✯ NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The Andrew J. Reynolds Collection, 1880–1888

By William D. Welge

It has become quite rare for institutions like the OHS to receive a collection dating from the nineteenth century. In fact, most records of any significance from that time period are now found in archival, museum, or private collections.

The Research Division was recently contacted by the Ouray County Historical Society of Ouray, Colorado, regarding whether or not the Oklahoma Historical Society would be interested in acquiring, through donation, five ledger volumes of the records of A. J. Reynolds, Indian trader of Anadarko, Indian Territory. Within a millisecond, the answer was decisively, "Yes."

Andrew Jackson Reynolds, was born in Niagara County, New York, in 1844 to Henry A. and Caroline Van Horn Reynolds. "A. J.," as he styled himself, was one of a family of ten children, comprising four brothers and six sisters.

Reynolds's older brother, Albert Eugene, born in 1840 and the eldest of the brothers, had come west in 1865 and by 1867 was operating a store at Fort Lyon, Colorado. By 1869 Albert E. Reynolds had formed a partnership with W. M. D. Lee, thus establishing the trading firm of Lee and Reynolds. The enterprise maintained stores at Camp Supply and Darlington.

In 1878 Albert assisted Andrew with opening his own store to trade among the Indian tribes at Anadarko. The voluminous records of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita and Affiliated Bands Agency (KCW), are already held in in the Indian Archives at the OHS, and the correspondence of the A. J. Reynolds General Merchandise store are a welcome supplement and complement to the agency records.

Among the regular patrons of Reynolds's store were such notables as Dudley P. Brown, Thomas Woodard, H. P. Pruner (a white man who later intermarried into the Delaware tribe), Edward L. Clark (interpreter to the Comanche tribe), William Shirley, and Towacconie Jim. The store's customers also included several cattle companies that held grazing leases on the reservation. Of particular interest to scholars will be entries for the Austin Cattle Company. Here are found lists of the names of some of the cowboys who worked for the company. This is a rare find, as the archives have very little mention of individuals who were associated with certain ranching concerns.

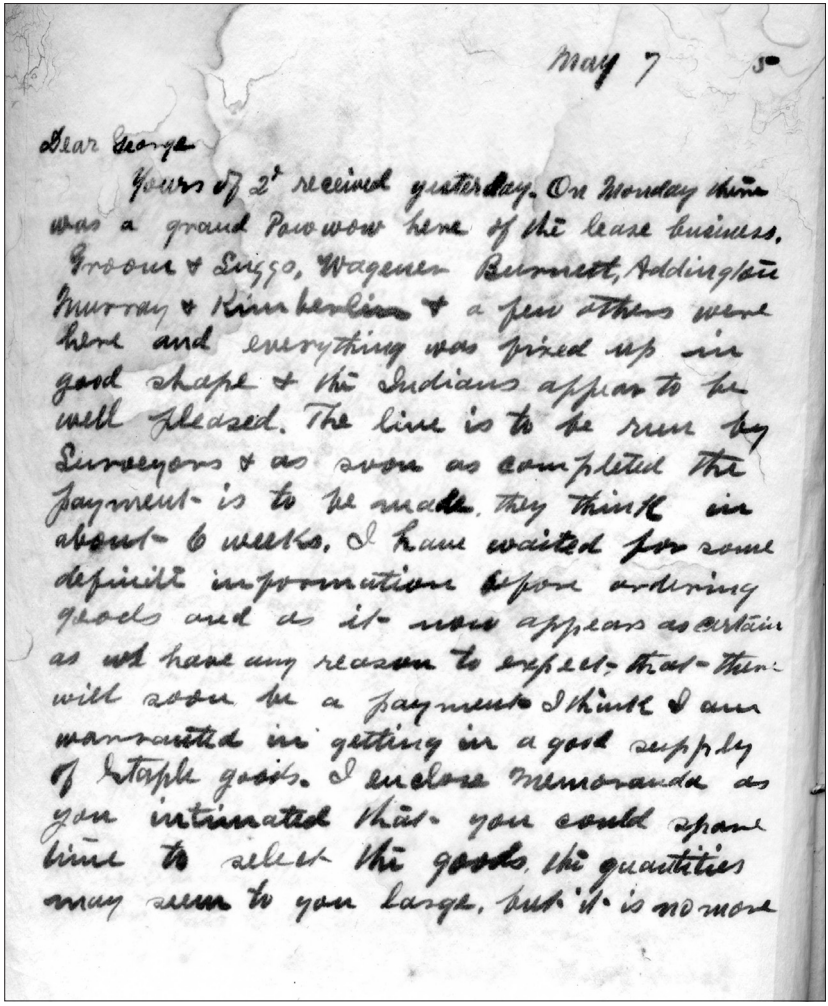
It was also in 1878 that Philemon B. Hunt was appointed United States Indian Agent for the KCW Agency. Hunt, a native of Lexington, Kentucky, was a political appointee as the period of Grant's Quaker peace policy was drawing to a close throughout Indian Territory. Hunt's tenure lasted until 1885, when he was forced to resign due to his having provided very favorable accommodations to cattle companies wishing to graze large herds on the reservation.

