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Portraits, Presents, and Peace Medals:

THOMAS L. MCKENNEY AND INDIAN VISITORS TO WASHINGTON.

Written for the *American Scene* by Herman J. Viola.



The following article, written especially for the *American Scene* by Herman J. Viola of the National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D. C., was prompted initially by a chance encounter between Mr. Viola and a member of the Gilcrease staff at a publications seminar sponsored by the American Association for State and Local History in Nashville, Tennessee, this past year. At that time the subject of American Indian portraiture was advanced and discussed at some length after it was learned by the author that the Thomas Gilcrease Institute numbers in its art inventory a dozen early works by Charles Bird King, Washington painter noted for his representations of distinguished Indian visitors to the nation's capitol during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Already a student of the government service career of Thomas L. McKenney, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for this period and the man who commissioned many King portraits for inclusion in his famous Washington Indian gallery, Mr. Viola volunteered to attempt to document the Gilcrease paintings through reference to official government records and

other available sources. The result of his research and association with Gilcrease is the piece presented here.

The scope of the present article, however, is larger than that suggested by an interest in historic portraiture and deals generally with the U. S. Government's administration of Indian affairs before the bill demanding the removal of the principal eastern tribes to the western reserves finally was enacted by Congress in 1830. The description of the treatment accorded visiting Indian delegations to the seat of American government in the 1820's, the Indians' varied reactions to the Washington social and diplomatic scene of that day, and the passing review of official government policy regarding those aboriginal elements residing within or beyond its territorial domains make for reading that is at once worth while to the student of American history and entertaining from the human interest standpoint.

Herman J. Viola is the editor of *Prologue: the Journal of the National Archives*. This article is based upon a portion of his larger study entitled "Thomas L. McKenney and the Administration of Indian Affairs, 1816-1830."

D.C.H.



The portraits of the Winnebago delegate on page one and the Creek chief featured opposite are reproduced from plates illustrating *A History of the Indian Tribes of North America* by Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall (Philadelphia: E. C. Biddle, 1837). Both are listed by the lithographer as having been taken from originals by Charles Bird King.

"My Great Father, I have travelled a great distance to see you—I have seen you and my heart rejoices. I have heard your words . . . and I will carry them to my people as pure as they came from your mouth . . . [I] have seen your people, your homes, your vessels on the big lake, and a great many wonderful things far beyond my comprehension, which appears to have been made by the Great Spirit and placed in your hands, I am indebted to my Father here [the agent], who invited me from my home, [and] under whose wings I have been protected."¹ A Pawnee chief made this speech to President James Monroe in February 1822, and its sentiments indicate that once again the Federal Government's purpose in having Indians from remote tribes visit Washington and other eastern cities had been accomplished.

The practice of inviting Indian leaders to tour America's largest cities was a major component of Federal Indian policy until well into the nineteenth century. Too weak to risk war with the powerful tribes arrayed along its borders, the Federal Government had to rely instead on diplomacy, intimidation, even bribery to keep the Indians friendly and peaceful. Bringing a tribe's most important leaders to eastern cities, especially Washington, allowed the fullest use of all these expedients. After meeting the President, being showered with presents and attention, and then inspecting carefully selected military installations, few of the unsophisticated natives returned to their people without profound respect for American power and wealth.

For many years, the person responsible for shepherding the Indians safely through the nation's capital was Thomas Loraine McKenney, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Tall, congenial, with prematurely white hair and an aristocratic air, McKenney was a well-known Washington personality in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. He had been a Georgetown merchant until 1816 when he accepted an appointment as Superintendent of Indian Trade. He presided over the network of Government-owned trading houses for the Indians until it was abolished in 1822. After a brief interlude as a newspaper editor, he was named Superintendent of Indian Affairs, a position established by Secretary of War John C. Calhoun without legislative sanction in March 1824. McKenney served capably until the fall of 1830 when he was dismissed from the public service during President Andrew Jackson's general house cleaning.

