalès. Many people in 1832 would have known the architect was Benjamin Henry Latrobe, famous for his work with Dolley Madison in Washington D. C.

When I first became acquainted with him I knew him only as an English gentleman, nephew to the architect, travelling . . . in company with M Irving & his Swiss friend . . . he is a gentleman deserving the
highest estimation – He is well informed, judicious, and moral in his example, and “draws a clear well defined line between virtue & vice” -- and though he does not attempt absolutely to restrain his ward, yet he is very observing as to his conduct, and prudently advises, when he supposes his influence can produce any effect . . . HLE 69

His traveling companion, the young Count, was very happy to be with him, but could see his comic side just as he could see his own.

The unusually tall and lanky Latrobe, whose legs have never yet been measured by any mortal, was mounted on a little light colored, coquettish, thin horse which skitted about . . . loving at neither a walk, nor a trot, nor a gallop, nor an amble . . . CP 24

GUIDES

Colonel Auguste Pierre Chouteau

He was the guide from St. Louis to his trading post, which was near Fort Gibson. He came from a wealthy and prominent French family centered in St. Louis.

The Colonel . . . the head of the party, generally led the van; a fine, good-humoured, shrewd man, of French descent, with claims both to fortune and family in Missouri . . . In the pursuit of his profession of Indian trader, he had often dared captivity and death. Among the Osages, whose principal trader, and organ with government he had long been, he was supposed, and I believe justly, to possess the greatest influence . . . From him we were glad to take our first lessons in hunting, camping, and back-woodsman’s craft . . . CIL 2

The young Count had an immediate rapport with the remarkable trader.

Monsieur Chouteau, a French Creole from St. Louis, who is a United States agent to the Indians... He has been charming and obliging to all of us, and especially to me, with whom he has been very friendly. . . . He speaks all imaginable languages with a command of their nuances and shades of meaning as varied as the colors of the rainbow. CP 39

Antoine Deshetres, Tonish

He was the jack-of-all-trades. He had come to the service of the Tourists before their arrival at Chouteau’s trading post.

. . . the squire, the groom, the cook, the tent man, in a word the factotum, and . . . the universal meddler and marplot of our party. This was a little swarthy, meagre, French creole . . . if all this little vagabond said of himself were to be believed, he was without morals, without caste, without creed, without county, and even without language . . . He was, withal, a notorious braggart and a liar of the first water. It was amusing to hear him vapor and gasconade about his terrible exploits and hair breadth escapes in war and hunting. WJ 13, 14

He stuttered, at least that is what the journalists’ words lead one to believe. A tendency to stutter though didn’t stop him. He was effervescent.

In the midst of his volubility, he was prone to be seized by a spasmodic gasping, as if the springs of his jaws were suddenly unhinged; but I am apt to think it was caused by some falsehood that stuck in his throat, for . . . immediately afterward there bolted forth a lie of the first magnitude. WJ 14

Tonish was a strong presence in all four Tourists’ journals.
Tonish will not so soon sink into oblivion. Light, active, in the prime of life, no horse could take him by surprise . . . Full of make-shifts, and unspeakably useful in the woods . . . He was garrulous to excess, in spite of an impediment in his speech, in the form of a barrier, which it was necessary to break down by an effort, after which the words composing the meditated sentence, came tumbling headlong . . . he was a most determined and audacious braggart . . . for lying effrontery, none of us had ever seen his equal . . . he would bring a host of little lies to cover a big one . . . CIL 45

By the time the party arrived at the Three Forks, all the Tourists saw the worth of Tonish. He was the cook extraordinary and could do just about everything else.

*Tonish is now by far the most important personage, and we . . . await the result of his operations.*  CIL 7

The young Count added his take on Tonish/Toniche. As he was riding his pony Missionary, he discovered the truth in Toniche’s tall tale.

*Today Mr. Toniche, our cook and braggart-in-chief, came galloping up to tell us that five monstrously big bears had just entered a nearby wood . . . I see three black animals come out of the woods. . . . I arrive close enough to the black objects to see a long fluffy tail and other signs which, coupled with my previous knowledge of bears, persuade me that these are beautiful black prairie-wolves.* CIL 57

Commissioner Ellsworth found little of which to complain.

