

The
Huntsville
HISTORICAL
Review

Vol 3 October 1973 No 4

*Published Quarterly by the
Huntsville Historical Society*

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FOUNDED 1951

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Huntsville, Alabama

Volume 3

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Editor
Elbert L. Watson

PUBLISHED BY
THE HUNTSVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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RECONSTRUCTION IN HUNTSVILLE AND MADISON COUNTY, ALABAMA, 1865-1869

By Sarah Etheline Bounds

The Civil War was a revolution in the life of the American people. A detailed examination of the conditions in a small section of the United States following the war may lead to a greater understanding of these drastic changes. Madison County, lying in the fertile and prosperous Tennessee Valley of north central Alabama, serves as the microcosm for the study. Madison County is not an entirely typical county, but its history shows the forces and organizations that were active during the years immediately after the Civil War.

Though the events of 1865 settled the secession and slavery issues, new and more difficult problems faced the people of the Southern States in the post-war years. Immediate and pragmatic answers were needed for dealing with the freedmen; for obtaining money to buy seeds and supplies; for paying debts and taxes; and for stimulating business. Only time and the cooperative effort of all would bring solutions to these perplexing issues.

Although the population of Madison County increased from the years 1860 to 1870, the estimated population in 1866 was below that of 1860. There were 25,531 people in 1866, a reduction of 923 but an increase of 988 whites. This was due, in part, to the influx of northerners and to the departure of Negroes leaving to test their freedom:

or to join the Union army. The casualties of the war for Madison County were 147 killed, 214 dead from sickness, and twenty-eight disabled.¹

While population declined in other parts of Alabama, especially in Negroes, Madison County showed an increase in both white and Negro population between 1860 and 1870. In 1860, the white population was 11,686 and the Negro population was 14,768, a total of 26,454. The total population in 1870 was 31,267, with the whites numbering 15,527 and the Negroes 15,740.

The Huntsville city government, during and immediately following the Civil War, found it almost impossible to carry out its administrative functions. The needs of the people were numerous, and funds were lacking to supply even the basics of greater police protection, more water, and better fire control.

From May 5, 1863 to January 15, 1867 the minutes of the Huntsville city council meetings were written in a ledger other than the official book, and there is evidently no existing record of these proceedings. Mayor Robert W. Coltart and eight new aldermen were elected in December, 1866, to take office on January 15, 1867. With a balance of \$34.12, these officials began the task of bringing Huntsville out of a crucial time of suffering and hardship. The incomplete and inaccurate records and files made the first business meeting most difficult. The expenditures and receipts of the available records were not consistent. Since previous boards did not require the recording and the auditing of accounts, some entries, credits, and forfeitures do not appear or do not correspond.

Since early 1863, property damages against the city were extensive. Claims of above three thousand dollars were filed against the city within a week. The mayor and aldermen studied the books and found \$808.88 due for taxes in 1865, \$6,930.03 due for 1866, and \$339.50 due for city licenses. Even though money was scarce and

many people were destitute, they expected 75 per cent of these back taxes to be paid. Some people paid the back taxes and license fees, making the new balance \$396.01 by March 5, 1867. But on April 12, 1867, the mayor ordered the establishment of a new set of books, saying it was impossible to balance the books for 1866.

Before the war the city purchased shares of stock in the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, and now it became necessary to sell some stock to pay the indebtedness from some bonds due in June, 1867. Mayor Coltart went to Philadelphia and sold sixteen hundred shares with a face value of twenty-five dollars. He was able, however, to secure only eighty-five cents on the dollar for the stock.

The financial statement of July 31, 1867, indicated a deficit of \$2,881.35 because the council had received \$24,728.74 and spent \$27,610.09. The city had assets of \$96,631 which included railroad stock, personal property, real estate, and waterworks; its liabilities were \$41,461, covering city bonds, bills payable, coupons and unpaid checks. Huntsville, thus, had a liquidating value of \$55,170.

The extremely low city finances required the strictest economy in management. The new mayor and aldermen displayed much courage, patience, and energy in working with the problem. The people apparently were paying back the fees for licenses, fines, forfeitures and taxes when they were able. Yet, the financial balances at council business meetings were remaining small. Although many of the tax assessments were uncollected, the financial condition improved during 1868 until the city budget had a surplus of \$9,000.00.³

As in most other matters, there was much optimism regarding business prospects soon after the war. The hotels reopened, but were plagued by financial difficul-

ties. Cotton merchants hung out their signs along the west side of the courthouse square. Horse and mule trading became an important business because the animals were needed to stock the farms.⁴

By the summer of 1866, actual improvements were not as great as expected. Construction consisted of two small stores in town and of a large warehouse and store near the depot. The courthouse and many private homes were repaired and painted. The newspapers made constant appeals for the building of small cottage-like houses for mechanics and laborers. Businessmen felt people would come to Huntsville if better residences at a fair rent were available.

Business was generally stagnant.. The only town people who were busy were the lawyers and the loafers. The country people were busy on their farms. Business could not really be active until the people had something to sell. The only brisk period of trade was in the fall after the gathering of the wheat and cotton crops and the people were preparing for the winter. At this time of year the country people came to town on Saturdays in wagons and buggies, making the courthouse square a popular place to trade, to meet friends, and to get news.⁵

The merchants and citizens protested the presence of transient traders and petitioned the city to have them taxed. They secured the passage of an ordinance which required the traveling merchant or trader to pay one percent of their sales to the city. To ensure payment, the city took as collateral two satisfactory securities, personally owned items or property deeds. The transient doctor or physician had to pay fifteen dollars for a license or ten dollars each day without a license. The merchants also obtained a prohibition against the open sale of bacon on the courthouse square, since the price was far below that charged by the regular merchants.⁶

Since very little money was in circulation, the transaction of banking and all other business was difficult.

The Northern Bank of Alabama was in liquidation. The National Bank of Huntsville, chartered by the state legislature in July, 1865, had more than three-fourths of its capital stock of \$100,000 furnished by money from New York.⁷ Rison Banking, a private concern with a capital stock of \$40,000, made its appearance in March, 1866. Its organizers were W. R. Rison, who was previously in the mercantile business in Aberdeen, Mississippi, and Captain Samuel W. Fordyce, a Federal officer stationed in Huntsville during the war.⁸

The first Alabama branch of the Freedmen's Savings Bank opened in Huntsville in December, 1865. These banks, serving only Negroes, were not a part of, but were usually allied with, the Freedmen's Bureau. Bureau agents were often in charge of the bank branches.⁹ In 1868, the Huntsville branch had \$5,097.97 in deposits and \$38.02 in interest on long-term deposits.¹⁰ In only five months, deposits increased to \$17,603.29. By March 31, 1870, five hundred depositors had a total of \$89,445.10.¹¹ As indicated by these figures, deposits increased rapidly and the bank continued to prosper for several years. The Huntsville and Mobile branches of the Freedmen's Savings Bank were the largest and most prominent in the state. Nevertheless, only those Negroes in and around these cities became depositors. Those in more remote sections of the country lived in ignorance of the bank.