Taking care of the Indian visitors was no easy task. During the summer of 1824, for instance, scarcely a week went by in Washington without the arrival of another delegation. Not all came for the same reasons, of course. Some came to air tribal grievances, others to negotiate treaties, and a few for no real purpose other than a little sightseeing. Since the Government had to pay all the expenses for these junkets, trips in the latter category were ruled out unless the Indians themselves agreed to pay for them out of their annuity allowances. As McKenney explained to one inquirer, "the rule of the [War] Department in regard to paying the expenses of Agents and Indians visiting the Seat of the Government is this—when the object of the visit is one in which the government is interested; and when a visit is deemed essential to a better understanding of that object, and which could not be so well had by correspondence—and when permission to make the visit is given, by the Department."²



The invitation to visit Washington was normally prompted by a request from an Indian agent. "The Chiefs and principal men of the most numerous nations of Indians within my agency, who have had but little intercourse with the Americans, have frequently expressed a great disposition to be permitted to visit the great American Chief, and to see the wealth and strength of our nation, about which they have heard so much, when they are still unwilling to believe, that it does far exceed their own," wrote the Upper Missouri Agent Benjamin O'Fallon to the Secretary of War in April 1821. "Therefore, I am induced to suggest . . . the importance of about fifteen of the principal Chiefs and leading men of some of the largest nations of the Missouri, and high up the Mississippi, being indulged in visiting the Seat of Government, and some of our largest Cities, [for] the purpose of forming some idea of the population of the Nation, and the wealth of our Cities . . . Our troops have produced much respect, and our Boats additional astonishment, but many are still disposed to underrate our strength, to believe that the detachment of Troops on the Missouri, is not a part, but the whole of our army." If the Secretary of War agreed that the purpose for the visit was a good one—as in this case—the Indians would be allowed to come. Accordingly, the following November O'Fallon arrived in Washington with three interpreters, a cook, and seventeen Pawnee, Omaha, Oto, Kansa, and Missouri Indians.³

McKenney normally lodged the delegations in first class accommodations—Jesse Brown's Indian Queen Hotel, or the equally fine inns owned by Joshua Tennon and Basil Williamson, all on Pennsylvania Avenue and within walking distance of the public buildings the Indians would be expected to visit during their stay. The Indian Queen was Washington's most popular hotel at the time and advertised sixty "well proportioned and well furnished" rooms. Brown would welcome new arrivals at the curbstone as they alighted from their stages and then usher them into the inn under the large swinging sign with its brightly painted Pocahontas. A servant would carry the luggage to the rooms. At meal times, Brown met the guests at the dining room door, carved the main dishes, and helped with the serving. Decanters of whiskey and brandy were furnished at no extra charge. Room service was provided by bell cords

connected to rows of bells hanging behind the bar. The bartender also had to act as desk clerk, seeing that the bells were answered, receiving and delivering messages, and giving information. The cost to the Indian office for each member of a delegation was \$1.25 a day, a price that included meals and room, but not laundry, barbering, and the like.⁴

The Indians may have stayed at the best hotels, but they evidently did not mingle with the other guests and ate their meals at separate tables. Williamson, in explaining to McKenney why his bill for lodging a party of five Osage Indians was higher than usual, asked him to "please understand . . . that I could not furnish them (so small a number) in any other manner than a private table, and I need only observe this to you, and you will at once perceive that it is not like having 15 or 20 in a mess, again there being females in [the] company it must be evident for the character of the House that these persons should be provided for in a decent and respectable manner. I can assure you Sir," he continued, "that they would not be put off from any wish and gave a great deal of trouble. If I ever attempted to point out any plan, which I frequently did, Lewis [their leader] would immediately leave the house and return to tell me that the President & the Secretary [of War] said they must be furnished with every thing."⁵

In addition to the excellent accommodations, the Indians were given new clothes. Throughout their stay merchants, cobblers, and tailors scurried in and out of their quarters, bringing the Indians samples of cloth and leather and measuring them for hats, shirts, vests, coats, trousers, and shoes. For example a large delegation of Sac, Fox, Iowa, and Piankeshaw Indians under the custody of William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, received among other things yellow buckskin shoes with very thin soles, plain calico shirts with collars, and \$5 hats resplendent with silver cords, tassels, and red,

Two views of Assiniboin traveler, Pigeon's Egg Head, "going to and returning from Washington," shown at left and right, are from a lithograph after George Catlin in the artist's **North American Indian Portfolio** (London, 1844).