*Tonish . . . is a good cook—a fine hunter—a stranger to fear, and as fleet as a deer—*  HLE 32

**Alexo Pierre Beatte**

This excellent guide/interpreter was called Billet or Billette or Bayotte or Bayatte or Beyatt.

. . . *I did not like his looks when he was first presented to me. He was lounging about, in an old hunting frock and metasses or leggings, of deer skin, soiled and greased . . . the dusky greenish hue of his complexion, aided his resemblance to an old bronze bust I had seen of the Emperor (Napoleon). He had . . . a sullen, saturnine expression, set off by a slouched woolen hat, and elf locks that hung about his ears.* WI 25

Latrobe, the scientist and mentor, liked him better.

*Beatte was . . . of a light compact form and good features. His clothes, poor as they might be in quality, always appeared well draped on his person . . . Wayward and distant till he became attached to our persons, we were all inclined to misjudge him at first; but before we had been a week together in the wilderness we found his value . . . Beatte, seeing that the horses were hobbled, and his service not in immediate demand, took his rifle, stole forth quietly, and seldom came back empty-handed . . . moreover there was that feeling about him, that he would be true to you in a strait, and stand by you either in a bear-fight or and Indian skirmish; and that was not to be undervalued . . . In short, when the time of parting came, we all looked upon Beatte as a friend . . .* CIL 34

H. L. Ellsworth thought well of Beatte also.

*Billet . . . does not understand cooking so well as Tonish—in all other respects he is equal As a guide he is vastly superior—He knows every star—and by looking at the moss on the trees, can tell the points of the compass in the most cloudy day—* HLE 32
Antoine Lombard
He was an incredibly handsome and lazy young man who was hired to work for Pourtalès and Latrobe as they took the Tour.

\[\ldots\text{of French and Osage origin (hired) to cook, to hunt, and to take care of the horses; but he had a}\
\ldots\text{vehement propensity to do nothing, \ldots really a handsome young fellow, an Adonis of the frontier.}\]

Antoine was very, very slow to move. He seemed to be a beautiful statue.

\[
\text{For an hour together he would stand at the camp-fire, with his cloak tightly twisted around his body, his arms motionless within, and gaze upon nothing with a fixed glance, in which there was neither life nor speculation.}
\]

RANGERS

Ranger Regiment
The rangers were to be a heavily armed mounted battalion.

\[
\text{The rangers generally, were smart active men at home, good farmers & responsible citizen. They enlisted for only one year, to explore the country and expect to return to their families again when their term is out — In the meantime, they seemed determined, to keep up republican equality, by acknowledging no superior, and look upon grades of Commission in the army as a regulation, to effect regular soldiers, but not to extend to Rangers who ride upon their own horses.}
\]

They were offered no rifles, no pistols, and no horses. They wore anything and everything and rode into Fort Gibson on the horses they took on the Tour. Irving saw groups of rangers in every kind of uncouth garb.

\[
\text{They were a heterogeneous crew; some in frock-coats made of green blankets; others in leathern hunting-shirts, but the most part in marvelously ill-cut garments, much the worse for wear, and evidently put on for rugged service.}
\]

Captain Jesse Bean recruited more than one hundred rangers around Arkansas to be a show of force against the Indians. Most of the rangers were young, yet Fort Gibson was so unhealthy that in the fifteen days between the roster and the Tour a number of young men had died and others were sick. Irving discovered their sense of fun on his first day with them.

\[
\text{On returning to the camp, we found it a scene of the greatest hilarity. Some of the rangers were shooting at a mark, others were leaping wrestling, and playing at prison bars. They were mostly young men, on their first expedition, in high health and vigor \ldots I can conceive nothing more likely to set the youthful blood in a flow, than a wild wood life of the kind, and the range of a magnificent wilderness, abounding with game, and fruitful of adventure \ldots likely to produce that manliness, simplicity, and self-dependence, most in unison with our political institutions.}
\]

The young rangers were in the majority. The old rangers were remembered.

