The Larry Ness Collection of
INDIAN PEACE MEDALS

Thursday, March 19, 2020 • Baltimore, Maryland

Stack's Bowers GALLERIES

The Official Auction of the Whitman Coin & Collectibles Expo

Stack's Bowers Galleries
Upcoming Auction Schedule

Coins and Currency

Date	Auction	Consignment Deadline
March 11, 2020	Collectors Choice Online Auction – *U.S. Coins & Currency* StacksBowers.com	Visit StacksBowers.com
March 18-20, 2020	Stack's Bowers Galleries – *U.S. Coins & Currency* Official Auction of the Whitman Coin & Collectibles Baltimore Expo Baltimore, MD	Visit StacksBowers.com
March 23-25, 2020	Stack's Bowers and Ponterio – *Chinese & Asian Coins & Banknotes* Official Auction of the Hong Kong Coin Show Hong Kong	Visit StacksBowers.com
April 15, 2020	Collectors Choice Online Auction – *U.S. Coins & Currency* StacksBowers.com	March 30, 2020
April 22, 2020	Collectors Choice Online Auction *Special Selection of World War I, Goetz and Cathedral Medals* StacksBowers.com	Visit StacksBowers.com
May 20, 2020	Collectors Choice Online Auction – *U.S. Coins & Currency* StacksBowers.com	May 4, 2020
June 10, 2020	Collectors Choice Online Auction – *U.S. Coins & Currency* StacksBowers.com	May 18, 2020
June 11-12, 2020	Collectors Choice Online Auction – *Ancient, World Coins & Paper Money* StacksBowers.com	May 4, 2020
June 18-19, 2020	Stack's Bowers Galleries – *U.S. Coins & Currency* Official Auction of the Whitman Coin & Collectibles Baltimore Expo Baltimore, MD	April 21, 2020
August 4-7, 2020	Stack's Bowers Galleries – *Ancient and World Coins & Paper Money* An Official Auction of the ANA World's Fair of Money Pittsburgh, PA	May 29, 2020
August 4-7, 2020	Stack's Bowers Galleries – *U.S. Coins & Paper Money* An Official Auction of the ANA World's Fair of Money Pittsburgh, PA	June 9, 2020
August 17-19, 2020	Stack's Bowers and Ponterio – *Chinese & Asian Coins & Banknotes* Official Auction of the Hong Kong Coin Show Hong Kong	June 22, 2020
November11-13, 2020	Stack's Bowers Galleries – *U.S. Coins & Currency* Official Auction of the Whitman Coin & Collectibles Baltimore Expo Baltimore, MD	September 16, 2020
January 15-16, 2021	Stack's Bowers Galleries – *Ancient and World Coins & Paper Money* An Official Auction of the N.Y.I.N.C. New York, NY	November 13, 2020

Front Cover: *U.S. Cavalry and Native American Indians. Ink, watercolor, colored pencil on wove lined paper by Making Medicine (Cheyenne). From the Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Medals (left to right): Lot 2011. 1814 George III Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Medium Size. Adams 13.1. (Obverse 1, Reverse A). Adams Census Specimen-13. About Uncirculated; Lot 2090. 1862 Abraham Lincoln Indian Peace Medal. Silver. First Size. Second Reverse. Julian IP-38, Prucha-51. Choice Extremely Fine; Lot 2032. 1809 James Madison Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Third Size. Julian IP-7, Prucha-40. Extremely Fine.*

Back Cover *(top to bottom, left to right): Lot 2027. "1801" (circa 1860s?) Thomas Jefferson Indian Peace Medal. Bronze. Third Size. Original Dies. Julian IP-4, Prucha-39. MS-64 BN (NGC); Lot 2004. Undated (1777) George III, Lion and Wolf Medal. Struck Solid Silver. Adams 10.2 (Obverse 1, Reverse B, Two Breaks), Betts-535, Jamieson Fig. 11. Very Fine; Lot 2098. 1871 Ulysses S. Grant Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Julian IP-42, Prucha-53. About Uncirculated; Lot 2107. Undated (ca. 1890) Benjamin Harrison Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Julian IP-48, Prucha-58. Choice Very Fine; Lot 2102. 1877 Rutherford B. Hayes Indian Peace Medal. Oval. Copper, Bronze. Julian IP-43, Prucha-54. MS-67 BN (NGC); Lot 2092. 1862 Abraham Lincoln Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Second Size. Julian IP-39, Prucha-51. Very Fine; Lot 2074. 1849 Zachary Taylor Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Third Size. Julian IP-29, Prucha-47. Very Choice Extremely Fine.*

The Larry Ness Collection of Indian Peace Medals

Session 3 • 3:00 PM • Thursday, March 19, 2020

Room 309 • Baltimore Convention Center
One West Pratt Street • Baltimore, MD 21201

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On the Cover: ***Scene of Native American Warriors and U.S. Cavalry Soldiers***
Drawn and Painted at Fort Marion Prison, St. Augustine, Florida, by Making Medicine, a Cheyenne prisoner, 1877.
(Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society)

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The Larry Ness Collection of Indian Peace Medals

Session 3 • 3:00 PM • Thursday, March 19, 2020

Lot Viewing

Lot Viewing will be conducted in the Santa Ana, CA offices (*by appointment only*): February 24-28, 2020

Lot Viewing will be conducted at the Grand Hyatt, New York / Boardroom 1418 (*by appointment only*): March 9-12, 2020

Lot Viewing will be conducted at the Baltimore Convention Center Room 307 as follows:

Tuesday, March 17	Wednesday, March 18	Thursday, March 19	Friday, March 20
9:00 AM – 6:00 PM ET	9:00 AM – 6:00 PM ET	9:00 AM – 6:00 PM ET	9:00 AM – 6:00 PM ET

Auction Location

Baltimore Convention Center
One West Pratt Street
Baltimore, MD 21201

Auction Details

Session 1*
Numismatic Americana and Early American Coins
Wednesday, March 18
Room 308
1:00 PM ET

Session 2*
U.S. Coins Part 1: Half Cents through Half Dollars
Thursday, March 19
Room 309
11:00 AM ET

Session 3
The Larry Ness Collection of Indian Peace Medals
Thursday, March 19
Room 309
3:00 PM ET
Lots 2001-2130

Session 4*
Rarities Night featuring the ESM, Harrington and E. Horation Morgan Collections
Thursday, March 19
Room 308
6:00 PM ET

Session 5*
The D. Brent Pogue Collection Part VI: Masterpieces of U.S. Paper Money
Thursday, March 19
Room 309
6:30 PM ET

Session 6*
U.S. Coins Part 2, featuring the Fairmont Collection
Friday, March 20
Room 308
11:00 AM ET

Session 7*
The D. Brent Pogue Collection Part VII: Masterpieces of U.S. Coinage
Friday, March 20
Room 308
6:00 PM ET

Session 8*
U.S. Currency featuring the Q. David Bowers Collection of Continental & Confederate Currency
Friday, March 20
Room 309
6:30 PM ET

Session 9*
U.S. Coins Part 1 Numismatic Americana and Early American Coins
Internet Only
Monday, March 23
StacksBowers.com
9:00 AM PT

Session 10*
U.S. Coins Part 2
Internet Only
Tuesday, March 24
StacksBowers.com
9:00 AM PT

Session 11*
U.S. Currency
Internet Only
Tuesday, March 24
StacksBowers.com
9:00 AM PT

Session 12*
U.S. Coins Part 3
Internet Only
Wednesday, March 25
StacksBowers.com
9:00 AM PT

Please refer to our other March 2020 Baltimore auction catalogs for further offerings of U.S. Coins and Currency.

View our entire auction schedule online at StacksBowers.com.

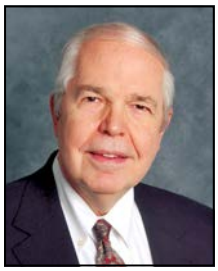
Lot Pickup

Lot Pickup will be conducted at the Baltimore Convention Center Room 307 as follows:

Thursday, March 19	Friday, March 20	Saturday, March 21
9:00 AM – 12:00 noon ET	9:00 AM – 12:00 noon ET	9:00 AM – 12:00 noon ET

Dates, times and locations are subject to change.

The Stack's Bowers Galleries Team



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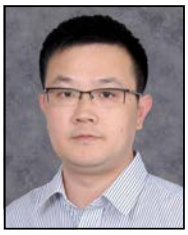

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Stack's Bowers Galleries presents

The Larry Ness Collection of Indian Peace Medals

The practice of distributing Medals among Indians is as old as the first intercourse of the French with these people. The British continued the practice, and it has been followed by our own Government, and under every succeeding Administration, beginning with General Washington's (with but one exception) to this time. So important is its continuance esteemed to be that without Medals, any plan of operations among 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 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.

—Thomas L. McKenney, Superintendent of Indian Affairs,
to John H. Eaton, Secretary of War under President Andrew Jackson
December 21, 1829

In this quote, Thomas McKenney nicely sets the stage for an important sale of Peace medals. It is a brief but ideal sketch of the history of these immensely historic objects, expressing how these medals were used and how they were perceived by both presenter and recipient. By the time the first medals were issued by a United States authority, the distribution of such pieces was not only tradition, but an expected part of what might have been initially termed diplomatic outreach. Both the French and Spanish are known to have included medals as gifts to Native peoples, but the practice became firmly entrenched by the British, who were the first to create medals specifically for the purpose of distribution among indigenous peoples in the New World. Their most intense effort came with the growth of discontent in the American Colonies. This coincided with a marked expansion of the distribution of such medals under the reign of George III. As the American Revolution unfolded, native people who wore these badges of the British King were understood to be his allies.

Once an American government was formed, the Americans, recognizing their own need for a series of Indian medals, followed in the steps of their predecessors. The first Peace medal issues of the United States were issued under the authority of the first presidential administration, in George Washington's first term. But British medals continued to circulate in the north and, during the War of 1812, the British and Americans were in competition to distribute their medals as markers of useful alliances. Anyone wearing the medal of the opposing party was encouraged to trade it away for a new one, thus shifting allegiance. By the time McKenney wrote to Secretary Eaton in 1829, Peace medals had essentially become a solely American tradition, and what remained of the British medals on the frontier continued in decline, as a fading memory.

The American series continued through the administration of Benjamin Harrison, when the final official medals were struck and distributed. Nearly every administration had its own medals struck, with the notable exceptions of John Adams and William Henry Harrison. The numbers produced and used during each administration varied, with demand dictated mainly by American and Indian relations during any given Presidential term. Even in cases where a standard number was initially requested to be struck, often medals remained unused and were melted. As a consequence, there are medals in the series that are fairly easy to find today, while others are prohibitively rare. Some net issues were fewer than 10 medals.

Collector interest in this series likely began right at the time American numismatics began to blossom in the 1850s. In 1844, a listing of Peace medals struck for presentation to the Franklin Institute was published in *Niles' Register,* a national weekly newspaper, likely expanding awareness of the series. By 1861, the Philadelphia Mint began publishing a list of medals for sale to collectors, including Peace medals in bronze. Naturally, as is the case today, astute collectors desired the original silver medals, but as most in existence had been distributed to Native Americans, these would prove a formidable challenge for early collectors.

As time passed, original awarded medals trickled out of Native hands and into those of traders and, eventually, collectors. This continues today, as the present writer can think of about 10 medals that we have presented for sale for the first time over the last two decades. However, there were early collectors who met with notable success. The Garrett family assembled a fine collection, acquiring pieces circa 1880-1930, that would not be dispersed until 1981. William Sumner Appleton had a nice group that passed to the collections at the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1905, where they still reside.

Captain Andrew Zabriskie had a superb collection that was nicely plated in the 1909 sale of his collection by Henry Chapman. It was called "the finest collection ever offered at auction" and included just 12 of the American series in silver. The collection of W.H. Hunter, sold in 1920, included an impressive selection with 21 American medals in silver. The cabinet of W.W.C. Wilson, sold by Wayte Raymond in 1925, offered 19 American medals in silver. As collectors, both Hunter and Wilson benefited from the Zabriskie sale, acquiring some of his pieces. Virgil M. Brand let little slip by in his heyday and absorbed several of these medals. In the 1930s, two important collections came to light. That of Charles P. Senter in 1933 included more than 30 American medals in silver, while a collection offered by Charles H. Fisher in March 1936 had about a dozen. Both of these sales included specimens from the sales mentioned above, and some in the 1936 sale had been bought in 1933. In each major auction offering over these years, known medals were included, but there were always a few new ones, too.

At this point, the dynamic changed a bit. Somewhat quietly, many of the known privately held medals drifted into two major holdings, those of F.C.C. Boyd and Wayte Raymond. Also without fanfare, these two collections later passed into the now legendary hands of John J. Ford, Jr., who added to his extensive collection at every opportunity. He was well known to desire these medals and, as a result, they were virtually delivered to his doorstep by eager sellers, allowing him to vacuum up a generation's worth of appearances of new Peace medals.

By 1981 when the Garrett sale of Peace medals, including 17 American medals in silver, was conducted, Ford's holdings were extensive and he had likely become accustomed to buying at *dealer prices*. The Garrett sale did not allow for that, so new collectors had their first meaningful chance in many years to acquire nice silver medals. Gilbert Steinberg stepped to the plate and, at roughly the same time, Chris Schenkel, David Dreyfuss and Lucien LaRiviere became active seekers of these medals. Each formed an important collection within the confines of what was possible at a time when Ford held so many specimens. None of these collectors were able to assemble more than 20 silver examples from the American series. Still, credit must be granted to each of them for their accomplishments. Though they were far from complete, when their various collections were sold, each was counted as a landmark offering of this series and have been referenced by auction catalogers for years.

When the Ford Collection of Peace medals was sold by us in two parts, in 2006 and 2007, the landscape changed in a remarkable way. The entire market had become accustomed to offerings of single random medals, and only very occasionally five or more in any given sale. The Ford Collection revealed about 120 silver American Peace medals, and brought this series to light in a manner that had never before been possible. For the first time in a generation, serious collectors had a real chance to aim for *completion* to whatever degree they desired, whether that be one per administration or one of each size—a truly complete representation of the series. This said, even Ford did not manage a complete set, as he was missing the large-size Monroe and second-size Taylor; the latter is present in the Ness Collection.

Just as time allowed for greater numbers of medals to enter the collecting sphere, there have also been collectors who assembled important holdings and then donated them to institutions, effectively removing them from the market. Already mentioned is the famous William Sumner Appleton Collection at MHS, but there were others. Collectors J.G. Braecklein and Richard S. Hawes, III had important holdings that went to the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis (the Gateway Arch). Walter C. Wyman's collection went to the ANS, Betty and Lloyd Schermer's collection was donated to the National Portrait Gallery at the Smithsonian (taking several of the Schenkel pieces off the market), and Joseph Lasser donated his fine collection to the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

The only sale of a significant collection since Ford was our presentation of the Charles Wharton Collection in August 2013. While Ford's medals were now in the public sphere, this collection had been assembled prior to its dispersal and it contained just 14 silver American medals, following the pattern developed by other prominent collectors while Ford held his vast trove.

Larry Ness was inspired by the remarkable degree of completion revealed in the Ford holdings. He set out to complete the series for himself, acquiring specimens from many sources. Some were pieces that had speckled past offerings, while others were medals he found off the beaten path, so to speak. While this collection is not complete as to silver originals (which would require 45 medals, including the Seasons Medals and a Washington oval), there are remarkably 36 examples included. Aside from Ford, we are aware of only one other collection that contained so many. That was the Senter Collection in 1933, which included some duplicates, a situation not seen in the present offering.

With a goal of completing the silver series, it was only natural that various bronze issues should be included, as they have virtually always been part of major collections. Meanwhile, some silver medals are so rare as to be virtually impossible, so these are useful fillers. The Ness Collection of bronzes is impressive, indeed, with many superb pieces including the important rarities of the later Oval series. He also

assembled a representative collection of French, Canadian, and most notably, British medals. The latter group includes a remarkable *pair* of prized Lion and Wolf medals. We are delighted to be able to present this incredible collection of Peace medals, easily among the finest ever assembled.

The Catalog Listings

Within the various listings will be found commentary on the number of pieces known. For the British issues, we utilized the research of John W. Adams as presented in his 1999 reference, *Indian Peace Medals*—a fine and scholarly study of that series. For the issued silver medals of the United States, we relied upon three sources. The first is the research of Carl W.A. Carlson who published in 1986 a survey of auction appearances for the silver and bronze medals. This information is useful in terms of frequency of offerings, but for the most part, Carlson did not endeavor to identify the number of different specimens known. Though the work is now more than three decades old, it remains a useful study.

The second source is our pair of sales featuring the Peace medals from the extensive John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Parts XVI and XVIII. Those medals were thoughtfully cataloged by Michael Hodder with the benefit of Mr. Ford's notes, as well as his own research. Naturally, the opportunity to study so many pieces at once yielded important observations.

The third and most heavily relied upon source is the writer's own efforts to determine the numbers of distinct specimens surviving today, a project that, to the best of our knowledge, no one else has attempted. Due to the time span between the initial idea to embark on this research project and the deadline requirements of the present sale, this work is not to be taken as the final word on the number of specimens extant overall. There are institutional collections that were not examined in person, presumably numerous private holdings of one or more medals, and various single medals likely in the smallest of historical societies across the Midwest that would require both luck and extensive time to identify and add to the data. What has been directly consulted is very extensive, however, and will provide the reader an excellent relative understanding of the rarity of any given issue in private hands. The data collected has illuminated this series to a degree, allowing for better technical understanding of the series.

The writer (John M. Pack) invites anyone interested to share images, provenances and, ideally, weights for any specimens they may have in their own collections in the hope that this body of data might be expanded to an ever greater degree of completion and usefulness. Of greatest interest are the silver and bronze Seasons Medals, the silver medals of the United States Mint series, and any fur trade or private issue medals. The writer can be reached by email at: jpack@stacksbowers.com.

While writing this catalog, observations have been made on the various bronze issues, but a detailed study of them has not been undertaken by the writer. It seems to have been somewhat accepted as fact that the bronze restrikes of the American series were struck for collectors after 1861. That is the year that they were made widely available to the public via U.S. Mint lists of medals for sale, but there was certainly some degree of collector demand and Mint interaction with collectors prior to this date. Undoubtedly, the issuance of the list was spawned, in part, by said interactions and increasing requests for impressions from various dies, but it also came conveniently after the establishment of the Washington Cabinet at the Mint (the beginning of the National Numismatic Collection, for which missing pieces were increasingly desired). The list of medals thus likely served two purposes for the Mint. It was probably an effort to streamline and control incoming requests for a degree of ease on the production side, but it also likely encouraged interactions with dealers and collectors who might be well-positioned to assist in locating needed specimens for the national collection. There are cases where it is fairly clear (based on die states) that some of the bronzes were produced earlier than 1861. Any suggested approximation of the date of manufacture for any particular piece in this sale is only that, an approximation, informed as much as possible by what the medal itself can tell us. We are working directly from these medals prior to their third-party grading, and therefore have the benefit of close study.

Appreciations

The introductory material for the various Presidential administrations is largely taken directly from our John J. Ford, Jr. sales of 2006 and 2007, written by Michael Hodder. We have made minor edits only to fit these to the present offerings. The research on individual medals and their descriptions are by John M. Pack who would like to thank the following for valuable assistance along the way: Anne Bentley of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Q. David Bowers, Erik Goldstein of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Joseph E. Kapler of the Wisconsin Historical Society, John Kraljevich, Jennifer Meers, Neil Musante, Richard Pohrt, Jr., Julia Purdy, Mary Ross, Ashley Wallace, and Vicken Yegparian.

Larry Ness

For most of his life, Larry Ness has been fascinated by American Indian history and art. At age 8 he received an arrowhead from a relative; that got the fire burning and it continues to burn to this day. His desire to learn all he could about the history and life styles of Plains Indians, especially The Sioux, has consumed him. Living in South Dakota provides him the opportunity to study the tribes and enjoy the companionship of many natives on a personal basis.

Ness has one of the largest and most comprehensive collections of Plains Indian Art in the country. It was by luck that he acquired his first medal, a Washington Traders medal, about 40 years ago. He bought books and talked to other collectors as his interest in Peace medals grew. When something became available, he usually bought it – more fuel for the fire. Along the line, he decided to acquire one of everything in the Peace medal – Trader medal area. He found that he was more interested in "character" and provenance than condition, and this has driven his collecting strategy. He loved to hold a medal in his hand and wonder about its past, as well as its former owners. Unissued medals were nice to look at, but lacked character and the power to fire his imagination.

Professionally, Larry Ness is the Chief Executive Officer and Chairman of the Board of First Dakota National Bank and President of First Dakota Financial Corporation. The First Dakota National Bank was the first bank chartered in the Dakota Territories and this connection fostered a passion in Ness that resulted in his building a largely complete set of South Dakota bank notes. About that collection he comments: "Banks come and go – many without a whimper. Some leave a trail in the form of National Bank notes. But that will be another story."

Session 3
The Larry Ness Collection of Indian Peace Medals
Thursday, March 19
Room 309
3:00 pm ET

Category	Lot Number
Indian Peace Medals	**2001-2130**
French Indian Peace Medals	2001
Indian Peace Medals of Great Britain	**2002-2020**
Lion and Wolf Medals	2003-2004
Standard Undated Indian Medals of George III	2005-2008
War of 1812 Medals	2009-2013
Medals Given to Canadian First Peoples and Related	2014-2020
United States Peace Medals and Related Issues	**2021-2130**
George Washington (facsimiles)	2021
John Adams	2022-2023
Thomas Jefferson	2024-2027
James Madison	2028-2033
James Monroe	2034-2039
John Quincy Adams	2040-2046
Andrew Jackson	2047-2052
Martin Van Buren	2053-2057
John Tyler	2058-2062
James Polk	2063-2069
Zachary Taylor	2070-2076
Millard Fillmore	2077-2080
Franklin Pierce	2081-2084
James Buchanan	2085-2089
Abraham Lincoln	2090-2093
Andrew Johnson	2094-2097
Ulysses Grant	2098-2101
Rutherford B. Hayes	2102
James Garfield	2103
Chester Arthur	2104
Grover Cleveland	2105
Benjamin Harrison	2106-2107
Miscellaneous Medals	2108
Sioux Wars Medals	2109-2110
Private Medals and Related Issues	2111-2121
Trade Tokens Distributed Among Native Americans	2122-2130

Please refer to our other March 2020 auction catalogs for further offerings of U.S. Coins and Currency, as well as our Internet Only Sessions.

View our entire auction schedule online at StacksBowers.com.

The Larry Ness Collection of
INDIAN PEACE MEDALS

Session 3

Thursday, March 19, 2020, 3:00 PM ET

Lots 2001-2130

FRENCH AND SPANISH INDIAN PEACE MEDALS

Neither France nor Spain made medals specifically and exclusively for presentation to Native American friends or allies. Rather, both nations turned to medals already produced for other purposes and chose particular types that would suit their diplomatic purposes. Only the French are represented in the Ness Collection by a single Louis XIV dynastic medal similar to types known to have been distributed.

2001

1693 Louis XIV Felicitas Domus Augustae medal. Copper, Gilt. Betts-75. Extremely Fine. 41.1 mm. 404.3 grains. Obverse signed I. MAVGER F. Obv: bust of Louis XIV, right. Rev: bust of the dauphin over those of his three children. Mellow golden gilt surfaces are reasonably intact for a worn medal, although the gilding is worn through on the highest points of the portrait reliefs on both sides and to a lesser degree on the tops of the letters of the legends. No serious marks or problems, though there is a bit of surface debris caked in places. Rim cuds on the reverse from 5:00 to 8:00. This was one of a series of medals struck to celebrate the prosperity of the Royal House; some of this series were presented to Native Americans. Part XVI of the illustrious Ford sales included two such medals in silver, though they were from different dies than seen here. As this has no manner of suspension, it was likely not presented to a Native American, yet it is a useful representation of those that were so used by King Louis XIV.

Ex Stack's, January 2010, lot 6192.

Louis XIV of France

INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF GREAT BRITAIN

The Ness Collection includes a selection of British medals with a primary focus on those issued during the periods of the American Revolution and War of 1812. As such, it is a group of the British medals most closely tied to the American issues, medals that were used as markers of loyalty to the crown as the tides of war were set in motion in the American Colonies. All of the British medals included herein are of the reign of King George III. These were the first of such medals royally sanctioned and specially made for cementing loyalty among Native American tribes on the frontier by the British. They are likewise the inspiration of the American series.

The George III medals have been studied by some of the numismatic greats of the last two centuries, from McLachlan to Morin to Jamieson, each of whom to one degree or another based his conclusions on typology and history. The most recent study of this monarch's "Indian Peace Medals" by John W. Adams, published at the turn of the 21st century, is solidly based upon documentary sources and observations from a substantial portion of the corpus of surviving medals. It may be considered as this generation's explanation of the practice of presenting medals to native allies of British forces in the field.

Very Rare George III and Queen Charlotte Medal

2002

Circa 1761 George III and Queen Charlotte medal. Silver. Adams 11.2 (Obverse 1, Reverse B), Betts-440, Jamieson Fig. 10. Fine. 37.7 mm. 246.9 grains. Pierced for suspension. Unsigned dies. Obv: facing busts of the king and queen, drapery above. Rev: the royal arms and supporters. Light silver gray with some deeper patina in the recesses. A slight bend in the relatively thin flan is noted, as are a few scattered nicks and marks consistent with a medal worn in Native American context as is believed to have been the case with some of these marriage medals. The suspension hole is expanded from use, with the upper edge quite thin, but unbroken.

Of the 13 medals accounted for in John Adams' Census, nine are included in institutional collections leaving precious few for collectors. There are more specimens about, to be sure. One in Adams' own collection was acquired after he published, and this one also seems to have been unknown to him in 1999. This said, they are indeed rare and this piece has a couple of useful distinctions. First, it was clearly worn. The two Adams Collection specimens were much better preserved, and one was suspiciously so for a medal believed distributed to Native Americans. The Ford specimen was unpierced. This example is far less questionable as an issued medal. It is also from Adams' Reverse B, by far the rarer of the two. Adams noted in 1999 that just one of the 13 medals in his Census was from this reverse die, a medal in the Glenbow Museum. There is one other from the W.W.C. Wilson sale that is now in the ANS. Inexplicably, while it was plated in the Wilson sale with an apparently plugged hole, at the ANS it has an added suspension loop. This is a third example from this reverse.

Ex Stack's Bowers Galleries, January 2013, lot 10108.

THE LION AND WOLF MEDALS

Adams argues persuasively for dating the Lion and Wolf medals to December 1777 and for their author to have been Gentleman Johnny Burgoyne, the occasion being the Fort Niagara campaign and the defense of Canada. For a medal with such a particular initial purpose, the Lion and Wolf issue is remarkably complex. There are two obverse dies known, although all but one medal were struck from the first. That die was in service from 1777 to 1801 at least, when it was paired with the standard royal armorial reverse. In contrast, there are two different reverses known and each of them developed breaks during its life. The first reverse, Adams' A, is known perfect and broken, whereas his reverse B is always found broken at least once and sometimes twice.

Most Lion and Wolf medals known were struck on solid, thin silver planchets with rims added afterward. A few, Adams notes just three, were made of struck silver obverse and reverse plates that were joined together and banded. A handful appears to have been struck entire, with their rims of a piece with the planchets and set up during striking. The diversity evidenced in the medal's morphology suggests it was made in various locations at different times by whatever means were then to hand as supplies of new medals were demanded.

Rigobert Bonne's map of Louisiana and the British claims in North America, printed in 1776 and featuring the Grand Banks south to Florida and westward as far as Mexico and Texas. It portrays the British holdings in America at their fullest extent.

Pleasing George III Lion and Wolf Medal
A Classic Rarity
Clearly Treasured by Its Original Recipient

2003

Undated (1777) George III, Lion and Wolf Medal. Struck Solid Silver. Adams 10.1 (Obverse 1, Reverse A, Perfect State). Adams Census Specimen-12. Betts-535, Jamieson Fig. 11. Fine. 61.1 mm. Rims 0.9 - 2.0 mm thick. 528.9 grains. Original hanger lost. Unsigned dies. Obv: youthful bust of George III, to right. Rev: the British lion roused to attention by a slinking wolf daring to threaten a settlement in the background. Attractive deep gray with accents of faint bluish steel and gold on both sides. Well worn, but evenly so and free of handling damage other than a couple of trivial edge bumps that are not distracting in the least. Once the original hanger was lost, this piece continued to be worn for a long time, eventually wearing through the original hole. As a remedy, two additional holes were neatly pierced in the recess of the border, close to the original hole, allowing for a new suspension attachment. As noted in our last offering of this piece, "it is clear from its face that this medal was treasured by its recipient, and probably his family after him, for many years" and the medal has an undeniable appeal as a result.

A bit of confusion seems to have entered the provenance of this medal, but quite reasonably so. When we sold it in January 2009, it was identified as the specimen once owned by Gerald Hart (Frossard, December 1888) and Charles P. Senter (Wayte Raymond, October 1933). This was based on the description in the Hart sale that the medal had "three rude perforations near edge…" In the Senter sale, the brief description was, in full, "Another, in finer condition, but without rim and holed three times." These seem reasonably matched descriptions, and the present medal does indeed have three holes near the rim (though this includes that originally present). However, the Hart description continues, "…showing that this very rare medal had been mounted in some rude frame." There are therefore clues in both descriptions that lead to the conclusion that this is not the medal described in those sales. The suggestion that three rude perforations near the edge would be for mounting in a frame indicates that they are distributed *around* the medal. The piercings on this piece are centered at 12:00 and clearly for suspension. The clue in the Senter sale is that it was described as being "without rim," while this medal clearly has a narrow intact rim. Taken alone, these details might not be enough to upend the previously applied provenance. However, in the April 1991 Coin Galleries sale, there was a medal that more precisely fits the Hart and Senter sale descriptions. It has three square punctures, one near 12:00, one near 4:00 and one near 8:00, all close to the rim. This suggests mounting to something in three opposing points, which would have likely been behind the entire medal, such as a board, or around it, as in a frame. It also appears from the catalog plate to have little or no rim. Finally, John Adams himself identified a different medal than this as the Hart-Senter specimen when he published his Census of known pieces in 1999. The Hart-Senter specimen is his Census #15, attributed at the time to a "Private Collection in Canada," while the present piece was one of three (#12) attributed to a Private Collection in New England—his own.

The Adams Census included 19 Lion and Wolf medals, though Michael Hodder commented in Ford XVI that Adams' #17 had been "misrepresented by Mr. Ford and does not exist." Meanwhile, it is highly unlikely that the medal in the lot to follow was known to Adams, thus holding the number accounted for, per the Census, at 19. While that sounds like a fairly healthy number in the context of Indian Peace medals, 10 are in institutional collections, leaving very few for collectors. Their appeal is wide, covering two continents due to their source and distribution, and they are so desired that they are "hoarded" to a degree by collectors. There are two in this sale, Ford had two, Senter had two, and W.H. Hunter had three, purchasing "every one that he had an opportunity to acquire" according to S.H. Chapman, who wrote the sale. As such, this is a fine opportunity to acquire this distinctive, challenging and beloved issue. A tiny old collector tag associated with this piece reads, "*Bought 4/11 RE.*"

Ex Stack's, August 1996, by direct sale; John W. Adams, Stack's, January 2009, lot 5031; A Southern Collector; Stack's Bowers Galleries, September 2011, lot 78.

A *Second* Lion and Wolf Medal

New to the Adams Census

2004

Undated (1777) George III, Lion and Wolf Medal. Struck Solid Silver. Adams 10.2 (Obverse 1, Reverse B, Two Breaks), Betts-535, Jamieson Fig. 11. Very Fine. 61.3 mm. Rims 3.1 - 3.6 mm thick. 981.5 grains. Original hanger intact. Unsigned dies. Obv: youthful bust of George III, to right. Rev: the British lion roused to attention by a slinking wolf daring to threaten a settlement in the background. A rather sharp piece, and perhaps a bit better detailed than our grade might suggest, but there are areas of porosity mostly affecting the obverse. These are heaviest between DEI and GRATIA and beneath the bust. Despite this minor environmental imperfection the medal has rather nice eye appeal. The surfaces are otherwise fairly bright silver with just enough light patination in the recesses to accentuate the designs. Light surface abrasions and a bit of tooling within the rims are likely from some natural encrustation having been somewhat carelessly removed. However, awarded Peace medals like this are typically found bearing the marks of their unique purpose, and this only adds to their appeal.

Struck from a different reverse die than the medal offered in the previous lot. Though styled very similarly, the easiest area of distinction is in the relationship of the church supports to the Lion's head. Other differences are easily seen when comparing high-grade specimens.

As noted in the previous description, the John Adams Census of Lion and Wolf medals, published in his fine reference, *The Indian Peace Medals of George III or His Majesty's Sometimes Allies*, accounted for 19 different specimens of this distinctive medal. This included one erroneous entry that was apparently based on bad source information (his #17), and did not include this piece that had been in private hands for decades and might not have been a part of the public record until now. It was sold by a Detroit antiques dealer around 1970, into the care of an advanced collector of historic Native American art who held onto it for the remainder of his life. There was unfortunately no further detail of its history provided. One can certainly imagine, however, someone turning this medal up in the Great Lakes region not that far removed from its original recipient who may have lost it locally long ago, or perhaps passed it down through his family. Whatever the case, this is likely the first public offering of the piece. With its sharp detail and intact original hanger, one could do much worse than capturing this fine specimen. It would undoubtedly be a centerpiece in just about any collection of medals struck for presentation to Native Americans. Few collections contain the famous Lion and Wolf at all, and with 10 of the 19 specimens indicated by the Adams Census impounded in institutional collections, there is good reason. The Lion and Wolf has long been recognized as a rarity. One sold in the January 1842 Sotheby's sale as Supplemental lot 2 for 8 shillings, called "well preserved and rare."

Ex Karel Weist, an Antique Dealer of Detroit, Michigan, circa 1970; Richard Pohrt, Sr. to Richard Pohrt, Jr., by descent; to the present consignor, April 2014, by direct sale.

THE STANDARD UNDATED INDIAN MEDALS OF GEORGE III

These are the medals Adams calls the "standard" undated George III type. Known in solid and shell form and in three different sizes, these were the ones most frequently presented to Native Americans and First Peoples. In one form or another, this was the type of medal presented by British forces in the field during the 1776-83 and 1812-14 wars with the Americans and the generally peaceful interlude between them. The largest size medal, the 76-77 millimeter diameter piece, was the one more often given to native recipients. It is certainly the one that collectors today most frequently find offered in notable auction sales. The number made during the nearly 40 years it was actively in use as a mark of distinction is unknown. Adams suggests a combined figure for all three sizes of 2,000 to 3,125, a range whose breadth must encompass all the requirements that go into an educated guess.