Another aid to the Negroes were the rations provided by the Freedmen's Bureau under the supervision of Colonel John B. Callis, Superintendent of the Bureau in North Alabama. These rations usually consisted of white corn and bacon. The newspapers most often read by the Negroes carried items on the issuing of the rations.

Rations from the government were to end in the fall of 1867, except for hospitals, orphan homes, and very extreme cases.¹² Nevertheless, Huntsville continued to obtain rations and a soup house opened in February

1868. The time and the place of the establishment of this soup house and others over the state, seem to indicate they had a political objective of influencing the Negro vote. Anyone could receive soup and bread by merely appearing at the barracks near the depot. After a short operation of several months, the soup house was discontinued.¹³

To assist the ever increasing number and demands of both Negro and white destitutes, the city and county established an Alms House and Hospital in December, 1866.¹⁴ It was located on the farm of Robert C. Brickell, south of Huntsville, and was under the supervision of Dr. Henry W. Bassett.¹⁵

The small, insufficient crops of 1865 were among the factors creating a more destitute condition. A lack of farm laborers resulted in scarcely any cotton being planted. This failure made it impossible for thousands of residents to grow crops the following year without assistance.¹⁶ In addition to all the man-made troubles of the farmer, such as a lack of implements and labor, nature also worked against him in unfavorable weather, rotten seeds, and insects. The newspapers described 1866 as "the wettest winter and spring and the hottest and driest summer and the worst year for farming we have had in North Alabama for a great while."¹⁷ Despite these difficulties the estimated cotton crop for the year was 5,000 bales, but this was not half an average crop. At this time, the winter of 1866-67, cotton was selling at twenty-four cents per pound, the highest price during Reconstruction.

By the end of 1867, the advice to the farmers was not to depend heavily on cotton. Cotton prices were low and continued to drop to about ten cents. Wheat was the advisable crop to plant because it brought a good price and could be used to support the needs of the people. The suggested proportion of food crops to cotton crops was three-fourths to one-fourth.¹⁸ The objective was to strive for self-sufficiency and then to sell the remaining



South side of Courthouse Square in 1867.
James Record Picture Collection,
Huntsville Public Library

crops for money and necessary goods not obtainable by individual efforts.

Mortgage sales on the courthouse square occurred by the hundreds. There was a general exodus of people toward the western states for several years after 1869.¹⁹ Before hard times struck, however, land deeds were secured quickly by the actual settlers under the Homestead Law of 1862. People from Madison and other counties crowded daily into the United States Land Office in Huntsville. They wanted to save their land registered under the secession state government. The Office entered 545 farms or over 4,000 acres in April and May of 1867. Captain E. C. Hatton, the Register, stated that by May, 1867, only one entry had been by a Negro, a woman from Morgan County.²⁰

The lack of transportation facilities was a serious hindrance to the rebuilding of Alabama. Fortunately, Madison County had the advantage of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad that extended across the entire northern part of the state. At the railroad stockholders meeting in Huntsville on August 29, 1866, the statement of the total loss due to the war was \$1,195,000. A second mortgage of one million dollars was made for the improvement of the railroad and for a line from North Alabama to Atlanta. Since the value of the road and equipment was \$9,549,115 and the total liabilities were only \$4,348,304, the railroad hoped to pay a dividend in the fall of 1867 and every six months thereafter. Considering the general economic circumstances of North Alabama, the financial condition of the company seemed excellent.²¹ Instead of paying the promised dividend, however, the stock continually dropped in value until it reached only forty-four per cent of its face value in January 1869. The projected connection to Atlanta did not materialize either.²²

Another means of transportation was the Tennessee River. Wagons hauled goods to and from the river by the

Whitesburg Pike. Stage coach lines ran between Huntsville and the river and the smaller communities, but on an irregular schedule.²³

A profound influence in Huntsville during and after the war was the almost constant presence of Federal forces in the city after April 11, 1862, when General O. M. Mitchell captured the city. Shortly after the war ended, the twelve counties of North Alabama were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the assistant commissioner for Tennessee, General Clinton B. Fiske, to become the sixth division in Alabama under the command of General Waldimir "Kriz" Kryzhanowski.²⁴

The United States government built barracks, a quartermaster office, and a commissary store at the railroad depot in 1866. Until the completion of the barracks, the homes of Huntsville citizens served as quarters for the troops, with the Calhoun house and the building on the corner of the square and Eustis Street as the office of the quartermaster.

The officers and soldiers stationed in Huntsville after the war were of the 33rd Regiment of the United States Infantry. After the Negro troops left, feelings between the citizens and the troops improved. Citizen and soldier baseball teams often played near the depot. The soldiers showed an interest in community affairs, by contributing to the Catholic building fund, by helping to put out fires on numerous occasions, and by having the military band play for fancy balls.

In 1868, General Thomas H. Ruger, the former Military Governor of Georgia, took command of Alabama, with headquarters in Huntsville. The Huntsville Advocate described Ruger as an officer of character, ability, and fairness, with an accurate knowledge of the political status of the state and of its individuals. When two companies of troops arrived in September 1868, there was a total of eight companies or about five hundred men in Huntsville. Most of the troops camped on the Whitesburg

Pike, while General Ruger maintained his headquarters in the Calhoun house.²⁵

Unfortunately, lawlessness was a common occurrence during and immediately after the war. The Federals held Madison County for almost three years of the war, except for two short intervals when the Federal forces were flanked and forced to retire. Since the Federal occupation entirely destroyed the civil government of the town, anarchy generally reigned in the absence of military control.

