CIVITAS

THE JOURNAL OF CITIZENSHIP STUDIES

2012 Volume 1

Northwestern Oklahoma State University Institute for Citizenship Studies

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CIVITAS: THE JOURNAL OF CITIZENSHIP STUDIES

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Civitas: The Journal of Citizenship Studies, **an annual publication of the NWOSU Institute for Citizenship Studies and Department of Social Sciences, publishes** Humanities and Social Science articles, book reviews and data as they relate to citizenship topics. Submissions should be sent to: Dr. Aaron L. Mason and Dr. Eric J. Schmaltz, Department of Social Sciences, Northwestern Oklahoma State University, 709 Oklahoma Boulevard, Alva, Oklahoma 73717, or email: **<nwics@nwosu.edu>**. Institute Website: <**http://www.nwosu.edu/nwics**>. Phone: (580) 327-8525.

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CIVITAS' MISSION STATEMENT

Civitas: The Journal of Citizenship Studies is an annual, interdisciplinary, peer-reviewed publishing venue aimed at promoting scholarship concerning the Humanities and Social Sciences as they relate to citizenship matters. The Journal, which is facilitated by the NWOSU Institute for Citizenship Studies and Department of Social Sciences, draws upon the talents and perspectives of a diverse Review Board from the United States and abroad. It welcomes both qualitative and quantitative submissions by faculty and advanced undergraduate and graduate students from Oklahoma's regional universities, two-year community colleges, and other institutions of higher education and beyond.

DEFINITION OF THE TERM "CIVITAS"

The term "civitas" emanates from Roman antiquity. It originally described a type of settlement or political entity. Later on, the word was used to express the condition of individuals living within the Roman state and to address whether they were full members of the Roman polity. As such, "civitas" differentiated formal citizenship status from those who were not citizens. These early Greco-Roman ideals left an indelible imprint upon the concept of citizenship in the modern Western world. Thus, the modern disciplines of the Humanities and Social Sciences are inexorably intertwined with the concept of citizenship. The word connotes the concept, quality and condition of citizenship and therefore is an appropriate word for the Institute.

EXPLANATION OF THE INSTITUTE LOGO "STATUE OF FREEDOM"

The symbol used by the Institute has appeared under a variety of names, including "The Statue of Freedom," "Armed Freedom," "Freedom," or as she was originally called, "Freedom Triumphant in War and Peace." An allegorical figure representing the concept of Liberty, it was selected to stand on the Dome of the United States Capitol because of the inclusive nature of her physical style and esoteric meanings. Her design, for example, incorporates both classical Greco-Roman and American Indian dress as well as the combination of war and peace motifs. As such, she represents both the Old and New Worlds. This figure also incorporates a number of other important features. First, she faces east toward the main entrance of the United States Capitol to symbolize that the sun never sets on Freedom. Second, the base upon which she stands is inscribed with the Latin phrase "E Pluribus Unum." Third, the statue is imbued with deep symbolic value because of President Abraham Lincoln's insistence that the figure be placed on the Capitol Dome in 1863 to commemorate the eventual reunification of the Union. Thus, all of these factors together make the statue a fitting symbol for the concept of citizenship.

CIVITAS **VOL. 1 (2012)**

NOTES FROM THE EDITORS
Aaron L. Mason and Eric J. Schmaltz *i*

FOREWORD
Mike Knedler, NWOSU Dean of Arts and Sciences *iv*

ARTICLES

ALVA, OKLAHOMA: WHAT'S IN A NAME?
Donovan Reichenberger *1*

LIFE IN NORTHWEST OKLAHOMA BEFORE STATEHOOD
Audrey (Bainum) Kinzie
Edited by Beverly Kinzie *7*

SKETCHES FROM THE LIFE HISTORY OF JACOB ACHENBACH
Jacob Achenbach
Edited by J.W. Platt *25*

THE DIARIES OF THALEDEN SHERMAN FORESTER:
EXCERPTS FROM 1906 VISITS TO WAYNOKA, OKLAHOMA
Thaleden Sherman Forester
Edited by Sandra Olson *34*

WHAT IS THE TEA PARTY PHENOMENON?: AN EXPLORATION
ON WHETHER IT IS A POLITICAL MOVEMENT, A THIRD PARTY,
OR SOMETHING ELSE
John R. Wood 39

BOOK REVIEWS

"TO SERVE A LARGER PURPOSE": ENGAGEMENT FOR DEMOCRACY
AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION
John Saltmarsh and Matthew Hartley, Editors
Elizabeth S. Overman 72

EDITORIAL POLICY 75

NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

Greetings from northwestern Oklahoma, and welcome to the 2012 edition and inaugural issue of *Civitas: The Journal of Citizenship Studies*.

This year marks the beginning of what we hope will become a great academic publishing tradition at Northwestern Oklahoma State University in Alva (NWOSU) and the surrounding region. In spring 2010, we took initial steps in creating an endowed Institute at NWOSU's Department of Social Sciences, including the publication of a scholarly annual journal. The Institute and Department not only provide NWOSU students with various educational opportunities in and outside of the classroom, but they also assume leading and active roles in reaching out to fellow departments, scholars and the greater community on many fronts both on and off campus. Though starting out modestly, this inaugural volume intends to establish an ambitious and vital research venue in both print and digital formats for scholars, students, and enthusiasts interested in preserving and promoting knowledge and understanding in matters of history, culture, politics, and related fields, etc.

Several individuals and groups deserve recognition for their encouragement of and contributions to the successful establishment of the Institute and its official publication. First, we express our gratitude to the NWOSU Senior Administration, the NWOSU Foundation and the Masonic Charity Foundation of Oklahoma for their support of Institute and Departmental activities. Moreover, we appreciate the professional assistance provided by Alica Hall and her staff at the NWOSU Printing Services, as well as Prof. Brandice Guerra of the NWOSU Department of Art for designing the journal's cover. In addition, and not intended to be an exhaustive list, Jake Boedecker, Dr. Mario Carvajal, Angelia Case, Valerie Case, Dr. W. Douglas Catterall, Dr. Sarah Chan, Dr. Kay Decker, Tracy Detrixhe, Prof. Brandice Guerra, Dr. Roger Hardaway, Harold Henson, Dr. Shawn Holliday, Larry Justice, Ken Kelsey, DeeAnn Mason, Kathleen O'Halleran, J.W. Platt, Donovan Reichenberger, Janet Valencia, Dr. Tony Wohlers, Dr. John R. Wood, and Dr. Tim Zwink have stood out as special friends during the Institute's crucial formative period. Not least of all, we remain quite indebted to all our colleagues and associates far and wide who without reservation have agreed to serve on the journal's editorial review board.

Finding the proper words to launch the inaugural journal might prove challenging, but perhaps the best place to start is with the old saying that "All politics is local." This understanding might also apply equally to history itself—that all history is local. History as such does not necessarily represent some distant or inconsequential time, place or event; we live it every day, our behaviors and livelihoods closely interconnected with a multitude of traditions and various peoples, goods and services near and far. It might seem quite striking to more sensitive historical observers that so many people today, even those native to a specific place or culture, often know little or nothing about their own heritage, or even understand that they in fact reside "in history." Understandably, people often get caught up in the moment, preoccupied as they are with conducting their lives each and every day. But people also remain part of a long

chain of humanity, our present connecting the past with the future, making history along the way. What might seem mundane to people each day proves truly profound in the great scheme of things.

If anything, humanity is experiencing increasingly the phenomenon of "global reach, local impact." Indeed, northwestern Oklahoma has long been a product of centuries of human migrations and settlements extending back to prehistoric times, whose populations in turn have interacted with and even transformed the local environment. Modern Oklahoma itself evolved out of the complexities of the Columbian Exchange after 1492, starting with the arrival of Europeans to the Americas. By the nineteenth century, the transformation process of what would become Oklahoma had only accelerated as American Indians, Europeans, African-Americans and other immigrant traditions began to interact with one another, eventually carving out a particular political and social entity in the heart of a continental federal republic, the United States. Coming back to the matter that "all history is local," we can discern that the global reach of events and peoples has certainly made a significant local impact here in northwestern Oklahoma.

Accordingly, the inaugural volume's main articles concentrate on local and regional topics, establishing an important precedent for future volumes. We seek to ground our journal's emerging tradition in the local history and culture of northwestern Oklahoma and southwestern Kansas. It is expected, however, that future volumes of *Civitas* will also touch upon national and comparative international aspects regarding citizenship studies and related areas, but subsequent issues will continue to sustain a commitment to publish on different local and regional items of interest.

A few brief remarks are in order concerning the content of this volume. To help us commemorate the launching of *Civitas*, Dr. Mike Knedler, NWOSU Dean of Arts and Sciences, in the Foreword opens the journal with his perspectives and introductory comments. Moreover, we have assembled two academic studies, three edited primary documents—i.e., an eyewitness historical account, a short autobiography, and diary excerpts—and a book review.

In this volume dedicated to local and regional history, we thought it only appropriate to begin "at home" with Donovan Reichenberger's fine article "Alva, Oklahoma: What's in a Name?" Reichenberger examines the sometimes murky history behind the naming of this quiet college community nestled in northwestern Oklahoma. Reichenberger is professor emeritus of history at NWOSU and a longstanding benefactor of this institution. We are most grateful that Mr. Reichenberger and *The Oklahoma Chronicles* granted us permission to reprint this piece.

The second article is "Life in Northwest Oklahoma Before Statehood" by an early resident of Woods County, Oklahoma, Audrey (Bainum) Kinzie. Her daughter-in-law Beverly Kinzie, a respected local historian, edited and submitted this detailed and sweeping eyewitness history of what later became northwestern Oklahoma, especially Woods County and the City of Alva.

Kinzie's article in effect helps set the stage for the next two contributions. The third article, a brief autobiography, is "Sketches from the Life History of Jacob Achenbach" by the prominent early southwestern Kansas pioneer and railroad developer Jacob Achenbach. Achenbach also happens to be the great-great-grandfather of NWOSU instructor J.W. Platt, a native of the small community of Hardtner, Kansas, which is located just fifteen miles north of Alva, Oklahoma, across the state border. Mr. Platt kindly submitted and edited this literary heirloom for publication.

The fourth article is "The Diaries of Thaleden Sherman Forester: Excerpts from 1906 Visits to Waynoka, Oklahoma," contributed by leading Waynoka, Oklahoma historian Sandra Olson. This diary was written a year before Oklahoma statehood and is especially noteworthy because Forester traveled by train from Michigan to Waynoka to visit his ailing father. Forester describes the train trip, going and coming, in fascinating detail. The return trek was by way of Waynoka to Avard to Carmen, etc. Forester recollects his time spent on his father's farm west of Waynoka near the Cimarron River. Around 2006 Olson originally edited and compiled this account for the *Waynoka Chronicles* published by the Waynoka Historical Society, and *Civitas* appreciates the opportunity here to give this piece additional public exposure.

The fifth and final article shifts readers' attention to more recent political developments in Oklahoma and connects them to the national political stage. Dr. John R. Wood, an Institute member and political scientist at Rose State College in Midwest City, Oklahoma, has produced an original study of the Tea Party in Oklahoma. He examines the movement's recent rise and inherent complexities and identities in the state in his study "What Is the Tea Party Phenomenon?: An Exploration on Whether It Is a Political Movement, a Third Party, or Something Else." The article came out shortly before the 2012 presidential election, perhaps the most pivotal and consequential national election in decades. In retrospect, based on the 2012 election results, the Tea Party's overall political punch has appeared to be much diminished compared with the 2010 midterm elections, but Wood's analysis still leaves plenty of food for thought about the roles of Tea Party activism and related political reform movements in the next election cycle and beyond.

Finally, in our book review section, Dr. Elizabeth S. Overman, a political scientist at the University of Central Oklahoma in Edmond, highlights a recent compilation edited by John Saltmarsh and Matthew Hartley on the role of higher education in a democratic society: "'To Serve a Larger Purpose': Engagement for Democracy and the Transformation of Higher Education."

We wish to thank all our article and review contributors for making this year's volume a success. We also strongly encourage all to submit their research findings for future consideration in *Civitas* and look forward to our next volume in 2013.

Dr. Aaron L. Mason and Dr. Eric J. Schmaltz
Senior Editors, Civitas: Journal of Citizenship Studies

FOREWORD

In a 1994 article in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, Earnest Boyer suggested that colleges and universities redefine their mission to educate students not just for career preparation, but also to become responsible citizens.[1] Since that time we have witnessed a significant amount of activity under the appellations of "service learning" and "civic engagement" that seeks to provide the academy with a focus on citizenship and civic responsibility. Northwestern Oklahoma State University has not been immune to those trends. Through the efforts of Dr. Aaron Mason, Associate Professor of Political Science, and Dr. Eric Schmaltz, Associate Professor of History, Northwestern has now become a regional repository for scholarly work on this topic.

Northwestern Oklahoma State University has served the people of rural northwest Oklahoma for over 100 years. From its humble beginnings as a normal school founded by rugged pioneers on the windswept plains of Oklahoma Territory in 1897, the institution has evolved into a multi-campus university mandated by the state legislature to provide post-secondary education to citizens in a service area larger than the State of Connecticut. As the only baccalaureate and master's granting institution for over 100 miles in any direction, the university has articulated its mission to provide quality educational and cultural opportunities to learners with diverse needs by cultivating ethical leadership and service, critical thinking and fiscal responsibility. Within its geographic region, Northwestern is ideally poised to serve as a champion in not only the search for truth, but also to serve as an advocate for enhancing the quality of life through understanding of regional heritage and indigenous civic responsibility.

Dr. Mason and Dr. Schmaltz have marshaled significant effort to support the cause of civic education at Northwestern and the surrounding region. They have developed a vision, acquired external funding, and have now inaugurated the Northwestern Institute for Citizenship Studies. Among the specific tasks of the Institute is a directive to "to foster an ethos of constructive patriotism, public service, and civic engagement." Northwestern and the citizens of this area are greatly indebted to their work, as we are to the Masonic Charity Foundation of Oklahoma for providing funding for this endeavor. Through their efforts Northwestern is positioned to leverage its capacity as an institution of higher education to impact the citizenry of the region in a positive way. They have amassed significant collections of both public and private documents recording the unique history of the region, and now launch this inaugural issue of *Civitas* to serve as a forum for exchange of research and scholarly work related to the study of citizenship.

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[1] E. Boyer, "Creating the New American College," *Chronicle of Higher Education* (9 March 1994): A48.

Dr. Mason's and Dr. Schmaltz's enthusiasm for this project is infectious, and we are excited to have the opportunity to support this important area of scholarship. Their efforts, and the efforts of other scholars like them, have made Northwestern a place of burgeoning creativity and learning.

Dr. Mike Knedler
NWOSU Dean of Arts and Sciences

ALVA, OKLAHOMA: WHAT'S IN A NAME?

DONOVAN REICHENBERGER

If you ask a resident of Alva, Oklahoma, who was honored in the naming of the town, you probably will receive one of three answers. Alva was named for Alva Adams, governor of Colorado. It was named for a railroad attorney. It was named for a railroad attorney who later became governor of Colorado.

If a town is named for a non-historical figure, it is difficult to verify the accepted folk-wisdom after the first generation has died. However, if the town is named for a historical figure, there are public records that may be used to verify the validity of the accepted folk-wisdom. The purpose of this study is to determine whether Alva was named for the railroad attorney Alva Adams, who later served as governor of Colorado.

Alva was the first railroad stop established by the Southern Kansas Railroad, a subsidiary of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, when it began building southwest across the western end of the Cherokee Outlet from Kiowa, Kansas, to the Texas Panhandle in 1886-1887. The railroad built cattle pens, a section house, and a telegraph station at the future town site.[1]

Later, as part of the preparations by the national government for the opening of the Cherokee Outlet to homesteaders, the secretary of the interior set aside 320 acres at the railroad stop. These 320 acres were designated and platted as the Alva town site. Within the 320 acres, the national government reserved one acre for a land office and four acres for a county courthouse. The letter M was used to identify the county and land office's district.[2]

The first public record offering a namesake for Alva was an opinion piece by W. F. Hatfield, editor and publisher of the *Alva Pioneer*. This tongue-in-cheek item stated, "Thomas A. Edison's middle name is Alva. We are not particularly superstitious, but we always believed that the steady, reliable and yet, unexplained progress of Alva was due to some kind of Mascot, and that must be the 'stuff.'"[3] Alva was less than six months old on March 9, 1894, and it is doubtful that Hatfield was offering a serious suggestion that the town was named for Edison. Hatfield was probably resorting to the frontier town-boosting hyperbole from a local newspaper editor.

The second public record with a suggestion offering a namesake for Alva was an opinion item by Albert H. Andrus, editor and publisher of the *Alva Chronicle*. In his partisan political party zealotry, Andrus wrote, "Alva was named after Alva Adams, ex-governor of Colorado. He was the best governor the state ever had and Alva is the best town in the Territory—both are democratic."[4] Andrus, an attorney, arrived in Alva from Colorado and claimed a town lot on September 16, 1893. Again, we have a frontier newspaper editor making a town-boosting statement that cannot be given much credibility. However, this one-inch column piece in a

partisan Democratic Party newspaper may be the source for later writers to credit Governor Alva Adams as the individual for whom Alva was named.

Seventeen years later, Fred McCarrell wrote, "There are two versions . . . concerning the origin of the name Alva. One is that there was a cow camp . . . called 'Alba,' and the Indians pronounced it Alva, and the corrupted form was later applied to the town. . . . The other story is that the town was called Alva after one of the Governors of Colorado."[5] Ten years later, when Alva Adams died, an Alva newspaper reporter wrote he was "a banker, prominent Free Mason, a democrat. . . ." The reporter also wrote the railroad "had" this station (Alva) named in his honor.[6] However, there was no organized authority to name or to approve the naming of the station in 1887. The railroad chose the station's name in the unorganized and unsettled territory.