blue, and green feathers. Very important chiefs, such as the five Sioux and Chippewa Indians Lawrence Taliaferro brought to Washington in 1824, might also receive military uniforms complete with silver epaulets, swords, pistols, and boots. When distributing military insignia and equipment, McKenney generally made some attempt to distinguish the chiefs according to the status within their tribes. For example, full chiefs would be given two epaulets, half-chiefs one, and warriors none. Silver plated rifles, pipe tomahawks of polished steel, silver arm and wrist bands, earrings, crosses, and other assorted trinkets completed the ensembles. Before leaving Washington each Indian was also supplied with "a strong and light" suitcase suitable for traveling on stagecoaches.⁶

Dressed in their new finery, the Indians must have been quite a spectacle to onlookers. A witness to the meeting between President Monroe and the O'Fallon delegation noted that all the male Indians were dressed in blue overcoats "with red cuffs and capes,

blue pantaloons, and boots—in short, in complete American costume, except that they wore on their heads a sort of coronet bedizened with red and blue foil, and stuck all around with feathers of the gayest colours. They were evidently not easy in their new habiliments," he thought,—"their coats seemed to pinch them around the shoulders; now and then they would take off their uneasy head dresses; and one sought temporary relief by pulling off his boots." Yet, more than twenty years later, a member of this delegation, the Oto chief Shaumonekuse, was still proudly wearing his overcoat which, the informant reports, was "adorned with red facings and enormously large brass buttons, and garnished upon each shoulder with a pair of tarnished, sickly-looking silver epaulettes." The rest of the costume had evidently long since been discarded, however, because "from beneath the skirts of the coat appeared two bare legs; and . . . a pair of coarse moccasins of buffalo hide."⁷

By far the most important gifts given the Indians were peace medals and American flags. They carried

the full weight of national allegiance and conferred upon the recipients added status and rank within their tribes. French and Spanish explorers began the practice of giving medals to the Indians and the British and Americans continued the custom. Bearing the likeness of the incumbent President the solid silver American medals were made in three sizes. The largest medals, about three inches in diameter, were presented to the most important chiefs; smaller medals went to chiefs and warriors of correspondingly lesser rank. The different sizes were very important because they recognized hierarchies of leadership within a tribe. As McKenney explained to the Secretary of War, "Such is the nature of this medal business as to make one size almost useless without the others. Presents cannot be made of the same size to the several grades of Indian rank without the total loss of all the results which such gifts are intended to produce."⁸

The Indians regarded a medal as a prized possession, to be buried with the owner when he died or to be handed down from generation to generation.



The portrait of Eagle of Delight, above, is reproduced from an original oil in the Gilcrease collection by Charles Bird King (c.1825). The peace medals shown below represent a portion of the museum's collection of artifacts seldom viewed by the general public.





Possession of a medal was such an important status symbol that leading warriors were very much offended if they did not receive one. During the audience with President Monroe, for example, the female member of the O'Fallon delegation—Shaumonekusse's wife, Eagle of Delight—noted that medals had not been distributed to all members of the delegation. She said that the "Great Father had given the red men new clothes like white men, and they looked very well in them," but "those who had no silver medals would look still better if they had them."⁹ McKenney considered medals so important that it would have been impossible to conduct official business with the Indians without them. "This comes of the high value which the Indians set upon these tokens of friendship," he explained. "They are besides this indication of 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."¹⁰

The flags presented with the medals were purchased by McKenney from Philadelphia merchants who made them in two sizes according to the superintendent's specifications. Their stripes resembled those on the official American flag but the fields carried as a device an eagle, stars, or both as in the case of the larger flags. The device was hand painted on both sides of the fabric—rough bunting which, McKenney noted, looked crude but was long lasting. The large flags measured 7'6" x 4'8" and cost \$12, including tassels and cord.¹¹

McKenney's letter accompanying an assortment of presents sent to the Little Prince, head chief of the Creeks, who was too elderly to make the trip to Washington, is an excellent example of the importance attached to medals and flags and how they were used to win and retain the friendship of the Indians:¹²

Brother—The Secretary of War sends to you by the Presidents directions a Cloak bound with silver lace, and a sword and twelve silver Medals, and twelve Flags. He sends them to you. The Cloak is to keep you warm and dry, and make you live long; and the sword as a badge of honor, and the Medals are sent to you to be put, by your own hands around the necks of your faithful and true chiefs—and with the Medal you will give also a flag—keeping a Medal, and a flag for yourself.