Captain Jesse Bean
He was the leader of the mounted rangers.

\[
\ldots\text{the commander of company; a man about forty years of age, vigorous and active. His life \ldots passed on the frontier \ldots a thorough woodsman, and a first-rate hunter.}
\]

Commissioner Ellsworth delivered compliments on the one hand and critiques on the other to Captain Bean/s.
Capt Beans is . . . brave and possessing the qualities of a good woods man—He is worthy of confidence, and actuated by correct motives . . . HLE 24  If the Capt has any failing, it is his selfishness and extreme fondness in hunting . . . he would say, “boys none of you must hunt this side of the Creek I am going to hunt there myself” HLE 101 102

Because of a troublesome event that you will hear of later, Poutalès had his own name for the captain. He had few compliments.

*Captain Hornless . . . passes for a great hunter and marksman. This is confirmed by the astonishing adventures he relates about encounters with bears and turkeys . . . he used to shoot moose on the run . . . the other day I head him affirm with admirable assurance that the moose tracks we were looking at were buffalo tracks.* CP 57

**Old Ryan**

He was a veteran huntsman who traveled with the Rangers.

. . . tough and weather-proved; a head partly bald and garnished with loose iron-gray locks, and a fine black eye, beaming with youthful spirit. His dress was . . . a rifle shirt and leggings of dressed deer skin, that had evidently seen service; a powder-horn was slung by his side, a hunting-knife stuck in his belt . . . an ancient and trusty rifle, doubtless as dear to him as a bosom friend. WI 48

He was old Rian to Commissioner Ellsworth. He was admired by Irving who called him Leatherstocking calling to mind the *Leatherstocking Saga* by James Fenimore Cooper.

*I had taken a great fancy to this old Leatherstocking . . .* WI 137

Latrobe honored him and the other Rangers. There were those who more than met the mark.

. . . They were for the most part sons of substantial farmers and settlers, and some certainly accustomed from their earliest years to study the craft of a backwoodsman. Such was Ryan . . . who, out of love to the hunter’s life, had joined the expedition and the messes of those far younger and less experienced than himself . . . a fine specimen of that race for which the frontier has been celebrated ever since Daniel Boone led the way across the mountains. He had begun to hunt and kill the deer, when yet so young that his father’s rifle had to be supported upon his little shoulders by both hands . . . CIL 46

**Old Mr. Sawyer**

He was one of the oldest men among the rangers. He was a combination of comedy and what today we would call smarts.

. . . a comical old fellow . . . of the name of Sawyer . . . one of those strange mixtures of simplicity and shrewdness that you sometimes meet with . . . He was used as a ‘cat’s-paw’ by the men, whenever they wished to pry into the plans and designs of the officers. CIL 48

If he was the one to look into the plans of those in command, then nobody else would get into trouble.

*In the course of the evening we were vastly entertained by a visit from old Sawyer, who, by reason of his age, his willingness to give a helping hand . . . was licenced beyond his fellows.* CIL 66

Irving did a lot of visiting with Sawyer. He mentions their evening gossips in his Western Journals and he writes about an early morning visit toward the end of the Tour.

. . . one of the sentinels, the oldest man in the troop, came and took a seat near me; he was weary and sleepy, and impatient to be relieved . . . “If the stars don’t deceive me,” said he, “it is near daybreak.” . . . In a short time there was a faint streak of light in the east. WI 200 201
AMERICAN INDIANS, AN INDIVIDUAL & NATIONS

Osage Friend, Mr. Manhattan

The Tourists met a young and handsome Osage at the beginning of the Tour.

I was struck with his appearance . . . about nineteen or twenty years of age, but well grown, with the fine Roman countenance common to his tribe . . . on a beautiful piebald horse, a mottled white and brown, of the wild breed of the prairies, . . . WI 32

He and the young Count began an immediate friendship.

The young Osage would ride close behind (Pourtalès) on his wild and beautifully mottled horse, which was decorated with crimson tufts of hair. He rode with his finely-shaped head and bust naked; his blanket being girt round his waist. He carried his rifle in one hand, and managed his horse with the other, and seemed ready to dash off at a moment’s notice, on any madcap foray or scamper. WI 40

He traveled with the party for a short time as a companion to the young Count. In his usual enthusiastic way, Pourtalès loved, just loved his new friend.

