

The Oklahoma Territorial Legislature: 1890 - 1905

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forthcoming

Chronicles of Oklahoma

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The Territorial legislature functioned over fifteen years. Except for the August 1890 session, it met January to March in odd number years. The 1890 legislature was elected from the Unassigned Lands and the No Man's Land of the Oklahoma Panhandle. It was the area of roughly today's Cimarron, Texas, Beaver, Kingfisher, Logan, Canadian, Oklahoma, Cleveland and Payne counties. These were separated from one another by the huge Cherokee Outlet and Cheyenne and Arapaho lands. By 1905 the Territory covered most of western Oklahoma, about thirty-six of today's counties.

The Territorial legislature created Oklahoma colleges and universities, common schools, a criminal code, and an election system. It passed legislation to build roads and regulate industry and vice. The Territorial legislature began Oklahoma's segregation. But its membership also included Oklahoma's first two African-American legislators.² Much of the legal and administrative structure inherited by the State was created during the Territorial period. Even today, remnants of Territorial political struggles persist in Oklahoma law and practice.

We find no comprehensive account of the Territorial legislature or its politics. Almost all the references we *do* have contain misleading errors or are silent on important aspects. These cloud understanding how politics shaped the Territorial period. For example, in their wonderful book Scales and Goble make the point Republicans dominated Territorial politics. They write "... the ten campaigns for seats in the territorial legislature yielded Republican majorities in both chambers on three occasions. Only twice did the GOP fail to gain the advantage in at least one house."³ In fact, there were eight Territorial legislatures. The majority of seats were won by Democrats and Populists,⁴ not Republicans. Democrats and Populists organized both legislative houses in 1890, 1893 and 1897. In 1890 and 1893 this was done with Republican defections. Republicans organized both houses in 1895, 1899 and 1905. The 1901 and 1903 legislative houses were split. In terms of numbers elected, the Republicans failed a majority in at least one house only in 1897.

Other sources also miscount the political composition of Territorial legislatures. Thoburn and Wright miscount the Republicans in the 1893 House and Council⁵, and the 1897 and 1901 Houses.⁶ They are vague about the 1899 and 1905 Territorial legislatures referring to a Republican 1899 "good working majority"⁷ and Republican 1905 "majority"⁸ in both legislative houses. Gaston Litton miscounted the 1893 House and Council totals⁹ and the 1901 Council.¹⁰

He also vaguely described the 1899 and 1905 elections as providing "an easy majority"¹¹ or "a majority"¹² for Republicans. Henslick miscounts the 1893 House and Council party balances.¹³ Gill transposed Thoburn and Wright's 1903 totals giving Republicans control over the House rather than the Democrats.¹⁴ McReynolds miscounts the 1890 Council party balance.¹⁵ Scales miscounts the number of Republicans in six of the legislative houses.¹⁶

There are reasons for the confusion. The journals of the Territorial legislatures do not identify members' political party. That, alone, makes political identification difficult. In 1890 private organizations printed ballots and assembled slates. In Oklahoma City the Kickapoo slate had three Democrats and two Republicans while the rival Seminole slate had both Republicans and Democrats as well.¹⁷ After the Territory adopted the Australian ballot in 1890, candidates could be nominated by multiple political parties. The exception was the 1896 election when fusion was not permitted. In 1897, 1899 and 1901 a number of legislators were elected as fusionists. Tracing the source of a candidate's vote through rival slates or party columns is impossible. Today the organizational vote for Speaker of the House or President of the Council or Senate in an American legislative body cleanly divides members by political party. In the Territorial period there were defections making it appear one political group was in the majority when, in fact, they were not. Newspaper reporting of election results sometimes omitted certain seats, gave the wrong winner, or gave the winner's incorrect political party.¹⁸ A few legislators changed political party from one election to another.¹⁹ In most legislatures the Democrats and Populists worked together against the Republicans. In 1895, however, the Democrats aligned with the Republicans against the Populists. Legislator's names are spelled in different ways, sometimes in the same source.²⁰ Finally, none of the sources mentioned above identify the basis for their assignment of party to legislators.

Worth Robert Miller does accurately document the political mixes in various Territorial legislatures.²¹ But he does not cover the 1903 and 1905 legislatures, does not systematically identify individual legislator's politics, and does not identify the sources for identifying a legislator's party.²²

This lacuna in Oklahoma's political history frustrates, misleads and inhibits understanding the origins and development of our politics and the policies that emerged from early political struggles. It is time this deficiency is remedied.

1890

The 1890 legislature is politically the most complex. Republicans took six Council seats, Democrats five and the Populists one. The thirteenth member, Charles F. Grimmer²³, was elected

as an independent but aligned with the Republicans giving them a majority of seven. In the House Republicans elected a majority of fourteen, the Democrats eight and the Populists four.²⁴ Dan W. Peery describes what happened next.²⁵ The Territorial legislature would locate territorial institutions, including the capitol, as well as elect its officers. Democrats wanted the capitol to be Oklahoma City, Republicans Guthrie. Democrats offered the five Populists Speaker of the House, President of the Council, and the Agricultural College for Stillwater. After meeting with the Oklahoma City Republican Party organization, they successfully pressured the Oklahoma County Republicans, Hugh Trosper and Charles Jones in the House and John L. Brown in the Council, to join 'The Organization' as a means of gaining the capitol. 'The Organization' would stick together and distribute the booty.

A gubernatorial veto kept the capitol in Guthrie. The rest of the scheme worked. Democrats and Populists essentially controlled the First Territorial Legislature. In the Council the organizational vote was straightforward. Populist George Gardenhire was elected President. In the House, Republicans moved to adjourn so as to regroup. In a recorded vote, Republicans Jones and Trosper were joined by Post and Farnsworth to table the adjournment motion. The vote on Speaker was not recorded but it can be assumed Populist Daniels' fourteen votes for Speaker were the eight Democrats, the four Populists and the two defecting Republicans. Jones, one of the defecting Republicans, was not in nomination but got one vote. Jones' vote was probably a last ditch Republican attempt to lure Jones away from 'The Organization,' thereby creating a 13-13 tie and postponing the vote. An indication of Democratic and Populist control was the Territory's first ballot law. It put the Democratic party in the first column, the Republican party in the second column, the People's party in the third column.²⁶

Republican Governor George Washington Steele			
1890 Council²⁷	District	Party	Reference
Charles Brown	1st (Logan)	R	
John Foster	1st	R	
John F. Linn	1st	R	
John L. Brown*	2nd (OK)	R	
John W. Howard*	2nd	D	
Leander G. Pitman*	2nd	D	
Robert J. Nisbett*	3rd	D	PB
Joseph Smelser*	4th	D	
Mort L. Bixler*	5th	D	
Daniel Harader	6th	R	
William A. McCartney	6th	R	
George W. Gardenhire*	7th	P	

Charles F. Grimmer	8th	IR	DP 446
	R		6
	D		5
	P		1
	IR		1
	Total		13

1890 House²⁸	District	Party	Biography
Robert J. Barker	1st	R	PB
William H. Campbell	1st	R	
Samuel M. Lewis	1st	R	
William H. Merten	1st	R	PB
William S. Robertson	1st	R	
James L. Smith	1st	R	
Moses Neal*	2nd	D	
Charles G. Jones*	2nd	R	PB
Samuel D. Pack*	2nd	D	
Daniel W. Peery*	2nd	D	DP
Hugh G. Trosper*	2nd	R	
William C. Adair*	3rd	D	
James M. Stovall*	3rd	D	PB
Thomas R. Waggoner*	3rd	D	
Arthur N. Daniels*	4th	P	
Demetrius W. Talbot*	4th	D	
John A. Wimberly	4th	R	
Green J. Currin	5th	R	
Darius C. Farnsworth	5th	R	
Joseph C. Post	5th	R	
Edward C. Tritt	5th	R	
Samuel W. Clark*	6th	P	
James L. Mathews*	6th	P	
Ira N. Terrill*	6th	P	PN
Elisha H. Long*	7th	D	
Albert M. Colson	8th	R	
	R		14
	D		8
	P		4
	Total		26

*indicates members of 'The Organization' that divided up state institutions; 14 in House, 7 in Council; C.M. Burke of Oklahoma County (2nd District) and Milton W. Reynolds of Kingfisher County (8th District) died after being elected and were replaced. Grimmer was elected as an independent but joined the Republicans for organization purposes.²⁹

1890 Council				
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Organization	Party			
Vote for President³⁰	Republican	Populist	Democrat	Total
McCartney (R)	Brown (of Logan)			6
	Foster			
	Grimmer			
	Harader			
	McCartney			
	Linn*			
Gardenhire (P)	Brown (of Ok)	Gardenhire	Bixler	7
			Howard	
			Nisbett	
			Pitman	
			Smelser	
Total	7	1	5	13
*Counted but not recorded as voting.				