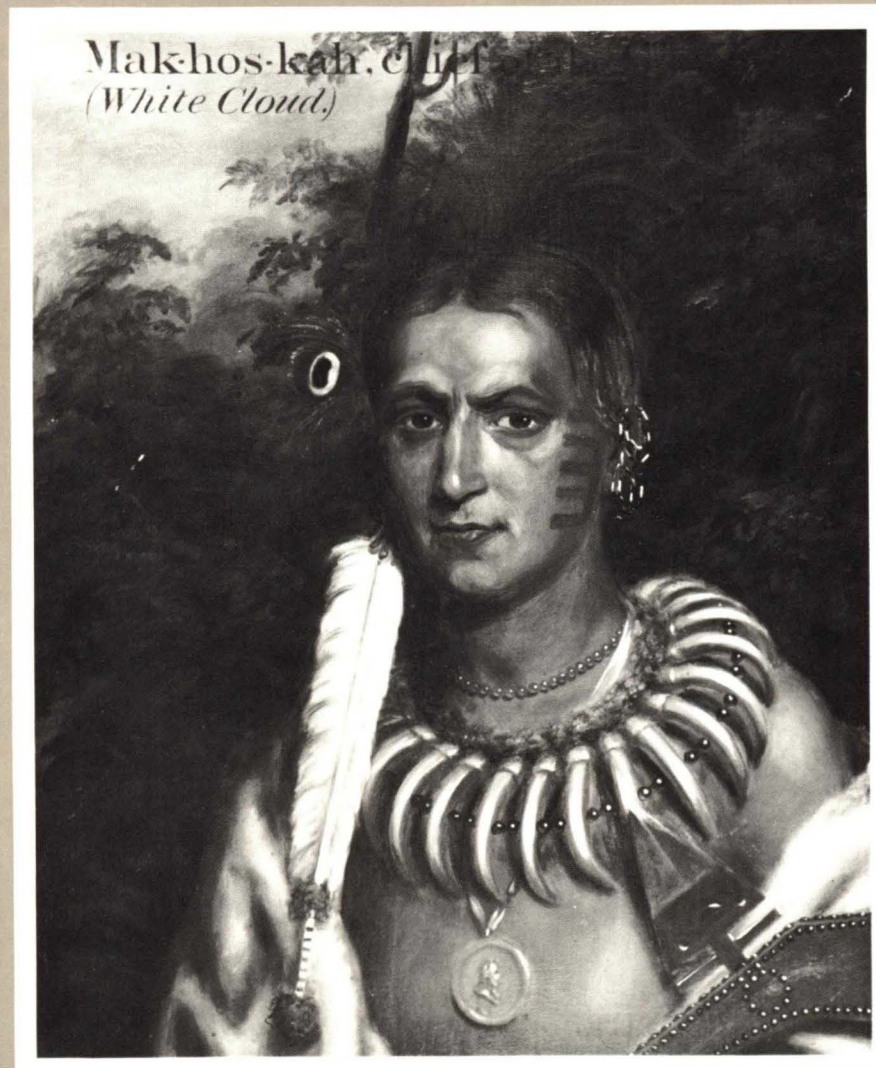
Brother—This will show you what you are—and what the great men at Washington think of you. You will consider these things as fastening one of your hands in the hand of your Great Father, and the hand of the Secretary of War.

The delegations usually remained three or four weeks in Washington, with several more weeks spent visiting New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. If the main order of business was the negotiation of a treaty, however, a delegation might stay in the capital as long as six months. The Indians would visit theatres, circuses, churches, museums, and farms; inspect battleships, navy yards, and forts; and meet with church groups and civic organizations.