Very Sharp George III Peace Medal

2005

Undated (circa 1776-1814) George III Indian Peace Medal. Struck Solid Silver. Large Size. Adams 7.2. (Obverse 2, Reverse A). About Extremely Fine. 77.8 mm. 1409 grains. Original ornamental hanger. Unsigned dies. Obv: youthful armored bust of George III, right, with six rivets above the sash; Rev: the royal arms and supporters. Light silver gray over most of the surface with a few small patches of darker patina remaining in places. Areas of porosity are seen on the obverse, heaviest beneath the King's truncation and left of the portrait to a lesser degree. Once cleaned, with light hairlines as a reminder, but the overall sharpness of this medal makes it quite desirable and the cleaning probably brought a bit of life to what is actually a rather appealing medal. There are really no serious handling marks; a small jagged notch in the lower rim appears as if it might be an as made flaw. Just a nuance of reflectivity remains in the fields. The obverse shows a prominent die crack across the King's shoulder and into the mid-field, beneath the second G of GEORGIVS.

Ex Du Mouchelles Auction House, Detroit, Michigan, September 2008, lot 1242.

A Second Large George III Medal

2006

Undated (circa 1776-1814) George III Indian Peace Medal. Struck Solid Silver. Large Size. Adams 7.2. (Obverse 2, Reverse A). Adams Census Specimen-75. Fine. 77.9 mm. 1279.4 grains. Original hanger lost. Unsigned dies. Obv: youthful armored bust of George III, right, with six rivets above the sash; Rev: the royal arms and supporters. A second example of the type, this one perhaps lovingly worn by a committed subject for many years. As noted, the original hanger is lost, but the piercing through which it had been affixed seems to show continued wear, perhaps from a simple suspension cord. The rim above is quite thin, but intact. The smooth surfaces are toned to a pleasant deep gray and exhibit only minor marks and scrapes, virtually none of which will be readily detected without magnification. Though worn, this is a very handsome medal that speaks to long-term loyalty to the English Crown through the years of the American Revolution and perhaps those of the War of 1812. The obverse is cracked as on the above example, across the King's shoulder and into the middle field behind the portrait, though much of this has been smoothed by wear.

Ex F.C.C. Boyd; John J. Ford, Jr.; Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XVI, October 2006, lot 65; a Private Collector; Sotheby's, May 2018, lot 184.

Very Sharp George III Medal of the Largest Size

2007

Undated (circa 1776-1814) George III Indian Peace Medal. Struck Solid Silver. Large Size. Adams 7.3. (Obverse 3, Reverse B). Extremely Fine. 76.6 mm. 1424.4 grains. Original ornamental hanger, though bent nearly flat. Unsigned dies. Obv: youthful armored bust of George III, right, with seven rivets above the sash; Rev: the royal arms and supporters. A very attractive example of this variety with considerable sharpness and eye appeal. The surfaces have toned beautifully to deep brownish gray with generous iridescent accents and glittering reflectivity in the fields. Upon close inspection it becomes clear that this medal served as intended, with many light nicks and abrasions. The thin rims seem to have taken the brunt of any abuse, with light bends and waviness in several places. The flan exhibits short radial cracks above the III and beneath the truncation. None is threatening, however. Small die break across the cravat, directly below the King's ear.

Ex Sotheby's sale of the William Guthman Collection, December 1, 2005, lot 311; Stack's, January 2008, lot 7134.

Another Historic George III Medal

2008

Undated (circa 1776-1814) George III Indian Peace Medal. Struck Solid Silver. Large Size. Adams 7.3. (Obverse 3, Reverse B). Fine. 76.7 mm. 1547.9 grains. Original hanger lost. Unsigned dies. Obv: youthful armored bust of George III, right, with seven rivets above the sash; Rev: the royal arms and supporters. Gently mottled medium gray on the obverse, while the reverse is a bit more heavily toned. Light gray highlights on the high points of the relief on both sides. Mostly minor marks and scrapes consistent with an awarded medal, though there is an ancient long thin scratch in the left obverse field and the intricacies of the reverse have some heavy deposits and granularity in places. Only tiny rim marks are noted upon close examination, and the medal has a generally well-balanced and pleasing appearance. An earlier state of the dies than seen on the medal above, without the small crack through the cravat. A bit of a diplomatic workhorse of the English Crown, it is estimated that perhaps as many as 2,000-3,000 of these were prepared and distributed to Native Americans over the decades that encompassed the American Revolution and War of 1812. Though only a fraction of those issued are believed to survive today, they are available enough to be a prime starting point in collecting medals relating to American Revolutionary history and as such, they always enjoy healthy collector demand.

Ex Andy Miles, via eBay, November 2011.

Wanduta (Red Arrow) wearing a medal of George III.

THE WAR OF 1812 MEDALS

Unlike the medals awarded to Native Peoples by the British during the previous war with the Americans and during the brief interlude preceding the War of 1812, those issued by the government in 1814 were the outcome of a homeland process that, at its end, created a lovely medal of large size. However the production was too much too late. Large numbers were made but did not see initial distribution until the final year of the war. These medals are quite frequently found in auction sales and their prices realized are a good guide to their scarcity compared to the largest undated George III medals. Nevertheless, the Thomas Wyon designed dies, finely made planchets, and nicely executed striking all serve to make an aesthetically pleasing piece. The Ness Collection includes examples of all three issued sizes.

Handsome 1814 George III of the Largest Size

2009

1814 George III Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Large Size. Adams 12.1. (Obverse 1, Reverse A). Extremely Fine. 75.5 mm. 1873.5 grains. Original hanger lost. Obverse die signed T. WYON.JUN:S:. Obv: older mantled bust of George III, right. Rev: the royal arms and supporters, date below. A thin iron wire is twisted through the suspension hole. Dark steel gray toning with overtones of pale blue and some light natural debris in the recesses. Lighter gray on the high points accentuates the designs a bit. Slightly reflective in the fields. Close inspection reveals plentiful old scratches and other marks that are consistent with an awarded medal. Though imperfect in this respect, there is no damage that catches the eye upon casual inspection and the eye appeal is satisfying.

This was the largest of the 1814-dated medals produced for award to Native Americans in the later days of the War of 1812. The British relied heavily upon Native Americans in their war effort. Distribution of medals as markers of allegiance was rampant, so much so, as related by Adams, a Captain Bulger, Commander at Green Bay, wrote in 1815 that "…formerly a chief would have parted with his life rather than his medal. Now very few think it worth preserving." It might be that, as suggested, this statement had to do with the large numbers of medals distributed, but it might also relate to the failures of the British during the War. Either way, based on Adams' research of survivors, he suggested that the original issuance of the 1814 medals might have been as many as half the number of those issued of the young head type during the period from 1776 to 1813.

Ex Stack's, September 2005, lot 205.

Mint State Copper 1814 Large Size George III Medal

2010

1814 George III Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. Large Size. Adams 12.1. (Obverse 1, Reverse A). Mint State. 75.3 mm. 2835.0 grains. Obverse die signed T. WYON.JUN:S:. Obv: older mantled bust of George III, right. Rev: the royal arms and supporters, date below. Rich dark chocolate brown surfaces are uniform, satiny and ever so slightly prooflike in the fields. Some trivial spotting is noted clear the King's face, and there are a few faint handling marks, but the eye appeal is superb. Evidence of wire rims or "fins" having been removed is seen along the lower obverse, as was customary and likely done at the Royal Mint. As noted in our last offering of this piece, there were two of these medals in the Ford Collection sales, and this is finer than both.

Ex Stack's, January 2011, lot 6196.

War of 1812 battle scene with soldiers and Indians. (F.O.C. Darley / Library of Congress)

Superb Quality 1814 George III Medal
The Medium Size
Ex John W. Adams

2011

1814 George III Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Medium Size. Adams 13.1. (Obverse 1, Reverse A). Adams Census Specimen-13. About Uncirculated. 59.9 mm. 1121.9 grains. Original hanger. Obverse die signed T. WYON JUN:S. Obv: older mantled bust of George III, right. Rev: the royal arms and supporters, date below. A really exceptional specimen of this scarce medal. Mostly brilliant silver with soft accents of lavender, blue-green and rose in the deeply prooflike fields. Satiny and lustrous on the devices with just a few tiny marks scattered about and a very thin hairline scratch in the field to the lower right of George's chin. Lightly hairlined in the fragile fields. Superb sharpness throughout, with crisply defined rims and exceptional eye appeal. This piece came out of England in 1997, and though we do not know its prior history, it was likely a collector's piece and not awarded. However, medals of this type were indeed produced for distribution toward the end of the War of 1812 to Native Americans who remained loyal to the Crown through the conflict. When we last offered this piece in our August 2012 sale, we noted that it was nicer than the best example of John Ford's three specimens. A survey of the 17 medals listed by John Adams in his 1999 Census suggests that this was the finest specimen known to him at that time. It is most certainly among the very top specimens and may well be the finest known. In the Adams text this piece was described as Extremely Fine, and in our past offerings we called it Choice Extremely Fine. Those assessments were in line with the old-style conservative European style of grading that we applied to medals for many years. Here, we have upped the grade a bit to better reflect how the American market assesses condition, and it is probably still a bit conservative. Indeed, this has all the eye appeal of an Uncirculated medal, yet just a trace of friction. The Adams plate piece.

Ex Baldwin's, October 1997, lot 106; John W. Adams Collection, Stack's, January 2009, lot 5043; Stack's Bowers Galleries, August 2012, lot 11127.

Rare Small Size 1814 George III Medal
The Adams Plate Medal

2012

1814 George III Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Smallest Size. Adams 14.2. (Obverse 2, Reverse A). Adams Census Specimen-7. Choice Very Fine. 37.3 mm. 530.9 grains. Original hanger lost. Obverse die signed T. WYON.JUN:S:. Obv: older mantled bust of George III, right. Rev: the royal arms and supporters, date below. A neat piercing where the original hanger had been, with faint circular wear pattern around. Lovely medium gray surfaces with soft blue, lavender and gold iridescence in the fields. No serious marks of any kind. This is the plate medal in Adams, but the captions for his #14.1 and #14.2 are mixed up in the plates. This is the signed obverse die, with the upper leaves of George's laurel wreath pointing to TI of GRATIA, as described in the Adams text for 14.2. On the reverse arms, the upper leg of the lion crosses over only half of the S of SOIT. The Adams Census included just nine examples of this medal. Four of those are in institutional collections and of those remaining, one is reported to be a trial piece in lead that was not seen directly by Adams. Clearly, this is a great rarity.

Ex Glendining, November 1988, lot 299; John W. Adams, Stack's, January 2009, lot 5042.

2013

Grouping of curiosities relating to the British series. George II, "1757" Quaker or Treaty of Easton Medal. Rough pewter cast copy, apparently of an original medal. Pierced for suspension. Very Good, but bent, somewhat oxidized and rough; **George II, "1757" Quaker or Treaty of Easton Medal**. Bronze. Modern, from copy dies. Drilled for suspension. Extremely Fine. British Royal seal. Apparently lead, but heavily oxidized to mottled earth-tones. Uniface and pierced for suspension. Flakes of gilding remaining in the recesses of the face. This was found by a relic hunter in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan and sold on eBay; **George III. Cast copy of the large-size Indian Peace medal**. White metal. Extremely Fine, and quite sharp; **George III 1809 Ascension Jubilee Medal. White Metal. Extremely Fine**. Pierced for suspension. (Total: 5 pieces)

MEDALS GIVEN TO CANADIAN FIRST PEOPLES AND RELATED ISSUES

The story of the interaction between Europeans and the indigenous peoples of Canada is quite different from the history south of the Canadian border. Far less physical violence marked the expansion of white domination westward in Canada and there was not decades of unrelenting warfare. As such, the history of the "peace medal" in Canada is also quite different. The Ness Collection includes a few representative types, from an 1820 George IV Accession medal with a hanger (which shares an obverse with the Coronation Medal that is known to have been a native gift), to an example of the 1872 Dominion of Canada Chiefs Medal, created specifically for award to primary chiefs who participated in Great Treaties One and Two in 1871. Other medals in the Ness Collection are more celebratory or commemorative in nature than related to any specific type of diplomacy.

2014

Undated (circa 1820) George III Hudson's Bay Company Indian Peace medal. Copper, Bronzed. Eimer-1120, BHM-1062, Jamieson Fig. 20. Choice Mint State. 48.0 mm. 867.3 grains. Obverse signed C.H.K. (C.H. Kuchler). Obv: older mantled bust of George III, left. Rev: arms of the Hudson's Bay Company. Rich chocolate brown surfaces with strong golden highlights at the rims that fade into soft golden green accents in the fields. Deeply prooflike with strong mirrors that contrast sharply with the satiny devices. Traces of soft violet are also noted on the obverse. Struck from a cracked reverse die as usual, the small series of breaks near 12:00 connecting the fox to the rim. A most handsome specimen.

Ex Stack's Bowers Galleries, February 2015, lot 18.

2015

1820 George IV Accession Medal. Copper, Bronzed. Eimer-1123a, BHM-1010. Obverse as Jamieson Fig. 27. Very Fine. 69.3 mm. 1801.0 grains. Obverse signed RUNDELL BRIDGE & RUNDELL below bust. Obv: armored and draped bust left. Rev: accession wreath, Hanoverian horse below. Darkly patinated and then cleaned on the high points as if to intentionally bring out the design features. Microgranular surfaces are satiny throughout. Screw mounted suspension loop in the edge at 12:00.

Ex Maison Platt, October 1973; John J. Ford, Jr.; Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XVIII, May 2007, lot 2.

Silver 1860 Queen Victoria Royal Medal

2016

1860 Queen Victoria Royal Medal. Silver. First Size. Jamieson Fig. 33. Very Fine. 75.5 mm. 2347.0 grains. Original hanger lost. Obverse die signed W. WYON R.A. Obv: diademed bust of Queen Victoria, left, with engraved insignia of the Prince of Wales at lower left and 1860 at right. Rev: royal arms and supporters, date below. Light gray surfaces similar to buffed pewter in tone, with dark outlines around all design features, legends and close to the rims. The surfaces are thoroughly abraded and cleaned, but aside from this generally unnatural appearance, the design features stand out nicely and the medal is pleasantly sharp. These were struck on occasion of the 1860 visit to Canada by the Prince of Wales in three sizes, this largest one being intended for presentation to chiefs.

Ex Blair McDermid Collection; Warren Baker, September 1966 to John J. Ford, Jr.; Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XVIII, May 2007, lot 12.

Very Rare 1872 Dominion of Canada Chiefs Medal

One of 25 Produced

2017

1872 Dominion of Canada Indian Chiefs medal. Silver-plated electrotype, as made. Jamieson Fig. 37. Very Fine. 96.6 mm. 5405 grains. Original screw-mount hanger and suspension loop intact. Obv: crowned and veiled bust of Victoria, left, legends around; Rev: Britannia presenting the Charter of Confederation to the four provinces. A broad band is added around, the obverse reading DOMINION OF CANADA / CHIEFS 1872 MEDAL, the reverse, INDIANS OF THE NORTH WEST TERRITORIES, leaving no question as to the purpose of this issue.

While undoubtedly magnificent as a freshly made work of medallic art in 1872, these large medals soon failed as their silver plating wore to reveal their base metal cores, and their electrotype shell construction began to fail. This piece is a fine example of one that was awarded and clearly worn. The copper of the obverse and reverse shells is revealed on the high points, and the brass edge band shows its golden hue. There are numerous dents and marks, and a bit of oxidation where the parts were fused at the rim.

With this medal it seems that the Government of Canada sought to "wow" the chiefs with a large and impressive medal, but did not understand or fully appreciate that throughout the long tradition of the Native American Peace medal, the recipients had become quite aware of the quality and perceived status of receiving medals struck in solid silver. Indeed, as relayed later in this sale, a Native American delegation visited Washington D.C. in 1890 with a specific request for round silver medals of a specified size (this in response in the U.S. effort to redesign the Peace medals to an oval format). They were so adamant, in fact, that they even offered to pay for them. The United States provided what was asked for.

As presented in our 2007 Ford Sale, where another specimen was offered, "no medals were actually distributed as Treaty Medals at the time Treaty One and Treaty Two (and probably Treaty Three) were signed (1871-1873)…Robert Hendery, a Montreal silversmith, was commissioned to produce by electrotype a medal modeled after the Confederation type, and heavily silver plated. This was the original meant for distribution after the fact to signers of Treaty One and Treaty Two (dated 1871). These were not well accepted by their First Peoples recipients…who soon saw through the plating and demanded proper medals from Ottawa as early as October 1873." The struck silver medals marked INDIAN TREATY No.1 and INDIAN TREATY No. 2 were those replacements. This medal does not seem to have been replaced, however, and as we noted when we last offered it in 2012, "this one holds the title of the most obviously awarded example we have encountered." Other appearances include Gerald Hart's in the December 1888 Frossard sale, noted as "never previously offered; of excessive rarity." There were specimens in both the Hunter sale in 1920, and W.W.C. Wilson's collection in 1925. Lucien LaRiviere had a very nice one sold by us in 2001. Ford had one without a suspension loop and still others are known to be in the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, and the Archives of Canada in Ottawa. According to Jamieson and Victor Morin, just 25 of these medals were produced.

Ex Stack's Bowers Galleries, August 2012, lot 4114.

2018

1885 Canada Service Medal. Northwest Canada. Silver. Mackay-134. About Uncirculated. 35.9 mm. 544.8 grains. Obv: veiled and crowned bust of Victoria, left. Rev: NORTH WEST // 1885 / CANADA within wreath. Original hanger and ribbon, but the pin bar is lost. Edge inscription effaced. Attractive light gray patina with soft accents of gold and pale blue in the recesses. Issued to those who participated in stopping the North-West Rebellion of the Metis people under Louis Riel. Certainly not a "peace medal" but undeniably related to Canada's relations with her indigenous people.

Ex Ebay, March 2000; No recorded provenance otherwise.

2019

1901 Calgary Assembly Medal. Silver. Jamieson Fig. 39. Choice Very Fine. 64.8 mm (without integral hanger). 1592.6 grains. Original suspension loop at 12:00, slightly bent. Obv: conjoined busts of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York at center, legends and ornamental border around. Rev: royal arms at center, date and assembly location below, presentation inscription around. Pleasing medium gray silver with traces of soft lavender in the fields and deeper patina in the recesses. Seemingly an awarded medal with scattered small marks on both sides and along the rims. Struck for presentation to head chiefs of a large gathering of Blackfoot, Blood, Piegan, Sarcee, Stony and Cree representatives said to number around 2,000 people who had gathered to express loyalty to the English Crown at Calgary in 1901. The Duke specified that King Edward VII had ordered the striking of award medals to be distributed, with silver ones intended for the Head Chiefs.

Ex Early American History Auctions by direct sale, January 2013.

2020

1901 Calgary Assembly Medal. Copper. Jamieson Fig. 39. Extremely Fine. 64.5 mm (without integral hanger). 1476.9 grains. Screw mount suspension loop. Obv: conjoined busts of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York at center, legends and ornamental border around. Rev: royal arms at center, date and assembly location below, presentation inscription around. Quite sharply detailed, but with edge bumps and an old long scratch on the reverse. Deep chocolate brown surfaces are glossy, but with some superficial spotting. The added suspension loop certainly suggests that this was worn, though the Duke's remarks at the Assembly only referred to silver medals having been ordered by King Edward VII, for Head Chiefs. Perhaps lesser chiefs also got bronze medals, or maybe some were purchased after the fact to be worn as celebratory mementos of the event.

Ex Coin Galleries, December 2007, lot 2512.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PEACE MEDALS AND RELATED ISSUES

Inspired by the long-term traditions established by the French, Spanish and British, the government of the United States realized that diplomatic medals for presentation to leaders of Native American peoples would be necessary. As such, the Administration of George Washington followed the British model to a degree, and presented a number of such distinctions. Unlike the British, who had the necessary infrastructure at the ready for producing large numbers of standardized medals, the Americans relied upon hand-engraved medals at the beginning. These large oval medals of Washington's first term are the rarest and most prized of the series today—they are also the most valuable and far out of reach for most collectors.

For the second administration of Washington, a new series of medals was devised, now famously known as the Seasons Medals. These were designed by John Trumbull, after George Washington's own descriptive words in a letter addressed to the Cherokee Nation, written in August of 1796. This would prove a more standard series as they were die-struck in England in considerable quantity, allowing for relatively widespread distribution. However, the issues of Washington fell short in a way (perhaps by Washington's own personal preference), as they did not bear a bold portrait of him. The recipients of the medals had been accustomed to seeing the effigy of the man to whom they pledged allegiance and with whom they agreed to friendship. This was corrected with the issues of Thomas Jefferson, which were the first such medals produced at the United States Mint. This, notably, is where the Ness collection of issued American medals begins. It continues through the last issued by the United States, those of the Benjamin Harrison administration, and also includes important private issues made for use in the Fur Trade and other related types.

2021

Pair of 1902 Buffalo County Historical Society Facsimiles of the famous Red Jacket Peace medal presented by the administration of George Washington in 1792. Oval. 101.3 x 75.0 mm. **Silvered Copper**. About Uncirculated. Mostly light silver gray with steel blue and gold toning flecked over the antiqued surface. Traces of copper are visible on the high points and rims. Red, white and blue ribbon affixed, which is probably original as it seems to have considerable age. **Copper, Gilt**. Extremely Fine, but extensively tooled, scratched, and with a stippled, crudely styled Federal eagle on the reverse. While not in the league of the many important medals to follow, the Buffalo County Historical Society replicas are generally appreciated as fillers for a type that is so rare as to be well out of reach of most collectors. (Total: 2 pieces)

Ex Stack's, January 2010, lot 4762 (silvered).

JOHN ADAMS 1797-1801

Born October 30, 1735. Elected December 1796.
Inaugurated March 4, 1797. Died July 4, 1826.

Indian-U.S. Relations 1797-1801

1795: At Fort Greenville, Ohio (August 3): 1,100 Indian chiefs and warriors agree to a treaty ceding Indian lands amounting to all of present-day Ohio and most of Indiana in return for $20,000 in goods and an annuity of $9,500.

THE INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF THE ADAMS PRESIDENCY

No Indian Peace Medals were struck specifically for the Adams presidency. Medal needs were, presumably, filled from pre-existing supplies of Washington Seasons medals, which arrived in Washington in 1799. At some time between 1814 and 1839, Moritz Furst made an Adams portrait die that Franklin Peale saw in 1841. It was used in making pieces for collectors, allowing them to complete the "presidential series," even though no official Peace medals had been struck originally. The medals offered here are examples of these later impressions, in two different sizes.

2022

"1797" (circa 1905) John Adams Indian Peace Medal. Bronze. First Size. Julian IP-1, var., Prucha-59, var. MS-65 (NGC). 75.3 mm. 3436.8 grains. Greenish olive bronze with gentle pastel highlights in the fields. The surfaces are microgranular, as made, and give the piece a pleasing satin appearance. Quite handsome overall with just a faint break in the patina on the high point of the thumb, at the central reverse. Julian and Prucha list this only in the small 51mm size, which seems to be the "original" format for the John Adams medals, but even these are thought to have been struck no earlier than the mid-19th century to sell to collectors. There were no original medals produced in the name of this administration for distribution to Native Americans. The Seasons medals, devised for the second presidency of Washington, were not delivered until Washington was out of office. As a practical matter, those were distributed during the Adams administration. Many were left over and are known to have been distributed by Lewis and Clark, so there really was no need to create Adams medals at the time. According to Julian, this large-size John Adams variant went into production around 1905 to satisfy collector demand, allowing one completion of a large-size set of Peace medals of all issuing presidents regardless of the issues that were actually distributed during their terms in office.

Ex The Aesculapius Collection of Indian Peace Medals, Stack's, January 2011, lot 6200.

2023

"1797" (circa 1845) John Adams Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. Third Size. First Reverse. Julian IP-1, Prucha-59. MS-64 (NGC). 51 mm. Fairly uniform deep mahogany bronze surfaces with micro flecks of lighter copper throughout, as often seen on this finish. Nuances of pale blue and violet are noted when the medal is rotated in the light. Very sharp, as one would expect, with only a few tiny marks scattered about, largely requiring magnification to detect. This is the "official" size for this issue, though, as noted in the previous lot description, no medals were struck bearing the name or image of John Adams for actual distribution to Native Americans. It has long been believed that Moritz Fürst cut this obverse die in the 1830s and that it was in the care of the Mint for some time, unused. There are clichés of the obverse from the 1840s, so we know that there was an effort at that time to put the die into use.

Julian and Prucha wrote that the obverse die ended up in the collection of Joseph Mickley and was revealed in the November 1878 sale of his property. However, that catalog, under a heading of "United States Steel Dies, Hubs &c." lists not a die for the Adams medal, but a "hub." The distinction in the header clarifies that the writer knew the difference and it seems to have been Father Prucha who erroneously assumed the word "hub" referred to the die itself.

In fact, the die was listed in Benjamin Franklin Peale's 1841 *Register of the Medal Dies of the U.S. with Notes, etc…* so we know it was in the Mint at that time. It is quite possible that this published account of its existence prompted astute collectors to make inquiries of the Mint attempting to acquire specimens.

In 1844, a grouping of U.S. Mint medals was struck for presentation to the Franklin Institute, and the list was published in the August 3, 1844 edition of *Niles Register*. The listing of Peace medals did not include a John Adams. In fact, it was specified therein that these dies had "not been constructed." We know this latter entry is incorrect, but the fact that the Adams medal was not included does indeed suggest that the obverse die was not yet in service.

The original Peace and Friendship die used to strike this medal was used on all issued silver Peace medals from the 1809 Madison through the 1845 Polk. It seems to have broken early, as all of the small-size silver medals in this sale, including the 1809 Madison, exhibit a small rough chip within the narrow trench outside of the inner rim border, just below 3:00. The 1845 Polk medal exhibits a secondary small chip, illustrating that the die broke further before it was completely retired from use. The Adams medal offered here has only the single break, and is thus a bit earlier than the silver Polk medal. It was almost certainly struck after late 1844.

Ex Early American History Auctions, August 2009, lot 855; Aesculapius Collection of Indian Peace Medals, Stack's, January 2011, lot 6201.

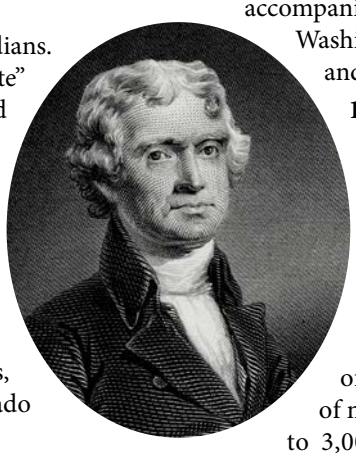
THOMAS JEFFERSON 1801 - 1809

Born April 13, 1743. Elected February 17, 1801.
Inaugurated March 4, 1801. Died July 4, 1826.

Indian-U.S. Relations 1801 - 1809

1802-1809: General William Henry Harrison and other commissioners force cessions of Indian lands in the Old Northwest. By 1809 the U.S. has obtained most of southern Indiana and large parts of Illinois, Wisconsin, Ohio and Michigan.

1802: Federal law prohibits the sale of liquor to Indians. Congress appropriates funds to "civilize and educate" the Indians. Georgia agrees to cede its western land claims to the federal government and in return the U.S. agrees to "extinguish the Indian Title to all other Lands within the State of Georgia."



1803: Louisiana Purchase incorporates the Indian population on the 828,000 square miles between the Mississippi and the Rockies, the territory that forms Missouri, Nebraska, Iowa, Arkansas, North and South Dakota, most of Louisiana, Kansas, Minnesota, Montana, Wyoming, and parts of Colorado and Oklahoma.

1804-1806: Lewis and Clark Expedition, headed by Meriwether Lewis, Jefferson's private secretary, and William Clark, an Army officer, explores the Northwest from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean to look for the best route west and to establish U.S. claims to the Oregon Territory.

1805: Sacagawea, a Shoshone Indian woman who becomes the wife of the Lewis and Clark expedition's official interpreter, Toussaint Charbonneau, joins the expedition in South Dakota. She accompanies the expedition to the Pacific and part way back to Washington. Her presence in the party marks it as pacific and not belligerent.

1806: Office of Superintendent of Indian Trade is established in the War Department under the secretary of War.

1808: American Fur Company is chartered by John Jacob Astor to compete with Canadian firms in the western fur trade.

1809: In September, William Henry Harrison, governor of the Indiana Territory, signs the Treaty of Fort Wayne. By lying to and liquoring up a group of non-representative chiefs, Harrison obtains a claim to 3,000,000 acres of land in return for $7,000 and a small annuity.

1809-1811: Tecumseh's Rebellion. Chief of the Shawnee Tecumseh had earlier refused to participate in the Treaty of Greenville. In July 1809 he starts putting together an alliance of native peoples from the Old Northwest, the South and the eastern Mississippi River Valley.

THE INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF THE JEFFERSON PRESIDENCY

In April 1801, shortly after Jefferson's inauguration and at the request of the War Department, Superintendent of Military Stores John Irvine contacted Mint Director Elias Boudinot and engraver Robert Scot to request that they begin preparing dies for silver medals to be distributed to Native Americans. A series of delays occupied the summer months of 1801 but by December of that year John Reich (under subcontract from Robert Scot) had effected the dies for the three sizes of medals planned. Letter punches were made by coiner Adam Eckfeldt. Philadelphia silversmith Joseph Richardson, Jr., whose family firm had earlier made many of the large oval Washington medals, was entrusted with the task of preparing the silver plates and striking them with Scot's dies. The Jefferson medals were composed of an obverse and reverse struck on round plates, these inset into an encircling band afterwards closed and mounted with a ring for suspension.

The round Jefferson medals were extremely popular, in part because of their large size, in part because their only American competition was the Washington Seasons medals which bore no portrait, and in part because no medals had been made for John Adams' presidency and none were ready early enough during Monroe's. As a result, fairly large numbers of Jefferson medals were actually distributed, not only during his presidency, but even as late as 1812 during Monroe's administration. Records published by Father Prucha show hundreds of medals in all three sizes sent by the War Department in the period from 1805-12 including 93 of the extremely rare middle size. In 1803, Lewis and Clark packed 32 Jefferson medals, including some of each size, for their *Corps of Discovery Expedition*, all of which had to compete, so to speak, with the 76 mm George III silver medals being distributed to Native Americans by agents of the British crown. After the need for Jefferson medals had ceased, the dies were deposited with the Purveyor of Military Stores' office in the arsenal in Philadelphia. They remained there until 1841 when Mint Director Robert Patterson located and removed them. Restrikes were made almost immediately, including copper medals in the largest size and silver medals in the middle size, but these are easily identifiable as such

Historic Thomas Jefferson Peace Medal
The Largest Size
Among the Most Prized American Issues
With Provenance to the Leavenworth Family

2024

1801 Thomas Jefferson Indian Peace Medal. Silver Shells. First Size. Julian IP-2, Prucha-38. Very Good. 100.7 mm. 1986.25 grains. The Jefferson Peace medals are distinctive within the American series for their unusual tripartite construction. This method of manufacture allowed for the desired sizes, especially this largest variant, which might not have been possible otherwise at the time. However, it also resulted in finished medals that proved relatively fragile. The obverse and reverse pieces bearing the designs were each individually struck at the Mint on thin silver sheets. In each case, this was accomplished by the impression of a single steel die likely opposed by some relatively soft material such as wood or leather that would resist the die, yet give enough to allow for the designs to be imparted. They were not struck by two steel dies in opposition, and the clearest evidence for this is the general lack of crispness in the design features. Once the obverse and reverse shells were made, they were hand-assembled into a single medal by way of an edge band that was fused around the circumference. The band was not part of the formation of the rim on either side, but was joined at the outer edges of the raised rims. The separations in this medal clearly reveal where the pieces were joined. Finally, a simple loop hanger was affixed to the edge. There has been commentary and speculation about what was used to fill the hollow shells and we suspect that the answer is nothing at all. We can see into this medal and there are no visible remnants of any interior filler and while it is coming apart in places, it is not wide enough apart for some interior wood form (as has been proposed) to have fallen out. Even if rot had occurred to such a wood form, remnants would continue to lose dust or fragments. The same would be true of a beeswax core. Had such dried and crumbled, it would undoubtedly still be producing grains from the interior, yet nothing falls from this piece or rattles within.

As alluded to above, this piece has been rather well worn. The frame is prominently bent at the edge, near 9:00 relative to the obverse, likely a primary cause of the rim separations. The obverse shell has separated from the edge band from this bend downward, around the

lower half of the medal, and nearly to 3:00. A similar separation on the reverse extends from the same bend to about 6:00, where another less pronounced rim bend is noted. At this position (6:00 relative to the reverse), the edge band has split slightly and cleanly, perhaps revealing where the band was originally closed. A few notable dents are seen on this side, the deepest is along the index finger of the left hand, a dent that is sharply embossed through the obverse.

The original hanger is long gone, with a somewhat jagged opening where it was once attached, though long use has smoothed the likely once rough edges. Upon the loss of the hanger, the medal's owner had it pierced so that its ongoing personal display would not be interrupted. Undeniable wear is seen in this suspension piercing, suggesting that it was worn a long time after the loss of the original hanger. The surfaces of the medal are gently polished, as typical, with soft champagne and pale blue toning in the outermost fields accenting the otherwise light to medium gray silver. A few fine scratches are noted left of Jefferson's portrait.

While the method of manufacture would have created objects that would have easily survived in collectors' cabinets, the hard use Peace medals would be subjected to on the Great Plains and beyond proved too much for many Jefferson medals. As a result, it is likely that many simply fell apart and were lost. Others were salvaged by various repairs and a few have survived in rather fine condition. In some ways, this one is ideal. It shows the evidence of the rough wear these endured as prized adornments and proudly worn statements of status. Meanwhile, the failures of the fragile construction are serious enough to clearly reveal the details of this interesting structure, yet all of the parts are present and firmly connected around about 40% of the circumference. The medal shows no evidence of repair and is thus in its completely natural state. This alone has value to purists, as the quality and condition hide nothing. It is exactly as it should be and, in fact, it is a rather handsome example of this immensely historic artifact.

After the completion of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, it was deemed necessary to map the new territory, discover what resources existed within it, and to establish the United States as the dominant presence therein before any competing European nation could gain a meaningful foothold. Consideration of the sovereignty of the indigenous populations does not seem to have factored into any long-term planning, but making inroads with native peoples encountered along the way and, ideally, the establishment of alliances, were certainly seen as essential to Euro-American progress. The primary effort to make all this happen was called the Corps of Discovery Expedition, though it is far better known today by the names of the two men who led it. Thomas Jefferson appointed Captain Meriwether Lewis as the leader who, in-turn, selected as his junior officer Second Lieutenant William Clark. Their famous expedition commenced in May 1804 at Pittsburgh, took them to the Pacific Coast at Fort Clatsop, near the mouth of the Columbia River, and ended in St. Louis, in September 1806.