I am enchanted by . . . Mr. Manhattan, who in spite of his statement that he would not accompany us for more than three miles, has let himself be persuaded and now follows us on a little pony with no saddle and only a buffalo-hide strap for a bridle. CP 44

Count Pourtalès grieved when he discovered his friend was gone.

. . . we searched in vain for my friend . . . Manhattan . . . I found out later that his relatives, cousins, etc., had dissuaded him from going off with the whites; they had terrified him! . . . Good-by, then, oh mighty marksman. CP 48

Senate Art at the Oklahoma Capitol

Near Bixby on October 12, 1832

Friends for a Day: Count Albert Alexander de Pourtalès and Mr. Manhattan

I am enchanted with . . . Mr. Manhattan . . . He is the handsomest male Indian that I have ever seen, and, although he is only seventeen years old, his body, his size, and his proud bearing make him look twenty-five. CP 44

There are several things wrong with the portrait of the Friends. The young Osage is just about right. The young Count was in highly decorated purple leather. If you read the descriptions, you will know he didn’t wear boots since he had lost them. He wore moccasins which he learned to make himself. It is nice though that the friendship of October 11 and 12, 1832 is memorialized in Oklahoma’s Capitol.
NATIONS, ARKANSAS RIVER WATERSHED

Cherokee, Creek, Delaware, Osage, Pawnee

Mr. Manhattan was a member of one of the three Indian tribes mentioned in detail in every 1832 journal, the Muscogee Creeks, the Osages, and the Pawnees.

Irving also has a long narrative about the Delawares. One other Nation was mentioned but not in depth, the Cherokees who had a prominent role at Fort Gibson in 1832. For your Tour, you will find short narratives about each of these groups. Of the tribes of Indians surrounding Fort Gibson in 1832, the Cherokees and the Muscogee Creeks were moved in the 1830’s in most depressing ways. The Delawares had already had found themselves refugees in their homeland. The Osages would be moved to Kansas and just about when they were settled would be forced back to Oklahoma in the 1870’s. The Pawnees would shrink and shrink down to a small place without buffalo in the 1880’s. All would keep their lands until the whites did what they had done before, take it away. The taking would be in the form of allotments and runs and lotteries. The end would be the same, remnants. The end though wasn’t the end, since the five tribes endured. In fact the tribes prospered. Evidence of the prospering can be found on the Tour and around the Tour in the 21st Century.

Cherokee The Cherokees were already in their southeast homelands when they probably met Desoto in 1451. The Cherokees spoke Iroquoian, a language family they shared with the great Iroquis Confederacy in faraway New York. So they may at one time have lived farther north than they did historically. In the south, the Cherokee language was the main Iroquoian branch and was spoken in the Carolinas, in Georgia, in Tennessee, and beyond. Tennessee is a Cherokee word. A long list of poetic place names come from the Cherokees such as Chilhowee, Conasauga, Chickamauga, Kennesaw, Hiawassee, Talulah, Toccoa, and Dahlonega. In 1832, only a few of the Cherokees had moved to Oklahoma. There was hard feeling between those who were here and those who remained in the southeast. The Indian Removal Act was two years old, but the Cherokees under John Ross were fighting removal in every way possible. John Ross still had his lovely home in Georgia, but would soon have it removed right beneath his feet. It 1835 the Treaty of New Echota was signed by a small group of Cherokees. It would provide for the terrible trip to Oklahoma. It would divide the Cherokee People even more. Because of New Echota, the Trail of Tears was inevitable. In the 21st Century the largest population of the Cherokees is in Oklahoma. Many still live in the area just to the east of A Tour on the Prairies. A few still live far away in the Carolinas.

Muscogee Creek The Muscogee Creeks spoke Muscogean, a language family they shared with the Chickasaws, the Choctaws, and the Seminoles. Once this language family was spoken in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and beyond. When the Creeks left their home in the southeast, they left behind their places and their names, Alabama, Apalachee, Tuscaloosa, Tuskegee, Talladega, Coosa, Tallapoosa, Chattahoochee, and Ocmulgee. Irving and the other tourists called them Creeks, but they are often recognized as Muscogee, because of their language. By 1832, the Creeks and the Seminoles had been long separated. In the two years since the Indian Removal Act, the Creeks in the east were fighting removal.