One of the interesting letters found in Reynolds's letterpress book is addressed to his brother George, also a merchant among the Indians. The 1884 missive offers the information that J. P. Addington, W. T. Waggoner, and other cattlemen were quite pleased with the "lease agreement" recently concluded between the cattlemen and Agent Hunt. Alhough it does not go into details, one can read between the lines as to the intent and meaning of the letter.

The collection contains four ledger-sized volumes and one letterpress volume of the accounts of various customers who visited the store. Besides noting the variety of patrons buying supplies, one can glean from the ledgers the cost of goods and whether the purchases were of foodstuffs or clothing or other commodities. One can also see what specific items cost during the ten-year period the store operated at the agency.

Apparently, Albert Reynolds was a much more capable merchant than was his younger brother. By 1888, because of Andrew's poor management practices, his heaving drinking, and his heavy load of debt, he was forced to sell the business. His older brother Albert paid all of his outstanding debts. By 1890 both A. J. and Albert had moved to Colorado. There, Albert Reynolds became quite successful in mining ventures. Andrew Jackson Reynolds was entrusted as cashier of several of Albert's mining concerns.

The Andrew J. Reynolds Collection is accessioned as 2006.79 and is available for viewing and research in the Research Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

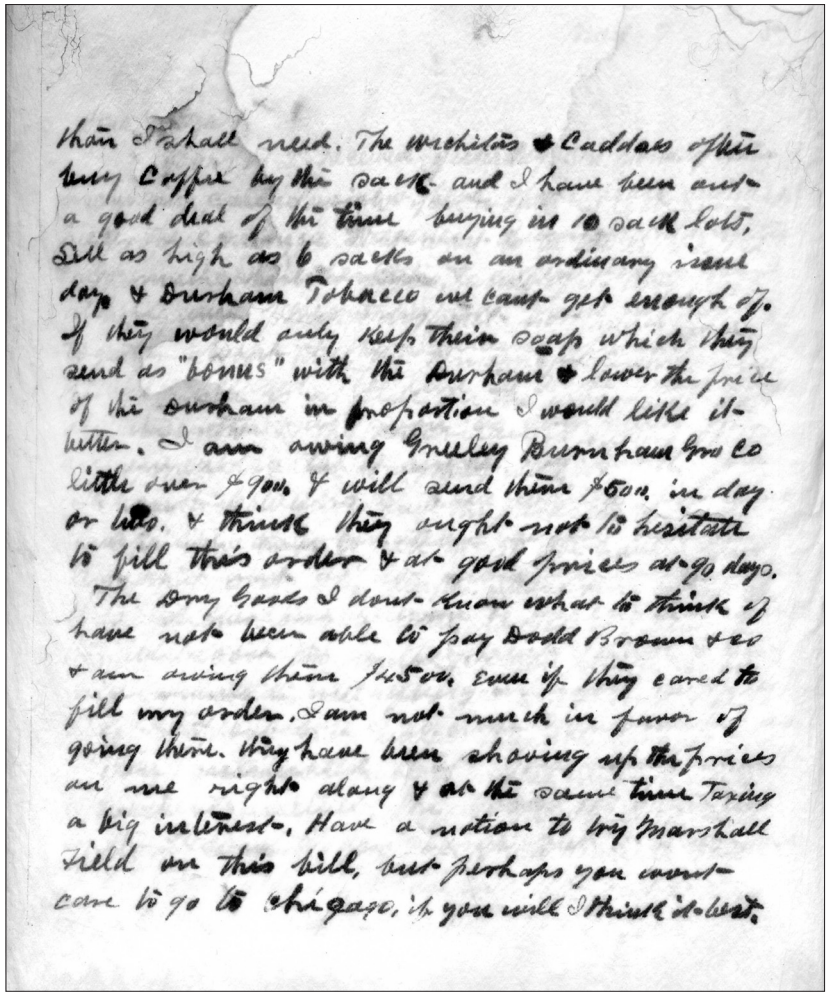


May 7 85

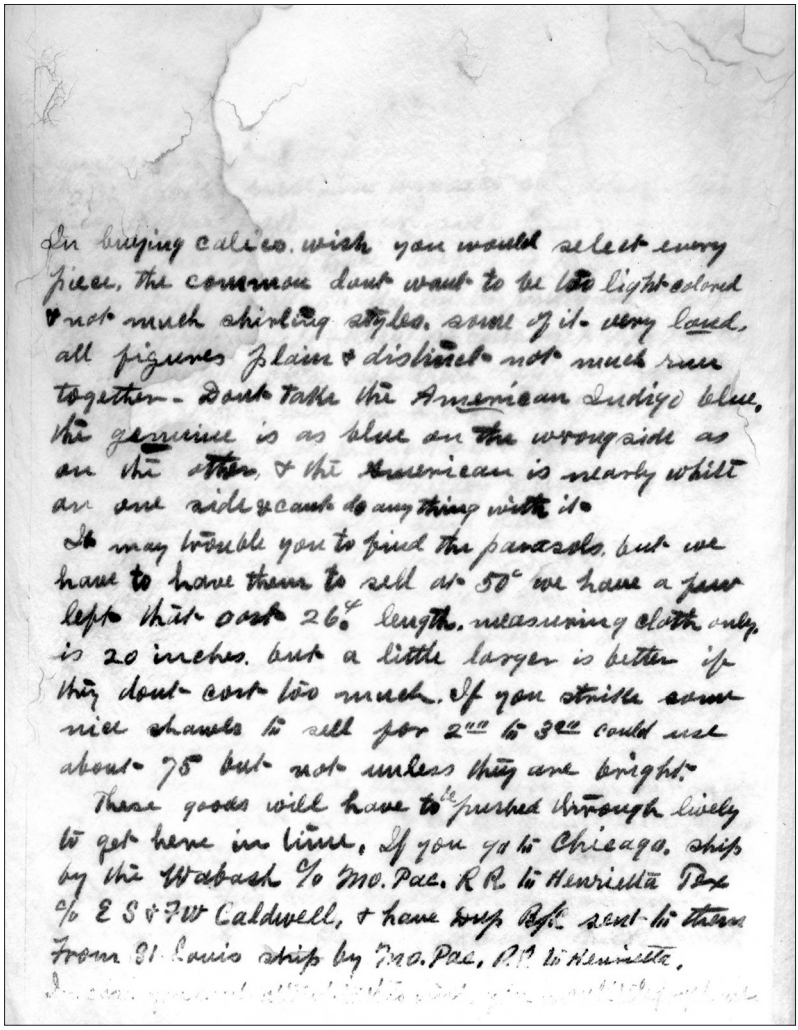
Dear George