The Spanish, French and English had well established the tradition of the Peace medal, and it was broadly accepted among indigenous people. It was a tradition continued by the Americans, so it was fitting that Lewis and Clark should carry official medals for presentation on behalf of the Jefferson administration to chiefs they would contact along their route. These were given along with various other trade goods that native peoples had become accustomed to receiving. It is known that medals of five sizes were carried and distributed. There were Jefferson medals in three sizes, this being the largest and reserved for the highest-ranking chiefs. The medals of the fourth size were the Washington Seasons medals, and it is believed that the fifth size consisted of American silver dollars. While we know that Lewis and Clark distributed some of these medals, they did not distribute all of them. We know of one, for example, that was presented on behalf of Jefferson to a Cherokee Chief, Thomas Chisholm, in 1808. That medal is believed to still exist in the collection of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Many others were ordered well after the completion of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

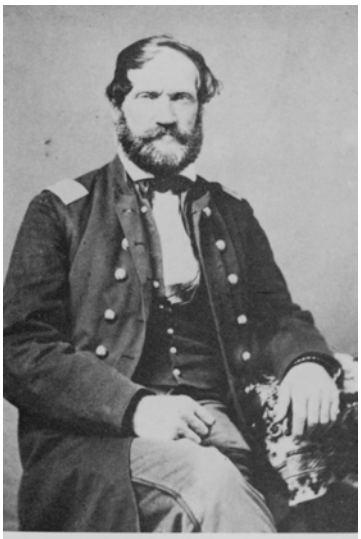
Captains Lewis & Clark holding a Council with the Indians

The present medal comes with a very intriguing, if incomplete, history. It was presented by Frank Hiscock to the Fort Leavenworth Museum in Kansas, in 1963, along with an 1865 Andrew Johnson medal, and presumably displayed there for a time. These two medals were written up in the Winter 1971 edition of the journal, *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* (Vol. 37, No. 4), in an article by United States Army Colonel Donald J. Delaney. The article was primarily focused on a life portrait of Brigadier General Henry Leavenworth, the man who sited the eventual Fort Leavenworth and for whom it is named. The miniature portrait was painted by George Caitlin in 1834, and the Museum had long known of it and desired to acquire it. Correspondence with Hiscock established connections between the museum and further descendants of Leavenworth, resulting in the eventual acquisition of the portrait. Hiscock was the great-great grandson of Colonel Jesse Leavenworth. Colonel Leavenworth was the son of Brigadier General Henry Leavenworth.

According to a captioned illustration in the article, this Jefferson medal was presented to a Comanche Chief, Eagle Feather, by the senior Leavenworth. However, General Leavenworth was not in the area of the traditional lands of the Comanche at the time the Jefferson medals would have been distributed. He was raised in Vermont, studied Law in New York and then engaged in the private practice of Law before entering military service in 1812. He served in the War of 1812, in which he was wounded at the Battle of Niagara in 1814. He served in the New York Assembly in 1816. He did become an Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien for a short time, but this was a couple of years after the last of the Jefferson medals would have been in distribution. His other relations with Native Americans would not likely have positioned him as a presenter of medals, as he is credited with military campaigns against the Arikara and Pawnee in the early 1820s; the success of these campaigns earned him promotion to Brigadier General. At the time of his death in 1834, he was on a campaign against the Comanche. As previously mentioned, Leavenworth is most famous for selecting the location and setting up the first encampment in May 1827, at what would become Fort Leavenworth. He does not seem to have ever been in a position or place to award a medal such as this one.

Colonel Jesse Leavenworth is also referenced in the journal article as having presented the aforementioned Johnson medal to Eagle Feather, the same Comanche Chief. Therein, it is noted as "regrettable that up to this time it is not known how both of the Peace medals came to be returned to Col. Jesse Leavenworth to become family heirlooms." We have been unable to find any reference to a Comanche Chief by this name and it seems quite unlikely that a

Chief of such standing as to have been the recipient of both Jefferson and Johnson medals would not be easily found in the historical record.


JESSE HENRY LEAVENWORTH
(1807-1885)

Colonel Leavenworth was born in 1807, and followed in his father's career path. He was a graduate of West Point in the class of 1830, and served for a time near Denver, Colorado. He left military service in 1836, but was called back upon the outbreak of the Civil War and served for less than two years before his honorable discharge. After the War, he served for about six years as an official Indian Agent to the Southern Cheyenne, Kiowa and Comanche, which places him in the right time and place to have presented an Andrew Johnson medal. His guide and interpreter while he was Indian Agent was Jesse Chisholm, who may be the best prospect as a direct holder of this Jefferson medal and the conduit by which it entered the Leavenworth family. Chisholm was very active in the area and an important enough historical figure that a book has been written about him, *Jesse Chisholm Ambassador of the Plains,* by Stan Hoig. Chisholm had spent time with the elder Leavenworth, probably also as a guide. Being of Cherokee descent, he continued to live and trade among the local native populations, after the General's passing and between his associations with the two Leavenworths. The Junior Leavenworth had this to say about Chisholm: "[he] has been with these Indians almost all the time since. He has been upon that frontier; he has traded with them; he speaks their language perfectly…and has helped me more since (1864) than anyone else in keeping them quiet and protecting them. His information regarding them is perfect and complete, and I get most of my information from him."

As a person of Cherokee descent, a merchant and trader among the local people for decades, and an associate of both Leavenworths (suggesting a degree of admiration or long-term mutual respect), it is easy to consider that a medal like this might have been traded into the hands of Chisholm (or even descended through his own family) and perhaps gifted or traded to the junior Leavenworth with a story that related to his father. This is all conjecture, of course, but the pieces of these puzzles can be difficult to connect and this proposed storyline includes persons who are known to have been in the right places and in positions to serve the necessary roles at the ideal times.

It is uncertain how many Jefferson medals were produced and even more unclear as to the numbers of various sizes. In his landmark study of the series, *Indian Peace Medals in American History*, Father Francis Paul Prucha mentions an initial order of 168 medals that was probably delivered very late in 1801 or early in 1802, as he noted that some completed medals had been sent to the War Department on December 22, 1801, possibly but not necessarily this entire order. The initial order almost certainly included those that Lewis and Clark would distribute. According to interpretations of journal entries relating to the Expedition, that number is believed to be about 89 medals of various sizes, carried and distributed.

Prucha continues with reports of entries including orders of 100 medals and 120 medals received between November 1805 and August 1806 by the Storekeeper in the Indian Department stores at Philadelphia, where the finished medals were apparently stored until needed. Prucha goes on to discuss records of specific distributions of the medals, often with specified counts by size of medal. Again, it's assumed that these distributions were from the original orders mentioned previously, with the possibility that there were additional orders or distributions for which Prucha did not find a record. Adding up the distributions given in Prucha, the totals are 60 large-size, 93 middle-size, and 96 small-size medals. Another 37 are reported without mention of size. Since the largest medals were reserved for the most prominent chiefs, it would make sense that fewer of those were distributed, so these counts are probably a somewhat reliable indication of the ratios overall as they cover several years of Jefferson medal requests and distributions.

It is clear that these medals were produced in quantities larger than for most of the issues to follow, through the end of the series. However, as mentioned previously, many undoubtedly fell apart or were otherwise lost. Still others are known to have been buried with recipients or their descendants, and are therefore just as lost in the context of the modern marketplace, though purposefully so, and marking the degree to which they were valued by their recipients. There are several accounts of these medals having been recovered from burials, and one account we have seen notes with some detail how carefully the medal itself was wrapped in buffalo hide to protect it.

What is most relevant in the context of this offering is how many examples of the prized Jefferson medals survive. The writer's own study of large-size Jefferson survivors undertaken in preparation for this sale has revealed 23 different specimens with reports of at least three others that we have not seen images of. This seems like a rather small number relative to the suggested quantity made, but our efforts yielded very similar results to two other detailed studies of specimens, with considerable overlap in entries. As we have incorporated specimens from those studies we were not aware of, our data is probably fairly reliable.

Of these 26 different records, 17 are in institutional collections leaving fewer than 10 in private hands. This survey includes holdings at major institutions such as the National Portrait Gallery, American Numismatic Society and Colonial Williamsburg, but also a number of smaller local historical societies and organizations that would not be high on anyone's list of probable caretakers for a Jefferson medal. These are much harder to identify and, as such, we assume that there are other medals residing in further largely off-the-radar holdings. As to the small number of medals in private hands, we have probably accounted for the vast majority.

We have had the pleasure of handling this medal three times now, which is remarkable for one of these prized pieces. However, this is the first time we have done so with the knowledge of its historic background, providing a valuable layer of desirability. Any Thomas Jefferson Peace medal may be considered a prized centerpiece in a collection of these medals, and few collectors will ever have the chance to own one. Similarly, as evidenced by the inclusion of single examples of this medal in various unexpected institutional collections such as the Rutherford B. Hayes Library and the Brooklyn Museum of Art, it is clear that one of these can easily stand on its own to represent the Peace medal series. The first large-size Jefferson this writer ever saw was the Lucien LaRiviere specimen that in March 2001 set a world record for the most valuable American medal ever sold. While these medals are not equals in terms of quality, the fact that a Jefferson medal once held the price record for an American medal certainly speaks to its status as a prized American artifact.

Ex Colonel Jesse Leavenworth; Frank Hiscock, Jesse Leavenworth's great-great grandson, by descent; presented to the Fort Leavenworth Museum by Hiscock in 1963 and presumably displayed there for a time; sold by "a family in the lower Midwest" to Marvin Sadik (long-time Director of the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, D.C., and later, antiques dealer) to American Numismatic Rarities, by direct sale; ANR's Numismatic Perspective, April 2005, by Fixed Price; Private Collector; Stack's, January 2010, lot 4736.

Very Rare Large Size Jefferson in Bronze
From the Original Dies

2025

"1801" (circa 1840s) Thomas Jefferson Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. First Size. Original Dies. Julian IP-2, Prucha-38. MS-63 BN (NGC). 100.5 mm. 6010.5 grains. A lovely specimen of this imposing U.S. Mint restrike that is as impressive as it is desirable. Deep mahogany bronze surfaces display mild chestnut brown accents on the highest points of the relief. Glossy, with few marks of any kind, though there is some patina flecking and very superficial oxidation on areas of the reverse. This restrike type is mentioned specifically in a February 28, 1842 letter from Mint Director Robert M. Patterson to Secretary of War John C. Spencer: "we have begun the series of Indian Medals, by striking those which bear the head of Jefferson. One of these, which is four inches in diameter, is the largest medal ever struck in this country, in solid metal." This seems to have been struck from the original dies as it shares at least one fairly prominent die flaw in the small protrusion off the loop of the P in FRIENDSHIP. That mark is not clear on all silver originals, however, as this area is often weakly executed on those. It is visible on the piece offered previously in this sale and it can be fairly easily seen in the Julian plate. These restrikes are quite rare. Our archives dating back more than a decade include only three appearances, one of which was this medal in 2011. The other two were the Charles A. Wharton Collection specimen in August 2013, and most recently a reappearance of the John Ford specimen in our March 2017 sale, which realized nearly $6,500. This price speaks to how strongly these medals are desired by collectors who might like to complete the Presidential Peace Medal series but find the prized silver originals of this issue out of reach.

Ex Aesculapius Collection of Indian Peace Medals, Stack's, January 2011, lot 6204.

Scarce Second Size Jefferson in Bronze
From the Original Dies

2026

"1801" (circa 1861-1886) Thomas Jefferson Indian Peace Medal. Bronze. Second Size. Original Dies. Julian IP-3, Prucha-39. MS-63 BN (NGC). 74.8 mm. 3095.8 grains. Glossy surfaces are somewhat olive brown on the obverse while the reverse is slightly more mahogany brown. Gentle reflectivity remains through the fields on both sides. Light evidence of handling includes a few scattered tiny marks and a faint trace of patina loss on the highest point of Jefferson's shoulder, but the overall eye appeal is quite excellent. This was struck from the original dies used to produce the silver shell medals that were presented to Native Americans early in the century. The prominent break on the reverse passing through the lower bowl of the pipe and extending on this medal to nearly the exact center of the die is visible on several of the middle-sized silver Jefferson medals we have handled or seen images of. On both sides of this piece may be seen areas of very light spalling or die rust which can be difficult to distinguish, though we suspect rust to be the culprit here due to the long span of years between the use of the dies to make the silver originals and their return to use for these restrikes in the mid-19th century. According to Julian, the dies for this medal had been replaced by October 8, 1886. The new reverse had a decidedly more modern appearance, similar to the Zachary Taylor reverse for 1849, most easily distinguished by thicker letters and distinctively flat-topped letter A punches. Earlier variations of the medal such as this one, from the original dies, are quite scarce and enjoy strong demand. As a result, they also command considerable premiums over the later iterations, as collectors appreciate not only their rarity but their closer association with the prized silver originals. The landmark John J. Ford, Jr. Collection included only a single example of this medal from the original dies, in similar condition to this one.

Ex Early American History Auctions, April 2005, lot 1274; Aesculapius Collection of Indian Peace Medals, Stack's, January 2011, lot 6205.

Very Rare Third Size Jefferson in Bronze
From the Original Dies

2027

"1801" (circa 1860s?) Thomas Jefferson Indian Peace Medal. Bronze. Third Size. Original Dies. Julian IP-4, Prucha-39. MS-64 BN (NGC). 52.1 mm. 1041.7 grains. A stunningly attractive example of this rare bronze impression of the smallest-size Jefferson. The fields are deeply prooflike, the devices boldly executed with a fine satin finish. Generous original mint red remains through the letters of the obverse legend and among the intricacies of the central motif, while the remaining obverse surface is light copper brown with nuances of pastel iridescence in the fields. The reverse is deeper olive brown overall, but the more intensely reflective fields of this side are accented by rich violet, blue, pale green and gold toning giving this piece superior eye appeal. The dies were clearly polished up a bit prior to striking this piece, but these were certainly the original steel dies that were used to make the silver examples awarded to Native Americans in the first decade of the 19th century. Crumbling between the knuckles of the index and second finger on the reverse of this medal is clearly seen in a less advanced state on the original silver example we sold in our August 2013 sale (lot 1035). Similarly, there are other fine die markers visible on the obverse that match the silver example. One is a tiny spike on the inside of the rim beneath the center of Jefferson's truncation. It is small, but unmistakable when comparing the medals side by side, as we have. Much easier seen is a small lump on the top of Jefferson's head, pointed to almost perfectly by the I in PRESIDENT. The die state is clearly later on this bronze impression, however. A crack has formed through Jefferson's hair, extending into the field toward the H of THE, and is seen on the other bronzes we have handled.

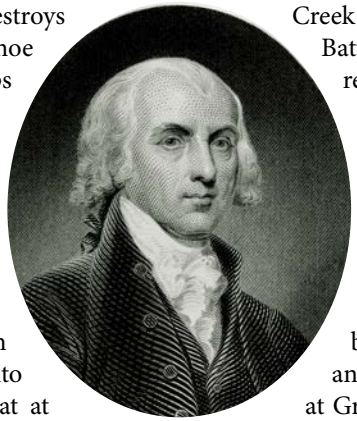
It is believed that most of the later bronze collector strikes were made of the 76 mm version, with the largest and smallest being far rarer. Indeed, our archives going back over a decade include only three examples of this medal. There was also a single example in our May 2007 Ford sale. We would venture to guess that this medal is the prettiest of all we have handled. We have dated this piece to the 1860s because a survey of the Mint records included in Julian indicate that there seems to have been more demand for Jefferson medals at this time than in other decades for which records are provided. However, references therein to "Jefferson Medals" having been struck in any given year do not clearly indicate the issue struck (i.e. Peace Medal or Inaugural Medal), so uncertainty seems unavoidable.

Ex Early American History Auctions, April 2002, lot 1034; Stack's, February 2008, lot 3573; Aesculapius Collection of Indian Peace Medals, Stack's, January 2011, lot 6206.

JAMES MADISON 1809 - 1817

Born March 16, 1751. Elected December 7, 1808.
Inaugurated March 4, 1809. Died June 28, 1836.

INDIAN-U.S. RELATIONS 1809 - 1817



1811: Governor Harrison attacks and destroys Prophetstown and in the following Battle of Tippecanoe River, in north central Indiana, Harrison's troops destroy Tecumseh's Indian confederacy. Tecumseh and many of his followers cross into Canada and join British forces later in the War of 1812.

1812-14: The War of 1812 begins June 18. The war is largely the result of the influence of the War Hawks in Congress led by Henry Clay and other westerners who want to acquire more land by conquering Canada. In the northwest, Tecumseh joins the British and helps lead a variety of tribes into battle. His death and the British and Indian defeat at the Battle of the Thames in October 1813 mark the end of effective Indian resistance between the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers. In the southwest, Creek peoples attack across Georgia, Mississippi and Alabama. Andrew Jackson of Tennessee invades Creek country in the winter of 1813-1814 and at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in March 1814 destroys their resistance. In August 1814 the belligerent as well as neutral Creeks lose more than half their land in the Treaty of Fort Jackson.

1815: Lewis Cass, governor of Michigan Territory, persuades President Madison to authorize construction of a series of forts along the northern frontier to control British political and mercantile influence from Canada. Fort Mackinac on the straits between Lakes Huron and Michigan is regarrisoned and in 1816 regular army troops establish Fort Howard at Green Bay and re-fortify Fort Dearborn at the site of Chicago. A military expedition up the Mississippi from Saint Louis builds Fort Armstrong on Rock Island and Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien.

THE INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF THE MADISON PRESIDENCY

Following Madison's inauguration in 1809 the secretary of War ordered Purveyor of Military Supplies Tench Coxe to provide silver medals that would bear the likeness of the new president and would be suitable for distribution to Native Americans. The new medals were to be struck solid, to better compete with English pieces. John Reich was commissioned to engrave the dies. For various reasons Coxe failed in his commission and left office with the task unfinished. John Mason, head of the Office of Indian Trade, inherited the task and thought to ask a friend, Philadelphia merchant and American Philosophical Society member John Vaughan, to assist him. Vaughan might have seemed a suitable choice but his insistence on hiring an Italian artist to do a new portrait of President Madison and subsequent changes in the design led to further delays. It was not until December 1814, after his second term had started, that the first Madison Indian Peace medal was finally struck. A large number of silver medals were ultimately made at the Mint.

Modifications were made to the reverse designs by John Reich at John Vaughan's request. He removed the cuff with the federal eagle from the Indian's wrist, added a pipe bowl to the tomahawk, and changed the clay pipe to a proper calumet.

Rare First Size James Madison in Silver

2028

1809 James Madison Indian Peace Medal. Silver. First Size. Julian IP-5, Prucha-40. Extremely Fine. 75.5 mm. 2774.8 grains. Neatly pierced for suspension at the usual position, a characteristic that is quite consistent among the large Madisons as the obverse die featured a small circular guide marking where the hole was to be placed. We have only seen a single piece with the hole positioned slightly differently. Mostly light silver gray with some soft golden brown and pale blue accents near the obverse periphery. A scattering of the usual marks and nicks is noted, but it would appear that some more serious imperfections were smoothed out. There are several depressions in the obverse fields, and associated tooling. Close examination reveals some deeper swirling marks which cause us to wonder if there might have been some useful graffiti in these fields at one time. Perhaps it contained the identity of an owner, information that was not appreciated by someone long after (an unsophisticated collector?) for the value it added to a piece such as this. Either way, this large Madison is quite impressive. The design details are sharply executed and the high rims only mildly nicked, as expected. John Reich's "R." mark on the obverse rim at 6:00 and a prominent collaring mark or witness line is noted on the edge at 6:00 relative to the obverse. Evidence of clear double striking is seen through the legends on both sides.

Efforts were undertaken to begin the process of producing the Madison medals shortly after Jefferson left office, but we know that some Jefferson medals were still being distributed (from the Military Stores) as late as November 1811, and perhaps even after. The story nicely presented by Prucha of the procurement of the Madison medals, from the first efforts in 1809 to the date of the first delivery in December 1814, is a painful read. One can only imagine what the Indian Agents went through as they explained away years of delay on the frontier. The number of large-size silver Madisons eventually struck for distribution is uncertain, but contemporary records presented by Prucha account for at least 113, while Robert Julian gives the mintage in this size as 112 pieces.

Carl Carlson's research on auction appearances, published in 1986, yielded 15 records for the large-size Madison, but there was no effort to make distinctions of individual specimens. When the Ford Collection was cataloged in 2006 and 2007, a bit more effort was put into estimating the number of surviving medals, and 15 was the number proposed. The present writer's own recent survey of survivors has located 19 different specimens with reports of two others that we have not seen images of. Undoubtedly there are a few that we are unaware of, but as is the case with seven of those we did find, there is a good chance that newcomers to our census will be found in the holdings of local museums or historical societies.

As with the large-size Jefferson medals, the large-size Madisons and all to follow were reserved for the highest ranking Chiefs. As the largest, they are the most impressive. For the status they were intended to recognize, they are the most desirable.

No recorded provenance.

Gem Mint State Bronze First Size Madison Medal

2029

1809 James Madison Indian Peace Medal. Bronze. First Size. First Reverse. Julian IP-5, Prucha-40. MS-65 BN (NGC). 75.9 mm. 2950.7 grains. Lovely light olive brown with nuances of pale blue and gold in the reflective fields. Fine satin finish on the design motifs gives the piece pleasant visual contrast. A few tiny marks are scattered about, but there is none worthy of specific mention. Struck from the original dies used for the silver piece above, though in a later die state and refinished. Still, there are a few tiny shared die artifacts. On the obverse, a tiny raised bead may be seen close to the rim, just past the S of JAMES. On the reverse, there is a small lump on the lower left of the H in FRIENDSHIP, while double punching of the R and I of the same letter is plainly evident on both medals. Evidence of a later die state is found in a few scattered patches of light spalling including beneath the hands, left of the cuffed hand, in the field right of the axe head, and a few other places. John Reich's "R." mark on the obverse rim at 6:00. No collaring mark is noted. It is uncertain as to the date range when the bronzes were struck, but it was probably not in any significant number until the collector demand of 1860s.

Ex Aesculapius Collection of Indian Peace Medals, Stack's, January 2011, lot 6208.

Rarely Offered Second Size James Madison in Silver

2030

1809 James Madison Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Second Size. Julian IP-6, Prucha-40. Choice Very Good. 62.5 mm. 1548.9 grains. Pierced for suspension as typical, and like the pierced large-size medals, consistently so due to the circular guide line in the obverse die. The suspension hole in this medal is somewhat broader than usual and shows clear evidence that the medal was worn for a long time. Uniform deep gray silver with areas of both sides featuring attractive overtones of blue and gold. A very handsome medal for this degree of wear. There are scattered tiny nicks on both sides, and a single reverse rim bump, but there are no distracting abrasions. This piece seems to have served as a prized adornment for a long time, yet was clearly cared for to a degree. No visible collaring marks on the edge.

This obverse die seems to have begun to crumble very early, perhaps during the hardening process, as tiny rim breaks are seen on the medal between the large raised rim and inner border, intermittently around three quarters of the circumference. These breaks are seen to varying degrees (somewhat limited by illustration quality) on all silver originals we have seen images of. Though the reverse rim is of identical design, there are no such breaks on this die, nor are any other failures evident.

Though the Madison medals are dated 1809, corresponding to the President's first term as noted above, no Madison medals were finished and delivered until 1814. Contemporary reports according to Prucha indicate that 100 were certainly made of this size (in 1815), and perhaps a few more, as there were likely a few in the first delivery of 12 finished medals. Interestingly, the consistency with which the piercing was conducted illustrates two different die rotations among the pierced medals we are aware of, suggesting two different striking operations. This would correspond to the initial delivery and then the 100 of 1815. We have seen only one medal with the piercing directly over the A of PEACE, and 11 with the piercing to the right of it.

Carl Carlson recorded 11 auction appearances of the second-size Madison in his study, published in 1986. When the Ford Collection was cataloged it was estimated that fewer than 25 survived. The present writer's own survey has revealed 13 distinct known specimens, with the report of one more that has not been confirmed. Only four of these are in institutional collections, yet they rarely appear for sale. We are aware of only three auction appearances in the last decade, including this one.

Ex F.C.C. Boyd Estate; John J. Ford, Jr.; Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XVIII, May 2007, lot 70.

2031

1809 James Madison Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. Second Size. Second Reverse. Julian IP-6, Prucha-40. MS-65 BN (NGC). 62.6 mm. 1757.8 grains. Dark mahogany bronze with light steely overtones and just a trace of mellowing on the highest points of the design. No serious marks of any kind and even the occasional detected hairline is trivial. This medal deserves a bit of an explanation, as a mere photograph makes it look oxidized. This is not the case. While this was struck from a replacement reverse die, sometime after 1846 (the same die used on the Zachary Taylor medals of this size, in silver), the obverse was struck from the original die used to make the silver Madisons. Though it was cleaned up a bit prior to making this restrike, the telltale rim crumbling described in the last lot is plainly evident, and patches of what will appear as oxidation in photographs are actually areas of spalling or die rust in the old steel. The medal is actually rather well preserved overall. A prominent collaring mark is noted on the edge at 6:00, and two other similar marks are also seen but are from flaws in the collar itself.

Ex Stack's Bowers Galleries, August 2014, lot 3010.

Rushing Eagle, a Dakota wearing an Andrew Johnson Indian Peace medal. (Library of Congress)

Extremely Rare Third Size Madison in Silver

2032

1809 James Madison Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Third Size. Julian IP-7, Prucha-40. Extremely Fine. 50.7 mm. 838.4 grains. Neatly pierced for suspension as typical, and positioned consistently with others seen thanks to a small circular guide in the obverse die. Deep gray toning throughout with small accents of pale blue iridescence in places. The highest points of each side are a bit lighter gray. Scattered fine nicks and tiny rim marks are consistent with an awarded Peace medal, but there is no distracting damage at all and in spite of the light wear, there remains a suggestion of the original prooflike character in the fields. Another very handsome medal and easily one of the finest in private hands. No visible collaring marks on the edge. Minor die flaws are noted in the obverse rim over the E in THE and over the JA of JAMES.

This reverse was used for all small-size medals from Madison through Polk and is known to us in two die states. This, as expected, is the earlier one. A single small die chip is seen outside the inner rim border just below the 3:00 position.

As noted above, there is a consistency in the suspension piercings due to the circular guideline set into the obverse die. It was from this side that the holes were drilled at the Mint. Prucha stated that a dozen Madison medals were delivered on December 17, 1814, presumably including a few of each size. He further stated that in January 1815, it was acknowledged that 103 small medals were received. After a delivery of large-sized medals on June 20th, it was directed that leftover silver be used for further small-size medals. Thus, we have in these accounts three likely striking periods and subsequent deliveries of small medals. The dies were almost certainly removed from the medal press in between these production cycles, though they spanned little time. In compiling our roster of known specimens, we have gathered images of nine different issued medals. While the positions of the suspension piercings are consistently placed relative to the obverse, there are three different positions with respect to the reverse. Thus the medals themselves suggest three different striking sessions, corresponding to the accounts provided by Prucha. Two medals have the hole positioned to the left of the A of PEACE. Five have the hole over the A and two have the hole to the right.

From Prucha's information related above, it is known that at least 103 small-size Madison medals were produced and that a few more were made before and after this primary delivery. Though we will not likely ever know how many more were struck, it is fairly safe to assert that it was a very small quantity, as this is the rarest of the three Madison sizes. Carl Carlson reported just six auction records in 1986. When Michael Hodder cataloged the lone specimen in the extensive John J. Ford, Jr. holdings in 2006, he was personally aware of four then "recent" auction appearances, but made no guess as to the number of medals known. The present writer is aware of 13 specimens, including two that are believed extant but not personally confirmed, and one at the Massachusetts Historical Society that is unpierced and an obvious restrike, albeit from original dies. Of these 13 medals, six are in institutional collections. This is the only one we have handled in the last decade. When we last sold it in August 2013, it realized just over $44,000, an impressive sum that speaks to the challenges of not only obtaining an example, but especially one this nice.

Ex Charles A. Wharton Collection, Stack's Bowers Galleries, August 2013, lot 1040.

Rare Third Size Madison in Bronze
Original Dies

2033

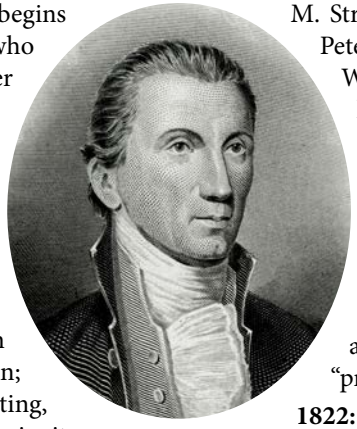
1809 James Madison Indian Peace Medal. Bronze. Third Size. First Reverse. Julian IP-7, Prucha-40. MS-65 BN (NGC). 51.0 mm. 1126.6 grains. A most attractive example of this rare medal. Light chocolate brown patina is consistent throughout. The fields are gently prooflike on both sides while the devices exhibit a slightly more satiny finish. Just a trace of friction on the vulnerable highest points and a few tiny handling marks. Struck from the original dies used to produce the silver specimens, but in a later state. There is light spalling on the reverse, most noticeable in the field beneath PEACE. However, as noted previously, there are two distinct states of this die marked by the presence of either one or two chips at the rim just below 3:00. This has only one chip and is thus the earlier state. We have only sold four examples of this medal in bronze over the last decade, including this one in 2013. It is quite rare and probably underappreciated, particularly when considering that a silver example is far out of reach for most collectors, due to availability, even if not for the expense. It is a handsome, fairly early collector strike from the U.S. Mint, probably made before the establishment of the Washington Cabinet and prior to the expansion of American collector interest in the 1850s and 1860s.

Ex David W. Dreyfuss, Bowers and Merena, April 1986, lot 5121; Presidential Coin and Antique, October 2000, lot 390; Charles A. Wharton Collection, Stack's Bowers Galleries, August 2013, lot 1041.

JAMES MONROE 1817 - 1825

Born April 28, 1758. Elected December 4, 1816.
Inaugurated March 4, 1817. Died July 4, 1831.

INDIAN-U.S. RELATIONS 1817 - 1825



1817-18: First Seminole War (1817-1818) begins (November 20) as settlers attack Florida Indians who retaliate by raiding Georgia homesteads. On December 27, 1817, Andrew Jackson takes command and pursues Indians into Florida, captures St. Marks on April 7 and Pensacola on May 24, 1818. Spain cedes East Florida to the U.S. the following year.

1819: Congress authorizes an annual sum of $10,000 for a "civilization fund" to promote "civilization" of Indians by employing "capable persons of good moral character, to instruct them in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation; and for teaching their children in reading, writing, and arithmetic." Secretary of War John C. Calhoun invites Christian missionary societies to participate.

1819-1822: Secretary of War John C. Calhoun authorizes expeditions from Detroit up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Minnesota River, where Fort Snelling is built in 1819, and up the Missouri to the Yellowstone River (which gets as far as present day Omaha where Fort Atkinson is established). In 1822 erection of Fort Brady at Sault Sainte Marie assures control of that end of the waterway. "Indian agents like Nicholas Boilvin and Joseph M. Street at Prairie du Chien, Lawrence Taliaferro at St. Peter's, Henry R. School craft at Sault Sainte Marie, and William Clark, superintendent at Saint Louis, were largely successful in convincing the Indians to turn in their British flags and medals and to accept in their place the symbols of American jurisdiction."

1819-1824: Kickapoo Indians resist their removal from the Illinois country.

1821: Treaty with the Seminole forces them to move to the center of Florida, a virtually uninhabitable area, within 20 years, in return for a subsidy and U.S. "protection."

1822: Congress abolishes the Office of Indian Trade.

1824: Cherokee becomes the first Native American language to be translated into a written form, using a syllabary of 85 characters. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is organized as part of the War Department. In his annual message to Congress (December), President Monroe states the only solution to the Indian "problem" is their removal west.

1825: Despite objections by their people, Creek leaders sign a treaty (February 12) giving up their land in Georgia and promising to migrate west the following year.

THE INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF THE MONROE PRESIDENCY

Following Monroe's inauguration as president, Superintendent of Indian Trade Thomas McKenney requested the secretary of War to have medals made bearing the new president's portrait suitable for distribution to Native Americans. His request was not acted upon, however. The following year, McKenney wrote again and again received no favorable response. McKenney's third request for new medals, in a letter drafted in May 1818, received a response and Secretary of War John Calhoun asked for details of the project. McKenney replied saying he thought 100 medals each of the three customary sizes should be sufficient for his needs and Calhoun authorized him to proceed with the undertaking. McKenney chose to work with John Vaughan, despite the latter's persnickety attention to irrelevant detail, and after some discussion about which artist to employ to take the president's portrait, settled upon Moritz Furst of Philadelphia. Furst worked quickly and had die trials ready for McKenney in January 1819. The first medals were delivered to McKenney in April 1820.

2034

1817 James Monroe Indian Peace Medal. Bronze. First Size. First Reverse. Julian IP-8, Prucha-41. Uncirculated Details—Environmental Damage (NGC). 75.5 mm. 3299.5 grains. Uniform light chocolate brown surfaces are glossy on the reliefs and generously reflective in the fields. A few tiny marks and shallow outlines of old spots from an apparent spill on the reverse have somewhat marred the surface, but the eye appeal is still fairly good overall. This is presumably struck from the original dies used to produce the very rare silver originals. In the case of the obverse, we have seen no original impression in hand to compare it with. The reverse is from the original die, the same one used on the Madison medals offered above. It is in a virtually identical die state as that seen on the bronze Madison, with spalling beneath the lower right finger of the clasped hands, at the left of the cuffed wrist, and elsewhere to lesser degree.

Though the bronze impressions from the dies are not great rarities, they are essentially the only format in which a collector is likely to be able to acquire a large-size Monroe. In the writer's study of known silver medals, only a single obviously original impression has been found in private hands, while two other possible examples are at Massachusetts Historical Society and in the Crane Collection at the Denver Museum of Nature and Science. We have not seen the Crane specimen in person, nor do we have a weight, so we mention it with some reservation. A third silver example, in the ANS, is clearly a restrike made from the replacement reverse die engraved in 1846. In fact, the large Monroe in silver might be the rarest medal in the entire series. The rarity fits the numbers believed produced and distributed. There were only 32 large-size Monroe medals struck in silver, delivered circa 1820. As of 1822, 24 of these were still on hand and it has been suggested they were likely melted. This is unclear, and we doubt that it is factual because it would be several years before the medals of the next administration were ready for distribution, but the rate of apparent survival points to a very small number of distributed medals, indeed. John Ford never acquired one and suspected that none existed.

Ex Stack's, January 2011, lot 6212.