1890 House				
Organization	Party			
Vote to Table Motion to Adjourn³¹	Republican	Populist	Democrat	Total
Aye	Farnsworth	Clark	Adair	16
	Jones	Daniels	Long	
	Post	Mathews	Neal	
	Trosper	Terrill	Pack	
			Peery	
			Stovall	
			Talbot	
			Waggoner	
Nay	Barker			10
	Campbell			
	Colson			
	Currin			
	Lewis			
	Merten			
	Robertson			
	Smith			
	Tritt			
	Wimberly			
Total	14	4	8	26

1890 House				
Organization	Party			
Vote on Speaker³²	Republican	People's	Democrat	Total
Merten (R)				11
Daniels (P)				14

Jones (R)				1
Total		14	4	8
				26

1893

Republicans elected a majority of the Council (seven) but failed to organize it. Worth Robert Miller describes what happened.³³ W.A. McCartney lost the 1890 Council Presidency because of a defecting Republican. In 1893 he decided he would vote for himself. That left the Republican candidate, J.M. Cannon with six votes and the Democrats and Populists with six votes. The Democrats and Populists voted for McCartney thereby controlling the Council.

Democrats and Populists gained a majority of fourteen House seats but were not able to organize the House after a number of ballots. Again, Worth Robert Miller gives the story.³⁴ Cleveland County Democrat J.L. Stovall's election was challenged by a Populist. Fearing a deal would result in his being replaced, he voted with the Republicans creating a thirteen - thirteen vote tie. On the one-hundred-forty-ninth ballot Republican M.L. Stanley voted with the Democrats and Populists for the independent Democrat T.R. Waggoner. He explained. "The House has taken one hundred and forty-eight ballots and no chairman has been elected. I believe it is a fact that my constituents did not send me here to spend the entire session in electing a Speaker, and therefore I feel that they will bear me out in the action I am about to take. For that reason I will cast my vote for Mr. Waggoner."³⁵ Democrats and Populists maintained legislative control. The Democrats retained first ballot position.³⁶

Republican Governor Abraham Jefferson Seay			
1893 Council³⁷	District	Party	Biography
John M. Cannon (Canon)	1st	R	PB
C.H. Carswell	2nd	D	
J.W. Clevinger	3rd	R	
O.R. Fegan	4th	R	
J.P. Lane	5th	D	
J.C. Pringey	6th	R	
L.G. Pitman	7th	D	
L.P. Ross	8th	D	
Wm. A. McCartney	9th	R	
Hugh McCredie	10th	R	
F.S. Pulliam	11th	FP	PB
J.J. Shaffer	12th	R	PB
C.J. Wrightsman	13th	D	PB
	R		7
	D		5

	FP	1	
		13	

1893 House³⁸	District	Party	Biography
Frank H. Greer	25th	R	PB
John W. Ozmun	10th	D	
John Pfaff	9th	R	
John A. Wimberly	5th	R	
J.M. Stovall	15th	D	PB
B.J. Clardy	17th	D	
D.W. Peery	12th	D	DP
J.M. Faris	8th	R	PB
John W. Moyle	16th	D	
James K. Allen	21st	D	
W.B. Stone	23rd	P	
Talcott Ormsbee	1st	D	
John C. Carrington	13th	D	
J.M. Johnston (Johnson)	2nd	R	
W.A. Scott	18th	R	
Harper S. Cunningham	24th	R	PB
D.C. Farnsworth	3rd	R	
O.P. Rathbun	20th	P	
J.J. Merrick	19th	R	
R.C. Brennon (Brennan, en)	4th	P	
James J. McDaniel	26th	P	PB
C.H. Allen	6th	R	
Thomas R. Waggoner	14th	ID	WRM 76
John W. Beatty	11th	D	
M.L. Stanley	7th	R	
David J. Wallace	22nd	R	
	R		12
	D		9
	P		4
	ID		1
			26

1893 Council				
Organization	Party			
Vote on President³⁹	Republican	Populist	Democrat	Total
McCartney (R)	McCartney	Pulliam	Carswell	7
			Lane	
			Pitman	
			Ross	
			Wrightsman	
Cannon (R)	Cannon			6
	Clevinger			
	Fegan			

		McCredie			
		Pringey			
		Shaffer			
Total		7	1	5	13

1893 House				
Organization	Party			
Vote on Speaker⁴⁰	Republican	Populist	Democrat	Total
Merrick (R)	C.H.Allen (Canadian)			8
	Cunningham			
	Faris			
	Greer			
	Johnston			
	Merrick			
	Pfaff			
	Scott			
Waggoner (ID)	Stanley	Brennon	J.K. Allen (Payne)	14
		McDaniel	Beatty	
		Rathburn	Carrington	
		Stone	Clardy	
			Moyle	
			Ozmun	
			Ormsbee	
			Peery	
			Waggoner	
Greer (R)	Farnsworth		Stovall	4
	Wallace			
	Wimberly			
Total	12	4	10	26

1895

Republicans took seven Council and sixteen House seats. For the first time Republicans organized both legislative houses.⁴¹ Democrats voted with Republicans in organizing. Governor William Carey Renfrow, however, was a partisan Democrat. This limited Republican ability to legislate policy change. The legislature did change the ballot. Republicans were put in first place.⁴²

Democrat Governor William Carey Renfrow			
1895 Council⁴³	District	Party	Biography

J.E. Doom	1st	P	
John S. Allen	2nd Cleveland	P	
A.C. Scott	3rd	R	PB
J.H. Pitzer	4th	R	
A.H. Boles	5th	R	PB
E.H. Spencer	6th	P	
O.R. Fegan	7th	R	
B.R. Tankersley	8th	P	PT
C.T. Prouty	9th	R	PB
G.H. Coulson*	10th	P	
J.P. Gandy*	10th	R	
H.D. Baker	11th	R	
Geo. D. Orner	12th	R	
R.J. Ray	13th	D	
	R		8
	D		1
	P		5
			14
*Gandy (R) replaced Coulson (P) February 2, 1895			

1895 House⁴⁴	District	Party	Biography
N.B. DeFord	1st	P	
Chas. N. Brown	2nd Lincoln	P	
S.A. Waits	3rd	D	
R.J. Nesbitt	4th	P	PB
H.C. St. John	5th	R	
James Brown	6th Oklahoma	R	
A.N. Spencer	7th	D	
H.A. Todd	8th	R	
G.W. Sutton	9th	R	PB
Will T. Little	10th	R	KB
W.A. Hogan	11th	R	
R.A. Lowry	12th	R	PB
W.H. Mason	13th	R	
C.M. Barnes	14th	R	PB
J.S. Wade	15th	P	
W.A. Knipe	16th	R	PB
M.P. McCoy	17th	R	
G.W. Posten	18th	P	
H.R. Walling	19th	P	
G.W. Vickers	20th	R	
C.G. Elliott	21st	R	PB
W.M. Smith	22nd Grant	R	
T.T. Boyer	23rd	P	
G.S. Stein	24th	R	
G.W. Bradfield	25th	R	
W.F. Hendrix	26th	D	