In the early 1930s George R. Crissman, professor of history at Northwestern State Teachers College in Alva, prepared *A History of Woods County* for the fifth and sixth grade students of the county. Crissman wrote, "When the Panhandle line of the Santa Fe railroad was built through the 'Strip' in 1885-86 [sic], Alva was located as the first town south of the Kansas line. When the company sought a name for the new town, the suggestion was made that it be named Alva in recognition of the services of Alva Adams who was at that time an attorney for the Santa Fe. Later Mr. Adams moved to Colorado and became governor of that state."[7]

George Crissman tried to provide true stories in his book for the school children of Woods County. However, there are three factual errors in his account concerning the naming of Alva. The railroad was not built through the Cherokee Outlet until 1886-1887.[8] The railroad located a stop, future station, and not a town in 1887.[9] The town was not established until August 1893.[10] In 1886 Alva Adams, a Pueblo merchant, had been living in Colorado for fifteen years and was making his second run for governor of Colorado.[11]

Beginning in 1900 Charles Newton Gould, professor of geology at the University of Oklahoma, began making annual geological surveys throughout the state. Gould also began gathering information on Oklahoma's place-names during these trips.[12] Gould wrote, "Alva, Woods County, was named for Alva Adams quondam attorney for the Santa Fe railroad, afterward Governor of Colorado."[13]

By the time Gould's book was published in 1933, the first generation of settlers was coming to an end. The twentieth century writers McCarrell, Crissman, and Gould are identifying Alva Adams, governor of Colorado, as the man being honored by the Santa Fe railroad in the naming of Alva. The first time Alva Adams was identified as an attorney was in his obituary when the writer referred to him as being "widely known in the West as an attorney and Democratic politician."[14] Then, Crissman and Gould identified Adams as an attorney for the railroad in their books that were published in the early 1930s.

The next three generations of authors to publish books on Oklahoma place-names have repeated the statements of Crissman and Gould. All of them identify Alva Adams as an attorney for the Santa Fe railroad who later became governor of Colorado and as the man for whom Alva was named.[15] Apparently, none of these authors examined the life of Governor Alva Adams.

Two questions must be answered in the affirmative if we are to accept the claim that Alva was named for a railroad attorney who later served as governor of Colorado. First, was Alva Adams an attorney? Second, was Alva Adams associated with the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad in 1886-1887 or earlier?

The governor is always identified as a businessman in Colorado historical and biographical publications. There is never a reference to him as a lawyer or having a law practice.

Alva Adams was born in Wisconsin in 1850 and moved to Colorado in 1871 at the age of twenty-one. In Wisconsin he received a rudimentary country school education in reading, writing, and arithmetic. His first job in Colorado was hauling railroad ties for the southward construction of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad from Denver to Colorado Springs. In Colorado Springs he was employed by C. W. Sandborn to operate a small hardware and lumber store. He borrowed the money and purchased the store from Sandborn within two months. The following year, 1872, he took a partner who operated the Colorado Springs store, while Adams established a branch store in Pueblo. After selling his interest in the Colorado Springs store to his partner, Adams prospered as a hardware and lumber merchant in Pueblo. He opened three branch stores between 1873 and 1876. After the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad opened the San Juan Valley, Adams established five additional stores between 1876 and 1882. By the mid-1880s, Adams was a prosperous hardware and lumber retailer.[16]

John Adams, Alva's father, was involved in Wisconsin politics, and Alva quickly entered Colorado politics.[17] He was elected a trustee for South Pueblo in 1873 and was elected at the age of twenty-six to the first state legislature in 1876. He served one term and returned to his extensive business enterprise. He was the unsuccessful Democratic candidate for governor in 1884. Judge Kerr of Pueblo seconded Adams's 1884 nomination and referred to Adams as a "miner, legislator, merchant, and citizen." Adams told the convention he accepted the nomination as a businessman.[18] In his 1886 nomination's acceptance speech, Alva told the delegates "he had neither the time nor money to campaign so it was up to the party to take care of the campaign."[19] However, in 1886 the Colorado Republican Party was split, and Alva won the election for governor.

In 1889 after completing his term as governor, Adams returned to Pueblo and devoted his attention to the further development of his hardware and lumber business. Adams also became a Pueblo banker between his first and second terms. He served as president of the Pueblo Savings and Trust.[20] However, he remained actively involved in Colorado's Democratic Party, winning the gubernatorial races in 1896 and 1904.

Was Governor Alva Adams an attorney? There is no record of Alva Adams being admitted to the bar in Kansas or Colorado. The Supreme Court records in Topeka, Kansas, home of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, do not list an Alva Adams. Colorado has no record of Governor Adams being a member of the Colorado Bar. However, the governor's son Alva B. Adams graduated from Columbia Law School in 1889 and was admitted to the Colorado Bar on August 2, 1899.[21]

Governor Adams did not have a law firm waiting for his son. Alva B. Adams opened his own law office and later formed a partnership with another Pueblo attorney George B. Gast.[22] In the *Bench and Bar,* Alva B. Adams is the only Pueblo attorney named Adams.[23] This publication also included portraits of Colorado attorneys. Again, Alva B. Adams is the only listing.[24]

Governor Adams was always identified as a good businessman. He always referred to himself as a businessman. The supreme courts of Kansas and Colorado do not list an attorney named Alva Adams. One must accept the obvious, Governor Adams was not an attorney who worked for the Santa Fe Railroad and later served as governor of Colorado. Consequently, George Crissman and Charles Gould must have used Albert Andrus's *Alva Chronicle* as their source. And it was not a reliable source.

Was Alva Adams associated with the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad in 1886-1887 or earlier? A survey of historical works concerning the Santa Fe does not show an Alva Adams connection with the railroad.[25] In his history of the Santa Fe, James Marshall identifies more than two hundred place-names chosen by the railroad as it expanded to the Pacific coast and the Gulf of Mexico. Stations (future town sites) were named for company officers, employees, employee family members, and towns located elsewhere. The entry for Alva is "Alva, Okla. Attorney." The pattern adopted in naming stations for women used their first name. However, the railroad used the surname for stations when using men's names. Two other stations named for attorneys used their last names. It is very improbable that the railroad would have departed from its standard pattern only when it named the Alva station.[26]

Furthermore, Alva Adam's Colorado endeavors would not have left him with time for the Santa Fe. He was building a profitable hardware and lumber business. He also was the Democratic Party's candidate for governor in 1884 and 1886. Adams took the oath of office as Colorado's governor the same month the Alva station was established, January 1887.[27]

The newly installed governor was thirty-seven years old. He was not a well-known figure outside of Colorado. The Santa Fe did not name stations for politicians, and there is no reason to believe it would have named a station for the newly elected governor.

Albert Andrus, publisher of an Alva newspaper, printed a partisan news article in 1894 that became the source of the myth that Alva was named for the Colorado businessman/politician Alva Adams. Then, writers interested in the origin of place-names began to assert that Adams

was an attorney for the railroad that originated and named the town site. The myth has been perpetuated in all place-name publications for the last seventy-five years.

Unfortunately, Alva Adams was not an attorney or associated with the railroad. Consequently, the individual who was honored by the railroad in the naming of Alva is unknown. It is better to acknowledge this fact than to continue perpetuating the myth that Alva was named for a governor of Colorado.

ENDNOTES

1. A. E. Pardee letter to editor, *Alva Record*, November 4, 1926, 5.

2. James D. Richardson, comp., *Compilations of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 11 vols. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1912), 8: 5,842.

3. *Alva Pioneer*, March 9, 1894, 1.

4. *Alva Chronicle*, April 26, 1895, 4.

5. Fred McCarrell, "History and the Names of Oklahoma County Seats," *Progress: A Magazine of Education* 1, nos. 8-9, (May and June 1912): 232.

6. *Alva Record*, November 10, 1922, 1.

7. George Crissman, *History of Woods County Oklahoma* (n.p., n.d.), 97.

8. *Kiowa Herald*, November 25, 1886, 4.

9. *Kiowa Herald-Ear*, February 10, 1887, 1; *Kiowa Herald-Ear*, February 17, 1887, 1.

10. Richardson, comp., *Compilations*, 8: 5,842.

11. Allen Johnson, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1928), 1: 36-37.

12. Charles N. Gould, *Oklahoma Place Names* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933), 13.

13. Ibid., 59.

14. *New York Times*, November 2, 1922, 19.

15. Kent Ruth, *Oklahoma: A Guide to the Sooner State* (St. Clair Shores, Mich.: Scholarly Press, 1976), 278-279; Kent Ruth, *Oklahoma Travel Book* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 34; Burnis Argo and Kent Ruth, *Oklahoma: Historical Tour Guide* (Carpentersville, Ill.: Crossroads Communications, 1992), 200; Francis L. and Roberta Fugate, *Roadside History of Oklahoma* (Missoula, Mont.: Mountain Press Publishing, 1991), 243. All of these books have the same error. They identify Alva B. Adams, Governor Adams's son who was admitted to the Colorado Bar in 1899, as the Santa Fe attorney being honored. George Shirk, *Oklahoma Place Names* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 8.

16. Frank Hall, *History of the State of Colorado*, 4 vols. (Chicago: Blakely Printing, 1889-1895), 3: 51-52; Harold E. Rathgeber, "The Public Career of Alva Adams" (Master's Thesis, University of Denver, 1954), 5.

17. Rathgeber, 3.

18. Tim Zwink and Donovan Reichenberger, *Ranchlands to Railroads: An Illustrated Sketch of "M" County's Pre-Territorial History* (Alva, Okla.: Alva Centennial Commission, 1986), n.p.

19. Hall, 3: 50.

20. James H. Baker and LeRoy Hafen, *History of Colorado*, 5 vols. (Denver: Linderman Co., 1927), 4: 438.

21. Colorado Supreme Court Attorney Registration Office letter to the author, dated October 6, 1999.

22. Baker and Hafen, *History*, 4: 417.

23. George E. Lewis and D. F. Stackelbeck, *Bench and Bar of Colorado* (Denver: Bench and Bar Publishing Co., 1917), 211.

24. Ibid., 88.

25. Glenn D. Bradley, *The Story of the Santa* Fe (Boston: Gorham Press, 1920); Keith L. Bryant, Jr., *History of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974); James Marshall, *Santa Fe: The Railroad That Built an Empire* (New York: Random House, 1945); L. L. Waters, *Steel Trails to Santa Fe* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1950).

26. Marshall, 353-357.

27. Hall, 3: 50.

LIFE IN NORTHWEST OKLAHOMA BEFORE STATEHOOD

WRITTEN BY AUDREY (BAINUM) KINZIE
EDITED BY BEVERLY KINZIE

Editor's Note: Audrey E. (Bainum) Kinzie was born in a dugout northeast of Avard, Oklahoma, Indian Territory, in December 1894. She was the third child in a family of seven children. The story and history behind her birth in a dugout is found in Beverly Kinzie's book Experiences on the Prairie: The Story of Andrew and Jeannie. *Audrey's mother, Jeannie (Tapp) Bainum, wanted an education for all her children and saw to it that they all attended Antelope, the one-room school in their district. After completing the schooling that was available at Antelope, Audrey taught in other one-room schools until she and two of her sisters moved to Alva where they boarded and attended Normal School at Northwestern. Audrey graduated in May 1917 with a degree to teach elementary school.*

Audrey then taught at Shattuck, Oklahoma, for two years before marrying Guy E. Kinzie. To that union four children were born. After being left a widow in the early 1950s, Audrey returned to Northwestern and graduated 40 years after the first graduation with a current teaching certificate. Audrey taught first grade in Oklahoma and Kansas until age 72 when she retired.

It was during the second time at Northwestern that she wrote her essay "Life in Northwestern Oklahoma before Statehood." In the original essay written for an English class, all the facts were footnoted, demonstrating the considerable research that she conducted to write this history.

Audrey and her mother Jeannie excelled at keeping notes of daily life. They also saved letters exchanged between families, which have provided a wealth of information for compiling the early history of Woods County, Oklahoma, and Experiences on the Prairie.

Since it would take volumes to hold available information about life in Oklahoma prior to statehood, this work is limited to the northwestern part, specifically Woods County. Community life in the Antelope District Number 16 is typical of that era, and the task is simplified because of the availability of first-hand knowledge from those having lived through the period.

Of all the states in the Union, none has a more colorful and unique background than Oklahoma. Although one of the younger additions to the family, she has developed her resources with unheard-of speed and is second to none in many ways. Woods Country, in northwestern part of the state, in spite of the odds contributed her full share in the development preparatory to statehood.

History tells us, however, that fate could so easily have withheld these lands and privileges from us. For two long centuries it was a tossup as to whether the Spanish, French or English, by

right of exploration, would win control of the vast territory that extended from what is now Canada to the Gulf. Finally Napoleon, by outwitting the Spaniards, was in the driver's seat bent on immediate colonization. Financial reverses at home and increasing fear of war with England caused him to cast his eyes about in search of funds. Thus, to the consternation of his people, Napoleon suddenly suggested selling the whole to the United States. President Jefferson, quickly recovering from surprise, and relief in being rid of so powerful a next-door neighbor, rushed the consummation before the formidable foe could change his mind. This was the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, the acquisition of a territory (including Oklahoma) far greater in area than that of the whole United States at that time.

Thus it was, in the natural course of events, eyes began to look westward. Especially were white people in sections of the east increasingly intolerant of their Indians neighbors, many of whom were civilized and doing quite well. Gradually many tribes drifted west. Part of the Cherokees asked permission of the government to leave. By a new treaty in 1828 they were given seven million acres in north Oklahoma, receiving also an "outlet." This was a strip of land fifty-eight miles wide extending west to the 100th meridian, known as the "Cherokee Outlet," or "Cherokee Strip." It was created that the Indians might reach the hunting grounds of the Great Plains.

Meanwhile, the remaining eastern Cherokees, unwilling to leave the land of their fathers, bent over backward trying to please the whites who were increasingly brutal. A treaty was finally signed determining that they were to join their western brothers within three years. At the end of two, General Winfield Scott was ordered by President Jackson in 1838 to move them by force, using several thousand troops. This migration the Indians was called the "Trail of Tears," not in the least complimentary to white men. It so happened, then, that the Cherokees were the only one of the civilized tribes to touch northwest Oklahoma, the land of "the red people," as is the meaning of the word in the Choctaw tongue.

Various things worked toward giving white men a glimpse into what is now Oklahoma. People repeated about their firesides strange tales of the "Wild West," that fabulous land of the Indian and abundant game. If the father did not catch the "westward urge," many a youngster did. Even Washington Irving, as early as 1832, paid the area a visit, later writing descriptions, particularly of the vast buffalo herds which were as thick as flies on the terrain. There were also deer, wolves, antelopes, coyotes, bobcats and panthers. Besides pelicans and snowy herons of the feathered family, great flocks of wild geese and ducks abounded. To the hunter and trapper, this was a veritable paradise; so they flocked in. Fur traders found it good business to haul out buffalo hides to market. When the railroads came with their speed, it was not long until the herds were depleted.

Naturally, the Indians resented the pointless slaughter. Especially fierce were the Plains Indians who enjoyed hunting expeditions through western Oklahoma. They were warlike, living their picturesque lives free and untamed. Noted for their endurance, strength and speed, they presented a menace to any white person. Trails sprang up. Soldiers were stationed at forts to

keep the Indians within bounds. The discovery of gold in California in 1848 led to interest in seeking routes through Indian Territory.

For years, this wild country had furnished asylum to fugitives from justice all over the nation and continued to do so long after the land openings.

Some of these lost themselves in the Civilized Tribes where, so long as they behaved themselves, they were not molested. But elsewhere no white man dared stay without permission of the Indian Agent.

But outlaws found plenty of hiding places in the rough country also. Later on, many restless cowboys who could not turn farmer became desperadoes. Most of the desperate Dalton and Doolin gangs were ex-cowboys. Since they knew the country and were swift riders skilled with the gun, it was almost impossible to catch them. In the end, however, they were exterminated.

There was some fear of renegades even after the last land openings. Terrible stories went the rounds. A few years later when farmers in adjacent areas took their children by lantern light through Woods County's Bat Caves (now called the Alabaster Caverns), there was the name "Jesse James" scrawled on a rock wall. It was thought the cave had been a hide-out, since the Younger and James boys had been in the area.

Early settlers say Cole Younger once spoke to them in the old Alva Opera House, on why the boys of the two families turned to outlawry. During the Civil War, their fathers had been called to the door of their homes and shot down before the eyes of the children. Authorities, however, do not agree on this point.

Along with the outlaws, soldiers and traders, the cowboys came to Oklahoma. Kansas cattle strayed over the border, necessitating owners having to hunt them. In Texas, cattle had become so numerous and cheap that even wealthy easterners pricked up their ears and invested. Prior to the coming of the railroads, it was necessary to drive them to market. Of the trails resulting from this, only the Chisholm crossed what is now Woods County, leading to Dodge City.

The cowmen were friendly with the Indians and got by for some time by giving beef in payment for being allowed to graze their herds. With the increasing number of herds and consequent close grazing, the Indians exacted payment at so much per head. On the trails each outfit usually consisted of about sixteen men besides the cook, and 2,500 cattle. Besides, ranches had sprung up in the Territory, leasing from the red men. A strong Cherokee Strip Livestock Association was formed, and it reigned supreme, resisting any move toward opening the area to settlement.

But with so many white men seeing the fertile virgin soil, the plentiful game, it was inevitable that they begin clamoring for openings. Leaders began springing up and organizing groups to cross over into the forbidden country and build homes. Chief of these, Captain David L. Payne,

was most persistent. A born organizer, he spent over five years leading groups across the border, only to be chased out by the soldiers. He did, however, succeed in making the name Oklahoma a household word. Indians and cattlemen kept lobbyists in Washington to prevent any land being opened to settlement. The licensed traders and whiskey peddlers did not want their profits curtailed either.

Discovery of coal made agitators all the more persistent. Finally, with the coming of the railroads, the fight was centered in Washington. The struggle was hard and long, but the Oklahoma "boomer" would not accept defeat. At last they tacked a rider onto the Indian Appropriation Bill providing that lands in so-called Oklahoma should be opened to settlement. In that form, it passed on March 3, 1889.

Then followed exciting years when people settled in parts of the territory that were thrown open to settlement by the government. Still, there was the Cherokee Strip. After nearly four years of negotiation, the Cherokee Nations ceded it to the United States, which paid $8,300,000. Thus our country had purchased it twice.

Since this purchase amounted to approximately $1.40 per acre, the United States government decided to charge homesteaders enough to make it up. Those in the eastern part were to pay $2.50 per acre; those in the center were to pay $1.40, and those west of a line set at the center of sections 4, 9, 16, 21, 28, 33 in range 12, W.I.M. were to pay $1.00 an acre. This line ran two and one-half miles east of the present east line of Woods County, and extended through the Strip.

Homesteaders were also required to live on the land a large part of the year and cultivate it for five years before being able to "prove up" as complete owners.

September 16, 1893 was the day set by the United States government for the race into the Cherokee Strip for homes. This was the year of the Great Panic. There were serious labor troubles with many out of work. The bottom had fallen out of farm prices. Countless people came to Oklahoma out of necessity.