Silver 1817 Second Size James Monroe Medal

2035

1817 James Monroe Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Second Size. Julian IP-9, Prucha-41. Very Fine. 62.9 mm. 1555.6 grains. Pierced for suspension, as typical, and in the exact same position relative to the obverse design as on all others seen. The long-term use of this medal has worn the rim somewhat thin against the piercing, but it is not compromised. The surfaces are attractive and even light gray, with some slightly deeper patina close to the rims and around the central devices. Scattered light toning spots are also seen across the obverse, which are seen on most medals once in the Dr. William Bridge Collection. Scattered small marks across both sides confirm this medal's past as one issued to a Native American recipient of some notable status among his people, and it was clearly worn proudly for many years. A few ancient scratches are noted in the obverse fields, but there is no damage otherwise that would be considered excessive or even out of character for an issued Peace medal. No collaring mark is visible on the edge.

Carl Carlson accounted for 18 auction records of silver second-size Monroes, without attempting to count individual specimens. In his cataloging of three examples in the extensive John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Michael Hodder noted that he was aware of nearly a dozen individual medals. The present writer's recent survey work has accounted for 12 examples, with only one of them remaining unconfirmed to date. Of these, four are in institutional collections. Though the Ford Collection freed up three examples, this medal is the only one we have handled in a decade without the Ford provenance. While the second-size Monroe is the most plentiful of this President's medals, opportunities to acquire one are still few and far between, as eight in private hands just isn't enough to fill collector demand. The original Mint records report that 100 of these were struck, but only 12 had been distributed by the time the Office of Indian Trade (the keeper of the medals) was closed in 1822. It was reported that the 88 remaining medals were transferred to the War Department at that time, and some have taken that to mean that those were melted. This is highly improbable given the number of medals known today, and the fact it would be the end of 1825 before the next series of medals was delivered for use in Native American diplomacy. Most likely a few more were distributed slowly, as needed, but it is also likely that a number remained unused. Some of these were probably melted, but some probably survived and ended up in collectors' hands. Of the 12 we are aware of, about half are well-preserved enough to call into some suspicion if they ever served their intended purpose.

Ex Dr. William Bridge Collection, Richard Hartzog (World Exonumia), September 1991, lot 1054; Anthony Terranova; Stack's Bowers Galleries, August 2013, lot 1043.

Rare Second Size Monroe in Bronze
With Original Reverse

2036

1817 James Monroe Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. Second Size. First Reverse. Julian IP-9, Prucha-41. MS-65 BN (NGC). 62.6 mm. 1731.5 grains. Deep mahogany bronze with slightly lighter high points and nuances of pale blue and gold in the fields. Lovely satiny surfaces and superb eye appeal. Just one small abrasion beneath the clasped hands is noted for accuracy. Struck from the original dies. The obverse shows signs of some failure that the Mint worked to smooth out, but on this sharp specimen, traces of a fine crack through the M of MONROE into the field can be detected. The original pre-1846 reverse die used here exhibits a small patch of rust or spalling between the leftmost index fingertip and the cuff and heavier patches of the same on the rim just left of the cuff and above the axe head. Impressions from this original reverse die are quite a bit rarer than those from the post-1846 reverse. Over the last decade we have offered a second-size bronze Monroe on eight occasions, but only one other medal was from the first reverse. This is by far the nicer of the two and a lovely example overall. Even John Ford did not own an example from this die.

Ex Stack's Bowers Galleries, August 2014, lot 3011.

2037

1817 James Monroe Indian Peace Medal. Bronze. Second Size. Second Reverse. Julian IP-9, Prucha-41. MS-64 BN (NGC). 62.7 mm. 1872.0 grains. A second very attractive example of this medal, but this one was struck from the post-1846 reverse die, and is easily identified by the heavier letters, closer proximity of the tomahawk head to the P of PEACE and the distinctive flat-topped As. The obverse die is once again the original one used on the silver medals, but it is in a slightly later state than seen on the medal above. Here, the series of stress fractures in the field behind the portrait and to the lower right of the bust are a bit more pronounced. The reverse is in a relatively fresher state, with just a couple of tiny areas of rust or spalling beneath the P of FRIENDSHIP and in the field below the CE of PEACE. Satiny texture and deep mahogany brown bronze with chestnut highlights. Three lines from the original collar are seen on the edge, very much like those seen on the bronze second-size James Madison offered above.

Ex Presidential Coin and Antique's 22nd Token and Medal Mini-Fixed Price List, February 2012, lot 1.

Very Rare Silver 1817 James Monroe Medal

Perhaps Only Four in Private Hands

2038

1817 James Monroe Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Third Size. Julian IP-10, Prucha-41. Choice Fine. 50.6 mm. 836.6 grains. Pierced for suspension, as typical, and positioned into the rim far enough to avoid any interference with the legends. Pleasing medium gray silver with subtle traces of pale blue and gold close to the rims. A couple of small streaks of deeper patina are noted on both sides. Scattered tiny nicks as one would expect but otherwise there is no damage worthy of mention, and even these marks are somewhat smoothed out by simple, even wear. In fact, this piece was worn by its recipient (and perhaps his heirs) for so long that the rim at the suspension hole has begun to thin to nearly a threatening degree. No collaring marks are visible on the edge.

A small reverse die chip is seen outside of the inner rim border just below the 3:00 position. This die was used to strike all of the medals of this size bearing dates 1809 through 1845, and this is the earlier of two die states we have observed. The second state has a secondary small chip just beneath the one seen here and is seen on later restrikes from this die.

According to the Mint records, just 100 examples of this medal were delivered in silver. It was reported in 1822 that all but nine were still on hand and returned to the War Department. It is fairly certain that more medals were distributed, but probably not a large number, as the small-size Monroe has long been considered one of the rarest silver issues. Carl Carlson's study of auction appearances yielded nine offerings, while Michael Hodder commented in the October 2006 Ford sale that he could "not point to one meaningful example." The present writer has determined the large-size in silver to be the rarest of this presidency, but this is not far behind and is certainly much rarer than the middle size. We are aware of only eight distinct medals and four of them are in the institutional holdings of the Gilcrease Museum, the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis, the American Numismatic Society and the Massachusetts Historical Society. The MHS specimen is unpierced, however, has a trace of die rust under PEACE and is a bit underweight when compared to others. It is almost certainly an early restrike.

Ex William Anton, Jr., November 1965; John J. Ford, Jr.; Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XVIII, May 2007, lot 78; Stack's, January 2009, lot 5095.

Very Rare Small Size Monroe in Bronze

2039

1817 James Monroe Indian Peace Medal. Bronze. Third Size. First Reverse. Julian IP-10, Prucha-41. MS-64 BN (NGC). 50.9 mm. 1111.1 grains. Beautiful rich chocolate brown bronze with just a trace of what might be best termed subtle marbling in the obverse patina. Glossy throughout with inviting reflectivity in the fields and sharp, slightly satiny devices. A couple of tiny inactive patina spots and some tiny rim impairments are noted, but easily forgiven on this rare and quite attractive medal. Struck from the original dies, the reverse is the early die state with only a single chip in the rim near 3:00. The superb surfaces of this example also show light spalling in the field beneath PEACE.

It seems that the silver Peace medals have gotten the lion's share of the attention over the years, which they certainly deserve, but this does not mean that the bronzes are less worthy examples of medallic art. The small-size Monroe Peace medals are very rare in any form, and perhaps even rarer in bronze than in silver! Carl Carlson found only five auction appearances for bronzes, compared to nine for silver medals. John Ford had only a single bronze example in his collection, but two in silver. Our own archives from the last decade suggest that we have handled just a single bronze example, this one, in our 2011 Americana Sale. While few collectors have the patience or resources necessary for a set of silver Peace medals, the series in bronze is quite collectable. However, there are challenges, to be sure, and this is one of them.

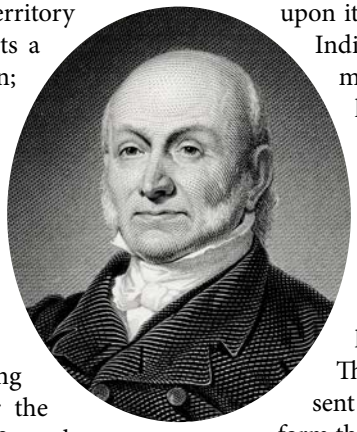
Ex Presidential Coin and Antique, May 1981, lot 376; Presidential Coin and Antique, December 2005, lot 543; Aesculapius Collection of Indian Peace Medals, Stack's, January 2011, lot 6214.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS 1825 - 1829

Born July 11, 1767. Elected December 1, 1824.
Inaugurated March 4, 1825. Died February 23, 1848

INDIAN-U.S. RELATIONS 1825 - 1829

1827: Winnebago Uprising (June) as a result of criminal acts by drunken white keelboatmen at a village above Prairie du Chien. Creek peoples cede (November 15) all remaining territory in Georgia to the U.S. The Cherokee nation adopts a constitution modeled after the U.S. Constitution; the action is rejected by the Georgia legislature. The U.S. government decides to remove all Native Americans from Illinois over the next two years. Resistance by Black Hawk and his band fails.



1828: First printing press arrives at the headquarters of the Cherokee Council in Echota, Georgia (February 21). The first Native American newspaper is printed soon thereafter.

1828-1834: Secretary of War Peter B. Porter, sensing the lack of a system of principles and rules for the administration of Indian concerns, writes in 1828 to the two men he considers best qualified to deal with Indian affairs, Governor Cass and Superintendent Clark. Cass and Clark respond enthusiastically and draw up a long report which outlines a comprehensive system for regulating affairs and establishing a well-organized Indian department.

In view of the removal of the Indians from the East, Cass proposes seven principles to govern relations with the Indians: (1) a solemn declaration that the land assigned to the Indians in the West would be theirs forever and that White settlement would never encroach upon it; (2) a determination to exclude all liquor from the Indians' territories; (3) the employment of adequate military force in the vicinity of the Indians to prevent hostility between tribes; (4) encouragement of the Indians to adopt western European notions of property ownership; (5) assistance to all who needed it for opening farms and acquiring domestic animals and agricultural implements; (6) leaving untouched as much as possible the institutions and customs of the Indians; and (7) employment of persons to instruct the Indians.

These proposals, together with a report of commissioners sent west in 1832 to examine lands for Indian settlement, form the basis for a new trade and intercourse act of June 30, 1834, which defines the Indian country as "all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi, and not within the states of Missouri and Louisiana, or the territory of Arkansas, and, also, that part of the United States east of the Mississippi river, and not within any state to which the Indian title has not been extinguished." A companion bill provides for the organization of the agents and superintendents of the Indian service.

THE INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF THE ADAMS PRESIDENCY

Shortly after Adams' inauguration in March 1824, Thomas McKenney, now head of the newly founded Bureau of Indian Affairs, requested permission of the secretary of War to have medals made bearing the portrait of the new president for presentation to Native Americans. McKenney noted that expansion west was increasing the need for such medals, particularly in the Oregon Territory where British medals were still in evidence, and in the Southwest where Spanish pieces would need to be replaced with American medals. With the Secretary's approval following soon after, McKenney engaged Moritz Furst to make the new obverse portrait dies for the three medal sizes. Furst's effort was approved for the middle size medal, but his portraits of the president on the largest and smallest were criticized as making Adams look fat and his nose too pointy and long.

After some prolonged discussion Furst was prevailed upon to try to "fix" his work, but the final product was not well liked, the president going so far as to call Furst a "wretched Medallist and a half-witted man." After some further delay caused by the failure of the largest die to harden without breaking, the Mint struck and delivered the first of the issue, ten large medals, on December 10, 1825.

Silver 1825 John Quincy Adams of the First Size

With Impressive Provenance

2040

1825 John Quincy Adams Indian Peace Medal. Silver. First Size. Julian IP-11, Prucha-42. Extremely Fine. 75.7 mm. 2411.6 grains. Pierced for suspension as typical, just above the DE of PRESIDENT, as is precisely the case on all other issued silver examples seen. Handsome light pearl gray silver throughout, though the obverse seems to have been exposed in a cabinet for a time, likely that of Captain Andrew Zabriskie. The obverse is gently mottled with pale blue and gold iridescence while the reverse exhibits just a trace of deeper gray and rose near the rims. Only a small scattering of minor nicks is immediately evident, but closer inspection reveals that much of the surface has been extensively tooled to smooth out whatever roughness had developed during the time this medal was worn. Whoever attended to the surfaces in this manner probably did so in the late 19th-century, as the toning visible in the 1909 Zabriskie catalog plate is an unmistakable match to the patterns seen on its surface today. A named Zabriskie sale catalog indicates this medal went next into the Hunter cabinet.

In the S.H. Chapman's 1920 Hunter sale, where this medal appeared, there was reprinted the text of a letter dated at Green Bay, October 9, 1899, which apparently referenced a large size John Quincy Adams medal in silver. The association of the letter with this medal seems to have been an error on the part of Chapman. The first piece of evidence is that there was no mention of background information on the medal in the Zabriskie sale, where Hunter bought it. The second piece of evidence that it referred to a different medal is that the ANS Collection includes a medal attributed to Warren C. Wyman and, previously, "the daughter of John Lowe, Green Bay, WI."

The letter was a response to an inquiry by Wyman, but the medal referenced therein was still in the hands of the daughter of John Lowe (or Lawe?) as of 1899. It is unclear where the medal went from there, but it seems that Wyman must have purchased it. Since Wyman is the provenance of the ANS specimen, and he was the direct participant in the correspondence, it is highly improbable that he erroneously attached the earlier provenance to this medal. We assume, therefore, that S.H. Chapman made the error, but how he got a copy of the letter in the first place is a mystery.

We are including the content of the letter here since S.H. Chapman did the same when this medal was sold by him in 1920. Though we doubt that this letter is in reference to the medal offered in this sale, it is all but impossible to know for sure the exact circumstances. We are confident, however, that the provenance chain given below for this medal is accurate.

Mr. Warren C. Wyman,

Chicago, Ill.

My dear Sir:—

Your letter of inquiry I received this morning. The Peace Medal I have is the same as you describe. I can give nothing of its history further than that it was given by an Indian to my Mother, who was the youngest daughter of John Lawe who figured quite prominently in the early history of these parts. The medal seems to be the only one of its kind in this vicinity and although I had set no price on it, one who calls himself a connoisseur says its value is from $50 to $75. No I am not at all anxious to sell it, but if anyone wants it at that price they can have it.

Very Respectfully yours,

(Signed) Mrs. W.T. Moger

723 Mason St., Green Bay, Wis.

P.S. John Lawe—native of York, England; his father was a Captain in the English Army and his mother an English Jewess, a sister of Jacob Franks who came to Green Bay in 1795. In 1812 was Agent of the American Fur Company at Green Bay, during the War was a lieutenant in the Indian Department under the British and he was afterwards made Associate Judge of Brown Co., Wisconsin. He died in 1846, aged 66 years. He married at 20 Theresa Rankin whose father was an Englishman and her mother a Chippewa, who wintered on the Pishtego River and was frequently at Green Bay.

As to the large John Quincy Adams medals in general, there were 95 examples struck. There seems to have been a good deal of demand for them, as Lewis Cass, Governor of the Michigan Territory, had personally requested 100 examples for distribution therein. As such, it seems that most of those struck were likely distributed. Carl Carlson identified nine auction records for these medals. Michael Hodder did not venture a guess as to the number of specimens in cataloging four of them in the John Ford sales. The writer's own recent survey of specimens has revealed 19 distinct examples, with seven in institutional collections. This piece arguably has the best provenance of them all, back to the legendary Zabriskie cabinet.

Ex Captain Andrew Zabriskie, Henry Chapman, June 1909, lot 168 (@ $28); W.H. Hunter, S.H. Chapman, December 1920, lot 99; Virgil M. Brand; F.C.C. Boyd; John J. Ford, Jr.; Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. sale, Part XVI, October 2006, lot 122.

2041

1825 John Quincy Adams Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. First Size. First Reverse. Julian IP-11, Prucha-42. MS-63 BN (NGC). 75.8 mm. 3427.6 grains. Light olive bronze with just the faintest breaks of the patina on the highest points. Satiny devices stand out nicely from the prooflike fields on both sides. Nicked in the obverse fields but still quite pleasing. Traces of soft blue iridescence add to the visual appeal. Struck from the original dies, but in later states. The obverse has cracked through the rim in two places. One is above the C in QUINCY, continuing through that letter and nearly to the bust. Another break passes right of the I in PRESIDENT and into Adams' head. The reverse exhibits small areas of spalling or rust, as other bronzes from this die, most notably beneath the clasped hands, left of the cuff near the rim, and right of the tomahawk head.

Ex Stack's Bowers Galleries, August 2013, lot 1082.

2042

1825 John Quincy Adams Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. First Size. Second Reverse. Julian IP-11, Prucha-42. MS-65 BN (NGC). 75.6 mm. 3174.5 grains. Lovely deep mahogany bronze with faint accents of blue in the fields. The beautiful patina is virtually undisturbed with none of the usual breaks on the high points from handling. The surfaces are remarkably free of impairments beyond one unfortunate rim bump on the reverse. Struck from the original obverse die with the same pair of thin die breaks seen on the medal in the previous lot. The reverse die has been replaced with the one prepared in 1846 and first used for the 1849 Zachary Taylor medals. On this piece, the reverse exhibits minor spalling in places, suggesting a slightly later use of the die. A very attractive medal overall.

Ex Stack's Bowers Galleries, September 2011, lot 93.

Rare 1825 Second Size John Quincy Adams in Silver

2043

1825 John Quincy Adams Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Second Size. Julian IP-12, Prucha-42. Extremely Fine. 62.3 mm. 1623.4 grains. Pierced for suspension as typical and once again the piercing is consistently positioned with respect to the obverse design across all issued medals observed, guaranteeing that these were pierced at the Mint. Also similar to observations on other issues, the positioning of the piercing with respect to the reverse design varies a bit. There are three such positions among the second size Adams medals, directly over the C of PEACE, left of that letter, and just slightly right. This points to three different striking sessions. There is no visible collar seam on the edge, but the collar seems to have been broken as there is an interesting raised defect along a short segment of the edge, from about 2:00 to 3:00 relative to the obverse.

Lovely dark gray patina over most of the surface is accented by soft blue iridescence and traces of gold, while some of the more vulnerable areas of the design are somewhat lighter gray. This medal is quite bold overall, with nice definition of all details and a degree of sharpness remaining at the rims. What wear is visible, however, is consistent with an awarded medal. Numerous small nicks are seen in the rims and on both sides. More serious are groups of scratches in the obverse field, which are somewhat heavy. Light graffiti is noted in the lower reverse field as well. Such marks, while frowned upon in other areas of numismatics, speak to the decidedly non-numismatic purpose and ownership of these medals. Some Peace medals come with initials or, better yet, names of recipients cut into them. No matter how crude, such treatments make for a better piece as they hold the potential of tying an individual medal to an original recipient. Those occasions are both extremely rare and extremely desirable. Though the heavier scratches on this medal could well have been someone's initials, it is impossible to know for sure. The noted reverse graffiti seems to be a date, 1895, with the digit 9 reversed from the proper orientation—perhaps an important date to someone this was passed down to. Again, we will never know, but all insights into the past owners of these prized medals are worthy of mention and, arguably, have *value*.

It is believed that a combined total of 136 second and third size medals were struck for the John Quincy Adams administration, but Prucha gives no indication of the breakdown by size. Robert Julian does, however, giving the mintage of this size as 88, and the remainder in small size medals. This fits the modern data quite well. Carl Carlson found more auction appearances of this second size (a total of six, versus three of the small size), they outnumbered the small size medals in the Ford Collection, and we are aware of more survivors of this size. The present writer has located 14 distinct examples with five of these in institutional hands, leaving just nine for collectors to compete for—precious few indeed!

Ex Sotheby's Parke-Bernet, October 1975, lot 184; Lucien LaRiviere Collection, Stack's, January 1996, lot 72.

2044

1825 John Quincy Adams Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. Second Size. Second Reverse. Julian IP-12, Prucha-42. MS-64 BN (NGC). 62.4 mm. 1905.9 grains. Deep mahogany bronze with flecks of lighter orange throughout as often seen. A bit of mellowing of the original dark patina is noted on the President's shoulder and on the highest areas of relief in the clasped hands. A gentle satin finish on both sides is consistent, though the fields do have a very slightly different sheen than the reliefs. A couple of trivial marks are noted and a tiny spot is seen on the rim. Struck from the second reverse deemed necessary as of 1846, and prepared in time to strike the silver Zachary Taylor medals in 1849. A couple of faint lint marks are noted on the obverse, while a couple of tiny spalling lumps are seen on the reverse, one just right of the P of FRIENDSHIP and another over the upper right corner of the sleeve cuff. Beautifully made with a nice wire rim and excellent eye appeal.

Ex Presidential Coin and Antique's 22nd Token and Medal Mini-Fixed Price List, February 2012, lot 2.

Very Rare Silver John Quincy Adams
Small Size

2045

1825 John Quincy Adams Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Third Size. Julian IP-13, Prucha-42. Very Fine. 50.8 mm. 1052.8 grains. Neatly pierced for suspension. Deep gray patina over most of the surface while the higher points are all quite a bit lighter. Somewhat worn on the high points with a scattering of small nicks. Under close inspection, the fields are revealed to have been gently smoothed, while the more protected recesses are microgranular. A few mild scratches on both sides and a small rim nick at the lower right reverse.

When Michael Hodder described this piece in Ford Part XVIII (lot 87), he proposed it to be a restrike and noted a trace of die rust in the reverse field beneath PEACE. This can indeed be detected, but very close study is required as most of what was likely present has been lost. A trace of a die line through the R of FRIENDSHIP is easier to see and matches that on the bronze example in the next lot. One marked difference between these two medals, however, guarantees that this piece is a restrike as it is a later impression from the dies than the bronze in the next lot. This piece is from the later of two observed die states for this small-size reverse. There are two small die chips within the rim border just below 3:00.

A small-size John Quincy Adams in silver is very rare, and Hodder further proposed that perhaps all surviving examples might be restrikes as both examples in the Ford Collection turned out to be. According to Robert Julian, just 48 were originally struck. We are aware of eight different examples in silver, and interestingly the two Ford specimens are heavier than the other four for which we have weights. Of the eight we are aware of, we have determined that three of them are definitely early die state pieces and probable originals. Two of these are in the collection of the ANS. We have good images of the third, but don't know where it resides today. In any case, silver small-size examples from these dies are rare in any format. Of the eight we know about, at least five are in institutional holdings.

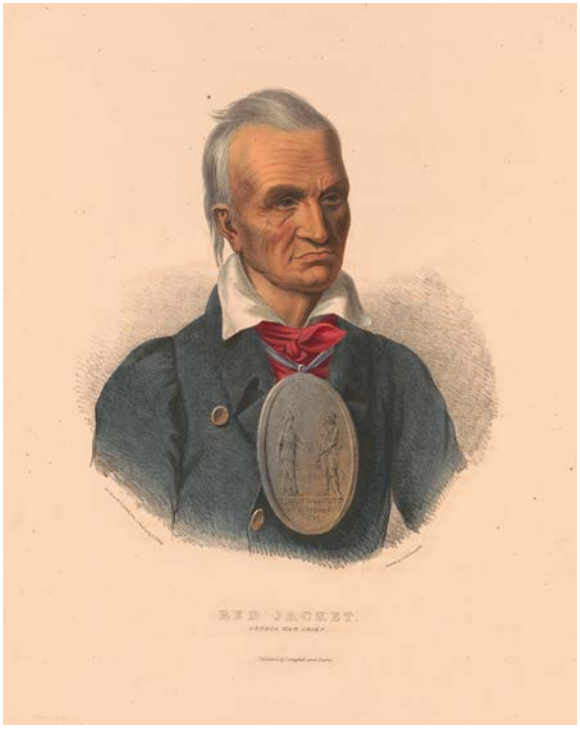
Ex Wayte Raymond Estate; John J. Ford, Jr., Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XXVIII, May 2007, lot 87.

Small Size Bronze John Quincy Adams
An Under Appreciated Rarity

2046

1825 John Quincy Adams Indian Peace Medal. Bronze. Third Size. First Reverse. Julian IP-13, Prucha-42. MS-63 BN (NGC). 51.1 mm. 970.7 grains. Gently mottled chestnut and deep mahogany bronze. A fine satin finish, yet slightly prooflike on the reverse. A few tiny marks and a couple of ancient verdigris spots nestled into the President's bust. A gentle rim bump is also noted just left of the truncation. Struck from the original dies and from an earlier state of the dies than seen on the silver piece offered previously. The John Quincy Adams medal in this size is very rare in any format. Collectors expect the silver Peace medals to be rare, and likewise assume the bronzes sold by the Mint to be fairly available, easy marks if one should decide to acquire them. However, this is not always the case and this particular medal is one that is very tough. Carl Carlson found just four auction records for a small-size John Quincy Adams in bronze without noting the number of different specimens. For silver examples, he found just three records which is an illustrative comparison. While the present writer has not endeavored to do census work on bronzes, it is notable that the Ford Collection included just one and we have sold only one other example over the last decade. The most recent one to appear in our sales was this very piece, back in 2011.

Ex Presidential Coin and Antique, December 2005, lot 544; Aesculapius Collection of Indian Peace Medals, Stack's, January 2011, lot 6217.



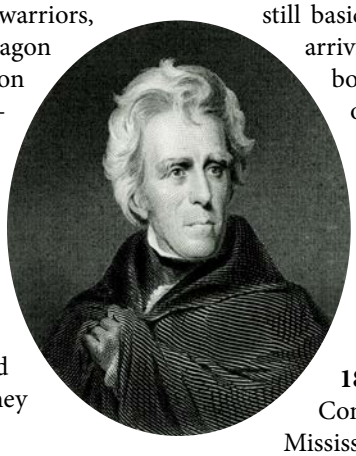
Red Jacket wearing coat and large medallion that shows him meeting George Washington in 1792.
(By Corbould from a painting by C.B. King • Library of Congress)

ANDREW JACKSON 1829 - 1837

Born March 15, 1767. Elected December 3, 1828.
Inaugurated March 4, 1829. Died June 8, 1845.

INDIAN-U.S. RELATIONS 1829 - 1837

1829-1849: The United States Army had an encounter with the Comanches as early as 1829, during Major Bennett Riley's reconnaissance of the Santa Fe Trail. Comanche warriors, along with some Kiowa allies, attacked Riley's wagon train and killed one soldier. Such attacks were common throughout the period, as more and more Anglo-Americans ventured into Comanche territory. The principal function of the Texas Rangers – from their formation during the Texas Revolution from Mexican rule in 1835, through the Republic of Texas period, and after American annexation in 1845 until 1875 – was to contain the Comanches. In most early encounters, the Indians had the upper hand, as in 1837, when the Texas Rangers found themselves suddenly attacked by the very warriors they were pursuing and lost half their outfit.



The next year, in the Council House Affair, the Rangers managed to kill 35 of their nemeses, but not in the field. The Rangers seized as hostages a number of chiefs who had come to San Antonio to parley, in order to force the release of whites held by the Indians. After the resulting fight and Comanche loss of life, warriors swept down from their homeland north of the Red River along the Guadalupe Valley, all the way to the Gulf of Mexico, under Chief Buffalo Hump. Linnville was attacked and two dozen settlers who didn't reach their boats in time were killed; Victoria was burned. The Rangers ambushed the Indians on their return northward at Plum Creek, near Lockhart, and managed to kill some more warriors, but their breaking the truce at the Council House had proven much more costly to whites than Indians.

The tide began to turn somewhat after 1840, when John Coffee Hays joined the Texas Rangers. He not only improved discipline and morale, but also armed his men with Walker Colt six-shooters instead of single-shot guns. During the Battle of Bandera Pass in 1841, the Indians came up against the "new Rangers" and were repelled. But the contest between the Indians and whites was still basically a standoff, although more white settlers were arriving all the time. In 1848, Texas officials defined a boundary between the two groups, with Texas Rangers ordered to apprehend trespassers from both sides, but to no effect. Both groups violated the line. Army regulars moved in to help prevent Indian raids and, from 1849 to 1852, erected a chain of seven forts, from the Red River to the Rio Grande.

1830: In the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek the Choctaw nation surrenders its land in Mississippi in exchange for land west of Arkansas.

1830-39: The Indian Removal Act is passed by Congress in 1830 (May 28). Indians living east of the Mississippi River are to move to the Oklahoma Territory and land west of the river in return for a monetary payment. The Cherokee nation sues the government to quash the act and wins its case before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1832. President Jackson ignores the Court and over the next seven years the "Five Civilized Tribes" of the southeast (Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole) are forcibly relocated. The Cherokee walk their Trail of Tears 1838-1839.

1831-42: Sauk, Chicaksaw, Choctaw, and Creek nations cede their lands east of the Mississippi and under varying conditions relocate west. The Sauk return to their old lands and in 1832 the Black Hawk War begins, ending in a massacre by whites at Bad Axe (Wisconsin). White impatience at the pace of relocation leads to Creek resistance in the Creek War (1836). Seminole resistance to land cessions leads to war in Florida with federal troops (Second Seminole War 1835-42) and the near extinction of the Seminole people. War leader Osceola is taken prisoner in 1837, while negotiating under a flag of truce, and dies in prison the following year.

THE INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF THE JACKSON PRESIDENCY

Immediately following Andrew Jackson's inauguration in March 1829, Thomas McKenney, who continued as head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, wrote to the newly appointed secretary of War requesting permission to engage Moritz Furst to design and engrave the new portrait dies for the Indian medals. McKenney asked for 100 of each of the three sizes, as he had for the Adams and Monroe medals previously. Secretary Eaton did not reply to McKenney's letter, nor to the one that followed in December 1829. When McKenney was removed as chief of the bureau in the fall of 1830, nothing had yet been done about new medals for Indians. A new head of the bureau undertook to pursue the matter of the medals and enlisted Furst and the Mint to undertake the tasks of engraving the dies and striking the medals. By June 1831, the dies had been finished and sent to the Mint, but it was not until February of the following year that the first medals intended for distribution were shipped by the Mint.

Impressive Large Size Jackson in Silver

2047

1829 Andrew Jackson Indian Peace Medal. Silver. First Size. Julian IP-14, Prucha-43. About Uncirculated. 75.6 mm. 2256.2 grains. Pierced for suspension with what is likely a replacement loop that appears to be copper, but in the proper style of the originals. Deep silver gray on the obverse with strong mottled overtones of gold, rose and blue throughout the slightly reflective fields. The reverse is similarly toned, but with less gold and a bit more pale blue. A few light nicks and scattered hairlines suggest this piece was probably presented but not worn long. Some wear and distortion in the suspension piercing also suggest an issued medal. This is a particularly well-preserved and handsome example of this impressive large Jackson, seemingly every bit as nice as the best of the issued medals in the Ford Collection.

Very shortly after the Inauguration of Andrew Jackson, the person in charge of the Indian Office, Thomas L. McKenney, initiated the process for procuring the Peace medals of the Jackson administration. He could hardly have acted sooner, and yet the entire business is another that was plagued by delays of various sorts, from inaction to illness, that pushed the final date of completion and delivery well into 1832. According to Prucha and Julian, 87 medals were struck of this size for distribution and it is likely that most were presented, considering the long backlog and number of promises being actively made to chiefs that medals would be forthcoming. Of those struck, perhaps 25% still survive. Carl Carlson had found only 11 auction records. The John Ford Collection contained a substantial five examples but no guess was ventured in their auction descriptions as to how many might survive. The present writer's research has uncovered no more than 20 distinct specimens, but this includes pieces not examined directly and a couple for which only poor images have been found. It also includes the unusually heavy and unpierced specimen from the Ford holdings. Of these 20 medals, fully half are in institutional holdings. This beautiful medal seems to have made its first auction appearance in our January 2013 sale where it realized $58,750, nearly twice the highest realization of the best large-size Jackson from Ford.

Ex Stack's Bowers Galleries, January 2013, lot 10111.

2048

1829 Andrew Jackson Indian Peace Medal. Bronze. First Size. Second Reverse. Julian IP-14, Prucha-43. MS-64 BN (NGC). 75.8 mm. 2770.2 grains. Attractive light chocolate and olive brown with tiny flecks of lighter copper throughout and subtle overtones of rose and pale blue. Invitingly prooflike through the fields with a fine satin finish on the devices that creates a slight but pleasing visual contrast. Some scattered marks in the fragile and broad fields, and a bit of superficial spotting at Jackson's truncation. Struck from the second reverse, prepared in 1846, as are all of the specimens in bronze in our online archives. Slight evidence of double striking on this side. Attractive overall.

Ex Stack's Bowers Galleries, August 2014, lot 3013.

Native American women and children fleeing during Black Hawk's defeat at the Battle of Bad Axe, which ended the Black Hawk War.

Choice 1829 Medium Size Jackson Medal

The Rarest Size in Silver

2049

1829 Andrew Jackson Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Second Size. Julian IP-15, Prucha-43. Very Fine. 62.4 mm. 1446.1 grains. Pierced for suspension as on all seen. Attractive deep gray toning over most of the surface with some faint brown undertones, nuances of pale blue and areas of lighter gray near the centers. Glossy with a fairly smooth appearance for an issued Peace medal upon first inspection, but closer study reveals the usual myriad light nicks and marks rather evenly distributed over both sides. A couple of small edge nicks are noted, but these are barely visible at all unless one studies the edge itself. Most of the nicks seem to have been laid down early, and the medal worn in a more gentle fashion for some time thereafter, as much of the roughness has naturally softened with wear. For the grade, the eye appeal is superb.

According to Prucha, just 58 second-size Jackson medals were struck. Robert Julian gives the figure as 92, which is larger than either the large or small versions but this seems unlikely since this size is the rarest today. That said, it is possible that the mintages given by Julian are correct, but that the numbers actually distributed were different than what was minted and that a large remainder of the medium-sized medals were simply melted. This is unlikely to ever be known, but the rarity of this medal today is what is most significant. Carl Carlson found only three auction records for silver examples, once again without notes on different specimens. Two appeared in the Ford sales (including this one), but no estimate of the number of survivors was given in those catalogs, just that these are "very rare." The present writer is aware of 10 specimens, two of which are in the collection of the ANS, and another is at the Massachusetts Historical Society, leaving just seven for collectors.

Ex Wayte Raymond Estate; John J. Ford, Jr.; Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XVIII, May 2007, lot 93; Stack's, January 2009, lot 5103.

2050

1829 Andrew Jackson Indian Peace Medal. Bronze. Second Size. First Reverse. Julian IP-15, Prucha-43. MS-65 BN (NGC). 62.4 mm. 1750.4 grains. Deep mahogany bronze with soft gold and pale blue accents in the fields. Satiny, lustrous and very attractive overall with traces of handling but no marks worthy of specific mention. Struck by the original dies used on the silver piece above. On the obverse, the die state is later, with crumbling at the inner rim near 1:00. The dies are certainly the same, however, as a small failure at the T in UNITED is easily seen on both medals. The reverse die, again, is the original that was in use through 1846. A trace of spalling is noted around the leftmost index finger point, on the rim left of the cuff and above the tomahawk head.

