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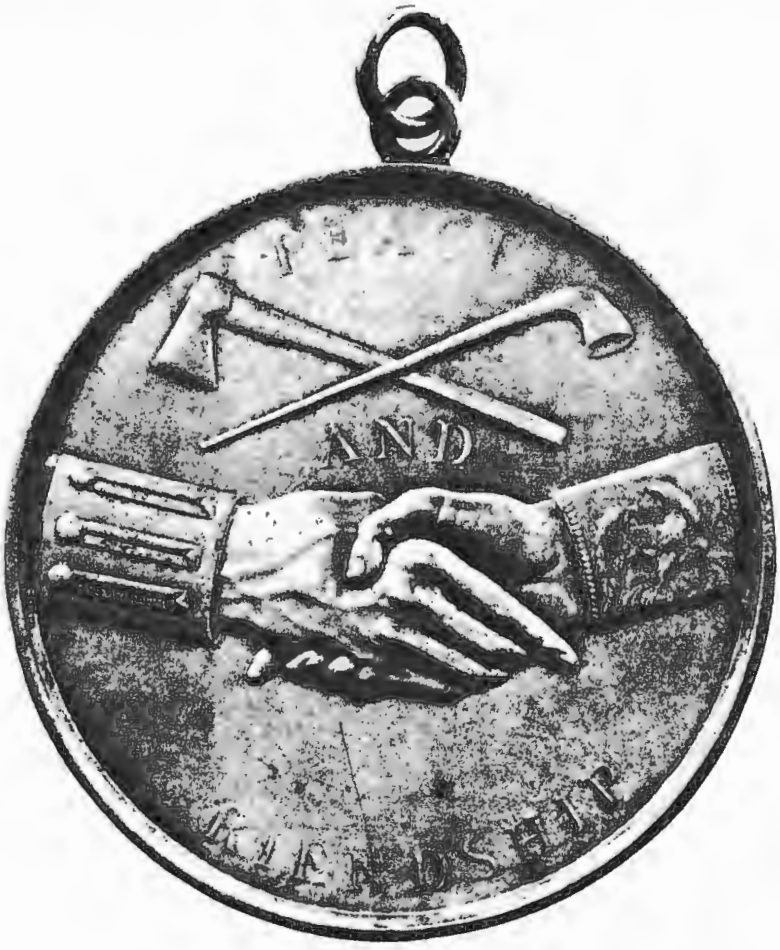

INDIAN PEACE MEDALS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

FRANCIS PAUL PRUCHA

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON : MCMLXXI

PREFACE

Through the ages, medals have been among the most intriguing of historical artifacts. There is something in their solidity and permanence, in the tight limitations placed by their very nature upon the artistic designs they can bear, and in the beauty of the metals from which they are struck that make medals ideal vehicles for the symbols of a culture or an age. When in my studies of American Indian-white relations I came upon the silver medals presented by the United States government to the Indian chiefs, I was at once caught by a strange fascination. Almost at every turn of my research I found some new reference to the use of the medals, and in the files of the National Archives I discovered untapped sources about their history.

Pursuit of the story of these medals led me into areas too little visited—into a sort of cross-disciplinary country where the artifacts of the numismatist and the documents of the historian demanded equal attention. Museums as well as libraries became my hunting ground, collectors and curators as well as archivists my guides and companions. Heretofore, Indian medals have been the concern largely of coin and medal collectors, who delight in discovering and cataloging new types and in assembling, describing, and authenticating extant medals. But such a strictly numismatic approach, with little reliance upon historical documentation, does not do justice to the significant use made of the medals, nor does it provide sufficient data about the designing and production of the medals. By adding to the detailed work of the numismatist the special skills of the historian, I have attempted to present an account of the production and use of the medals which will, on the one hand, provide the information needed to appreciate the medals themselves and, on the other hand, call to the attention of students of Indian relations the vital and indispensable part played by the medals in American policy.

This book, therefore, has two distinct but related parts. Part One presents the history of the use of the medals in American dealings with the Indians, including enough indication of previous European practice to set American usage in proper perspective. Part Two is a catalog of the individual medals, with a brief history of the designing and manufacturing of each. I have documented both parts extensively, for materials on the medals are often elusive and buried deep in other records, and the footnotes will supply a sure guide for persons who might want to study some aspect of medallic history in greater detail. It should not be thought, however, that I have exhausted the materials on the medals. So many medals were distributed that it is impossible to tell about the circumstances in each case, even if all the documents could be found. I have attempted only to collect enough data to be able to present a correct and balanced story.

All historians must acknowledge their reliance on the help of others, but my debts for this study are unusually heavy. Because of the scattering of data on the medals and the wide diffusion of the extant medals themselves, I have had to rely on many assistants. I have listed in a special section the names of those who have aided in this study, with their institutional affiliation at the time of their help. A number of persons, however, deserve very special mention.

Wilcomb Washburn of the Smithsonian Institution has been a continuing stimulus to my study of Indian policy and has particularly encouraged the present work; Vladimir Clain-Stefenelli and R. LeGette Burrus of the Numismatics Section of the Smithsonian have made the rich collection of the Smithsonian available and generously shared their knowledge with me; Henry Grunthal, Curator of Medals at the American Numismatic Society, aided me in studying the outstanding collection of medals

under his charge and arranged for numerous photographs; Arthur Woodward of the Amon Carter Museum and Allan Woolworth of the Minnesota Historical Society supplied copies of their own research notes; Herman J. Viola of the National Archives and George Chalou of Ohio State University did research on medals for me while pursuing their own studies on Indian topics; Robert Kvasnicka, Hope Holdkamper, and Sara Jackson of the National Archives patiently went out of their way to answer my requests for obscure materials, and other staff members at the Archives were constantly attentive to my needs. Nancy McCormack helped with the study as a graduate research assistant. In addition the staffs of the Harvard University Library, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, the Milwaukee Public Library, the Library of Congress, the Huntington Library, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Marquette University Library, and the United States Mint at Philadelphia merit special thanks. The Smithsonian Institution supplied a research grant for the project, and part of the research and writing was done while I was a Guggenheim Fellow and another part under a summer grant from the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

FRANCIS PAUL PRUCHA, S.J.

Marquette University
January, 1971

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INTRODUCTION

Silver medals, designed for presentation to Indian chiefs and warriors, played a prominent part in American Indian policy. Known as Indian peace medals, these tokens of friendship and symbols of allegiance belong not only to the history of Indian-white relations in the United States but to our artistic heritage as well, for the government took great pains to see that the medals were of high merit. Among the Indians the medals were cherished possessions, to be buried with the chiefs or passed down from generation to generation.

The practice of honoring Indian leaders in such a fashion did not originate with the United States. Though the ultimate origin of the usage is obscure, the French, Spanish, and British had distributed medals for many decades. Thomas Jefferson spoke of the use of medals among the Indians as "an ancient custom from time immemorial" which had its beginning in the European practice of giving medals to "the negotiators of treaties and other diplomatic characters, or visitors of distinction."[1]

Whatever the source, the practice took firm hold in the United States. Medals were given to Indian chiefs on important occasions, such as the signing of a treaty, a visit of important Indians to the national capital, or a tour of Indian country by some federal official. They were distributed, too, by Indian agents on the frontier at their own discretion but according to established norms. The proposed "Regulations for the Government of the Indian Department," drawn up in 1829 by Lewis Cass and William Clark, set forth a simple outline of rules to govern the distribution of medals:

> In the distribution of medals and flags, the following rules will be observed:
>
> 1. They will be given to influential persons only.
>
> 2. The largest medals will be given to the principal village chiefs, those of the second size will be given to the principal war chiefs, and those of the third size to the less distinguished chiefs and warriors.
>
> 3. They will be presented with proper formalities, and with an appropriate speech, so as to produce a proper impression upon the Indians.
>
> 4. It is not intended that chiefs should be appointed by any officer of the department, but that they should confer these badges of authority upon such as are selected or recognized by the tribe, and as are worthy of them, in the manner heretofore practised.
>
> 5. Whenever a foreign medal is worn, it will be replaced by an American medal, if the Agent should consider the person entitled to a medal.[2]

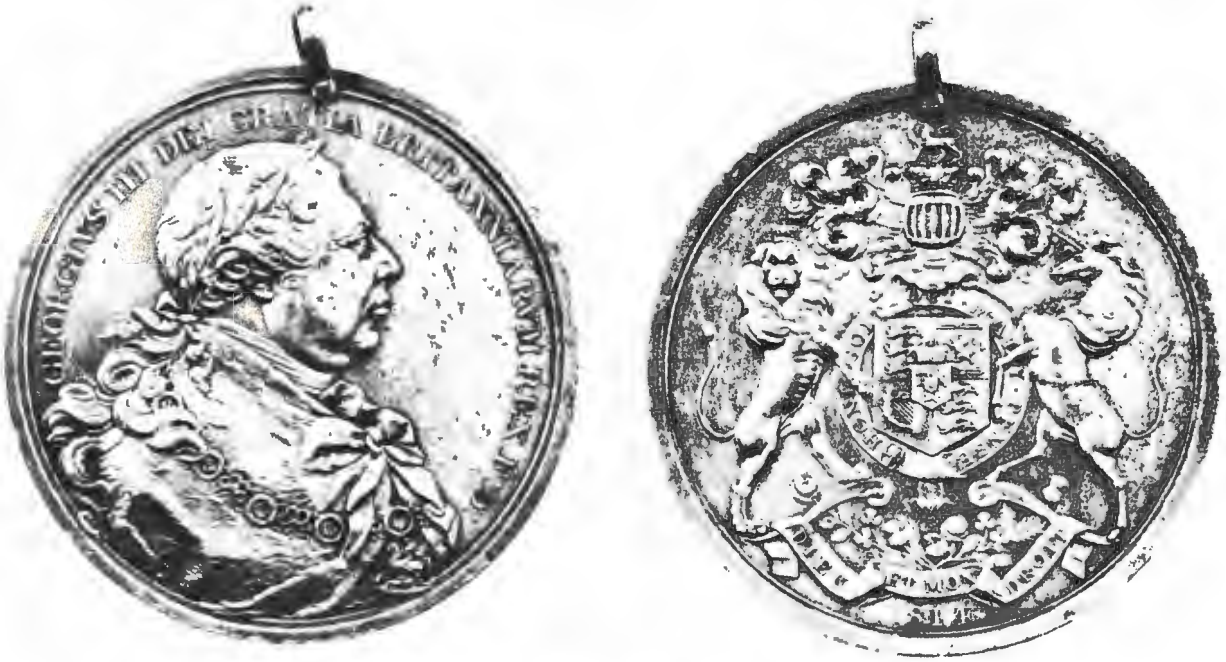
Although these regulations were never formally adopted, they represented the generally accepted practice on the frontier.

The practice became so firmly established, indeed, that it was impossible to conduct satisfactory relations with the Indians without medals. The head of the Indian Office, Thomas L. McKenney, made this clear to the Secretary of War at the end of 1829. "So important is its continuance esteemed to be," he wrote, "that without medals, any plan of operations among the Indians, be it what it may, is essentially enfeebled. This comes of the high value which the Indians set upon these tokens of Friendship. They are, besides this indication of the Government Friendship, badges of power to them, and trophies of renown. They will not consent to part from this ancient *right*, as they esteem it; and according to the value they set upon medals is the importance to the Government in having them to bestow."[3]

The use of medals reflected American relations with the Indians, and the history of American In-

dian policy is written in the history of the medals. When the United States was in competition with the British for the friendship of the tribes, the medals were of supreme importance, for the chiefs signified their switch from adherence to the British to loyalty to the United States by formally turning in their British medals and accepting in their place those bearing the likeness of the American President. The medals, perhaps even more than flags, carried the full weight of national allegiance. They were personal marks, worn with pride upon the breasts of the chiefs, and unlike flags were nearly indestructible. Within the tribes, too, possession of a medal gave rank and distinction, and despite protestations of government officials to the contrary, by awarding medals the United States designated or "made" the chiefs with whom it dealt.

As the relations between the American government and the Indian tribes changed during the nineteenth century, the significance of the medals suffered gradual attrition. Less and less symbols of national allegiance and friendship, the medals became mere rewards for good behavior or for services performed. Unofficial medals flooded the Indian reservations, and the authentic official medals that survived passed in large numbers into the hands of private collectors and numismatic museums. But the present state should not obscure the grand tradition that once obtained.



1. BRITISH INDIAN PEACE MEDAL. This beautifully engraved silver medal, showing George III on the obverse and the royal arms on the reverse, was one of those presented to Indians for their aid in the War of 1812. [Size: 76 mm.]

PART ONE

The Use of Peace Medals in American Indian Policy

1. Washington Medals for the Indians

George Washington's administration was a crucial period in American relations with the Indians, who for the most part had taken the side of the British during the Revolutionary War. The new nation needed to conciliate them if it was to start its existence in peace. Washington and his Secretary of War, Henry Knox, used every means possible to attain this goal, and they soon realized that silver peace medals were a necessary instrument in their policy.