They had "dried out" in Kansas and had been caught in a depression, making it necessary to do something. Others came for adventure, the excitement of living in a new country. Perhaps they had not even thought, or cared, about Oklahoma until the excitement ran high. Many came from homes thought to be comfortable. The educated, as well as the uneducated, came, doctors, lawyers, blacksmiths and storekeepers, any skill that a community usually needs. Towns sprang up as if by magic, and the terrain was spotted with those successful in staking claims. Alva, the county seat of what was then designated as "M" County, became a thriving town where anyone could get supplies, legal advice, or whatever necessary. A few areas, unwanted or overlooked, were soon sought out by latecomers. Others succeeded in buying relinquishments which were sometimes sold very cheaply.

After paying the filing fee of $14.00, most homesteaders had little cash left. Families suddenly found themselves sitting out alone on the wide expanse of prairie unbroken by a single building, not even trees unless near a creek.

Perhaps they had only a team and wagon, a cow, or a few chickens. If lucky, there might also be a plow and tools such as a spade and hoe. Some had more; some had less. Not a few men left wife and children with relatives in Kansas the first winter while they improved the place as best they could. A few plowed some furrows to keep within the law, then hurried back home for a few months' work. Claims of being "jumped" was heard of in such cases.

Woods County, as with others in the Cherokee Strip, had its cosmopolitan population. People could be found from almost any area of the United States. Some were of foreign extraction and were, on the whole, industrious, frugal and sober. A few of these parents, still unable to cope with the English language, had to depend upon their children who picked it up quickly. In traveling over the county one might find a sprinkling of German, Russian, Hungarian, Danish, Swede, Syrian, Irish, Scotch or Dutch. A Negro family or two drifted in and out and soon moved on to where there was more of their own race, although well treated by the pioneers.

Homesteaders, out of necessity, helped each other. Always ready to aid a neighbor in distress, they also exchanged work handily. Many things could not be done alone. The first and most pressing need was water. Where there was no natural spring, or other available source near enough to haul from, a well had to be dug. Two or three men could usually reach water in a short time by digging in a low place. Several families could use one well until there was time for digging more. Since a pulley or windlass had to be rigged up for hauling dirt upland, as well as down for the man working in the hole, it was necessary to make the well wide enough to accomplish this. The man working below filled the buckets with dirt, while the alert one above ground listened for orders to draw it up. Careful diggers always tested for gas before going down in a deep well, usually by letting a candle down. The deeper the well became, the more moist was the soil, and colder. At the last water began to seep in until the digger needed boots. Finding water took patience, time, and hard work. As one man tired the other was ready to exchange places. Happy the day when a shout from below was heard: "Draw me up, quick." Only quick action could prevent a sudden very cold bath if a good vein were opened. Often the water seeped through more slowly. The top was then covered securely with boards nailed to a framework. This was the well curb and had to be tight enough to keep out any rodents. A square hole was cut in the center large enough to admit a bucket easily, and a lid was made to fit it tightly. A bucket with long rope attached was left on the curb ready for anyone who wished to draw water. Passers-by, or anyone, were welcome to help themselves. If, inadvertently, someone let bucket, rope and all slip into the well, a grab-hook was in order. Of course, if no neighbor around had one, another bucket had to be pressed into service.

In some areas the water was very good, as the word Waynoka, which means in Indian "sweet water," signifies. In some places there was good water from springs. Alva people bought water that was hauled from north of town for some years until other arrangements could be made.

Cisterns sprang up as fast as people could afford them as so many places had only Gyp water. Gypsum spoiled the water somewhat, but it was passable. Housewives had the chore of "breaking it" (to soften) for washing, unless lucky enough to catch rain water. Most every home had its rain barrel.

The first buildings in Woods County were made with anything at hand in order to have shelter. Some, whose claims afforded a creek or draw, cut into the bank and built a dugout. For the roof, cottonwood poles and brush were used and then sodded over, or dirt was piled on. When on higher ground, one might walk right onto the roof and look down to the entry, or yard, below. Since this was a dry cycle, no one feared floods before something better could be built. In some places one would find a sod shanty built with blocks of sod turned over by the plow or spade. There was usually a small window or two and a door. The roof was, as in the case of the dugout, built according to the settler's ingenuity.

It was not unusual for a man to haul lumber from Kansas where he had bought and torn down an old building. Perhaps he could get both a small barn and house out of it. More than one built a half-dugout. The upper half of the walls and the roof were of wood. Good windows and doors were in these. Happy the fellow and the envy of the neighborhood who could afford a frame house all above ground. In a few instances, two- or three-room buildings were moved to the claim. But this was unusual during the first few hard years.

Besides the farmers busying themselves about their new homesteads, one of the first things noticed on the landscape was the surveyors. The United States government had placed the corner stones, but they had become overgrown with grass, or obscured in some manner. These had to be found, or the land newly surveyed so that fences could be built. The whole of Woods County had to be resurveyed. Frank Havilland was County Surveyor. T. S. Benefiel, who had surveyed in Kansas previously and was now a homesteader, was a deputy and helped over a considerable part of the area. Especially it is remembered that he worked in his home district, that of Antelope, and also in laying out the town of Avard. Children liked to watch the men with their transit, measuring chains and rods as they sighted to get their lines straight, and then moved on to get another length. Alva, the county seat of "M" County, as the government had dubbed it, was named by the Santa Fe Railroad, which had been built from Kiowa to Waynoka in 1887. Alva Adams had been an attorney for the railroad.[1] This county included all that part of the "Outlet" in Ranges 9 to 16. The people were given the privilege of naming their county. They lost no time in so doing. In 1894 each political party put up a name to be voted upon. The Democrats said "Banner," while the Populists wanted "Wood" after a much admired Kansas pioneer, Colonel Sam N. Wood. The Populists won, but through a clerical error it was recorded "Woods." So Woods County it has been ever since.

Some say the new Territory of Oklahoma was under martial law for ten years. Provision for the organization of Oklahoma Territory was made in the Organic Act of May 2, 1890. The Governor

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[1] See also Reichenberger's previous article on debates surrounding the name origins of the City of Alva.

and Secretary were to be appointed by the President of the United States. Other officers were to be chosen by the Territorial Governor. Thus the Governor appointed a full set of County officers for each county. The statutes of Nebraska were to be those of the Territory until otherwise provided.

Before the Opening of the Cherokee Strip, there had been two territorial governors: 1890-1891, George W. Steele of Indiana, appointed by President Benjamin Harrison; 1891-1893, Abraham J. Seay of Kingfisher, appointed also by President Harrison. After "M" or Woods County came into being, there were: 1893-1897, William C. Renfrew of Norman, appointed by President Grover Cleveland; 1896-1901, Cassius M. Barnes of Guthrie, appointed by President William McKinley; 1901, William M. Jenkins of Guthrie, appointed by President McKinley; 1901-1906, Thompson B. Ferguson of Watonga, appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt.

For the benefit of public schools, Congress set aside Sections 16 and 36 in each congressional township and any other lands at the discretion of the President. It happened then that President Cleveland decided also to withhold Sections 13 and 33 in each Congressional township, the former for University, Agricultural Colleges and Normal Schools, the latter for public buildings. It can be seen then that the Cherokee Strip has plenty of school lands. At first the Territorial Governor was besieged with inquiries about these school lands. The question was referred to the Secretary of the Interior who recommended that Congress take action. It did, and the policy still holds. The lands are leased, thus providing funds for the support of schools.

As soon as possible, homesteaders began getting the land ready for crops. With winter so nearly upon them after the Opening, not much could be done except plow. Turning tough, virgin soil was no easy matter. The native buffalo grass roots had matted the top securely. No moldboard plow could be used on such. A new kind of plow came into existence, having steel rods about four inches apart and curved after the fashion of molded boards. It turned over the sod in a long tough ribbon. An upright knife near the point of the plow, even with the land side, did the trick; it was generally attached to the inner edge of the share. Set at an angle, cutters like this sliced off the layer at the proper width and thickness. The share cut it loose and the rods turned it bottom side up. To some, they were just "sod plows." However, there were two makes on the market, the Nebraska and the Jack Rabbit. The latter was somewhat longer and heavier. A twelve-inch plow was a sufficient load for the average two-horse team. When the homesteader had his team hitched, he tied the lines together at just the right length to reach around his middle while he walked behind the plow, each hand holding solidly onto the plow handles. A good, well-trained team would make a furrow as straight as a string across a given plot. Sometimes, especially at a corner, you would see him touch a line, or hear "Gee" (right), "Haw" (left), which the horses understood to be directions. Some teams would turn corners undirected, once they got in mind what was expected of them.

Ever alert to danger for himself and team, the pioneer had no time for idle thoughts. Difficult enough was the handling of the plow. Many a surprised rattlesnake was thrown one direction by the plow, while the man, in the same split second, landed in the opposite. On one occasion a

visitor from Kansas stood talking for a few minutes with a homesteader as he relaxed against his plow. Suddenly the plowman was not there; he had felt movement against his bare feet and landed some distance away. The rattlesnake evidently thought the feet to be clods of dirt.

The spring of 1894 found the pioneer families busily planting. Every inch of ground they had succeeded in plowing was planted for something. Since corn had been raised in Kansas, they tried it in Oklahoma. Corn, as well as cane, or a bit of wheat was sown by hand. Gardens were planted much the same as had been done in Kansas also, except it was more difficult in newly plowed ground. Fruit trees and grapes were set out whenever possible. The drought still held, so that in spite of the rich soil, very little was raised that summer. The next year was almost as bad. Undaunted, people tried again, raising at least more food than heretofore. During this time the men had gone back to Kansas to work in the wheat and corn harvests if possible, usually bringing home some of the grains besides a little cash. They hauled cedars at off times, from the hills some distance to the southwest, getting whatever price the posts would bring on the Kansas markets.

Food was not plentiful during these first hard years. Ingenuity and hard work managed to keep something on the table. Children helped their parents pick wild plums for butters or jelly as they could be found most anywhere. A medium-sized yellow-like melon, called "pie melon," was raised easily and made very good sauce. Watermelons were even known to have been stored in straw stacks and eaten later with ice cream made with ice from water tanks.

Many people who lived near the line crossed into Kansas for peaches, apples and other fruit when it was available. While some canning was done, drying was the most practical. Glass jars had come into use, but broke so easily that food could not be canned hot enough to keep. Sometimes tin cans were used. Butters, jams, jellies, etc., were put in brown stone jars, probably holding a quart or so, and the lid was fastened on airtight with melted sealing wax. Fruit and other foods were stored in cellars where it was cool. Butter and such could be hung down the well if necessary. Many women raised chickens. Turkeys were more trouble as they hid their nests out up the draws where coyotes could easily find a meal. Children helped by following the wary turkey hen at a safe distance.

Unless the family lived near a creek or trees of some sort, the usual fuel for year-round cooking was cow chips; children picked them up off the prairie. Sometimes they would be gathered by the wagon load by the whole family and kept stored for winter. Only by using whatever was at hand could the settlers stay on their claims. Occasionally there were corn cobs or nubbins to burn. These sufficed until money could be had for coal. Some people picked up bones. One family said a load usually brought fifty cents, enough to purchase a sack of flour. The old coffee mill paid for itself in many homes. When wheat was available, it was ground for bread. In a pinch, kaffir corn was even ground for cakes to eat.

The summer of 1894 was so hot and dry that very little was raised, and the railroads furnished free seed wheat to many who could not buy, taking notes to pay when and if a crop was raised.

There is some difference of opinion as to this. Some oldtimers say the government gave the settlers each twenty bushels of seed wheat the second year. The year 1895 was another hot, dry one. Little was raised besides some garden and a little corn, kaffir, milo maize, and sorghum cane. There was usually a sorghum mill somewhere, so that most families had at least a part of a barrel of the thick dark syrup made from the cane. Cane raised on some land did not produce good sorghum. So, by hook and crook, the settlers managed to hang on those first years. Some were even too poor to leave. Still, they continued to plant.

With the 1897 summer season, the rains came down. Never was anything more appreciated. Never was anything more beautiful than the fields of waving wheat.

Now some headway could be made. Whole families turned out to harvest the wheat. Where there were large boys, the sisters need not work outside. But when the girls were needed, or even the mother, they were glad to lend a hand in a pinch. Eager children pounced onto any stray heads of grain they could find, or played hide and seek among the shocks. They also carried drinking water unless it was kept in the field. When working quite a distance from the house, a jug of cool well water was often taken along and set inside a shock, or some such shade. A well-soaked gunny sack securely fastened about it kept the water cool throughout the day.

Binders were used to cut the wheat those early years and, although not all families had one, swapping work helped out. One man could operate the machine, driving two or sometimes three horses, depending on the size swathe it cut. It seemed a slow process, but the fields were not too large as yet. So, that summer, for the first, time, settlers could look out over the expanse of prairie, dotted with its small teepee-like shocks of golden grain and see the fruits of their labors.

Threshing machines were also powered by horses at first. The season lasted through the hottest part of the summer until anytime in the fall when everyone's wheat was finished. Women flocked into help with the cooking wherever the machine was to be that day, while the men came with wagons and teams. The price of wheat shot up to one dollar a bushel making everyone anxious to cash in.

With growing prosperity farmers bought better machinery. The steam engine replaced horses in threshing. With it came the steam whistle to announce the arrival of the outfit, give orders to the crew, or tell quitting time. Having a water hauler was a necessity now to keep the engine going. He drove a wagon pulled by horses, as were also the wheat wagons, only this one was fixed with a big tank for holding water. The water was obtained from some pond or stock tank, the hauler having to work the pump arrangement on top his wagon by hand. He stood atop his water tank after seeing that the attached hose reached clear to the water supply, and bracing himself, worked the long pump handles left and right back and forth, until sufficient water had been sucked up. If it took too long, he might hear some toots from the engineer. As time went on the threshing crew was made up of men who followed the machine throughout the season.

Then came the cook-shack, pulled right along with the rest and usually parked nearby. Some outfits, however, put it near the farmhouse and in the shade, if possible. Needless to say, the women appreciated this innovation, and the children gloried in it, for usually a woman was hired as cook.

Improvement was also made in the manner of harvesting the wheat. Though the slow binder was still used occasionally, the header was fast replacing it. This was a machine on which one man rode behind both header and horses. Six horses were hitched immediately in front of him pulling the header, the cutting parts of which were in front of the horses. This machine speeded up matters considerably, as a much wider swath could be cut and still none of the standing wheat be trampled. Twenty-five to thirty-five acres was a good day's cutting. Binders were more advantageous in wet years in that the wheat did not have to be cut dead ripe as with the header. Also, shocks could be torn apart to dry, if need be, while if it were in stacks of headed wheat, there might be considerable spoilage. A header crew usually consisted of eight to ten men, following through the season as did the threshers. The farmer owned the machine and hired his men, usually cutting for several neighbors besides his own. Though harvest and threshing were a time of hard work from early until late, it was a joyful time. The men were fed the best obtainable and seemed to enjoy the experience. Many were boys away from home and returned year after year to the same crew no matter how far away they lived. If the Fourth of July should catch them unfinished in the field, time was taken out for ice cream on the lawn in the evening and a general good time. Or, if the men preferred going to town, they were free to do so. The boss might even take them.

After crops were taken care of, it was time to think of school. That had been one of the first things planned after the homesteaders got settled. By the autumn of 1894 all the women and children had come and were eager to get things started. In some places a teacher was hired immediately, usually someone in the district, who was qualified, and a short term was taught in a home if no other place was available. Textbooks were any that could be found in the neighborhood, or even old newspapers were used. By ingenuity with materials at hand, home-made blackboards and other necessities were acquired.

Perhaps life in Antelope School District Number 16 was typical of most of the others in Woods County in that early day. For several reasons, such as the lack of money and everyone finding survival sufficiently time-consuming, the first winter passed without thought of school. Also, many wives and children were still with relatives in Kansas where there were already good schools. But by the next fall these families had arrived, homes had been built and fixed more comfortably, and everyone was anxious to meet everyone else. Life took on a different pattern. A generous farmer in the center of the district donated an acre of ground, whereupon the men lost no time in erecting a sod and dirt building with dirt floor. The first teacher was a man who had previously taught school and now lived in the district. He was hired for a three-month period at $25.00 per month. Payment was made with warrants which, unless held for a year, were cashed at a discount at banks.

Until the drought was broken and times improved, the short school term prevailed. By 1900, six months of school were the vogue at a little increase in teacher's salary. By statehood the district was paying the teacher $41.00 per month and holding school for seven months. Some schools in the eastern part of the county would have beaten that somewhat; others in poorer sections might not have done that well.

The dirt school house was soon bursting out at the seams with children, so that a new frame building was put up as soon as possible. It was the typical white school house of that period with its big pot-bellied stove set in the center so that all could get around it and toast their fronts while their backs chilled until they turned around and reversed matters. Desks, each seating two, were bought besides whatever else was customary, such as the teacher's desk and chair and chalk for the blackboard that covered the front of the room. The walls on both sides of the pupils were mostly large windows. There were many large families in the district, with every child large enough attending, whether five or near twenty years of age, little or a six-footer. Even this building bulged, especially in 1898 when it held sixty-seven pupils. The record says that for that gigantic task, the man teacher received $25.00 for each of the three months of school.

Since there was no well at the school house, carrying drinking water to all those pupils was a major chore, but one universally liked. Each pupil hoped to be one of the two called upon by the teacher to go to the nearest house with the water bucket. These two, carrying it between them, managed to get back with enough to quench the thirsts of all for a time. Up and down the aisles they went, each child drinking from the dipper that was always with the bucket. More often than not, the teacher was a young woman; she was looked up to by the whole county, and especially by the young men. The influence of the teacher, whether man or woman, was far-reaching.

For recreation, the pupils played whatever entered their minds according to their ages, since there was no playground equipment. Both sexes played softball. At times the whole school played games like dare-base or ante-over, the little ones often getting run over in the melee. Girls suffered when the snow was deep enough for snowballing or face washing. It was not unusual for a teacher to keep the larger boys in at times in order that the girls might get out in the fresh air. Girls enjoyed snowball fight, but got enough of it before the boys did. At noon the teacher could sometimes be persuaded to let the older ones skate in the nearby creek. None had skates, but shoes did very well from the children's point of view.

Church and Sunday school were organized at the same time as the school, as Antelope meetings were held in the school building regularly. Most pastors had two or three "charges" to look after in his circuit so that services were held less often. Since there were three resident ministers in the Antelope district, regular services were easily managed. Revivals were held as often as practicable. In the summer everyone enjoyed camp meetings. A travelling evangelist sometimes pitched his tent in the schoolyard. He batched right there also. Besides holding morning and evening services for adults, he always had time for children's meetings in the

afternoon, playing on his little organ; he sang and taught those songs they never forgot. To them, camp meeting was a great occasion. It must have been for everyone, considering the crowds.