In Oklahoma the Creeks became excellent ranchers and farmers. They were well known for their cattle spreads in the lands of the Nation in Oklahoma. Corn is so important to the Muscogee People that they planned great celebrations to coincide with the harvesting of the corn each year. They extinguished every single fire in the entire village. They brought out sacred objects that connected them with the past. They cleansed everything, their homes, their persons on the outside, and their persons on the inside with the white drink. They cleansed their spirits by reconciling with enemies and by promising to live better in the year to come. When this was
done they ceremoniously started a new fire. Every new fire in the community was started from this new fire. Then the Muscogee People ate the new corn, danced, and played games. On the Tour, Irving saw well-appointed Muscogee Creek farms.

*Their farms were well stocked, and their houses had a look of comfort and abundance.* [W] 30

And he saw the Muscogee Creek people at their best.

*They are a well-made race, muscular and closely knit, with well-turned thighs and legs.* [W] 30

Count Pourtalès had something to say about the Muscogee Creeks.

*... we passed a long line of wooden huts inhabited by Creeks. The fertility of their land and the surrounding territory is astonishing... They and the Cherokees... are more industrious than the other Indians, especially the nomadic hunting tribes that surround them...* [CP] 42

In the 21st Century the Muscogee Creek Nation is in Oklahoma. Many live in the area covered by *A Tour on the Prairies*. Their capital is in Okmulgee. The old Council House remains, but has been replaced with a new capital complex north of town.

**Delaware** The Delaware Indians were early known by the name of Lenni Lenape. Lenni means pure and Lenape people. They came from the area where the state of Delaware now sits close to New Jersey on the Atlantic Seaboard. As they moved out onto the prairies, they were known as peacemakers. They were excellent linguists and served as intermediaries among the Indian tribes.

*... expeditions of the Delawares, whether of war or hunting, are wide and fearless; a small band... will penetrate far into these dangerous and hostile wilds... even to the Rocky Mountains... They believe that a guardian spirit, in the form of a great eagle, watches over them... (and) occasionally lets drop a feather from his wing... These feathers render the wearer invisible.* [W] 87

How powerful to receive the benediction of the eagle.

*... various western tribes call the Delaware their grandfather & mediator.* [W] 87

In the 21st Century a large population of Delawares is in Oklahoma; living as part of the Cherokee Nation. Many live in and around the area covered by *A Tour on the Prairies*.

**Osage** The Osages spoke Siouan, a language they shared with the great Sioux Nation. Omaha, Ponca, Quapaw, and Kansa are branches of Siouan. The Kansa gave their name to two states, Kansas and Arkansas. The Osages turned the rich hunting territory of the Tour over to the Creeks and the Cherokees in 1825. They were given land in eastern Kansas. The Osages left Oklahoma and remained in Kansas until that land was also taken away in the 1870's. Then they came back to Oklahoma, to land rich with oil. Laura Ingalls Wilder in her book *Little House on the Prairie*, described the sight of the Osages leaving Kansas for their trip back to Oklahoma. It was much like Mr. Latrobe’s description of the Osages.

*The warrior was generally seen marching first with his firm straight step, and upright bearing, burdened with nothing but his rifle. Many of them were good specimens of the North American Indian ‘brave,’ and wore the head shaved, with exception of the scalp-lock on the crown, and painted vermillion. In general, they were tall, and... martial in gait and bearing...* [CL] 15 16

Count Pourtalès loved, just loved the Osages. He truly believed they loved him.

*... Nothing was more lively than our caravan composed of white, Negro, and Osage horsemen. The latter, with whom we are going hunting, are really the best people in the world. They are hospitable, generous and love the whites with all their hearts.* [CP] 37
The capital of the Osage Nation today is in Pawhuska. Pawhuska means White Hair and was a popular name for Osage Chieftains. The area around Pawhuska remains the property of the Osage Nation below its surface. In the 20th Century, in particular the 1920’s the Osages were among the richest people in the world. They purchased their land in Oklahoma. When the land on the surface was divided among the individual Osages, the Nation kept the land under the surface and the entire Nation shared the oil riches. In the 21st Century, the Osage Nation still controls oil and mineral riches. Many Osages live just to the north of the Tour.