The relaxation of military discipline after the war resulted in a deterioration of law and order. Many Huntsville citizens suffered robbery, murder, and arson from the soldiers and other civilians. The local traffic in whisky was enormous. Drunken soldiers, who frequently became violent, crowded the streets. Ladies of easy virtue were also present.²⁶

Efforts to correct these evils included arresting lewd women, fining them as much as twenty dollars and moving them outside the city limits. Captain Robert Harrison, commander of the Huntsville post, requested an ordinance prohibiting the selling or giving of liquors to enlisted men. Such an ordinance passed, being amended to include minors and providing a penalty of twenty-five dollars for each offense.²⁷

In view of the prevailing disrespect for the law, Provisional Governor Lewis E. Parson received authorization to call out the militia in each county if necessary. In addition, the mayors of Huntsville, Athens, and Florence had special police power to suppress violence. Because the lawless element was especially strong in Madison County, the Huntsville mayor apparently was in the greatest need of this power.²⁸

Huntsville was one of only three cities in Alabama to have Freedmen's courts for freedmen to secure a fair and unprejudiced trial. The state courts actually became the Freedmen's courts early in 1866.²⁹ A military com-

mission at Huntsville rendered decisions in questions of property title.³⁰

While the county experienced limited economic growth, the courts had more business than ever. Both civil and criminal cases crowded the court dockets. The circuit court in September, 1866 had over seven hundred new suits.³¹ But despite the number of the legal transactions, the newspapers gave detailed accounts on them.

During the post Civil War period, Huntsville had three newspapers, a Radical paper supported by the Federal government and two Democratic papers. The Radical, or Republican, paper was the Huntsville Advocate, known as the Southern Advocate before the war. This paper was a semi-weekly, published every Tuesday and Friday, with yearly subscriptions at four dollars. The Advocate was entitled "The Official Journal of the United States Government for the Northern District of Alabama," serving the counties of Madison, Marshall, Jackson, DeKalb, Blount, Marion, Walker, Fayette and entirely supported by Republican campaign funds and by appropriations from the government for printing the laws passed by the United States Congress. All bankruptcy, judicial, and legal notices for the above counties appeared in the Advocate.³²

William Bibb Figures was the editor of the Advocate before the war and until his death in 1872. Figures was quite active in local politics, serving as mayor of Huntsville before the war and for two terms after the war, chairman of the Fifth District Executive Committee of the Union Republican Party, justice of the peace, and registrar in chancery. Of the old Whig school, he approved of the provisional government during the first term of President Grant. Figures had the reputation of being a competent editor, who reported every happening carefully and accurately.

One of the Democratic papers was the Huntsville Weekly Democrat, previously entitled the Daily Huntsville Confederate. Its editor was John Withers Clay,

son of former Governor Clement Comer Clay and the brother of former United States Senator Clement Claiborne Clay. Forced to publish in secret during the war, the Democrat came out of hiding after the war and changed from a daily to a weekly paper.³³

Edited by J. J. Dew and John W. Young, the Huntsville Independent was a weekly paper established in 1855. The Radicals, its powerful opponents, said its editors were poor and unskilled and complained about the Independent being an inadequate and inferior paper.³⁴

Because of the intense political hatred between Radical and Democratic papers, harsh and insulting remarks appeared in the newspapers about the other papers and their editors. Some of the leading enemies of the Advocate were the Huntsville Independent, the Montgomery Mail, and the Moulton Advertiser. The Montgomery Mail referred to the Advocate as "the Black Republican organ of Huntsville--a bogus Union paper."³⁵ On one occasion Figures sought revenge by advocating the erection of a statue of John Withers Clay fleeing from Huntsville as the 4th Ohio Calvary came into the city in 1862. Clay should be mounted on Jack E's slinger's mule, said Figures, and carry a black flag in one hand and a white flag in the other.³⁶

The newspapers usually consisted of four pages. The second page contained the editorial and the third page was mostly notes or comments on local business, farming or society. The publication of the laws of the United States, bankrupt notices, assignee sales, and other legal notices were on the last page or the third page. The remainder of the paper consisted of reprints from other newspapers, letters, poems, advertisements, and notices of educational institutions.

Private schools for white boys and girls and the Huntsville Female College reopened in the fall of 1865. The buildings of Green Academy, destroyed during the war, were not restored and the school was closed permanently.



First National Bank in 1870. Theophilus Clay, Cashier, is standing on the bank steps, his family carriage and driver in the foreground.

James Record Picture Collection, Huntsville Public Library

Among the private schools which reopened for day and boarding students was the Huntsville Female Seminary, with the Presbyterian minister, Reverend H. R. Smith, as principal. Half of the tuition for the five month term was paid in advance. Board with tuition was \$130 with ten to thirty dollars more for additional courses in ancient or modern languages, drawing, painting, or music.

The Huntsville High School, or Male High School, also had two terms of five months each. The tuition, due in advance, varied from twenty to forty-five dollars a term, depending on the class. Board with private families in Huntsville was a hundred dollars per term. W. A. Slaymaker, the principal, said the school was inferior to none in the South and was entirely free from any sectarian bias.

The Huntsville Female College had similar terms and tuition as the Huntsville Female Seminary and the Huntsville High School. Although board and tuition were due in advance, supplies were taken for payments. Reverend J. G. Wilson, the president, stated that the school offered courses in music, oil painting, German, French, English, and other useful and ornamental branches of female education.

Other schools included the Mathematical and Classical School directed by Dr. C. G. Smith; a second school which met in the rear of the Baptist Church and applied the fourteen dollars tuition toward the completion of the church building; and another school at the Catholic Church which taught English, piano, and guitar to boys and girls. Major General O. O. Howard, chief of the Bureau for Freedmen and Refugees, announced arrangements for an elementary and an advanced education at a school on Lookout Mountain, Tennessee. The program, unfortunately, was available only to white boys and girls who were the children of Union soldiers.³⁷

Many parents, mostly farmers and tenants, were unable to send their children to school because of the

high tuition. Although some parents tried to teach their children at home when they had time from their work, many children of educated parents grew up in ignorance.

Before the war ended only three or four Negro schools were established in Alabama. One of these was in Huntsville on Townsend Street and another was at the Negro colony on the plantation of former Governor Reuben Chapman, a few miles north of Huntsville. Northern societies sent teachers and missionaries to the South as the Federal occupation continued. The Pittsburgh Freedmen's Aid Society supported eleven schools in Huntsville, Athens, and Stevenson by the end of 1865. While the society provided the teachers and the supplies, the Freedmen's Bureau aided these schools by furnishing the buildings, the rent, and the repairs. Under the terms of the original Freedmen Bureau Act, money to equip these schools came from northern donations and from the seizure and sale of cotton in the area of the school. After the passage of the Bureau Act of July, 1866, the sale of Confederate property became another source of support.³⁹ It was reported that five hundred Negro children attended various Huntsville schools in December, 1866. The total average attendance per day for the preceding month, however, was only three hundred.⁴⁰

At first only Northern white teachers were employed in Huntsville's schools. Since the Southern whites refused to offer them board, these teachers usually stayed with Negro families. Soon qualified Negro teachers were secured. In late 1866, there were five white teachers from the North and three Negro assistants from Huntsville, Thomas Townsend, Charles Henley, and S. L. Carter.⁴¹

For religious instruction, the Negroes attended churches with the whites immediately after the war, and white pastors and teachers chosen by the Negroes attended to their religious welfare and education.⁴² Nevertheless, the work of the Northern missionaries and political leaders soon caused the separation of the races.