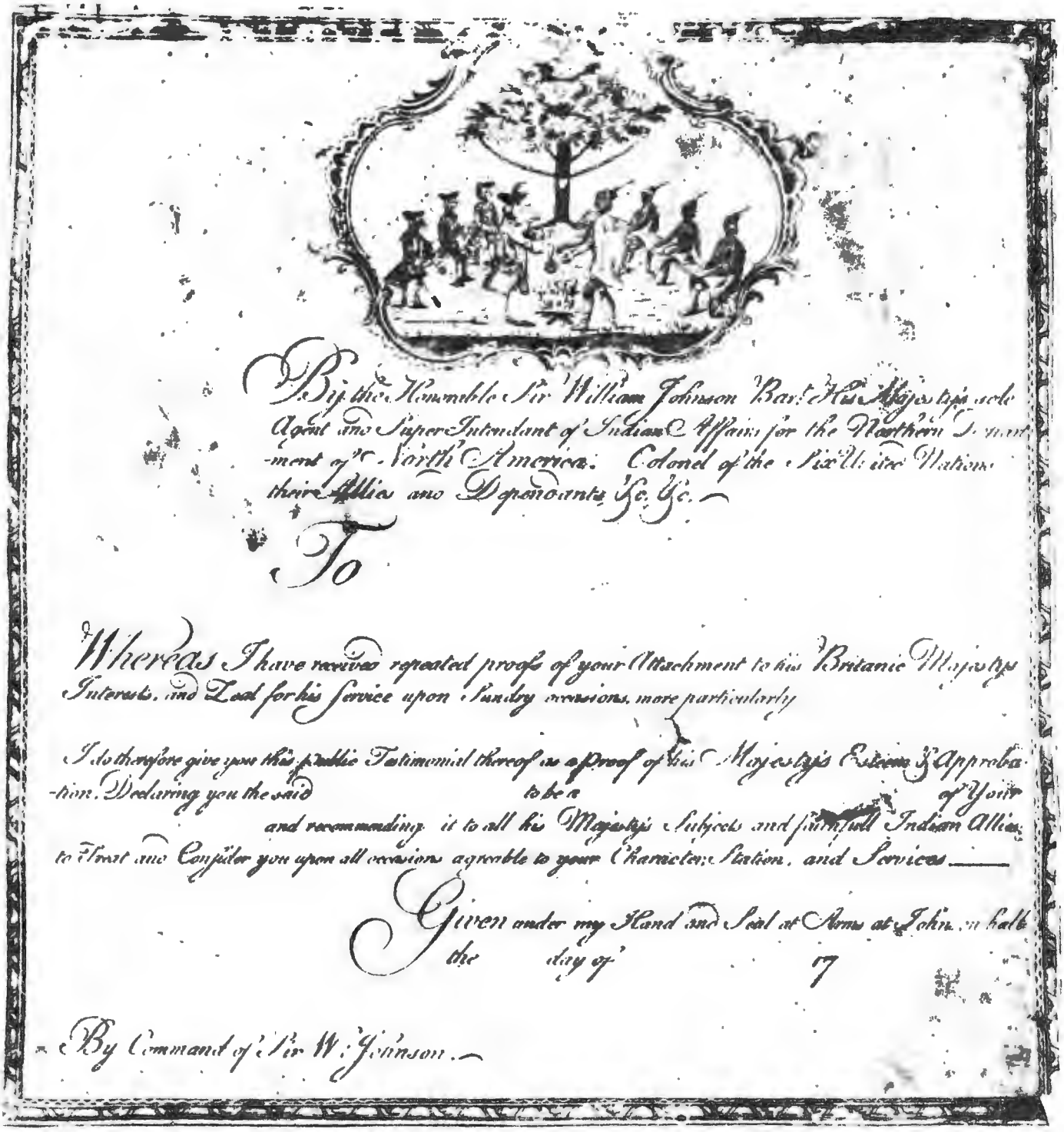
The medals played an especially significant role in the relations between the United States and the southern tribes. These Indians, like those in the north, had been granted medals by the British; and the Spanish, too, had given medals and commissions to important chiefs to hold them in allegiance to the king. When the United States replaced the British, the Indians were eager to obtain symbols of allegiance from the new Great Father. Thus the commissioners who held a conference with the Choctaws at Hopewell, South Carolina, in January, 1786, reported, "The chiefs produced their medals and commissions, and were very desirous of exchanging for those under the United States."[1]

Secretary of War Knox, on July 18, 1787, called to President Washington's attention the wisdom of following the practice of the European nations in distributing medals. He argued that the United States would "derive considerable strength in the minds and affections" of the Indians by complying with their requests, adding that the expense would be small because the Indians would be willing to turn in their British medals and other marks of allegiance in return for American ones. He therefore formally proposed: "That the Board of Treasury have completed immediately for the Southern and Northern tribes of indians, silver medals, gorgets, wrist and arm bands with the arms of the United States impressed or engraved thereon agreeably to the descriptions and numbers which shall be required by the Superintendants of the indian affairs for the northern and Southern districts."[2]

No action to carry out this recommendation was taken, at least as far as medals were concerned, and two years later, when Knox addressed a long memorandum to the President concerning the southern Indians, he repeated in strong terms his previous recommendation:

> In the administration of the Indians, every proper expedient that can be devised to gain their affections, and attach them to the interest of the Union, should be adopted. The British Government had the practice of making the Indians presents of silver medals and gorgets, uniform clothing, and a sort of military commission. The possessors retained an exclusive property to these articles, and the Southern Indians are exceedingly desirous of receiving similar gifts from the United States, for which they would willingly resign those received from the British officers. The policy of gratifying them cannot be doubted.

As the need for conciliating the Indians became more apparent if peace were to be maintained and tranquility assured, the government prepared to imitate the British. The dealings with the Creeks, the most recalcitrant of the southern nations, illustrate the American problem. These Indians had been wooed by the British during the colonial period and had generally stayed in the British orbit. Shortly before the American Revolution John Stuart, the British Indian superintendent in the south, had gone to considerable lengths to ingratiate the Creek leaders and appoint them "great medal chiefs." One of Stuart's reports to General Thomas Gage tells how the Mortar, an Upper Creek leader with strong



By the Honorable Sir William Johnson Bart. His Majesty's sole Agent and Super Intendant of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department of North America. Colonel of the Six United Nations their Allies and Dependants &c. &c. —

To

Whereas I have received repeated proofs of your Attachment to his Britanic Majesty's Interests, and Zeal for his Service upon Sundry occasions, more particularly

I do therefore give you this publick Testimonial thereof as a Proof of his Majesty's Esteem & Approbation. Declaring you the said to be a of Your and recommending it to all his Majesty's Subjects and faithfull Indian Allies to Treat and Consider you upon all occasions agreable to your Character, Station, and Services —

Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms at John... Hall the day of 7

By Command of Sir W. Johnson. —

2. Sir William Johnson Certificate. The British presented elaborate certificates to Indian chiefs as tokens of friendship. This blank certificate shows the form used by Sir William Johnson. Note the presentation of a medal in the vignette at the top.

nativist inclinations, finally succumbed to his diplomacy:

> The first time he visited me, I received him with the French commissions, medals, and gorgets given up by the Choctaws strewed under my feet and chair; they soon attracted his attention; he seemed struck by the sight and formed conceptions of our influence with that nation superior to any I could otherwise have conveyed to him which contributed greatly to facilitate our negotiations. I was minute in explaining the privileges and power conferred upon medal chiefs which seemed extremely agreeable to him, and altho I could perceive that he had a strong inclination for a great medal, yet I allowed myself to be solicited many days before I consented to confer one upon him. He was with four other chiefs (Emisteseguo, Duvall's Landlord and the Gun Merchant) and as many small medals, installed with great parade on the King's birthday at the instant that the great guns and musquetry were firing to solemnize that anniversary.[4]

The acceptance of the status of great medal chief did not tie the Creeks as closely to the British as Stuart would have liked. "The medal chiefs, except for Emisteseguo," writes a recent historian of the Creek Nation, "were Creeks first and went their ways in Creek outlooks and interests, and gave to the British only sparingly and reluctantly." Yet Emisteseguo's great medalship seems to have advanced him within the national councils.[5]

Stuart continued with presentation of medals among the chiefs of the Lower Towns. In November, 1765, he met with the headmen at Picolata on the St. Johns River a few miles west of St. Augustine. With great ceremony he installed Tallechea, Captain Allick, and Estime as great medal chiefs, and Ishenpoaphe, Weoffki, Lachige, and Clayhage as small medal chiefs, and he sent a great medal to Ahaye, the Cowkeeper of Latchoway.[6] The Choctaws and Chickasaws, as well, came under Stuart's diplomacy. At a conference at Mobile in the spring of 1765 their chiefs gave up French medals and accepted British ones instead, and half a dozen years later at a second Mobile congress Stuart renewed British influence by presenting medals to new chiefs who had come to power since 1765.[7]

The British and the Americans who replaced them continually had to compete with the Spanish for the allegiance of the Indians. The Choctaws and Chickasaws, especially, were subject to pressures from New Orleans. In 1787, for example, the Spanish commandant at Galveztown in West Florida wrote to the governor at New Orleans that the Choctaw chief Franchimastabe was coming in with a large party. "They say these Indians are not coming to do any harm," he reported, "but that they are on the road to New Orleans to extend the hand to the Spaniards and deliver to Your Lordship the medals of the English. Throughout the month of September all the rest of the chiefs are coming for the same purpose."[8]

The United States persuaded the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws to sign treaties in late 1785 and early 1786, but the Creeks held off. Some of the chiefs had signed treaties with the State of Georgia in 1783, 1785, and 1786, but the majority of the Creeks refused to accept the cessions of land made in the treaties and under the half-breed chief Alexander McGillivray remained hostile toward the Georgians and refused to treat with the American government. A conference with the Creeks at Rock Landing in 1789 came to nothing, but finally, on August 7, 1790, at the seat of government in New York, McGillivray and other Creek leaders signed a treaty with the United States which recognized some of the cessions made to Georgia and promised peace. Undoubtedly, the treaty was successfully negotiated in large part because of the secret articles which gave trade privileges to the Creeks if war broke out with Spain, and which made McGillivray a special United States agent to the Creeks with a commission as brigadier general and an annual stipend of $1,200.

In the second of the secret articles the United States stepped into the role, now vacated by the British, of appointer of "great medal chiefs" and grantor of great medals and commissions, in order to bind the chiefs in closer ties to the United States. The article read as follows:

> Article 2'nd—The United States also agree to allow to each of the great medal chiefs herein after named, a commission, a great medal with proper ornaments, and each one hundred dollars annually for themselves and the other beloved men of their towns respectively—to wit—

Of the Upper Creeks—The Chiefs the Oakfuskees, Tuckabatchees, and the present Talissee King of the half-way house.

Of the lower Creeks—The Chiefs of the Cusitahs and Cowetas—

And—

Of the Semanolees—The Chief of Micasukee—[9]

No medals have been discovered with the date of the Treaty of New York, 1790. It is likely, however, that the early oval Washington medals, which bear the date 1789, were the ones presented at this treaty.

Late in December, 1791, a group of Cherokee chiefs led by Bloody Fellow appeared at Philadelphia to confer with the President and the Secretary of War. On January 5, 1792, during a conference at Knox's house, Bloody Fellow presented the Secretary with two silver medals. "These medals," Knox wrote in his report of the conference, "were presented by Colonel Martin, about four or five years ago, but as some disturbances have since happened, they are now returned, to obtain others from the United States. Medals are valuable to the Cherokees, and when accompanied with speeches, are monuments of friendship to their nation."[10] Joseph Martin was one of the commissioners to the southern Indians when the Treaty of Hopewell was signed with the Cherokees on November 28, 1785. What sort of medals he might have had to present to the chiefs is not known, nor is it clear just why new medals were requested. The Cherokee annuity was raised $500 a year by the treaty signed at this conference, but there is no record of medals being given. Shortly thereafter, however, silver medals bearing the inscription GEORGE WASHINGTON PRESIDENT 1792 were on their way to the Cherokees and other southern nations.

When the War Department, after General Arthur St. Clair's disastrous defeat north of the Ohio River at the end of 1791, began to take firm steps to conciliate all the southern Indians, so that they would remain neutral in the continuing struggle against the Indians of the Northwest or perhaps even come into the war on the side of the United States, medals were an essential part of the program.

In February, 1792, Secretary of War Knox sent Leonard Shaw, a recent Princeton graduate, as temporary agent to the Cherokee nation. Shaw took with him presents of clothing and silver ornaments (including medals) for the chiefs, as part of his procedure for winning the friendship of the tribes.[11] He also carried with him from Philadelphia messages and medals for the Chickasaws and Choctaws. In a letter addressed to Piamingo and other chiefs of the Chickasaws, Knox wrote: "The President of the United States is very desirous to reward the attachment of Piamingo, and the warriors who were with him at fort Washington, and he now sends to Piamingo, and two other principal chiefs.—great silver medals, and each a suit of rich uniform clothes; and further, he has ordered presents to be sent from fort Washington to the Chickasaw nation generally, of such articles as shall be useful to them." Piamingo was urged to send some of his warriors to join the United States forces at Fort Washington.[12]

A similar letter was given Shaw for delivery to the Choctaws: "Your father, General Washington, sends you two great silver medals, and two sets of arm bands, and also two suits of rich uniform clothes, as a mark of his affection. You will point out the two great chiefs who are to receive these marks of distinction."[13] Shaw himself, kept busy with affairs in the Cherokee nation, was unable to fulfill his mission to the Choctaws and the Chickasaws to the west, but he turned over his letters and presents to William Blount, Governor of the Southwest Territory, at Knoxville, who dispatched the letters from the Secretary of War, the medals, and the uniforms to the two tribes with special letters of explanation.[14]

In the Cherokee national council held at Estanaula at the end of June, Shaw read a speech from President Washington and distributed the medals and other presents to that nation. At this conference the Indian practice of passing on the medal of a deceased chief to another chief of distinction was indicated in the speech of Black Fox. "The Dragging Canoe has left the world," he said on June 28. "He was a man of consequence in his country. He was a friend both to his own and the white people. But his brother is still in place; and I mention now in public, that I intend presenting him with his deceased brother's medal; for he promises fair to possess sentiments similar to those of his brother, both with regard to the red and white."[15]

The Secretary of War in August sent forward more medals and ornaments for the Creeks. He wrote to James Seagrove, the special agent to that nation, on August 11, 1792: "I send by Major Gaither twelve pairs of silver arm-bands, four silver medals, and one hundred and thirty-two pair of nose and ear jewels. These articles you will deliver to Mr. Jack Kinnard [a Creek chief], and others of your friends, as an earnest of further rewards."[16]

The Chickasaws and Choctaws, meanwhile, were meeting with Governor Blount at Nashville. These tribes were farthest from the American settlements and most closely in touch with the Spanish at New Orleans and in fact were important instruments in the anti-American policy of the Baron de Carondelet, who had become Governor of Louisiana at the end of 1791. Blount's intention was, if possible, to pull these Indians out of the Spanish orbit into the American. In so doing he presented medals and gorgets, with formal commissions, to chiefs and warriors who attended the Nashville conferences on August 7–11, 1792. The minutes of the conference list three "great medal chiefs," four "small medal chiefs," and seventeen gorget captains among the Choctaws, and nineteen chiefs (without any special designation of rank) among the Chickasaws. Some of the chiefs in attendance, like Piamingo of the Chickasaws, had already received medals through Shaw's mission, and it is not possible to tell whether all those who did not have American medals were given them, but commissions and medals were distributed on August 10, the day set aside for the delivery of presents to the two nations."The inhabitants of Long Town first marched up, with Piamingo at their head," the minutes recorded; "and after, the other towns, according to their order, headed by their chiefs; and after the Chickasaws, the Choctaws according to their order."[17]

The Indians loved ceremony and formality in the presentation of medals, and no doubt Blount did what he could to impress them. Following the Spanish pattern, he awarded the chiefs and gorget captains certificates which admonished everyone to pay proper respect to the chiefs and warriors according to their rank. The certificate presented to one of the chiefs read as follows:

> William Blount Governor in and over the Territory of the United States of America South of the river Ohio, and Superintendent of indian affairs for the Southern District
>
> To all who shall see these presents Greeting.—
>
> Know ye that in consideration of the proofs of fidelity and friendship which we have had of the indian called Tleepoocnautla of the Choctaw Nation maintaining close union with the United States—of his valor and consequence with the neighboring nations and his good disposition and knowledge to command desiring to recommend such good qualities I do appoint him Chief and Grand Medal admonishing him of the value he ought to put thereon, the obligation to govern his people well, and the respect he is to bear to the people of the United States venerating the name of the president.—
>
> For these reasons we admonish & require all citizens of the United States to acknowledge him Chief and Grand Medal as aforesaid, the same to the indians of his Nation that they respect and obey him.
>
> Given under my hand & seal in the said Territory this tenth day of August one thousand seven hundred and ninety two.
>
> Wm. Blount
> By the Governor Dan Smith[18]

Some of the medals and certificates presented by Blount quickly fell into the hands of the Spanish authorities at New Orleans. They furnished evidence to Carondelet that the American officials were meddling in Spanish affairs and interfering with Indians who had already declared their allegiance to the Spaniards.[19] The agents of Spain in Philadelphia, Joseph de Jaudenes and Joseph Ignatius de Viar, remonstrated in very strong terms with Thomas Jefferson, the American Secretary of State. On May 25, 1793, these two members of the Spanish legation addressed a letter to Jefferson in which they spoke at some length of the peaceful intentions of Carondelet and in which they insisted that the American government was misinterpreting the Spanish governor's actions and policies. In contradistinction to their own superior's peaceful intentions, they charged the Americans with illicitly seeking to influence the chiefs. "As little has the Baron de Carondelet created Grand-medal chiefs as Govr Blount has practised," they wrote, "nor

do we know if there have been distributed on our part, to various chiefs, medals of silver, as those the U.S. have distributed with the effigy of the president, & at the bottom, *George Washington President 1792.* and others with the legend *Friendship & trade without end.*"[20]

Jefferson wrote back to the two men, denying any wrongdoing on the part of the United States and suggesting that the legates must be in error in what they reported. But Jaudenes and Viar replied at once with proofs. They sent to Jefferson a "literal copy" of one of the commissions given by Governor Blount in his creation of great medal chiefs, and they invited Jefferson to come to look at the original in their possession. They reported, too, that medals distributed by the Americans had fallen into the hands of the Governor at New Orleans. These medals had been given by commissioners to the Chickasaws and Choctaws, they complained, "to attach more strongly various chiefs of the said nation . . . notwithstanding it must have been known to them that they had them from Spain ever since the year 1784."[21]

Jefferson was irritated by the somewhat insolent tone of the letters received from the two Spanairds, but he was concerned at the time with negotiations begun in Madrid between Spain and the United States to settle the whole ticklish problem of the border between Florida and the United States and the Indian jurisdictional dispute that was merged with it. On June 30, 1793, he dispatched a long letter to William Carmichael and William Short, the American negotiators in Spain, in which he reviewed the controversy and suggested answers for the Americans to use at the Spanish court. He listed six charges made by Jaudenes and Viar, among them, "Giving medals and marks of distinction to several Indians." To this charge Jefferson gave the following answer: "This has been an ancient custom from time immemorial. The medals are considered as complimentary things, as marks of friendship to those who come to see us, or who do us good offices, conciliatory of their good will towards us, and not designed to produce a contrary disposition towards others. They confer no power, and seem to have taken their origin in the European practice, of giving medals or other marks of friendship to the negotiators of treaties and other diplomatic characters, or visitors of distinction. The British government, while it prevailed here, practised the giving medals, gorgets, and bracelets to the savages, invariably. We have continued it, and did imagine, without pretending to know, that Spain also did it."[22]

The American government did not seem to take the complaints of the Spanish agents very seriously, for in 1794 Secretary of War Knox ordered the following silver ornaments for the Chickasaw Indians:

> Eight of the largest Medals with Eight setts of the Broadest arm Bands & Eight setts of the Broadest wrist Bands.
> Fourteen Medals of the 2d size, with Fourteen setts of Arm Bands and Fourteen setts wrist Bands of the same size
> One Medal 3d size, with one sett of Arm, and one sett of Wrist bands of same size.
> Twelve dozen—Broaches
> Twelve dozen—Nose jewels
> Twelve dozen—Ear Bobs[23]

From a very early date the medals were intended not only as political symbols marking Indian adherence to the United States, but also as rewards for accepting the white man's ways. President Washington was deeply concerned to introduce agricultural and domestic skills among the southern Indians, and the first agents to the tribes were sent primarily to lead them on the road to civilization. At the end of his presidency, Washington addressed a delgation of Cherokees at the national capital:

> When I have retired to my farm I shall hear of you; and it will give me great pleasure to know that you have taken my advice, and are walking in the path which I have described. But before I retire, I shall speak to my beloved man, the Secretary of War, to get prepared some medals, to be given to such Cherokees as by following my advice shall best deserve them. For this purpose Mr. [Silas] Dinsmoor is from time to time to visit every town in your nation. He will give instructions to those who desire to learn what I have recommended. He will see what improvements are made; who are most industrious in raising cattle; in growing corn, wheat, cotton and flax; and in spinning and weaving; and on those who excel these rewards are to be bestowed.[24]

Washington medals were also presented in the north, where British medals—and before them, French medals—had long been an element in Indian

diplomacy.[25] The British had distributed medals in considerable numbers, and American medals were used to offset continuing British influence. The most celebrated of these was the large silver medal presented to the Seneca chief Red Jacket in 1792 by President Washington in Philadephia. Little is known about the circumstances of the presentation of this medal or of similar ones given to other Iroquois chiefs in the same period, but the Red Jacket medal itself became well known as the prototype of large Washington oval medals. The famous chief wore it on all important occasions and after his death it was passed down in his family. General Ely S. Parker, a descendant of Red Jacket, received it at mid-century. "At my installation as leading Sachem of the Iroquois Confederacy in 1851," Parker wrote many years later, "I was formally invested with it by the master of ceremonies placing it around my neck, the speaker remarking the fact that it was given by the great Washington to my tribal relative, Red Jacket, and that it was to be retained and worn as evidence of the bond of perpetual peace and friendship established and entered into between the people of the United States and the Six Nations of Indians at the time of its presentatation."[26]

The wars of the United States with the northwest tribes from 1790 to 1794 were not conducive to the presentation of peace medals to the Indians, but when General Rufus Putnam was sent to the Indians in the Wabash Valley in 1792 on a peace mission between the ill-fated campaign of General St. Clair and the victorious one of General Anthony Wayne, he went prepared to present medals to the chiefs. Putnam sent forward a large supply of goods for presents, and he reported from Fort Washington, "I take with me some of the medals, arm and wrist-bands and other jewels."[27] Putnam's mission, however, was a failure, and not until General Wayne met with the Indians at Fort Greenville after his resounding victory at Fallen Timbers was there occasion to make use of the medals as instruments of American policy.

On the second day of the Greenville council forty Potawatomis arrived and had audience with General Wayne. New Corn, one of their chiefs, spoke:

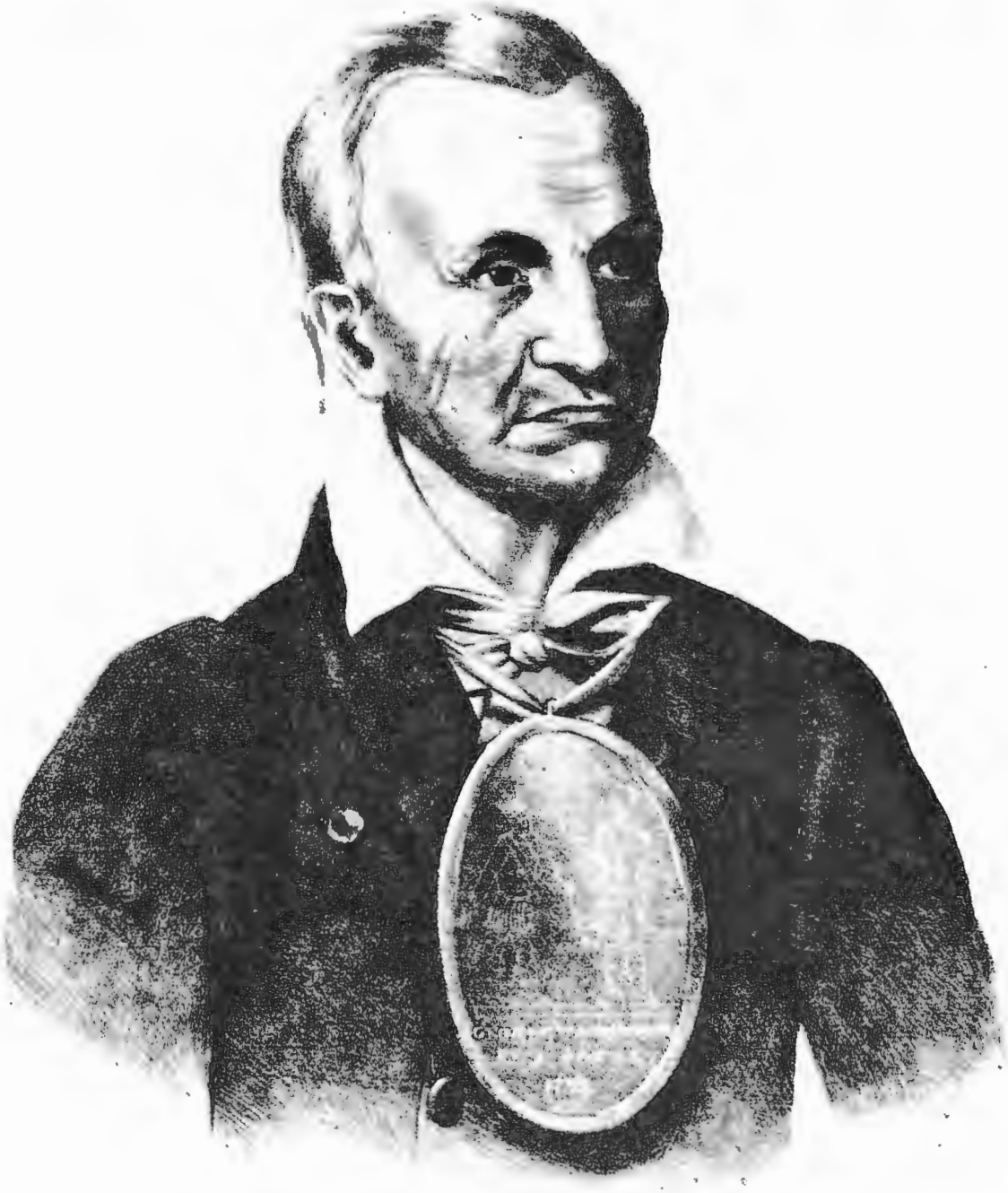
> I have come here on the good work of peace; no other motive could have induced me to undertake so long a journey as I have now performed, in my advanced age and infirm state of health. I come from Lake Michigan. I hope, after our treaty, you will exchange our old medals, and supply us with General Washington's. My young men will no longer listen to the former; they wish for the latter. They have thrown off the British, and henceforth will view the Americans as their only true friends. We come with a good heart, and hope you will supply us with provision.[28]

After long days of council meetings and passing of wampum belts, the Treaty of Greenville was signed on August 3. The days following were given over to distribution of presents and more speeches. Then on August 7, General Wayne again addressed the Indians:

> Listen! all you nations present. I have hitherto addressed you as brothers. I now adopt you all, in the name of the President and Fifteen great Fires of America, as their children, and you are so accordingly. The medals which I shall have the honor to deliver you, you will consider as presented by the hands of your father, the Fifteen Fires of America. These you will hand down to your children's children, in commemoration of this day—a day in which the United States of America gives peace to you and all your nations, and receives you and them under the protecting wings of the eagle.[29]

On the next afternoon the medals and silver ornaments were presented. There is no record of how many medals were given nor to whom.[30]

Before the council assembled, General Wayne had been interested in obtaining printed commissions or certificates to hand out to the Indian chiefs, requesting of Secretary of War Timothy Pickering "a Number of blank appointments for the principal Chiefs of the respective Nations— say Captains of the large Medal—small medal &c &c." He added: "I observe that these great Kings or Chiefs like Children Esteem those trifles as Objects of great price or value, they cost nothing & they will have a good effect." Wayne suggested using the same forms as those granting commissions to American army officers; but Pickering vetoed that proposal. The Secretary of War, noting the use of special certificates by the British and the Spanish, remarked that



3. RED JACKET. This lithograph from Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall's *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* shows the Seneca chief wearing his famous peace medal, a large silver oval Washington medal dated 1792.

perhaps "a device may be hit on, and a plate prepared, to strike a number of parchments with the same view," and he promised to send some to Wayne if they could be made, "to gratify those who shall with most influence and apparent sincerity promote the objects of the treaty." No record of such commissions, however, has survived, and it is likely that none were produced. The medals alone signified the bonds of peace and friendship with the chiefs at Greenville.[31]

The Washington oval medals were produced in considerable numbers for the Indians of the Northwest. The records of the Quartermaster General show the following medals among "articles forwarded to Fort Washington between April 1st 1795 & April 1st 1796":

23	Silver Medals	1st size
30	ditto	2d size
40	ditto	3d size[32]

The medals presented at Greenville must have come from this allotment. Others of these medals were used, no doubt, to present to Indians whom Wayne met as he toured the Northwest after the treaty. A memorandum, dated Detroit, September 20, 1796, and headed, "His Excellency Maj. Genl Antx Wayne Commr in Chief in Council with the Chiefs of the Different Nations of Indians," gives the names of three Chippewas and thirteen Ottawas who received medals, including medals of all three sizes.[33]