	R	16	
	D	3	
	P	7	
		26	

1895 Council				
Organization	Party			
Vote on President⁴⁵	Republican	Populist	Democrat	Total
Pitzer (R)	Baker		Ray	8
	Boles			
	Fegan			
	Orner			
	Prouty			
	Pitzer			
	Scott			
Doom (P)		Allen		5
		Coulson		
		Doom		
		Spencer		
		Tankersley		
Total		7	5	1
				13

1895 House				
Organization	Party			
Vote on Speaker⁴⁶	Republican	Populist	Democrat	Total
Barnes (R)	Bradfield		Hendrix	18
	J. Brown (of OK)		Spencer	
	Elliott		Waits	
	Hogan			
	Knipe			
	Little			
	Lowry			
	Mason			
	McCoy			
	Smith			
	Stein			
	Sutton			
	St. John			
	Todd			
	Vickers			
Nesbitt (P)		Boyer		7
		C. Brown (of Lincoln)		
		DeFord		
		Nesbitt		
		Posten		

			Wade		
			Walling		
Not Voting		Barnes			1
Total			16	7	3
					26

1897

In 1895 Republicans passed an anti-fusion law: "the name of no candidate shall be printed on the ticket of more than one political party for the same office."⁴⁷ Democrats and Populists had been successful electing legislators by agreeing on a common slate, a Populist in one district, a Democrat in another. The candidate would be listed under both parties and the votes would be combined. If Populists and Democrats were forced to run candidates against one another or leave certain positions uncontested on ballots many voted by stamping the straight party provision, the Republicans would benefit. The solution for the fusionists was to create a new political party, Free Silver.⁴⁸ It would run a combined slate of Democrats and Populists. In a few districts this proved impossible and separate Populist or Democratic party candidates ran.

The fusionist Free Silver candidates won all the Council and all but three of the House races. Six of those elected ran as Populists or Democrats. Their politics was simple to identify. The remainder proved more difficult. In the end, all but eleven of the thirty-nine legislators' political parties could be at least tentatively identified based on previous or subsequent partisan candidacies or other sources.⁴⁹ The Free Silver dominated legislature changed the ballot from a straight party column design to the office block design in which candidates would be listed in essentially random order by office. They also eliminated the straight party vote.⁵⁰

Democrat Governor William Carey Renfrow			
1897 Council⁵¹	District	Party	Biography
J.M. Lynch	1st	FS	
H.S. Johnston	2nd Noble	FSD	BB
H.S. Hanner	3rd	FS	
Chas. N. Brown	4th	FSP	PCP 14/12/84:1
A.W. Fisher	5th	D	PB
J.W. Johnson	6th	FSD	PB
C.W. Gould	7th	FS	
D.B. Learned	8th	FSD	PB
J.D. DeBois	9th	FSD	WRM 162
Erastus J. Clark	10th	FS	
Wm. Garrison	11th	FSP	WRM 162
D.S. Randolph	12th	FSP	WRM 166

D.P. Marum	13th	FSD	CO
R (0)	R		0
D (13)	D		1
	P		0
	FS		4
	FSD		5
	FSP		3
			13

1897 House⁵²	District	Party	Biography
Jacob W. May	1st Kay	FS	
D.S. Rose	2nd Kay	FSD	CO
Thomas H. Doyle	3rd	FSD	PB
John Hogan	4th	P	
Dale Lytton	5th Payne	FSP	WRM 164
E.E. Olson	6th Olson	FS	
M.E. Ferguson	7th	FS	
W. Christian	8th	FS	
J.M. Stovall	9th	D	PB
E.B. Allen	10th	D	
Wm. J. Gault	11th	FS	
James K. Graves	12th	FSP	WRM 164
Ben F. Wilson	13th	FSD	1909 House
J.C. Tousley	14th Canadian	FSP	DO 12/01/97:1
R.B. Shannon	15th Kingfisher	FSP	PB
Thomas E. Willis	16th	FSP	WRM 166
C.M. Barnes	17th	R	PB
W.L. Sullivan	18th	FSP	PB
William R. Berry	19th Garfield	FSD	PB WRM 162
Albert H. Ellis	20th	FSD	1907 House
T.J. Woodmansee	21st Woods	FS	
Levi M. St. Clair	22nd	FS	
George W. Vickers	23rd Woods	R	
J.P.D. Mouriquand	24th Blaine	R	
G.P. Cherry	25th	P	
J.E. George	26th	D	
	R		3
	D		3
	P		2
	FS		7
	FSD		5
	FSP		6
			26

1897 Council					
Vote on President⁵³	Republican	Populist	Democrat	Free Silver	Total

Johnson (D)					13	
Total		0	3	6	4	13

1897 House						
Organization	Party					
Vote on Speaker⁵⁴	Republican	Populist	Democrat	Free Silver	Total	
Tousley (P)					23	
Vickers (R)					3	
Total		3	8	8	7	26

1899

Democrats and Populists eliminated the Republican anti-fusion law in 1897. The new ballot law read "That whenever two or more political parties or groups of petitioners shall nominate or petition for the nomination of the same person as a candidate for the same elective office in this Territory, and such nominations or petitions are duly certified to the proper officers, the board of election commissioners shall cause the names of such persons to be printed on the official ballot as the candidate of each of such political parties or petitioners in as many places and in the same manner as though each of such political parties or petitioners had nominated or petitioned for the nomination of different persons bearing the same name."⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the Democrats and Populists contested the 1898 elections with Free Silver tickets in a number of districts.

After the election, Republicans controlled the Council with eight seats to the Democrats' four and Populist one. They also controlled the House with seventeen seats to the Democrats' four, the Populists' four and one fusion.⁵⁶ The 1899 Territorial legislature was the first in which Republicans controlled both houses and the Governor's office. The ballot law was changed to restore the straight party vote and give Republicans first ballot position.⁵⁷

Republican Governor Casius McDonald Barnes			
1899 Council⁵⁸	District	Party	Biography
George H. Brett	Kay	R	LH
A.J. Biddison	Pawnee	R	PB
Frank A. Hutto	Payne	R	PB
Hugh McCredie	Lincoln	R	
B.P. Magness	Cleveland	D	
Sidney Clarke	Oklahoma	FD	PB DO 1/6/01:1
George W. Bellamy	Canadian	FD	PB DO 1/6/01:1
Felix L. Winkler	Kingfisher	R	PB
Abram H. Huston	Logan	R	

Harrison E. Havens	Garfield	R	
William Garrison	Grant	FP	WRM 162
James P. Gandy	Woods	R	
Charles M. Thacker	Greer	D	
	R		8
	D		2
	F		0
	FD		2
	FP		1
			13

1899 House⁵⁹	District	Party	Biography
John H. Smith	Kay	P	
James Wilkin	Kay	R	
Thomas H. Doyle	Noble	D	PB
Huston A. Thomas	Pawnee	F	
E.F. Clark	Payne	D	
W.F. Malley	Lincoln	R	
John W. Scott	Lincoln	R	
J.D. Combs	Pottawatomie	D	
E. Duffy	Cleveland	P	
J.C. Wails	Cleveland	P	PB
C.G. Jones	Oklahoma	R	PB
C.W. Olmsted	Oklahoma	R	
J.W. Hadley	Canadian	FP	WRM 178
Thomas R. Reid	Canadian	R	PB
D.H. Van Kirk	Kingfisher	R	
Walter C. Stevens	Kingfisher	R	PB
W.H. Merten	Logan	R	PB
J.M. Holliday	Logan	R	
Virgil A. Wood	Garfield	R	PB
C.F. McElrath	Garfield	R	PB
Fred S. Sherer	Grant	R	
J.M. Hay	Grant	R	PB
E.E. Hartshorn	Woods	R	
Philip Koch	Blaine	R	
J.P. Ballard	Washita	D	
J.C. Williamson	Beaver	R	
	R		17
	D		4
	P		3
	F		1
	FP		1
			26

1899 Council				
Organization	Party			

Vote on President⁶⁰	Republican	Populist	Democrat	Total
McCredie (R)	Biddison		Clarke	8
	Brett			
	Gandy			
	Havens			
	Huston			
	Hutto			
	Winkler			
Clarke (FD)	McCredie	Garrison	Bellamy	5
			Magness	
			Thacker	
Total	8	1	4	13