Yours of 2d received yesterday. On Monday there was a grand Pow wow here of the lease business. Groom & Suggs, Wagener Burnett, Addington Murray & Kimberlin & a few others were here and everything was fixed up in good shape & the Indians appear to be well pleased. The line is to be run by Surveyors & as soon as completed the payment is to be made. they think in about 6 weeks. I have waited for some definite information upon ordering goods and as it now appears as certain as we have any reason to expect that there will soon be a payment I think I am warranted in getting in a good supply of staple goods. I enclose memoranda as you intimated that you could spare time to select the goods the quantities may seem to you large, but it is no more

*Letter of A. J. Reynolds to George E. Reynolds, May 7, 1885: "On Monday there was a grand Pow wow here of the lease business. Groom & Suggs, Wagener [*sic*] Burnett, Addington Murray & Kimberlin & a few others were here and everything was fixed up in good shape & the Indians appear to be well pleased" (OHS image).*



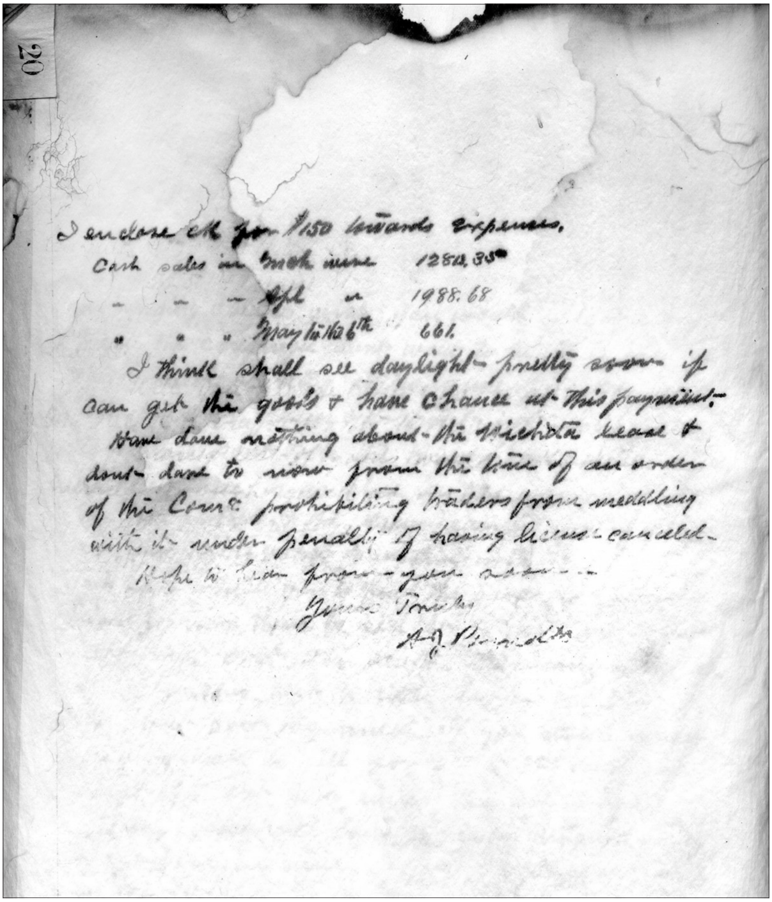
than I shall need. The Wichitas & Caddoes often bury Coffee by the sack and I have been out a good deal of the time buying in 10 sack lots, Sell as high as 6 sacks on an ordinary issue day & Durham Tobacco we can get enough of. If they would only keep their soap which they send as "bones" with the Durham & lower the price of the Durham in proportion I would like it better. I am owing Greeley Burnham & Co little over $ 900. & will send them $600. in day or two. & think they ought not to hesitate to fill this order & at good prices as 90 days. The Dry Goods I don't know what to think of have not been able to pay Dodd Brown & Co & am owing them $1500. Even if they cared to fill my order. I am not much in favor of going there. They have been shoving up the prices all the right along & at the same time taxing a big interest. Have a notion to try Marshall Field on this bill, but perhaps you could care to go to Chicago, if you will I think it best.