People seemed to come from everywhere, overflowing the tent. Young men from various communities gathered also, but not to forward the cause of religion. They might, at times, venture into the rear seats where their stage whispers disrupted the sermon. Reprimands from the pulpit did little good. The favorite place, it seemed, was immediately outside the cortex of light, whether it be from tent or schoolhouse. Churchmen did their best to keep order, patrolling the area to intercept any mischief which might be afoot, especially if there seemed to be a milling crowd outside. One day there was a tip that the boys were planning to cut the tent ropes that night. Two churchmen, finding out where the boys were to congregate, met with them. As it was dark, no one suspected their presence in the group riding along horseback to the services. Making themselves known to the boys at the crucial moment, after hearing all of their talk and plans, the men had no further trouble. Preferring to remain anonymous, each rider faded away ashamedly into the darkness. These were only some of the "growing pains" of the new country, and they soon passed.

These overflowing crowds also filled the schoolhouse on numerous occasions. Nothing was quite so popular at Antelope as the Literary Society. From miles around people came by horseback, lumber wagon, or any other conveyance available; those near enough walked, carrying the smaller children. That there was an abundance of talent was soon evident. There were music teachers, a singing school teacher, ex-school teachers and preachers. Organs were brought for the programs. Instruments, such as mandolin, banjo, guitar, jaw harp, harmonica, and several violins appeared from somewhere, and diverse were the numbers worked out. Almost anyone could give readings, or declamations, of some sort. Dialogues were popular also. Many had participated in debates in Kansas.

At the Literary Society each person willingly brought forth whatever talent he possessed and worked further toward learning more. The fame of this enthusiastic group spread so far that soon others flocked in to participate. From the serious business of making a living, this was a place to let off steam, to match wits and vie with each other good naturedly. Of course, the ridiculous, the humorous side was mixed in at times for relief or flavor. On the whole, however, the debates were on serious topics of the day; for example, "Should we admit the Philippines into the United States" or "Should we be forced by the Government to pay a dollar an acre for our land."

This Literary Society met every Friday night and was organized to the teeth. The audience chose two leaders who immediately decided upon the question to be debated in the following week. These two then chose their colleagues from people in the audience who liked to talk. Each side was composed of three to five persons, depending on how they felt at the time. Each side chose one judge, the audience deciding on the third. As the time for debate arrived, a speaker would start up the aisle, saying, "Honorable judges." Then upon reaching the front of

the building, he would quickly turn about facing the audience with "Ladies and Gentlemen," the questions are, and dive into his subject for all he was worth. A jester, who felt he had done miserably, once concluded his speech by saying, "With these few remarks I'll leave the floor for a better speaker." Not to be outdone, the next one up drolly expressed appreciation that the floor had been left intact.

There were various other forms of entertainment. Home talent plays were popular, later developing into original ones. "Spelling Bees" and "Ciphering Matches" took whole evenings and were enjoyed by all. Since there was a schoolhouse every three miles, contests arose, and spirits ran high.

Box-suppers, where a fine meal was auctioned off inside a gaily decorated box, were fun for all ages. Getting to eat with the partner most wanted took some doing. Young men teased for clues, though they were not forthcoming. Perhaps they could do some trading later. Gradually, the decorative slant of many became familiar.

Oyster suppers were held in the winter. While not so much fun, they were enjoyable and usually netted the church or Sunday school a neat amount. Ice cream socials were held on the schoolhouse lawn in summer, or in someone's yard. Whoever had a freezer came and used it so that there was more than enough. The women brought cakes depending on finances, but everyone had milk and eggs.

School and church usually combined to make Christmas a gala affair with its program put on by the children. In one corner of the school house would be the largest tree possible to get in. If possible, it was cedar, but others were used when necessary. On it, after it was all decorated with whatever ingenuity worked out, was hung whatever gifts they could manage. At first the gifts might be mostly homemade, but with increasing finances the tree became more heavily and beautifully loaded. Highlight of the whole evening was Santa's appearance and his subsequent parceling out of the gifts.

Children's Day was made much of in connection with Sunday school. This was usually a Sunday in the first part of June when the children dressed in their best and put on a program. And only after intensive practice was it put on. David C. Cook's literature was used for everything, and it was good. Songs, exercises, readings and intricate drills were customary.

Young people usually thought up plenty of entertainment for themselves as some young swain would start out with a team and wagon, stopping at each home until he arrived at the party, or entertainment, with a full load. Couples rarely went alone—it was too much fun going en-masse. Ball games, horseback riding, or even trips to the Gyp Hills were indulged in. They often went to tent or wagon shows in town, or to the fairgrounds to see races, any celebration that might be in order. There were Fourth of July picnics. Decoration Day afforded a parade usually, and speeches with basket dinner afterward in the court house square.

Regularly each summer the circus came to Alva. Day of all days, money no money, people flocked to town. Even if one could not afford the price of the show, there was always the thrilling parade at ten o'clock. Then after the wonderful basket dinner in the park where everybody visited with everyone else, there was the merry-go-round and other forms of excitement for the young. No one was too old to ride the horses. Young couples enjoyed it.

After the good wheat crop of 1897, some of the more adventurous drove to Enid in September to the much publicized Ringling's Big Show, the "greatest show on earth." People were there from great distances, camping at the outskirts of town. Tickets were fifty cents for adults, twenty-five cents for children below twelve. Most of the settlers were too busy rejoicing over what they called the "year of jubilee in the Strip."

They could now replenish their scanty larders, get long-needed wearing apparel and begin improving their places in earnest.

In the spring of this year, on March 10, 1897, the Fifth Territorial Legislature Assembly passed a bill for establishing a Normal School at Alva. The people of northwestern Oklahoma had presented a similar bill two years previously, but it met with too much opposition. Pioneers in this area were not easily side-tracked. Their children's future education was at stake. Perseverance paid off finally, and the bill was passed. Controversy over the school's establishment led to litigation, but the Supreme Court sustained it as regular and legal. James Fryre, a homesteader who had come in the "run," generously gave the land. Of the structure erected on the site, Mr. Rainey remarks in his "The Cherokee Strip" that ". . . The one at Alva presents the most imposing architecture and is one of the most appreciated state institutions."

On June 17, 1900, another bill was passed that caused almost as much rejoicing among the settlers as their previous blessings had. Dennis Flynn, territorial delegate to the United States Congress, finally succeeded in getting that body to pass the Free Homes Bill. Thus, the one-dollar per acre debt was cancelled.

No sooner had the Free Homes Bill passed than people began clamoring for statehood. Dennis Flynn turned his energies toward it. In 1902 he did not run, and Bird S. McGuire was elected on a platform of statehood regardless of whether it also included Indian Territory to the east. After a long battle, the Omnibus Statehood Bill was passed on June 14, 1906, admitting Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory as one state. At the same time the people voted on their constitution, and they also voted on state-wide prohibition in a separate clause. It passed by a majority of 18,000 votes. President Theodore Roosevelt approved the constitution as adopted, designating Saturday, November 16, 1907 as inauguration day of the new state government.

Thus, a new state was added to the Union—a state for whose phenomenal growth history knows no precedent. From Indian, buffalo and cowboy, to a thriving commonwealth within the span of fourteen years is a metamorphosis made possible only by a people of courage and with a vision no amount of hardships could dim.

In the 1800s millions of buffalo roamed through the Cherokee Strip. The fur traders were primarily responsible for the depletion of the buffalo herds. In Avard and the northwest area of "M" (Woods) County, buffalo wallows are still visible. The natural springs in those areas made a good place for buffalo and other wildlife to gather.

David Payne was an American soldier and pioneer. He was known as the "Father of Oklahoma" because of his work opening the state to settlement. He organized, trained, and led the "boomer Army" on its forays into the unassigned lands. Between May 1880 and August 1882, he was arrested four times within Indian Territory. Once he was escorted to its borders and released, and three times he was jailed – either by army or civilian authorities.

This one-room school house in Antelope (east of Avard) was typical of the 223 school districts that dotted Woods County in the early 1900s.

The spring of 1894 found the homesteaders busy planting gardens; they found it more difficult in newly plowed ground. Fruit trees and grapes were also set out whenever possible. Cash crops such as corn, cain, or wheat were sown by hand.

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SKETCHES FROM THE LIFE HISTORY OF JACOB ACHENBACH

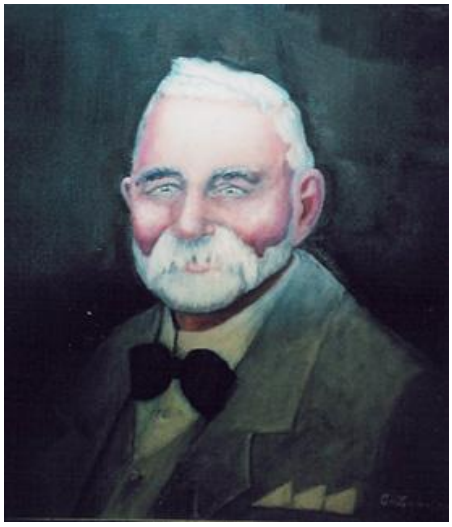
WRITTEN BY JACOB ACHENBACH
EDITED BY J. W. PLATT

Editor's Note: A few years before Jacob Achenbach died in 1937, he dictated his story of coming to southern Kansas as one of the area's early pioneers. Only five or six copies of the small pamphlet were printed, but nobody knew what had happened to them. Many years ago, I was surprised to find a copy folded into a land abstract for a property that that he had owned. Later, I located another copy in the safe at the Farmer's State Bank in Hardtner, Kansas.

As an historian, I hold a special interest in providing this story for publication. It provides an unusual opportunity to hear from one of our early pioneers in his own words. Nothing has been changed from the way he dictated it over eighty years ago. With the benefit of modern electronics, this story has been preserved on the Webpage of the Hardtner Public Library, and with this publication, it will also be further preserved in hard copy.

I was born, raised and still live in Hardtner, the town that Jacob Achenbach built. The land where I make my home is part of his original purchase in Barber County, Kansas. I was born in the hospital that he endowed in his will. I learned to swim in the public pool that he funded, which is located in the park that he donated. As a child, I looked forward each year to the Barber County Fair, which he founded in Hardtner when no one in Medicine Lodge was willing to donate the land for a fairground. When he died, the Governor of Kansas and a U.S. Senator attended his funeral, while the town mourned the passing of the man whom they all called "Uncle Jake."

Today, the Fair and the swimming pool survive, but the town itself is dwindling. I have endured the painful experience of seeing his hospital die, as well as participating in the closing of his railroad and his bank. I have had to tell myself that he was a visionary who could see the future in 1886 and who would also see the hard realities of his town in 2012. Adding poignancy is the fact that Jacob Achenbach was also my great-great-grandfather.



Portrait of Jacob Achenbach, Kansas Pioneer (1846-1937).

I was born in Eppleshiem, Germany, on March 22, 1846. I came to America at the age of 6, settling in Green County, Illinois. I went to school (country) in the winter and worked at home in the summer until I reached the age of 14 years. I then worked out by the month for $12.00 per month until I was 18 years old.

HERDS CATTLE ON ILLINOIS PRAIRIE

In 1864 I herded 200 cows in Christian County for one of our Green County neighbors. He paid me $.50 a head pre month for 6 months, from the 1st of May to the last of October. The grass was free, as the county was open and there were very few settlers living there. My expenses were about $25.00 per month for board and corral for the cows. The cows were penned up at night. When I returned home in the fall, I told my father what a big county Christian was; land was cheap and raw prairie was selling for $5.00 to $8.00 per acre. In the spring of 1865, Father and I drove out to see the country. We found a farm about 10 miles north of the place where I had pastured the cows. The farm belonged to Dr. Hardtner. There were 440 acres, all fenced, with a small log house and barn. About 200 acres of corn on this place had not been gathered. Dr. Hardtner was out there and about 10 or 15 men and teams gathering this corn. Father liked the farm so well, he bought it from Dr. Hardtner at $30.00 per acre. My brother John and I went out to Christian County with teams and machinery of all kinds in the fall of 1865 and sowed about 200 acres of wheat. In the spring of 1866 the entire family moved out. We raised about 7,000 bushels of wheat and 15,000 bushels of corn that year. Our nearest market was Virden, about 40 miles away. We received $1,00 a bushel for the wheat and $1.00 a bushel for the corn.In 1866 Father bought 320 acres more from Dr. Hardtner, I bought 160 acres for myself and Father gave me 80 acres.

MOVES TO KANSAS IN 1881

On May 2, 1867, I was married to Elizabeth Rathgeber. I built a house on the land which Father gave me and rented some more land from Dr. Hardtner. I farmed Dr. Hardtner's land for 14 years. In July 1881 as I could rent no more land from Dr. Hardtner, I took a trip to Kansas. I took a homestead in Kingman County of 160 acres and bought 160 acres, the only quarter proved up in Chikaskia Township at that time. It was located about 25 miles southwest of Kingman, in the forks of Sand Creek and the Chikaskia River. When I returned home I chartered two freight cars and shipped my horses and mules, cows and machinery to Kansas. John Wetz, Joe Frei and George Ruhl accompanied the cars to take care of my stock. In the spring of 1883 I moved out on my homestead. I bought 250 cows and herded them that summer. There were so many immigrants coming in to take homesteads that I was forced to move my cattle. Therefore in the spring of 1884, I bought 6,300 acres of land in Barber County from Dr. Hardtner of Carrolton, Illinois, for $5.00 per acre and drove my cattle to this ranch.

WITNESSES A MEDICINE LODGE BANK ROBBERY

My first outstanding experience in Barber County was my first trip to Medicine Lodge in April, 1884. Together with a cousin, Phillip Kramer, I left Harper one morning in a spring wagon for my ranch near present Hardtner. We arrived at Medicine Lodge late that night. We left our hotel about nine o'clock the next morning and started uptown. We were about a half block from

the bank, north on the east side of the street I saw a man standing outside of the bank with his gun drawn. I stopped, wondering what it was all about, and at the same time he shot at the Marshal who was standing across the street. The shot missed but hit the building which is now Adrain Houck's office, glanced and went through the window in the building which was on the site of the Home State Bank Building. After this we turned around to take cover in the saloon. The man who fired the shot proved to be the watch for the robbers in the bank. The robbers had killed the cashier and critically wounded the president who died before night. When the robbers left the bank they started south on their horses with a bunch of cowboys about three or four miles southwest of Medicine Lodge and this proved to be their undoing because there was only one outlet, which was the way they had entered. The cowboys, finding that they had the bandits trapped, surrounded the canyon and then stopped to consider the best method of capturing them. A report was sent to town that the bandits were surrounded in the canyon. About this time I met Charles Eldred whom I had known in Green County Illinois. When he learned that I had a spring wagon, he suggested that we load a couple of barrels of coal oil, drive to the canyon, roll the barrels over the top, and burn the robbers out. Just as we were getting ready to load the coal oil the report came back to town that they had surrendered and were being brought in. When the robbers were brought into town they were literally covered with mud. They were first taken to a restaurant and given dinner, then brought out to have their pictures and then placed in jail. Naturally the news had gone out and cowboys kept coming to town all that afternoon and evening. There was a great deal of drinking and talk of lynching. About eight or nine o'clock the crowd stormed the jail. When they opened the door one robber rushed out but was shot down in the doorway. A second one started to run, but was shot in the back. The shot set his coat afire which made it easy to follow him. He was caught in a few minutes. The others gave up immediately and they were taken down to where the second robber was being held and all three were hanged on the same tree. I walked up to one of them just before the hanging and asked how he felt. All he would say was, “My God!, My God!” With all the drinking and shooting, I do not see how it happened that many more were not killed. The following morning we left for the ranch which I had purchased from Dr. Hardtner, I had built a little house on this ranch for Poney Walker and they boarded the men I had erecting permanent buildings and fences and breaking sod.

EXPERIENCES BLIZZARD OF 1886

I moved to the ranch in December of 1885. At this time the weather was like spring and continued so until the night of January 6, 1886. Then came the worst blizzard ever known in the southwest. It killed thousands of cattle and many people froze to death out in western Kansas. This snow was two or three feet deep on the level and this caused many cattle to starve to death as range men did not provide feed in those days. In running our cattle on the range we had two roundups each, in the spring and fall. The cattle were run in the Cherokee Strip and even beyond into Texas. All cattle being branded, it was nothing for me to receive a check for some of my cattle which had been shipped by someone else. Brands were being watched in cutting out and loading cattle for market, but they did not take too much trouble to get strays cut because all brands were checked at market and cattle always sold according to the brands. The returns were then sent to the owner of the brand. At this time we had only one school house. It

was located near William Sterling's place; there were no churches. I raised my first crop of wheat on my ranch which had never been grown west of the Medicine River. There was no market and I had raised my second crop of wheat before the railroad was built into Kiowa, Kansas; I sold these two crops of wheat to the Winfield miller and it tested sixty-two pounds to the bushel.

ORGANIZES HARDTNER TOWNSITE COMPANY

In 1886, I organized a town company and we purchased 640 acres, section eight, from Dr. Hardtner, which we laid out in town blocks and named Hardtner. The officials of our town company were Ira Wadsworth, President; Jacob Achenbach, Vice President; and George C. Smith, Secretary. I farmed from 1885 to 1900, using all horses and mules. In 1900, I decided to give up farming because of my wife's health. At this time I had 150 mules on hand which I had raised myself. During the fifteen years from 1885 to 1900 I sold a great many mules and I still believe that livestock and the increase is the only way to make farming really profitable. In September of 1895, I purchased 1,200 cows with calves by their side at Magdalena, New Mexico, for $10.00 per head. The freight on these cows was $3.00. There were two train loads of these cattle and we unloaded them at Dodge City. We drove them from Dodge City and arrived here on November 2. This was in the times of the election of President McKinley. I sold calves for $13.00 a head on the range, to Gano and Williams of Medicine Lodge. This left me $1,200 to the good.

THIRTY YEARS AS POSTMASTER

I established a post office in Hardtner and was Postmaster for thirty years. In 1926 I turned the Post Office over to W. W. Dennis, who at one time operated a store in Hardtner. A man came into the Post Office one day while I was Postmaster and began looking things over. When I asked him whether he wanted anything he said, "Yes, I am the Post Office Inspector." I told him that he was the first inspector I ever had seen in Hardtner. After looking through my books, he said that he could see nothing wrong with them. Someone had made a complaint that I did not stamp the date of arrival on the letters which I received. He said that was not required in a third class post office, however.