While bronze impressions are certainly more common, they are much more frequently seen from the second reverse die, cut in 1846. The Ford specimen was from the second reverse. This is a choice and very desirable specimen from these early dies.

Ex Stack's Bowers Galleries, August 2014, lot 3014.

Lovingly Worn 1829 Small Size Jackson in Silver

2051

1829 Andrew Jackson Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Third Size. Julian IP-16, Prucha-43. Very Good. 50.9 mm. 799.4 grains. This is one of the most well-worn Indian Peace medals we have handled, and it has undeniable charm, as such. Pierced for suspension as issued, but when that hole became dangerously thinned at the rim, it was plugged and a secondary hole was drilled. That hole is now also worn nearly through, with the rim over it little more than a narrow bridge. A replacement iron double loop has been attached and a fine red silk ribbon is still associated with the piece. It seems to have been this very type of ribbon that these were originally presented on, as it looks like what is seen in late 19th-century photographs. However, while old, it is not likely the original ribbon as it would not have withstood the wear this medal has seen.

The surfaces are polished to light silver gray with just a trace of light patina at the rims and finely outlining the devices. There is evidence of many tiny nicks, but the overall appearance is quite smooth. On the reverse, a single small die chip is seen outside of the inner rim border just below the 3:00 position, the identifier of the earlier of two die states observed. This die was used to strike all of the medals of this size bearing dates 1809 through 1845.

Carl Carlson found just four auction records for a small-size Jackson in silver (and notably, only three in bronze). The Ford sales would add six more, including at least one that was a later restrike in silver. While this suggests that the medals might be *common*, it seems more likely that fortune simply landed an unusual number of the few survivors in one collector's hands. The present writer has identified 18 specimens, three of which are in institutional collections. At least one of these, and probably a few, are restrikes from a later state of the reverse die. One, at the Massachusetts Historical Society, is unpierced.

The recipients of these medals held them in high regard and wore them with pride for the sense of respect they were taken to convey. While the unfolding of history would eventually tell a different tale, at the time the medals were distributed, they were prized. They were displayed and frequently passed to heirs as treasured heirlooms and symbols of the social status of the recipients. That status was probably given freely within the confines of the native social group. But, but for potentially hostile outsiders who didn't necessarily fully understand the customs of any given native group to recognize one's status, the marker of such respect was undoubtedly compounded in significance. This medal tells a story of someone who took great pride indeed in whatever this medal meant at the time of its presentation. It seems to have been worn by more than one generation, a trinket passed down that carried with it the gravitas of greatness.

Ex John Sanderson du Mont Collection, Little John's Auction Service, January 2008, lot 182.

2052

1829 Andrew Jackson Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. Third Size. First Reverse. Julian IP-16, Prucha-43. MS-61 BN (NGC). 51.0 mm. 976.9 grains. Light mahogany brown with chestnut highlights on the reliefs. Glossy with just a trace of prooflike character in the fields. A few scattered marks, one tiny spot of verdigris on the reverse rim near 9:00, and gentle oxidation on the rim over the pipe bowl. Struck from the original dies. The reverse has a trace of light spalling in the upper field, but is the earlier die state with only a single chip in the rim at 3:00. As noted in the previous description, Carl Carlson found only three auction records for a small-size Jackson in bronze. Unlike for the silver examples, the Ford Collection did not reveal a virtual windfall of specimens. In fact, he had only a single piece. Indeed, over the past decade, we have sold a bronze from these dies only four times, and one was the previous offering of this medal. Bronzes are quite a bit rarer than one might think.

Ex Coin Galleries, November 1991, lot 2384; Stack's Bowers Galleries, January 2012, lot 6058.

MARTIN VAN BUREN 1837 - 1841

Born December 5, 1782. Elected December 7, 1836.
Inaugurated March 4, 1837. Died July 24, 1862.

INDIAN-U.S. RELATIONS 1837 - 1841

1840: Approximately 40,000 Indians from the "Five Civilized Tribes" are now resettled in Indiana Territory. Most are organized into self-governing republics modeled after the federal government, each with its own constitution and legal system.

THE INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF THE VAN BUREN PRESIDENCY

In contrast to the delays incurred in striking the Jackson medals, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the secretary of War, and the Mint all cooperated in making the production of the Van Buren medals a model of speed and efficiency. Only five months elapsed from the initial order in April 1837 to the delivery of the first medals on September 20 By the end of the following month the entire order had been struck. Once again, Moritz Furst did the presidential portrait and engraved the dies.

Wolf Robe, a Southern Cheyenne chief, wearing a round silver Benjamin Harrison peace medal. (Photograph by the Gerhard Sisters, taken during the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, Missouri • Library of Congress)

Impressive Large Size Silver Martin Van Buren

2053

1837 Martin Van Buren Indian Peace Medal. Silver. First Size. Julian IP-17, Prucha-44. About Uncirculated. 75.4 mm. 2317.2 grains. Pierced for suspension as typical. Very attractive light gray surfaces with deeper patina through the legends and thinly outlining the motifs. Hairlined from an ancient cleaning, but soft champagne and pale blue toning has long since returned to the fields. The eye appeal is really very nice as the darker patina in the recesses accentuates the sharpness that remains through the design features. Particularly notable are the fine lines of Van Buren's hair and the definition in the fur wrap around his truncation. Large Van Buren medals are quite often found sharp, but these make for specimens that best showcase the engraver's art and arguably appeal to a broader field of collectors accustomed to nice preservation where medals are concerned. Though this is a sharp one, there is still evidence that it was presented, in the form of numerous small nicks and abrasions. A few scratches are noted in and around the clasped hands. One blunt rim bump is seen at 3:00, relative to the obverse.

The production of the Van Buren medals was much more efficient than for earlier issues, and work commenced in 1837, with the first order being complete and delivered in that year. The supply of large medals was exhausted and a second order was requested, with the final shipment sent in January 1839. In total 106 large-size Van Buren medals were struck and we know that at least the first order of 56 was completely distributed. We know of no records that any were returned, so we assume that 106 was the final tally of those distributed. With a single exception, the piercings are very consistently placed relative to the obverse on the medals we have seen, but there are two distinct positions of the holes among these relative to the reverse, suggesting two separate striking sessions. The reverse piercing position is either just to the upper right of the A of PEACE or about mid-way between the A and C.

We have accounted for 15 distinct specimens, with the report of one more that we have not seen. This includes one with an unusually high weight reported, calling it into question, and another with a wildly different piercing position that we find highly suspicious. We have not examined either piece directly. Carl Carlson had identified 10 auction appearances for a silver large-size Van Buren, and the same for bronzes, though none of the latter is included in this collection.

Ex Alan V. Weinberg, July 1975; John J. Ford, Jr.; Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XVIII, May 2007, lot 100.

Medium Size Silver 1837 Van Buren

The Rarest Size

2054

1837 Martin Van Buren Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Second Size. Julian IP-18, Prucha-44. Very Fine. 62.4 mm. 1474.1 grains. Pierced for suspension as typical, but later crudely and incompletely plugged. Relatively deep slate toning over both sides with soft accents of rose and blue when turned in the light. Some lighter areas are seen on the higher points of the motifs. As noted in our last offering of this medal, in 2016, the degree of wear on this piece is essentially ideal, with a scattering of tiny marks, a couple of short scratches and one small dent in the right field, but none of these could be considered severe or even bothersome. In fact, much of what is noted in terms of surface imperfections has been largely smoothed out by wear. The suspension piercing shows obvious wear and it might be that the plug is the remnant of a later hanger addition that is now lost. Whatever the case, the filling is clearly ancient and only adds to the undoubtedly interesting story this medal will likely keep secret forever.

Though 112 of the second-size Van Buren medals are believed to have been struck (the highest mintage of the three sizes by just three pieces), this size has proven the rarest of the three in the writer's survey of specimens by a small margin. Carl Carlson found 12 auction appearances of this size in silver, yet the Ford Collection remarkably yielded only a single example. When Ford's was cataloged, Michael Hodder commented that he knew of only four specimens. We are aware of nine specimens, though we have not seen an image of one of them, so it is a tentative entry. Of the nine, four are in institutional collections which leaves very few for collectors. This example was in a museum until our March 2016 sale, and has thus slightly improved the chances for collectors to capture one.

Ex John Charles Woodbury (1859-1937); Collections of the Strong, Rochester, New York, sold to benefit the museum's collections fund; Stack's Bowers Galleries, March 2016, lot 12011.

2055

1837 Martin Van Buren Indian Peace Medal. Bronze. Second Size. First Reverse. Julian IP-18, Prucha-44. MS-66 BN (NGC). 62.4 mm. 2194.5 grains. A superb example of this medal in bronze, one of the finest we recall having handled and with a desirable provenance. The surfaces are rich chocolate brown with traces of mahogany and light golden olive. Soft violet and blue overtones are noted in the smooth, prooflike fields. The rims are sharp and unmarred. There is only one tiny obverse mark and an extremely minor fingerprint on the reverse. The sole patina break is on the highest knuckle of the clasped hands, while the obverse is pristine in this respect. Exceptional eye appeal. Struck from the original dies. The obverse die has developed two tiny flaws, one just above the back of Van Buren's shoulder, and the other near the R of his name. The reverse exhibits a trace of spalling around the left index finger point, and on the rim in two places, left of the cuff and over the tomahawk head. Carl Carlson found fewer auction appearances for bronzes of this size than he did silver strikes. Ford had one example but it, like more than half of the few we have seen in the last decade, were from the 1846 reverse die. Considering the scarcer die pair and the overall quality, this might actually be the most desirable specimen.

Ex David W. Dreyfuss, Bowers and Merena, April 1986, lot 5142; Presidential Coin and Antique, October 2000, lot 398; Charles A. Wharton Collection, Stack's Bowers Galleries, August 2013, lot 1047.

Rare Small Size Silver Van Buren Medal

2056

1837 Martin Van Buren Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Third Size. Julian IP-19. Prucha-44. Very Fine. 50.9 mm. 772.9 grains. Pierced for suspension as usual, with the hole fairly well worn and the rim above starting to thin somewhat. Soft blue and champagne toning over deep steel gray surfaces that are just a bit lighter on the high points, Scattered nicks and marks as expected for an awarded and worn Peace medal. A couple of heavier digs are noted left of the portrait and at the right wrist on the reverse. These marks seem to correspond to a very gentle bend in the flan. Small rim nicks are also noted. Though this has certainly seen some use and there is some resulting softness on the details in the highest relief, traces of reflectivity remain in the fields and the eye appeal is quite satisfying.

Struck from the early state of the reverse die with a small die chip outside of the inner rim border just below the 3:00 position. This die was used to strike all of the medals of this size bearing dates 1809 through 1845 and would eventually develop a secondary break beneath the one just described.

Carl Carlson recorded only five auction records for this size, the smallest number of appearances for the three sizes in silver. John Ford owned three small-size Van Burens in silver, compared to two of the medium size and four of the largest size. The Ford appearances correspond to what the writer has found in his survey of surviving specimens. A dozen specimens have been accounted for, one of which is suspected but not confirmed by an image. Three of these are in institutional collections at the ANS, Colonial Williamsburg and the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis. This medal has a nice provenance back to the David Dreyfuss Collection sold in 1986, the first major offering of Indian Peace medals since the 1981 Garrett sale seemingly invigorated interest in this series.

Ex David W. Dreyfuss, Bowers and Merena, April 1986, lot 5144; Stack's, September 2005, lot 208.

Rare Bronzed Third Size 1837 Van Buren Medal

2057

1837 Martin Van Buren Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. Third Size. First Reverse. Julian IP-19. Prucha-44. MS-64 BN (NGC). 51.1 mm. 966.1 grains. Very attractive deep mahogany bronze surfaces with gentle mellowing of the patina on the highest points of Van Buren's shoulder and of the clasped hands on the reverse. Pleasing satiny luster. Aside from some superficial surface deposits in the protected areas, there are no imperfections worthy of mention. Struck from the original dies with the reverse in the early die state with just a single chip in the rim at 3:00.

This is another underappreciated rarity among the bronze impressions of this series. Carl Carlson found only five auction records for bronze Van Burens of this size, half of what he recorded for both the large and medium-sized medals. In the last decade, we have only handled two examples, including this one. Both medals are from the first reverse die, but this is by far the nicest of the two and carries a desirable provenance as well. The Ford Collection contained another example, but it had been lacquered. The Heritage archives include two specimens, both lower grade and one group-lotted. The present specimen is likely one of the finest of very few known.

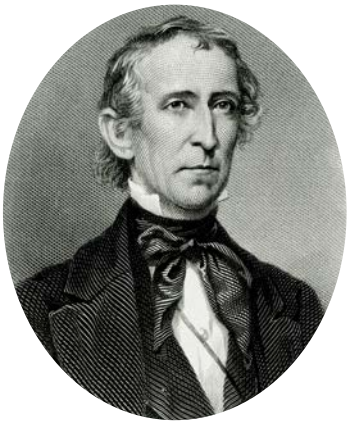
Ex David W. Dreyfuss, Bowers and Merena, April 1986, lot 5145; Presidential Coin and Antique, December 1990, lot 49; Stack's Bowers Galleries, January 2012, lot 6059; Stack's Bowers Galleries, March 2017, lot 38.

JOHN TYLER 1841 - 1845

Born March 29, 1790.
Elected vice president December 2, 1840.
Succeeded April 4, 1841. Died January 18, 1862.

INDIAN-U.S. RELATIONS 1841 - 1845

1844: The first issues of the newspaper *Cherokee Advocate* are published in Oklahoma. Federal troops confiscate the press.



THE INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF THE TYLER PRESIDENCY

In a breach of earlier precedent, the Mint opened discussions about the new president's Indian medals directly with the secretary of War late in 1841. Mint Director Robert M. Patterson received authorization to proceed in October of that year. Patterson decided to initiate a new way of making the dies for the medals. Rather than employing an artist like Furst to cut dies, a single wax or plaster portrait model was created and by using a reduction machine dies could be taken off it in whatever size might be wanted. The cost savings were considerable and the identical designs across the three medal sizes appealed to the mid-century love of order and uniformity.

By the summer of the following year, Congress had passed an appropriation for the Tyler medals, but the legislative action seems to have woken up the Bureau of Indian Affairs which, noting its circumvention, decided to enter the process at this point. Chief of Bureau T. Hartley Crawford wrote in pique to Director Patterson, reminding him of his bureau's traditional role in making Indian medals. Patterson seems to have taken offense, for despite having received the appropriated money by November, the Mint still had not struck any of the new medals. Crawford demanded action and Patterson got over his injury quite rapidly as a result. In December the first of the Tyler medals was delivered to the secretary of War, and by the middle of January 1843, the complete order had been struck.

Extremely Rare Bronze 1841 John Tyler Medal

Large Size with First Reverse

2058

1841 John Tyler Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. First Size. First Reverse. Julian IP-21, Prucha-45. MS-64 BN (NGC). 75.7 mm. 3490.9 grains. A lovely specimen with light reddish caramel bronze surfaces highlighted by just a trace of pale blue iridescence. A couple of trivial marks and tiny spots may be seen under magnification, but none is distracting. One tiny obverse rim bump is noted over the E of TYLER. Generously prooflike in the fields and just all-around very handsome. With this obverse returns a tiny circular guide mark for piercing the issued medals, above and to the right of the T of PRESIDENT. This piece was struck three times to bring up the relief. This is a superb and seemingly important medal.

The bronze large-size Tyler struck from the first reverse is extremely rare. In fact, it has been nearly six years since we handled one, and it was this piece, which last appeared in our August 2014 sale. Going back further, we have examined every offering in our online archives back to 2008, and there has not been a single additional offering of a first reverse Tyler. Two of them are to be found in the ANS Collection, but this is little more than a technical point and has no bearing on what is actually available to collectors. John Ford had three bronze Tylers, and all were from the second reverse. There is none in the Heritage archives, and even the Dreyfuss and Schenkel collections included only second reverse medals. While we have admittedly not made notes on the offerings of these over the years, it is clear that this piece is a great rarity and an important opportunity for any advanced collector of Peace medals.

Ex Stack's Bowers Galleries, August 2014, lot 3016.

Bronze 1841 Second Reverse Tyler Medal

2059

1841 John Tyler Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. First Size. Second Reverse. Julian IP-21, Prucha-45. MS-65 BN (NGC). 75.8 mm. 3757.8 grains. Light milk chocolate brown with soft rose, green and blue overtones in the prooflike fields. No serious marks, although there are some very faint hairlines detectable under magnification. Struck from the original obverse and second reverse, the usually seen dies for this issue in bronze. These appear for sale with some frequency, but considering the great rarity of this medal in silver, these are virtually necessary acquisitions for most Peace medal collectors to represent the type. The writer knows of perhaps as many as seven originals in silver, with four of those in institutional holdings.

Ex David W. Dreyfuss, Bowers and Merena, April 1986; Heritage, December 2012, lot 38050.

Extremely Rare 1841 John Tyler in Silver
The Second Size

2060

1841 John Tyler Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Second Size. Julian IP-22, Prucha-45. Extremely Fine. 62.3 mm. 1554.4 grains. Pierced for suspension as typical, with all piercings consistently positioned on the medals observed by us, both with respect to the obverse and reverse designs. Mostly deep gray silver with lighter gray high points that serve to accentuate the design features a bit. Soft blue iridescence in the fields on both sides. Another very handsome medal, this combining the desirable attributes of quality and clear evidence of having been issued and worn. Numerous small nicks are seen, as are small rim bumps, the largest being over THE on the obverse and an ideal identifier of this specimen. Initials are lightly and somewhat crudely cut into the right obverse field and appear to be "HSD" or "HSB." While elsewhere in numismatics "graffiti" of this nature is seen as a negative, on Peace medals it may allude to a past owner and perhaps the original recipient. As such, it is the writer's most favored type of "impairment" to discover on one of these medals. Even when it can't possibly lead to the identity of a specific human hand, it speaks to a degree of pride in ownership. These were never intended to be protected in cabinets of collectors and as such the signs that they were valued during their periods of use are different what might be used by numismatists.

The medals for John Tyler mark a change in the production methods for the Peace medal dies. Instead of hiring die-sinkers to engrave the dies directly, the Mint elected to use its new portrait lathe to cut the dies from a prepared model. This saved both time and expense. Between December 1842 and January 1843, the entire order of John Tyler medals in silver was delivered. This is reported to have been 60 in large-size and 100 each in the medium and small-size medals. It remains unknown how many of the medals were actually distributed, but, according to Prucha, more than 40% of the original mintage, by weight, was returned to the Mint and melted for use in making the James Polk medals. From the writer's survey of specimens, it seems that the medals may have been distributed in roughly equal numbers, as those located today are roughly the same in number for each size. Of this size, seven distinct medals have been accounted for, with three in the collections of the ANS, the Gilcrease Museum and the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis.

Ex F.C.C. Boyd Estate; John J. Ford, Jr.; Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XVIII, May 2007, lot 111; Stack's, January 2008, lot 7142.

Very Rare Third Size 1841 John Tyler in Silver

2061

1841 John Tyler Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Third Size. Julian IP-23, Prucha-45. Very Fine, or so. 50.9 mm. 887.4 grains. Pierced for suspension as usual, but reinforced by way of insertion of a short tubiform piece of silver to strengthen the hole which had become severely worn. The edge is bulged slightly at this point. It is obvious that the medal was further worn after the reinforcement so it is clear this was done by or on behalf of someone who wore it, not in an attempt to improve it for a collector. Mostly medium to light gray with somewhat deeper patina in the recesses and outlining the rim and design features. Myriad small marks are consistent with a long-used Peace medal, yet the continued wear has largely smoothed these. There are no serious marks worthy of individual mention save perhaps for a small obverse rim bump at 9:00.

A single small die chip is seen outside of inner rim border just below the 3:00 position, this being the marker for the earlier state of this die.

In Carl Carlson's survey of auction appearances he found just three offerings of a small-size Tyler, the same number he found for the largest size. When Michael Hodder wrote the Ford sales, he commented that he was aware of only two prior auction appearances (not including the two medals in Ford). One was this piece and the other the Senter sale specimen, which he identified as the one at ANS. In fact, those are not the same medals. The one at ANS was gifted by Edward D. Adams, who died two years prior to the Senter sale. Wayte Raymond was the buyer in Senter, so it is quite likely that Senter's piece was the one sold in Ford XVI (lot 138) with "Wayte Raymond Estate" as the provenance. The present writer's own work has located eight distinct specimens, one of which has not been seen, but is almost certainly at the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial. Two others among the eight are the aforementioned ANS specimen and one at Colonial Williamsburg. As mentioned above, it is believed that 100 small-size Tylers were struck and that a significant portion remained unawarded and was returned for melting. It seems that the number of Tyler medals extant across all three sizes is about equal, making all of them significant rarities.

Ex Presidential Coin and Antique, July 1993, lot 273; Stack's, January 2003, lot 1517; Stack's, May 2008, lot 541.

Very Rare Small Size Tyler in Bronze

2062

1841 John Tyler Indian Peace Medal. Bronze. Third Size. First Reverse. Julian IP-23, Prucha-45. MS-67 BN (NGC). 50.8 mm. 1111.1 grains. Very attractive chocolate and olive brown with nuances of pale blue mottling in the fields. A trivial rim bump is over the J of JOHN, but otherwise we find not a single mark worthy of mention and there are no patina breaks, either. Prooflike, with crisp detail, sharp rims and just about anything one could hope for.

Struck from the original dies, the reverse being in the earlier die state with a single chip inside the right rim, near 3:00, as are all specimens we have seen. Minor spalling in the upper reverse field.

This is another under-appreciated rarity among the bronze Indian Peace medals. Carl Carlson found just six auction records for this issue in bronze. In our archives going back a dozen years there is only a single appearance of an example of this medal. Likewise, only one example appears in the Heritage archives and there was but a sole example in the extensive John J. Ford, Jr. Collection. Each of these medals is from the first reverse, and each seems to be a different specimen. Judging from the available images, this must be the finest among them. We are aware of one more example, at the ANS, but these are clearly very rare.

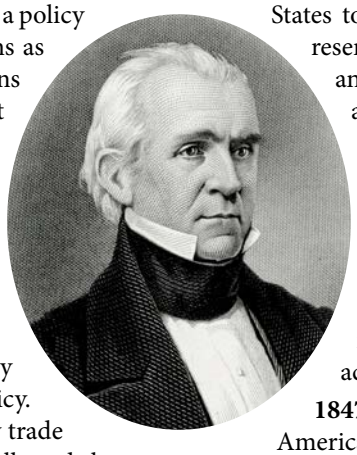
Ex Presidential Coin and Antique's 22nd Token and Medal Mini-Fixed Price List, February 2012, lot 6.

JAMES POLK 1845 - 1849

Born November 2, 1795. Elected December 4, 1844.
Inaugurated March 4, 1845. Died June 15, 1849.

INDIAN-U.S. RELATIONS 1845 - 1849

1846-1859: As an independent republic from 1836 to 1845, Texas had developed its own Indian policy. During his first administration, President Sam Houston inaugurated a policy of peace, friendship, and commerce, with provisions as needed for protection of the frontier against Indians who remained hostile. But depredations did not decrease, as settlers pressed upon the Indian lands. Houston's successor, Mirabeau B. Lamar, declared the policy of pacification a total failure and began an aggressive program that sought the expulsion or extermination of the Indians. The result was almost continual warfare in which the Indians were removed or pushed back before the advancing Whites. When Houston returned to the presidency at the end of 1841, he reinstituted his pacific policy. Peace treaties were signed with the Indians and new trade relations established; his successor, Anson Jones, followed the same plan. Protective measures were still necessary against hostile tribes, but disturbances on the frontier were lessened and the cost of Indian defense greatly reduced.



With the annexation of Texas, the Indian problems of Texas became the responsibility of the federal government. In a treaty with the important tribes at Council Springs signed on May 15, 1846, the Indians placed themselves under the protection of the United States and recognized the sole right of the United States to regulate trade and intercourse with them. An act of March 3, 1847, provided funds to carry out the treaty and for the appointment of a special Indian agent, a position filled with distinction by Robert S. Neighbors. A Texas law of February 6, 1854, authorized the United States to select and survey areas for the Indians, and two reservations, one on the main fork of the Brazos River and another on the Clear Fork of the Brazos, were set aside for colonization by the Texas tribes. The tribes that settled the former reserve began cultivation with some success; the latter reserve, settled chiefly by the Comanches, was less successful.

Ultimately the reservation system broke down because of antagonism of the Whites and continual depredations by the Indians. In summer 1859 the reservation Indians of Texas were moved north across the Red River into Indian Territory.

1847: The native peoples of the Taos Pueblos resist American expansion and kill the American territorial governor of New Mexico. In retaliation, American forces drive the Taos peoples into the pueblos and after shelling by mountain howitzers and an infantry assault, demolish the pueblo and kill hundreds of its people.

1847-1850: The Cayuse War in the Pacific Northwest follows Presbyterian instigated mistreatment of native peoples in Oregon County. Ultimately, the war leads to a Congressional decision to make Oregon a U.S. territory in 1849. Indian titles to land are to be extinguished and the area opened to annexation and settlement by whites.

1848: Gold is discovered in California.

THE INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF THE POLK PRESIDENCY

About a year after Polk's inauguration Mint Director Robert M. Patterson hired a New York City artist named John Gadsby Chapman to model the president's features for the reduction lathe. On February 17 Chapman's wax model was given to Chief Coiner Franklin Peale and dies were engraved soon afterward. By mid-June the medals were in the press and the next month the first shipments were sent to the offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C. In July 1846 Mint Director Robert M. Patterson obtained permission to use leftover funds from the Polk medals appropriation to have the reverses of the three Indian Peace medal sizes redesigned. With careful forethought, Patterson decided to have the dies hubbed, allowing him to make an endless supply of new working dies should the need arise.

The new designs showed flat tops to the letters A in PEACE and AND. These dies were intended to be the type for all following Indian medals and they did, indeed, appear on the Taylor medals of the next presidency. However, in Fillmore's administration an entirely new design was introduced and Patterson's redesigned Peace and Friendship type was not retained as the principal type. It was, however, muled with dies of medals for previous presidents without clear authority and principally on copper restrikes for collectors.

Extremely Rare 1845 James K. Polk in Silver

2063

1845 James K. Polk Indian Peace Medal. Silver. First Size. Julian IP-24, Prucha-46. Choice Very Fine. 75.6 mm. 2515.5 grains. Pierced for suspension as typical. This medal first appeared in our March 2017 sale, where it was described, in part: "Pleasing medium silver gray on the obverse with faint tints of olive brown mottled through the fields. Deep blue-gray patina thinly outlines the central motif, with similar accents through the legend. The reverse is slightly lighter gray with traces of pale blue and violet visible when turned in the light. The surfaces exhibit scattered fine nicks and abrasions including a couple of small rim nicks and a light scratch left of the bust. A gentle edge bump may also be seen near 3:00, relative to the obverse. None of these marks is unusual for such a medal, in fact, they lend a bit of desirability as they are evidence that this piece was actually awarded and worn by the recipient, as intended.

Traces of some light debris are noted in the recesses and on the reverse may be found the initials "TEX," upside down, on the uncuffed wrist. This might well be a clue as to the original recipient, but this is unlikely to ever be determined with certainty.

As with the John Tyler medals, 260 Polk medals were struck for distribution in all three sizes, with 60 large medals and 100 each of the smaller two sizes produced. Unfortunately for collectors today, another similarity between the Polk and Tyler medals is that many remained undistributed and were returned to the Mint to be melted. In the case of the Tyler medals there is only a total weight known for those returned, but for the Polk medals a breakdown of the various sizes was recorded. A remarkable 49 of the 60 large-size medals were returned for melting in December 1849, leaving just 11 issued specimens. This is one of the smallest total issues of the entire series. The circumstances for the second-size and third-size medals is not much different, making the Polk one of the toughest medals to obtain in any size. Naturally, the largest size is the most prized.

Carl Carlson reported six auction appearances for a large-size Polk in silver, but Michael Hodder commented in the 2006 Ford sale that he knew of no recent appearances. Indeed, this medal was missing from the Garrett, Dreyfuss, Schenkel, LaRiviere, and Steinberg Collections. It was also missing from our 2013 sale of the Wharton Collection. We strongly suspect there is an error in Carlson's reported number.

This is the most recent example of this medal to come to light. It entered the care of our prior consignor's family around 1915. His father had business associations with Ft. Sill, near Lawton, Oklahoma around that time, and was recognized as such by General Pershing, by way of a personal letter. It is unknown how the medal was acquired, but the time and place make for an interesting part of the story of this recently discovered example.

We are aware of seven silver specimens, as follows:

1. Andrew Zabriskie, 1909:180; F.C.C. Boyd; Ford XVI:139; Anthony Terranova; Joseph Lasser; Colonial Williamsburg

2. The present specimen

3. Said to be from a museum in Montana. Now in a private collection

4. Said to be from the Millard Fillmore Family; Alan Weinberg; Heritage, August 2019, lot 3817

5. American Numismatic Society

6. American Numismatic Society (Restrike)

7. Smithsonian Institution

As shown above, only six of those known to us are originals. Example #6 is from the post-1846 reverse and clearly not original. Of the six remaining, only three are believed to be in private hands.

The most recent example to sell was the Alan Weinberg specimen in Heritage's sale of August 2019, which was said to have come from the Millard Fillmore family and was described as the finest known, based on the NGC grade. In that offering, the cataloger listed it as one of three known to him, and the medal realized $28,800. Having been in the President's family, the status of that medal as one actually presented to a Native American can be reasonably questioned. The same is true of the superb Zabriskie-Boyd-Ford specimen which sold for $41,400 in our October 2006 sale. This is really not a question for this medal which holds the price record for one of these at $47,000. Perhaps this speaks to the value of an awarded medal and the history such a presentation represents.

Ex A Midwestern Family, circa 1915; Stack's Bowers Galleries, March 2017, lot 42 (its first public offering).

Choice Mint State 1845 Bronze Polk Medal

2064

1845 James K. Polk Indian Peace Medal. Bronze. First Size. Second Reverse. Julian IP-24, Prucha-46. MS-64 BN (NGC). 75.8 mm. 3787.2 grains. Light chocolate brown with gentle blue and rose mottling in the prooflike fields. A trace of light spotting but no serious marks of any kind are noted. Struck from the second reverse as nearly all seen. An ever-desirable medal considering the great rarity of all silver Polks.

Ex Smythe & Co., October 2007, lot 1449.

Very Rare Second Size Polk in Silver

2065

1845 James K. Polk Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Second Size. Julian IP-25, Prucha-46. Fine. 62.2 mm. 1347.4 grains. Pierced for suspension as usual. Medium gray silver with somewhat deeper patina near the obverse rims and outlining the central devices. A trace of darker mottling is also visible on the obverse, while the reverse is a bit more uniform overall. Though close inspection shows the surfaces to be full of tiny nicks, the overall impression is of a fairly smooth medal due to the wear. The high relief of the obverse portrait in concert with the rims has protected the legends, while on the reverse the lettering is soft.

The second size Polk is another very rare medal. As discussed in the previous lot, the situation with the Polk medals was much like that for the John Tylers, with 100 examples struck in this size. Many did not get distributed, however, and Mint records show that 83 of them were returned to the Mint in December 1849 to be melted and turned into Zachary Taylor medals for the incoming administration. This would have left a maximum of 17 medals issued.

Carl Carlson's research on auction appearances turned up only two for a medium-sized Polk, which seems much more in line with what one might reasonably expect than what was reported by him for the large medals. John Ford had a remarkable three specimens in his collection, including this example, and they all had old provenances to Wayte Raymond, F.C.C. Boyd and Virgil Brand. Michael Hodder gave no indication as to his thoughts on the number known, but called into question the Mint record of just 17 issued based on the Ford holdings. However, it appears to us that a large portion of those extant simply ended up in one place through Ford's consolidation of old collections and that the Mint records are probably just fine. The writer's study of known specimens found seven examples, one of which we have not seen an image of, but believe to be in the collection at the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial. Of the six remaining, two more are in institutions, with one at the National Portrait Gallery and another at ANS. This leaves just four in private hands, the three that were in the Ford Collection, and one that we featured in our August 2014 sale. This piece carries with it one of those fine old provenances mentioned above, to Wayte Raymond.

Ex Wayte Raymond Estate; John J. Ford, Jr.; Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XVIII, May 2007, lot 118; Stack's, January 2008, lot 7143.

Gem Second Size Polk Indian Peace Medal from the Original Dies

2066

1845 James K. Polk Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. Second Size. First Reverse. Julian IP-25, Prucha-46. MS-65 BN (NGC). 62.5 mm. 1780.9 grains. Deep mahogany bronze with just a trace of subtle mottling in the fields. Very slight cabinet friction on the highest points but other than a minor abrasion in the upper reverse field, there is nothing to report in terms of handling marks. The surfaces have a fine satin finish and pleasing soft luster. Beautifully struck and preserved.

Struck from the original dies, the reverse has the usual spalling on the rim above the tomahawk head, left of the sleeve cuff and around the leftmost index finger point. This is much rarer with the original reverse die. In fact, in all of our online archives dating back a dozen years, we have only offered two examples of this medal from the first reverse die, including this one. Quite rare and likely not appreciated as much as is warranted.

Ex Stack's Bowers Galleries, March 2014, lot 10.

2067

1845 James K. Polk Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. Second Size. Second Reverse. Julian IP-25, Prucha-46. Mint State. 62.4 mm. 1892.0 grains. Dark chocolate brown with some pale mahogany highlights on the reliefs. Essentially mark free. Struck from the second reverse die and with a fine sandblast finish giving the piece a soft satiny luster.

Ex Aesculapius Collection of Indian Peace Medals, Stack's, January 2011, lot 6226.

Extremely Rare Small Size Polk in Silver

Just Six Originally Issued

2068

1845 James K. Polk Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Third Size. Julian IP-26, Prucha-46. Extremely Fine. 51.0 mm. 1053.5 grains. We are delighted to once again be able to present this piece for sale. When it last appeared at auction, in August 2012, it set a price record for a Polk of any size, at $57,000! It is quite pleasing, with the extremely high relief portrait showing very little loss of detail. The surfaces have toned to mottled variations of gray and light brown, with traces of pale blue iridescence outlining areas of the relief. Slightly granular under close inspection with light tooling in the fields and a few scattered marks, but none that stands out as distracting in the least. Pierced for suspension as typical.

As is the case with the other Polk sizes, the striking and issuance of this smallest size followed closely the pattern of the Tyler medals. There were 100 struck in this size, but in this case the vast majority of the original mintage was returned to the Mint in December 1849 and presumably melted (per the instructions), to be used for striking Zachary Taylor medals. The Mint records indicate that 94 of the 100 were melted, leaving just six specimens issued. As with the large-size Polk, this is one of the rarest silver medals in the entire series, the net issuance likely the smallest of all.