The whites feared the majority of Negroes would take advantage of the democratic church government and control the administration of the churches under the direction of the Northerners. Encouragement and assistance was therefore given to the Negroes to form separate congregations.

One of the Northern missionaries who created ill feeling between the races was Reverend A. S. Lakin from Indiana. He was sent to Huntsville in 1866 to organize the Northern Methodist Church. Lakin tried to crush the Negro attempts to form their own churches, and he took over Southern Methodist church buildings for his group. Even his own congregation finally complained, charging they paid for their own lot and church but the deed was in Lakin's name.⁴³ He was so universally hated that an attempted assassination was made on him and his family in 1868.⁴⁴

Federal forces occupied many of the churches of Huntsville during the war. Frequently, fires made in Church basements for the soldiers to cook their food were carelessly tended. Only two days after a protest to the military authorities about fire hazards, the Methodist Church was completely destroyed by fire.⁴⁵ The rebuilding of the Church was typical of several congregations during the post-war days.

Although the Methodists had no definite place to worship, the Reverend A. L. P. Green came from Nashville in July, 1866, to assist in a series of meetings. With the use of Presbyterian buildings, the Methodists were hosts to 175 ministers attending the Tennessee Conference in the fall of 1866.

Immediately following these revival services, the members began active planning to erect their church within a year. Raising the necessary money required many and varied approaches. The building fund received the proceeds of the Grove Spring Tournament, the annual summer social event in Huntsville. The pastor, Rever-

end Thomas L. Moody, solicited funds in the surrounding states and obtained \$4,500. Within two weeks after his return, rubbish was cleaned from the church lot on Randolph Street and construction began on July 15, 1867. Church services, as well as Sunday School and social events, were held in the basement of the church for several years while the sanctuary was being built. During these years the women of the church increased the building fund by giving suppers, fairs, and tableaux.⁴⁶

All the churches, of course, provided many social activities for the people such as picnics, ice cream parties, suppers, and fairs. Most of these events raised money to pay church debts or to build and repair the buildings. During the summer months barbecues, picnics, and fish fries were held on the banks of the Tennessee River and at many springs near Huntsville. These events were often attended by both races, with the Negroes usually in large numbers. Good feeling and order prevailed.

Huntsville had two annual festivals. The Flower Queen Festival, enacted by the children under the direction of their parents, was held in the spring. The summer event, the Huntsville Tournament Association or the Grove Spring Tournament, was a colorful two-day celebration at the amphitheatre on Monte Sano Mountain. The pageant involved knights from the county who competed for the honor of selecting the Queen of Love and Beauty and her court. The proceeds went to some charitable project, such as the building fund of the Methodist Church. The annual circus was another event that the children anxiously awaited.

The Huntsville Hotel was the scene of Fancy Dress Soirees or balls. Only the socially elite attended, but the receipts had a charitable purpose, such as raising money for the Mason's Widow and Orphan Fund of Madison. Either the Band of the 33rd Infantry or the Spring City Brass Band provided the music for such affairs.

The two bands also gave concerts, and the pupils of various teachers performed in recitals. The students were from music teacher Professor Habick, dancing instructor Professor McDonald, or the Huntsville Female Seminary. The Opera House offered entertainment by traveling theatrical troupes and the Huntsville Thespians. Local plays were apparently well liked, with the group giving several repeat performances.⁴⁷

Despite the gloom and despondency associated with much of Reconstruction, there was considerable activity which brought enjoyment to the local citizenry during the period of 1865-69. The new status of Negroes, along with other social and economic changes, of course, affected the customs, manners, reactions industries agriculture, and population of the area. But along with change came new opportunities for citizens to participate in and contribute to the progress of their community. In time, recovery was effected and Huntsville returned again to its former position as a leader in the development of Alabama and, indeed, the South.

¹Huntsville Advocate, October 6, 1866.

²Willis Brewer, Alabama: Her History, Resources, War Record and Public Men from 1540 to 1872 (Montgomery, Alabama: Barrett and Brown, 1872), 346-347.

³Minutes of the City of Huntsville, Alabama, Council Meetings, Minute Book D, 16, 47, 71, 109-110, 132-133, 162, 199, 228, 257, and 399. Hereafter cited as Minute Book D.

⁴Huntsville Times, September 1-17, 1955. Sesquicentennial Issue.

⁵Huntsville Advocate, July 31, 1866; August 1, 1866; December 5, 1866; April 2, 1867; May 3, 1867; June 2, 1868.

⁶Minute Book D, 275, 431, and 433.

⁷Huntsville Times, September 11-17, 1955. Sesquicentennial Issue.

⁸Memorial Record of Alabama: A Concise Account of the State's Political, Military, Professional and Industrial Process, Together with the Personal Memoirs of Many of Its People (2 vols.: Madison, Wisconsin: 1893), 470.

⁹Walter L. Fleming, Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama (New York: Columbia University Press 1905), 451-452. Hereafter cited as Fleming, Civil War.

¹⁰Huntsville Advocate, March 31, 1868.

¹¹Fleming, Civil War, 453-454.

¹²Huntsville Advocate, December 1, 1866; August 2, 1867.

¹³Elizabeth Bethal, "The Freedmen's Bureau in Alabama," Journal of Southern History, 14 (February, 1948), 80. Hereafter cited as Bethal, "Freedmen's Bureau," JSH.

¹⁴Minute Book D, 192.

¹⁵Huntsville Advocate, December 5, 1866.

¹⁶Albert B. Moore, History of Alabama (University, Alabama:

¹⁷Huntsville Advocate, August 15, 1866.

¹⁸Ibid., January 25, 1867; February 18, 1868.

¹⁹Fleming, Civil War, 579.

²⁰Huntsville Advocate, June 4, 1867; May 17, 1867.

²¹Moore, History of Alabama, 458; Huntsville Advocate, September 1, 1866.