FIRST TELEPHONE LINE

I built the first telephone line from Kiowa to Hardtner in 1896 and installed a telephone in my store in Hardtner. The line was completed just before the election of President McKinley. Everyone in this part of the country crowded into my store to get the election returns over the telephone. This was quite an event.

BUILDS K. H. & P. RAILROAD

In 1908, I organized a company to build a railroad from Kiowa to Hardtner, a distance of about ten miles. We made application to C. E. Denton, Secretary of State, for our charter and named our company the Kiowa, Hardtner and Pacific Railroad Company. The charter members were: Jacob Achenbach, Ira Blackstock, W. H. Brownback, A. B. Jarvis, J. W. Blunk, J. H. Decker, W. J. Sterling, and J. H. Morgan. I called our first meeting on July 9, 1908, and we elected the

following officers: President - Ira Blackstock; Vice President - Jacob Achenbach; Secretary - Peter Ballet; and Treasurer - W. J. Sterling.

COWBOYS EFFECT RAILWAY CROSSING

We had a great deal of trouble crossing the main line of the Santa Fe as they did not want us to cross their road. After putting our crossing in on the Beaver Enid and Gulf line one Sunday we were ready to cross the Santa Fe main line, but their superintendent, Mr. Shafer, had blockaded the crossing by having his private car stopped on the proposed crossing. About forty or fifty cowboys gathered on Mule Creek and sent word to the Superintendent that it would be best for him to move his car as they were going to put the crossing in that day and if he refused to move his car they would riddle it with bullets. Poley Tincher, the Santa Fe Attorney, was in Kiowa at the time this happened and was told that a group of cowboys were gathered on Mule Creek, determined to put the railroad crossing in that day. He was advised to go tell Mr. Shafer that it would be best for him to move his private car before the angry cowboys arrived, as they would start something which would be hard to stop. When Mr. Tincher drove out to see Mr. Shafer he said, "What do all of these guns and pistols mean?" He then informed Mr. Shafer that he was connected with the law department. He advised Mr. Shafer to move his car, but Mr. Shafer thought the proposed raid was just a bluff, however, when he saw the cowboys coming over the hill on horseback just as fast as the horses could run, he ordered his engineer to move the car back to town. The cowboys had all of the tools necessary for putting in the crossing and in less than three hours the crossing was laid.

TOURS EUROPE FOR WIFE'S HEALTH

When I was forced to give up farming in 1900 because of my wife's health, I leased all of my farms and we traveled in this country for six months. We then visited all of the principal countries in Europe. This was greatly beneficial to Mrs. Achenbach and she returned home improved in health.

BUILDS B. M. & E. RAILROAD

When the Wichita Falls and Northwestern Railroads, a branch of the M. K. & T., built into Beaver County in Oklahoma, they stopped at Forgan and established a town site there. This left Beaver, the county seat, seven miles away without a railroad. Some of the citizens procured a charter for the B. M. & E. and undertook to build a railroad from Beaver to Forgan, but they soon ran out of funds. As they had heard of the Kiowa, Hardtner and Pacific Railroad, which Mr. Blackstock, myself, and our associates had built, they came to Mr. Blackstock and me for assistance. When we were first asked to extend the proposed road, we refused, but they were so insistent that we finally agreed to go to Beaver and investigate the matter. Therefore, in the spring of 1915, I started to Beaver, accompanied by J. H. Morgan from Alva, Oklahoma. After a thorough investigation on the ground, I decided that we could advance them necessary funds to complete their seven miles from Beaver to Forgan, the road when completed to be turned over to Mr. Blackstock and me for operation. The road was completed and turned over to us in the late summer of 1916 and we operated it as a unit until 1923. In the meantime, after making several surveys west of Forgan, I saw the possibilities of developing the Oklahoma Panhandle

through railroad facilities, and decided to make application for a charter for a railroad from Forgan to Des Moines, New Mexico, our objective being the coal fields near Des Moines. This road split the Panhandle wide open. In 1923 we received our charter and started construction west from Forgan, connecting with the end of the main line of the M. K. & T. At this time, large delegations came from Liberal, Kansas, and Hooker, Oklahoma, begging for an opportunity to furnish all right-of-way and station grounds if we would come through their respective towns. We decided in favor of Hooker, Oklahoma, as they agreed to give right-of-way not only to Hooker, but ten miles beyond. When we commenced the construction of the Beaver, Mead and Englewood Railroad, west from Forgan in 1923, no other railroads were building in this country and none contemplated building. The M. K. & T. had been satisfied to stay in Forgan for years and the Santa Fe had stopped at Elkhart with no indication that it would build farther. For years the B. M. & E. was the only railroad building a mile of tract in the state of Oklahoma. When we reached Hooker, the [Chicago] Rock Island sat up and took notice, as we extended ours farther west, and the Santa Fe became interested.

SELLS B. M. & E. RAILROAD

In 1929, we sold sixty-five miles of track to the Chicago Rock Island, subject to the approval of the ICC. The M. K. & T. claimed it was their territory and carried their claim to Oklahoma City in July of 1930. The ICC reserved its decision until a later date. In November of 1930, the ICC disapproved the sale of the B. M. & T. to the Rock Island and gave the M. K. & T. permission to purchase the road. In the meantime, the road had been extended another twenty miles to Eva, Oklahoma. In the spring of 1931 we started the final stretch of our railroad building, the last twenty miles from Eva to Keyes, the latter town being on the Dodge City belt line to the Santa Fe. We were under contract to deliver the B. M. & E. from Beaver to Keys to the M. K. & T. upon completion. On July 1, 1931, we turned the B. M. & E. over to the M. K. & T., the road they had once refused to buy, saying that it would never earn sufficient revenue to buy grease for the engine. I still maintain my interest in the K. H. & P. and it is still leased to the Missouri Pacific Railroad Company. I am also continuing my feeding operations with cattle.

It is assumed that this account was told by Uncle Jake to someone who wrote it up, as the date at the end is 1934. Uncle Jake died on November 29, 1937, in his home in Hardtner, Kansas, at the age of 91.

On pages 31-33, several historic photographs of the Hardtner public swimming pool appear, including images of its construction.

L to R - Elaine Piersall, Olive Farney, Eunice DeGeer
?, ?, Georgia Rathgeber Eloise Graves, Neva Sternberger Wilk
at the Hardtner Pool. (1952)

THE DIARIES OF THALEDEN SHERMAN FORESTER: EXCERPTS FROM 1906 VISITS TO WAYNOKA

WRITTEN BY THALEDEN SHERMAN FORESTER
EDITED BY SANDRA OLSON

Editor's Note: Robert Forester (1834-1910) had bought a farm in Oklahoma Territory (O.T.) two miles west of Waynoka near the Marion Graves Farm and the Cimarron River to be close to the family of his second wife, Mary Hoy Davidson. In early 1906, Robert's son, Thaleden Forester, who lived in Michigan, received word that his father was gravely ill. Thaleden traveled from his Michigan home to his father's farm to be with him. He visited Waynoka twice more for the same reason.

In 1909, on his final visit to see his gravely-ill father, Thaledon became ill and died of pneumonia at his father's home at age 47. His body was returned to Michigan for burial. Soon after Thaledon's death, Robert Alexander Forester returned to Kalamazoo, where he died in 1910.

Two great-great-grandsons of Mary Davidson Forester, Larry and Don Davidson, still live in the Waynoka area.

Thaleden Forester kept a diary during his trips to Waynoka. There he describes the train trips and the day-to-day life on the farm. The version below seeks to preserve the author's original writing style as much as possible.

From Tuesday, February 20, through Thursday, February 22, 1906: Train Ride to Waynoka and the 2S Hotel

Frank Milliman, Harrie Overholt and I started from Scotts for Battle Creek in the morning, took the 1015 from B.C. for Chicago over M.C.R.R. Arrived in Chicago 2-55. At Chicago we got our tickets for Oklahoma ($19.85). Started in to see the McVicker's Theater in the evening. Frank got arrested for carrying a revolver (a fellow saw it in his pocket at the McV.). We left Chicago at 11-30 over the "Rock Island" R.R. Stopped at "Moline" for breakfast. Harrie and I got off and got a cup of coffee to brace up on. We crossed the Mississippi R. at Rock Island Wed. morning.

Went through the corn-belt of Iowa, saw more corn fields than we ever saw in the same length of time. The land is quite rolling in some places and level in others. But Missouri is a fine state—soil black as any marsh muck in places, level as a floor; others, rough. But it is cut up by little ravines all over and the people have little ponds dammed off to hold the water. Not much wheat but corn and cattle and hogs. The cattle are mostly the Herefords and Galloway's a few short-horns. We got in to Kansas City about 7 o'clock, had to wait until 11:30 o'clock before we

could get out of there. When we woke up in the morning we were running through Kansas and it is a fine country (soil of a reddish cast) acres of wheat whole ¼ and ½ sec. in one field. Changed at Ingersoll for Alva train a 1 ½ hrs. late. Took the train for Alva and got stalled at Ashley on account of engine giving out, boiler leaking. There was a crazy man taken on at Ingersoll to be taken over to Alva. They telephoned back to Ingersoll for another engine to take the train on to Alva.

We got to Alva all right and got a train for Waynoka. Got to Waynoka just about supper time. We went to the 2-S Hotel and I asked for the land-lady (Mrs. Miller). They said she was in the kitchen so I walked right back in and introduced myself. She was as kind as any old neighbor. We got our supper. Then there was a man going out by Father's and we all rode out there. When we got there Father was out getting wood. I got out and asked him for a chew of tobacco but he knew me. Mother was out milking, when she came in Father told her that we were three men that wanted to stay all night. She said she reckoned that they could keep us but she did not know me until I asked her if she did not know me, then she did.

From Friday, February 23, through Sunday, March 4, 1906: Life on the Farm, and the Funeral of a Young Mother

Friday 23rd We stayed around the house and rested up some.

Saturday 24th Father, Frank, Harrie and I went over to Waynoka in the after-noon and looked the town over and see the people.

Sunday 25th Frank and Harrie and I went over west to the "Simeroon river." The soil here in O.T. is mostly the red soil but around the Simeroon valley there is some of the poorest land that we have seen since we left Chicago Ill. It is white and red sand and it is hilly and rough and covered with sage-brush. The sand will drift every way with the wind.

Monday 26th The wind is blowing a regular n. Western to-day. We can't see anything W. or E. for the sand that is drifting and the wind goes right through us. But Frank and Harrie went over to Waynoka in the after-noon.

Tuesday 27th Frank and Harrie started South this morning at 3-o'clock. It is nice this morning but it froze last night so that it froze Father's pump up.

Wednesday 28th Wind blew a gale to-day. The sand blew so that we could not see a great way. Father and I went to a funeral in the after-noon, it was a woman by the name of Mrs. Lewis Hamilton, a young woman. She left a husband and four little children. There was no regular sermon. At the grave they had a prayer and the choir sang until the grave was filled. The husband and children stood around the grave with the neighbors until the grave was all filled and fixed up.

We came back through Waynoka I got a letter from Frank Milliman. We see some fine country on our trip.

Thursday 1st Wind blowing a gale all day. I helped Father cut down a tree and cut up some wood for the heating stove. I stayed around the house all day.

Friday 2nd Wind is blowing hard here to-day. It spit snow here this morning. The thermometer is 28 degrees this morning. It is colder than zero weather when it is still. It is dreary weather for me. It is the worst thing that I have got against this country, the wind blows to much for me I think.

Saturday 3rd Cold. Father and I went to Waynoka to-day. I got a letter from Mary and the boys.

Sunday 4th Cold here to-day in the morning but still and fine weather. I rode Father's mare Nellie over to Waynoka in the after-noon.

From Monday, March 5, through Thursday, March 8, 1906: Return to Michigan

Monday 5th We sat up until 1 o'clock this morning. Then Father took me over to Waynoka where I took the train for Avard at 3:15. Left Avard for Carmen at 6:45. Got to Carmen about 8 o'clock. Stayed there until about 11 – then took the Bus across to Augusta. Had to stay there until 5-08 P.M., then took the Choctaw Northern Branch of the Chicago Rock Island & Pacific R.R. for Terrill, IL. It commenced raining about 12-30 while I was at Augusta. It is a very cold rain and it looks pretty dreary to a stranger in a strange Country and all alone.

Tuesday 6th I got into Oklahoma City about 12 o'clock last night. Went to the K.C. rooming house and got a room and went to bed. Woke up about 8 o'clock and dressed, went and got my break-fast then went over to the Frisco depot. The train left there for St. Louis at 9:45 A.M. had my ticket signed and started for home. (We went through the Bad-Lands last night it was a tough looking country). Black loam E of Oklahoma City, fine farms. Miles and miles of white oak timber E. of O. City. Stopped 25 minutes for dinner at Sapulpa in the Indian Res. See the great oil Country, hundreds of wells in sight at Red Fork and Tulsa. The finest farm land I have seen is around Fairland.

Wednesday 7th Got into St. Louis this morning at 6-50. Left for Chicago at 8-59. Saw the first snow since we left Oklahoma T. Did not have a chance to look around the City any as I did not want to lay over here. It is awful muddy and nasty here in St. Louis to-day. A heavy fog is over everything. Met a man that had been down in Arkansas, he said the land was so poor that an Irishman and a jug of whiskey could not raise hell.

Came through Illinois to-day. Saw the first snow since we left Iowa the 21st of last month. The surface of the country is as level as a floor, the finest that I have seen since I left home. It is a

great corn country. Saw giant cribs of corn at the R.R. Stations all along the route in central and Eastern part of the State. Got in to Chicago at 4-50 P.M. took a hack from Frisco to the G. T. Depot. The train leaves for Battle Creek at 10-45 P.M. Got into Battle Creek at 2-55 A.M.

Thursday 8th Went over to Mary's Mother's house and got them up about 4-15 this morning. Ate Breakfast and dinner with them and started for Scotts on the G.T.R.R. at 12-30 P.M., got to Scotts and walked up home. Found the house locked and no one home.

From Monday, May 14, through Thursday, May 31, 1906: Return to Waynoka, and Life on the Farm

Monday 14th Fair. Got a letter from Asp Miller of Waynoka that my folks were not expected to live. I went to Kalamazoo via Battle Creek and borrowed $50 at the bank for 90 days.

Thursday 17th Fair. We got into Wichita at 6-45 this morning and had to lay over until 9-. Left Wichita at 9-15 and got into Waynoka at 3-45 P.M. It rained hard on the way down, never saw it rain harder. Got a chance to ride out part way, walked the rest of the way to Father's.

Friday 18th Rainy. Chored around the house all day.

Saturday 19th Cloudy. Father and I rode over to Waynoka with John Strawn in the afternoon. Rained in the evening.

Sunday 20th Rainy. Around the house all day.

Monday 21st Hot. I went over to John Strawns after the bread that Mrs. Strawns baked for Mother.

Tuesday 22nd Rainy. Hoed in the garden a little while today.

Wednesday 23rd Rainy. Hoed in the garden a little while.

Thursday 24th Rain, wind. Father and I took his mare "Nellie" to the horse at Waynoka. Got 2 letters from home. Heavy rain and wind storm west of us in the after-noon.

Friday 25th Fair. Hoed in the garden some to-day.

Saturday 26th Fair. Finished hoeing potatoes in the fore-noon. Father and I went over to Waynoka in the after-noon. I got a letter from Mary.

Sunday 27th Fair. Father, Mother and I went over to John Strawns visiting to-day.

Monday 28th Fair. I walked over to Waynoka in the after-noon. Got a letter from Mary.

Tuesday 29th Windy. Windy blew hard all day. Rained in the evening.

Wednesday 30th Hot, still. Father and I took his mare "Bird" to the horse to-day. I killed a whip-snake in the morning.

Thursday 31st Rainy. Father and I went across the river and went up on the top of "Jenny's" Mountain. Rained in the after-noon.

From Friday, June 1, through Monday, June 4, 1906: Kill Snakes, Leave for Michigan

Friday 1st Rainy. Got a letter from Mary.

Saturday 2nd Fair. I killed two Bull Snakes about 7 ft long this morning. Father and I went to Waynoka in the after-noon.

Sunday 3rd Cloudy. John Kirk and family was all over to Father's to-day. Mother went home with them. Father and I went over later. It rained hard all the evening.

Monday 4th Rainy. Started from Waynoka at 3-45 A.M. for home.

SOURCES: Gerald R. Taylor, Ludington, Michigan. Additional information by Don Davidson, Waynoka.

WHAT IS THE TEA PARTY PHENOMENON?: AN EXPLORATION ON WHETHER IT IS A POLITICAL MOVEMENT, A THIRD PARTY, OR SOMETHING ELSE

JOHN R. WOOD

Abstract: This paper is a study of the Tea Party, specifically in Oklahoma. This paper asks whether the Tea Party is a political social movement, a third party or something else. After in-depth interviews with a dozen Tea Party-affiliated leaders in Oklahoma, it seems that this phenomenon it not yet fixed and well-defined as it has characteristics that span across definitions—social movements, third parties, or it might even anticipate a proto-realignment of the electorate in transition.

Introduction

On a flag overhead, a timber rattlesnake is coiled up, spits as if it were to strike, over the words: "Don't Tread on Me."[1] Other marchers at a Tea Party rally hold another flag unfurled with the words scrolled on it: "Come and take it." American flags and signs are also found everywhere. The Gadsden Rattlesnake flag with the timber rattlesnake ready to strike is reminiscent of the American Revolution, and the "Come and take it" evokes images of the Texas Revolution in 1835.[2] O'Neal and Hook (2009) and Armey and Kibbe (2010) find that these Tea Party protests have sought to evoke images, slogans and themes from the American Revolution, even to the point of wearing colonial-style tri-corner hats in symbolic dissent.[3]

This Tea Party movement, which has seemingly taken the country by storm and is considered by many to be the force behind a GOP takeover of Congress, is still largely undefined by scholars. On the one hand, this Tea Party phenomenon seems to call to mind images of a social movement as evidenced by more than 200 protests in nearly two years and a lack of coherent hierarchy. However, this phenomenon also suggests a possible third party or even realignment evidenced by its name "party," its endorsement of candidates, and its electoral focus.