1899 House					
Organization	Party				
Vote on Speaker⁶¹	Republican	Populist	Fusion	Democrat	Total
Reid (R)					16
Wails (P)					2
Not Voting					8
Total	17	4	1	4	26

1901

Fusionists took control of the Council with five Democrats and three Populists to five Republicans. The Republicans took control of the House with sixteen seats to five Democrats, a Populist and four fusion.⁶²

Republican Governor Casius McDonald Barnes			
1901 Council⁶³	District	Party	Biography
H.C.R. Brodboll	Kay	R	LH
James P. Woolsey	Noble	FD	DO 1/6/01:1
Freeman E. Miller	Payne	FD	DO 1/6/01:1
J.F. Todd	Lincoln	FP	DO 1/6/01:1
E. Duffy	Cleveland	P	
Sidney Clarke	Oklahoma	FD	PB DO 1/6/01:1
George W. Bellamy	Canadian	FD	PB
Felix L. Winkler	Kingfisher	R	
John C. Foster	Logan	R	PB
R.E.P.Messall	Garfield	R	PB
Geo. H. Coulson	Woods	FP	DO 1/6/01:1
A.G. Updegraff	Woods	R	
Jno. B. Harrison	Roger Mills	D	

	R	5
	D	1
	P	1
	FD	4
	FP	2
		13

1901 House ⁶⁴	District	Party	Biography
W.M. Ferguson	Kay	R	
James Wilkin	Kay	R	
John A. Oliphant	Noble	R	
Huston A. Thomas	Pawnee	F	
James L. Mathews	Payne	F	
Wm. H. Scott	Payne	FD	
John Embry	Lincoln	R	
Robert E. Wood	Pottawatomie	FD	
B.F. Nisbett	Cleveland	FD	
Walter I. Phelps	Cleveland	D	
Chas. G. Jones	Oklahoma	R	PB
John W. Comp	Oklahoma	R	
James W. Hadley	Canadian	FP	WRM 178
Thomas R. Reid	Canadian	R	PB
D.H. Van Kirk	Kingfisher	R	
Walter C. Stevens	Kingfisher	R	PB
Silas E. Seeley	Logan	R	PB
Miles Allen	Logan	F	
Ret Millard	Garfield	R	
Frank R. Rogers	Garfield	R	
John H. Decker	Grant	R	PB
Henry M. Brewer	Grant	F	
August T. Sniggs	Woods	R	
John H. Campbell	Blaine	R	
Frank Mathews	Greer	D	
Chas. R. Alexander	Woodward	R	
	R	16	
	D	2	
	FD	3	
	FP	1	
	F	4	
		26	

1901 Council				
Organization	Party			
Vote on President ⁶⁵	Republican	Populist	Democrat	Total
Bellamy (D)		Coulson	Bellamy	8
		Duffy	Clarke	
		Todd	Harrison	
			Miller	

				Woolsey	
Winkler (R)	Brodboll				5
	Foster				
	Messall				
	Updegraff				
	Winkler				
Total		5	3	5	13

1901 House					
Organization	Party				
Vote on Speaker⁶⁶	Republican	Fusion	Populist	Democrat	Total
Stevens (R)					15
J. L. Mathews (F)					10
Not Voting					1
Total	16	4	1	5	26

1903

Worth Robert Miller describes the demise of the Populists in the 1902 legislative elections. "Populists fused with Democrats in five districts, with Republicans in two, and with Socialists in one. In another district they fielded a middle-of-the-road candidate. All lost. The Populist Revolt in Oklahoma was at an end."⁶⁷ Republicans took seven Council seats, Democrats six. Republicans lost the House, however, with twelve seats to the Democrats' fourteen.

Republican Governor Thompson Benton Ferguson			
1903 Council⁶⁸	District	Party	Biography
James P. Woolsey	Noble	D	
John P. Hickam	Payne	R	
John Calvin Foster	Logan	R	PB
R.M. Campbell	Oklahoma	D	
John O. Blakeney	Pottawatomie	D	
Herbert H. Champlin	Garfield	R	
Felix L. Winkler	Kingfisher	R	PB
Alpha G. Updegraff	Woods	R	
George T. Webster	Custer	R	
Chas. R. Alexander	Woodward	R	
Thomas P. Gore	Comanche	D	
Sam Massingale	Washita	D	
Frank Mathews	Greer	D	
R	R	7	
D	D	6	
		13	

1903 House ⁶⁹	District	Party	Biography
James Wilkin	Kay	R	
William M. Bowles	Noble	D	
Herbert W. Williams	Pawnee	R	PB
J.L. Mathews	Payne	D	
James J. Merrick	McKinley	R	
Edgar W. Jones	Logan	D	
John Threadgill	Oklahoma	R	LH PB
Fred A. Wagoner	Lincoln	R	
B.F. Nisbett	Cleveland	D	
William T. James	Cleveland	D	
John H. Decker	Grant	R	PB
S. Grimes Sproat	Garfield	R	
Jhilson P. Cummins	Kingfisher	R	
William A. Maxwell	Candadian	D	
A. McTaggart	Angusta	D	
John C. Major	Granton	D	
Thomas J. Ballew	Blaine	R	
Evert J. Murphy	Lone Star	R	
Thomas P. Braidwood	Beaver	R	
Jesse H. Jones	Dewey	D	
Dyke Ballinger	Caddo	R	
Joseph K. Tuttle	Comanche	D	
Joseph A. Jester	Washita	D	
James W. Harrison	Kiowa	D	
W.P. Francis	Ural	D	
T.M. Robinson	Greer	D	
	R		12
	D		14
			26

1903 Council			
Organization	Party		
Vote on President ⁷⁰	Republican	Democrat	Total
Alexander (R)	Champlin		7
	Foster		
	Hickam		
	Updegraff		
	Webster		
	Alexander		
	Winkler		
Woolsey (D)		Blakeney	5
		Campbell	
		Gore	
		Massingale	
		Mathews	
Not Voting		Woolsey	1

Total		7	6	13

1903 House			
Organization	Party		
Vote on Speaker⁷¹	Republican	Democrat	Total
Threadgill (R)			12
Bowles (D)			14
Total	12	14	26

1905

Republicans took complete control of Territorial government for only the second time. They had eight Council seats to the Democrats' five and fifteen House seats to the Democrats' eleven. The governor was also Republican. At least one former Populist, J.T. Craig of Pawnee, ran and was elected as a Democrat.

Republican Governor Thompson Benton Ferguson			
1905 Council⁷²	District	Party	Biography
Joel R. Scott	Noble	R	PB
John P. Hickam	Payne	R	
Leslie G. Niblack	Logan	D	PB
John Threadgill	Oklahoma	R	LH PB
E.L. Cralle	Cleveland	D	
John H. Decker	Grant	R	PB
Felix L. Winkler	Kingfisher	R	PB
C.A.L. Sharrock	Major	R	
Everet J. Murphy	Lone Star	R	
Charles Alexander	Woodward	R	
J.A. Menefee	Caddo	D	
B.N. Woodson	Kiowa	D	
W.P. Francis	Beckham	D	
R	R		8
D	D		5
			13

1905 House⁷³	District	Party	Biography
J.B. Norton	Kay	R	
Wesley Taylor	Noble	R	
J.T. Craig	Pawnee	D	PB
Wm. N. Walker	Payne	R	PB
Frank G. Prouty	Lincoln	R	
Isaac B. Levy	Logan	D	PB