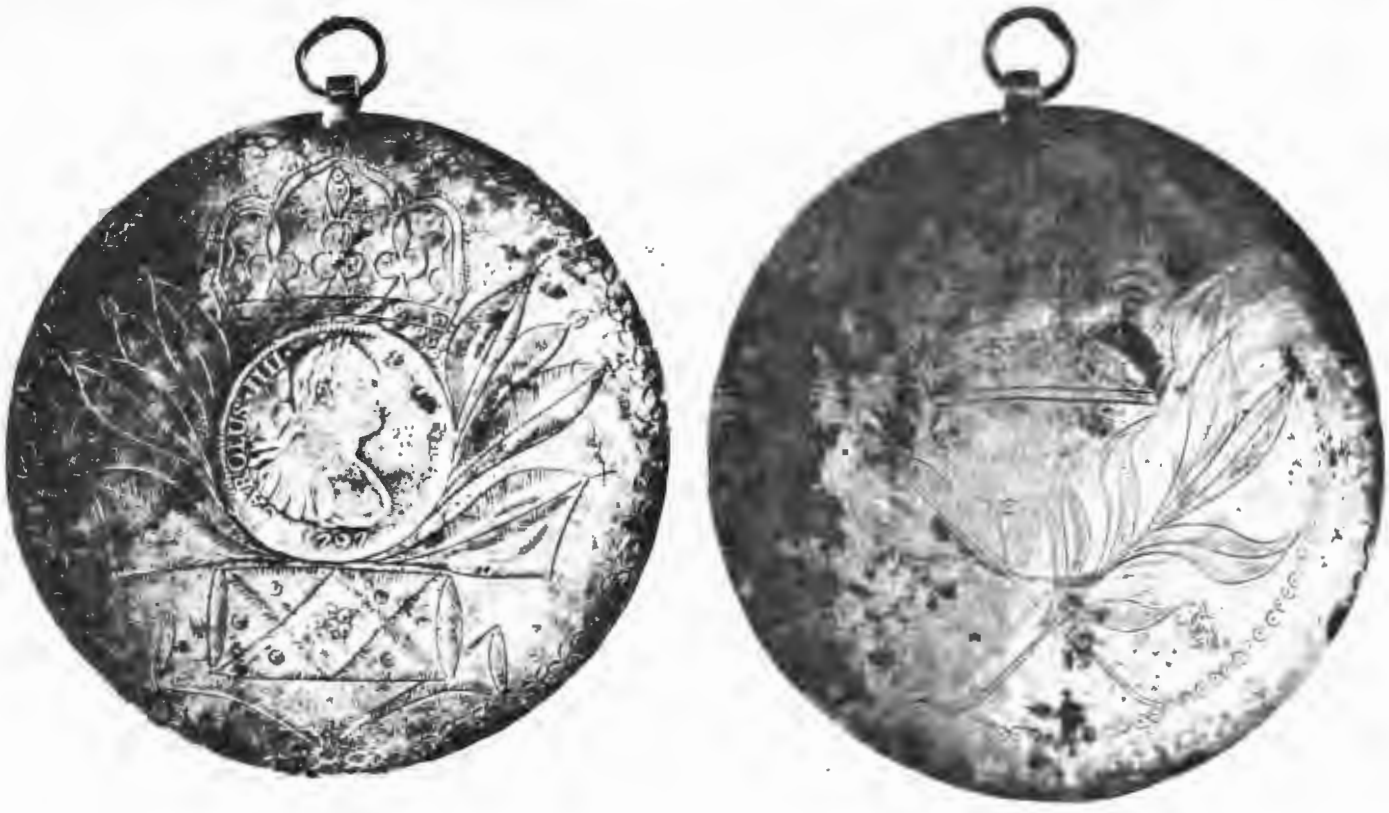
These medals began the infiltration of the Old Northwest with American Indian peace medals. In later years as the United States government sought to maintain or strengthen authority over the tribes, the practice of bestowing medals was not only continued but increased.

2. Spanish Medals in the West

In the Missouri River Valley and other parts of the Trans-Mississippi West, American use of Indian peace medals followed a long history of Spanish distribution of medals to the Indians of those regions. The significance of the use of medals by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark on their expedition to the Pacific Ocean in 1804-1806 can be appreciated only in the light of the earlier Spanish practice.

Spain's introduction of peace medals into the American West came after the cession of Louisiana to Spain by France in 1762. The agents of Spain brought gold and silver medals bearing the image of the monarch on the obverse and the motto PRO MERITO on the reverse. Although they did not intend to replace the medals of France with Spanish ones, there was need to protect Spanish interests in Upper Louisiana against the British, and Spanish medals became important in that region. In the spring of 1767, when Governor Antonio de Ulloa sent an expedition north to the mouth of the Missouri River, he instructed the captain in command:

> Since it may happen that one must honor the chiefs of certain tribes who come to the fort, as has always been practiced, by giving them the medal of the king, a report will be given to the government of the tribes which come there, with information of the names and relations of the principal and secondary chiefs, in order that these medals may be sent. This is to be understood in regard to the tribes which can come anew to offer their friendship, since the old tribes have them from the time of the French government. As far as they are concerned it is the same as though the medals were the same as those of our king, for the Indians have been told so, in order that they might understand that no innovation is being made in anything.[1]



4. Spanish Indian Peace Medal. This medal, composed of a small Charles IV medal, dated 1797, and set into a larger hand-engraved medallion, was excavated from a Pawnee village site. [Size: 88 mm.]

Thus began the Spanish practice of a careful accounting of principal and secondary chiefs, of who was to be honored with a medal of the king and who was not.

Ulloa's successor, Alexandro O'Reilly, continued to control the tribes by means of licensed traders and by the distribution of presents. In these affairs the formal presentation of Spanish medals to the chiefs played a large part. Soon after his arrival, for example, O'Reilly summoned to New Orleans the Indians living within sixty leagues, and in impressive ceremonies explained to them the new king's friendship:

> At the end of the speech, His Excellency arose from his chair to place about the neck of each one of the chiefs the medal which hung from a silk ribbon of deep scarlet color. He first had them kiss the royal effigy, and then with his bare sword he touched them on both shoulders and chest, and made over their heads the sign of the Cross, and finally gave each an embrace and his hand, whereupon they again showed such admiration that it was evident how pleasing to them was the ceremony and that it was the first time they had seen it.[2]

The following day the Indians departed, "with such signs of satisfaction, according to the interpreters, as were never before seen in them." The republican Americans would be hard put to match the majestic ceremonies of the royal Spanish governor.

While Captain Athanaze de Mezieres was sent to Natchitoches to reconcile the Indians along the Texas-Louisiana frontier,[3] Francisco de Cruzat, the Lieutenant Governor of Spanish Illinois, maintained the friendship of the Indians on the Missouri and the upper Mississippi. Cruzat wrote to the Governor at New Orleans early in 1776 about his dealings with the Little Osages. His long letter gives insight into problems of medal distribution that affected the Americans as well as the Spanish:

> A few days ago, the principal chiefs of the Little Osages were here to see me and, although I presented them with a much better gift than had been designated for them or that which is usually given in consideration of their good be-

havior, I think that they both left somewhat disappointed, each thinking that he had deserved a medal. This last circumstance embarrassed me so that I did not dare give them what they expected until I had communicated the details to you. Although each of the chiefs has his own particular merit, the second in rank is a man very highly respected among his followers and the traders assure me that his band surpasses that of the chief who is first in rank. I was further told that they are very jealous of each other, continually vying with each other, and that both work very hard but merely with the hope of winning the medal. According to the custom already established, it is more usual to give the medal to the first in rank and there is really no reason why he should be denied it. In giving it to both of them there would arise the inconvenience of the second chiefs of the other nations having reason to expect the same. Depriving the second of the medal and giving it only to the first, I would have as a result of his displeasure, censure, and jealousy, the stealing of horses from the inhabitants of the neighboring towns, and the insulting of the traders. That is why I have refrained from offending either of them. It is well to know that the second chief mentioned has already been honored by my predecessor, Don Pedro Piernas, with a coat and hat, presumably on account of his power and influence among his people. However, not content with this decoration, he aspires after the other, the medal. To avoid all this trouble and act with more certainty, I told them that I would consult you and that they should await your decision.[4]

The distribution of medals to the Osages devolved upon Cruzat's successor, Fernando de Leyba. In July, 1778, Leyba begged the Governor for four or six medals for the Indians, since he had already distributed the two medals left him by Cruzat to the second chief of the Great Osages and the first chief of the Little Osages. "It is necessary to give one to the second chief of the Little Osages," he remarked, "not only because he was promised one by my predecessors, but also because he is an Indian much beloved by his people. I have told him in full council that he may come here in November to get it, and that I shall give it to him without fail. The other medals are to be kept on hand to be given out if some good Indian has to be rewarded or some bad one caroled."[5] The medals were slow in coming, and Leyba continued to hound the Governor, especially for small ones to give to the secondary chiefs, and he asked also for four or five flags.[6]

The Spanish wanted to draw the Indians away from the British and to give Spanish medals for British ones. They had some success in this, for in February, 1781, the lieutenant governor at St. Louis was sent sixteen medals, ten flags, and sixteen commissions to distribute to the chiefs of the Sacs, who had in the previous September surrendered thirteen British medals and three flags.[7] Similarly, farther south the Spanish officials were exchanging medals. The commandant at Arkansas Post reported the arrival in December, 1789, of a party of Miamis, led by their chief Pacana, who asked permission to live in the Spanish territory. "I told him there would be no trouble about it," the officer informed the Governor, "but that this could not be done until he delivered to me the English medal that he had. In exchange for it I offered to give him a Spanish medal . . . . On the following day the Chief Pacana delivered his medal to me in the presence of the Arkansas and Chickasaw chiefs, and I gave the Spanish medal to him." The chief still awaited the commission from the Governor, however.[8]

When the Baron de Carondelet became Governor of Louisiana on December 30, 1791, new energy was infused into the work of winning and keeping Indians under Spanish influence. Although this was particularly true of the efforts to keep the southern Indians out of the American sphere, it also applied to the Indians dependent upon the lieutenant governor at St. Louis. That official wrote to Carondelet in June, 1793: "Various chiefs of the different Indian nations have solicited from me some medals and other *patentes* [commissions] on account of their having lost theirs in carousals . . . . If your Excellency can remit to me some medals with the dozen or commissions blank, I will be very pleased since the present circumstances require that they be pampered more than is customary on account of the war with the Osages."[9]

It was the Spanish aim to keep the Indians hostile to foreigners, to control the tribes and keep them peaceful by means of trade. Presents were distributed to friendly tribes, and licensed traders

EL BARON DE CARONDELET,

CABALLERO DE LA RELIGION DE SAN JUAN, MARISCAL DE CAMPO DE LOS REALES EXERCITOS GOBERNADOR GENERAL VICE-PATRONO DE LAS PROVINCIAS DE LA LUISIANA, Y FLORIDA OCCIDENTAL, SUB-INSPECTOR GENERAL DE LAS TROPAS Y MILICIAS DE LAS MISMAS, &c.

EN atencion

5. SPANISH CERTIFICATE. The Baron de Carondelet, Governor of Louisiana, issued highly decorated certificates to accompany the medals given to Indian chiefs. This certificate was presented in 1796 to the Omaha chief L'Oiseau Noir, who received a small medal.

provided the Indians with necessary goods. These traders were also official government agents who were depended upon to promote Spanish interests. In this capacity the traders were frequently the persons through whom the Spanish medals and commissions were presented to the chiefs.

In order to organize the traders of St. Louis for successful competition against the British traders on the Missouri, a company was organized with official Spanish sanction in 1794. This Company of Explorers of the Upper Missouri (known as the Missouri Company) in 1794–1795 sent an expedition to the Mandan country under the trader Jean Baptiste Truteau.[10] The Company's instructions to Truteau read in part: "He shall take with him three Spanish flags, for three different nations that he may see; with each banner he shall give a carrot of tobacco; the most beautiful of the banners is intended for the chief of the Mandanas, with a medal which the Governor sends him in order that he may make strenuous efforts to establish peace with all neighboring nations and to live in friendship with us." On August 6, 1794, Truteau received from another trader four letters for Arikara, Sioux, and Cheyenne chiefs, three medals, and a flag, which he added to those given to him at the time he received his instructions.[11]

The importance attached to the medals and other marks of recognition is clear from the trader's account of his meeting with the Arikara chief Crazy Bear:

> The following day . . . he bade all of the Chiefs and *considérés* to his cabin, he placed a flag before the door and placed his medal around his neck. At the furtherest end of the hut, exposed on a mat, the letter patent which his Spanish Father had sent him by me, having placed before it some live coals on which was burned a certain kind of dried grass the smoke of which produces a very strong odor, and which they use as we use incense. They hold such things as medals, flags, and letters in such deep veneration that whenever these are taken from their wrappings, they are smoked and hold the most important place at their feasts.[12]

Among the Cheyennes Truteau called the headmen together and asked them to choose "the one whom they deemed most worthy to wear the medal and to be made a great Chief of their Nation." He was told to give the medal to a young man called The Lance, but the choice proved to be a poor one, for the Indian behaved badly, and when his children died and other misfortunes befell his family, his tribesmen attributed the disasters to the medal, flag, and commission he had received—great spirits that had become angry.[13]

The Spanish had special trouble with the Omaha chief Black Bird, whose French medal had been taken from him by a French trader to have modifications made in it, and which had never been returned, but Truteau temporarily placated the chief and passed up the Missouri.[14] His expedition, however, by no means completely accomplished the Spanish purposes, and the Missouri Company dispatched a second expedition up the river at the end of 1795 under the leadership of James Mackay, a Scotsman who had become a Spanish subject. In November his expedition visited Black Bird's village, where the trader promoted Spanish interests. He explained the purpose of the trip to the chief, "presenting to him the famous medal and patentes which pleased him greatly."[15]

While these expeditions were under way, Lieutenant Governor Zenon Trudeau at St. Louis was attempting to get more medals and commissions for the Indians. In November, 1794, he asked Carondelet for nine commissions and nine small and large medals for two villages of the Arikaras and seven of the Mandans.[16] The commissions he received in due time, two made out for the Osages and blank ones for the Arikaras and Mandans. But the medals were delayed. Meanwhile Trudeau sent a detailed listing of chiefs and warriors of the Osages, Kansas, Otos, Omahas, and Poncas for whom medals and commissions were required.[17]

By December Trudeau had received only two medals for the Mandans, and he repeated his request for medals for the other tribes. On April 10, 1796, the head of the Missouri Company added his plea to Carondelet: "We have need of medals for the five Mandan villages, for the two Ricara villages, for the Cheyenne village and for the Sioux who live with these last named. We should also like to have some medals for the Ponca village which we shall give only when the Chief of the Mahas deems it wise, because this Chief, who causes himself to be named 'the Prince of the nations,' has a powerful influence over his neighbors."[18]

Carondelet at last sent medals. In May, 1796,

small medal.