As noted earlier in this sale, this reverse die was used to strike all of the small-size medals from the 1809 Madison through this issue. Along with the original reverses for the large and medium medals, this die was deemed no longer fit for use in 1846, the same year the Polk medals were completed and new replacement reverse dies created. The new dies are best identified by the flat-topped letter As. Curiously, both First Reverse and Second Reverse dies were used for the striking of bronze medals for several issues, in perhaps all sizes, but it is virtually impossible to tell exactly when any of these restrikes were made with precision.

This reverse comes in two distinct die states. The one mostly seen in the medals of this sale has a small die chip in the inside right rim, between the main rim and the inner border, at 3:00. This medal is from the later state of the die, with an additional chip just below the primary one. We have images of small-size Polks with and without the secondary break among the surviving medals we are aware of. On its face, this suggests that the break occurred during the striking of these medals. According to Prucha, Director Patterson wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on June 15, 1846 that the Mint was nearly done preparing the Polk medals for delivery. Prucha further noted that "by July 18, the remainder of the medals [for Polk] had been forwarded to the Indian Office." The dates of Patterson's letter and of the final delivery provide a fairly tight window of time within which the Polk medals for issue were struck, and theoretically a small window of time when this failure would have occurred, if it indeed broke during the striking of the silver Polks. The challenging detail is that, again, according to the Mint records, just six medals were issued, yet we are aware of seven distinct specimens in existence today. We have images for all of them, so there is no question that at least this many exist. We also have weights and die states on most of them. The pattern that emerges from the data suggests that a small group of these were produced a bit later, as the later die state examples are consistently of a slightly higher weight standard than those of the earlier die state.

Carl Carlson reported finding a remarkable five auction records for small-size Polk medals in silver, while Michael Hodder knew of only two "recent auction records for an original" when he described the lone Ford specimen in 2006. He included this piece as one of his referenced originals, but did so without detailed study of this piece and without benefit of the comparative data we have compiled for this series, which, as far as we know, has never before been attempted. As such, it would not have been sensible to consider this medal anything other than an issued original at the time. Whatever the precise date of manufacture, a fact not likely to ever be known with certainty, it remains the case that this medal is from the original U.S. Mint dies, and silver impressions are great rarities in any form. Again, we are aware of seven specimens in total, and two are almost certainly permanent residents at the Smithsonian and ANS, the latter also being a late die state example, as seen here.

Ex Presidential Coin and Antique's Litman, Sullivan and Dreyfuss sale, December 2004, lot 535; Stack's, February 2008, lot 3581; Stack's, September 2009, lot 6129; Stack's Bowers Galleries, August 2012; 11137.

2069

1845 James K. Polk Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. Third Size. First Reverse. Julian IP-26, Prucha-46. MS-65 BN (NGC). 50.8 mm. 909.0 grains. Gently mottled deep mahogany bronze. Fine satiny luster and very nice eye appeal. A few tiny nicks and a faint reverse fingerprint, with slight mellowing of the patina noted on Polk's shoulder relief. Struck from the original dies. The obverse is finely cracked in this state, from the upper back of Polk's head, across his ear and into his collar. This will likely only be seen on high-grade specimens. Two raised marks visible on the rim over the R of PRESIDENT are also seen on the silver original above. The reverse die is in the earlier state, with a single chip in the rim at 3:00. Spalling patches are visible in the upper reverse field as are some heavy die finishing lines. Another of these lines passes through R of FRIENDSHIP. A great rarity in silver, but quite scarce in bronze, too. Carl Carlson found only one more auction record for a bronze than he did for silver examples. There are only a couple of appearances in our online archives from the last decade. John Ford only had a single example, as did David Dreyfuss, but Chris Schenkel was missing this type. Also included with this lot is a cast copy of this medal in lead, with a bronzed finish. It makes for an interesting comparative study piece. (Total: 2 pieces)

Ex Heritage, December 2012, lot 38053 (the struck original).

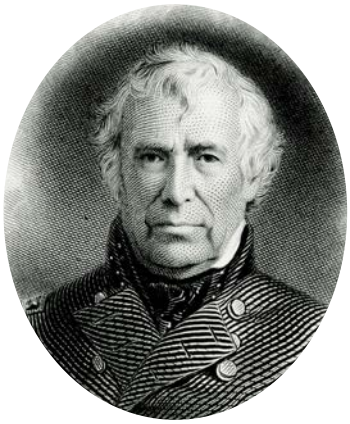
ZACHARY TAYLOR 1849 - 1850

Born November 24, 1784. Elected November 7, 1848.
Inaugurated March 5, 1849. Died July 9, 1850.

INDIAN-U.S. RELATIONS 1849 - 1850

1849: Bureau of Indian Affairs is transferred from the War Department to the Department of the Interior.

1850: Congress authorizes (September) Indian agents and commissioners for California who negotiate 18 treaties with California tribes. California whites object to the reservations' encroachment on gold bearing deposits and in 1852 Congress refuses to ratify the treaties. Reservations established later are found to be in miserable condition in 1860.



THE INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF THE TAYLOR PRESIDENCY

Since dies already existed in the Mint's vaults that bore Taylor's bust, those for his Rio Grande and Monterey military exploits, it was at first hoped that they could be adapted for the purpose of making new Indian medals following Taylor's inauguration. Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Medill obtained Mint Director Robert M. Patterson's approval for this expedient in April 1849. At the same time, Medill inquired whether John Gadsby Chapman, the artist who had executed the wax portrait for the Polk Indian medals earlier, would be willing to do the same for the Taylor medals. Since Chapman was abroad at the time, a substitute, Henry Kirke Brown, was proposed in his place. Despite Director Patterson's suggestion that the Buena Vista medal obverse might be suitable for Taylor's Indian medal portrait, Secretary of the Interior Thomas Ewing told the Mint in May 1849 to hire Henry Brown for the job.

After some delays due to Brown's lack of experience in modeling for a portrait lathe, the Taylor commission was finished in late September. By late November the first medals were struck from the largest dies, featuring Taylor's bust by Brown and the new Type II reverse designed in 1846.

Very Rare 1849 Zachary Taylor Medal in Silver

First Size, Original Dies

2070

1849 Zachary Taylor Indian Peace Medal. Silver. First Size. Julian IP-27. Prucha-47. Choice Extremely Fine. 75.5 mm. 2306.8 grains. Pierced for suspension as typical. A most attractive example of this rarity. Gently mottled medium to deep gray on the obverse with soft accents of olive and pale blue blended in throughout. The reverse is toned similarly with a bit more light gray near the center. Traces of prooflike reflectivity remain in tight outlines around the obverse details. This is seen to a significantly larger degree on the reverse where larger portions of the fields are better protected by the layout of the design. Scattered nicks and marks of varying depths clearly indicate this to have been an awarded medal. However, it does not seem to have been worn long, as considerable sharpness remains and there are no serious marks. A fine die crack connects the tops of ENT of PRESIDENT, and there appears to be small break in the inside rim over the U of UNITED.

With this issue comes the first replacement of the original reverse dies cut for the 1809-dated James Madison medals. As mentioned under previous lots, it was decided in 1846 that the reverse dies then long in use were no longer in good enough condition to guarantee a good outcome from any large-scale striking operation. Approval was granted for the reverses of all three sizes to be replaced, and both hubs and dies were made. The director of the Mint reported on December 5, 1846, that the new dies were complete. All of the silver Zachary Taylor medals we have seen were struck using the new reverse die, which differed only slightly from the previous one in the thickness and position of the lettering and also the shape of the letter As, which were pointed on the earlier die and now flat-topped.

Michael Hodder commented in Ford XVIII that "Large Taylors are not all that terribly rare," but they are also very far from common. Mint records indicate that 149 of them were struck, but very few were distributed before the president died in office. Mint records also show that 112 were returned to be melted in preparation for the striking of the Millard Fillmore medals. That left just 37 large-size medals issued. Carl Carlson found only four auction records for a large-size Taylor, and there have been a few appearances since his work was published in 1986. Two examples appeared in the Ford sales, including this one. The present writer's survey of medals found 11 specimens in silver, but four of them are from later copy dies, though they have masqueraded as original medals for some time. These are in the collections of the ANS, the Gilcrease Museum, the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial at St. Louis and in the Crane Collection at the Denver Museum of Nature and Science. These can be identified by their crosslet 4 and a period after the date. The one we have a weight for is also much heavier than the originals for which we have that data, and the piercings are inconsistently placed. On the originals, the suspension piercings are fairly precise in their positions. Of the seven originals we are aware of one is at Colonial Williamsburg, so there are very few for collectors. As such, this is in fact a very rare medal where collectable specimens are concerned.

Ex David Pierce, January 1965; John J. Ford, Jr.; Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XVIII, May 2007, lot 121; Stack's, January 2010, lot 4744.

Mint State 1849 Bronze Zachary Taylor Medal

2071

1849 Zachary Taylor Indian Peace Medal. Bronze. First Size. Second Reverse. Julian IP-27. Prucha-47. MS-62 BN (NGC). 76.1 mm. 4229.1 grains. Light reddish brown copper is accented by mottled pastel gold, blue, orange and violet toning. A few tiny spots and faint hairlines are visible upon close inspection. Struck from the second reverse paired with a copy obverse die that can be easily distinguished from the original by the vertical crossbar on the digit 4 in the date, and a period after the date. This die was used to strike some silver pieces, but these seem to be later restrikes. All bronze specimens in our online archives are from this obverse die. This piece is on an impressively thick flan, the rims being about 8.5 mm high.

Ex Stack's, January 2010, lot 4745.

Extremely Rare Second Size Taylor in Silver

Finer of Two Known

2072

1849 Zachary Taylor Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Second Size. Julian IP-28, Prucha-47. Extremely Fine. 62.4 mm. 1466.3 grains. Pierced for suspension as typical. Mostly light silver gray with some darker patina outlining the design details. Traces of soft blue and gold iridescence are gently mottled through the fields which retain traces of reflectivity. This is strongest on the reverse where the design elements have better protected the fields. Tiny marks are noted throughout, as one would expect from an awarded medal. Some light hairlines are noted, as are a couple of small rim nicks, the most prominent of which are from impacts with the original suspension loop which is now gone. The details are quite sharp, and portions of the reverse have a fairly prominent wire rim. The medal is most handsome overall. In fact, it is easily the finer of just two examples known to us in silver.

As is the case with the large-size Taylor medals, all examples of the second size we have seen in silver were struck using the new reverse die, finished in 1846. According to Mint records, 198 examples of this size Taylor were struck for distribution, but when the president died in office, in July 1850, most remained unused and were quickly returned to the mint. It was recorded that 162 of this size remained unissued and were melted for restriking into Fillmore medals for the incoming administration. This would have left just 36 issued medals.

Today, it seems that the second size Taylor in silver is comfortably the rarest of the three sizes. Carl Carlson found no auction records for these and this is one of the very rare cases where no examples were included in the extensive John J. Ford, Jr. holdings. When Michael Hodder cataloged the first of two bronze examples in the Ford sale, he commented that a silver one "may well be unobtainable by anyone," referencing this example as the only one known. We are aware of two specimens, this and one that we offered in our March 2013 sale. As such, the second-size Zachary Taylor is one of the rarest silver medals in the entire American series.

Ex Presidential Coin and Antique's Litman, Sullivan and Dreyfuss sale, December 2004, lot 537; Stack's, February 2008, lot 3582; Stack's, September 2009, lot 6130; Stack's Bowers Galleries, August 2012; 11138.

2073

1849 Zachary Taylor Indian Peace Medal. Bronze. Second Size. Julian IP-28, Prucha-47. MS-63 BN (NGC). 62.4 mm. 1956.9 grains. Attractive mahogany brown with subtle mottling visible upon close study. Traces of superficial debris are noted in the recesses but overall the surfaces are glossy and appealing. Some minor handling includes a trace of rub on the highest of Taylor's hair curls and a blunt scratch in the upper right of the reverse. This size in bronze is found struck with both the first reverse and second reverse dies. As the second reverse was a new die in 1846 and used for the issued silver medals, we wonder if, in this case, the second reverse bronze medals were in fact struck before those with the first reverse. A detailed study of all known medals might reveal this through the obverse die states, but we unfortunately do not have access to other pieces.

Ex eBay, May 2010.

Extremely Rare *Original* 1849 Taylor Medal
Third Size in Silver
Perhaps Just Two in Private Hands

2074

1849 Zachary Taylor Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Third Size. Julian IP-29, Prucha-47. Very Choice Extremely Fine. 50.6 mm. 937.8 grains. Pierced for suspension as typical. Handsome deep silver gray with soft blue and rose mottling that comes alive in the prooflike fields under a light source. Slight wear in the suspension hole and tiny marks scattered over the surface are consistent with an awarded and gently worn medal. Somewhat heavier marks are seen above and below the portrait (one each), and a few are on Taylor's face, but they have little effect on the overall eye appeal of this lovely and very rare medal.

Unlike the silver Taylor medals of the first and second sizes, the third-size medals in silver are found struck by the first reverse (pre-1846) as well as the second reverse that was supposed to have been used for all the Taylor medals (as the earlier reverse was determined to be "no longer serviceable" by Mint Director Robert M. Patterson). Both reverses were used on bronze impressions as well. Detailed study of the medals in this collection, as well as notes on other appearances have led the writer to the conclusion that the silver Taylor medals struck with the new reverse are in fact the "originals" for Taylor, while those from the first reverse are impressions that were likely made later, for collectors. The obverse here, with the new reverse, appears to be in a slightly earlier die state than seen on the first-reverse bronze medal offered later in the sale. The same is true of the bronze medal below, paired with the second reverse. Further evidence of this conclusion may be seen in the weight distributions discussed below, and also in the suspension piercings. Those medals with the second reverse are consistently pierced in the identical positions. Those with the first reverse are erratically pierced, which would be highly unusual for the series, as piercings for the official medals was undertaken at the source, not by Indian agents or recipients.

According to the Mint records, just 49 Zachary Taylor medals were struck in silver in this size. As Taylor died early in his term, few of his medals were distributed and most of them were returned to the Mint for melting. In the case of the small-size medals, the number returned was 32 pieces, leaving just 17 issued medals. We have no reason to believe that this is not one of those original medals.

Carl Carlson noted just two known medals in silver, one of the rare cases where he identified the number of specimens in addition to the number of auction appearances which, in this case, was seven records. He noted that there was one paired with the 1809 reverse, and one with the "1840 reverse" which he must have intended to read "1849 reverse" as that was date on the first medals issued from it. The writer's own recent study of individual specimens has revealed just six medals. Half are from the second reverse, and half are from the first reverse. Those from the first reverse are all from the late die state, with two chips in the rim at right. This is one of the cases where our data has weights for all examples. Those from the second reverse are uniformly slightly lighter in weight than those from the first reverse.

Taking this data into consideration sheds important light on the true rarity of this medal from the original *intended* dies for the official Taylor medal issue. Of the three original silver impressions we are aware of, one is in the ANS, one was sold in Ford XVIII (lot 128), and this is the third. It is the finest of the two in private hands.

Ex J.D. Ferguson, June 1963; John J. Ford, Jr.; Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XVIII, May 2007, lot 127; Stack's, January 2009, lot 5117.

Extremely Rare Bronze Zachary Taylor Medal

Third Size, Second Reverse

2075

1849 Zachary Taylor Indian Peace Medal. Bronze. Third Size. Second Reverse. Julian IP-29, Prucha-47. MS-65 BN (NGC). 50.9 mm. 848.8 grains. Rich mahogany bronze with gentle chestnut mottling over both sides. Somewhat darker chocolate brown blends inward from the rims. A few very minor handling marks are noted, but there are no marks that could be considered individually distracting. The fields are generously prooflike and the medal is aesthetically very attractive.

Struck from the original dies intended for the issued medals and used on the silver ones for presentation. The reverse seen here is frequently called the 1846 reverse, as it was called for and cut in that year, but not put into service until the Taylor medals were struck in 1849.

All small-size Taylor medals are rare. Silver originals are prohibitively so, and it might be the case that the bronzes are not far behind in this regard. We have sold three examples over the years going back to the Ford sales and, remarkably, two of them are in the present collection. A search of the Heritage archives turned up nothing. Carl Carlson's research of auction appearances turned up just three, fewer than half of what he found for silver impressions.

Ex Stack's Bowers Galleries, August 2014, lot 3021.

Another Extremely Rare Bronze Taylor

Third Size, First Reverse

Ex Boyd-Ford

2076

1849 Zachary Taylor Indian Peace Medal. Bronze. Third Size. First Reverse. Julian IP-29, Prucha-47. MS-65 BN (NGC). 51 mm. Uniform deep mahogany bronze with a fine satin finish and soft, pleasing luster on both sides. There are a few tiny marks, some very faint hairlines and trivial patina spots noted under magnification, but none is distracting or worthy of specific mention. This is a very pleasing medal and very rare.

As noted in the previous description, we have sold only three examples of the small-size Zachary Taylor medal in bronze in our auctions, going all the way back to the John J. Ford, Jr. sales. This is one of those three, and it is the only one struck from the first reverse. It is from the earlier die state of this reverse with one small chip at the rim, near 3:00. Patches of light spalling are in the upper reverse field, below PEACE.

The second reverse medals, struck from the reverse cut in 1846 to replace the die used here, are undoubtedly the original official pieces. This is then a restrike in our opinion, but probably somewhat early and obviously a great rarity as are all Taylor medals.

Ex F.C.C. Boyd Estate; John J. Ford, Jr,; Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XVIII, May 2007, lot 129; Stack's Bowers Galleries, June 2014, lot 1001.

MILLARD FILLMORE 1850 - 1853

Born January 7, 1801.
Elected vice president November 7, 1848.
Succeeded July 9, 1850. Died March 8, 1874.

INDIAN-U.S. RELATIONS 1850 - 1853

1850-1851: Mariposa War in California involving the Miwoks and Yokuts who rise against miners and burn trading posts.

1851: Yuma and Mojave Uprising in Arizona and California.

1851-1853: Increasing passage over the Oregon and Santa Fe Trails and friction with resident Native Americans lead to the 1851 Treaty at Fort Laramie. Northern Plains tribes grant the U.S. free passage across their lands. Treaties with the Sioux follow and the 1853 Treaty of Fort Atkinson includes Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache in the agreement.

THE INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF THE FILLMORE PRESIDENCY

Fillmore's medals represent a radical departure from the preceding presidencies' Indian medals and must have caused some consternation in the Bureau of Indian Affairs as well as at the Mint. Designed by New York City artist Joseph Willson, who obtained the commission through political patronage, the obverse was conventional enough, but the reverse, which Willson both designed and engraved (engraving of the obverse portrait was done by Willson's friend Salathiel Ellis), replaced the traditional Peace and Friendship clasped hands type with one showing a settler instructing an Indian with an agricultural scene in the background and a huge American flag in the middle ground. The "Peace and Friendship" legend was replaced with one proclaiming the interlinked bourgeois constraints of "Labor Virtue Honor." In another departure from precedent, only two sizes of medals were struck for Fillmore's administration, the largest and second; the 51mm medal was abandoned.

Map by Pierre-Jean De Smet showing in the light area the Indian territories agreed upon in the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty.

First Size 1850 Millard Fillmore in Silver

2077

1850 Millard Fillmore Indian Peace Medal. Silver. First Size. Julian IP-30, Prucha-48. Very Fine. 75.7 mm. 2691.4 grains. Pierced for suspension as typical. Mottled deep silver gray around much of the obverse, with a small patch of lighter gray toward 4:00 and on the reliefs. The reverse is toned similarly, but with lighter areas through the center and lower left. Many scattered marks, fine scratches, rim bumps and small areas of tooling are noted on both sides, the markers of a great deal of use. The suspension hole is well worn, with the bridge across the edge showing a bit of stress and thinning.

Remnants of the name "James Gordon" are visible in the obverse field at left and right. As with any awarded Peace medal, the presence of a name is a potential roadmap to a precise history and, ideally, a past owner. We have not been able to positively identify any James Gordon who would be easily tied to a medal like this, but did find one interesting prospect. There was a prominent man by the name of Robert Gordon (d. 1867) who immigrated to Cotton Gin Port, Mississippi from Scotland, and built a large plantation home there in 1836, on land he purchased from a Chickasaw woman in 1832. He is described as having been a successful "Indian Trader and landowner." His son James Gordon is a more prominent historical name.

He served in the Confederate Army under J.E.B. Stuart and Nathan Bedford Forrest. Gordon was an early suspected co-conspirator in the Lincoln assassination, but he seems to have been cleared, eventually serving in both the Mississippi legislature and for a short time in the U.S. Senate. Most of the Fillmore interactions with Native peoples centered on western lands ceded by Mexico to the United States, so the potential of a connection to the Gordons of Mississippi is admittedly weak. However, Robert Gordon's background as an Indian Trader is at least intriguing and worthy of mention. It may serve as a starting point for further research into this medal, but it is just as possible that these Gordons are completely unrelated to this medal.

The Fillmore medals mark a notable departure from the long tradition of the American Peace medals in the new reverse design adopted for this issue. While the "Peace and Friendship" theme and the clasped hands motif suggested a degree of equality and mutual respect (at least in the art itself), the design adopted here was more clear as to the true perspectives and intents of the awarding entity. Here, a Euro-American at left addresses a Native American at right, each in their own traditional attire. The man on the left points upward toward three connected rings, each encircling one of the words, LABOR, VIRTUE, HONOR. While it is easy for the presenter to suggest this is intended as helpful or encouraging in some manner, it likewise blatantly clarifies that the presenter deemed the "savage" way of life to be devoid of these qualities, quite incorrectly so. It was during the Fillmore administration that the 1851 Indian Appropriations Act was signed, providing funds for the establishment of Reservations for native peoples. While this was promoted as a way to protect native people from the encroaching settlements, it really was a large-scale effort to effectively corral native people into clearly defined and, presumably, controllable areas.

The Fillmore medals were issued in two sizes, and the bullion used for their production was from the substantial number of unused Zachary Taylor medals that were returned to the Mint after Taylor's death. According to Prucha, it was expressed that the 162 remaining second-size Taylor medals be used for second-size Fillmore medals, and the remaining bullion was to be used for large-size Fillmore medals. Mint records indicate a total mintage of 281 medals for Fillmore, and if the 162 medium-size plan was adhered to, that would leave 119 large size medals. Our estimations of the bullion left from the Taylor medals (minus five "small medals" still remaining at the end of the Fillmore administration) and that required for the above mintages is very close, within 2%. According to Prucha, there were 25 large-size medals left at the end of the Fillmore administration. If these were indeed Fillmore medals, that would make the net mintage of this size 94 pieces. A similar situation exists for the medium-sized medals, with 40 leftover that would have resulted in a net of 122 issued mediums. There were also five "small medals" which are assumed to be Taylors. While this all lines up fairly well, we have found more large Fillmore medals extant than medium ones, which would be a bit unusual if these mintages and net issuance figures are accurate.

However, Carl Carlson found eight auction records for large-size Fillmore medals and specified that this represented five different specimens. He found 12 records for the medium size, and specified "7 or fewer." The present writer has identified 21 different large medals, though at least a couple of them are somewhat suspicious as issued silver originals and they have not been directly examined.

Ex Sotheby-Parke-Bernet, October 1975, lot 185; Lucien LaRiviere Collection, Stack's, January 1996, lot 75; Stack's, by direct sale, April 1996.

2078

1850 Millard Fillmore Indian Peace Medal. Bronze. First Size. Julian IP-30, Prucha-48. MS-64 BN (NGC). 75.9 mm. 3331.9 grains. Deep chocolate bronze with traces of pale blue and gold in the sharply prooflike fields. A few tiny nicks, scattered spots and superficial fingerprints, but the eye appeal is still quite nice overall as the devices are sharp and glossy and the depth of the mirrors is quite inviting.

Ex Aesculapius Collection of Indian Peace Medals, Stack's, January 2011, lot 6231.

Rare Medium Size 1850 Millard Fillmore

2079

1850 Millard Fillmore Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Second Size. Julian IP-31, Prucha-48. Fine. 63.3 mm. 1391.8 grains. Pierced for suspension as typical. Rather heavily hairlined from an old cleaning but nicely toned to soft pearl gray over much of the surface, with soft golden brown and accents of pale blue in places. Close to the rims and through the legends the toning is much deeper, and there are sharp outlines around the devices. Bumped in several places around the obverse rim and with a bit of graffiti cut into the left reverse field. Still quite sharp in terms of detail and not unattractive, all things considered.

While the mintage figures are unspecified for the Fillmore medals by size, it is reported that 281 were struck for both sizes combined, and the number of middle size medals was to be 162, as the 162 left over middle size medals from the Taylor administration were to be used for them. At the end of the Fillmore presidency, 40 medals of this size were still on hand and returned to the Mint for use in striking the Pierce medals. This would have left 122 medium Fillmore medals issued, a larger number than for the first size medals. However, it is notable that the Ford Collection contained just two examples (including this one) while there were six large-size Fillmore medals. Carl Carlson had noted "7 or fewer" specimens among the 12 auction records he located. In the writer's own survey of surviving specimens, the middle-size medals also turned out to be the scarcer of the two. Just 14 examples were located, with one unseen example among them technically unconfirmed. Four of these are in institutional collections.

Ex F.C.C. Boyd Estate; John J. Ford, Jr.; Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XVIII, May 2007, lot 136.

2080

1850 Millard Fillmore Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. Second Size. Julian IP-31, Prucha-48. MS-64 BN (NGC). 63.8 mm. 2148.2 grains. Rich chocolate and olive bronze with tiny flecks of lighter orange visible under magnification, which is common to this finish. Glossy with fine satin luster on both sides and offering very nice eye appeal throughout. For accuracy, we note a couple of spots on the obverse, and a small rim nick on the reverse. A tiny rim bump is also noted on the obverse over LL of MILLARD. What will appear as a short scratch off the bust tip in photography is actually a die injury, raised, and on all seen. This medal was struck from very late state dies. The dies have sunken causing both sides to appear wavy and irregular. On the reverse, a die crack follows the exergual line and turns upward, crossing the Native American's left leg. Three smaller breaks extend from the drapery into the rear ground beyond. This break is seen on all but one of the bronze impressions we have handled in the last decade, this medal being very rare in that early state. The Fillmore medals in bronze were struck after the 1853-dated Pierce medals in bronze. They share the same reverse, yet the large break through the Native American's leg is not seen on the Pierce medals we have studied. Carl Carlson noted just nine auction records for a middle size bronze Fillmore. We have sold about six different examples in the last decade or so.

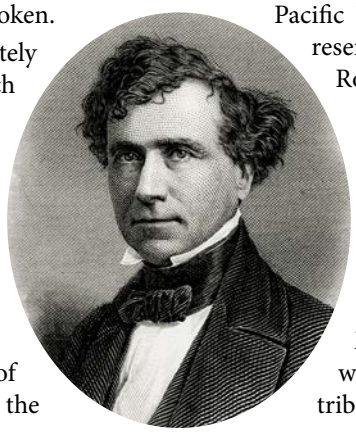
Ex Early American History Auctions, December 2006, lot 1055; Aesculapius Collection of Indian Peace Medals, Stack's, January 2011, lot 6232.

FRANKLIN PIERCE 1853 - 1857

Born November 23, 1804. Elected November 2, 1852.
Inaugurated March 4, 1853. Died October 8, 1869.

INDIAN-U.S. RELATIONS 1853 - 1857

1853-1856: The U.S. acquires 174 million acres of Indian land through 52 treaties, all of which are subsequently broken.



1854: Passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act ultimately leads to territorial organization and settlement which put further pressure on Native Americans. Ensuing warfare leads to calls in the 1860s to militarize the Bureau of Indian Affairs and place all Indian-U.S. relations under the War Department's aegis. The Grattan Affair (August), a military miscalculation leading to the murder of Chief Conquering Bear and the subsequent destruction of a small army detachment on the North Platte in Wyoming, opens the first Sioux War. White retaliation raids out of Fort Kearny, Nebraska the following year result in the massacre of Brule Sioux in their camp at Blue Water.

1854-1855: Most Native American tribes cede their lands and are removed from eastern Kansas and Nebraska. In the Pacific Northwest Native Americans are also removed to reservations following treaty cessions of their lands. The Rogue River and Yakima Wars of the mid-1850s ensue.

1855-1856: Yakima War in Washington involving Yakima, Walla Walla, Umatilla, and Cayuse peoples follows white betrayal of promises made during treaty negotiations in May 1855. Army regulars make little progress in their campaign against the tribes. Rogue River War in Oregon, involving Takelma and Tututni along the Siskiyou Trail. Massacres on both sides lead to Indian surrender, white betrayal, and the subsequent dispersal of these tribes.

1855-1858: Third Seminole War ends when Billy Bowlegs and his band surrender and move west.

THE INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF THE PIERCE PRESIDENCY

The same political patronage that got Joseph Willson and Salathiel Ellis the Fillmore commission in 1850 obtained the Pierce medallic job for the duo in 1853. In yet another break with precedent, Ellis was permitted to make the dies and strike the official Indian medals in an establishment in New York City and not at the Mint in Philadelphia. Further, although Ellis received a fair price for his work, he was also shipped 70 silver Indian medals of previous administrations (probably just Fillmore's) to increase the supply of silver for the Pierce medals. Ellis agreed to strike 120 76mm medals and 150 62mm ones in return. In September 1853, Ellis reported that he was ready to strike the medals but had miscalculated the cost of silver and rather than risk losing money, asked if he could make the medals lighter in weight than originally called for. The Mint refused the request, only to find that the first large medals Ellis shipped were all too heavy, not too light. Ellis wrote later that he was having trouble striking such large medals in his New York facility, which did not have the necessary experience.

By early November Ellis had shipped the 120 large medals, all of which were slightly overweight. One month later he shipped all 150 of the 62mm medals but these turned out to be underweight. The Mint deducted the cost of the deficit from his commission, which it sent to Willson, then in Rome, as royalty for the use of his designs.

Pleasing First Size Franklin Pierce in Silver

Ex LaRiviere Collection

2081

1853 Franklin Pierce Indian Peace Medal. Silver. First Size. Julian IP-32, Prucha-49. Choice Very Fine. 76.1 mm. 2392.1 grains. Pierced for suspension as typical with a suspension loop. This is in the style of the original loop, but we presume it is not original due to the lack of obvious wear. The medal is fairly consistent medium gray silver with some darker patina through the legends and outlining the devices. Some soft golden overtones are noted in the fields. A clearly issued and worn medal, with the usual surface characteristics. Small nicks and marks around the rims and in the interior, but no serious damage that would be considered distracting. Somewhat hairlined from old, decidedly non-numismatic care, another typically seen characteristic of an awarded medal.

All of the medals for the Pierce administration were completed and delivered before the end of 1853. There were 120 large-size medals delivered and most of them seem to have been distributed as just 23 were returned to the Mint at the close of the Pierce administration for melting. The net issue in this size was therefore 97 medals. Carl Carlson recorded 10 auction records for a large-size Pierce, noting "8 or fewer specimens." To this, the Ford Collection would add five new specimens. The present writer has located 14 specimens, one of which is at the ANS. Two other special pieces are also known. One is a uniface obverse impression that turned up in New Hampshire and was sold in our August 2012 sale. The Crane Collection in Denver includes one purported to be silver, that is struck from a different obverse die without a period after the legend and with a differently styled date.

Ex Sotheby's New York, November 1991, lot 410; Lucien LaRiviere Collection, Stack's, January 1996, lot 76.

Gem 1853 Large Bronze Franklin Pierce Medal

The First Size

2082

1853 Franklin Pierce Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. First Size. Julian IP-32, var. Prucha-Unlisted. MS-66 BN (NGC). 76.5 mm. 3750.1 grains. A superb specimen of this very rare muling combining the original obverse for the issued Pierce medals with the second Peace and Friendship reverse, cut in 1846. Beautiful light mahogany patina with faint flecks of orange. Bold satin luster and really nice eye appeal. The obverse is essentially free of any marks save for a couple of microscopic spots, while the reverse has a slightly larger spot off the left index finger point, a small rim bump at the E of FRIENDSHIP and a couple of small marks in the upper field. This is a very rare muling of which we have only seen one other in our sales, that we recall. This one was in our Ford Sale, Part XVIII, and then in our January 2011 sale where the present owner bought it. There was an example in the 1986 David W. Dreyfuss Collection sale, and one in Presidential Coin and Antique's sale #38 (May 1985). The latter was referenced as the sole auction appearance Carl Carlson was aware of in 1986. In the Presidential sale, Joe Levine commented that he was aware of only one other auction appearance, in the Kessler-Spangenberger sale in 1981. Levine was caught in the trap set by an overly overlapped auction plate, with most of the reverse covered. In fact, that was a different muling, the Pierce obverse paired with the pre-1846 Peace and Friendship reverse. While we have not exhaustively studied all sources for another example, it is worth mentioning a second time that Carlson and Levine knew of only the PCAC auction example. This could be the same one, or that one could be the Dreyfuss piece, but this one is not the Dreyfuss medal. There was no provenance recorded in the Ford notes, and the PCAC plate is of such low quality (an unfortunate standard of the time) that one can't be certain it's a different medal. Whatever the case, it is a great rarity, with perhaps only two or three known.

Ex John J. Ford, Jr., Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XVIII, lot 142; Stack's, January 2011, lot 6233.

Very Scarce Second Size Franklin Pierce Medal

"Treaty with the Chippewa Indians" Ribbon

2083

1853 Franklin Pierce Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Second Size. Julian IP-33, Prucha-49. Very Fine. 63.3 mm. 1615.3 grains. Pierced for suspension as typical. Deep gray surfaces with even darker gray mottling that becomes solid close to the rims and throughout the protected recesses. Quite sharp and with the first appearance of superb preservation, though close inspection reveals areas with light but somewhat extensive scratching. Other small marks are scattered about and there is a slight roughness to the surfaces. Some of this is from flaws associated with the cast flan, but elsewhere there are traces of light porosity consistent with a piece subjected to the environment for a while.

The red and white silk ribbon associated with this piece is almost certainly not original, though it is quite aged and perhaps a turn-of-the century addition. As pointed out in our Ford sale, the ribbon is imprinted "1853 TREATY WITH CHIPPEWA INDIANS," yet there was no such treaty of that year. Taking into consideration the condition of the medal, we suspect it may have been found local to where an 1854 Treaty with the Chippewa was signed, and that someone with a memory of the event, and perhaps even personal knowledge that medals of this type were distributed, had the ribbon made. The date does correspond to that on the medal and years after the fact, it would be an easy error to make. The Treaty was made September 30, 1854, at La Pointe, Wisconsin, between two agents for the United States and 10 bands of Chippewa of Lake Superior and the Mississippi Valley. Considering the obvious age of the ribbon, it is likely that it does indeed point to the source of this medal.