- ²²Minute Book D, 398.
- ²³Huntsville Times, September 11-17, 1955. Sesquicentennial Issue.
- ²⁴Fleming, Civil War, 426 and 267.
- ²⁵Huntsville Advocate, August 8, 1866; November 26, 1867;
- ²⁶Fleming, Civil War, 263.
- ²⁷Huntsville Advocate, April 5, 1867; Minute Book D, 220. D, 220.
- ²⁸Fleming, Civil War, 366-367 and 266.
- ²⁹Bethal, "Freedman's Bureau," JSH, 53.
- ³⁰Fleming, Civil War, 416.
- ³¹Huntsville Advocate, September 8, 1866.
- ³²Fleming, Civil War, 534
- ³³Thomas McAdory Owen, History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography (4 vols.; Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1921), 575 and 343.
- ³⁴U. S., Congress, Senate, Committee on the Insurrectionary States, Ku Klux Investigation in Alabama, 42d Cong., 2d Sess., 1871-1872, 836-837.
- ³⁵Huntsville Advocate, January 25, 1867.
- ³⁶Ibid., March 8, 1867; May 21, 1867.
- ³⁷Ibid., July 31, 1868; August 13, 1867; September 1, 1866; September 11, 1868; November 22, 1867.
- ³⁸Fleming, Civil War, 579.
- ³⁹Ibid., 456 and 459.
- ⁴⁰Huntsville Advocate, December 21, 1866.

⁴¹Huntsville Times, September 11-17, 1955. Sesquicentennial Issue.

⁴²Huntsville Advocate, May 16, 1866.

⁴³Fleming, Civil War, 642-643 and 637 and 638.

⁴⁴Huntsville Advocate, November 13, 1868.

⁴⁵Huntsville Times, September 11-17, 1955. Sesquicentennial Issue.

⁴⁶Huntsville Advocate, July 7, 1866; December 11, 1866; October 31, 1866; December 18, 1866; June 18, 1867; July 9, 1867; July 16, 1867; February 14, 1868; February 19, 1868; January 22, 1869; January 29, 1869.

⁴⁷Huntsville Advocate, December 7, 1866; March 26, 1867; May 12, 1868; December 21, 1866; July 7, 1866; August 13, 1867; August 20, 1867; July 10, 1868; April 23, 1867; July 7, 1866; September 15, 1866; April 9, 1867; December 28, 1866; August 18, 1868; July 12, 1866; December 24, 1866; April 21, 1868; June 16, 1868; July 21, 1866; September 19, 1866.

STAND WATIE:

CHEROKEE LEADER,

CONFEDERATE COMMANDER

By Elbert L. Watson.

The courageous fight made by Southern Indian tribes in Indian Territory during the Civil War is probably one of the most forgotten chapters of Confederate history. At the forefront of Indian leadership was Stand Watie, a Cherokee chief who was born in the Cherokee Nation in 1806.¹ Watie was of noble parentage among the Cherokees. His uncle, Gah-na-tah-tte-gi, was born at Hiawassee, now Polk County, Tennessee, and later moved to the Cherokee Nation, Georgia. The white people renamed him "Ridge", which was a short interpretation of his name and meant "walking the mountain tops." A full blooded Cherokee, was elected to the Cherokee Council at age twenty-one, and eventually became speaker of the Council. During the Creek War he served under Andrew Jackson, and rose to the rank of Major in the United States Army. Thereafter, his people referred to him as "Major Ridge." His son, John, a gifted orator and political leader among the Cherokees, played an important part in the complex circumstances which culminated in the "Trail of Tears."²

The father of Stand Watie was named "Oowatee," meaning "Rev." or "Old." He was the younger brother and was called "David" by the missionaries. Little is known of him because of his quiet, unassuming manner. His eldest son, "Cah-li-gi-nah," or "Buck Oowatee,"

was educated at Cornwall, Connecticut, by Dr. Elias Boudinot, a philanthropist of Princeton, New Jersey. Buck proved to be an extremely intelligent young man and became so devoted to the doctor that he assumed the name "Elias Boudinot." He was clerk of the Council in 1819 when New Echota, Georgia, was founded to become in 1825 the seat of the Cherokee government. He was also selected in 1827 as the first editor of the Cherokee Phoenix, the tribe's weekly newspaper.³

Mabel Washbourne Anderson, in her book The Life of General Stand Watie, says that he was born in Cherokee Nation, Georgia, on December 12, 1806, "at the old Watie home on the Coosawatee stream near the present site of the city of Rome." He was named Ta-ker-taw-ker which meant "To Stand Firm---Immovable;" baptized into the Moravian Church; and at age twelve was enrolled in the Moravian Mission School at Brainard, near the present site of Chattanooga. There he dropped the "Oo" and took the interpretation of his Cherokee given name meaning "Stand;" thus, his name, Stand Watie.⁴

Watie was small in stature but quite strong. While still in his teens he was selected as one of the twenty-three best ball players in the Cherokee Nation. He wore his fine, thick hair long, and his bright, piercing eyes gave him the appearance of an ancient Vandal.⁵ While serving as deputy sheriff in a district of the Nation, he gained prestige among white settlers when he hunted down and single-handedly killed a desperado who was plaguing the countryside. By nature, he shunned publicity and preferred quieter pursuits. However, his outstanding personal abilities placed him in a leading position in the Nation's affairs, along with the Ridges and Boudinots.

The loyalty of the Cherokees to the United States during the Creek War did not greatly impress Georgians, who favored resettling them west of the Mississippi River. In 1829, that state passed a law prohibiting any white man from residing in the Indian Territory, unless



General Stand Watie several years after the war.

he was from Georgia and had a permit from the State. Two New England missionaries were subsequently arrested on a charge of encouraging the Indians to resist removal from their lands, sentenced to four years hard labor. Strong displeasure swept the Cherokee Nation and the case was appealed to the United States Supreme Court. Under the direction of Chief Justice John Marshall, the Court, in 1832, ruled in favor of the missionaries, calling the Cherokee Nation a separate territory over which the laws of Georgia did not apply. From Washington John Ridge triumphantly wrote to Stand Watie that the Cherokees should rejoice over the "glorious decision of the Supreme Court" but predicted many more years of conflict. He evidenced his contempt for President Andrew Jackson, who sided with Georgia,⁶ by saying that "the Chicken Snake General Jackson has time to crawl and hide in his luxuriant grass of his nefarious (sic) hypocrisy until his responsibility is fastened upon by an execution of the Supreme Court at their next session."⁷

The triumph was short lived when it became apparent that the Indians were contending against Georgia and the Federal Government. When Jackson refused to enforce the Court's decree, it was only a question of time until removal of the Cherokees from the southeast to western lands became a reality. However, the vast majority of the tribe continued to resist, largely because of the influence of their Chief, John Ross, who bitterly opposed removal.⁸ Recognizing that continued resistance would only increase the hardships and injuries inflicted upon the Cherokees, the Ridges, Boudinot, and Stand Watie began to advocate removal and became known as the Treaty Party. Many Indians could not understand their "change of heart", and accused them of selling out to the whites. Very likely they were sincere, because by this time white settlers completely surrounded the Cherokee country, leaving many Indians defenseless against law-

less elements which penetrated the territory in search of gold.