During their stay, the highlight for the delegates was an audience with their Great Father the President. In a White House ceremony which included the pomp and pageantry accorded visiting heads of state, speeches and gifts were exchanged and the President then placed peace medals around the necks of the Indians. The lighting and passing around of peace pipes would generally end the ceremony, then wine, cake, and other refreshments would be served to the participants. In July 1824 John Quincy Adams, at that time Secretary of State but later to be the principal figure in many such ceremonies, recorded his impressions of a meeting he witnessed between President James Monroe and a delegation of Sauk, Fox, Menominee, Miami, Sioux, and Chippewa Indians. The delegation spoke five different languages, requiring as many interpreters; the speeches by the Sauk and Fox required a double interpretation—first into French and then into English. Adams noted that the chiefs spoke with "much gravity and painful earnestness," but he was impressed most by their appearance— "part of them all but naked" and all brightly painted, including one who had "his whole face colored with yellow ochre."¹³

Not all meetings between the President and Indian delegations were such formal affairs. For example, on New Year's day 1822 the O'Fallon delegation was

Represented opposite is Chief McIntosh of the Creeks in Georgia before their removal to Indian Territory. (Featured in McKenney and Hall's three volume **History**.) Following the signing of the unpopular treaty at Indian Springs in 1825, McIntosh was slain by members of a faction opposing removal to the West.



Mak-hos-ka, Chief
(White Cloud)

part of the throng at the annual White House reception, sharing in the cakes and tea and rubbing elbows with the cream of Washington society. Present on that occasion were cabinet members, Supreme Court justices, congressmen, and the ambassadors of England, France, Russia, and Sweden. Jonathan Elliot, editor of the *Washington Gazette*, thought the ladies, many of whom were wearing the fashionable "Scotch bonnet with a tartan crown, border and feathers," were "brilliant and attractive" as usual; but most striking were the dozen or so Indians. Three were wrapped in buffalo robes with brightly painted figurines, horses, and birds; the Pawnee chief wore a head-dress of feathers, "descending like wings to the waist;" and on the faces of all was red paint "laid on from the eyebrows to the cheek bone." The Indians impressed Elliot as being respectful and dignified, and he noticed also that the "music and hilarity of the scene occasionally relaxed the muscles of their cadaverous countenances, and in place of pensive gravity, a heartfelt joy beamed in the sullen eye of the Indian warrior."¹⁴

Several weeks later the O'Fallon delegation again met the President under rather unusual circumstances. On Saturday, February 9, the Indians performed several of their native dances in front of the White House. Heralded in local newspapers, the spectacle attracted some 6,000 people. Congress adjourned for the occasion and one witness claimed that half the male population, as well as quite a few females, was there. Despite the winter weather, the Indians danced and enacted scenes of hunting and warfare for three hours wearing nothing but red flannel breechclouts. "They were painted horribly, and exhibited the operation of tomahawking in fine style," reported one observer. Another thought the exhibition was one that "no person of liberal and philosophical curiosity would willingly have missed seeing, and which no one who viewed it . . . would choose to witness it again."¹⁵

While in Washington the medical needs of the Indians were provided for. Prior to 1825 private physicians attended sick or injured Indians, but in December of that year McKenney suggested to the Secretary of War that doctor John Brereton of the Surgeon General's office be paid an extra \$450 a year to give medical care to visiting Indians. "The expenses of the last year," McKenney pointed out, "were



Reproduced at left is another King portrait, Mak-hos-ka, or White Cloud, "chief of the Goways." An original oil in the Gilcrease collection.

greatly beyond this, perhaps twice this amount!" The recommendation was adopted and thereafter the delegations were notified immediately upon their arrival that they had to report to the Surgeon General's office in the War Department building for medical attention. After normal working hours, which were 9 to 3 every day except Sunday, the doctor could be found at his residence "at the Carrison on Green Leaf's point."¹⁶

This was a wise suggestion on McKenney's part because the Indians made extensive use of the doctor's services. The delegates, many of whom were quite elderly, literally risked life and limb in making the trips, being exposed to new illnesses and dangers. Particularly unfortunate was the Choctaw delegation of 1825. One of the chiefs fell off a cliff while stretching his legs at a rest stop and died of a fractured skull; another died of the croup while in Washington; and still another became so seriously ill he remained behind for several months when the others returned home. Considering that the ten-member delegation consumed \$2,149.50^{1/2} worth of liquor during its stay, it is remarkable that the Indians did not have more problems.¹⁷ Not all delegations had such bad luck, of course, but few left Washington without having had their share of colds and broken bones.