R.R. Fuller	Oklahoma	D	
John J. Gayman	Lincoln	R	
Milton Bryan	Pottawatomie	D	
J.D. Lydick	Cleveland	D	
J.P. Becker	Grant	R	
John Ingmire	Garfield	R	
W.W. Noffsinger	Kingfisher	R	
Wm. A. Maxwell	Canadian	D	
Clarence E. Woods	Alfalfa	R	
A.J. Ross	Woods	R	
A. McBride	Blaine	R	
B.B. Bone	Custer	R	
James P. Gandy	Woodward	R	
Wilbur W. Daniels	Dewey	R	
Dyke Ballinger	Caddo	R	
Scott Ferris	Comanche	D	
J.A. Jester	Washita	D	
O.J. Logan	Kiowa	D	
David Hogg	Grand	D	
T.M. Robinson	Greer	D	
	R		15
	D		11
			26

1905 Council			
Organization	Party		
Vote on President⁷⁴	Republican	Democrat	Total
Winkler (R)	Scott	Niblack	8
	Hickam		
	Threadgill		
	Decker		
	Sharrock		
	Murphy		
	Alexander		
Niblack (D)	Winkler	Cralle	5
		Menefee	
		Woodson	
		Francis	
Total	8	5	13

1905 House			
Organization	Party		
Vote on Speaker⁷⁵	Republican	Democrat	Total
Lydick (D)			10
Norton (R)			14
Not voting			2

Total		15	11	26
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Summary

Territorial politics, especially the legislative politics that created the Territory's institutions and set policies that persisted into Statehood, were far from being dominated by Republicans. True, Republicans did win all but one of the Congressional Delegate contests, the only Territory-wide elections. Republicans also won all but one of the four Presidential preference referenda.⁷⁶ The Territorial Delegate, visible as he was, played only a secondary role in Territorial legislation. Democrats and Populists filled a majority of the Territorial legislative seats and controlled half the legislative houses. Republicans gained complete control over Territorial government only in 1899 and 1905. Democrats and Populists had that control earlier in 1897. Democrats and Populists also managed to organize the first two legislatures.

Party Membership Oklahoma Territorial Legislature 1890 - 1905			
Party	Party Symbol	Number	All
Republican	R	154	
Independent Republican	IR	1	155
Democrat	D	80	
Independent Democrat	ID	1	
Fusion Democrat	FD	9	
Free Silver Democrat	FSD	10	100
Populist	P	27	
Fusion Populist	FP	6	
Free Silver Populist	FSP	9	42
Fusion	F	5	
Free Silver	FS	11	16
Total		313	313
Source: Author's calculations			

Party Control Oklahoma Territorial Legislature 1890 - 1905				
Governor	Council	House	Year	Number
Republican	Republican	Republican	1899, 1905	2
		Democrat	1903	1
	Fusion	Republican	1901	1

		Fusion	1890, 1893	2
Democrat	Republican	Republican	1895	1
	Fusion	Fusion	1897	1
Total				8
Source: Author's calculations.				

Timing was important and favored the Democrats and Populists. Once created, institutions were difficult to change or re-shape. Separate schools, for example, was legislated in 1890 and 1897 while Republican sponsored civil rights legislation was defeated in 1890 and 1893. In control in 1899, Republicans could delay or stop moves toward segregation but they could not undo it. How could they unfound Langston University? That would throw African-American teachers and administrators out of work and cause fatal economic damage to the Langston community. Race was only one policy area affected by Territorial legislation. Now that we have a clearer map of Territorial political terrain more can be explored.

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Symbol	Source			
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DO	<i>Daily Oklahoman</i>			
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LH	Luther B. Hill. 1910. <i>A History of the State of Oklahoma</i> Volume II (Chicago: Lewis).			
KB	Kenny L. Brown. 1989. "He Has Builided his Own Monument," <i>Chronicles of Oklahoma</i> 67 (Fall):251.			
PB	<i>Portrait and Bibliographical Record of Oklahoma</i> . 1901. (Chicago: Chapman).			
PCP	<i>Payne County Populist</i> (Stillwater)			
PN	Paul T. Nolen. 1964. "Terrill's <i>Purgatory</i> : First Play Printed in Oklahoma," <i>Chronicles of Oklahoma</i> 42 (Autumn):246.			

PT	Pat A. Tankersley. 1972-3. "Memories of an Oklahoma Teacher," <i>Chronicles of Oklahoma</i> 50 (Winter):402.
WRM	Worth Robert Miller. 1987. <i>Oklahoma Populism: A History of the People's Party in the Oklahoma Territory</i> (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press).

APPENDIX

Members of the Territorial Legislature 1890 - 1905				
Name	Body	Year	District	Party
Adair, William C.	House	1890	3rd Cleveland	D
Alexander, Chas. R.	House	1901	26th Woodward	R
Alexander, Chas. R.	Council	1903	Woodward	R
Alexander, Charles	Council	1905	Woodward	R
Allen, C.H.	House	1893	6th Okarche	R
Allen, E.B.	House	1897	10th	D
Allen, James K.	House	1893	21st Stillwater	D
Allen, John S.	Council	1895	2nd	P
Allen, Miles	House	1901	18th Logan	F
Baker, H.D.	Council	1895	11th	R
Ballard, J.P.	House	1899	Washita	D
Ballew, Thomas J.	House	1903	Blaine	R
Ballinger, Dyke	House	1903	Caddo	R
Ballinger, Dyke	House	1905	Caddo	R
Barker, Robert J.	House	1890	1st	R
Barnes, C.M.	House	1895	14th	R
Barnes, C.M.	House	1897	17th Logan	R
Beatty, John W.	House	1893	11th Oklahoma City	D
Becker, J.P.	House	1905	Grant	R
Bellamy, George W.	Council	1899	Canadian	FD
Bellamy, George W.	Council	1901	7th Canadian	FD
Berry, William R.	House	1897	19th Garfield	FSD
Biddison, A.J.	Council	1899	Pawnee	R
Bixler, Mort L.	Council	1890	5th Cleveland	D
Blakeney, John O.	Council	1903	Pottawatomie	D
Boles, A.H.	Council	1895	5th Noble & Pawnee	R
Bone, B.B.	House	1905	Custer	R
Bowles, William M.	House	1903	Noble	D
Boyer, T.T.	House	1895	23rd	P
Bradfield, G.W.	House	1895	25th	R
Braidwood, Thomas P.	House	1903	Beaver	R
Brennon, R.C. (Brennan, en)	House	1893	4th Kingfisher	P
Brett, George H.	Council	1899	Kay	R
Brewer, Henry M.	House	1901	22nd Grant	F
Brodboll, H.C.R.	Council	1901	1st Kay	R
Brown, Charles	Council	1890	1st (Logan)	R
Brown, Chas. N.	House	1895	2nd	P
Brown, Chas. N.	Council	1897	4th	FSP
Brown, James	House	1895	6th	R
Brown, John L.	Council	1890	2nd (OK)	R
Bryan, Milton	House	1905	Pottawatomie	D
Campbell, John H.	House	1901	24th Blaine	R
Campbell, R.M.	Council	1903	Oklahoma	D
Campbell, William H.	House	1890	1st	R