Auguste Chouteau left New Orleans carrying to Trudeau ten large medals and ten small ones for the Osages, Kansas, and related tribes. In addition he brought five more of each size plus a large gilded one for Black Bird, eleven blank commissions, and five flags with the cross of Burgundy to be distributed by the traders of the Company. The Governor cautioned the director of the Company: ". . . it is to be wished, as much for the company as for the king, that there should be but one single chief decorated with a great medal, one with a small one, and two captains in each nation; for hereafter, these chiefs will require compensations adequate to their grades."[19]

Another agent of the Missouri Company, a lieutenant of Mackay's, was the Welshman John Evans, who was dispatched by Mackay overland to the Arikaras and Mandans. He spent some time with the Arikaras and while there met chiefs from tribes living to the west, especially the Cheyennes, who were attached to the Spanish. On September 23, 1796, he arrived at the Mandan villages. "I gave their Chiefs in the name of the Great Father the Spaniard, who inhabits the other Side of the great Lake and in the name of the Great Chief who inhabits this side of the great Lake and also in the name of the Chief who resides at the Entrance of the Missouri," he wrote in his journal, "the Flags and Medals that were given me for that purpose by Mr. McKay. Besides those medals & flags, I made some small presents, which were received with the greatest of Satisfaction." On September 28 he took possession of the fort that had been built there by British traders.[20]

For almost a decade the Spanish traders continued their operations on the Missouri, but the British traders, with aggressive persistence, were increasing their influence in the trade, moving into areas where the Spanish hold had once been solid. The director of the Company again in 1800 asked for six flags, six large and six small medals, accompanied by blank commissions, and fifteen months later reported "the powerful impression made on the Maha nation by the English in a council [at Prairie du Chien] where all the chiefs of this nation had been assembled by invitations which the agents of Great Britain had had sent to them, accompanied by presents, medals, and flags."[21] As late as May, 1804, one of the partners of the Company, Régis Loisel, reported that he had to make large presents to the Indians "in order to cover the foreign flags and medals."[22]

With the Louisiana Purchase and the transfer of the trans-Mississippi region to the United States, however, Spain's hold on the area came to a sudden end. New agents with new medals now entered the stage, as Meriwether Lewis and William Clark began their great expedition of discovery from St. Louis up the Missouri.

3. Medals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition

The expedition of Lewis and Clark depended for its success in large measure upon winning the respect and friendship of the Indian tribes encountered along the way. Since many of these Indians, especially those along the Missouri, had long been conditioned to the presentation of silver peace medals by the agents and traders of France, Spain, and Great Britain, it is unthinkable that Lewis and Clark could have successfully completed their expedition of discovery had they not been prepared to continue the practice that had been so firmly established. They were, in fact, well prepared.[1]

President Jefferson, in his instructions to Lewis of June 20, 1803, told him to apply to the Secretary of War for "light articles for barter and presents among the Indians," and it was no doubt through the War Department that Lewis received the peace medals which he took along, although no specific record remains of their requisition or receipt.[2]

At Camp Dubois, where Lewis and Clark wintered in 1803–1804 while making final preparations for the expedition, the goods which had been accumulated for presentation to the Indians were organized and packed for the journey. Clark's mem-

randum of a "Baling Invoice of Sundries for Indian Presents" gives a detailed breakdown of the items. There were fourteen bales or bags all told, plus a case. Clark indicates the articles packed in each numbered bag and then gives a recapitulation or summary of the items. He indicates in a general way which tribes the various bags are intended for and specifies some of the items for first, second, and third chiefs. Otos, Pawnees, Poncas, Omahas, Arikaras, and Mandans are specifically named. Other bales were intended "for foreign Nations: that is those beyond the mandanes." The itemization for each bale gives us a nearly exact count of the various medals intended for presentation to the Indians.[7]

Clark designated medals of five sizes in his bale invoice and medals of four sizes in his recapitulation. We get the following count:

Three large medals. These were large silver medals (about 105 mm in diameter) bearing the bust of Jefferson on the obverse and the clasped hands and peace and friendship design on the reverse and were in the bags designated for the Omahas, Arikaras, and Mandans.

Thirteen medals of the second size. These were Jefferson medals of similar design and construction, but were about 75 mm in diameter. Some of these were listed specifically for the first chiefs of the Otos or Pawnees, Poncas, and other undesignated tribes, but for the second chiefs of the Omahas, Arikaras, and Mandans.

Sixteen medals of the third size. These were small Jefferson medals (about 55 mm in diameter) similar in design and construction to those of the first and second size. Some of these were specifically listed for second and third chiefs of the Otos or Pawnees, for the third chiefs of the Omahas, Arikaras, and Mandans, and in one case "for a 1st chief" of one of the "foreign nations."

Fifty-five medals of the fourth size. These were the so-called season medals, struck in England at the end of Washington's administration. They were 45 mm in diameter and bore three designs on the obverses: a man sowing grain, domestic animals, women spinning and weaving. The reverses on all these medals were the same: SECOND PRESIDENCY OF GEO. WASHINGTON MDCCXCVI., surrounded by a wreath. The medals had been struck in both silver and copper, but the medals on the expedition were very likely all of silver. Most of the medals mentioned in the journals as "small medal" or "Medal of small size" were these season medals. A large number of the medals had been struck, but all arrived in the United States after Washington had retired from office. They seem to have been presented to Indians during John Adams' administration, and the large number in Lewis and Clark's possession indicates that a good many were still left in the War Department in 1803. Clark's invoice lists only "Dom: Animals" and "Sowing" medals by name, but it is clear from references in the journals that medals showing spinning and weaving were also in the stock.

Two (or four) medals of the fifth size. These medals cannot be indentified absolutely, and they do not appear in the recapitulation. For the bales marked No. 18 and No. 14, however, there was the following entry in Clark's list:

1 medal 4th & 5th Size	2d Chief
1 medal 5 Size	3 Chief

It is possible that the "4th & 5th Size" refers at least to one season medal and that "5 Size" refers to an American silver dollar, pierced for suspension as a medal. The journal entry for October 29, 1804, specifically mentions such an award, and the entry for January 10, 1806, speaks of the giving of a "medal of the Smallest Size"—the only time such terminology is used.

In his recapitulation Clark has the following entry on medals:

3 large Medals 13 2d Size d° 71 Medals 3d & 4th Size	} Likenesses

The totals of these four sizes of medals correspond to the itemization by bales as interpreted above. This was a large array of medals, but the supply was nearly if not completely depleted by the time Lewis and Clark returned to St. Louis in September, 1806.

The first presentation of peace medals by Lewis and Clark occurred on Friday, August 3, 1804, when the expedition was camped at Council Bluffs, a few miles above present-day Omaha, and the pattern was set for future formal councils with the tribes. At sunset on the previous day a party of Otos and Missouris, the first Indians met on the journey, came into camp with their interpreter. Their principal chief, Little Thief, was not among them, but

there were six other chiefs in the group, and the two captains welcomed them and agreed to speak with them the next day.[4]

On the third Lewis and Clark gathered the visiting Indians under an awning made of the mainsail of their boat. The American troops paraded, and the captains "Delivered a long Speech to them expressive of our journey the wishes of our Government, Some advice to them and Directions how they were to conduct themselves."[5] The speech began by informing the Indians that the "great chief of the Seventeen great nations of America" had replaced the French and the Spanish in the territory west of the Mississippi and that he had adopted them all as his children. Their old fathers, the French and the Spaniards, had withdrawn from the land, never to return, and the American chief had become their only father, whom they could now look to for protection, favors, and good counsel. Lewis and Clark had been sent out, they informed the tribes, "to clear the road, remove every obstruction, and to make the road of peace" between the United States and the Indians. To this end the great American chief had sent to the great chief of the Oto nation "one of his flags, a medal and some cloathes, such as he dresses his war chiefs with." The Indians were told that "when you accept his flag and medal, you accept therewith his hand of friendship, which will never be withdrawn from your nation as long as you continue to follow the councils which he may command his chiefs to give you, and shut your ears to the councils of Bad birds." The flag and medal and a copy of the speech were to be the identifying signs of friendship when they went to St. Louis: "When your great father and his chiefs see those things, they will know that you have opened your ears to your great father's voice, and have come to hear his good Councils." And the chiefs were admonished to turn in to their great father all the flags and medals they had received from the French and the Spanish in exchange for new ones. "It is not proper," Lewis and Clark said, "since you have become the children of the great chief of the Seventeen great Nations of America, that you should wear or keep those emblems of attachment to any other great father but himself, nor will it be pleasing to him if you continue to do so."

The captains tried to impress upon the Otos the greatness and power of their new father, "whose cities are as numerous as the stars of the heavens, and whose people like the grass of your plains, cover with their Cultivated fields and wigwams, the wide Extended country" from the Mississippi to the Atlantic Ocean; and they promised to set up a trading factory at the mouth of the Platte, until which time the old traders of the Indians would be permitted to stay on provided they gave "good Council."

The chiefs present responded to this address "with some verry sensible Speeches," and the captains presented a "Medal of Second Grade" to one of the Otos and to one of the Missouris and medals of the third grade to two inferior chiefs of each of the tribes. The "Speech flag Meadel & Some Cloathes" were sent to the absent Little Thief. Although the journals do not say so explicitly, the medal sent to Little Thief must have been one of the large Jefferson medals, since this would distinguish the principal chief of the tribe from the lesser chiefs who received medals of the second and third size. It is clear also from the journal entry for August 19, when the second-grade medal of one of the Otos, Big Horse, was exchanged for one the same size as Little Thief's. It is apparent here and in later presentations that Lewis and Clark were not following strictly the designations of who was to get what jotted down on the baling invoice of Indian presents made at Camp Dubois. After the presentation of the medals, some powder, whiskey, and a few general presents were distributed, Captain Lewis shot a few rounds from his air gun, "which astonished those nativs," and the council broke up. In this first encounter, as in the later similar ones, Clark spoke of giving medals to those "we *made* Chiefs."[6]

On Saturday, August 18, Little Thief and other chiefs of the Otos and Missouris caught up with the party and on the next day at ten o'clock Lewis explained again to the assembled chiefs and warriors the speech sent to the nation from Council Bluffs. The Indians replied with short speeches "approving the advice & Council their great father had Sent them." Presents were brought out, and Lewis and Clark gave to Chief Big Horse a medal like the one sent to Little Thief in exchange for the second-grade medal given him at Council Bluffs on the third. In addition a small medal was presented to an inferior Missouri chief, Crow's Head. The other warriors received certificates or commissions. One of the Otos, Big Blue Eyes, returned the certificate, but after being rebuked "verry roughly for haveing in

object goods and not peace with their neighbours," the Indian accepted the certificate again and was satisfied.[7]

In a meeting with the Sioux on August 30 Lewis and Clark made their next formal presentation of medals. The chiefs and warriors were called to a council at noon under an oak tree near which the American flag was flying on a high flagpole. Lewis delivered a speech and then "made one great Chiff by giving him a Meadel & Some Cloathes, one 2d Chief & three Third Chiefs in the same way." The great chief also received a flag, a certificate, some wampum, and a chief's coat.[8] It is interesting to note that Clark in his journal here (as elsewhere) uses the Spanish word "parole" when referring to the certificates given the chiefs, an indication perhaps that the American captains were consciously following the customs established in the area by the Spanish in dealing with the Indians.

As the expedition moved up the river, the captains on September 24 prepared "Some Clothes and a fiew Meadels for the Chiefs of the Teton's bands of Seoux" which they expected to meet that day. The next day they met in council with the Tetons at twelve o'clock, and followed the usual pattern—smoking with the chiefs and the delivery of the speech (which this time Lewis was forced to curtail because there was no good interpreter), parading the troops, and presentation of medals and other gifts. Medals were given to the great chief, Black Buffalo (who also received a red coat, a cocked hat, and a feather), to the second chief, The Partisan (who showed little appreciation and acted in an insolent manner), and to the third chief, Buffalo Medicine.[9] We may assume that the same grades of medals were used as with the other Sioux chiefs on August 30. Lewis and Clark came to realize that they did not always judge correctly on the spur of the moment in deciding which chiefs were deserving of medals. Of The Partisan they remarked, in a list of Sioux tribes and chieftains sent to the Secretary of War: "A great scoundrel; we gave him a medal before we were acquainted with his character."[10]

On October 9 the expedition was visited by village chiefs of the Arikaras, who were listed by Clark as first chief, Lighting Crow, second chief, Hay, and third chief, Eagle's Feather. They were invited the following day to a solemn council. The chiefs from the lower town arrived early, but there were none from the two upper towns, and the captains sent for them at noon, for as Clark noted, "we have every reason to believe that a gellousy exists between the Villages for fear of our makeing the 1st Cheif from the lower Village." By one o'clock all were on hand and "after Some little Cerremony," the council began with Lewis's customary speech. One chief from each village was presented a medal, a flag, and a red coat with cocked hat and feather.[11]

The initial goal of Lewis and Clark was the Mandan villages, and by the end of October they reached this objective. On the 26th they encamped about a half-mile below the first village. The following day they moved up river opposite the third village and began to prepare for a grand council with these important Indians, getting information about the chiefs from a Frenchman, René Jessaume, who had long been a trader among the Mandans. A strong southwest wind on the 28th prevented the assembling of the council, but on the 29th, with the wind still very high, the council got started under an awning and with sails stretched around to keep out as much of the wind as possible. Captain Lewis gave his speech, at the end of which the Arikara chief who had accompanied the expedition to the Mandan villages was introduced, and "they all Smoked with him." To this chief Clark gave "a Dollar of the American Coin as a Meadel," with which the chief was much pleased. Then the presents were distributed with great ceremony to the Mandans, and the captains "put Meadels on the Chiefs we intended to make." The first chief of each village was given a Jefferson medal; the second chief, "a Medel of weaving & Domestic animals"; the third chief, "a Medel with the impression of a man Sowing wheat." The first chiefs also received coats, hats, and flags. According to Clark's lists, at the first two Mandan villages both first and second chiefs were acknowledged, but at the third village only a first chief. First and second chiefs from the little Minitari village also were on hand and received their medals. Chief One Eye of the great Minitari village was absent on a hunting trip, so his presents (possibly including a medal) and those for his village were sent to him by a messenger. Big White, the first chief of the lower village of the Mandans also was absent from the council on the 29th, but on the following day he appeared. He asked to hear some of the speech that had been delivered on the previous day, and his medal was hung around his neck. In

addition to the first and second chiefs, fourteen inferior chiefs of the five villages were recommended, but it is not clear whether all of these received medals.[12]

The great chief of the Minitaris, One Eye, claimed that he did not receive the articles dispatched to him. He came to see the captains on March 9, 1805, and received from Lewis in place of the presents originally sent, "a *Medel* Gorget arm ban[d]s, a *Flag* shirt, scarlet &c. &c. &c." Two guns were fired in his honor, and he left much pleased. On March 22 the camp was visited by the second chief of One Eye's village. To this man the captains gave "a Medal & Some Clothes acknowledging him as a 2d Chief."[13]

During their winter stay at Fort Mandan the American officers took pains to impress upon the Mandan chiefs that now only American medals and flags could be tolerated. When Black Cat, grand chief of the Mandans, with some of his warriors visited the Americans on November 28, the captains "had Some little talk on the Subject of the British Trader M. Le rock [Larocque] Giveing meadels & Flags," and they told the chiefs to impress it upon their nation that those symbols of allegiance were not to be accepted from any but Americans unless they wanted to incur the displeasure of their Great Father. The following day they had an opportunity to talk with Francois-Antoine Larocque himself, who was one of the two agents of the North West Company living near the Mandans. They told him bluntly that they had heard of his intentions "of makeing Chiefs &c.," and they forbade him to give medals or flags to the Indians.[14] Larocque noted in his journal that the Americans told him that "the Government looked upon those things as the sacred emblems of the attachment of the Indians to their country," but he remarked, "As I had neither flags nor medals, I ran no risk of disobeying those orders, of which I assured them."[15]

As spring approached, the expedition prepared to move off again on its way to the Pacific. On April 7, 1805, the day of their departure, the Americans were paid a final visit by Arikaras who had arrived on the previous day and set up camp across the river. A chief and three men came to ask the Americans to speak in their favor with the Assinniboines and Crows. The chief was given a "certificate of his good Conduct," a small medal, and some tobacco and wampum and departed well satisfied.[16]

The explorers now put the known world behind them. They dispatched a barge back to St. Louis with official messages and numerous natural history specimens for President Jefferson, and with six small canoes and two large perogues headed into the future. "This little fleet," Lewis wrote, "altho' not quite so rispectable as those of Columbus or Capt. Cook, were still viewed by us with as much pleasure as those deservedly famed adventurers ever beheld theirs; and I dare say with quite as much anxiety for their safety and preservation. We were now about to penetrate a country at least two thousand miles in width, on which the foot of civilized man had never trodden; the good or evil it had in store for us was for experiment yet to determine, and these little vessells contained every article by which we were to expect to subsist or defend ourselves."[17] Included was a still plentiful supply of peace medals.