**Pawnee**  The Pawnees spoke Caddoan, a language family they shared with the Caddoes and the Wichita Indians. The home of the Caddoes was in Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, and Oklahoma. The Caddoan Wichitas may have been the Quivirans that Coronado spoke of in 1541. The Pawnees may once have lived in northern Texas. In 1832, Oklahoma was well within their hunting territory. They engaged in innumerable quarrels with the Osages to the east and the Comanches to the west. The Pawnee People were nearly destroyed by smallpox during 1837. It caused a recurrence of the sacrifice of a young maiden to the Morning Star to propitiate the gods who had brought smallpox and to bring back good hunting, good crops, and triumph in battles.

“If that’s the planet Venus, it bodes us no good; for I recollect reading in some book that the Pawnees worship that star, and sacrifice their prisoners to it. So I should not feel the better for the sight of that star in this part of the country.” WI 78

The Pawnees themselves were not nearly as dire as described.

*There is always some wild untamed tribe of Indians, who form, for a time the terror of a frontier, and about whom all kind of fearful stories are told. Such, at present, was the case with the Pawnees . . . admirable horsemen . . . on hardy steeds, the wild race of the prairies . . . their hand is against every one, and every one’s hand is against them.* WI 75 76

Irving and the other Tourists may have used the name Pawnee to speak of all the ferocious horse culture nomads beyond the Cross Timbers. Pawnee may have meant Kiowa or Comanche though they were surely right about the Pawnees’ hunting range. The Pawnees had villages of large round earth lodges on the Platte River in Nebraska. They headed south each year and brought home horses to sell and buffalo meat to eat. And yes, every hand was against the. And yes, the hand of the Pawnee was against everyone. The rangers and Tourists realized there were other fierce Indians out on the buffalo plains, but it was the Pawnees that occupied their deepest dread. The Tourists saw signs of Pawnees. They saw deserted Pawnee encampments. They never saw a single Pawnee on the entire Tour. Today in Oklahoma, you could live in Pawnee County or the town of Pawnee. If you live in Oklahoma, Pawnees are your neighbors and they sit next to you in church. Their children play with your children.
What happened in Oklahoma before 1832?

Layers of Life on the Tour

Your Tour will always have two times, one in reality and one in your mind’s eye. There will be other layers of history beyond and between the early 19th Century and the early 21st Century. Every place on earth has layers of history and scores of stories. There are places on the Tour where the layers will be spotlighted. There will be a narrative and time lines.

Events before Autumn 1832.

B.C.
9000 Paleo-Indians were still hunting the mighty mammoth, camel, and bison.
↓
A.D.
1215 The Arkansas watershed was the hunting territory between two Temple cities, Cahokia to the northeast and Spiro to the south.
1492 The Arkansas watershed was truly Native American. The trappers, traders, farmers, and hunters were not English, French, or Spanish. They were American Indians.
1541 The Arkansas watershed was the Spanish frontier.
1776 The Arkansas watershed witnessed a high point of the American Indian Horse and buffalo culture.
1800 Napoleon was the ruler of the Arkansas watershed.
1803 The Arkansas watershed became United States Territory.

What preparations had to be made in 1832?

The 1832 Tourists took plenty of four, sugar, and coffee. Irving and his friends took soap. The guests along the way, the Osages and the Muscogee Creeks, loved coffee and sugar. The Tourists, the guides, and the rangers planned to hunt for the rest of their provisions. They packed a small bit of salt pork for days when the hunting was poor. They took little blue pills for problems of digestion and elimination.

---provisions bought and packed—the indispensable buckskin leggings, moccasins, and hunting-shirts procured—CL 30

Latrobe’s choice of leather was better than Irving’s and Ellsworth’s wool.