Cannon, John M. (Canon)	Council	1893	3rd Frisco	R
Carrington, John C.	House	1893	13th Noble	D
Carswell, C.H.	Council	1893	4th El Reno	D
Champlin , Herbert H.	Council	1903	Garfield	R
Cherry, G.P.	House	1897	25th	P
Christian, W.	House	1897	8th	FS
Clardy, B.J.	House	1893	17th Tecumseh	D
Clark, E.F.	House	1899	Payne	D
Clark, Erastus J.	Council	1897	10th	FS
Clark, Samuel W.	House	1890	6th Payne	P
Clarke, Sidney	Council	1899	Oklahoma	FD
Clarke, Sidney	Council	1901	6th Oklahoma	FD
Clevinger, J.W.	Council	1893	1st Arapahoe	R
Colson, Albert M.	House	1890	8th Kingfisher	R
Combs, J.D.	House	1899	Pottawatomie	D
Comp, John W.	House	1901	12th Oklahoma	R
Coulson, G.H.	Council	1895	10th	P
Coulson, Geo. H.	Council	1901	11th Woods	FP
Craig, J.T.	House	1905	Pawnee	D
Cralle, E.L.	Council	1905	Cleveland	D
Cummins, Jhilson P.	House	1903	Kingfisher	R
Cunningham, Harper S.	House	1893	24th Guthrie	R
Currin., Green J.	House	1890	5th	R
Daniels, Arthur N.	House	1890	4th Canadian	P
Daniels, Wilbur W.	House	1905	Dewey	R
DeBois, J.D.	Council	1897	9th	FSD
Decker, John H.	House	1901	21st Grant	R
Decker, John H.	House	1903	Grant	R
Decker, John H.	Council	1905	Grant	R
DeFord, N.B.	House	1895	1st	P
Doom, J.E.	Council	1895	1st	P
Doyle, Thomas H.	House	1897	3rd	FSD
Doyle, Thomas H.	House	1899	Noble	D
Duffy, E.	House	1899	Cleveland	P
Duffy, E.	Council	1901	5th Cleveland	P
Elliott, C.G.	House	1895	21st	R
Ellis, Albert H.	House	1897	20th	FSD
Embry, John	House	1901	7th Lincoln	R
Faris, J.M.	House	1893	8th Yukon	R
Farnsworth, Darius C.	House	1890	5th	R
Farnsworth, D.C.	House	1893	3rd Losey	R
Fegan, O.R.	Council	1893	12th Guthrie	R
Fegan, O.R.	Council	1895	7th	R
Ferguson, M.E.	House	1897	7th	FS
Ferguson, W.M.	House	1901	1st Kay	R
Ferris, Scott	House	1905	Comanche	D
Fisher, A.W.	Council	1897	5th Cleveland	D
Foster, John	Council	1890	1st	R
Foster, John C.	Council	1901	9th Logan	R
Foster, John Calvin	Council	1903	Logan	R

Francis, W.P.	House	1903	Ural	D
Francis, W.P.	Council	1905	Beckham	D
Fuller, R.R.	House	1905	Oklahoma	D
Gandy, James P.	Council	1895		R
Gandy, James P.	Council	1899	Woods	R
Gandy, James P.	House	1905	Woodward	R
Gardenhire, George W.	Council	1890	7th Payne	P
Garrison, Wm.	Council	1897	11th	FSP
Garrison, William	Council	1899	Grant	FP
Gault, Wm. J.	House	1897	11th	FS
Gayman, John J.	House	1905	Lincoln	R
George, J.E.	House	1897	26th	D
Gore, Thomas P.	Council	1903	Comanche	D
Gould, C.W.	Council	1897	7th	FS
Graves, James K.	House	1897	12th	FSP
Greer, Frank H.	House	1893	25th	R
Grimmer, Charles F.	Council	1890	8th Beaver	IR
Hadley, J.W.	House	1899	Canadian	FP
Hadley, James W.	House	1901	13th Canadian	FP
Hanner, H.S.	Council	1897	3rd	FS
Harader, Daniel	Council	1890	6th	R
Harrison, James W.	House	1903	Kiowa	D
Harrison, Jno. B.	Council	1901	13th Roger Mills	D
Hartshorn, E. E.	House	1899	Woods	R
Havens, Harrison E.	Council	1899	Garfield	R
Hay, J.M.	House	1899	Grant	R
Hendrix, W.F.	House	1895	26th	D
Hickam, John P.	Council	1903	Payne	R
Hickam, John P.	Council	1905	Payne	R
Hogan, John	House	1897	4th Pawnee	P
Hogan, W.A.	House	1895	11th Lincoln	R
Hogg, David	House	1905	Grand	D
Holliday, J.M.	House	1899	Logan	R
Howard, John W.	Council	1890	2nd Oklahoma	D
Huston, Abram H.	Council	1899	Logan	R
Hutto, Frank A.	Council	1899	Payne	R
Ingmire, John	House	1905	Garfield	R
James, William T.	House	1903	Cleveland	D
Jester, Joseph A.	House	1903	Washita	D
Jester, J.A.	House	1905	Washita	D
Johnson, J.W.	Council	1897	6th	FSD
Johnston, H.S.	Council	1897	2nd Noble	FSD
Johnston, J.M. (Johnson)	House	1893	2nd Cloud Chief	R
Jones, Charles G.	House	1890	2nd Oklahoma	R
Jones, C.G.	House	1899	Oklahoma	R
Jones, Chas. G.	House	1901	11th Oklahoma	R
Jones, Edgar W.	House	1903	Logan	D
Jones, Jesse H.	House	1903	Dewey	D
Knipe, W.A.	House	1895	16th	R
Koch, Philip	House	1899	Blaine	R

Lane, J.P.	Council	1893	6th Norman	D
Learned, D.B.	Council	1897	8th	FSD
Levy, Isaac B.	House	1905	Logan	D
Lewis, Samuel M.	House	1890	1st	R
Linn, John F.	Council	1890	1st Logan	R
Little, Will T.	House	1895	10th	R
Logan, O.J.	House	1905	24th Kiowa	D
Long, Elisha H.	House	1890	7th Beaver	D
Lowry, R.A.	House	1895	12th Payne	R
Lydick, J.D.	House	1905	Cleveland	D
Lynch, J.M.	Council	1897	1st	FS
Lytton, Dale	House	1897	5th	FSP
Magness, B.P.	Council	1899	Cleveland	D
Major, John C.	House	1903	Granton	D
Malley, W.F.	House	1899	Lincoln	R
Marum, D.P.	Council	1897	13th	FSD
Mason, W.H.	House	1895	13th	R
Massingale, Sam	Council	1903	Washita	D
Mathews, Frank	House	1901	25th Greer	D
Mathews, Frank	Council	1903	Greer	D
Mathews, James L.	House	1890	6th Payne	P
Mathews, James L.	House	1901	5th Payne	F
Mathews, J.L.	House	1903	Payne	D
Maxwell, William A.	House	1903	Canadian	D
Maxwell, Wm. A.	House	1905	Canadian	D
May, Jacob W.	House	1897	1st	FS
McBride, A.	House	1905	Blaine	R
McCartney, William A.	Council	1890	6th Kingfisher	R
McCartney, Wm. A.	Council	1893	2nd Kingfisher	R
McCoy, M.P.	House	1895	17th	R
McCredie, Hugh	Council	1893	13th Edmond	R
McCredie, Hugh	Council	1899	Lincoln	R
McDaniel, James J.	House	1893	26th Edmond	P
McElrath, C.F.	House	1899	Garfield	R
McTaggart, A.	House	1903	Angusta	D
Menefee, J.A.	Council	1905	Caddo	D
Merrick, J.J.	House	1893	19th Carney	R
Merrick, James J.	House	1903	McKinley	R
Merten, William H.	House	1890	1st	R
Merten, W.H.	House	1899	Logan	R
Messall, R.E.P.	Council	1901	10th Garfield	R
Millard, Ret	House	1901	19th Garfield	R
Miller, Freeman E.	Council	1901	3rd Payne	FD
Mouriquand, J.P.D.	House	1897	24th	R
Moyle, John W.	House	1893	16th Tecumseh	D
Murphy, Evert J.	House	1903	Lone Star	R
Murphy, Everet J.	Council	1905	Lone Star	R
Neal, Moses	House	1890	2nd Oklahoma	D
Niblack, Leslie G.	Council	1905	Logan	D
Nisbett, B.F.	House	1901	9th Cleveland	FD