It was not until the middle of August that Lewis and Clark found occasion again to meet in council with Indians and make formal recognition of chiefs. On August 13, shortly before the party reached the Great Divide, Lewis came upon three Shoshoni women, whom he convinced of his peaceful intentions and who led him toward the village. He made friends with Cameahwait, the principal chief, and gave him a flag, explaining that it was an emblem of peace. The Indians traveled with the party through the rugged mountains, until on August 17 they met another body of the tribe. A canopy was made from one of the large sails, and in the late afternoon Lewis and Clark addressed the assembled Indians on the purpose of their coming, emphasizing the advantages of trade that the whites would bring and asking for horses to enable the explorers to proceed on their journey. The Indians were friendly, and Cameahwait pointed out to the captains two Indians whom he identified as chiefs. The Americans gave Cameahwait a Jefferson medal of the small size.[18] To the other two chiefs they gave season medals, and medals of the same sort were presented to two warriors described by the chief as "good young men and much rispected among them."[19] The first chief also received a uniform coat, a shirt, scarlet leggings, tobacco, and other small articles, while the lesser chiefs got shirts, leggings, knives, tobacco, and small trinkets.

On September 4 in the Bitter Root range Lewis and Clark fell in with a party of Flathead Indians,

who were friendly and well dressed. On the 5th the chiefs and warriors were assembled in council and harangued by the captains—though with considerable trouble because of the need to speak through a series of interpreters. Clark reported: "we made 4 Chiefs whome we gave meadels & a few Small articles with Tobacco."[20] What regard for the medals these Indians had it is difficult to say. Lewis and Clark were the first white men with whom they had had contact. No doubt the captains explained as well as they could the significance of the medals and of their presentation. The distribution of the medals to these new tribes, who were unaccustomed to the practice and not able to make comparisons between American procedures and those of the British or Spanish, was at times quite informal.

On September 20 Clark reached a small Nez Perce village, from which the chief and the warriors had departed on a war expedition. Only a few men had been left to guard the camp. Clark was told, however, of Chief Twisted Hair, then fishing downriver, and late on the evening of September 21 Clark arrived at his camp. The chief was on a small island in the river, but he was called by the guide and joined Clark. The captain found him a cheerful man of about sixty-five. He gave the chief a medal on the spot and smoked with him until one o'clock in the morning. On the 23d the chiefs and warriors of the bands assembled more formally at the village, and the explorers explained their mission in sign language. Medals were given to two other chiefs, and Twisted Hair was given a flag and a shirt in addition to the medal he had already received. A knife, handkerchief, and a small piece of tobacco were distributed to each chief present, and a flag and handkerchief were presented for the great chief when he returned.[21]

When the party at long last reached the Columbia River on October 16, they encamped just above the confluence with the Snake and soon were in council with a large number of Indians who had gathered to meet them, having been notified in advance of the Americans' coming and their friendly intentions. Lewis and Clark conversed as well as they could with the chiefs in signs and made the usual presentation of medals. To the principal chief they gave a "large Medal, Shirt and Hndkf.," no doubt a Jefferson medal of the second size. To the second chief they gave "a Meadel of Small size" and to a chief who had come down from a village farther up the Columbia, "a Small *Medel* & Handkerchief."[22]

As the explorers floated down the Columbia on their last lap to the sea, they had frequent friendly contact with the Indians. Two days after their first council they were joined by several canoes of Indians, and they "made a second Chief by giveing a Meadel & Wampom." Early on the following morning (October 19, 1805), they met Chief Yelleppit of the Walla Wallas with two of his subordinate chiefs. To Yelleppit they presented a medal and to the others strings of wampum, and despite the chief's request that they stay until noon so that his people might come to see them, the captains excused themselves, promised to stop with him on their return, and set off at nine o'clock.[23]

Both Lewis and Clark in their journal entries for April 27, 1806, when they again met Yelleppit, remarked that they had given him a small medal on October 19 and had promised him a larger one on their return. Neither indicated whether the promise was fulfilled, although the chief was said to be much gratified on seeing the explorers again. Clark on that occasion gave him his sword (for which the chief had expressed a great desire) as well as some ammunition.[24]

October 24 brought a visit from the "principal chief from the nation below with Several of his men." The captain took the opportunity to promote peace between these men of the Echeloots and the chiefs who had accompanied the expedition down the Columbia from the mouth of the Snake—with apparent success. The great chief was given a medal and the party smoked until late at night. On the next day, with the advice of the Indians, the expedition ran its canoes through the narrows of the Columbia, when they met a second chief from one of the villages above who had been away when the explorers had passed by. They landed to smoke a pipe with the chief, whom Clark described as "a bold pleasing looking man of about 50 years of age." They presented him with a medal of the small size.[25]

The day following was spent repairing the canoes, which had been damaged by rocks in the rapids, and drying out the equipment and provisions that had been wet. In the evening the camp was visited by "two Principal Chiefs of the tribes above at the falls" who had been hunting when the expedition passed their villages. Each chief was given a small medal, a red silk handkerchief, an arm band, a knife, and a piece of paint. Clark said they "ac-

knowledged them as chiefs," and he added: "as we thought it necessary at this time to treat those people verry friendly & ingratiate our Selves with them, to insure us a kind & friendly reception on our return, we gave Small presents to Several, and half a Deer to them to eate." The Indians stayed the night and were joined the next day by more Indians from below, but all departed in the evening.[26]

As the explorers neared the mouth of the Columbia, they encountered Indians who had had contact with white traders. These natives were a troublesome lot, much addicted to thievery, and the captains threatened to shoot on the spot any Indian caught stealing, but the presentation of medals continued as the expedition camped for the winter. On November 20 two Chinook chiefs were given medals and one received a flag. The camp was visited on November 21 by Indians of different bands, and an Indian named Tow-wâle who lived at the great rapids Clark made a chief and gave him a medal.[27] Two canoes of Clatsops arrived on December 12. They appeared well disposed to the whites and the captains presented a small medal to their principal chief, whom Clark called Commowol.[28] On December 29 the young chief of the War-kiakum nation, Ske-ma-kwe-up, with a small party arrived. He made a present of wappato roots to the captains and they in turn presented him with a medal of the small size and a piece of red ribbon to tie around his hat. A month later they were visited by the chief of the Cathlamahs and eleven of his nation. These Indians lived on the south side of the Columbia above Fort Clatsop, but the visit on January 10, 1806, was the first meeting of the chief with Lewis and Clark, for he had been absent when the expedition had passed his village on their way down. The captains gave him "a medal of the smallest size."[29]

So the winter passed, with such occasional visits from neighboring chiefs, who in the minds of the captains deserved the recognition which came with the presentation of a small medal. There was no word here of formal council, parades of soldiers, and the accompanying ceremonies that marked the awards among the tribes along the Missouri. A "chief," arriving unannounced with a canoe or two of his villagers, was greeted as a friend by Lewis and Clark, and a small medal was hung around his neck. The medals, nevertheless, were treasured by the Indians. Half a century after the visit of the Americans, Ske-ma-kwe-up, one of the last survivors of his tribe, still treasured the medal he had received.[30]

The last of the medal presentations at Fort Clatsop came on February 20, 1806, when Tâh-cum, a principal chief of the Chinooks, and a party of twenty-five men came to the fort. This was a somewhat more formal encounter, as Clark reported it: "we had never seen this Chief before he is a good looking man about 50 years of age reather larger in statu[r]e than most of his nation; as he came on friendly visit we gave himself and party something to eat and plyed them plentyfully with smoke. we gave this chief a small Medal with which he seemed much pleased." Clark hastened to add that they escorted the party out of the fort at sunset and closed the gates, for though the natives were friendly, the American never quite trusted them.[31]

As the winter waned and no vessel appeared at the Columbia to take the party back to the east by sea, Lewis and Clark made plans for an early start across the mountains and down the Missouri to St. Louis. On March 23, 1806, after some days' delay because of rain, they began the homeward journey. They had almost no merchandise left for trading with the Indians, but a small stock of medals remained and they were distributed when occasions arose. On March 26, 1806, the captains presented a medal of the small size to a principal man among the Cathlamahs, and three days later another small medal was given to a chief of a village at which they stopped. This chief transferred the medal to his wife.[32] The medals were presented with little ceremony, it appeared, but they were still looked upon by the captains as important in gaining the friendship of the tribes. On April 11, for example, as the party was negotiating the cascades, they were visited by Indians who crowded around the camp in considerable numbers. They were, Lewis reported, "the greates[t] theives and scoundrels we have met with." The chief, however, seemed mortified by the behavior of the tribe and showed friendship toward the captains. He admired the pipe tomahawk of Clark for its brass bowl and Clark exchanged it for "a large fine pipe tomahawk" which the Indian had received from a trader. The captains gave him a small medal, "which appeared to please him verry much." Clark added a hope that the medal would have "a favourable tendency, in as much as it will attach him to our interest, and he probably will harang his people in our favour, which may prevent

any acts of violence being committed, on either side."[33]

When they encountered the Pisquow tribe on April 25, a large village whose inhabitants "behaved with distant respect" toward the Americans, they gave the chief a small medal, and a few miles up the river gave another medal to a Walla Walla village chief. They met Chief Yelleppit again on the 27th and were forced to spend some time visiting with him, as he had invited neighboring tribesmen to come in to meet the Americans.[34] After crossing the Columbia with Yelleppit's aid, they moved forward among the Walla Wallas, giving "small medals to two inferior cheifs of this nation" on April 29.[35]

On May 5, back among the Nez Perces, the captains presented a small Jefferson medal to one of the four principal chiefs, a man called Neeshneparkkeeook or Cut Nose, who did not impress the Americans. "He may be a great cheif," they reported, "but his countenance has but little inteligence and his influence among his people seems but inconsiderable."[36] Cut Nose, however, accompanied the explorers to a meeting with Twisted Hair and then on to the village of Tunnachemootoolt, the absent chief for whom a flag had been left on September 23. The flag was flying near the lodge and the chief met the Americans with great friendship and supplied them generously with much-needed provisions. Another principal chief of the nation, Hohastillpilp, arrived with a party of men, and medals were presented to both chiefs. Tunnachemootoolt received a small Jefferson medal and Hohastillpilp "one of the sewing medals struck in the presidency of Washington." We explained to them," Lewis said, "the design and the importance of medals in the estimation of the whites as well as the red men who had been taught their value."[37]

The following morning another great chief of the nation arrived. This was Yoomparkkartim, who was given one of the small season medals, for all the Jefferson medals had been disposed of except the one of largest size which was being kept for "some great Chief of the Yellow rock river." The American captains by this time had decided that Tunnachemootoolt, Neeshneparrkkeeook, Yoomparkkartim, and Hohastillpilp (in that order) were the principal chiefs of the Nez Perces, and while all four were on hand a serious conference was in order. All of these chiefs had already received medals, so no presentation ceremony was called for, but, as Lewis reported, "we thought it a favorable time to repeat what had been said yesterday and to enter more minutely into the views of our government with rispect to the inhabitants of this western part of the continent, their intention of establishing trading houses for their relief, their wish to restore peace and harmony among the natives, the strength power and wealth of our nation &c." The talk took nearly half a day, for it had to pass through French, Minitari, Shoshoni, and Nez Perce languages, but in the end the Indians appeared highly pleased. After the council the captains amused themselves by showing the chiefs "the power of magnetism, the spye glass, compass, watch, air-gun and sundry other articles equally novel and incomprehensible to them."[38]

Lewis and Clark stayed with the friendly Nez Perces until near the end of June, when they were no longer blocked by snow from getting through the mountains. On July 3 the party divided; Captain Lewis with nine men proceeded north to explore the Marias River, while Captain Clark and the rest of the expedition headed southward toward the Three Forks and the Yellowstone. On July 26 Lewis's group met a party of Indians who seemed hostile and suspicious. The captain greeted them in friendship and identified them as the feared Minitaris of the north (Gros Ventres). When he inquired if there were any chiefs among them, three were pointed out. "I did not believe them," Lewis wrote in his journal, "however I thought it best to please them and gave to one a medal to a second a flag and to the third a handkerchief, with which they appeared well satisfyed."[39] The next morning the Indians attempted to seize the guns of some of the men, and in the resulting skirmish the Indian who had received the medal was stabbed to death by one of the men; another Indian Captain Lewis shot through the belly. Lewis retook the flag he had presented, but he left the medal around the neck of the dead man, "that they might be informed who we were."[40] Soon after this dangerous escapade, the two parties met again on the Missouri below the mouth of the Yellowstone, and the united expedition made its way down the river. Clark made no mention of medals; he had not found any great chief on the Yellowstone.

When the Americans reached the Mandan villages, they were greeted as old friends by the chiefs they had decorated on the way up the Missouri, but no one wanted to accompany them back to St. Louis for fear of the Sioux who were encamped down river.