I purchased a soldiers great coat, at $5, a pair of pantaloons, at $2.12, a flannel shirt at $1.12 & these with some of my poorest clothes, composed my wardrobe—The commissary, agreed to fix the pack horse, with provisions && for 15 days which made together with the tent and blankets & camping furniture about 175 pounds—I took for defence a double barrel gun, belonging to the United States . . . a pistol from Major Love & my dirk . . . HLE 8
They would be gone for a month so they had to have good hunting. Like Commissioner, Irving and Poutalès and Latrobe chose thoughtfully.

*We were to travel on horseback . . . the safety of the rider might depend upon the goodness of his steed.*

. . . *we took care to be well mounted. I procured a stout silver-gray: somewhat rough, but stanch and powerful; and retained a hardy pony which I had hitherto ridden . . . (I still needed) —a thoroughly trustworthy steed: I was not yet mounted in my mind . . . at the last moment I succeeded in getting an excellent animal, a dark bay; powerful, active, generous spirited, and in capital condition.* WI 18 19

The quality of a horse in 1832 corresponded with the amount of cash available. Irving was willing to spend plenty to be well mounted; as was Poutalès.

*I have bought the fastest race horse in the country. It will be able to overtake a buffalo in short order. I have also bought a pony which ambles marvellously . . . the Indians, encumbered with wives, children, and other household goods, do not travel more than three or four leagues a day. This gives us time to go hunting all over the place.* CP 39

The 21st Century Tourist won’t worry about the condition of a horse, but of a car.

**Exactly where did the Tourists go in 1832?**

**19th Century Route And Encampments**

The details came from a close reading of all four journals and many days on the road observing the Oklahoma landscape. The first trips were taken using the narrative written by George Shirk. Many changes have occurred in the decades since his research. This 21st Century Tour uses the criteria suggested by the Tourists and the judgment that a particular path feels just as it should.

. . . *camping ground is selected (which is done, with reference to three objects – getting good water – good wood, & good range or feed for horses) . . .* HLE 29

It is also evident from all the journals that the Tourists traveled as conditions permitted. Thirty miles could be covered in a day, but that was exceptional.

*We rode at least 30 miles, during the day . . .* HLE 19

The possible campsites for this Tour also have to do with the 21st Century. Highways and private lands are in the way. Lakes are in the way. Communities are in the way. So when the detective work began, the following were considered:

- Is a stream at hand?
- Are trees nearby?
- Is grassland near?
- Is it close to the Tourists’ beeline?
- Is it within sight of the road that the 21st Century Tourist travels?
- Is it thirty miles or less from the last campsite?
- It is like the 1832 descriptions?
- Have other Oklahomans agreed with you?
The certainty is in the route, not the campsites. Through focused determination Oklahomans have spotlighted important sites along that route. Sometimes all the criteria could not be met and the author used the best judgment from all the reading and all the experiences available. It will be left for the reader to read, to observe and to experience also. Each campsite would take up a considerable amount of room. There were fourteen campfires each night, which heated bodies and food. Each mess* would need an area to graze their horses. They each would need a portion of water and firewood. So the line of campfires would travel along a stream for hundreds of feet on one or both sides of a stream. I leave it to local historians to dig out each individual campsite. My mission is to reawaken Americans to this wonderful story so that we can all enjoy it again. Let your Tour begin.

*Mess, a group who eat together.