In buying calicos. wish you would select every piece, the common dont want to be too light colored & not much shirting styles. some of it very loud, all figures plain & distinct. not much run together - Dont take the American indigo blue, the genuine is as blue on the wrong side as on the other, & the American is nearly white on one side & cant do anything with it.

It may trouble you to find the parasols, but we have to have them to sell at 50c we have a few left that cost 26c length. measuring cloth only, is 20 inches. but a little larger is better if they dont cost too much. If you strike some nice shawls to sell for 2.00 to 3.00 could use about 75c but not unless they are bright.

These goods will have to be pushed through lively to get here in time. If you go to Chicago. ship by the Wabash C/o Mo. Pac. R.R. to Henrietta Tex c/o E S & W Caldwell, & have bill of lading sent to them From St Louis ship by Mo. Pac. R.R. to Henrietta.



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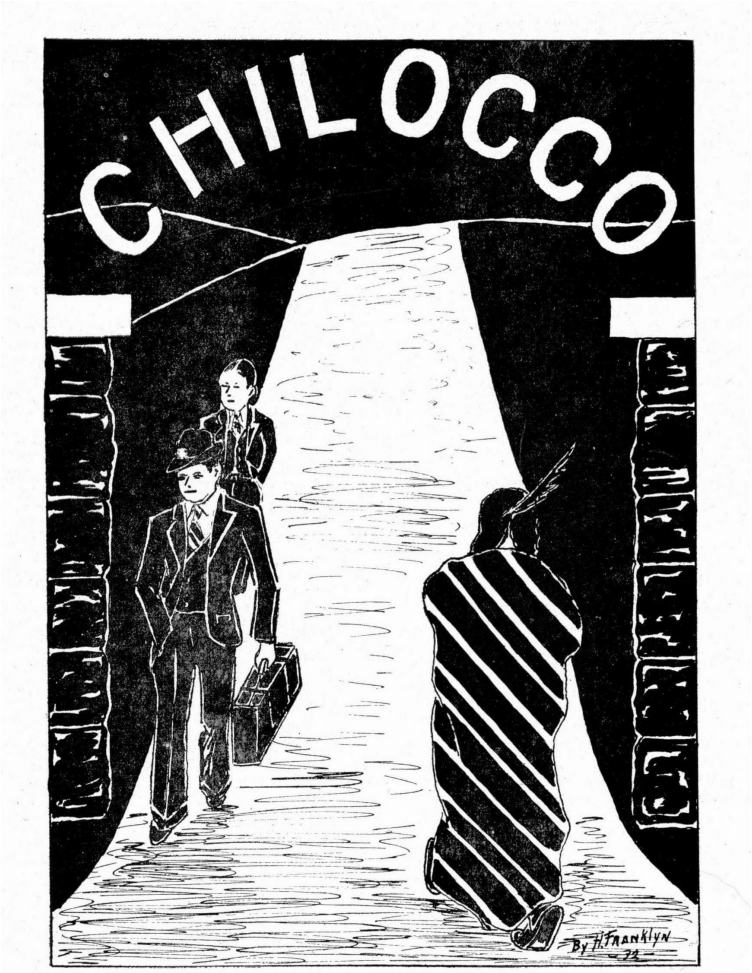
I enclose ck for $150 towards expenses.
Cash sales in Mch were 1280.35
" " " Apl " 1988.68
" " " May to the 6th 661.
I think shall see daylight pretty soon if can get the goods & have chance at this payment.
Have done nothing about the Wichita lease & dont dare to now from the tone of an order of the Court prohibiting traders from meddling with it under penalty of having license canceled.
Hope to hear from you soon.
Yours Truly
A. J. Reynolds