Finally prevailing upon Big White to go along, the captains moved down to the Arikara villages. Landing opposite the second village on August 21, they were met by most of the inhabitants of the villages and also by Cheyennes who had recently encamped nearby. When Clark stepped on shore he was saluted by the two great chiefs "whome we had made or given Medals to as we assend[ed] this river in 1804." In council with the Indians Clark met a young man of about thirty-two years who was introduced as Grey Eyes, the first chief of the Arikaras. He had been absent when the explorers passed up the river two years before, and the Indian they had then recognized as the principal chief (no doubt Lighting Crow) had given up his medal and flag to Grey Eyes as a greater chief than himself.[41]

As the sun got hot the Cheyenne chief invited them to his lodge. After smoking together Clark gave the chief a small medal, which instead of gratifying the chief seemed to alarm him. The Cheyenne returned the medal and told Clark that "he knew that the white people were all *medecine* and that he was afraid of the midal or any thing that white people gave to them." Clark was no doubt taken aback, for this was the first time a chief had reacted unfavorably to the presentation of a medal, but he patiently explained to the chief the purpose of the award. Clark hung the medal once more around the chief's neck and told him that "this was the medecene which his Great father directed me to deliver to all the great chiefs who listened to his word and followed his councils, that he had done so and I should leave the medal with him as a token of his cincerity &c." The chief was impressed; he accepted the medal and doubled the quantity of buffalo meat he had originally presented to Clark as a gift.[42]

On September 23 the captains arrived at St. Louis. "We were met by all the village," Clark reported, "and received a harty welcom from it's inhabitants &c."[43]

This first use by Americans of peace medals in the Trans-Mississippi West, though similar in theory, far outran the practice of the Spanish in actuality. Whereas Spanish agents were continually pleading with the officials at St. Louis or New Orleans for a supply of medals and cautiously wrote for specific instructions as to whether or not it would be all right to award a small medal to a second chief as well as a large medal to a first chief in a nation, Lewis and Clark distributed the medals with a certain abandon. They came with a large number of medals, in at least four sizes, and they regularly presented the medals to first, second, and third chiefs—including what appeared to be a good many secondary village chiefs. Nor were they meticulous in determining the chiefs whom they selected for the honor. With the Spanish it was generally the governor or some high officer who decided which chiefs were to get the medals, and the traders who made the actual presentation (when the Indians did not in fact come to St. Louis or New Orleans) were merely agents carrying out the governor's will. Lewis and Clark in contrast, had complete discretionary authority. They did not even make a full report about the chiefs they had "made."

The agent of the British North West Company, Larocque, when he met Lewis and Clark at the Mandan villages in November, 1804, wrote in his journal: "They made presents of a flag, medal, chiefs clothing, tobacco, knives, beads and other trinkets to every chief of the Indian nations which they saw."[44] Perhaps the captains could afford to be so free with the medals because the War Department had so many of the Washington season medals left over from the previous administrations. But one suspects that the wide distribution of the medals, together with flags, chief's coats, knives, handkerchiefs and the like, was an expression of American extravagance and exuberance. Whatever the cause, compared with the restrained and carefully accounted for distribution of such marks of allegiance by the Spanish, the American captains saturated with medals the country through which they passed. The Americans who followed them continued to do so.

4. Zebulon Montgomery Pike's Expeditions

Before Lewis and Clark returned from their epoch-making tour of discovery, an exploration of the upper Mississippi River was undertaken by Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike and a detachment of twenty soldiers. Pike, an alert young officer, was the protégé of General James Wilkinson, commanding general of the United States Army, who made his headquarters at St. Louis. Wilkinson on July 30, 1805, directed Pike to ascend the Mississippi "until you reach the source of it, or the season may forbid your further progress." Pike was to take notes on the course of the river, to report the number and residence of the Indians and the extent of their trade, and to obtain land from the Indians for military posts. "In your course," General Wilkinson told Pike, "you are to spare no pains to conciliate the Indians and to attach them to the United States." He gave the lieutenant permission to invite important chiefs to come to St. Louis to pay a visit.[1]

Pike was provided with "trifling presents" and some flags, which Wilkinson cautioned him to be careful about distributing. He did not, however, take any peace medals with him, nor is this surprising since his journey originated with Wilkinson at St. Louis and not with the President or Secretary of War in Washington, and it is not likely that Wilkinson had a surplus of medals, if any at all, at his headquarters. Yet Pike's activities on the upper Mississippi throw considerable light on the tremendous importance attached to peace medals as signs of friendship and marks of allegiance to the United States.

Pike was soon apprised by the Indian chiefs he met of the value they placed on their medals. At Prairie du Chien a band of Sioux asked for two medals "in order that they may have their chiefs distinguished as friends of the Americans," and the lieutenant asked Wilkinson to send the medals to Prairie du Chien, where Pike could get them on his way down river and then make a proper presentation to the chiefs.[2] When he arrived at the mouth of the Minnesota River, he was importuned by Indian chiefs who had been to St. Louis and there turned in their British medals to the agent Pierre Chouteau. Chouteau had promised them American medals in return, to be sent up to them by some officer of the government. Now Pike appeared, but without the medals, and he wrote to Wilkinson to "remedy the evil." The chiefs, Pike said, considered the medals "their commissions; their only distinguishing mark from other warriors."[3]

At Leech Lake, in early February, Pike came upon the trading establishment of Hugh McGillis, the agent of the North West Company post at Fond du Lac. What he saw startled and disturbed him, and he sent McGillis a strong admonition:

> I have found, sir, your commerce and establishments, extending beyond our most exaggerated ideas, and in addition to the injury done our revenue, by the evasion of the duties, other acts which are more particularly injurious to the *honor* and *dignity* of our government. The transactions alluded to, are the presenting *medals* of his Britannic majesty, and *flags* of the said government, to the chiefs and warriors resident in the territory of the United States. If political subjects are strictly prohibited to our traders, what would be the ideas of the executive to see foreigners making chiefs, and distributing flags, the standard of an European power.[4]

He strictly enjoined the trader to bring his goods through proper channels, never to hoist the British flag, not to hold political councils with the Indians, and "on no further occasion, present a flag or medal to an Indian."

McGillis in a gracious response pleaded innocence of any intentional wrongdoing—"The custom has long been established and we innocently and inoffensively, as we imagined, have conformed to it till the present day." But he promised "to prevent the future display of the British flag, or the presenting of medals."[5] Pike was not satisfied, however, by this polite exchange of notes, which he must have real-

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The basic sources for a history of the use of peace medals in Indian policy and for an understanding of how the medals were designed and produced are to be found in the records of the federal government preserved in the National Archives. The medals themselves are mute artifacts; a careful study of the medals must be combined with a thorough investigation of the documents dealing with their manufacture and their use.

The medals were produced explicitly for the Indian service, and the primary records are those of the offices in the federal government that were concerned with Indian relations. Originally the responsibility rested directly with the Secretary of War, who worked through the officers and agents who procured military and Indian supplies. When the Office of Indian Trade was established in 1806, the Superintendent of Indian Trade assumed the responsibility for acquiring and distributing the medals. When an Office of Indian Affairs was established within the War Department in 1824, the head of that office took over the duties of the Indian Trade Office, which had been abolished in 1822. The formal appointment of a Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1832 and the Congressional authorization of a Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1834—still under the War Department—regularized the work.

When the Department of the Interior was created in 1849, the Indian service was transferred to the new department, but the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was still the chief official dealing with the matter of Indian medals. In addition, however, the Indian Division within the Office of the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of the Interior himself frequently were concerned.

The Superintendents of Indian Affairs and the Indian agents on the frontier were the men who dealt directly with the Indians. They were usually the ones who presented the medals to the chiefs.

The production of the medals for the most part was done at the United States Mint in Philadelphia. The engravers, coiners, directors, and superintendents of the Mint were intimately involved in the design and the striking of the medals, and when the Office of the Director of the Mint was created in 1873, that officer, and occasionally the Secretary of the Treasury, became involved in the bureaucratic machinery necessary to the production of the medals.

All of these officers and agents generated official records, now preserved in the National Archives, which provided the fundamental sources for this study. In addition, significant documents concerning Indian peace medals have turned up in a wide variety of non-governmental document collections.

I. RECORDS IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES [The records used are listed by Record Group number. If the records have been microfilmed, the microcopy number is indicated in square brackets.]

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Franklin Peale Correspondence, 1829–1886.
Letter Book, 1824–1835.
Letters Sent by the Director and Superintendent of the Mint, 1866–1900.
Letters Sent by Coining and Medal Department.
Letters from the Coiner to the Superintendent, 1877–1891.
Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1879–1904.
Register of Dies for the Philadelphia Mint, 1839–1854.
Medal Fund Account Book, 1861–1888.
Medal Book, 1868.
Chief Coiner's Medal Account Books, 1871–1888.
Index of Letters Received and Sent from U. S. Mint from 1792 to July, 1835.
Domestick Letters and Statements . . . 1795–1804.
Miscellaneous List of Important Papers Found in Engraver's Vault, List #4.

RECORD GROUP 107: *Records of the Office of the Secretary of War*

Registers of Letters Received, Main Series [M22].
Letters Received by the Secretary of War, Registered Series [M221].
Letters Sent by the Secretary of War, Military Affairs [M6].

II. RECORDS IN THE INDIAN TRIBAL CLAIMS BRANCH, FEDERAL RECORDS CENTER, SUITLAND, MARYLAND

Second Auditor's Accounts, Indian Department.
Register of Indian Claims.
Accountant's Office Journals and Warrant Books.
Letter Book, Superintendent of Military Stores, 1809–1812.
Journal of George Ingels, Indian Storekeeper. 1806–1811.
Journal of Superintendent of Military Stores. 1794–1811.

III. NON-GOVERNMENTAL COLLECTIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS [Some of these supplied only isolated documents, turned up in casual research.]

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Lawrence Taliaferro Papers.
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Tesson Collection.
Chouteau Collection.
Indian Papers.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania:
Anthony Wayne Papers.
Autograph Collection.
Register of the Medal Dies of the U. S. (Peale).
Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society:
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"Red Jacket Medals," *American Journal of Numismatics*, XXI (January, 1897), 84–85. [Concerns three medals, each claimed to be the original Red Jacket medal.]

"Red Indian Peace Medal," *Numismatic Circular*, LV (February, 1950), 71; (April, 1950), 199–200. [Describes an oval Washington medal of 1793.]

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Severance, Frank H. "The Red Jacket Relics," *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*, XXV (1921), 233–242. [Describes the Red Jacket Medal and its presentation.]

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"The War Between Nebraska and Kansas: Both Sides of the Dispute Over the True Location of the Pike-Pawnee Indian Village, Where the Spanish Flag Came Down and the Stars and Stripes Went Up," *Nebraska History Magazine*, X (July–September, 1927), 159–261. [Contains illustrations of peace medals excavated at the site.]

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COLLECTIONS OF INDIAN PEACE MEDALS

Indian peace medals are to be found in numerous museums and other depositories, where they are on exhibit or otherwise available. The most extensive collection is that of the American Numismatic Society in New York, which contains an example of nearly every peace medal struck. Another extensive collection is that of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington.

There are significant collections of medals in the Denver Natural History Museum (Crane Collection), Denver, Colorado; Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma; Henry Ford Museum, Dearborn, Michigan; Johns Hopkins University (John Work Garrett Collection), Baltimore, Maryland; Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachuetts; Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.

In addition, the following places have an important medal or small group of medals: Arizona Pioneer's Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona; Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts; Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, New York; Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, Buffalo, New York; Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois; Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California; Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware; Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Idaho Historical Society, Boise, Idaho; Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines, Iowa; Kansas City Museum of History and Science, Kansas City, Missouri; Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota; National Cowboy Hall of Fame, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska; New-York Historical Society, New York, New York; Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon; Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario; South Dakota State Historical Society, Pierre, South Dakota; State Historical Society of North Dakota. Bismarck, North Dakota; State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

Some medals are held by other similar museums. There are also a number of private collectors with important collections of peace medals, and many smaller collectors.

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for incidental expenses, which was before insufficient to meet the demand upon it. This fund should be almost entirely expended in the purchase of provisions to furnish the Indians during the winter, when they cannot support themselves, and are dependent, in a great measure, upon the bounty of the government and the settlers.

My experience with Indians in this Territory has satisfied me that by judicious management no trouble will be had in maintaining with them the most peaceful relations. I have never been among any people who appreciate more highly any exhibition of kindness and good will. I have known no instance of difficulty between them and the whites in which the Indians were the aggressors. They realize fully the power of the government, and would at all times greatly prefer to remain at peace. In this, as in the other newer Territories, are numerous reckless and unprincipled adventurers, who, for purposes of traffic, will sometimes give the Indians whiskey, or will sometimes shoot an Indian from sheer wantonness, and thus cause the lives of innocent whites to be taken in retaliation for their acts. Fewer occurrences of this nature, however, transpire here than in any other Territory, owing to the fact that the people of this Territory are almost entirely engaged in agricultural pursuits. The most entire tranquillity can be preserved among the Indians in this Territory if they be treated by the government with kindness and liberality. A bale of blankets or a sack of flour will accomplish more than its weight in gold expended in prosecuting military operations against the Indians. It is, too, infinitely more in accordance with the spirit of our institutions and our professions of Christianity and civilization as a people to treat these poor and ignorant wards of the nation with a spirit of enlightened charity, than to put in practice the doctrine of military surveillance and extermination, which is worthy of the darkest ages of the race. Within a comparatively short period, with proper management, the Indians of this Territory can be made nearly self-supporting, and may look forward to a future of peace, comfort, and tranquillity, in entire subordination to law.

I should be doing injustice to my own feelings did I fail to mention in this report the cordial co-operation I have at all times experienced from all the principal Mormons throughout the Territory. In the execution of my official duties I have been obliged often to ask their assistance and co-operation, and in no instance have I failed to receive the most cheerful and hearty aid.

I transmit herewith an estimate for the necessary appropriations for the service during the coming year.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

F. H. HEAD,
Superintendent Indian Affairs.

Hon. D. N. COOLEY,
Commissioner Indian Affairs.

No. 35.

FORT BRIDGER AGENCY, *September* 15, 1866.

SIR: In compliance with the regulations of the Indian department, I have the honor to submit the following report relative to the affairs of this agency:

About the 20th of September, 1865, the season being far advanced and game scarce, the Shoshones immediately set out for their winter hunting grounds across the mountains, if possible to reach there before the snow fell.

The whole tribe accompanied Chief Washakee thither, with the exception of five or ten lodges, who passed the winter on Green river, about fifty miles from here, where they subsisted on the small game there to be found, and making no demands upon me for assistance. The main portion of the tribe proceeded to the valleys of the Pawpawgee and Wind rivers, where they spent the winter hunting the buffalo, deer, elk, and mountain sheep. They procured during the season upwards of one thousand buffalo robes and a few dressed skins of other named animals, a much larger collection than during any previous year. They also secured a good supply of dried meat. Although the past was the severest winter on record for the past ten years, the Indians of my agency never fared better nor looked so fat and healthy as they did on their arrival here this summer, proving conclusively that they had fared sumptuously every day. Such well-fed Indians could not be otherwise than healthy, so that the mortality among them has fallen far below the average.