One of the most imaginative innovations McKenney introduced in the handling of the Indian visitors was having their portraits painted for inclusion in the American Indian archives that he had established in



his office. "I have often regretted that no Archives exists in which might have been enrolled the progress of things relating to our aborigines," he wrote in 1820. Not only would such an archives be invaluable for the better administration of Indian affairs, he reasoned, but the accumulated data could be "preserved there for the inspection of the curious, and the information of future generations, and long after the Indians will have been no more."¹⁸ Convinced of the soundness of his idea, McKenney expended considerable time, energy, and money during his federal career gathering as much material as possible relating to the aborigines of America. What he envisioned

and established, however, bore little similarity to a modern archives. Rather, it resembled an American Indian museum, containing more ethnological than archival material. And the heart of the archives was the gallery of Indian portraits, certainly the most comprehensive collection of American aboriginal portraiture in its day.¹⁹

The artist who painted most of the portraits was Charles Bird King whose studio was on the east side of Twelfth Street between E and F streets, NW. Although not brilliant, he had established a fine reputation as a portrait painter and his patrons included such prominent individuals as Calhoun,

Monroe, John Quincy Adams, and Henry Clay.²⁰ The first subjects in his Indian portfolio were the seventeen members of the O'Fallon delegation. King received payment from the Government for twenty-five paintings of which seventeen were sent home with the delegation and eight were deposited in McKenney's archives. In addition, there is evidence that the artist made eight portraits for himself, making a total of thirty-three known King portraits of this delegation alone.²¹ Thereafter, he was regularly commissioned to paint portraits of the more prominent chiefs that came to Washington. He charged the government \$20 for busts, and \$27 for full figures. By the time King finished his last Indian portrait in 1842, he had painted at least 143 for which the Government paid him some \$3,500.²² The number he may have rendered for his own use is unknown.

Information about the copies of the portraits given to the Indians is tantalizingly meager. In addition to the Indians with O'Fallon, the members of only three other delegations are known to have received copies of their portraits: the Sauk, Fox, Iowa, and Piankeshaw delegation of 1824, the Shawnee delegation of 1825, and Creek delegation of the same year. The Creeks specifically requested copies of their portraits and since the delegation was in Washington to renegotiate the controversial Indian Springs Treaty, the Government was more than willing to oblige. The only detail that is known about the copies is that they were smaller than the 17½ by 14 inch size of the originals. As McKenney explained to a member of the Creek delegation, the copies would be "a size more convenient and portable, but just as true and perfect [as the originals]."²³

The gallery grew rapidly until the spring of 1828 when a congressional committee investigating unnecessary expenditures by Federal officials discovered that McKenney had already spent some \$3,100 on the portraits. Despite their tremendous historical value, McKenney was severely criticized for squandering public money. Representative Thomas T. Moore of Kentucky, for example, was appalled at the thought of spending such a sum "for the pictures of these wretches the use of which it would be impossible to tell. I believe they are hung up in Mr. McKenney's room at Washington, to gratify the curiosity of strangers."²⁴ McKenney countered by pointing out

that the paintings served a dual purpose. "Apart from the great object of preserving in some form, the resemblance of an Interesting people . . . it is the *policy* of the thing. Indians are like other people in many respects — and are not less sensible than we are to marks of respect and attention."²⁵ His protestations were of no avail, however, and his expenditures for additional portraits practically ceased.

Nevertheless, the gallery made a significant impression on the delegations, few of which left Washington without seeing it. The Winnebago delegation of 1828, for one, was "highly gratified" with the por-

The Winnebago "prophet" or orator shown opposite is taken from McKenney and Hall's *History*. Below is an original oil of Omaha chief, Big Elk or "Great Orator," by Charles Bird King. Gilcrease collection.





Above is a portrait of David Vann, leader of the Georgia Cherokees, as represented in an original oil in the Gilcrease collection by C. B. King. (c.1825).

traits, particularly, as McKenney informed the Secretary of War, "at seeing so many [Indians] who were known to them." But, he added, the delegates also complained that there were no Winnebago portraits on display. Therefore McKenney asked that King be authorized to paint a few Winnebago portraits for the gallery. The Secretary of War evidently refused because a month later McKenney renewed his request. "The almost daily visits made to this office of these poor wanderers, the Winnebagoes, show an attachment so decided to the faces of those who have been painted, & that hang here; and they evince so much anxiety to have a similar respect paid to them," McKenney wrote, "as to lead me to ask that you permit the likeness of five of the principal men to be taken... Yesterday they took off their bells, & ornaments, & caps, & gave me their war clubs requesting that *these* might hang up here as memorials."²⁶ Permission was finally granted and five Winnebago portraits were added to the gallery.