Nisbett, B.F.	House	1903	Cleveland	D
Nisbett, Robert J.	Council	1890	3rd Cleveland	D
Nisbett (Nesbett), R.J.	House	1895	4th	P
Noffsinger, W.W.	House	1905	Kingfisher	R
Norton, J.B.	House	1905	Kay	R
Oliphant, John A.	House	1901	3rd Noble	R
Olmsted, C.W.	House	1899	Oklahoma	R
Olson, E.E.	House	1897	6th	FS
Ormsbee, Talcott	House	1893	1st Beaver	D
Orner, Geo. D.	Council	1895	12th	R
Ozmun, John W.	House	1893	10th OKC	D
Pack, Samuel D.	House	1890	2nd Oklahoma	D
Peery, Daniel W.	House	1890	2nd Oklahoma	D
Peery, D.W.	House	1893	12th Oklahoma	D
Pfaff, John	House	1893	9th Edmond	R
Phelps, Walter I.	House	1901	10th Cleveland	D
Pitman, Leander G.	Council	1890	2nd Oklahoma	D
Pitman, L.G.	Council	1893	5th Oklahoma City	D
Pitzer, J.H.	Council	1895	4th	R
Post, Joseph C.	House	1890	5th	R
Posten, G.W.	House	1895	18th	P
Pringey, J.C.	Council	1893	9th Chandler	R
Prouty, C.T.	Council	1895	9th	R
Prouty, Frank G.	House	1905	Lincoln	R
Pulliam, F.S.	Council	1893	11th Guthrie	FP
Randolph, D.S.	Council	1897	12th	FSP
Rathbun, O.P.	House	1893	20th Perkins	P
Ray, R.J.	Council	1895	13th	D
Reid, Thomas R.	House	1899	Canadian	R
Reid, Thomas R.	House	1901	14th Canadian	R
Robertson, William S.	House	1890	1st	R
Robinson, T.M.	House	1903	Greer	D
Robinson, T.M.	House	1905	Greer	D
Rogers, Frank R.	House	1901	20th Garfield	R
Rose, D.S.	House	1897	2nd Kay	FSD
Ross, A.J.	House	1905	Woods	R
Ross, L.P.	Council	1893	7th Cleveland	D
Scott, A.C.	Council	1895	3rd Oklahoma	R
Scott, Joel R.	Council	1905	Noble	R
Scott, John W.	House	1899	Lincoln	R
Scott, W.A.	House	1893	18th Clifton	R
Scott, Wm. H.	House	1901	6th Payne	FD
Seeley, Silas E.	House	1901	17th Logan	R
Shaffer, J.J.	Council	1893	10th Stillwater	R
Shannon, R.B.	House	1897	15th	FSP
Sharrock, C.A.L.	Council	1905	Major	R
Sherer, Fred S.	House	1899	Grant	R
Smelser, Joseph	Council	1890	4th Canadian	D
Smith, James L.	House	1890	1st	R
Smith, John H.	House	1899	Kay	P

Smith, W.M.	House	1895	22nd	R
Sniggs, August T.	House	1901	23rd Woods	R
Spencer, A.N.	House	1895	7th	D
Spencer, E.H.	Council	1895	6th Payne	P
Sproat, S. Grimes	House	1903	Garfield	R
St. Clair, Levi M.	House	1897	22nd	FS
St. John, H.C.	House	1895	5th	R
Stanley, M.L.	House	1893	7th El Reno	R
Stein, G.S.	House	1895	24th	R
Stevens, Walter C.	House	1899	Kingfisher	R
Stevens, Walter C.	House	1901	16th Kingfisher	R
Stone , W.B.	House	1893	23rd Mulhall	P
Stovall, James M.	House	1890	3rd Cleveland	D
Stovall, J.M.	House	1893	15th Norman	D
Stovall, J.M.	House	1897	9th	D
Sullivan, W.L.	House	1897	18th Logan	FSP
Sutton, G.W.	House	1895	9th	R
Talbot, Demetrius W.	House	1890	4th Canadian	D
Tankersley, B.R.	Council	1895	8th Payne	P
Taylor, Wesley	House	1905	Noble	R
Terrill, Ira N.	House	1890	6th Payne	P
Thacker, Charles M.	Council	1899	Greer	D
Thomas, Huston A.	House	1899	Pawnee	F
Thomas, Huston A.	House	1901	4th Pawnee	F
Threadgill, John	House	1903	Oklahoma	R
Threadgill, John	Council	1905	Oklahoma	R
Todd, H.A.	House	1895	8th	R
Todd, J.F.	Council	1901	4th Lincoln	FP
Tousley, J.C.	House	1897	14th	FSP
Tritt, Edward C.	House	1890	5th	R
Trosper, Hugh G.	House	1890	2nd Oklahoma	R
Tuttle, Joseph K.	House	1903	Comanche	D
Updegraff, A.G.	Council	1901	12th Woods	R
Updegraff, Alpha G.	Council	1903	Woods	R
Van Kirk, D.H.	House	1899	Kingfisher	R
Van Kirk, D.H.	House	1901	15th Kingfisher	R
Vickers, G.W.	House	1895	20th	R
Vickers, George W.	House	1897	23rd	R
Wade, J.S.	House	1895	15th	P
Waggoner, Thomas R.	House	1890	3rd Cleveland	D
Waggoner, Thomas R.	House	1893	14th Norman	ID
Wagoner, Fred A.	House	1903	Lincoln	R
Wails, J.C.	House	1899	Cleveland	P
Waits, S.A.	House	1895	3rd Cleveland	D
Walker, Wm. N.	House	1905	Payne	R
Wallace, David J.	House	1893	22nd Langston	R
Walling, H.R.	House	1895	19th	P
Webster, George T.	Council	1903	Custer	R
Wilkin, James	House	1899	Kay	R
Wilkin, James	House	1901	2nd Kay	R

Wilkin, James	House	1903	Kay	R
Williams, Herbert W.	House	1903	Pawnee	R
Williamson, J.C.	House	1899	Beaver	R
Willis, Thomas E.	House	1897	16th	FSP
Wilson, Ben F.	House	1897	13th	FSD
Wimberly, John A.	House	1890	4th	R
Wimberly, John A.	House	1893	5th Kingfisher	R
Winkler, Felix L.	Council	1899	Kingfisher	R
Winkler, Felix L.	Council	1901	8th Kingfisher	R
Winkler, Felix L.	Council	1903	Kingfisher	R
Winkler, Felix L.	Council	1905	Kingfisher	R
Wood, Robert E.	House	1901	8th Pottawatomie	FD
Wood, Virgil A.	House	1899	Garfield	R
Woodmansee, T.J.	House	1897	21st	FS
Woods, Clarence E.	House	1905	Alfalfa	R
Woodson, B.N.	Council	1905	Kiowa	D
Woolsey, James P.	Council	1901	2nd Noble	FD
Woolsey, James P.	Council	1903	Noble	D
Wrightsmen, C.J.	Council	1893	8th Tecumseh	D

ENDNOTES

¹ R. Darcy is Regents Professor of Political Science and Statistics, Oklahoma State University.

² House members Green J. Currin (Kingfisher) in 1890 and David J. Wallace (Langston) in 1893.

³ James R. Scales and Danney Goble, *Oklahoma Politics: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982):4-5.

⁴ The Populists' party was variously called the Alliance, and the People's Party.

⁵ Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma A History of the State and Its People* Volume II (New York: Lewis Historical Publishers, 1929):574. They count 13 Republicans in the House and 6 in the Council.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 577, 579. They count 1 Republican in the House in 1897 and 15 in 1901.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 579.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 585.

⁹ Gaston Litton, *History of Oklahoma at the Golden Anniversary of Statehood* Volume I (New York: Lewis Historical Publishers, 1957):462. He counted 6 Republicans in the 1893 Council and 13 in the House.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 467.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, :466.

¹² *Ibid.*, 471.

¹³ Harry E. Henslick, "Abraham Jefferson Seay Governor of Oklahoma Territory, 1892 - 1893," in LeRoy H. Fisher, ed. *Territorial Governors of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1975):38-39. He counts 13 Republicans in the House and 6 in the Council.

¹⁴ Jerry L. Gill, "Thompson Benton Ferguson Governor of Oklahoma Territory, 1901 - 1906," in Fisher, *Territorial Governors*, 116. He counts 14 Republicans in the 1903 House.

¹⁵ Edwin C. McReynolds. 1954. *Oklahoma A History of the Sooner State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press):293. He counts 6 Republicans, 5 Democrats and 2 Populists.