I did not have a favorable opportunity for taking the census of the tribe this year, but estimate the number of Shoshones at nineteen hundred. Aside from the natural increase by births, which has not fallen short of former years, there has been a considerable addition from neighboring tribes. About four hundred Bannocks, under a chief named Tahgay, (a very worthy Indian, and in whom I fully repose confidence,) who have been residing in the vicinity of Soda Springs and along the Snake river, passed over into the Wind River valley and located themselves adjacent to the Shoshones, with whom they are at peace. They also accompanied the Shoshones on their visit to this agency, and, from all that I can learn of them, I think they desire to be on the most friendly terms with the whites. I did not have any presents for them, and was informed that they had not received any from the Great

Father in times past. The neglect, if any, must be owing to their being so far removed from any agency. I supplied them, however, with a few articles of food for their immediate wants out of my own pocket, and would recommend that such provision be made for them in future that they too may receive a share of the annuity goods with their neighbors, the Shoshones.

These Bannocks will undoubtedly return to this agency once or twice during the year.

The supply of presents for the Indians of this agency reached me in due time, was ample in quantity, and gave universal satisfaction.

Shortly before the distribution I had the pleasure of meeting, in company with Superintendent Head, Washakee and his chiefs in council, on which occasion the superintendent made them a speech, and the best of good feeling prevailed. Washakee has lately received, under the pledge of friendship from the President, a fine large silver medal, bearing the image and superscription of the Great Father.

There were present at the distribution about one hundred and fifty Utes from the Uintah agency, who came for the purpose of trading with their neighbors, the Shoshones. Some of my Indians were dilatory in coming in this season, but I did not distribute the goods until all, or nearly all, had arrived. The cause of this delay is the scarcity of game and the consequent difficulty in maintaining an independent sustenance at this post, for they have but little money to buy food with. I would here observe that the location of this agency is a bad one, and for this reason: the Indians are obliged to come a long way from their hunting grounds to receive their presents, and by the time they reach me their stock of provisions is well-nigh exhausted, and for them to maintain themselves in this vicinity without an abundance of game is an impossibility, and discourages some from coming at all. I would therefore recommend that a portion of their annuities be given them in money, to enable them to defray the expenses of subsistence during their visit at this agency.

In this connexion I would again recommend the plan of locating this tribe upon a permanent reservation and establishing thereon an agency, and make such other arrangements as I have heretofore suggested for improving their condition.

The valley of the Wind River mountains is the territory which the tribe have selected for their home, and this is the place where such a reservation should be set apart and an agency established.

The country abounds in game, has a very mild climate, and possesses agricultural advantages which make it a great desideratum to the white man. Numerous oil springs have been discovered and located in the valley of the Pawpawgee, but this tribe are strongly opposed to any invasion of their territory by the whites.

I greatly fear that these mineral and agricultural resources of the country will turn out to be a bone of contention between the whites and the reds, and would therefore urge that the tribe have a reservation staked out which may be held sacred to them, and not be encroached upon by the whites.

Several of our citizens are looking toward the Wind River country with a view to its development, and I give you a few extracts from a letter written by one who passed the winter and a part of the spring in the valley. He says: "The air is pure, the water of the best, the climate mild and regular. The soil is not second in fertility to that of Illinois or Iowa, farming land enough to support a population of two hundred thousand persons, the climate well adapted to the growth of small grain and fruit, especially apples and vegetables. There is plenty of timber for building and fencing purposes. The scenery is most beautiful and picturesque. There are two oil springs in the valley, one of which pours forth one hundred barrels per day. There are good indications of stone-coal and iron, with numerous quarries of limestone suitable for building purposes. The foot-hills and valleys are covered, winter and summer, with a luxuriant growth of nutritious grass, making the finest grazing region west of the Missouri. The mountains give indications of mineral deposits. But little snow fell, and what did fall soon disappeared. Stock can be wintered without any feeding. Buffalo, and other game, abounds," &c., &c.

As long as our Indian tribes are permitted an existence in the land, I contend that they should have a territory assigned them where they can procure a living, instead of being driven away to the poorest tracts of country, where a white man, with all of his superior knowledge, would fail to make a living. Washakee and his tribe deserve a permanent and exclusive reservation in the valley of the Wind river, and I pray you to let them have it at once. The subject demands serious attention, and I hope it will receive a proper consideration. The Indian must be reclaimed from his wild ways, or he will continue to be an expense to the country so long as he lives; and no plan of rendering him a self-supporting and law-abiding citizen is so effectual as that one which civilizes, educates, and christianizes him, and this work cannot be done save on a reservation.

The Shoshones have not been engaged in any warfare, offensive or defensive, during the past year with neighboring tribes, have been at peace among themselves, and, I am proud to say, continue faithful to their treaty stipulations.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

LUTHER MANN JR.,
United States Indian Agent.

Hon. F. H. HEAD,
Superintendent Indian Affairs, Salt Lake City, U. T.

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REPORT

OF THE

COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

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THE YEAR 1866.

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1866.

of the several reservations in Utah heretofore set apart, with their improvements, Governor Durkee and Superintendent Head were appointed appraisers, and have made their report, which has been transmitted to the department. The avails of the sale of these reservations are by law to be devoted to the Indian service in Utah, and they are needed for the purpose of providing for various improvements upon the Uintah Valley reservation.

Early in the spring advices were received that Black Hawk, an influential chief of the San Pitch band of Utahs, had taken the field with an active band of followers, and had killed many of the settlers and driven off a large amount of valuable stock. In the conflicts which ensued some forty of the Indians were killed, but the chief was joined by wild spirits and outlaws from various bands, and thus recruited, renewed his raids upon the settlers.

The Pai-Utes, referred to in the last annual report, as living in southwestern Utah, and formerly in charge of Special Agent Sale, now belong properly in Nevada, but, as has been stated under the head of the last-named superintendency, this special agency, now in charge of Mr. Guthrie, reports to the superintendent for Utah.

By the annual report of Agent Mann, of the Fort Bridger agency, we are advised of the condition of the eastern band of Shoshonees. Old "Washakee," their chief, is a firm friend of the whites, and his people behave well.

Silver medals have been sent to Washakee and to "Konosh," head chief of one of the Utah bands, in recognition of their good service to the whites and good influence over their own people.

NEW MEXICO.

If we are not able as yet to report the condition of Indian affairs in New Mexico as an entirely satisfactory one, it is not for lack of knowledge of the tribes which inhabit different portions of that Territory; the very full and exhaustive report of Mr. J. K. Graves, who was in New Mexico at the time of the last annual report of this office, having been made early in this year. Its great length precludes the possibility of inserting it in full among the accompanying papers, but an abstract is therein presented, in order that it may be referred to, if necessary, for an accurate understanding of the matter, when Congress shall, as it is hoped may be the case, take up the subject with the purpose of providing such means as may be necessary to do justice to a Territory whose loyal people have suffered, and are suffering much from Indian depredations, and who are knocking loudly at the door of Congress for relief.

A few words may profitably be devoted here to the conclusions reached by Mr. Graves upon the different points considered in his report. The Bosque Redondo and the Navajoes thereon, he found to be an engrossing theme of discussion among the people, so much so that parties were organized upon the issue, "Bosque" or "anti-Bosque"—that is, whether the Navajoes should or should not be kept upon that reservation. Mr. Graves is clearly of the opinion that the policy of General Carleton has had an excellent effect; that the Navajoes are doing well upon the reservation; and that it is best that the government should, once for all, put an end to the quarrels among the people upon this subject, by deciding that the Indians shall be retained at that reservation, and by providing the necessary appropriations for taking them into the charge of the civil authorities. As they are now, there is a divided jurisdiction, the Indians being prisoners of war, and sustained, as to all supplies beyond what they raise themselves, by rations issued by the military authorities; while they also have a regularly appointed agent, and an annual distribution of supplies in clothing, &c., of $100,000 appropriated by Congress. Such a state of things should not continue. Either they should be supported and educated in self-supporting industry by the military alone, or they should be turned over to the civil authorities. The division of jurisdiction makes trouble constantly. Mr. Graves pre-

could be made, and transportation obtained up the Missouri river. They met, at various ... Sioux treated with last year, and found them still peaceable ... turning their attention to ... tonnais ba... President ... the labors ... "Proceed ... with the ... about two ... through ... for benef... of them ... The g... and thos... route to ... game up ... those re... tice to ... resultin... the two ... ual im... don th... At ... cede a... far we... river, ... Besid... statio... sider... At ... ing a... Hel... pens... esta... T... Col... Wi... tive... Sic... era... ye... th... ba... ci... po... tr... tr... s... n...

named reserve. In regard to this timber reserve, the superintendent says that it includes about 20,000 acres of fine timber, and that the Pacific railroad "will claim the alternate sections," a claim of doubtful validity; but it is alleged that it is found very difficult to protect this timber, and the suggestion is made that it be sold, and the proceeds used for the Indians of the State; and this course is recommended. A beginning has been made in cultivating the soil upon these reservations, and with some success; but as agricultural operations in Nevada require irrigation for their permanent success, nothing can be done which shall tend to concentrate these Indians to the pursuit of self-sustaining industry until the means are provided for the purpose.

Agent Campbell in his annual report makes such an estimate, and it is hoped that Congress will take the subject into consideration. While Nevada is by her rich mines pouring immense wealth into the lap of the nation, the Indian occupants of the country have never been treated with, and have no permanent provision made for their benefit; while the annual appropriations for the service in that State are less than is annually expended for many small tribes in the east.

In the month of June Agent Campbell reported the arrival of some one hundred and twenty Indians at Fort Churchill, in the northern part of Nevada, mostly Bannacks and Pai-Utes, destitute and suffering. They had been hostile, but voluntarily surrendered, and were sent to the Truckee River or Pyramid Lake reservation, and set at work at raising a supply of vegetables for themselves.

Early in the year, certain whites repaired to the last-named reservation, and commenced settlements there. Upon their being notified by the superintendent to leave, and their refusal to obey the order, a small detachment of soldiers accompanied the superintendent to the reservation, and the intruders were compelled to leave it; since which no further difficulty of the kind has occurred.

There is a very encouraging field for the education and christianizing of these Indians open, especially in the case of the Pi-Utes; and upon the request of this office the superintendent furnished an estimate of the amount of funds necessary for establishing a manual labor school, and supporting it for one year, which amount is stated at $11,500. This estimate, I think, was transmitted to Congress by your predecessor, but no action was taken thereon at the last session. It is hoped that early action upon this recommendation will enable this office to put the school in operation during the coming year. Believing that, including the establishment of this school, the sum of $60,000 can be judiciously expended for the permanent benefit of those Indians during the next year, that sum is recommended for Nevada.

UTAH.

The annual reports from this superintendency having arrived at a late hour, I have been unable to give them such full notice as is desirable. Mr. Head, who succeeded Mr. Irish as superintendent early last spring, has performed his duties to the satisfaction of this office, and his report contains much interesting matter.

The arrangements for concentrating the Utah Indians upon the Uintah Valley reservation, in the northeastern part of the Territory, have been pushed forward this year with considerable energy under the direction of the superintendent, and the immediate charge of Mr. Carter, who relieved Agent Kinney in the early summer; and there was a prospect of a fair crop upon the reservation. At one time the bands at this location threatened an outbreak of hostilities; but by a speedy visit to them, in the journey to accomplish which the party suffered great hardships in crossing the mountains, the Indians were quieted, restored the property which they had seized, and promised obedience.

In accordance with the acts of Congress providing for the appraisal and sale

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No. 36.

OFFICE SUPERINTENDENT INDIAN AFFAIRS, UTAH,
Great Salt Lake City, August 13, 1866.

SIR: Washakee, the chief of the eastern bands of Shoshones, with some three hundred of his men, came in a few days since to make me a visit. He wears about his neck the medal which you sent him by Judge Carter, of Fort Bridger, and with which he is exceedingly pleased. The enclosed photograph was taken at the time of his visit, and is a very good likeness. He is by far the noblest-looking Indian I have ever seen, and his record is untarnished by a single mean action. In your last report you recommended that medals be given Washakee and Ranosh, chief of the Pah-Vants, who is equally deserving of such a testimonial. If possible, I beg you will send me a medal to be presented to Ranosh; I shall visit his tribe in about six weeks, if the new goods arrive when I expect them, and would like to take it with me. It could be safely transmitted by mail.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

F. H. HEAD,
Superintendent.

Hon. D. N. COOLEY,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

No. 37.

UTAH SUPERINTENDENCY,
Great Salt Lake City, April 30, 1866.

SIR: Black Hawk, a somewhat prominent chief of the Utah Indians, has been engaged for more than a year past in active hostilities against the settlements in the southern portion of this territory. His band consisted at first of but forty-four men, who were mostly outlaws and desperate characters from his own and other tribes. During the summer and autumn of 1865 he made several successful forays upon the weak and unprotected settlements in San Pete and Sevier counties; killed in all thirty-two whites, and drove away to the mountains upwards of two thousand cattle and horses.

Forty of his warriors were killed by the settlers in repelling his different attacks. His success in stealing, however, enabled him to feed abundantly and mount all Indians who joined him, and the prestige acquired by his raids was such that his numbers were constantly on the increase, despite his occasional losses of men. He spent the winter near where the Grand and Green rivers unite to form the Colorado. On the 20th instant he again commenced his depredations by making an attack upon Salina, a small settlement in Sevier county. He succeeded in driving to the mountains about two hundred cattle, killing two men who were guarding them, and compelling the abandonment of the settlement.

His band, from what I consider entirely reliable information, now numbers one hundred warriors, one-half of whom are Navajoes from New Mexico. I am very apprehensive that unless Black Hawk is severely chastised, an Indian war of considerable magnitude may be inaugurated. He has never yet met with a serious reverse, having always attacked small settlements or unprotected families. He has thus acquired a considerable reputation among the various Indian tribes, and I fear many of the more adventurous will join him from the bands now friendly. The ill-feeling engendered by the death of San Pitch, and by the nearly starving condition of the Indians on the Uintah reservation, concerning which I had the honor to address you on the 23d instant, will tend to promote this result.

In view of these circumstances, and for the purpose of preventing accessions to the ranks of the hostile Indians, I have, after consultation with Governor Durkee, desired Colonel Potter, commanding the United States troops in this district, to send two or three companies of soldiers to that portion of the Territory to protect the settlements and repel further attacks. I have also sent Indian runners to have an interview with Black Hawk, and to urge him to meet me for the purpose of establishing a permanent peace. I have little hope, however, that he will do this, at least before he is defeated, with the loss of some portion of his warriors, as he has heretofore been boldly defiant, rejecting with scorn all overtures for peace. Colonel Potter has telegraphed to General Dodge for instructions in reference to my application. I should be much pleased to have an expression of your views as to the policy to be further pursued in this matter.

Very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

F. H. HEAD,
Superintendent.

Hon. D. N. COOLEY,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington D. C.