THE GATEWAY TO OPPORTUNITY

A student-made woodcut from the Indian School Journal *(OHS image).*

Chilocco Indian Agricultural School, A National Register Historic District

By Jim Gabbert

On September 8, 2006, the National Park Service added the Chilocco Indian Agricultural School to the National Register of Historic Places. Overshadowed from the beginning by its more famous contemporaries, the Chilocco Indian Agricultural School was the largest nonreservation boarding school in the Indian Service. Established by law in 1882 and opened in 1884, the school educated thousands of Native American children for more than one hundred years. The implementation of federal Indian policy is manifested in the physical qualities of Chilocco. The policies of Indian education and their effects on Native cultures are debatable, but there is no debate that Chilocco and its sister schools had a profound impact on those who attended.

Relations with Native Americans have long been a confusing and contradictory aspect of federal policy. Alternating between treaty making and breaking, land grants and removals, federal policy was paternalistic as well as antagonistic. Even as white settlers were encroaching on Native lands, the federal government understood that some sort of relationship between the tribes and the government must be encouraged. Education of the Indian became a priority; education was the key to coexistence, if not assimilation. The first federal appropriations for Indian education were made in 1819, with money diverted to churches and missionary organizations to create schools. The tribes themselves funded much of the expense of these mission schools, as well.[1]

In Indian Territory (present Oklahoma) the first schools established among the Five Civilized Tribes were Christian mission schools, started at the behest of the tribes themselves. The earliest mission school was Union Mission, established in 1820 for Osage Indians in what would soon become Cherokee land. Other early, prominent mission schools were Dwight Mission, established in 1830 in the Cherokee Nation, and Wheelock Seminary (later Acad-

emy), established in 1832 in the Choctaw Nation. The latter two were organized by the Presbyterian Church at the behest of the tribes.[2]

Wheelock Academy, in McCurtain County, was established in the 1840s as a Presbyterian mission school for the Choctaw Nation. It was operated as such until the early twentieth century, when it was taken over by the Indian Service. It closed in the 1940s. The campus of Wheelock was designated a National Historic Landmark on December 21, 1965. Centered on Pushmataha Hall, built in the late 1870s, the dozen or so buildings of Wheelock represent Indian education in Indian Territory as administered by government-chartered, but privately operated, religious organizations. For most of its existence, Wheelock served only the Choctaw Nation and had a classical academic educational program. There were a great number of mission schools that operated in Indian Territory. All were affiliated with specific tribes, and most were small, often with a single classroom building.[3]

In the face of increasing settlement pressure after the Civil War, the federal government removed the Plains tribes to Indian Territory or placed them in other western territories on reservations of land thought worthless or substandard. These removals were not always peaceful; this was the era of the Indian Wars, of the Washita Massacre, of Little Big Horn. The federal encouragement led to the establishment of church missions and schools on these new reservations in order to help pacify the "savage" tribes.[4]

The year 1878 brought a change in government policy, engendered by the idea of one man. Capt. Richard Henry Pratt had been assigned in 1875 to take Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa prisoners of war from Fort Sill, Indian Territory, to Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida. Pratt brought in teachers to instruct the prisoners in English. In 1878, as the prisoners were to be released and returned to their homes, a group requested to remain and continue their education. Pratt, with the help of the Indian Bureau, enrolled them at Hampton Institute, in Hampton, Virginia, an historically black college. The program of academic and industrial training appeared to Pratt to be the solution to the "Indian problem." In remarking on the program, United States Commissioner of Education John Eaton noted in his 1878 report that "their [the Indian students] education there has gone forward with such satisfactory results that one addition after another has been made by government authority to the number of pupils under training. . . ."[5] Pratt convinced the Indian Bureau and the War Department to allow him to set up a formal

school open to all Indians, following a curriculum similar to that of Hampton Institute but overlaid with rigid military discipline. An old cavalry barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, was made available and transferred to the Department of the Interior in 1879.

In addressing the educational needs of Indians at the time of the establishment of Carlisle, Eaton's 1878 report pointed out that "a most promising effort for the education and civilization of a number of selected Indian youth in schools at the East superior to their own, and removed from all the bad influences of the wild tribes, was successfully begun in 1877–'78, and seems likely to be eminently beneficial."[6] Boarding schools on the reservations had been established for individual tribes, but it was the prospect of removing the Indian youth from their usual environs that attracted the attention of policy makers and educators who subscribed to the philosophy of assimilation. Pratt believed that total removal and separation was the only way to completely separate the Indian from the man. Even during vacation times, students were placed in the homes of local families and were not allowed to return to their homes.[7] It was soon apparent that Carlisle was inadequate to house the great number of potential students, and plans were brought forth by the Indian Bureau to create new schools in the West, based on the Pratt experiment. The experiment, Carlisle Indian Industrial School, became a permanent institution when Congress enacted a law establishing the nonreservation school system in 1882.[8]