This paper examines the Tea Party as a case study to explore just what this new phenomenon represents, a political movement or a third party, or a party realignment, or even something else. It reviews the literature on social movements and party realignments and even interviews Oklahoma Tea Party advocates to obtain their view on this phenomenon. The Tea Party as a phenomenon is important to study because it might change the face of politics as we know it. The Tea Party is certainly significant because there is little in the way of in-depth scholarship on its organizational characteristics and, therefore, requires more study (See Williamson, Skocpol, and Coggin 2011). This study is also essential because even with this article's focus on the Oklahoma Tea Party, it seems that the image of the original Boston Tea Party in 1773 continues to inspire social change, not only in the United States, but worldwide from India to Lebanon to Rhodesia (Carp 2010).[4] Also, the Tea Party might highly influence the 2012 elections as it did

the midterm elections of 2010 (Fish 2010). This paper intends to explore the Tea Party as a case study to gain greater empirical knowledge of what it signifies to fill in the gap of current knowledge.

Literature Review

Background

The "Tea Party" name references the Boston Tea Party of more than 225 years ago, which focused on protesting "taxation without representation" (Bexley 2009; Armey and Kibbe 2010).[5] The letters in the word Tea are used by some protesters to create the acronym of "Taxed Enough Already" (Mullins 2009). On February 4, 2010, the first national convention for the Tea Party was held in Nashville, Tennessee, where 600 people attended, according to Fox News (Berger 2010). The National Tea Party Convention received ample media coverage with a featured speaker, former GOP Vice Presidential Candidate Sarah Palin (Weigel a 2010; Weigel b 2010; Vogel 2010). The event was criticized within the Tea Party, specifically the exorbitant ticket expense of several hundred dollars and for allowing the Tea Party Nation, which is a for-profit group to sponsor the event. In addition, Palin was roundly criticized for her rather large speaking fee at what was supposed to be a grassroots event. Some speculate that she received as much as $100,000 for her address.

The Tea Party has also proved influential in politics. Zernick (2010) says, for example, in a rather short time, the Tea Party movement has endorsed the successful election of their preferred candidates in Congressional primaries and state offices, and by some accounts it now exercises considerable influence or even a dominant influence within the Republican Party.

How It All Started

A housewife Mary Rakovich is said to have set up the first Tea Party protest (Armey and Kibbe 2010). She was trained by Freedom Works, a conservative non-profit that trains volunteers to protest and lobby. Her protest took place on February 10, 2009, on the Harborside Center in Fort Myers, Florida. However, others say the Tea Party was sparked on February 19, 2009, on the Chicago Mercantile Exchange floor while being broadcast by CNBC's Business News Network editor, Rick Santelli (Blumer 2009; Armey and Kibbe 2010). "We're thinking of having a Chicago Tea Party in July. All you capitalists that want to show up to Lake Michigan, I'm going to start organizing," he said. Santelli went on to criticize the government's plan to refinance mortgages because it promotes, in his words "bad behavior" when you are "subsidizing losers' mortgages."

Soon after the Tea Party started to make waves, it was already being characterized by politicians and pundits alike. Nancy Pelosi, House Majority Leader, claimed that the Tea Partiers were being manipulated by political groups on the Right: "This initiative is funded by the high end; we call it AstroTurf, it's not a grass-roots movement. It's AstroTurf by some of

the wealthiest people in America to keep the focus on tax cuts for the rich instead of for the great middle class."[6] In addition, Marc Cooper, in the *LA Times,* criticized the Tea Party connections: "This rash of tea parties is being organized not only by the pseudo-journalists at Fox News," but also by "a conservative lobbying outfit headed by former House Majority Leader Dick Armey."[7] Similarly, Joe Conason said the Tea Parties were coordinated by a "phalanx of Republicans" and were "promoted as a new phenomenon by the Fox News Channel."[8] Moreover, Rep. Jan Schakowsky of Illinois stated that the Tea Partiers were "an Obama-bashing party promoted by corporate interests, as well as Republican lobbyists and politicians."[9] Moreover, CNN's Susan Roesgen told viewers that this Tea Party "is highly promoted by the right-wing conservative network Fox."[10] Ben McGrath, staff writer for *The New Yorker*, further described the Tea Party as a "marriage of two main strains" of conservatives, those who are social conservatives and libertarians (Task 2010). "People who would have voted Republican historically but don't think of themselves as Republicans" any longer. They were also frustrated by the G. W. Bush era overspending or international activism (Task 2010). The Tea Party as a movement claims to be irate about government spending, Taibbi (2010) asserts; however, the reality remains that a vast majority of its members are former Bush supporters, who yawned through two terms of record deficits and spent the past two electoral cycles frothing not about spending, but about John Kerry's medals and Barack Obama's 1960s associations. In the Tea Party narrative, victory at the polls means a new American Revolution, one that will "take our country back" from everyone they disapprove of. But what they do not realize is that there is a catch: This is America, and we have an entrenched oligarchical system in place that insulates us all from any meaningful political change. The Tea Party today is being pitched in the media as this great threat to the GOP; in reality, the Tea Party is the GOP.[11]

Actually, Tea Partiers stand against government spending, Taibbi says, with the exception, of course, of the money spent on *themselves.* "In fact, their lack of embarrassment when it comes to collecting government largesse is key to understanding what this movement is all about—and nowhere do we see that dynamic as clearly as here in Kentucky, where Rand Paul is barreling toward the Senate with the aid of conservative icons like Palin." Bexley (2009: 51), however, contends that

> For now, the Tea Parties are far simpler than the government and mainstream media characterize them. The rallies are grassroots, organized by bloggers with no conclusive goal in mind. People attend the rallies for a broad variety of reason. They would not suddenly coalesce into a rightwing militia or secessionist group. For many attendees, the Tea Parties are simply a way to vent frustrations that have been building for many years.

Armey and Kibbe (2010: 4) argue that the Tea Party stands opposed to big government. And, they are trying to "take America back." They write further that this movement "has the opportunity to break the boom-and-bust cycle and restore a constitutionally limited government and bring fiscal sanity to Washington."

In fact, the GOP's new energized status might stem from the Tea Party.[12] Surveys from *The Washington Post*, the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, and Harvard University find that supporters of the Tea Party as well as other conservatives are actually the most animated and were geared up to work to get their friends and neighbors to vote in the 2010 elections. The survey measured voting attitudes, such as what is their interest in the elections, how the 2010 elections compare to their perceived importance in 2008, as well as their activities they are likely to participate in between today and the day of the 2012 election. Strong Tea Party movement supporters seemed to stand out. When it comes to the question of people interested in the upcoming election, interest spikes with those in the Tea Party constituency, the survey found that 43 percent of Democrats, 57 percent of Republicans, and 74 percent of Tea Party were supporters.[13] Even on Facebook they hold a presence, as Republicans outnumber Democrats on Facebook election pages (See Appendix A).[14] Armey and Kibbe (2010: 29) articulate that the "revolution, as it turned out, was not only televised. It was blogged, tweeted, texted, friended, and Facebooked.

Its Popularity?

It seems that a lot of people have heard of the Tea Party. In a *Newsweek* poll in September 2010, 73 percent said they knew something or heard something about the Tea Party.[15] In an AP poll also conducted in September 2010, 22 percent knew a great deal or a lot, 38 percent knew only some, and 41 percent knew very little or nothing at all.[16]

Though knowledge of the Tea Party is widespread, support for them is much different. In the same poll, the *Newsweek* survey asked if people were aware of them, and it asked whether they "support it, oppose it or have mixed opinions about it?"[17] Of those who are aware of the Tea Party, 19 percent support them, 23 percent oppose them and 29 percent are mixed. In the AP poll conducted around the same time, 29 percent held a favorable view and 34 percent had an unfavorable view.[18] Also, in this poll, it was asked if the person "generally agrees" or "disagrees" or "neither" with the Tea Party's political issues. It seems that 34 percent agree, 31 percent disagree, and 30 percent neither agree or disagree.[19] Finally, the AP questioned people on whether they are supporters of the Tea Party Movement. In this poll, 28 percent are supporters, but 68 percent are not supporters.[20] Also, while nearly a third of those surveyed support them, backing remains quite partisan, with most of them being Republicans. However, it seems that a July 2010 Gallup poll finds that the Tea Partiers are mostly Republicans and overlap with them 80 percent of the time.[21]

Getting Back to the Constitution

Tea Party supporters often characterize their movement's core goal as reclaiming the Constitution and returning America to its Constitutional principles (Goldstein 2010). Typically, "the Tea Party supporters do not invoke the Constitution as a text in need of interpretation, but instead as a repository of what they consider the fundamental and unchallengeable values upon which the nation was founded" (Goldstein 2010: abstract).

A Tea Party's vision of the Constitution is written in two books written in the 1980s by W. Cleon Skousen enthusiastically embraced by the Tea Party movement. *The Five Thousand Year Leap* is frequently characterized as the "bible" of the Tea Party movement (Von Drehle 2010). It was released in 1981; however, this book has lingered virtually unknown until Fox News Commentator Glenn Beck began touting it as offering the "answers to the questions plaguing America."[22] The Tea Party movement harkens back to a mythical past, the nation's founding, to unearth and justify their view of the nation's fundamental principles, which these believers perceive to be under attack, i.e., belief in God, individualism, limited government, the free market, and the sanctity of private property. Uncompromising adherence to the fundamental principles embodied in the Constitution serves, for Tea Party supporters, to divide true believers in this constitutional faith from those "anti-Americans" like President Obama, the Democratic Party and other Progressives, whom they fear are actively seeking to undermine America (Jacobson 2010). Jost (2010) argues that the "states' rights" lawsuits are meritless. These lawsuits assume that that the individual mandate to have health insurance is an unconstitutional extension of federal commerce power. He asserts further that these resolutions suggesting that federal law would not apply within particular states' borders and are null and void as a matter of the Constitution's Supremacy Clause.

Though the U.S. Constitution is a secular document, many in the Tea Party have another take: "The Founders' masterpiece isn't just a legal document; it's a 'covenant' based on 'divine principles,'" U.S. Senate candidate Christine O'Donnell of Delaware said (Romano 2010). Many in the Tea Party movement make the claim that their platform of lower taxes, less regulation, and minimal federal government comes clearly from the original text of the Constitution.

Taxes

"A mainstay of the movement is to hold Tea Party protest events throughout the country on April 15th of each year to protest high taxes and government spending" (Gardner and Ruane 2010). Signs at Tea Party rallies typically rail against high taxation.[23] "And the no taxation without representation catch phrase is often heard at modern day tea party rallies" (Fisher 2010).

Racism?

In a survey by the University of Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity, Race and Sexuality conducted in early 2010, Tea Party members "appear racially intolerant" (Multi-state survey of Race & Politics, 2010). In the survey, Christopher Parker controlled for both conservatism and partisanship, and even with these controls, support for the Tea Party seems to remain as an applicable predictor of racial hatred.[24] For example, only 35 percent of Tea Partiers surveyed felt that Blacks are hardworking, while only 45 percent found Blacks intelligent and only 41 percent considered Blacks trustworthy.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) charges that the Tea Party is racist as well (Travis 2010). In July, the NAACP members passed a measure at their 101st Annual Convention in Kansas City, Missouri. Benjamin Jealous, NAACP executive director, said in defense of the report: "We take issue with the Tea Party's continued tolerance for bigotry and bigoted statements."[25]

Additionally, the Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights published a report called "Tea Party Nationalism."[26] The report connects Tea Party partners and militias, anti-immigrant organizations and white-power groups. An example of which is the Council of Conservative Citizens, which opposes all efforts to "mix the races of mankind."

On top of this, in July 2010, Tea Party Express spokesman Mark Williams was banished from the Tea Party for a satirical mock letter to Abraham Lincoln *(DeLong 2010).* In the letter, Williams wrote of the "absurdity of a group that calls blacks 'Colored People' hurling charges of racism" (McMorris-Santoro 2010).

However, UCLA doctoral student and Cato Institute intern Emily Eakins claims the Tea Party is not racist based on a study of their protest signs. She took pictures of various signs at the D.C. 9/12 event. More than half the signs at the rally advocated for limited government or warned against waning freedom, with little or no evidence of racism (Boaz 2010).

Future Directions for Tea Partiers?

"Where is the Tea Party movement headed?" (Bexley 2009: 44). "It depends on the response of the Obama administration and the Pelosi-Reid Congress. If they scale back their plans, the movement will dissipate. If they continue to scoff at the Tea Partiers and persist in their imperial plans, the movement will only grow."

Bexley (2009) argues that there are four possible outcomes: If the Democratic leadership ignores Tea Partiers, they will be voted out of power in 2010 and 2012. If heeded, they will revise the "horrific" Federal budget. The Tea Party could also lead a third party movement with candidates in the 2010 or 2012 elections.[27] "A third party would serve as the opposition whether it was Republicans or Democrats in the majority" (Bexley 2009: 50). "A third party would return power to Congress. Only a few congressional victories would be required to put a check on the Republicans and Democrats. The Tea Party movement could very well be in its grassroots beginnings" (Bexley 2009: 51).

Viable secessionist movements also could spring up. Therefore, is this phenomenon a social movement, third party, or a party realignment?

Political Social Movement?

According to social movement scholar Charles Tilly (1978), a social movement is one where people in it would present a succession of contentious performances, displays and campaigns whereby people make joint declarations on others. If protests are the mark of a social movement, the Tea Party has this down in spades. The Tea Party had nearly 150 dates for protests for 2009 alone with certain dates, such as the April 15 (tax day), August 22 (anti-Obama Care) and September 12 (called by Glenn Beck), holding nation-wide protests.[28] From January to April 2010, nearly 50 protests dates erupted, most of which occurred specifically on April 15.[29]

Under another definition, Sidney Tarrow (1994: 3-4) defines a social movement as "collective challenges by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interactions with elites, opponents and authorities." Social movements are on the mind of conservative commentator Glenn Beck who borrowed from a left-wing book by Bill Moyer, *The Eight Stages of Social Movement Success*[30] as reported in both the Potomac Tea Party Report[31] and Americans for Legal Immigration.[32] According to bloggers on these Websites, Beck claims the Tea Party is currently at Moyer's fifth stage. In this stage, people are demoralized, tired and want to quit. It is important therefore, to have a leader, i.e., Sarah Palin. Beck is excited, though, to focus on stage five because it is supposed to move toward stage six where the movement itself transforms from one that is about protesting and turns away from collective action toward a more long-term struggle with power-holders to oppose current policies and win over public opinion. This stage six is still to be realized if the movement itself persists.

In addition, not only are Tea Partiers borrowing from Moyers, who stands on the left, they also borrow from Saul Alinsky, who wrote *Rules for Radicals*. Charly Gullett based his book, *Official Tea Party Handbook: A Tactical Playbook for Tea Party Patriots,* on Alinsky, but it was intended for those on the political right. Gullett (2010: 19) wants to use the tools of the left to defeat it.

My theme, here and elsewhere, is that this changing the tide of socialism in America is not about embracing the evils of the liberal left; it is about recognizing their methods and then finding ways to transform those methods into the defeat of socialism.

Third Party?

A third party in the United States is currently a party not aligned with either the Republicans or Democrats (Bibby and Schaffner 2008). This two-party system is set up by a winner-take-all set of rules. We call this Duvenger's Law where one of either party will materialize; alternatively a moderate party must fall short, as the voters settle for the two strongest parties, in other words, polarization (Duverger 1972).[33]

Third parties are a lot "like bees…. Once they have stung, they die" (Hofstadter 1955: 90). He argues though that while third parties not only have a short life span and do not seem to

achieve much electoral success, they alternatively influence election outcomes and party platforms directly. However, a July 2010 *Politico* poll finds that Washington elites are doubtful the Tea Party will be a third party, as only 11 percent surveyed thinks it will "become a viable third party in American politics," while 24 percent of the rest of the country says the same (Barr 2010).

Realignments and Proto-Realignment?

Realignment occurs when new issues seem to break up the current coalitions supporting either of the two major parties (Bibby and Schaffner 2008). One of the greatest of changes which occurs in politics is the realignment (Euchner 1996). He explains that when fundamental loyalties transform and noteworthy slices of the party's alliances switch to the other side, this is signifies realignment.

Today, the Tea Party is reacting to a possible realignment period of elections. Is the Tea Party a "proto-realignment phenomenon?"[34] This phenomenon might mark the rise of a third party because of the inability of the major parties to meet the expectations of the public (See Burnham 1970). For example, the Free Soil Party in 1848 rose up, preceding the Whigs' collapse and the appearance of the Republican Party.[35] Often these third parties bring issues to the public consciousness, such as the Free Soilers with slavery, the Populists on farmers' plights, Progressives with economic problems of the industrial revolution, and former presidential candidate Ross Perot on a rather large federal budget (Bibby and Schafner 2008).

According to Burnham (1970; 1986), four basic phases lead to a realignment. First, citizens join together around specific critical issues. In this phase, society's tensions flare up because these mobilizations are not sufficiently organized. Party politics are business as usual.[36] In the second phase, a "third party revolt" erupts whereby the parties in power cannot integrate the important issues of the day within their platforms.[37] In the third phase, a clash or flashpoint arises where parties actually focus on dealing with this neglected tension. Finally, a significant public policy transformation occurs whereby elites change their behavior in the governmental institutions.

Here is presented a list of elections most often cited as "realigning," with disagreements noted:

Election	Under	Proto-realignments
1800	Thomas Jefferson	
1828	Andrew Jackson	Free Soil Party
1860	Abraham Lincoln	Populists
1896	William McKinley	
1932	Franklin D. Roosevelt	Bull Moose; Progressive Party
1964 or	LBJ & Nixon	States Rights (Dixiecrats)

1968*		
1980*	Reagan	George Wallace
1994*	Senate	Ross Perot
2006*	Senate	
2008*	Barack Obama	

Figure 1 – Realignments and Proto-realignments from 1896 to 2008.
**Possible modern realigning elections in the United States. (See Burnham 1970 & 1986) for elections years from 1896 to 1968.*

Angus Campbell (1966: 63-77) identified three types of elections: "maintaining," "deviating" and "realigning."[38] All of these classifications are based generally on the idea that there is a "loose periodicity" to electoral change. Walter Dean Burnham concluded that a "critical election," indicating realignment of party affiliations, should occur approximately every 30 years.

In the first realignment in U.S. history, the 1800 election showcased the turnover of power from the Federalists led by Alexander Hamilton to Thomas Jefferson's Democratic-Republican Party (Chambers 1963). During this time, the power establishment itself seemed to shift from New England to the South.

The second realignment election of 1828 was significant in that the Democratic-Republicans actually split into two parties, the Democrats and the Whigs (Silby 1991). Tennessee's Andrew Jackson and New York's Martin Van Buren led the Democrats. However, in 1832 the Whigs, led by Kentucky's Henry Clay, materialized to oppose Andrew Jackson.