Sites Commemorated By Oklahomans

- The spot Irving camped at Fort Gibson before October 10. He was at Fort Gibson, but may not have camped. He was a super star and would perhaps have been offered a bed, maybe even by Colonel Arbuckle.
- The place Irving crossed the Verdigris going west and returning east, near Okay, October 10 and November 8. This is also the end of the trail for many Southeastern Indians and a site on the old Texas Road.
- In Washington Irving Park, on the Arkansas River north of Bixby, night of October 12. The Osage rap session took place here or near here.
- On a bluff overlooking the Arkansas River Valley in Tulsa, October 13, the night of honey and lugubrious psalm signing.
- Washington Irving Cove and Bears Glen at Keystone Lake. The names remain to remember the Arkansas River Crossing and campsite of October 15. That beautiful site is probably under water now.
- In Jim Thorpe Park in Yale, the night of fire and water, October 19.
- Washington Irving Trail and Museum a few miles east of Stillwater right off Highway 51, near the campsite of October 20, the night of crystal clear, beautiful – and sickening water.
- Irving’s Castle near Ingalls. Irving described his castle, a landmark still here today, nearly as it was then. In 1978, the castle was named a National Historic Place. This is the entry from the National Park Service: Irving’s Castle (added 1978 - Site - #78002257). Also known as Washington Irving Point of Interest 2.5 mi. (4 km) S of Ingalls.
- Near Wild Horse Creek west of Perkins. A stone column is still on the site of an old community building. The plaque is now in the Washington Irving Museum, saved by Dale and Carla Chlouber to memorialize the night of the beautiful big eyed colt, October 21.
- In the middle of Meridian, the night of alarms, October 22.
- In Arcadia, first sighting of buffalo, not buffalo poop, real buffalo, October 24.
- In Jones, at the site of the grand maneuver called Ringing the Wild Horse. This spot has been honored three times. First it was honored with the placing of a plaque on the day of the Centennial, October 25, 1932. Then it was honored in 1971 with the official naming of this spot as a National Historic Place. This is the entry from the National Park Service: "Ringing the Wild Horse" Site (added 1971 - Site - #71001081) NW of Jones. The site was honored the spring of 2007 with a rededication.
of the plaque on the stone column where it first was placed. The rededication was part of an official Oklahoma Centennial Project.

- In Moore, right in the middle of the great buffalo hunt, October 29.
- In Shawnee. This plaque was once was south of the Canadian near Tecumseh, the evening of the apple green sunset, November 2. This memorial plaque has been moved from the site chosen by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

**Today’s Names for Yesterday’s Places**

**To Tour Counties In Order**

- Cherokee – Cherokee Indian Nation. Fort Gibson is on the edge of Cherokee County
- Muskogee – Muscogee Creek Indian Nation, Fort Gibson is in Muskogee County.
- Wagoner – Named for the County Seat, Wagoner
- Tulsa – Tulsee Town, a settlement in Alabama
- Osage – Osage Indian Nation
- Creek – Muscogee Creek Indian Nation
- Pawnee – Skidi Pawnee Indians
- Payne – David L. Payne, a Boomer
- Logan – Senator John A. Logan of Illinois, a popular Civil War General
- Oklahoma – Choctaw Indian word meaning “Home of the Red Men”
- Cleveland – Grover Cleveland, President 1893-1897
- Pottawatomie – Citizen Band Pottawatomie Indians
- Seminole – Seminole Nation, word means “runaway” or “those who camp at a distance” --- from their brothers and sisters, the Muscogee Creeks.
- Lincoln – Abraham Lincoln -- Irving may not have entered today’s Lincoln County, but you will when you go through Prague. Surely one of the 1832 hunters must have found their way there.
- Okfuskee – Muscoogee Creek Indian town in Alabama
- Okmulgee – Muscogee Creek word meaning “Boiling Water”
- Muskogee – Wagoner – Muscogee

**To Tour Cities In Order**

Start ⇒ Fort Gibson ⇒ Okay ⇒ Tullahassee ⇒ Porter ⇒ Red Bird ⇒ Coweta ⇒ Broken Arrow ⇒ Bixby ⇒ Jenks ⇒ Tulsa ⇒ Sand Springs ⇒ Terlton ⇒ Jennings ⇒ Yale ⇒ Stillwater ⇒ Perkins ⇒ Coyle ⇒ Langston ⇒ Meridian ⇒ Guthrie ⇒ Edmond ⇒ Arcadia ⇒ Oklahoma City ⇒ Jones ⇒ Spencer ⇒ Midwest City ⇒ Oklahoma City ⇒ Moore ⇒ Norman ⇒ Pink ⇒ Tecumseh ⇒ Shawnee ⇒ Earlsboro ⇒ Seminole ⇒ Prague ⇒ Paden ⇒ Boley ⇒ Castle ⇒ Okemah ⇒ Okfuskee ⇒ Okmulgee ⇒ Boynton ⇒ Taft ⇒ Muskogee ⇒ Fort Gibson ⇒ Finish

[Go to Stage 1 of the Tour](#)