That new legislation led to the establishment of Chilocco Indian Agricultural School. The *Cherokee Advocate*, published in Tahlequah, the capital of the Cherokee Nation, on October 24, 1882, announced: "The location of the industrial Indian school selected by Inspector Hayworth, is about six miles south of Arkansas City, in the Territory, on what is known as Chilochi creek. The section of ground on which the building is to be erected, is mostly bottom land, and contains several good springs. A better place could hardly be found in the Territory. . . . We understand $25,000 has already been appropriated for the building, and $31,000 for supporting the school."[9] It was January 1884 before the doors of the school were opened to students.[10]

The Indian Appropriation Act of May 17, 1882, authorized the secretary of the interior to cause to be constructed "a building suitable in size and convenience for the instruction and care of one hundred fifty Indian children" on a reserve of good agricultural land adjacent to the Kansas border, near the Ponca and Kaw reservations. The initial land acquisition was to have been one section, 640 acres, but upon inspection by Superintendent of Indian Education James

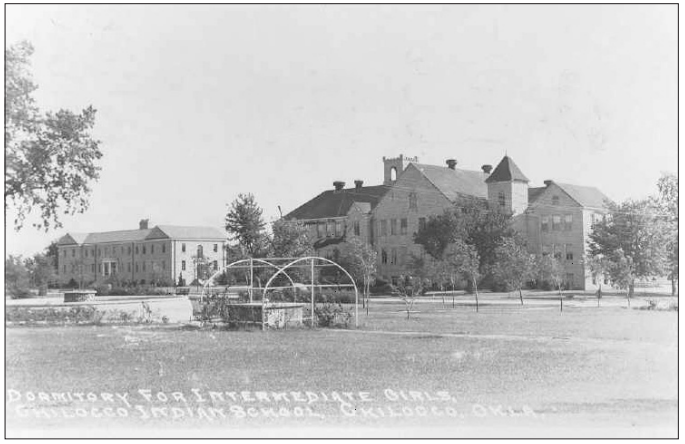
Hayworth a tract of almost twelve hundred acres was selected. The vast expanse of prairie land in the territory, lacking any permanent settlers, encouraged an even larger increase in acreage. It was determined that the new school would have an agricultural focus, and as much land as necessary to support the school could be acquired at minimal cost from the Cherokee, who held title to the area. After the president issued an executive order in 1884, the final area for the Chilocco Reserve would encompass 8,598 contiguous acres, or twelve square miles.[11] The land was taken from a parcel known as the Cherokee Outlet, which after the 1866 Treaty of Washington, had been set aside for the settlement of Plains tribes. The first school building was begun in 1883 and opened for classes in January of the following year.[12] A three-story, stone building, it served as dormitory, classroom, and dining hall. It stood as an imposing landmark on the treeless prairie.

Old Hospital Building, circa 1910 (Courtesy Jim Gabbert).

Since its beginning in a single stone building sitting in the midst of a vast prairie, the Chilocco campus has grown to encompass more than three hundred acres and nearly eighty buildings. The balance of the reservation was used as farm and grazing land in support of the school. The Chilocco Indian School is located in north-central Oklahoma just west of U.S. Highway 77, between Newkirk, Oklahoma, and Arkansas City, Kansas. Chilocco Creek meanders northwest to southeast along the south edge of the campus through gently rolling prairie. Screens of mature trees mark the west and

north edges of the campus; new stands of volunteer trees are filling in formerly open areas around the campus. There are seventy-six resources in the nominated historic district, including buildings, structures, sites, and objects.[13]

The campus is reached through a mile-long *alee* of elm trees. Pastures and fields are to the north and south of this road. A cluster of buildings, most notably a National Guard Armory, mark the entrance to the campus. Two staff cottages, constructed of stone in 1903, and the former hospital building, built in 1897 and remodeled in 1925, face toward Chilocco Lake, which separates these buildings from the main campus. The campus consists of forty-four buildings, academic and residential, most of which are constructed of locally quarried limestone and laid out around a central mall. Buildings related to the various academic and vocational departments are clustered to the southeast, south, and west of the mall. A cluster of residences is located north of the mall. South of Chilocco Creek a small cemetery and scattered agricultural buildings are set apart from the main campus.



Hayworth Hall (date unknown, circa 1920; courtesy Jim Gabbert).

Chilocco's campus has not been utilized as a school since 1980, and the facilities have been left to deteriorate. Many of the buildings have been compromised by failing roofs or acts of vandalism. They do, however, retain the excellent integrity of design, location, feeling, association, setting, materials, and workmanship essential to listing in the National Register. Alterations to the buildings re-

flect the many years of service they provided, both as functional resources and also as laboratories for the vocational departments of the school.