Carl Carlson recorded just two auction appearances of a medium size Pierce medal as of 1986, noting specifically the one in NASCA's 1981 Kessler-Spangenberger sale. That piece is now in the collection at the National Portrait Gallery. There were only two examples in the Ford Collection (compared with five large ones), and Michael Hodder was aware of six specimens at the time he wrote those sales in 2006 and 2007. The present writer has identified 17 specimens, but six of these are in institutional collections. Just two come with any indication as to the original circumstances of their presentations or to whom they were given, and this is one of them.

Ex Frederick G. Weber, June 2, 1980; John J. Ford, Jr., Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XVI, October 2006, lot 153.

Very Scarce Bronze Franklin Pierce Medal

Medium Size

2084

1853 Franklin Pierce Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. Second Size. Julian IP-33, Prucha-49. MS-64 BN (NGC). 63.8 mm. 2118.3 grains. Very deep mahogany bronze with slight mottling in the fields. Delightful soft satin luster on both sides and beautifully preserved surfaces. Just a couple of tiny obverse spots are noted along with a very minor patina break on the highest curl of Pierce's hair. Struck after a notable failure of the obverse die had developed. A large crack and associated bulge extends from the rim through the first N in FRANKLIN, into the field. The reverse is also a bit distorted from light peripheral failure, but the die break that eventually forms through the Native American's lower leg has yet to form on this piece (see the 1850 Fillmore medal above for an impression from this reverse with the break).

Carl Carlson recorded four auction appearances for this medal in bronze, compared to just two for it in silver. In our archives going back more than a decade, we have offered a silver example only one more time than we have a bronze, suggesting their rarities are in fact quite comparable.

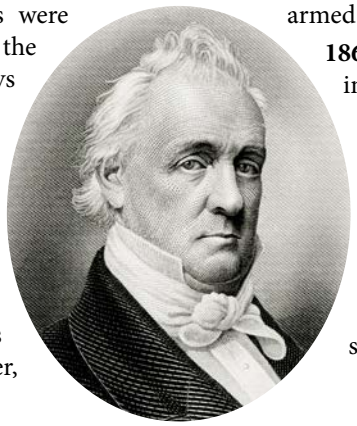
Ex Stack's, January 2010, lot 4750.

JAMES BUCHANAN 1857 - 1861

Born April 23, 1791. Elected November 4, 1856.
Inaugurated March 4, 1857. Died June 1, 1868.

INDIAN-U.S. RELATIONS 1857 - 1861

1858: Believing that the Native American tribes were in danger of extinction, the United States adopts the reservation system as a way of preserving their ways of life in areas immune from white encroachment. Captain John "Rip" Ford at the head of his Texas Rangers initiates (May) a new campaign against the Comanche. Despite some military successes the Comanche remain active and unsubdued through the Civil War years. The Coeur d'Alene or Spokane War involves the Coeur d'Alene, Spokane, Palouse, Yakima, and Northern Paiute. In the fights at Pine Creek in May and Four Lakes in September, armed bands of native peoples suffer severe casualties.



1860: The Paiute or Pyramid Lake War in Nevada involves the Southern Paiute following white criminal behavior and ensuing Indian retaliation. By June, Paiute warriors have been dispersed at Pinnacle Mountain.

1860-61: In a brilliant guerrilla campaign at Fort Defiance and in the Chuska Mountains, Navajo warriors under Maneuelito and Barboncito prove to the army that their people will not be easily subdued.

THE INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF THE BUCHANAN PRESIDENCY

Joseph Willson and Salathiel Ellis once again won the contract to make the new presidency's Indian medal and once again, the patronage of New York Congressman Ransom Gillet was the key that opened the door for the duo. Anthony Paquet, a well-known artist of the day, had also enlisted political patronage in his hopes of winning the Buchanan commission but his congressman, Thomas Florence of Pennsylvania, was unsuccessful in winning the job for his client. Willson and Ellis set to work making the dies and by the end of August could report they were nearly finished. They redesigned the reverse once again, this time showing an Indian ploughing in a central medallion with a violent scalping scene around the rim at the top, a bow, pipe and quiver below, and a female Indian head at the very bottom. Interestingly, the only comment the administration made about the redesign was to request removal of the war bonnet from the ploughing Indian's head, which was felt to be incongruous in a pastoral setting.

Willson's and Ellis' request for silver bullion in the form of unissued medals and an advance to buy more silver on the New York market was met with a demand from Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Mix for a firm contract and surety bonds from the pair. The arrangement called for 52 medals in 76mm format and 70 of 62mm. The partners were to receive 45 unissued medals to melt into silver for the Buchanan contract. Following Willson's death in September 1858, Ellis carried on alone but ran into several problems that caused delays, not the least of which was the continual problem with weights of the medals, which varied from those stipulated, as they had with Fillmore's.

Impressive 1857 James Buchanan Peace Medal
Large Size in Silver
First Medallic Depiction of Baseball

2085

1857 James Buchanan Indian Peace Medal. Silver. First Size. Julian IP-34, Prucha-50. Choice Very Fine. 75.4 mm. 2546.4 grains. Pierced for suspension as typical, with a bent loop of the original style. Rose-colored woven silk suspension ribbon attached. The medal is mostly varying shades of gray, with lighter tones on the higher areas and deeper ones in the recesses. Traces of subtle violet may be detected in the fields under close inspection. A few blunt marks are visible in the field of the central medallion on the reverse and there are a few tiny rim nicks, but otherwise the marks mostly require magnification to see. Closer study will reveal light scratches in the right obverse field and in the reverse periphery, but the generally nice eye appeal is little affected. Traces of prooflike character remain in the best protected areas of the fields.

With the Buchanan medals came another change of the reverse design, though the general theme is not much different from that seen on the reverse used for the Fillmore and Pierce administrations. Here, a large central medallion features a Native American family having adopted Euro-American ways in homesteading, a man plowing his field while his children play baseball in the distance. This is the first known reference to the game in numismatics, but it was quite new at the time and it seems rather remarkable that it would find its way into the medallic arts in this particular context. Around the medallion is a depiction of the Native American lifeways as being utterly "savage," with men in a scalping scene at the top, implements of war at lower left and right (that on the right being superimposed over a peace pipe), and a lamenting woman's portrait at the bottom, implying that only sorrow is achieved through traditional ways.

Though efforts to create the Buchanan medals began in the spring of 1857, the medals were not delivered until April 1858. This was partly due to the unexpected passing of Joseph Willson, who had designed the new reverse. According to Prucha, 69 large size medals were struck, and "there is no indication that any of them were melted down to make other medals," which would be a fairly sizable net issue. Still, Carl Carlson found just three auction records for a large Buchanan in silver, and the Ford Collection contained only two. The writer's own survey has accounted for 15 distinct specimens, four of which are in institutional collections.

Ex F. Dennis Lessard Collection; Sotheby's, May 2005, lot 172.

2086

Circa 1860 Reverse Shell for the James Buchanan Indian Peace Medal. Copper. First Size. First Reverse. Julian IP-34, var., Prucha-50, var. Choice About Uncirculated. 76.4 mm. 402.8 grains. Die by Joseph Willson. Glossy deep chocolate brown with strong surface gloss and nice eye appeal. The thin shell is dented twice near the center and slightly so along the rightmost rim, but those are the only imperfections worthy of mention. The shell is filled with a thin layer of white plaster, which has been coated in some manner, likely to reinforce it a bit. However, the dents in the shell have cracked the plaster and there are some internal chips. A very interesting piece possibly struck by the original die as a trial piece, though it could also be a high quality electrotype. Examination of the inside of the shell would clarify this. Either way, this reverse was used primarily for the Buchanan medals, as it broke after the eighth Lincoln medal was struck in 1862. If die-struck, this would date this piece with reasonable precision to between 1857 and 1862. While this die was used for all of the large-size Buchanan medals in silver, an impression of this size in copper must be considered a great rarity.

Ex Presidential Coin and Antique's 1991 Gold Medal Sale, lot 288; Presidential Coin and Antique, June 2011, lot 452.

2087

1857 James Buchanan Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. First Size. Second Reverse. Julian IP-34, var., Prucha-50, var. MS-64 BN (NGC). 75.6 mm. 4073.1 grains. Light mahogany bronze flecked with lighter orange when viewed under magnification. Soft olive brown accents on the high points. A series of small blunt marks in the central reverse are the most notable imperfections, others being very minor. Fine satin finish in the fields. Struck from the original obverse die used on the silver medals, but in a slightly later die state with a small area of spalling in the right obverse field. This reverse die was cut in either late 1862 or more likely early 1863 as a replacement for the original that broke after just eight medals were struck from it for the Lincoln administration. This dates the present medal to 1863 at the earliest. The primary difference between this copy die and the original is that the designer's name is no longer seen in the exergue of the central medallion. Other differences are noted in the spacing, but it is otherwise a very close copy and well executed. No example from this second reverse was included in the extensive John J. Ford, Jr. Collection.

Ex Stack's, February 2008, lot 3586.

Rare Second Size Buchanan Medal in Silver

2088

1857 James Buchanan Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Second Size. Julian IP-35, Prucha-50. Very Fine. 62.7 mm. 1550.7 grains. Pierced for suspension as typical. Deep gray surfaces with some golden brown patina and outlines of dull steel blue and gray around the devices and in the protected recesses. This is a rather rough medal that has seen an unusual degree of handling but little actual wear, as the details are really quite sharp throughout, and traces of reflectivity remain in the fields. Numerous fairly heavy but small nicks are seen on both sides, along with a few longer cuts. Rim bumps are fairly constant around the edge to one degree or another, and one large one is noted just right of the truncation. It is hard to imagine the story this medal has to tell, but it would undoubtedly be fascinating!

Following the plan for the Fillmore and Pierce medals, only two sizes were issued for the Buchanan administration. There were reportedly 69 large-size medals struck and 74 of this size, and according to Prucha there was no indication that any were returned and melted. This suggests that the rarities of the two sizes today should be about equal. Carl Carlson noted three auction records for large-size medals and seven records for this size. However, like his information for many other issues, there was no report as to how many different medals were represented in these auction records. In the Ford sales, there were two of each size, but Michael Hodder noted in his descriptions of the two smaller ones that he was aware of only two different medals of this size (in the 2006 sale) and that he was aware of three sales (in the 2007 catalog, which would have incorporated the 2006 appearance). The present writer has identified 10 different specimens, with three of them in institutional collections.

Ex David W. Dreyfuss, Bowers and Merena, April 1986, lot 5173; Stack's, September 2005, lot 212.

Buchanan Muling in Bronze

2089

1857 James Buchanan Indian Peace Medal. "Second" Reverse. Bronze. First Size. Julian IP-36, Prucha-Unlisted. MS-66 BN (NGC). 75.9 mm. 3256.3 grains. Beautiful light reddish mahogany surfaces are very consistent in tone save for two small areas on the reverse where the patina is slightly deeper. Satiny and very uniform in appearance with soft luster throughout and virtually no signs of handling. A couple of tiny spots are noted but have little bearing on the aesthetic or technical quality. This was struck by the same reverse die used for the bronze example of IP-30 (Franklin Pierce) offered earlier in the sale. Though this reverse is earlier, this die pairing certainly came after the bronze IP-34, the Buchanan with the medallion and scalping reverse. The obverse is in a later state here, but has been refinished such that the spalling seen on this obverse in the bronze IP-34 offering is now gone. The obverse is also slightly sunken, with a gentle bulge visible in the central obverse of this medal. The dies of this piece are filled with prominent swirling die polishing marks. This is a really high quality and most lovely example.

Ex Aesculapius Collection of Indian Peace Medals, Stack's, January 2011, lot 6236.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN 1861 - 1865

Born February 12, 1809. Elected November 6, 1860.
Inaugurated March 4, 1864. Died April 15, 1865.

INDIAN-U.S. RELATIONS 1861 - 1865

1861: The Confederate States of America is established at Montgomery, Alabama (February 4). Jefferson Davis of Mississippi is elected president and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia vice president five days later. The Confederacy establishes its own Bureau of Indian Affairs and promises return of Indian lands but most tribes (except for sections of the "Five Civilized Tribes") proclaim their neutrality.

1862: Congress charters a transcontinental railroad and commits itself to "extinguish as rapidly as may be the Indian title" to the land along the right-of-way.

1861-1886: Apache Uprising in Arizona and New Mexico lasts 25 years under war leaders Mangas Colorado, Cochise, Victorio, Loco, and others. No other native people consistently resisted assimilation and dissolution by the whites for so long or so successfully.

1862: The Santee Sioux War starts (August). Army artillery wins the fight for the whites, Chief Little Crow and his band flee to Canada, 38 Santee are hanged in the largest mass execution in U.S. history (December 26, 1862 at Mankato, Minnesota). Bounties are paid for Sioux scalps. By 1864 the Santee and Teton Sioux are beaten. The Homestead Act opens native lands in Kansas and Nebraska to white settlement.

1863-64: Kit Carson wages a murderous campaign against the Navajo, burning hogans, devastating fields, killing livestock, and driving the people away from their balanced way of life. After taking the sacred sites in Canyon de Chelly, Carson sends thousands on a forced march across 300 miles of New Mexico to Bosque Redondo. Hundreds of the people die. Navajo resistance ends with the surrender of Manuelito in 1866.

1863: The Shoshoni War (Bear River Campaign) starts (January) in Utah and Idaho involving the western Shoshoni following the foundation of Fort Douglas in the Wasatch Mountains above Salt Lake City.

1864-65: The Cheyenne and Arapaho War breaks out in Colorado and Kansas leading to the Sand Creek Massacre of 300 Cheyenne by John Chivington and his Colorado Volunteers (November 29). The final and most intense phase of the war for the Plains had begun. It would take another massacre at Wounded Knee a quarter of a century later to end it.

THE INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF THE LINCOLN PRESIDENCY

Almost immediately following Lincoln's first inauguration Salathiel Ellis, with the backing of his friend Congressman Gillet, asked for the contract to make the new presidency's Indian medals. Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Dole accepted Ellis' offer but once Congress had passed an appropriation for the work, he told Ellis he must sign a performance bond first. Having passed this obstacle, with Gillet acting as his surety, Ellis confronted the problem he and his one-time partner Willson had faced in getting the weights of his medals right the first time. Recognizing his New York City minting establishment was not up to the job, Ellis asked if the Philadelphia Mint would prepare and strike the medals instead. On receiving the Mint's agreement, Ellis went to work on the dies and the business was nearly finished by the end of July 1862. The first large silver medals were struck late in September. Three were struck for Ellis' own use and five for distribution to the Pawnee but then the 76mm reverse die broke.

The new die made by the Mint omitted Willson's name, presumably because he was dead and so not entitled to further consideration or royalties. By the beginning of April 1863, 100 76mm and 100 62mm Lincolns had been struck. These are the only Indian medals that do not carry the president's inaugural date. Sometime in October-November 1865, an unknown quantity was taken to the Philadelphia Mint by D.N. Cooley, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and melted.

Impressive First Size 1862 Lincoln in Silver

One that Got Away from Ford in the 1950s

2090

1862 Abraham Lincoln Indian Peace Medal. Silver. First Size. Second Reverse. Julian IP-38, Prucha-51. Choice Extremely Fine. 75.8 mm. 2630.0 grains. Pierced for suspension as typical, with a plain silver loop that is likely the original one, as issued. A very sharp medal with generous prooflike reflectivity remaining in the fields and excellent definition of nearly every detail. Only the highest areas of the motifs show any softening from use. This is best seen at Lincoln's hair and on the face at the lower reverse. The rims are high and sharp with just a few tiny nicks, and undoubtedly protected other areas of the design from various light impacts. Mostly light silver gray with faint golden brown and blue toning through the obverse fields and in close outlines around other design elements. What appear to be shallow planchet flaws or areas of gentle pitting are noted in the lower left obverse field and central reverse. They have little impact on the overall quality and appearance, and arguably none at all on the desirability of this beautiful Lincoln medal—one of the most desired of the series. Frequently, if a collector wants to own a single Indian Peace medal as an example of the series, it is a first-size Lincoln that is most desired.

The large-size Lincoln medals should exist with two different reverse dies. The original one cut for the Buchanan medals is reported to have been used to strike eight large-size Lincolns before it failed and needed to be replaced, either very late in 1862 or in early 1863. We have no records of any of those original eight surviving.

As to the present medal, this is only the third time this piece has been offered for sale in nearly seven decades. We had the pleasure of cataloging it a decade ago, but before that it was sold by New Netherlands Coin Company privately in the early 1950s. John Ford narrowly missed buying it, though it would seem that no harm was done as he would eventually own seven of these.

After a small hiatus, the actual striking of the silver Peace medals was returned to the Mint for this issue, though the die preparation was still done by Salathiel Ellis beyond the Mint's walls, with the exception of the necessary replacement reverse as noted above. Mint records indicate that 100 of each size were ordered and there is no commentary by Prucha or Julian to suggest any were returned unused. We are aware of 30 different silver Lincoln medals in this size, however, the number of issued originals is smaller. Three of those seen by us are unpierced, so they were clearly never issued. In addition to two of the unpierced ones for which we have weights, three other medals are of unusually high weight, and those are thus suspect as possible collector strikes. Seven of the medals are in museum hands. This one is of proper weight and has a bit of the handling one would expect from an issued medal. It is a superb piece for that aforementioned medal collector who would like one example, for a Peace medal specialist, or a collector of Lincolniana. No large-size Lincoln in silver ever goes wanting for attention.

Ex New Netherlands Coin Company, in 1952 or 1953, directly from Charles Wormser; unnamed intermediary; Stack's, May 2009, lot 1244. (It was related in our May 2009 sale that John J. Ford, Jr. was in the offices at New Netherlands when this piece was sold by Wormser and that Ford tried to trade the buyer for it on the spot).

2091

1862 Abraham Lincoln Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. First Size. Second Reverse. Julian IP-38, Prucha-51. MS-62 BN (NGC). 75.5 mm. 4004.8 grains. Mottled olive and mahogany brown on the obverse while the reverse is much more uniform chocolate brown, though traces of mahogany are noted. A small group of blunt marks in the central reverse are the only ones really worthy of specific mention, though there are a few tiny spots noted. Soft satiny luster and just the faintest break in the patina on the most vulnerable high points of the obverse design.

Though we note in the main line to this description that this is a "second reverse" medal, there really is no reason to believe that any bronze impressions were struck with the original die bearing Willson's signature in the exergue of the reverse central medallion.

The large bronze Lincoln medals seem to have caught on, so to speak, as they have been climbing in value in recent years. This speaks to a healthy demand for all things Lincoln. With the silver medals out of reach for many, these bronze impressions allow many more collectors to own these classic medals.

Ex Stack's, February 2008, lot 3587.

Photograph of the Southern Plains delegation, taken in the White House Conservatory on March 27, 1863. Yellow Wolf, the Native American in the front row, far right, is wearing a Thomas Jefferson Peace medal. (Mathew Brady photo • Library of Congress)

Nicely Provenanced Second Size Lincoln in Silver

Ex Virgil Brand

2092

1862 Abraham Lincoln Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Second Size. Julian IP-39, Prucha-51. Very Fine. 62.6 mm. 1410.3 grains. Pierced for suspension as typical, with a plain silver loop that is likely the original or at least in the identical style to that originally supplied. Medium gray silver with gentle mottling of golden brown and steel blue on the obverse. Similar tones are seen on the reverse but in a more evenly blended arrangement. Gentle wear is immediately apparent, and one must look closer to find the expected scattered marks of an issued medal. A few small scratches are also seen, with a more serious patch of them in the right obverse field. Considerable wear in the suspension hole illustrates that this medal was worn on someone's person for an extended period, but it didn't obtain the more serious damage seen on some examples. The eye appeal is really very nice.

Unlike the case of the large Lincoln medals, the original reverse die cut for the second size Buchanan medals did not break and was used for all issued medals of this administration. Joseph Willson's signature may be seen in the exergue of the central medallion. Though basically the same design as on the large medals, the details of the central medallion are arranged differently. While the foreground figure of the Native American plowing is virtually identical, the arrangements in the distance differ. The most notable difference is in the central placement of a church steeple at the center on this size, while large medals have a less obvious church at the far right. The baseball players are also in different positions. Close inspection will reveal other differences as well. Quite a bit of detail was put into these designs by Willson.

It is believed that 100 medals were struck in silver of each size for the Lincoln issue, which would suggest that the survival rate should be fairly close. In fact, the writer has identified 22 different specimens for this size, which is eight fewer than for the larger medals. However, all are pierced for issue, and consistently so. Additionally, we have weights for 19 of the 22, and they all seem to have been struck on planchets of the same weight standard. This suggests that, in fact, some large Lincoln medals were probably made for collectors while those of this size were all issued. Taking this into consideration, the rates of survival of the issued medals is very close to identical. Six of the specimens we are aware of are in institutional collections.

Ex Virgil M. Brand; Michael Brand Zeddies, February 1960; John J. Ford, Jr.; Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XVI, October 2006, lot 166.

2093

1862 Abraham Lincoln Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. Second Size. Julian IP-39, Prucha-51. MS-63 BN (NGC). 62.7 mm. 1935.2 grains. Mostly deep mahogany brown patina with gentle olive brown mottling on the obverse and some mellowing on the highest points of relief. Scattered small marks are mostly seen at the central reverse while a few tiny spots are noted on the obverse. Slight prooflike character in the fields contrasts a bit with the satiny devices. While not perfectly preserved, this is a lovely example of this popular medal.

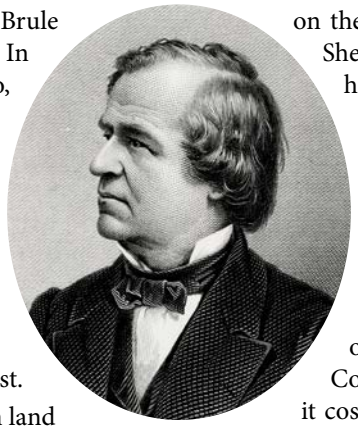
Ex Stack's, February 2008, lot 3588.

ANDREW JOHNSON 1865 - 1869

Born December 29, 1808. Elected vice president November 8, 1864.
Succeeded April 15, 1865. Impeached February 24, acquitted May 26, 1866.
Died July 31, 1875.

INDIAN-U.S. RELATIONS 1865 - 1869

1865-68: Opening of and increasing white traffic along the Bozeman Trail (North Platte River in Wyoming) that traverses Indian land leads to uprisings by Oglala, Hunkpapa, and Brule Sioux as well as northern Cheyenne and Arapahoe. In response, the federal government builds forts Reno, Phil Kearny, and C.F. Smith in southern Montana and northern Wyoming by December 1866, but federal cavalry is bested by the plains warriors. By the Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1868 the federal government agrees to give up its posts along the trail in return for peace with the Sioux. During the summer of 1868 the Sioux burn down the evacuated posts.



1865-1873: Mexican Kickapoo War in the southwest.

1866: Railway Enabling Act allows taking of Indian land for railroad rights-of-way.

1866-68: Snake War begins in Oregon and Idaho, involving Yahuskin and Walpapi bands of Northern Paiutes.

1867: The last of the federal treaties with Indian nations, that involving the Nez Perce, is negotiated.

1867-69: General Winfield Scott Hancock's campaign against southern Cheyenne and Arapahoe and their Sioux allies ends in frustration for his military leader, George Custer. The Treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 gives the peoples a reservation anchored on the Powder River. The following year, now under Phil Sheridan, Custer surrounds peaceful Black Kettle and his band in their camp on the Washita River and in a dawn attack rides into the camp and kills 100 or more warriors, takes the women and children prisoner, and declares a victory. In 1869, federal troops surround the Cheyenne Dog Soldier camp at Summit Springs, Colorado, and launch a surprise attack; warriors and their leader, Tall Bull, fight to the death.

1868: In a treaty with the Navajo, they are placed on a reservation in the Chuska Mountains. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs issues an estimate that it costs the federal government a million dollars for each Indian killed. The 14th Amendment denies Indians the right to vote.

1868-69: The Southern Plains War starts involving Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Sioux, Comanche, and Kiowa peoples. At its end General Sheridan sets up a Comanche and Kiowa reservation in Indian Territory on the Red River.

THE INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF THE JOHNSON PRESIDENCY

Anthony C. Paquet, who had lost the Buchanan Indian medal commission to Salathiel Ellis, was awarded the contract for the second term Lincoln medal in part because Paquet proposed not only to execute the two sets of dies but also provide the silver for the medals and cover the costs of striking them at the Mint. The only change to Paquet's proposal concerned the design for the reverse, which Paquet had wanted to show the Capitol dome in Washington, D.C. Instead, the new reverse type was to show a Native American and Columbia shaking hands before a monument to Washington on which is inscribed PEACE. Following Lincoln's assassination Paquet executed a Johnson portrait which was done from life in September 1865. The designs were all finished by late October, and by January 1866 the Mint had made the two sets of dies and struck medals in silver for the Indian department.

Extraordinary First Size 1865 Andrew Johnson Medal

With Provenance to the Original Recipient and a Unique Official Engraving

2094

1865 Andrew Johnson Indian Peace Medal. Silver. First Size. Julian IP-40, Prucha-52, Musante GW-770, Baker-173X. About Uncirculated. 75.6 mm. 2674.3 grains. Original integral suspension mount with loop intact, but showing evidence of some repair. Light silver gray dominates both sides, while pleasing accents of blue, green and dark gray toning outline the central devices and accentuate the legends around. Scattered small marks in the slightly reflective fields, as expected, though the condition is rather impressive and there is really no damage to speak of. This is a medal that was prized by its recipient and passed down with care. Carefully inscribed on the upper reverse, "BROTHER, I AM PLEASED WITH YOU!"

The singular thing that causes a silver Peace medal to be so prized is its history. In nearly every individual case, this is limited to simply a general understanding of how these medals as a class were used, the groups they were reported (or believed) to have been given to, the administrations they were authorized by or the agents who distributed them. Of course, this is all against a backdrop of the specific time period of the medal itself and whatever issues or politics were informing the relations between Native Americans and those who were increasingly moving into their traditional lands. Only in very rare cases do we have the pleasure of handling one of these medals with the benefit of precise knowledge as to the original recipient, and this is one of those landmark occasions.

This medal first came to the attention of the writer in 2001 by way of a telephone call that led to its eventual consignment for sale, for the first time ever, in our May 2001 Bowers and Merena auction. It was one of five medals that came to us, remarkably, with complete provenances back to indigenous owners or original recipients. When we presented this medal for sale in 2001, its unique history was given as follows:

"This historic medal was presented to the Blackfoot Sioux (Sihasapa) chief Kill Eagle by order of President Andrew

Johnson for Kill Eagle's role in the safe return of captive Fanny Kelly to Fort Pierre, South Dakota in 1865. According to historian Dr. Sally Roesch Wagner, Kelly "was taken captive in July 1864 by a war part of Hunkpapa Sioux in Wyoming. During most of the five months she was held prisoner, Mrs. Kelly stayed in the lodgings of Sitting Bull, the famous leader, 'as a guest,' of his family, 'and I was treated as a guest,' she wrote." Fierce territorial fighting between the tribes of the Great Plains began in earnest in 1851 after the Treaty of Fort Laramie, and by 1862 the Santee Uprising in Minnesota took the hostilities to a new level with the onset of the Sioux War of 1862. Dozens of Anglo captives were taken during this period, which provoked a rash of "captivity narratives" that were published both serially and in a book form; Fanny Kelly's 1871 book, *My Captivity Among the Sioux Indians* was among the most famous published during this period and remains readily available in reprint form to this day.

"Fanny Wiggins Kelly was born in 1845 and moved to Kansas in 1856. By 1864, Kelly and her family were emigrating even further west to Idaho, and in July of that year her traveling party was attacked by "a party of about 250 Indians, painted and equipped for war, who uttered the wild war-whoop and fired a volley of guns and revolvers into the air." Kelly remained in captivity for five months, before two Blackfeet Indians, Kill Eagle and his brother Short Gun, traded their horses to the Oglala Sioux for her and another woman. These Blackfeet saw to Kelly's safe return to the hands of the U.S. Government, though her account and the notes of A.B. Welch differ on whether or not Kelly was initially returned at Fort Sully or Fort Pierre, both in south Dakota. Kelly says of the Blackfeet, "these savages proved very kind to me. Though their nation is regarded by the whites as very vindictive and hostile, they showed me nothing by civility and respect." Word of Kelly's capture, which had become a bit of a cause celebre on the frontier, reached the highest echelons of power, and by the end of 1865 President Andrew Johnson had instructed gifts to be given to the two loyal Blackfeet. Johnson's letter, reproduced in full below, dictated that "as a memento of my perpetual friendship for Nootay-u-hah and his brother, so long as they remain friendly with my white children, I direct that a silver medal be given to each of them with a suitable inscription, that all my red children and all my white children when they look upon it may know that their Great Father in Washington is greatly pleased with Nootay-u-hah and Nootay-u-hah's brother." Pursuant to this Presidential order, the present Peace medal was engraved, presumably upon delivery to the local Indian agent in the Dakota Territory, "BROTHER, I AM PLEASED WITH YOU!" at the top of the reverse. This is the only such special engraving on a Peace medal known to us.

Fanny Wiggins Kelly

"With its remarkable pedigree to one of the most famous violent interactions between the Plains Indians and American settlers in the West, this medal is a unique numismatic prize. The affectionate and evocative engraving of "Brother, I am pleased with you!" as ordered by President Andrew Johnson, sets this medal apart from its kin and makes it an especially important Peace medal. Only 90 large size Andrew Johnson Peace medals were struck, and it is doubtful if a more interesting specimen survives than the present one. An exciting Indian Peace medal with a spectacular pedigree, and one of the highlights of the present offering."

It was certainly a highlight of our 2001 offering, and it very much is so today as well. The present writer is aware of as many as 18 different large-size Johnson medals, however, a couple of them appear questionable, one does not seem to have ever had a hanger. Five of them are in institutional holdings and this is the only one with a complete provenance to its original recipient. According to Prucha, a total of 90 large-size medals were originally struck for the Johnson Administration.

While we are not reprinting the entirety of President Johnson's order here, we would be pleased to offer to the buyer of this lot photocopies from our 2001 catalog presentation of this medal. This will provide not only the Presidential order, but also the detailed background of Major A.B. Welch in whose estate this medal was found.

Presented to Blackfoot Chief, Kill Eagle on behalf of President Andrew Johnson in 1865; by descent to his grandson, James Eagle Horn, to A.B. Welch, before 1939; Bowers and Merena, May 2001, lot 1131; a Private Collector; Sotheby's, May 2018, lot 196.

Kill Eagle depicted wearing his Andrew Johnson Indian Peace medal. (Drawing by W.A. Rogers • Library of Congress)

2095

1865 Andrew Johnson Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. First Size. Julian IP-40, Prucha-52, Musante GW-770, Baker-173X, var. (unlisted in Bronze). MS-62 BN (NGC). 75.6 mm. 3291.8 grains. Mahogany bronze with lighter chestnut accents on the high points from some moderate handling. No serious marks but some light debris is noted in the recesses of the legend. Pleasing for the grade.

With the Johnson medals came yet another change of the reverse design. For an unspecified reason, a redesign of the medals was already being cut into steel at the beginning of Lincoln's second term. Upon his death, it was decided that the new partially completed Lincoln obverses should be abandoned in favor of new ones featuring Andrew Johnson. The reverse dies were close to completion by this time, so it is clear that the Lincoln administration sought the reverse design change, apparently being dissatisfied with the derogatory reverse design used for the Buchanan and Lincoln medals.

After Lincoln's death, there was further correspondence relating to Peace medals, and it was proposed that the reverses should be returned to the older Peace and Friendship motifs. What seems clear is that at least two entities at the administrative level desired abandonment of the scalping scene reverse, and that they had not been in communication as the second term Lincoln designs were being devised. The reverses used for the Johnson medals were those planned for the second term of Lincoln, and it is assumed that they were simply deemed acceptable. It is also likely that no one thought the additional cost of returning to the Peace and Friendship dies was necessary. In the end, the new motifs sent the same message, with two equally attired figures shaking hands in peace.

Ex Du Mouchelles Auction House, Detroit, Michigan, July 2009, lot 186.

General William T. Sherman and Commissioners in Council with Sioux Chiefs at Fort Laramie, Wyoming circa 1868. (National Archives)

Well Used Second Size Andrew Johnson in Silver

2096

1865 Andrew Johnson Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Second Size. Julian IP-41, Prucha-52, Musante GW-771, Baker-173V. Fine. 62.8 mm. 1457.6 grains. Pierced for suspension after the loss of the original hanger mount. Bent, and hairlined from cleaning that has left much of the surface pale gray. Just a trace of deeper patina remains close to the rims and in some of the more protected areas of the design. Numerous tiny marks are seen under magnification, as typical for an awarded and hard-worn Peace medal. As we noted when we last offered this piece in 2013, these markers of use are little more or less than clear evidence of what is likely a fascinating history. Unfortunately the precise details are probably forever lost, but this is a very tangible artifact of a story that is undoubtedly, if nothing else, uniquely American.

The extensive John Ford collection included seven silver Andrew Johnson medals, but just two were of this second size. In the cataloging of the first one, Michael Hodder expressed that he knew of just five examples, and Carl Carlson had earlier found seven auction records for silver examples of this size. This one is a relative newcomer to those known, as we are unaware of any sales history of it prior to our offering in 2013. In all, the writer has accounted for 18 specimens, about the same as for the Johnson medals of the first size. However, more of this size are in institutional collections, eight in total. According to Prucha, the total number produced of each size was 90 medals, so our ratio of survivors to those believed struck is virtually identical for the two Johnson medals.

Ex Stack's Bowers Galleries, August 2013, lot 1085.

2097

1865 Andrew Johnson Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. Second Size. Julian IP-41, Prucha-52, Musante GW-771, Baker-173W. MS-63 BN (NGC). 62.7 mm. 1955.3 grains. Dark mahogany bronze is fairly uniform throughout with just a trace of mellowing on the highest points of relief. Very nice eye appeal, though a few small nicks and tiny spots are noted for accuracy. The Johnson medals stand out from others in the series for the small portrait of George Washington incorporated into the reverse design. As such, they are collected by those seeking Peace medals, U.S. Mint medals, and Washington portrait medals.

Ex Stack's, January 2009, lot 5073; Stack's, January 2010, lot 4758.

ULYSSES GRANT 1869 - 1877

Born April 27, 1822. Elected November 3, 1868.
Inaugurated March 4, 1869. Died July 23, 1885.

INDIAN-U.S. RELATIONS 1869 - 1877

1870: President Grant gives control of Indian agencies to various Christian missionary societies, removing the army officers who had previously held the positions. This attempt to "civilize" the peoples through religion fails. In a January meeting at Fort Cobb, Missouri, General Philip H. Sheridan replies to Comanche Chief Toch-a-way's remark "Me good Indian" by saying "The only good Indian is a dead Indian."

1871: The Indian Appropriation Act is passed (March 3), making all native peoples wards of the federal government and nullifying all pre-existing treaties with Indians. In May, Satanta, war leader of the Kiowa (along with leaders Satank and Big Tree), raids a federal wagon train on the Butterfield Stage route near Jacksboro, Texas. Army retaliation leads to the death of Satank and the arrest and threatened execution of Satanta and Big Tree. The Kiowa leaders are released from prison in 1873. General Sheridan forbids Indians from leaving their reservations without permission.