In March, 1835, John Ross, John Ridge, and Elias Boudinot met in Washington with Secretary of War, Lewis Cass, to discuss removal. Although realizing that removal was inevitable, Ross insisted that the Federal Government pay the Cherokees twenty million dollars for their lands. When Secretary Cass would go no higher than five million dollars, Ross reluctantly agreed to the terms subject to approval by the tribe.

The proposed removal treaty was presented to the Indians at Red Clay, near the Georgia and Tennessee boundary line. There was no retreat on their part. The treaty was rejected by an overwhelming vote, and a committee of twenty leading citizens was dispatched to Washington for further negotiations. Included in the group were Chief Ross, Boudinot, and Ridge. The two United States Commissioners, the Reverend John F. Schermerhorn and B. F. Curry, were in Georgia at this time, and, with Ross away, called for a second conference at the capitol, New Echota. Intrigue was evident when Major Ridge and Boudinot abruptly resigned from the Washington delegation and returned to New Echota to participate in the negotiations there. An agreement was quickly reached and a treaty signed on December 29, 1835.⁹ Stand Watie was among those who affixed their signatures to the document, which was promptly ratified by the United States Senate. Removal west of the Mississippi River was now a fact for the Cherokees.

At least ninety per cent of the tribe bitterly denounced the treaty and its signers. There was considerable talk of assassinating the Ridges, Boudinot, and Watie as hate and resentment rent the Nation asunder. Major Ridge is said to have remarked as he signed the treaty that he was signing his death warrant.¹⁰ Within a few years he was proven to be an accurate prophet.

With their lives in constant danger, the four principal signers, their families, and about 450 other Indians

began their westward migration on March 1, 1837, fully one year before required to do so by the Treaty. Watie left a splendid home with many acres of land and personal property, but took a number of his negro slaves with him. The party boarded a ship at Ross's Landing (now Chattanooga), and journeyed down the Tennessee River to Decatur, Alabama, where they transferred to railroad trains. Upon reaching Tusculum, Alabama, they again boarded ships and continued to Paducah, Kentucky. There the mighty Mississippi River became their conductor to the mouth of the Arkansas River, and thence to Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, and now Oklahoma. They settled in the northeastern section of Oklahoma near the Arkansas line. Watie constructed an attractive home upon a large farm on the Illinois River, just east of the present site of Vinita, Oklahoma, and began to grow crops and cultivate livestock.

Most of the people who remained behind enjoyed no such pleasant conveniences of transportation to the West. The overwhelming majority of the Cherokees did not believe that they would be forced to leave their homes; consequently, they made no effort to migrate when the time for removal, May 23, 1838, arrived. They were sadly disillusioned. General Winfield Scott and 7,000 American troops arrived to compel them to leave for the West. Indians by the thousands were herded into concentration camps while their homes and lands were freely plundered. A Baptist missionary of that time left the following account of the awful spectacle:

Their (Cherokee) feelings are mortified by vulgar and profane vociferations. It is a painful sight. . . The poor captive, in a state of distressing agitation, his weeping wife almost frantic with terror, surrounded by a group of crying, terrified children, without a friend to speak a consoling word, is in a poor condition to make a good disposition of his property, and is in most cases.

stripped of the whole, at one blow. Many of the Cherokees, who a few days ago were in comfortable circumstances, are now victims of abject poverty.¹¹

Finally, at the request of Chief Ross, the Indians were released to migrate under his direction. Most of the people left about October 1 to travel across Tennessee, Northern Arkansas, Missouri, and finally into Northeast Oklahoma. A tragic consequence of the long journey was the death of nearly 4,000 of the 17,000 migrants, who perished along the way because of severe winter weather. The first group arrived in January and the last in March, 1839.¹²

The suffering which these people endured on the "Trail of Tears" intensified their hatred for the members of the Treaty Party, and they lost little time in finding a way to exterminate the principal signers. During the summer of 1839, a secret council was held near Tahlequah, the Cherokee capitol. At this meeting, a plan was devised to assassinate the two Ridges, Boudinot, and Watie at approximately the same time on the night of June 22, 1839. Major Ridge, then seventy years of age, was ambushed while enroute to Fort Smith, Arkansas. John Ridge was dragged from his bed and stabbed to death at his home on Honey Creek near the Missouri line, while his terrified mother, wife, and children looked on. At Tahlequah, Elias Boudinot was called from his home on an errand of mercy and tomahawked to death. Stand Watie was providentially absent from his home and escaped assassination.

As dawn broke across the Cherokee Nation after the night of terror, a grim faced, unarmed, dusty horseman rode into Tahlequah and dismounted where a crowd, thickly sprinkled with his enemies, was gathered around the body of Boudinot. He pushed his way into the throng, removed the sheet and looked for long, silent minutes into the motionless features of his dead brother. Then turning to the crowd he shouted, "I will give ten thou-

sand dollars to know the name of the man who struck that blow." Only hushed silence answered the challenging words of Stand Watie.¹³

No problems were solved by the unwarranted murders of the Ridges and Boudinot. Passions and resentments flared openly as the two factions increased their hostility. As the new leader of the Treaty Party, Stand Watie collected an armed force for his personal protection. The uncertainties of living in a strife torn country, however, were mitigated somewhat for Watie in 1843, when he married Sarah C. Bell, an intelligent woman of much strength of character. To this union were born three sons, Saladin, Solon, and Cumiska; and two daughters, Ninnie and Jacqueline.

It is doubtful that Watie ever sought personal revenge against the murderers of his brother, uncle, and cousin, but partial vengeance came just the same. One morning in April, 1843, he and a friend arrived at a store in Mayesville, Arkansas, a small town on the boundary of the Indian Territory. There he met James Foreman, a ruthless Cherokee who was believed to have been a leader in the assassin party. With Foreman were two other men. Seeing Watie enter the store, Foreman pulled out his money and called for the drinks to be on him. As the two men raised their glasses Foreman said, "Stand Watie, here is wishing that you may live forever." To this Watie replied, "Jim, I suppose that I can drink with you, but I understood the other day that you were going to kill me---and that you are the man who killed my uncle." Foreman's true intentions were quickly revealed when he straightened himself, produced a heavy whip and answered, "Say yourself." Watie, thereupon, threw his glass of whiskey into Foreman's face and the fight commenced. In the ensuing struggle Watie thrust a bowie knife into Foreman's back. The stricken man managed to pull himself free, and ran almost 150 yards before he fell into the gap of a fence and died.¹⁴ Stand Watie sur-

rendered himself to the authorities and underwent trial on May 15, 1843. He was acquitted of all charges and released.