Although the Indians were generally on their best behavior while in the capital, the sixteen members of the Winnebago delegation appear to have been especially boisterous. Washington socialite Margaret Bayard Smith certainly did not appreciate their antics, particularly when several of the "ferocious Winnebagoes" took to grabbing and kissing passing ladies "till decent young women are afraid to walk out."

Proclaiming herself a self-appointed representative of the women of Washington, she stormed into the Secretary of War's office and demanded that something be done about the Indians. Her mission was evidently successful but, as she later reported, "you have no idea, what a general dread they inspired!"

The ladies of Washington were not the only ones happy to see the Winnebago leave. The owner of the hotel where the delegation stayed must also have heaved a sigh of relief as the Indians clambered aboard the stages waiting to take them home. That very afternoon he sent a bill to McKenney for \$250 to repair "Damage to the house, bedding, carpeting, tables, & c." All told, the junket cost the Government \$4,775.²⁷

From every indication, the policy of having delegations of Indians visit Washington and other cities was a highly successful one. As McKenney pragmatically expressed it, the Government thought the practice a merciful method of conquering the Indians and, despite the expense, "cheap, in comparison to what a war with them would cost, to say nothing of the loss of Human life." The popular attitude to the practice is well stated in the editorial that appeared in the *Washington Gazette* following the departure of the O'Fallon delegation for the Upper Missouri. "The object of their interesting mission, we believe, has been fully accomplished: these aborigines are deeply impressed with the power of the long-knives, that for the future the tomahawk will not be raised with their consent, against their white brethren." As for the Indians, unaware of the policy considerations that prompted the Government to extend the invitations to visit Washington, they appear for the most part to have enjoyed thoroughly their brief exposure to civilized life. Nevertheless, as William Clark reported in 1824 upon his return to St. Louis with his large delegation, it is obvious the Indians received the intended message. "I have the satisfaction to state, that the Tribes of Sacks, Foxes, Ioways, and Piankshaws are impressed beyond my expectations, not only with the population and wealth of the people of the United States, but with the friendly attentions and justice of the Government as extended to themselves."²⁸

Winnebago chief, Naw-Kaw, is depicted opposite as presenting the calumet of peace to the President of the United States in 1828. Taken from an original by C. B. King, this portrait is preserved in McKenney and Hall's *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*.



It might be of interest to readers of the *American Scene* to learn or recall that most of the portraits originally included in McKenney's Indian gallery later were transferred to the Smithsonian Institution where almost all were damaged or totally destroyed by fire in 1865. A great many survive to the present, nonetheless, in the form of lithographic reproductions to be found among the pages of McKenney's *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* first published with the assistance of James Hall in three volumes in 1837.

A first edition of this work "with Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of the Principal Chiefs" is

preserved in the Oversize Books and Folios section of the Gilcrease Library and is the source of several of the illustrations reproduced in this issue of the Gilcrease quarterly.

Examples selected from the Gilcrease Institute's collection of King portraits dating from the period covered in the present article also have been featured, some of them reproduced for the very first time in any publication. These are among the relatively few Indian portraits by this artist known to exist today.

Mr. Viola's list of bibliographical references for his article follows.

Footnotes

¹Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, Feb. 16, 1822.

²Thomas L. McKenney to the Secretary of War, April 7, 1825, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Letter Sent (henceforth IA LS), Vol. I, 441, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Record Group 75, National Archives).

³Benjamin O'Fallon to John C. Calhoun, April 5, 1821, Office of the Secretary of War, Letters Received, Registered Series, Records of the Office of the Secretary of War (Record Group 107, National Archives).

⁴*Daily National Intelligencer*, Nov. 22, 1821; Benjamin Perley Poore, *Perley's Reminiscences* (Philadelphia, 1886), I, 42-44; McKenney to the Secretary of War, April 21, 1826, IA LS, Vol. III, 45.

⁵Basil Williamson to McKenney, May 12, 1830, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Letters Received (henceforth IA LR), Miscellaneous, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Record Group 75, National Archives).