The focal point of the campus is an oval, central mall, around which were arrayed the primary academic and residential buildings of the school. On the east side of the oval are Correll Hall, a 1935 dormitory with a Colonial Revival architectural vocabulary, the 1924 employees' quarters, and Hayworth Hall, the main classroom building. Built in 1910 after a fire destroyed its predecessor, Hayworth Hall is a three-story, limestone building with multiple gables, a central tower, and a complex footprint. Stylistically, it is considered a Late Victorian Romanesque style and was designed Pauley, Hoyland & Smith, an architectural firm from St. Louis. On the north edge of the oval is Leupp Hall, built in 1905, the home of the domestic sciences department and also, for many years, the main dining hall for the school. A three-story, limestone building, Leupp Hall was designed by Edward Bidwell and has had a number of additions over the years to accommodate the growth and changing needs of the school. The last addition was in 1940, when a Work Projects Administration grant added classroom space to the east end of the building. On the west edge of the oval is the Administration Building, built in 1918, a single-story, limestone building with wide, overhanging eaves supported by heavy knee braces.

At the southeast corner of the oval are the power plant, print shop, and the boys' Honor Dorm, all constructed of limestone. The 1918 power plant is a landmark noted by its tall, square, brick smokestack. The Honor Dorm and print shop date to the late 1930s. The south edge of the oval is dominated by Hayman Hall, a two-story, limestone boys' dormitory constructed in 1932. A twin to Antonne Hall (a girls' dormitory northwest of Leupp Hall), Hayman Hall has a restrained Classical Revival vocabulary. Located within the oval is a fountain, a war memorial, and the student union building, a red brick, single-story building constructed in 1965.

North of the oval, north of Leupp Hall, is a cluster of residential buildings. Antonne Hall, a staff apartment building, and a single dwelling, all constructed of limestone, are intermixed with seven other frame cottages and numerous garages. These cottages were constructed primarily by the students.

West and southwest of the oval are buildings dedicated to the vocational trades and some additional frame cottages used as staff residences. The warehouse, a two-story, rubble-limestone building rebuilt in 1911 after a fire, is the oldest of these buildings. The larg-

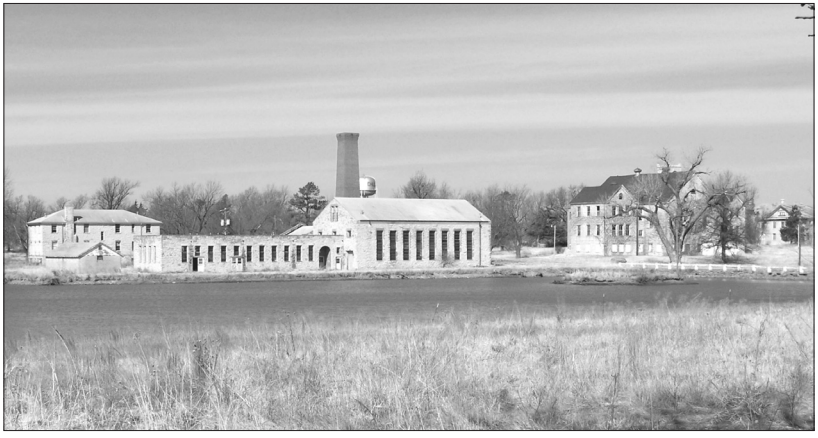
est buildings are the Practical Arts Shop, constructed in 1963, and the new boys' dorm, a Modernist design completed in 1966 and the newest building on campus. Other vocational buildings and service buildings are clustered near the warehouse and dorm. The fire station, the service station, and the vocational shops, completed in the 1930–50 period, are limestone with Colonial Revival accents.

Further south of the campus are agricultural buildings, including a sheep barn, the ruins of the dairy barn, and sundry outbuildings. Located near the dairy barn's ruins is the school cemetery. A single marker dating to 1889 stands amidst dozens of unmarked graves. These remote properties are accessed via two historic bridges across Chilocco Creek. The easternmost bridge is a steel-stringer type constructed around 1930 to replace an older structure. The westernmost bridge is a single-span concrete arch erected around 1910.

Hayworth Hall, 2005 (Jim Gabbert / SHPO photo).

The buildings, sites, and structures that comprise the campus of Chilocco Indian School are all directly related to the facility's function and purpose. They are, for the most part, united by a common use of materials and design. There are no intrusions in the campus that depart from the mission of the school, although there are buildings that are fewer than fifty years of age. Individual buildings have been altered over time, primarily reflecting the continued use of the school until its closing, its use as a laboratory for the students, and the eventual deterioration that came with abandonment.

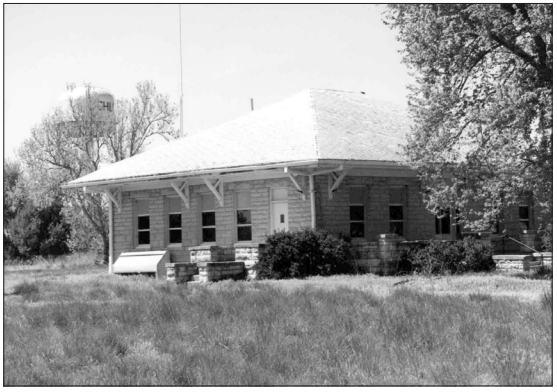
Leupp Hall, 2005 (Jim Gabbert / SHPO photo).