A degree of peace and tranquillity came to the Cherokee Nation during the middle 1840's, largely through the efforts of the United States Government to reconcile the hostile factions. In 1846, a peace treaty was signed by the two parties and the Cherokees entered an era of advancement and progress. Several well supervised schools were established including a Male and Female Seminary near Tahlequah. As a leader of the minority party, Stand Watie was elected to serve on the new Council which was organized at the capitol in 1845. Serving continuously until 1861, he was speaker of the body for two years.

However, by the middle 1850's the old differences began to return almost simultaneously with the growing national crisis between the North and South. Secret societies within the tribe advocated both preservation and abolition of slavery. Several New England missionaries, who preached abolition, were responsible for some of the internal agitation. Thus, when the spring of 1861 arrived to welcome the Cherokees from one of those long, benighted Oklahoma winters, the gentle breezes were blowing ominous forebodings of more strife across their lands.

The Confederacy, quite early in the conflict, recognized the importance of forming an alliance with the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes. They could furnish soldiers to guard the borders and supply cattle for the Confederate Army. Accordingly, President Jefferson Davis dispatched Albert Pike to the Indian Territory in 1861, to secure treaties aligning the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, Seminole, and Cherokee Indians with the Confederacy. Before Pike reached the Cherokee capitol, however, Chief Ross strongly endorsed a policy of strict neutrality with both the United States and Confederate

Governments. Supported by a majority of the tribe, Ross held steadfastly to his position until October, 1861, when a treaty was drawn up with the Confederate Government.

Stand Watie and his followers, however, did not share Chief Ross's neutral views. A firm spokesman for "States Rights," Watie organized and became captain of an independent force of Cherokees and whites to guard the northern boundaries of the Indian Nation against Federal raids. Later, he took his men to Camp Walker in Benton County, Arkansas, where he offered his services to General Benjamin McCullough, the newly appointed Confederate commander of Indian Territory. His offer was accepted and he was given a colonel's commission. On July 29, 1861, Watie organized the first Cherokee Regiment known as the Cherokee Mounted Rifles. This regiment participated in the following battles from 1861 to 1865: Wilson Creek, Missouri; Bird Creek, Oklahoma; Short Creek and Neosho, Missouri; Pea Ridge, Arkansas; Newtonia, Missouri; Fort Wayne, Fort Gibson, Bayou Manard, Barren Fork, Camp Creek, Honey Springs, and Mazard, Arkansas; Grove, Oklahoma; Cabin Creek, Oklahoma (twice); and many other minor raids and skirmishes.¹⁵

It is said that Watie's men marched, fought, and captured more mules and wagons than any other regiment west of the Mississippi River. Certainly, they were unexcelled in heroism and bravery. In December, 1861, Yo-ho-la, the leader of the Northern Creek Indians, came to the northwestern portion of the Cherokee Nation to induce the Cherokees to secede from the Confederacy. Learning of the intrusion, General James McIntosh and Watie joined forces at Fort Gibson to drive Yo-ho-la out of the Territory. Clem Rogers, the father of Will Rogers, served as guide for the Cherokees because of his familiarity with the area. Two armies met each other on Christmas Day near the present site of Tulsa,

Oklahoma, and Yo-ho-la's forces were completely routed with many casualties. He and a small remnant of his force managed to escape to Leroy, Kansas.

At the ill-fated Battle of Pea Ridge on March 6, 1862, Watie distinguished himself in one of the few Southern successes of that encounter. Again joining forces with Generals McIntosh and McCullough, Watie found himself in a critical position when he and his men were fired upon from a hidden battery. Without flinching, he shouted out the order to charge the battery and within a few minutes had captured four pieces of artillery. Webb Vann a resident of Pryor, Oklahoma, and a survivor of Watie's regiment, recalled the event 53 years later: "I can't see how we did it," he said, "but Watie gave the order which he always led, and his men would follow him into the very jaws of death. . . It must have been that mysterious power of Stand Watie that led us on to make the capture against such odds."¹⁶ The courageous charge, however, did not stop the decisive defeat inflicted upon the Confederate forces at Pea Ridge. Initial Southern successes accomplished little, because McCullough and McIntosh were killed early in the battle. With no hope for victory, Watie's regiment retreated in disorderly fashion into Indian Territory, where they constructed a fort about thirty miles from the Red River. This new post, named Fort McCullough, was commanded by Watie and Colonel John Drew.

By 1863, the North had gained partial control of the Mississippi River, thus placing the Trans-Mississippi Confederate forces in a disadvantageous position. Two Federal invasions into Indian Territory had caused a clamor among some Cherokees to repudiate their alliance with the Confederacy. The Council met on Cow-skin Prairie, accused the South of reniging on her promises to the Indians, and nullified the treaty. But Stand Watie had charted his course and would not yield. He, his men, and approximately 7,000 Indians refused

to accept the Council's mandate and reaffirmed their allegiance to the South. The Cherokee Nation thus became two Nations during the latter part of the war. The Northern group, numbering some 10,000, continued to claim John Ross as their Chief, while the Southern group rallied to Watie.

Watie continued to raid and harass the enemy, even though his men were usually ragged, hungry, and lacked equipment. Northern Cherokees and bands of white outlaws, who freely plundered, made life almost intolerable for the Southern group. Watie, forced to retreat into Choctaw country during the winter of 1863-64, made his headquarters at a place called "Camp Starvation."

On May 10, 1864, Watie was appointed by President Davis to the rank of Brigadier General. In June, he captured a steamboat on the Arkansas River laden with supplies for Union forces at Fort Gibson, which had fallen the previous year. During the autumn he ambushed a large wagon train enroute from Fort Scott, Kansas, to Fort Gibson. This exploit was particularly outstanding, because Union forces generally occupied the country, and Watie's men were greatly outnumbered. Included in the capture were 500 wagonloads of government supplies and 1800 horses and mules. Distribution of food and clothing was made to his hungry, ragged troops, and Stand Watie refused to accept any of the fruits of victory for himself. Cognizant of the Watie family's dire needs, the soldiers loaded a wagon of supplies and sent it to them at their refugee camp on the Red River. Watie and his men soon afterward retired to winter quarters in the Choctaw Nation near Boggy Depot.