⁶See, for example, William Clark to McKenney, July 25, 1824, *ibid.*, St. Louis Superintendency; McKenney to Noyes, July 26, 27, 1824, IA LS, Vol. I, 151, 152; Calhoun to McKenney, July 25, 1820, Office of the Secretary of War, Letters Sent, Records of the Office of Secretary of War (Record Group 107, National Archives).

⁷Washington *Gazette*, Feb. 13, 1822; statement about Shaumonekuse quoted in Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *The Indian Tribes of North America, with Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of the Principal Chiefs*, ed. by Frederick Webb Hodge (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1933), I, 163, fn 9.

⁸McKenney to John Vaughn, March 27, 1821, Office of Indian Trade, Letters Sent (henceforth IT LS), Vol. F, 168.

⁹Washington *Gazette*, Feb. 13, 1822.

¹⁰McKenney to John Eaton, Dec. 21, 1829, IA LS, Vol. VI, 199.

¹¹McKenney to Henry Simpson, July 29, 1824, *ibid.*, Vol. IV, 154; McKenney to Clark, March 26, 1827, *ibid.*, Vol. III 474-75.

¹²McKenney to the Little Prince, Feb. 20, 1828, *ibid.*, Vol. IV, 304-05.

¹³Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795 to 1848* (12 vols., Philadelphia, 1874), VII, 402.

¹⁴Washington *Gazette*, Jan. 2, 1822.

¹⁵Philadelphia *Franklin Gazette*, Feb. 11, 1822; *Daily National Intelligencer*, March 7, 1822; William Faux, *Faux's Memorable Days in America, 1819-1820*, reprinted in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, vol. XII, 51.

¹⁶McKenney to James Barbour, Dec. 2, 1825, IA LS, Vol. II, 276; McKenney to John Brereton, *ibid.*, 276-77; McKenney to Chilly McIntosh, Dec. 10, 1825, *ibid.*, 293.

¹⁷McKenney to Cyrus Kingsbury, Nov. 5, 1824, *ibid.*, Vol. I, 221; McKenney to William Ward, Feb. 23, 1825, *ibid.*, 371; McKenney to Ward, June 18, 1825, *ibid.*, Vol. II, 51; "Expenses of the Choctaw Delegation while in Washington," n.d., 1825, IA LR, Choctaw Agency.

¹⁸McKenney to T. Lewis, Nov. 22, 1820, IT LS, Vol. F, 81; Thomas L. McKenney, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes . . .* (Baltimore, 1827), 320.

¹⁹For a thorough discussion of the archives, see Herman J. Viola, "Washington's First Museum: The Indian Office Collection of Thomas L. McKenney," *The Smithsonian Journal of History* (Fall, 1968), 1-18.

²⁰John C. Ewers, "Charles Bird King, Painter of Indian Visitors to the Nation's Capital," *Smithsonian Report for 1953* (Washington, D. C., 1954), 463-64.

²¹Second Auditor's Accounts, first series, Numbers 5707, 5724, Records of the General Accounting Office (Record Group 217, Washington National Federal Records Center, Suitland, Maryland); Thwaites, ed., *Faux's Memorable Days in America*, XII, 51.

²²Viola, "Washington's First Museum," 10.

²³McKenney to Clark, Dec. 10, 1824, and April 14, 1825, IA LS, Vol. I, 260, 447; McKenney to John Ridge, Dec. 14, 1825, *ibid.*, Vol. II, 309.

²⁴Address of Thomas P. Moore to His Constituents, June 27, 1828, printed in the *Louisville Public Advertiser*, July 19, 1828.

²⁵McKenney to "a Friend," *Daily National Intelligencer*, May 31, 1828.

²⁶McKenney to Peter B. Porter, Nov. 3, 1828, IA LS, Vol. V, 169; McKenney to Porter, Dec. 9, 1828, IA LR, Miscellaneous.

²⁷Margaret Bayard Smith to J. Bayard Smith, Nov. 30, 1828, printed in Gaillard Hunt, ed., *The First Forty Years of Washington Society* (New York, 1906), 245; *House Doc.*, 20 Cong., 2 sess., No. 129 (Serial 186), 4-5.

²⁸McKenney to Barbour, Jan. 24, 1828, IA LS, Vol. IV, 267; Washington *Gazette*, March 4, 1822; Clark to Calhoun, Dec. 22, 1824, IA LR, St. Louis Superintendency.