¹⁶ James Ralph Scales. 1949. *Political History of Oklahoma, 1907 - 1949* (Norman: University of Oklahoma unpublished Doctoral Dissertation):6. See also Eldon L. Clemence. 1964. *A History of the Democratic Party of Oklahoma* (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University unpublished Master of Arts Thesis):69-70. Clemence repeats Scales' party counts for various legislative houses

¹⁷ Dan W. Peery, "The First Two Years (continued)." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 7 (December, 1929):432.

¹⁸ *The Stillwater Gazette*, November 22, 1900 omitted the 23rd House District in reporting the election results. The *Payne County Populist*, November 23, 1900 reported Dan Fleisher, fusion, as winner in House District 23. A.T. Sniggs, Republican actually won the 23rd House District. *The Stillwater Gazette* reported House District 22 winner Henry M. Brewer as a Republican when he was in fact a fusionist.

¹⁹ J.L. Matthews was elected to the 1890 House as a Populist, the 1901 House as a fusionist and the 1903 House as a Democrat. R.J. Nisbett was elected to the 1890 House as a Democrat and the 1895 House as a Populist.

²⁰ J.M. Faris, for example, in the 1893 House, has his name spelled both 'Farris' and 'Faris' in various places in the legislative journal. Charles F. Grimmer in the 1890 Council is Crimmer in some sources.

²¹ Worth Robert Miller, *Oklahoma Populism: A History of the People's Party in the Oklahoma Territory* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987):213.

²² In a private communication Miller identifies his main sources. These are the *Norman Transcript*, August 30, 1890; *Norman Transcript*, January 13, 1893; *Kingfisher Reformer*, December 20, 1894 and Guthrie *Oklahoma Representative*, December 6, 1894; Guthrie *Oklahoma Representative*, January 14th, 1897; *Norman People's Voice*, November 25th, 1898; *Stillwater Payne County Populist*, November 23rd, 1900.

²³ Or Crimmer.

²⁴ This count agrees with that in Miller, *Oklahoma Populism* :213.

²⁵ Peery, "The First Two Years (continued)":435-457.

²⁶ Will T. Little, L.G. Pitman and R.J. Barker, *Statutes of Oklahoma 1890* (Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory: State Capitol Printing Company, 1891):557. Chapter 33 Section 24.

²⁷ Marion Tuttle Rock, *Illustrated History of Oklahoma* (Topeka, Kansas: C. B. Hamilton, 1890):207.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Peery, "The First Two Years (continued)":433-4, 449.

³⁰ *Journal of the First Session of the Legislative Assembly* (Guthrie, OT: Oklahoma News, 1890):6-7.

³¹ *Ibid.*,9.

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- ³² Ibid.,10. The vote was not recorded.
- ³³ Miller, *Oklahoma Populism*: 77.
- ³⁴ Ibid., 76. Miller's Council and House party counts agree with those presented here.
- ³⁵ *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Second Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma* (Guthrie, OT: State Capitol Printing, 1893):26-7.
- ³⁶ W. A. McCartney, John H. Beatty and J. Malcolm Johnston, *The Statutes of Oklahoma 1893* (Guthrie, OT: State Capitol Printing Company, 1893):567-8
- ³⁷ *Norman Transcript* January 13, 1893. Pulliam was elected as a fusionist. Miller, *Oklahoma Populism*: 78 identifies Pulliam as a Populist Councilor and former Democrat.
- ³⁸ *Norman Transcript* January 13, 1893. The *Norman Transcript* does not identify the results for the 25th House District won by Frank H. Greer, a Republican. See *Portrait and Bibliographical Record of Oklahoma*, (Chicago: Chapman, 1901):546.
- ³⁹ *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Second Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma* (Guthrie, OT: State Capitol Publishing, 1893):5.
- ⁴⁰ *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Second Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma* (Guthrie, OT: State Capitol Printing, 1893):26.
- ⁴¹ Miller, *Oklahoma Populism*, 213 gives the same Council and House party counts as those presented here.
- ⁴² *Territory of Oklahoma Session Laws of 1895*. 1895 (Guthrie: Oklahoma Territory: Daily Leader):114 Chapter 23 Section 8
- ⁴³ *Payne County Populist* December 14, 1894.
- ⁴⁴ *Payne County Populist* December 14, 1894 has B.B. Bane, (P) winning the 20th House seat but G.W. Vickers, who also served in the next House as a Republican, was seated. See *Daily Oklahoman* January 13, 1897.
- ⁴⁵ *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Third Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma* (Guthrie, OT: Daily Leader, 1895):7.
- ⁴⁶ *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Third legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma* (Guthrie, OT: Daily Leader, 1895):11.
- ⁴⁷ *Territory of Oklahoma Session Laws of 1895*. 1895 (Guthrie: Oklahoma Territory: Daily Leader):113 Chapter 23 Section 6.
- ⁴⁸ Worth Robert Miller. 1987. *Oklahoma Populism: A History of the People's Party in the Oklahoma Territory* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press):153-4.
- ⁴⁹ Worth Robert Miller. 1987. *Oklahoma Populism: A History of the People's Party in the Oklahoma Territory* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press):213 identifies the Free Silver Council seats as seven Democrats and six Populists; the House seats as eleven Democrats and twelve Populists.
- ⁵⁰ *Territory of Oklahoma Session Laws of 1897*. 1897. (Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory: Leader Company):148-150 Chapter 14 Article 1 Sections 4-5.
- ⁵¹ *Daily Oklahoman* November 26, 1896.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Fourth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma.* (Guthrie, OT: Daily Leader, 1897):30. The vote was not recorded.

⁵⁴ *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Fourth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma.* (Guthrie, OT: Daily Leader, 1897):31. The vote was not recorded.

⁵⁵ *Territory of Oklahoma Session Laws of 1897 Passed at the Regular Session of the Legislative Assembly.* (Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory: Leader Company, 1897):158 Chapter 14 Article 3 Section 1.

⁵⁶ Miller, *Oklahoma Populism*: 213 gives the same numbers except classifying the one fusion House seat as Populist.

⁵⁷ *Territory of Oklahoma Session Laws of 1899.* 1899. (Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory: State Capitol Printing):140-1, 152.

⁵⁸ *Daily Oklahoman* November 12, 1898.

⁵⁹ Ibid.,; Worth Robert Miller, personal communication 24 August, 2002; *Payne County Populist* November 23, 1900; *Daily Oklahoman* November 12, 1898; *Beaver Herald* October 27th, 1898.

⁶⁰ *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Fifth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma* (Guthrie, OT,1899):13.

⁶¹ *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Fifth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma*(Guthrie, OT, 1899):11. The vote was not recorded.

⁶² Miller, *Oklahoma Populism*: 213 gives the same count except classifying six House seats as Democrat, four as fusion and none as Populist.

⁶³ *Stillwater Gazette* November 22, 1900.

⁶⁴ Ibid.; *Payne County Populist* November 23, 1900 p.1; *Daily Oklahoman* January 6, 1901 p1; *Daily Oklahoman* November 12, 1898 p1; *Daily Oklahoman* November 11, 1904 p1; *Stillwater Advance* November 24, 1904 p1; *The Alva Review* Thursday November 15th, 1900 Supplement.

⁶⁵ *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Sixth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma* (Guthrie, OT: State Capitol, 1901):13.

⁶⁶ *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Sixth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma* (Guthrie, OT: State Capitol, 1901):11. The vote was not recorded

⁶⁷ Miller, *Oklahoma Populism*: 176.

⁶⁸ *Daily Oklahoman* Jan 13, 1903; *Stillwater Advance* November 13, 1902.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Seventh Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma* (Guthrie, OT: State Capitol, 1903):12.

⁷¹ *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Seventh Legislative Assembly of the Territory* (Guthrie, OT: State Capitol, 1903): 11. The vote was not recorded

⁷² *Daily Oklahoman* Nov 11, 1904; *Stillwater Advance* November 24, 1904.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Eighth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma* (Guthrie, OT: State Capitol, 1905):12..

⁷⁵ *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Eighth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma* (Guthrie, OT: State Capitol, 1905):11. The vote was not recorded

⁷⁶ Scales, *Political History of Oklahoma*: 5.