View from across the pond, 2005: Left, Honor Dorm; center, Power House; right, Hayworth Hall; distant right, Correll Hall (Jim Gabbert / SHPO photo).

The campus retains excellent integrity of design, setting, feeling, association, location, workmanship, and materials. It was listed in the National Register of Historic Places as nationally significant under Criterion A, for its association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history, and for its statewide architectural significance under Criterion C, for embodying the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction.

Antonne Hall (girls' dormitory), 2005 (Jim Gabbert / SHPO photo).



Administration Building, 2005 (Jim Gabbert / SHPO photo).

ENDNOTES

[*] Jim Gabbert is Architectural Historian in the State Historic Preservation Office of the Oklahoma Historical Society. This article is drawn from a National Register nomination form prepared in 2006 for Chilocco Indian Agricultural School as an historic district. Portions have also been abstracted from a paper presented at a recent meeting of the Pioneer American Society: Association for the Preservation of Artifacts and Landscapes (PAS:APAL).

[1] Act of March 3, 1819, chap. 851, subsec. 2, 3 U.S. Stat., 516, 517. Ten thousand dollars per year was appropriated for this "civilization fund" until the legislation was repealed in 1873.

[2] These mission schools are discussed in numerous secondary works, including O. B. Campbell, *Mission to the Cherokees: Dwight Mission Since 1820* (Oklahoma City, Okla.: Metro Press, 1973); "Dwight Mission," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 12 (March 1934); Hope Holway, "Union Mission, 1826–1837," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 40 (Winter 1962–63); and Morris L. Wardell, "Protestant Missions Among the Osages, 1820 to 1838," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 2 (September 1924).

[3] See Natalie Morrison Denison, "Missions and Missionaries of the Presbyterian Church Among the Choctaws," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 24 (Winter 1946–47); William L. Hiemstra, "Presbyterian Mission Schools Among the Choctaws and Chickasaws," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 27 (Spring 1949); and "Wheelock Mission," National Historic Landmark File, State Historic Preservation Office, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[4] The various aspects of the Removal of the Southeastern tribes and of the reservation period of Plains Indian history is thoroughly discussed in a variety of secondary works, including Arrell M. Gibson, ed., *America's Exiles: Indian Colonization in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1976); Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indian* (abridged ed.; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986); and Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865–1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976).

[5] *Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1878* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1880), xxv.

[6] Ibid., xxvii.

[7] *Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1882–1883* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1884), 230.

[8] Alexander Hendricks, Vernola Land, and James Irwin, "Brigadier General R. H. Pratt, Founder of Carlisle Indian School, Is Dead," *Indian School Journal* 23 (March 1924), n.p. See also Robert W. Craig, Constance M. Greiff, and Richard W. Hunter, "Carlisle Indian Industrial School National Historic Landmark," National Historic Landmarks nomination form, October 15, 1984, Pennsylvania Bureau for Historic Preservation, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. For further analyses of Indian education, see Lewis Meriam, et al., *The Problem of Indian Administration* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928), Sally McBeth, "Indian Boarding Schools and Ethnic Identity: An Example From the Southern Plains Tribes of Oklahoma," *Plains Anthropologist* 28 (May 1983), and Sally McBeth, *Ethnic Identity and the Boarding School Experience of West-Central Oklahoma Indians* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1983).

[9] *Cherokee Advocate*, October 24, 1882.

[10] For an overview history and interview-based analysis of the students' experiences, see K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994). See also Larry L. Bradfield, "A History of Chilocco Indian School" (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1963).

[11] Charles J. Kappler, comp., *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 1, *Laws* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1902), Chap. 163, 198. The boundaries of the property are delineated in *The Oklahoma Red Book,* Vol.1, ed. Seth K. Corden and W. B. Richards (Tulsa,Okla.: Democrat Printing Company, 1912). The extract is titled "Chilocco Industrial School Reserve" and reads as follows: "'Executive Mansion, July 12, 1884. It is hereby ordered that the following described tracts of country in the Indian Territory, viz: Sections 13, 14, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 and the east half of sections 17, 20, and 29, all in township No. 29 north, range No. 2, east of the Indian Meridian, be, and the same are hereby, reserved and set apart for the settlement of such friendly Indians belonging within the Indian Territory as have been, or who may hereafter be educated at the Chilocco Indian Industrial School in said territory. CHESTER A. ARTHUR'" (page 402).

[12] "Fifty Years of Progress," *Indian School Journal* 34 (March 8, 1935): 1.

[13] Jim Gabbert, "Chilocco Indian Agricultural School," National Register nomination, June 1, 2006, National Register File, State Historic Preservation Office, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.