The Free Soil Party is considered by Burnham (1970; 1986) to be the first proto-realignment phenomenon. The Free Soil Party was a rather short-lived third party, as it was viable during the 1848 and 1852 presidential elections. This party was filled with abolitionists, hence "free men on free soil." The Free Soil Party did elect a couple of U.S. senators and fourteen U.S. representatives; however, their nominee Martin Van Buren did not fare as well at the polls, losing to Zachary Taylor. With the Whigs' collapse in 1852, party alignments fell into anarchy, and several third parties materialized, two of which stood prominently, the Opposition Party and the Know Nothings (Silby 1991). The Free Soil Party, though, is noted for moving anti-slave Democrats to make a coalition with the Whigs, to form a new party called the Republican Party in 1856 (Foner 1995). By 1858, there appeared some stabilization, and by the 1860 election, it launched the genuine Republican Party's birth after Abraham Lincoln overcame three other challengers with a stalwart majority. The Republican ascendance might be largely attributed to its pledge to the ending of slavery—a contiguous cause of southern secession. The GOP took up the mantle of nationalism, and during the war the GOP switched from a long-term to a short-term goal of ending slavery.

The Democratic coalition arose out of labor and Agrarian Populism (Euchner 1996). Started in 1887, it was composed of mainly wheat farmers from the plains coupled with poor white cotton farmers in the south (Formisano 2009). It embodied an agrarian hostility against the railroads, bankers and, generally, the elite. The Populists and Democrats worked together in 1896 to elect the failed candidacy of William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska. This disastrous party fusion positioned the Republicans into prominence.

The 1896 election was considered to be a backlash against Populism (Euchner 1996). Burnham considers this year to be the definitive realignment, pointing out that this election changed elections forever. To illustrate, voting alignments were transformed, new leaders arose, and post-civil war issues came to the fore (Dinkin 1999). Moreover, a historical shift began, where political fundraising for office was fused with support from private business interests. William McKinley outspent William Jennings Bryan 10 to 1, much of which originated from businesses. McKinley's tactics were developed by Mark Hanna and helped him effectively defeat Bryan, marking a huge transition into modern campaigning. At the same time, Bryan invented the modern technique of campaigning heavily in closely contested states. Furthermore, Bryan's populist message and class conflict issues put Democrats on a new footing and new direction. In 1896 and then again in 1900, McKinley's victory represented a pluralist triumph, whereby several different groups shared in a new era of prosperity brought about by rapid industrial growth (Gould 1972; Burnham 1986).

In another realignment, the Bull Moose Party, also known as the Progressive Party, was formed after a split in the Republican Party, specifically between Teddy Roosevelt, the former president, and the current president at the time, William Howard Taft, in 1912 (Jensen 2000). By 1936, the GOP split again into two: 1) the conservatives, primarily dominant in the midwest and West; and 2) the liberals, who predominantly came from the northeast, also working with the progressive Republicans who have been active for much of the early part of the 20th century. This splitting of the GOP helped Roosevelt and the Democrats gain power and maintain it for decades.

The year 1932 is most highly regarded among political scientists as a realignment year—indeed, the model realigning election (Schafer 1991). New Deal policies, developed in response to the crash of 1929 and the gloom of the Great Depression, seemed to represent an entirely new phenomenon in American politics. In many ways, FDR's legacy still defines the Democratic Party. This legacy created a durable New Deal Coalition of white southerners, unionists, big city machines, intellectuals, Jews, and Catholics. In 1936, African-Americans were added to the coalition. Pittsburgh, for example, once a Republican stronghold from the Civil War to the 1930s, abruptly became strongly Democratic (Frederickson 2001).

When Harry Truman ran for president in 1948, Henry Wallace resurrected the Progressive Party and Strom Thurmond stormed out of the Democratic Party convention over states rights issues (Frederickson 2001). Thurmond created a third party called the "Dixiecrat" or "States Rights Democratic Party." It is said that "Dixiecrats" started weakening the Democratic Party's

stranglehold over presidential elections in the Deep South. Thurmond won several southern states and nine electoral votes.

In another realignment, the two elections—1964 and 1968—revealed a steep rise in racial tensions, creating the overriding issue of cleavage in American politics (Perlstein 2008; Rosenof 2003; Shafer 1991). The 1968 election itself is often cited because of the innovative campaign strategy of Richard Nixon (Perlstein 2008). When Nixon ran against Hubert Humphrey, he used the "Southern strategy" where appealing to southern white voters in his push for "states' rights," specifically focusing on fighting federal court orders for the busing of school children. Democrats objected to Nixon's exploitation of white southerners' racial fears (Perlstein 2008). In addition, FDR's New Deal coalition, lasting for more than 30 years, faltered after Vietnam protesters coupled with urban riots in the mid-1960s tore apart this coalition, preparing the way for the GOP reemergence. Nixon's resignation postponed that realignment until Ronald Reagan.

Former Alabama Governor George Wallace's candidacy helped to change the political direction of American politics and turn politicians to the conservative cause again (Converse 1969). Many people in 1968 were upset at Johnson, but not necessarily the Democrats. They were dissatisfied with the long-lasting Vietnam War, civil rights protests and law and order issues. At this time, Wallace peeled away many Democrats who were attracted to Nixon, thereby creating a threat to the traditional Democratic base.

In Reagan's election of 1980, his overwhelming victory dominated an incumbent Democrat Jimmy Carter with 44 states and all but 10 percent of the electoral vote. Moreover, the GOP took control of the Senate for the first time in more than 25 years. Rosenof (2003 & Shafer 1991) viewed Reagan's policy paradigm as amply new to consider this a realigning election. However, Mayhew (2004) argues that the House did not change. Actually, the Republican Party claimed fewer seats in 1983 than ten years prior. Additionally, the Republicans actually only held on to the Senate for just six years.[39]

Jenkins *et al.* (2006) find that 1994 was a realigning election, because Republicans won majorities in both the House and the Senate. The GOP took control of both the House and Senate for the first time in 52 years. Newt Gingrich and his "Contract with America" coordinated election races around the country with a core theme. In addition, just by the overpowering nature of the Republicans' victory, they gained 54 seats. Not until 2006 did either party take more than 10 seats in the House; such a sea change points to realignment.

During a Meet the Press segment, the *Washington Post's* E. J. Dionne speculated that the 2006 midterm election might have been a realigning election, too *(Meet the Press* 2006). Dionne argued that "I think this election was really that conservative crackup that people have been talking about for 20 years, and it never quite materializes, . . . but I really think the whole approach of the—you know, the Reagan approach, but in particular the approach of the Republican revolution in Congress was overturned."

Since the 2008 elections when the Democrats extended their majorities in both Congressional chambers and the Presidency by wide margins, either 2006 or 2008 might be "critical" elections in succession with long-lasting impact, much like FDR's win in 1932 or even the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980.

Methods

Case Study

Yin (1994: 23) describes a case study as a question that empirically examines a current and observable occurrence "within its real-life context." Case studies are useful when the distinctions between the context and the phenomenon itself are not essentially clear and use more than one source of evidence to examine it. My interviews concentrate on individuals in Oklahoma who are affiliated with Tea Party groups around the state. More specifically, I interviewed a dozen activist leaders from seven different groups: the OKC Tea Party, the Tulsa 9/12 Project, Tulsa Tea Party, and OKC 9/12 group, John Birch Society, OK for Tea, and the Sooner Tea Party. I was able to obtain interviews with some by not revealing their names. Though some interviewees did not care, I wanted to keep all the interviews consistent with the same 15 questions and same condition of anonymity.

There are approximately thirty such groups to choose from in the state (See Appendix C). I was able to "snowball" interviews by first asking if there are other important people to talk with about the Tea Party. Snowballing is where you interview people who know people who are knowledgeable about the topic at hand (Miles and Huberman 1994: 28). It seems that these participants were quite willing not only to talk with me, but to let others talk with me as well.

I utilized semi-structured set of issues/topics to guide the discussion (See Appendix B). Each interview took from 45 minutes to an hour and a half.

Discussion and Findings

From my interviews and revisiting the literature review, it seems that it is not clear whether this phenomenon is squarely a political social movement or a third party. It has attributes of both. I will first examine the idea of a political social movement and then a third party or a possible proto-realignment transition into a third party. What is common is that whether it is a movement or a party, this phenomenon is a nongovernmental political organization or set of organizations with the goal of getting issues on the political agenda, framing issues, and influencing public opinion (Burstein and Linton 2002).

Who Is in the Tea Party?

One Tea Party activist interviewed stated, "We come from various backgrounds—older, younger, richer and poorer. Really, we are just regular people who are upset with the direction

of our country." A survey finds that those in the Tea Party are actually wealthier and better educated than the public in general (Zernike and Thee-Brenan 2010). The survey further found that these Tea Partiers tend to be white, male, married, older than 45, and Republican. They are also more conservative than Republicans, often describing President Barak Obama as "very liberal" and they themselves as "very conservative."

Another Tea Party activist said that he was not active until President Obama claimed that "embittered Pennsylvanians 'Cling to Guns or Religion.' That just hit me the wrong way. Now, I'm active in trying to get things done. And, I'm doing it." A third Tea Party activist explained that she was not active until she watched Glenn Beck. "I guess you won't be surprised that I really like Glenn Beck, but he's a real inspiration." She said that last year she started hosting Glenn Beck watch parties and then opened a 9/12 chapter, even traveling to the April 15 tax protests in Washington D.C. "I was just a housewife and now I'm an activist because I really think our country is moving in the wrong direction."

Political Social Movement or a Party?

Following Tarrow's definition is tougher. It does seem that the Tea Party does not have common purposes across groups, but one stands out, "The Contract from America,"[40] with a platform of:

Protect the Constitution
Reject Cap & Trade
Demand a Balanced Budget
Enact Fundamental Tax Reform
Restore Fiscal Responsibility & Constitutionally Limited Government in Washington
End Runaway Government Spending
Defund, Repeal, and Replace Government-run Health Care
Pass "All-of-the-Above" Energy Policy
Stop the Pork
Stop the Tax Hikes.

Meyer and Tarrow (1998) define a social movement as one that articulates ideas and seeks explicit action from the government. If it were a social movement, it would possibly follow either Aberle's (1966) typology of reform or alternative movements. From interviews, I would typify it as reformative and conservative. But both individual and supra-individual reforms are cited.

However, DiMaggio (2010) argues that the Tea Party is not a social movement for four reasons: 1) this movement abhors collective action; 2) there is too much uniformity of rhetoric; 3) absence of local organizing is evident; and 4) partisan-based election activity is more emphasized than grassroots protest. However, from the interviews and the literature, DiMaggio might make some points, but he also appears wrong on others. For example, just because Ayn Rand, whom many Tea Partiers adore, has contempt for protesting, the fact is that the public knows about

them primarily from their protests and other collective activities. Those I interviewed find that protesting is effective for getting their voice out, albeit it seems that protest activity has lulled a bit. Meyer (2007: 87) calls protesting a place to give people their voice, which he calls "Communicative Action."[41]

Also, Meyer (2007) points out that social movements often pick an anniversary to protest, and the Tea Party has chosen both April 15, tax day, and September 12, the day after the events of 9/11, to hold huge protest events. A Tea Party leader I interviewed said, "We protest because we want our voices to be heard, but it's also a way for us to get together face-to-face so we don't feel alone." Another activist stated: "We protest because anytime people are afraid, or when they are being impinged upon, there is an emotional reaction." However, another Tea Party activist explained: "The time for protesting is over with. You won't see us out there anymore. We would rather be in the state legislature, working on bills that we know can get passed with our work." Seven of the twelve interviewed either never focused on protests or are transitioning to lobbying instead.

Moreover, DiMaggio states that there is a lack of local organizing, but this claim is false as well, as nearly thirty Tea Party affiliated groups are found in Oklahoma.[42] One activist noted that his group was successful in stopping a $3-phone tax in April 2010 at the Oklahoma state capitol. He said that their group helped get phone calls out to legislators daily to defeat the legislation. The phone tax failed.

DiMaggio does make a point, though, when it comes to a uniformity of rhetoric and their focus somewhat on election activity over grassroots activity. It seems that from my interviews, most of the Tea Party participants have similar arguments, similar inspirational leaders, and read common books. However, the progressive party's many reiterations would be an example of like-minded people who get together. Therefore, this does not fully dismiss activity of the Tea Party as a social movement. In contrast, many groups from the John Birch Society, the 9/12ers, and several strips of Tea Party groups are left on their own in various cities across America. Each seems to have its own identity with little direction from a central location. They do seem to read the same books, look up to similar personalities, such as Glenn Beck, mentioned nine times in my interviews; Rush Limbaugh four times; Frank Santelli three times; and overwhelmingly the Founding Fathers (or a specific Founding Father) were the most widespread inspiration, mentioned eleven times out of twelve interviewed. One activist noted: "My inspiration is our Founding Fathers, they literally risked their life for us." Another activist, who gave a religious connotation to the Foundation Fathers, said, "Our Founding Fathers had great intellect, the way they took their faith in God, they reflected God's Kingdom."

In addition, the Tea Party focuses on electoral activities, but they do not have actual candidates; they only endorse candidates. In my dozen interviews with leaders in the Oklahoma Tea Party coalition of groups, only one said they thought this phenomenon was a social movement. He said, "We are not a party, . . . more of a social movement, an advocacy group of sorts." He paused and noted that he saw the movement as not transformative, but to "return the

Republican Party to follow the path they are supposed to follow—the true conservatives. They need to 'walk the walk.'" Another Tea Party leader said that she wants to see her organization "move the GOP to be in line with its actual platform." She commented further that "the current Republican Party has gone way off track, our nation is a Christian nation." In fact, eleven of the twelve Tea Party members I interviewed said that the Republican Party needs to adhere to the actual Republican Party Platform.

Furthermore, Armey and Kibbe (2010: 135), both from Freedom Works, state: "So if the Tea Party movement wants to be politically effective in turning an ethos into public policy, we need to take over the Republican Party." They say further, "Notice that we call for a hostile takeover. We didn't say 'join the Republican Party'" (p. 136). Whether the Tea Party wants to change or take over the Republican Party, it seems that the GOP is the main target. This focus on electoral activity backs DiMaggio's assertion that the Tea Party is not really a social movement.

Matt Kibbe, executive director of the Tea Party Express, says the Tea Party does not have a national party structure or official spokespeople.[43] One Tea Party member said that no leaders and no coherent ideas are in common among its groups.

Furthermore, though the Tea Party is fielding a national slate of candidates, several disparate beliefs among many Tea Party members and a lack of any organized electoral platform or strategy continue to divide the movement (Rucker 2010; Gerhart & Rucker 2010). For example, in Colorado the Tea Party has bitterly splintered over an open governor's seat between two candidates, newcomer Dan Maes and former Republican Rep. Tom Tancredo, creating animosity within the state groups (Simon 2010).

On the one hand, it seems that this phenomenon is a social movement because it does exhibit collective action and is grassroots-oriented, at least in Oklahoma. On the other hand, it is unlike a social movement because it is focused more on electoral activity and there is a lot of uniformity in thinking. For all that, the various Tea Party platforms are not necessarily coordinated.

Third Party?

Downs (1957) and Schlesinger (1985) define a party as an entity focused on maximizing votes. "We're not wanting to be a third party," Matt Ney, Pearland Tea Party Patriots founder, said (Gardner 2010). "We're not wanting to endorse individual candidates ever. What we're trying to do is be activists by pushing a conservative idea." This orientation does not seem like a party either.

However, there is lots of third party activity,[44] "We need a third party on the stage of the next presidential debate to look Americans in the eye and say: 'These two parties are lying to you.'"[45] There seems to be a groundswell of people interested in forming a third party. For

example, a *USA Today*/Gallup Poll in August 2010 found that as many as 58 percent said they thought a third party is necessary.[46]

Moreover, the Tea Party endorsed at least 70 candidates nationwide (Blood 2010). However, Karpowitz, Monson, Patterson, and Pope (2011) find that Tea Party endorsement strategies were mixed at best. Gardner (2010) finds that surveying "hundreds of local tea party groups reveal a different sort of organization, one that is not so much a movement as a disparate band of vaguely connected gatherings." She also found that few surveyed felt that they were part of a coordinated effort.

Burnham (1970) contends that if a party reaches five percent or more of the national vote they are more likely than not to be associated with realignment. Karpowitz, Monson, Patterson, and Pope (2011) did find that the Tea Party Express and Sarah Palin endorsed candidates who seemed to gain 8 to 9 percentage points more than candidates without such endorsements.

However, this trend is something that is hard to measure measured since no Tea Party candidates will actually be elected, but will only be endorsed. One Tea Party activist observed that "it won't be a third party." Instead, it is going to "either die, be consumed by the Republican Party, or end up a bunch of militia groups, which is certainly the last thing we need."

Grounds for a Proto-Realignment?

Evidence indicates that this new phenomenon is associated with a fertile ground for a proto-realignment. Burnham (1979 & 1986) noted several characteristics of a proto-realignment: 1) significant ideological polarization; 2) third party activity (see previous section); 3) increased issue voting; 4) reduced confidence in political parties; and 5) increased numbers of independent voters. Each characteristic will be examined in turn.

First, on the matter of ideological polarization, evidence points to a rise in polarization in media use.[47] For example, in an April 2010 CBS News/*NYTimes* survey, Fox News is preferred by 63 percent of those in the Tea Party, while 59 percent view Glenn Beck favorably. However, in the general public only 23 percent favor Fox and 18 percent for Beck.[48] In addition, the Gallup Poll finds that President Obama is the most polarizing president in its history. His first-year ratings averaged a 65-point gap between Republicans and Democrats. Obama's approval ratings have actually become slightly more polarized thus far in his second year in office. In his second year his average reached a 69-point gap between being favored by Democrats (83%) and Republicans (14%) since late January.[49] Similarly, Congress has become more polarized.[50] Many of those I interviewed blamed the liberals and progressives for what ails them. One interviewee stated: "I blame the deficit on Obama and his policies." Another interviewee summed up her concerns: "I see an overarching arm of the current government. We've moved away from our Founding Fathers' values." Party polarization is also greater across all major policy dimensions (Layman, Carsey, and Horowitz 2005). These authors blame the polarization on the increase of party

activism on both sides, and therefore both parties tend to support more extreme candidates and issues.