Early in the spring the scanty force again took the field but, for the most part, waged only defensive warfare. As the curtain was rapidly falling upon the faltering Confederacy, Watie received one last honor for his devotion to the South. On January 23, 1865, a joint resolution of thanks to him for capturing the Federal

supply train passed both houses of the Confederate Congress and was signed by President Davis. The men were cited for their "daring and skill" in the capture.¹⁷ The war ended the following April, but Watie continued to offer token resistance until June 23, 1865, when he surrendered to Lieutenant Colonel A. C. Matthews at Doaksville, Choctaw Nation. Thus, he became the last Confederate general to lay down his arms.

There was no rest for the weary leader despite the cessation of hostilities. Since he was still the principal Chief of the Southern Cherokees, it was his responsibility to gain the best terms possible for his stricken people. In the fall of 1865, the Five Civilized Tribes sent representatives to Fort Smith to negotiate a peace treaty with the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dennis N. Cooley. Complications arose when both Northern and Southern delegations arrived at the meeting. Each claimed to represent the legal Cherokee Nation and accused the other of merely being a faction. The work of the conference bogged down when Cooley demanded that all slaves be freed and adopted into the tribe. Accordingly another conference was called to meet in Washington the following spring to decide with which group the United States would negotiate.

Stand Watie served with the Southern delegation when the conference convened in the spring of 1866. As a man of action, however, he soon tired of the endless sessions and interviews and returned home where his presence was more needed. The Northern delegation was then recognized as the true representative group and negotiations began. The Southern delegation insisted that no harmonious relations could be achieved if they had to live under the same government with the Northern Cherokees. However, the Federal government determined that all tribes in Indian Territory should eventually be consolidated. On July 17 the treaty was signed. It was known as the "Dark Treaty" because its terms forced the Cherokees to adopt their slaves into the tribe and to

give them equal division of the land.

Hardships and privations continued to plague Stand Watie to his death. Broken in health and fortune he retired to the quiet pursuits of a small mercantile business in Webber Falls, Oklahoma. Although he was ruined financially, he endeavored to provide a good education for his children while he slowly rebuilt his fortune. Later he returned to his plantation to live. In 1869, he buried the last of his three sons, Watica, who died suddenly while away at school. Cumiska had died during the war and Saladin followed in 1868.

Little is known of the closing years of Watie's life, except the deepening affection which he had toward his two daughters, Ninnie and Jacqueline, and his wife, Sarah. The girls were sent away to school and his life seemed absorbed with their happiness and development. However, the sands of time were running out on the illustrious warrior. War, heartache, and misfortune had taken their toll and on September 9, 1871, after a short illness, Stand Watie belonged to the ages. His two daughters passed away suddenly on February 27, 1875 and March 17, 1875 respectively, and Mrs. Watie's demise came on February 3, 1882. The following tribute given her in the Cherokee Advocate is particularly fitting:

Possessed of a noble nature, she always chose to look on the bright, rather than the dark side of human nature; she sought out the good deeds of others, and overlooked their faults. She was of a cheerful disposition. . . As a parent she was affectionate and provident; a neighbor, peaceable and obliging; a friend, faithful and generous. Thus has passed from the Cherokee Nation the last of that patriotic, historic and heroic name---Watie.¹⁸

Stand Watie's name has been preserved for posterity despite the fact that he is survived by no direct descendant. Under the direction of the Oklahoma Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, two monuments

were erected to his memory in 1921. One is located on the old Cherokee capitol grounds at Tahlequah, and the other is placed over his grave in the Polson cemetery near Grove, Oklahoma. The Tahlequah monument is a majestic and dignified structure ten feet high. In 1932, the Oklahoma U.D.C. also unveiled an imposing portrait of General Watie in the gallery of the Confederate Museum in Richmond, Virginia. A smaller portrait, together with personal belongings, can be seen in the Confederate room of the Oklahoma Historical Society in Oklahoma City. For the student of historical research, about 2,000 of Watie's letters and correspondence are available in the Frank Phillips Collection of Southwestern History at the University of Oklahoma. Several other letters are located in the libraries of the University of Texas and Northeastern State Teacher's College at Tahlequah. There is a wealth of written material to be found on his life by eminent Oklahoma historians.

¹Most authorities on Stand Watie believe that Georgia is his rightful birthplace, although none cite a specific location where his birth occurred. Several say he was born in Cherokee Nation, Georgia, while others place his birth near Rome. J. W. DuBose, in his book Northern Alabama, cites Turkeytown in Etowah County as Watie's birthplace.

²Anderson, Mabel Washbourne, Life of General Stand Watie, (Pryor, Oklahoma, Mayes County Republican, 1915), 9.

³Ibid., 9-11.

⁴Ibid., 11-12.

⁵Tulsa (Oklahoma) Democrat, September 1, 1918, Section B, 1.

⁶Upon hearing of the Court's decision Jackson is said to have remarked, "John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it." Christian Century (June 8, 1955), LXXII, 680.

⁷Edward E. Dale and Gaston Litton, Cherokee Cavaliers, Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family, (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), 8.

⁸Edward E. Dale and Morris L. Wardell, History of Oklahoma, (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall Inc. 1948), 102-104.

⁹The important terms of the treaty were as follows: (1) the Cherokees were to relinquish all of their lands in the East and move to the West; (2) the United States agreed to pay the tribe five million dollars and also to pay each person for improvements and abandoned property; (3) the Cherokees were to move within two years assisted by the Federal Government; (4) the government was to provide subsistence for twelve months after the Cherokees reached their new home. Dale and Wardell, History of Oklahoma, 108.

¹⁰In 1829, Major Ridge had introduced a measure into the Council which decreed death to any person signing a treaty or other paper giving up their country in the East. The measure had passed by an overwhelming vote. Grant Foreman, "The Trail of Stand Watie," Chronicles of Oklahoma (September, 1934), 310.

¹¹Joseph H. Parks and Robert E. Moore, The Story of Alabama: A State History, (Atlanta: Turner E. Smith & Co., 1952), 165.

¹²Dale and Wardell, History of Oklahoma, 108-112.

¹³Daily Oklahoma (Oklahoma City), August 8, 1926, Section B, 1.

¹⁴It was later learned that when Foreman saw Watie approach the store he sent Isaac Springston after his guns. Springston arrived with the weapons about the time Foreman died. Foreman, "Trail of Stand Watie," Chronicles, 319-320.

¹⁵Anderson, Life of Stand Watie, 26-27.

¹⁶Ibid., 28-29.

¹⁷Ohland Morton, "Confederate Relations With The Five Civilized Tribes," Chronicles of Oklahoma (Autumn, 1953), XXXI, 319.

¹⁸Cherokee Advocate (Tahlequah), February 24, 1882, 1.