Third, the matter of issue voting has grown. For example, the Gallup Poll in 2010 found that those "naming issues as the more important factor is at its highest measurement on record in a nearly two-decade-long Gallup trend"; however, this trend is similar to other midterm elections.[51] Moreover, polarization has marked the issue of health care.[52] For example, a Tea Party activist said in an interview, "We need to return the values we lost in our schools. We took God out of schools. Obama Care is an example of this, too." Another Tea Party activist expressed worry about spending: "We are tax and spending way too much. We don't have it and China is carrying the load and now our children are going to have to take on that burden." A third activist stated: "Congress is governing against the will of the people . . . 60 percent are against Obama Care. They are arrogant. I know what's best for me, not someone who is a thousand miles away."

Fourth, there seems also to be a reduction in the confidence in the two political parties. For example, an ABC poll finds a lack of confidence in either party, a percentage that has increased from 7 percent to 18 percent from 2006 to 2010.[53] Nine of the twelve Tea Party activists interviewed stated that they are not partisan and that both Republicans and Democrats share the blame. "You know this all started way before Obama took office. It started with Woodrow Wilson. I might prefer conservative views, and will vote Republican because it's just closer to my views, but I am a registered independent."

Fifth, regarding independents, their numbers have increased[54] from 23 percent in 2007 to 31 percent in 2008. Increasing numbers of voters identify themselves as independents.[55] Though self-identified independents have fallen slightly in recent years, about 30 percent of American voters still say they are independents.[56] Similarly, Oklahomans saw a rise in independent voting up to 11.3 percent in 2010.[57] In opinion polls overall, though, people are not neutral as independents are assumed to be, but are more conservative today than they were only four years ago, above all with what should be the government's proper role. More of them not only describe themselves as conservative, but support smaller government, and have more overall distrust and anger toward government (Killman 2010). "Around the nation, and Oklahoma is no different, there has been a rise in voters who are not affiliated with a political party," Oklahoma State Election Board Secretary Paul Ziriax said. Today, independents now represent 40 percent of the electorate nationwide and are playing a major role in national and local politics.[58] Additionally, political independents reached a 70-year high in 2010.[59] Not surprisingly, then, 40 percent of the population prefer Republicans, while 35 percent of prefer Democrats. Just a few years ago, the Democrats led by 19 points in a 43 percent to 24 percent tally when asked which party is more able to improve the job situation.[60] It seems that the Tea Party's recent rise parallels the Republicans' popularity and somewhat among the independents.[61]

Conclusions

Some evidence suggests that this new phenomenon called the Tea Party might fall somewhere between a social movement and a third party. It possesses attributes of both. This conclusion is reinforced by Karpowitz, Monson, Patterson, and Pope (2011: 308) who find that there is a "need for time to sort out the relationship between the movement and the Republican Party" itself.

Also, the idea that this phenomenon is a proto-realignment is appealing, as it fits Burnham's understanding of the historical conditions required before realignment occurs.

The Tea Party is known for its collective action around the country from its protest action as early as February 2009 until today. It also lacks some coherence in its agenda with multiple groups claiming one. In addition, considerable grassroots activity remains uncoordinated without any central entity. Thus it seems to fit a social movement. However, its strong focus on electoral politics rather than cultural or social change makes it a poor fit for a social movement status.

Is the Tea Party a third party? Though calling itself a party and having held a party convention, it has yet neither established a party platform nor does it elect official candidates. Instead, it endorses primarily the most conservative Republican candidates. Perhaps it finds itself at an early stage of development and is laying the groundwork as a legitimate party. Specifically, it is more of a proto-realignment, and the external forces seem ripe: 1) high ideological polarization; 2) considerable third party activity; 3) increased issue voting; 4) diminished confidence in two-party political parties; and 5) the number of independent voters on the rise. Most of those in the Tea Party interviewed do not claim it as a party, some only as a movement of sorts, but really it represents an effort to "take back the Republican Party," or, "to make the Republican Party follow its own platform." Does this mean that the movement is in transition?

It seems that of the four basic phases of realignment as noted in the literature review, this phenomenon is in phase two (See Burnham 1970; 1986). The current Tea Party reflects this second phase where there is a "third party revolt" as leaders associated with Tea Party groups in Oklahoma seem to ignore the integration of the important issues of the day within their party platforms. If the GOP pays attention and integrates Tea Party ideas into their platform, they will move into Burnham's third phase of realignment.

This article's findings are preliminary, as the Presidential election in 2012 will prove telling, especially if it proves to be a "critical election." Many Tea Party representatives who have been quite critical of the GOP's presidential candidate **Mitt Romney** now see their influence on the party itself with his vice presidential running mate Represenative **Paul Ryan** of Wisconsin (Balz 2012). This development is important as protest activity left the spotlight, dwindling since the 2010 election with a shift in activities to local elections (Arrillaga 2012). This time of quietude could have meant the Tea Party is or was in abeyance, where in social movement literature, a

movement temporarily ceases protesting in order to concentrate on maintaining their identity and values (Sawyers & Meyers 1999). Only time will tell.

As the federal government's fiscal crisis talks loom beyond the 2012 election, will this Tea Party strengthen or split the Republican Party as expected if it is indeed a proto-realignment? Or will it flicker and die once some of the more conservative candidates are elected? Or, is it merely in transition, as Kitschelt and Wilkerson (2007) argue, when third parties in other democratic systems frequently are set in motion initially as a social movement and serve as an important catalyst in transporting novel and unresolved issues and unrepresented interests into the political arena?

Future Directions

As with any qualitative study, this study is based on a broad array of literature both for and against the Tea Party, but the interviews were only conducted in Oklahoma. Therefore, it is not advocating that the ideas presented can be generalized to all of America. Future research could include interviews of people across many states. Additional research could also explore issue emphasis, organizational makeup and structure. A future study could also concentrate on a quantitative analysis based on a much larger sample of surveys.

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Appendix A - Facebook Pages

Facebook Pages - Tea Party in Oklahoma	**Likes**	**Members**
Tea Party Patriots (national group)	853,822	
Oklahoma City Tea Party		2,841
Sooner Tea Party		466
The 9-12 Project - Oklahoma Chapter		385
Oklahoma Conservative Constitutionalist Group		76
Oklahoma Tea Party		63
Grady County Tea Party		59
Tea Party Patriots: Oklahoma Chapter		21
South West Oklahoma Tea Party Patriots		16
Boston Tea Party Oklahoma		15
Tea Party People of Oklahoma		12
Oklahoma Tea Party		1
Oklahoma Tea Party Students		1
Oklahoma Tea Party	11	
Tea Party Patriots of Oklahoma	17	
Coffee Party USA - Central Oklahoma (Democratic)		215

Appendix B – Open Survey

Tea Party Survey

What do you see is the problem that motivates you to be a part of the Tea Party? In other words, what are you critiquing?

What or whom is to blame for all these problems you are against?

Do you feel the system is unjust? If so, how?

What is or are the solution(s) to the problem or problems that you seek to fix?

How do you motivate people or basically "call them to arms" to solve this or these problems?

Who would you say are your inspirations? Those you look for to inspire you?

How is the Oklahoma group funded? Donations? Fundraisers?

Who is in the Tea Party? What types of people?

Are you wanting to change politicians? Or, all of society?

Do you see the Tea Party as an extension of the Republican Party, working together in partnership, or opposed to it?

Why protest? Do you lobby government officials?

Is there much structure in the Tea Party? Do you have meetings? Leadership?

Is the Tea Party an extension of a previous group, or a new one?

Are there factions among Tea Partiers?

Are there others I can talk with?

Appendix C- Tea Party Groups

The 9/12ers from the Oklahoma Panhandle Patriots
The 9/12ers of the Oklahoma Panhandle Patriots
Ada Tea Party
Ada Tea Party
Anadarko Tea Party
Billy Hill Militia
Chisholmtrailteaparty
East Central OK Patriots
Garfield County Tea Party
Get America Back
McAlester Tea Party
McCurtain county Tea Party
Muskogee Tea Party
Norman Tea Party
OKC TEA PARTY, OKC PIA, Association
OKC912Project
OKforTEA
Oklahoma Panhandle Patriots
OSU Tea Party
Panhandle OK
Route 66 Tea Party
Sons of Freedom
Tea Party Crusaders of Oklahoma
Tea Party of Rural Northeast Oklahoma
The US Constitution
The USA Patriots
Tulsa 912 Project
Tulsa Tea Party
Washington's Soldiers
We the People of Oklahoma

See http://www.teapartypatriots.org/

ENDNOTES

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13. Who is more interested in 2010's election compared with 2008? Only 22 percent of Democrats and merely 17 percent of liberal Democrats said they were.

14. Roll Call. http://www.rollcall.com/issues/56_31/news/50267-1.html (accessed Oct. 22, 2010).

15. *Newsweek* Poll conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates International. Sept. 29-30, 2010. N=902 registered voters nationwide. Margin of error ± 4.1. "Have you seen, heard, or read anything about the political movement known as the Tea Party?" 9/29-30/10; Yes 73%; No 26%; Unsure 1%.

16. AP-GfK Poll conducted by GfK Roper Public Affairs & Media. Sept. 8-13, 2010. N=1,000 adults nationwide. Margin of error ± 4.2. "How much do you know about the Tea Party movement: a great deal,

a lot, some, not too much, or nothing at all?" 9/8-13/10; A great deal 10%; A lot 12%; Some 38%; Not too much 24%; Nothing at all 17%.

17. *Newsweek* Poll conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates International. Sept. 29-30, 2010. N=902 registered voters nationwide. Margin of error ± 4.1."Have you seen, heard, or read anything about the political movement known as the Tea Party?" If yes: "From what you know about the Tea Party and what it stands for, would you say you support it, oppose it or have mixed opinions about it?" Combined responses. 9/29-30/10; AWARE OF support: 19%; AWARE OF oppose: 23%; AWARE OF mixed: 29%; AWARE OF unsure: 2%; NOT AWARE OF: 27%.

18. AP-GfK Poll conducted by GfK Roper Public Affairs & Media. Sept. 8-13, 2010. "Do you have a favorable, unfavorable, or neither favorable nor unfavorable opinion of the Tea Party movement?" 9/8-13/10; Favorable 29%; Unfavorable 34%; Neither 31%; Unsure 6%.

19. AP-GfK Poll conducted by GfK Roper Public Affairs & Media. Sept. 8-13, 2010. "From what you know about the Tea Party movement, would you say you generally agree, disagree or neither agree nor disagree on the Tea Party movement's positions on political issues?" 9/8-13/10; Agree 34%; Disagree 31%; Neither 30%; Unsure 5%.

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33. Duverger (1972) also said that "proportional representation is conducive to a multiparty system," p. 23.

34. Walter Dean Burnham (1970) created the concept of a proto-realignment.

35. Another example is the Populists in 1892 before the 1896 realignment with Republican dominance. La Follette's Progressives in 1924 were precursors to the New Deal Democrats coalition. The Dixiecrats or States Rights Party in 1948 and later George Wallace's race for president foreshadowed the collapse of the New Deal coalition. See Bibby, John and Brian Schaffner. 2008. *Politics, Parties and Elections in America*. 6th ed. Boston, MA: Thompson.

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BOOK REVIEW

John Saltmarsh and Matthew Hartley, eds. *"To Serve a Larger Purpose": Engagement for Democracy and the Transformation of Higher Education*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 2011.

What is the "most significant responsibility of the nation's colleges?" Saltmarsh and Hartley and the fifteen authors of the ten case studies in this text do not seek to answer this large and searching question as much as they are laboring to persuade readers that the plethora of the nation's college and university civic engagement programs fall short. These programs do not measure up because they function without clarity about larger democratic purposes. They lack a commitment to the expression of democratic ideals as evidenced in institutional practices and policies. The nation does not measure up either. Political gridlock, economic catastrophe, and social disparities coupled with malaise confront the American people. The remedy for the academy and the larger society rests in a redefinition of civic engagement that incorporates an intentionality of purpose coupled with a process that "actively contests a problematic status quo or engenders concerted action to challenge and change it by every democratic means possible."

The text as a whole stops just short of a call for the university's revolutionary overhaul. This book is, however, a subversive premier suggesting ways to transform, using existing structures, the academy and, by extension, the broader society. Civic engagement, as it exists now, is reduced to a public relations function detailing what the campus is doing in and for the community. It also reflects that aspect of academic culture whose approach to problem solving is predominantly shaped by specialized expertise as it is "applied" externally "to" or "on" the community providing "solutions" to what has been determined to be the community's "needs."

The editors admit that technical expertise has evident value and that we are no doubt better off because of the specialized knowledge possessed by physicians, engineers, economists and others. But, because expertise is such a fundamental organizing principle, we often overlook its drawbacks and limitations, especially for democracy. The only way to learn the norms and develop the values of democracy is to practice democracy as part of one's education. The case studies examine a variety not of civic engagement programs, but of "democratic engagement" programs, through lens that include history, pedagogy, politics, community action and culture.

It is useful to delineate the premises underlying this robust call for a conscious reinvigoration of democracy. First, the authors rely on the instrumentality of noted educator John Dewey who argued that morality arises out of the individual's relative experience. Certainly, civic engagement is rich in experience, but is it a constructive experience? The purpose of civic engagement should enhance a public culture of democracy on and off campus, while alleviating public problems through democratic means. The processes of engagement refer to the way

those on campus relate to those off campus. The call now is for the infusion of democratic values into university processes as reflected "in the leadership of administrators, the scholarly work of the faculty, the educational work of the staff and the leadership development and learning outcomes of students." Faculty agency is paramount to this process. The professoriate are, collectively, the "moral agents" whose "moral and civic imaginations" are but to be unleashed to ensure that democratic practices course through every vein and vessel of life, on and off campus.

The most important aspect of the theory/praxis is the demonstrated capacity "to learn in the company of others." Both sides, the academy and the community, bring their experience and expertise to the project. The authors point out that communities often seek the very expertise that academics embody, but it should not come from an exclusionary position relative to other forms of knowledge and other knowledge producers. Attention to process raises the question of how expertise is positioned and exercised. Attention to purpose defines the ways in which expertise can be exercised democratically.

Higher education can achieve what this reviewer calls "deep democratic collaboration," by reframing community-based teaching, scholarship and service so that the terms of engagement, the ways of studying issues and the ownership of the actions, as well as the intellectual products, are negotiated with the legitimate local stakeholders. The generation of collaborative knowledge, bringing together the academy and the community of stakeholders, can define problems that need to be addressed. This shared understanding helps design, implement, and evaluate the proper solutions to address common problems. Public problem solving, where the learning capacity is shared, allows goals to be democratically set and success to be collaboratively evaluated.

As a student of democratic frameworks, I found the book fascinating and enlightening, but sometimes challenging and frustrating. How many universities actually practice shared governance, most especially when it comes to fiscal and, all too often, personnel issues? Democratic civic engagement, by way of contrast to representative and direct democracy, holds that everyone, by virtue of being present, is part of the democratic framework. The goal is to learn to listen to each other across the culture of the academy and that of the community, while at the same time collectively fashioning solutions to problems for which joint contributions are recognized. It was a relief to think about other, perhaps more effective, ways of developing the habits of democracy. The ideas developed in the book represent nothing new. Students of the civil rights era in America and activists schooled in feminist theory will immediately recognize the concepts. What is new is the collection of well-written case studies by an assortment of authors who apply the theory and the call for the academy to take responsibility for what could be a revitalizing of democracy and, by extension, citizenship. I would recommend this book to those not only interested in the habits of democracy, but also positive social change and perhaps this country's future.

It must be noted that Drs. Patricia Loughlin and Janelle Gardner, co-directors of the campus American Democracy Project at the University of Central Oklahoma (UCO), convened a study group to examine this text in detail over the course of two semesters. Copies of the text were provided by the Faculty Enhancement Project of the UCO Center for Transformative Learning. As a member of the study group, I appreciated their probing questions. I take full and sole responsibility for the characterization and opinions of the text as delineated above.

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EDITORIAL POLICY

Approximate Annual Timeline Submissions:

Call for Papers: January 1
Deadline for submissions: July 1
Send out submissions to reviewers: July 1
Receive manuscripts from reviewers: September 1
Authors receive their examined revisions: October 1
Authors send their finished product: November 1
Annual publication: January 1

Book Reviews:

Write on published works in the general parameters of the journal's field of interest (i.e., Citizenship Studies and related fields).

Write on recent published works from the previous 2-3 years.

The typical book review's length should range from approximately 750 to 1,250 words.

The journal editors may consult other form sheets and guidelines for additional ideas to pass along to the authors, but general recommendations include:

- At the top-center of the page, the reviewer should identify the author, book title, place of publication, publisher, and publication date. Italicize or underline all book titles. Here is a standard example:

  Jane S. Doe. *The NWOSU Institute for Citizenship Studies*. Alva, Oklahoma: Northwestern Oklahoma State University, 2011.

- Typically, the first paragraph of the book review should include a statement of the author's thesis (major argument) or purpose. Please identify the main points or interpretation the author is trying to present to the reader.

- The main body of the book review should be a synopsis showing how the author did or did not prove his/her thesis. Consider the book's key themes and chapters, the kinds of sources used, and the organizational methods employed (e.g., is it organized by topic or by chronology?). Please elaborate on whether the author demonstrates any kind of bias which you can detect (everyone has a bias). If so, comment on whether the bias detracts from or adds to the study's effectiveness.

- The book review should conclude with a critical evaluation. Is the thesis logically consistent with the materials given to support it in the book? Does it make sense to the reader? Is it convincing? Is it engaging or boring? Has the book helped the reader's understanding of the subject? How? Why? If possible, how does the book relate to the broader objectives and material comprising the field of Citizenship Studies and related fields?

- At the end of the essay, the reviewer will double-space and add his/her full name, department and institution/affiliation.

General Articles:

Write on topics in the general parameters of the journal's field of interest (i.e., Citizenship Studies and related fields).

Each article's length should generally not exceed approximately 8,000 words. Exceptions are possible, of course, including article series.

Documentation of Sources in Articles/Reviews:

Since the journal is interdisciplinary, so long as authors are consistent and concise in their academic writing, they may employ the documentation style familiar to their area of specialization (Chicago Manual of Style, Turabian, MLA, etc.).

JESSE DUNN HALL—HOME OF THE INSTITUTE

The largest classroom building on the Alva campus, Jesse Dunn Hall, located on the northeast side of Northwestern Oklahoma State University, was constructed in 1936-1937 on the site of the original campus building, the Castle on the Hill, which burned down the previous year. The building was dedicated on March 14, 1937, by First Lady Eleanor D. Roosevelt. By an Oklahoma Senate Concurrent Resolution, the new classroom building was named for Jesse J. Dunn, an Alva attorney and Oklahoma Supreme Court Justice. Photo comes courtesy of Valerie Case, Northwestern Oklahoma State University (Alva).