1872-73: The Modoc War in California starts when the people return to their ancestral California lands. Army attempts to force them back to their Klamath reservation meet with armed resistance. War leaders Captain Jack, Hooker Jim, and Scarfaced Charley hold off federal troops until the summer of 1873. In 1909 the 51 surviving Modoc are allowed to return to the Klamath reservation.

1873: First International Indian Fair held in Oklahoma.

1874: Gold is discovered in the Black Hills of South Dakota.

1876-77: The Black Hills War starts when, in response to demands from gold mining interests, the army demands all Sioux hunting parties in the Black Hills return to their agencies within two months or be declared outlaw. General Sheridan dispatches Generals George Crook and George Custer on punitive winter campaigns against the Sioux. Crook is checked at the Rosebud and forced to withdraw. Custer's command is wiped out on the Little Big Horn. War leaders Crazy Horse of the Oglala and Sitting Bull and Gall of the Hunkpapa Sioux show themselves among the finest all-time leaders of light cavalry forces. By 1877 federal pursuit has effectively ended Sioux independence. Crazy Horse is murdered on September 5 in a contrived encounter with General Crook.

1877: Nez Perce War starts after 20 years of broken white promises and abusively exercised cultural hegemony. Chief Joseph leads his band (June to October) on a 1,700 mile fighting evacuation toward Canada and safety but is surrounded by General Nelson Miles and surrenders. Chief Joseph dies in 1904 on a reservation in Washington State. Northern Cheyenne people begin (September) a fighting movement towards the Tongue River in Wyoming and Montana rather than be interned on a reservation near Fort Reno. The people elude thousands of soldiers and armed civilians. By the end of their flight the Northern Cheyenne people are nearly exterminated.

Ogilasa of the Lakota (also known as Red Shirt), wearing native dress, a President Grant Peace medal, and holding a tomahawk. (Library of Congress)

THE INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF THE GRANT PRESIDENCY

Anthony C. Paquet, the freelance engraver who had designed the Johnson Indian Peace medal, was given the task of designing the medal for President Grant's administration. The initial negotiations for the contract included provisions for two sizes, like the Johnson medal previously. Paquet began work in May 1870, but part way through his design for the reverse (which showed the U.S. Capitol building, the type he had almost finished for the Lincoln design and proposed for Johnson's) was rejected for one concocted by the president's own cabinet, a crowded affair of little merit. Paquet accepted the change and finished work on the single pair of dies in August 1871. Unlike previous Indian medals, Grant's were to be distributed in a single size only, no distinction being made for recipients of greater or lesser puissance. At some stage in the design process Grant's name was omitted and the mistake was not caught until after medals had been struck.

As called for in the final contract, 300 silver medals were struck by September 1871. Later, probably in the 1880s, restrikes were made in silver for sale to collectors. The later issue Grant medals are the only silver restrikes the Mint acknowledged ever having officially made.

Very Sharp Ulysses S. Grant in Silver

2098

1871 Ulysses S. Grant Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Julian IP-42, Prucha-53. About Uncirculated. 63.4 mm. 1747.0 grains. Pierced for suspension as issued, with an apparently original silver loop still intact. Attractive pearl gray surfaces with iridescent soft blue and gold mottling throughout the gently prooflike fields. A few scattered marks are seen with magnification, as are series of fine scratches through parts of the legend and close to the inner edge of the ornate design border. Apparent collector's marks on the central reverse in the form of three deliberate square punches in the globe make this an easy specimen to identify among the fairly large number of medals known. We have counted nearly 50 distinct specimens of the Grant in silver, but that number includes four unpierced examples that were clearly not intended for issuance among Native Americans. In addition, of those found, seven are in institutional collections. We have weights recorded for 32 specimens and it seems that the Grant medals were struck to two different weight standards. One group generally weighs around 1500-1530 grains, and this includes 20 of the medals in our survey, including four medals that have recorded Native American provenances. The other 12 medals are of a heavier standard, ranging from approximately 1707 to 1922 grains. Both standards are included in the present collection. They are struck from the same dies and there is no determinable difference in the die states between them.

Ex Stack's Bowers Galleries, September 2011, lot 98.

A Second Silver U.S. Grant Medal

2099

1871 Ulysses S. Grant Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Julian IP-42, Prucha-53. Fine. 63.8 mm. 1478.4 grains. Pierced for suspension as typical, with a copper replacement loop. Light silver gray throughout, partially from old cleaning. This medal is quite worn, with several heavy dents and bends, numerous smaller marks and edge bumps. It clearly has seen a good bit of use, and close study reveals traces of microscopic roughness suggestive that it may have been subjected to the elements for a time.

Grant medals are the last of the medals struck in large quantities for distribution to Native Americans. In September 1871, a complete order of 300 medals was delivered, though efforts toward creating the medals had been initiated in 1869. Work on the medals had been interrupted by the intervention of Grant and his cabinet who decided they wanted different designs for the medals than had originally been planned. The themes seen here seem to be inspired by the close of the American Civil War as much as any consideration of Native American policy, if not more so. This is not surprising as Grant was a battle-experienced General and in his new role as President, he likely desired to put that conflict further into the distance. In fact, this is a *Peace Medal* much more so than an "Indian Peace Medal" in the sense that the Native Americans have largely been removed from consideration in the motifs, aside from the lone element of a traditional peace pipe. Gone are the designs of clasped hands of friendship, contrasts of lifeways, or derogatory depictions of "savage" behavior. The legends, LET US HAVE PEACE and LIBERTY, JUSTICE AND EQUALITY on the obverse and ON EARTH PEACE and GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN on the reverse, are very general in nature. The central reverse motif features a globe with the entire North American and South American continents beneath a Bible. Agricultural implements are below. The entire composition seems larger than American and Native American relations, and intended more as a clear statement that the Grant administration was finished with War and strife of any kind.

Said to be from an unnamed collector in Flagstaff, Arizona; The Vault, Kernersville, North Carolina via eBay, May 2010.

2100

1871 Ulysses S. Grant Indian Peace Medal. Copper, Bronzed. Julian IP-42, Prucha-53. MS-65 BN (NGC). 63.7 mm. 2185.3 grains. Deep chocolate brown with subtle mahogany undertones and just a trace of light cabinet friction on the highest points of the design. The slightly satiny texture of the surfaces give the piece pleasing soft luster and lovely eye appeal. Though struck for collectors, bronze examples seem to be a bit scarcer than silver ones.

Ex Aesculapius Collection of Indian Peace Medals, Stack's, January 2011, lot 6241.

2101

1885 Ulysses S. Grant Memorial Medal. White Metal. Very Good. 63.5 mm. Pierced for suspension, and worn through the edge. Dark gray surfaces are thoroughly oxidized and a bit granular. Scattered nicks and marks as one would expect of a medal in a soft composition that had been worn in the context of an awarded Peace medal. While this is not an awarded Peace medal in any official sense, it was acquired by our consignor directly from a Native American family in Wagner, South Dakota in autumn 1990. It was said to have been obtained and worn by a member of the family who thought of it as similar to an official Grant Peace medal.

From a Native American Family in Wagner, South Dakota, Autumn, 1990.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES 1877 - 1881

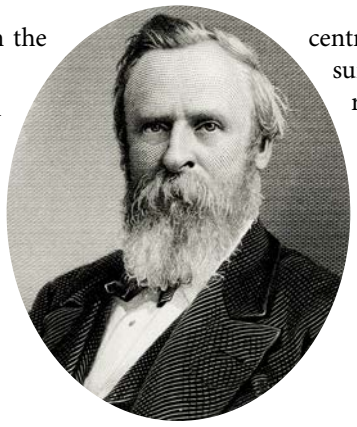
Born October 4, 1822. Elected November 7, 1876.
Inaugurated March 5, 1877. Died January 17, 1893.

INDIAN-U.S. RELATIONS 1877 - 1881

1877-1880: Victorio's War, involving the Apache in the southwest.

1878: Bannock War starts in Idaho and Oregon involving the Bannock, Northern Paiute, and Cayuse peoples. Last buffalo hunts by southern Plains tribes.

1879: The Sheepeater War begins in Idaho involving the peoples of the Salmon River Mountains of central Idaho who hunt the mountain sheep. The people surrender in October and are removed to the Bannocks' reservation. Carlisle Indian School is founded, aimed at assimilating native peoples into Anglo culture.



1879-1880: The Ute War begins over white encroachment onto traditional Ute lands. By 1880 the Ute people have been moved to a reservation in Utah.

THE INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF THE HAYES PRESIDENCY

Designed by George T. Morgan, the Hayes medal represented a return to the oval format of the first medals authorized by the United States of America for presentation to Native Americans. Engraver George T. Morgan took for the obverse the presidential portrait he had already done for Hayes' presidential medal but in a reduced size. The reverse type harkened back to the intention of the first round medals authorized by the U.S.A. for presentation to Native Americans, the so-called Seasons Medals, and shows a settler demonstrating the benefits of settled European style life to an armed Indian who, incongruously, wears a war bonnet. Unlike the earlier medals but in step with the precedent established by Grant, only one size was contemplated for the Hayes medal. The original reverse had the date 1877 at the top below the word PEACE. This die is said to have been broken and replaced in June 1879 by another that lacked the date. None seem to have been struck in silver for presentation to Native Americans principally because Hayes' term was drawing to a close by the time the dies were ready.

Very Rare 1877 Rutherford B. Hayes Medal
Original Intended Reverse

2102

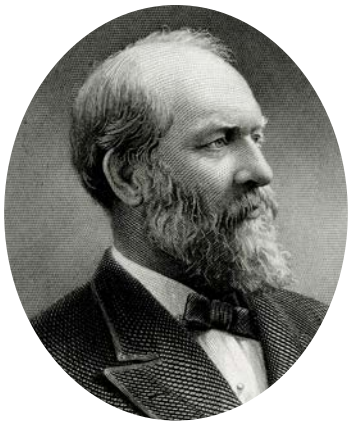
1877 Rutherford B. Hayes Indian Peace Medal. Oval. Copper, Bronze. Julian IP-43, Prucha-54. MS-67 BN (NGC). 75.6 mm x 59.4 mm. 2818.0 grains. Beautiful light olive bronze surfaces with flecks of lighter orange throughout visible under magnification. Glossy and sharp on the motifs while the fields are generously prooflike and free of handling. Traces of pale rose and green toning are noted at certain angles to the light. Just a few minuscule rim marks are noted and a trivial spot is seen behind Hayes' head. Superb quality and eye appeal.

The Hayes medal was the first struck in the short but distinctive series of oval Peace medals, though none are known to have been struck in silver for presentation. Initially, there seems to have been no interest or action on the part of the Hayes Administration to get the Peace medal program up and running. That being the case, the Mint officials proceeded largely on their own in creating and striking the few that were made. Again, none were for distribution, nearly all were in bronze and likely intended primarily to keep the series going to benefit the Mint's list of medals for sale to collectors. Eventually, there came requests for medals for distribution from Indian Agents, but by the time these requests were received it was apparently too late for the slow gears of government bureaucracy to make the necessary accommodations for silver medals. The whole business dragged on beyond Hayes' term in office. Silver impressions do exist, however. We are aware of four of them, but while one is looped and one is holed, these merely masquerade as issued medals. The early bronze pieces like this one, with a dated reverse, are the only Hayes medals that might be called "original." As such, they are necessary for any advanced collection of Peace medals and they command prices commensurate with their rarity and status. The few we have handled in the last decade have brought as much $8,225, the record for one as far as we are aware, in our August 2013 sale. This one brought $6,325 in our January 2011 Americana Sale, its last public appearance.

Ex Heritage, September 2008, lot 28138; Aesculapius Collection of Indian Peace Medals, Stack's, January 2011, lot 6243.

JAMES GARFIELD 1881

Born November 19, 1831. Elected November 2, 1880.
Inaugurated March 4, 1881. Assassinated July 2, 1881.



INDIAN-U.S. RELATIONS 1881

1881: Sitting Bull and his band surrenders at Fort Buford, North Dakota.

THE INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF THE GARFIELD PRESIDENCY

The Garfield portrait was completed by engraver Charles Barber after the president's assassination. The reverse was Morgan's earlier design for the second Hayes' die (without the date). Like the Hayes medal, the Mint undertook to make the Garfield medal absent authorization from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which did not formally ask for it until April 1881. In yet another departure from tradition, the Mint prepared dies for Indian medals but did not strike a fixed number in advance. Instead, medals were struck as orders for them were received from the secretary of the Interior's office. Although Julian states the dies were not finished until January 6, 1882, it is known that in late 1881 or early in the following year some 25 silver Garfield medals were struck and sent to W.D. Andrus, the Indian agent for the Yankton Sioux. These were not presented until March 1882, however. One of three other silver Garfield medals is known to have been presented to San Juan, a Mescalero Apache. A photograph showing him wearing his medal was offered as lot 802 in Rex Stark's fixed price list of November, 2002.

Photograph shows Apache Chief James A. Garfield, wearing a Garfield medal (Library of Congress).

Very Rare 1881 James A. Garfield in Bronze

2103

1881 James A. Garfield Indian Peace Medal. Oval. Copper, Bronzed. Julian IP-44, Prucha-55. MS-67 BN (NGC). 75.4 x 60.0 mm. 2926.0 grains. A really superb example of this very rare medal. Deep reddish mahogany bronze with just a trace of faint marbling in the right obverse field. Deeply prooflike throughout the fields with a fine satin finish on the motifs. Just the faintest break in the patina on the high point of Garfield's head. Virtually no signs of handling otherwise.

Unlike the case of the Rutherford B. Hayes medals, there were a few original medals struck in silver for the Garfield administration for distribution to Native Americans. As noted in Prucha, the adopted methodology was to strike medals as needed rather than to produce a large number for eventual distribution. The silver Garfields are extremely rare. We know of only four originals, and it seems that perhaps a mere 25 of them were struck for distribution. As is the case with the Hayes medals, there were restrikes made in silver for collectors, and we are aware of two such pieces.

With the silver impressions prohibitively rare, and original bronzes not that much more available, there is fairly strong collector enthusiasm when one does come up for sale. Carl Carlson found only three auction records for bronze Garfield medals and four records for silver ones, though we suspect that he may have inadvertently included restrikes among the latter. The Ford Collection contained one silver and two bronzes. Just four bronzes have appeared in our sales in the last decade, including this piece, which almost certainly holds the price record at $7,050, from when it was sold in our August 2013 sale.

Ex Chris Schenkel, Bowers and Merena, November 1990, lot 4037; Charles A. Wharton Collection, Stack's Bowers Galleries, August 2013, lot 1069.

CHESTER ARTHUR 1881 - 1885

Born October 5, 1830.
Elected vice president November 2, 1880.
Succeeded September 20, 1881. Died November 18, 1886.

INDIAN-U.S. RELATIONS 1881 - 1885

1881-86: Geronimo's War involving the Apaches of the Southwest.

1883-84: Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller makes Indian police also judges in Indian courts, hoping to discourage native peoples from continuing religious practices such as the Sun Dance. Federal courts rule that Indians are not U.S. citizens within the meaning of the 14th Amendment and cannot vote.

THE INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF THE ARTHUR PRESIDENCY

Like the Garfield medal before it, the one for Arthur was a combination of an obverse portrait taken by Charles Barber from life and the George Morgan designed reverse originally done for the second Hayes medal. The dies were ready by February 1883 and seem to have been on hand but still unused in June of that year.

Matched Pair of 1881 Chester Arthur Medals

Bronze, with Original Fitted Case

2104

Fascinating Presentation Pair of 1881 Chester A. Arthur Indian Peace Medals. Oval. Copper, Bronzed. IP-45, Prucha-56, with original case. Both 75.5 x 59.4 mm. A matched pair with an original presentation case.

MS-64 BN (NGC). 2010.1 grains. Light olive and mahogany brown with soft pastel tones in the reflective fields. A trace of rub on the high points of the obverse, while the reverse is pristine in this respect. A couple of small marks and softly speckled patina on the obverse.

Uncirculated Details—Environmental Damage (NGC). 2017.0 grains. Deeper mahogany brown with nice reflectivity but several notable oxidation spots on the obverse. Otherwise, any evidence of handling is very minimal. Soft pastel toning in the fields. The original red case of issue is valuable for the story it tells about these medals having been together from the beginning. Inside are two white velvet (though now a bit stained) fitted depressions for holding the medals, likely intended to show the obverse of one and the reverse of the other simultaneously. The inside lid is white satin. The hinged end of the case is lost, so it is in two pieces. Also included is an original presentation card seemingly made to fit within the box. It is torn and bent, but all present. It bears the portrait of Arthur along with a three line inscription below: "Peace medal presented by / PRESIDENT CHESTER A. ARTHUR / To Indians, 1881." The president's name has been written by hand in India ink, and the date, 1881, has been corrected by hand from 1801, which begs the question as to whether this card originally bore a Jefferson portrait, over which the Arthur portrait was pasted, and accompanied some version of a Jefferson Peace medal. Either way, it is a most unusual little set and the Arthur medals, like the other ovals, are quite rare.

It is believed that just five original silver Arthur medals were struck for presentation to Native Americans. If indeed those five were presented as intended, we are not aware of a single one that survives. There are silver impressions, however, including one certain original that appeared in the Ford sale. It was pierced, as one would expect for an issued medal, yet it bore a provenance to Arthur's secretary of the Interior, H. Moore Teller, and it is believed that his medal is one recorded as having been struck in February 1885 and sent to the Mint Director. Michael Hodder, writing in the Ford catalog, noted two originals and included the Dreyfuss specimen, which was unpierced and more than 10% heavier than the Teller-Ford medal. If the one sent to the Mint Director and given to Teller was pierced, it is fairly safe to assume that all of the originals were, as it was customary for the piercings to be done by the Mint. As such, it remains the writer's opinion that while "original" or early impressions in silver exist, none of those awarded to Native Americans are known today.

As to the matter of the bronzes, 37 are reported to have been struck by the Mint in the fiscal year ending August 1, 1883. Five more were ordered in 1885. Of prime interest here, however, is the mention by Prucha that two bronze examples were sent to Louisville, Kentucky, for display at the Southern Exposition in 1883. As this cased pair is unique as far as we are aware, and they were clearly intended for display, we would go so far as to state it highly probable that this is the pair referenced as having been sent to the Exposition. Having fitted openings for two medals allowing obverse and reverse to be shown simultaneously suggests that they were to be displayed in a setting where they could not be handled, behind a showcase. For any other circumstance, a single medal would be sufficient. (Total: 2 medals; 1 case; 1 card)

Ex Stack's Bowers Galleries, September 2011, lot 99.

GROVER CLEVELAND 1885 - 1889

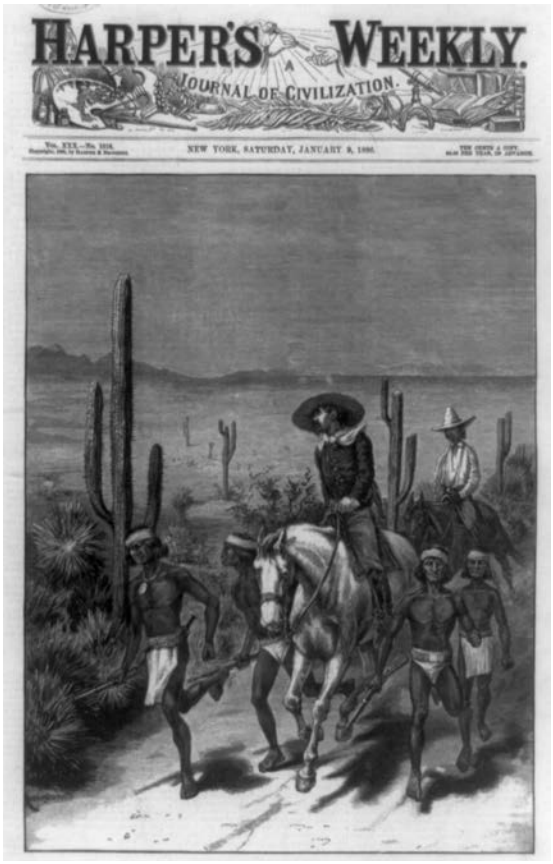
Born March 18, 1837. Elected November 4, 1884.
Inaugurated March 4, 1885. Died June 24, 1908.

INDIAN-U.S. RELATIONS 1885 - 1889

1886: Geronimo surrenders (September 4) and the Chiricahua people are first imprisoned in Florida, later removed to Fort Sill, Oklahoma (1894).

THE INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF THE FIRST CLEVELAND PRESIDENCY

Once again, Charles Barber designed the portrait obverse for the Cleveland medal while the reverse was the same George Morgan designed for Hayes' second medal in 1879. The Cleveland dies were finished in October 1885 but silver medals were not first struck until May 1887, when 10 silver and 30 copper specimens were delivered to the Interior Department. All were eventually distributed. For example, in 1888 a silver and a copper Cleveland medal was sent to the Hoopa Valley (California) Agency to serve as first and second prizes in an agricultural fair. That same year, one silver medal was sent to a Brule Sioux along with 10 copper medals to be distributed locally. When Cleveland was elected for the second time, in 1892, no new Indian Peace medals were designed. Instead, the older type was employed.


HARPER'S WEEKLY.
A JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION.
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 8, 1881.

Indian Scouts on Geronimo's Trail. (Library of Congress)

Lovely Bronze 1885 Grover Cleveland Medal

Superior Quality and Very Rare

2105

1885 Grover Cleveland Indian Peace Medal. Oval. Copper, Bronzed. Julian IP-46, Prucha-57. MS-66 BN (NGC). 75.4 x 59.3 mm. 2802.6 grains. A most handsome example of this rare medal. Medium to light mahogany bronze patina is uniform throughout without even the slightest break in tone on the high points. Three tiny struck-in flaws are noted beneath the truncation and are as made. In the right obverse field tiny patina flecks are noted, but otherwise there is virtually no evidence of handling. This is truly a superb specimen, and it rightfully holds the price record for this issue at just a few dollars shy of $10,000, from when it last appeared in our August 2013 sale.

Prucha relates that in April 1887 there was an official order placed for 10 silver medals for distribution. However, acquiring one is perhaps impossible as we are aware of no confirmed originals. Carl Carlson found no auction appearances in silver, the Ford Collection similarly revealed not a single one in silver and in that catalog Michael Hodder noted that he was aware of none. Even the ANS specimen is a matte-finish restrike.

This brings us to the bronzes. Carlson's auction records included just two appearances for a bronze strike, while the Ford Collection contained a lone example. There are later impressions from the dies with matte finishes in bronze, but earlier impressions are very rare and have generally commanded healthy sums at auction. The Ford specimen brought $3,450 in 2007, setting up this superior specimen for the record price it brought six years later. In fact, this is easily the nicest example we have seen and it comes with a nice provenance to the Dreyfuss and Schenkel collections. We are delighted to be able to offer it once again.

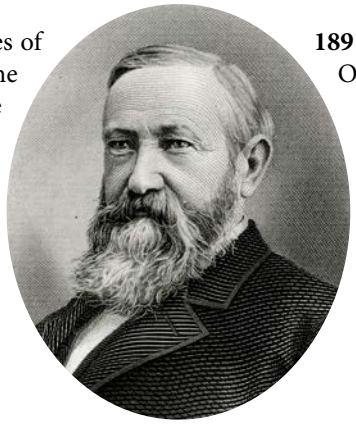
Ex Bowers and Ruddy, December 1981, lot 4149; David W. Dreyfuss, Bowers and Merena, April 1986, lot 5195; Chris Schenkel, Bowers and Merena, November 1990, lot 4039; Charles A. Wharton, Stack's Bowers Galleries, August 2013, lot 1070.

BENJAMIN HARRISON 1889 - 1893

Born August 20, 1833. Elected November 6, 1888.
Inaugurated March 4, 1889. Died March 13, 1901.

INDIAN-U.S. RELATIONS 1889 - 1893

1890: The Ghost dance offers hope to native peoples of a return to their independence. The army bans the celebration. Sitting Bull is killed by Indian police (December 15) before he can join leaders Kicking Bear and Short Bull. Federal troops muster, the Seventh Cavalry captures Red Cloud's band, the Massacre at Wounded Knee Creek follows (December 29).



1891: Harrison opens 900,000 acres of Indian land in Oklahoma to white settlement.

1892: Harrison opens 1,800,000 acres of the Crow reservation in Montana to white settlement.

1893: More than 6,000,000 acres in the so-called "Cherokee Strip" between Kansas and Oklahoma are opened for land rush settlement.

THE INDIAN PEACE MEDALS OF THE HARRISON PRESIDENCY

As had become the custom by this time, the obverse portrait die for the oval medal was designed by engraver Charles Barber while the reverse was the same as the 1879 Hayes die designed by George Morgan. The Harrison oval dies were finished in early August 1889. The Bureau of Indian Affairs did not order any in silver or copper and all made in either metal seem to have been intended for sale to collectors. Sometime in 1890 the Bureau of Indian Affairs ordered a round medal to be made for actual presentation to Native Americans and the Mint complied. Charles Barber designed the dies, the obverse showing Harrison's portrait and the reverse a clumsy combination of two superimposed roundels with busy design details filling in the spaces around them. The dies were ready by the end of October 1890 and five silver medals were struck and sent to the agent for the Oto and Missouri Indians. The following month 18 other silver medals were sent for distribution to Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians, some of which had their recipient's names engraved on them.

Buckskin Charlie, of the Ute tribe, wearing a Benjamin Harrison medal. (Rose & Hopkins, photographer • Library of Congress)

Extremely Rare Oval Benjamin Harrison
Missing from Ford

2106

1889 Benjamin Harrison Indian Peace Medal. Oval. Copper, Bronzed. Julian IP-47, Prucha-58. MS-67 BN (NGC). 75.4 x 59.3 mm. 2851.9 grains. The final entry in the distinctive series of oval Peace medals and another great rarity in the series in outstanding condition. Lovely light olive and chocolate brown with a nuance of faded reddish tan at the upper obverse and soft gold toning in the prooflike recesses at the top and bottom of the reverse. A few tiny flecks from an ancient fingerprint are noted beneath the truncation, but there is virtually nothing in terms of handling marks otherwise. The fields of the obverse Harrison oval die were finished differently at the Mint. Instead of the customary prooflike texture, these fields show tight swirling die finishing. The finish of the reverse is as seen on other issues, however.

The oval medals for the Harrison administration were the result of the Mint simply following what had been done for all the recent presidents, beginning with Rutherford B. Hayes. The official need for Peace medals had dropped off considerably, and most of those struck were for the Mint list and collectors. For this administration, the use of all ovals turned out to be private collector sales, as when the Harrison administration made motions for medals for presentation under its authority, it desired different designs entirely. This was not their idea, however, but the specific request of a delegation of Oto and Missouri men who visited Washington in 1890. They specified that they wished to have round silver medals not less than 2.5 inches in diameter, and they wanted them badly enough that they offered to pay for them themselves, an undoubtedly unprecedented situation. The officials complied and from this was born the last of the officially issued Peace medals of the United States, the round Benjamin Harrison.

As for the ovals, since none were ever issued there are no original silver examples known or likely to exist. We are aware of only a single silver impression which is overweight and a later collector strike. It was in the Dr. William Bridge Collection offered by Rich Hartzog (World Exonumia), in September 1991. It perhaps went unsold, as that firm is credited with having gifted it to the ANS in 2007.

Bronze impressions are rare and naturally very desirable. Carlson had recorded four auction appearances, while the Ford Collection didn't include one at all. Our archives include only two early impressions going back about a decade, including this one which last sold in 2016 and set a price record at just under $10,000. The other was called "About Uncirculated" and sold for $5,175 in 2009. Opportunities to get these are very few and far between, and this might well be the finest known example. It is being offered here for the second time ever.

Ex John Charles Woodbury (1859-1937); Collections of the Strong, Rochester, New York; sold to benefit the museum's collections fund by Stack's Bowers Galleries, March 2016, lot 12018.

Extraordinary Silver 1890 Benjamin Harrison Medal With Provenance to the Original Recipient

Buffalo Meat, a Cheyenne Chief

2107

Undated (ca. 1890) Benjamin Harrison Indian Peace Medal. Silver. Julian IP-48, Prucha-58. Choice Very Fine. 76.7 mm. 3463.7 grains. We are thrilled to be able to once again present for sale this incredible medal, with one of the best provenances of any American Peace medal. While the figures involved are not famous, there is a great deal known about one of them, and his is a fascinating story. In addition, we are fortunate that period photographs exist of these people, putting faces to names, so to speak, which is something that very rarely occurs with an awarded Peace medal.

This is only the second public offering of this medal. It was first presented in our February 2015 sale, then a new discovery, and one of the writer's favorite experiences with one of these historic medals. It is presented here with only minor edits to the original 2015 description.

Lovely light silver gray with scattered minor scrapes and marks consistent with awarded Peace medals, but free of the more serious marks seen on many pieces. Rather well preserved overall, and very pleasing. Not quite as sharp as the unusually fine specimen we sold in our August 2013 ANA sale, but not far away. This said, it is arguably a much more important medal. Rarely do we have the opportunity to present an Indian Peace medal with a known original recipient, and knowledge of the specific reason it was presented. This is such a case. Just 27 silver Harrison medals were struck, and only a fraction of those are known to survive today. Including this newly discovered example, we are aware of just seven specimens of this historic medal, the final chapter in a long history of officially produced Peace medals struck for presentation to Native Americans.

The Benjamin Harrison medals marked a departure from the oval style medals that had been adopted for the Hayes, Garfield, Arthur and Cleveland administrations, this reportedly a reaction to requests from a delegation of four Oto and Missouri men who visited Washington in 1890. They desired and specifically asked for round medals bearing the portrait of the sitting president. According to the account published by Francis Paul Prucha in his *Indian Peace Medals in American History*, the Oto and Missouri visitors were so adamant about the specific shape and size of the medals that they offered to pay the costs of the medals themselves. This was likely their answer to resistance from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who would have realized the bureaucratic difficulty of altering the adopted style of the official medals and probably attempted to dissuade them. Nonetheless, the request was made through proper channels to the Mint, and Mint officials complied. The director of the Mint requested of the Office of Indian Affairs that they propose a new design for the reverse of the medals. A sketch was supplied which was intended to illustrate "progress" in the Native Americans' adaptations to a way of life, including "a civilized house and occupation," though it was considered only a rough attempt to provide an idea of what would be desirable. A design by Charles Barber was proposed, found agreeable to all concerned, and adopted on May 12, 1890. On October 25, 1890, the first of the round medals, five in number, were forwarded to the Oto and Missouri men who had made the original request. In November 1890, 18 more medals were sent to be distributed to members of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe who had agreed to sell vast lands in Indian Territory to the United States. The list of recipients is known, published in Prucha, and presented here:

Little Chief	Cut Nose
Starving Elk	Leonard Tyler
Bob Tail Bull	Row of Lodges
George Bent	White Eyed Antelope
Cloud Chief	Black Coyote
Wolf Robe	Bull Thunder
Bull Chip	Paul Boynton
Left Hand	Scabby Bull
Little Bear	Buffalo Meat

As noted in Prucha, "some of these medals had the names of the recipients engraved on the reverse." Five of the seven known medals are engraved to the recipients or to names of other members of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe. The present medal fits both categories. It is engraved with prominence, THREE / FINGERS, in letters arcing across the upper portions of the two large circles in the reverse design. Three Fingers, a Cheyenne Chief well documented in the historical photographic record, is not listed among the known original recipients. However, careful study of the medal itself reveals an earlier engraving, largely effaced. In the field below FINGERS can be seen the faint letters of BUFFALO, and just after, very faint remnants of MEAT. It seems, therefore, that this medal was originally

Buffalo Meat's medal, one of the documented recipients.

It is unclear why the name was altered, but the medal obviously became the property of Three Fingers at some point. There are superb photographic portraits of him wearing this medal. The men were contemporaries, and are photographed together in images taken in Washington D.C., in 1895. In one of them, they appear alongside Wolf Robe, another recipient of the Harrison medal who was also well-photographed. Three Fingers is reported to have died in 1917 at the age of 58, and is buried at the City Cemetery at Kingfisher, Oklahoma. Buffalo Meat is a much better documented character. He was born in 1847 or 1849, depending upon the source, and also died near Kingfisher, of tuberculosis, in 1917.

The 1895 photograph of Buffalo Meat, Three Fingers and Wolf Robe is interesting in the subtle clues it yields. Buffalo Meat is dressed in Euro-American attire, a black suit, bow tie and broad brimmed black hat. Three Fingers and Wolf Robe are in native Cheyenne attire, and only Wolf Robe wears his Harrison medal. Extensive internet searches yielded more interesting clues as to the stories of these men. Surprisingly, Buffalo Meat is a published artist. According to his entry in *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art, Vol.* I, he was accused of participating in the murder of an Anglo immigrant family, and was among six dozen Native Americans imprisoned for the deed at Fort Marion in St. Augustine, Florida. While there, he, along with several other prisoners, is known to have created numerous colorful and distinctive works of art, through the encouragement of the fort's commander. The collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society include a book of sketches done by artists in the prison at Fort Marion between 1875 and 1878, and includes works by Buffalo Meat. He was released in 1878, and he promptly returned to Indian Territory.

He is reported in the *Grove Encyclopedia* entry to have later become a policeman, a laborer for the Cheyenne Agency, and eventually a deacon in the Baptist Church. His imprisonment without trial did not likely give him a good impression of the American government, and one could easily imagine that a medal like this one might have meant less to a person in his position. His attire in the 1895 photograph, the social status he eventually attained and his alignment with the Christian church all suggest a departure from traditional ways, and it is easy to imagine that he might have considered personal display of a Peace medal to be part of a tradition he was leaving behind. However, his presence in Washington in 1895 clarifies that he maintained a personal role in supporting the interests of the Cheyenne.

Admittedly, these conclusions are conjecture, but they are based on enough evidence to make a case worthy of consideration. The intricate details of this medal's history and the relationship between Buffalo Meat and Three Fingers will likely never be known. However, this medal is fascinating to contemplate and the mere opportunity to hold it while looking at the image of Three Fingers wearing it is surreal. It is a bridge between two very different peoples and a tangible artifact of a fascinating, often romanticized period of American history that many would conveniently avoid to contemplate with fairness.

In November 2001, we sold the first example of the silver Harrison offered in many years. In fact, as far as we know it had been 65 years since one appeared at auction. There were three appearances at the height of the Great Depression, two in Wayte Raymond's October 1933 sale of the Charles P. Senter Collection, and the reappearance of one of them in Charles H. Fisher's sale of March 1936, where it was plated. The incredible holdings of John J. Ford, Jr. revealed three examples, two of which were the Senter medals last sold in 1933 and 1936. The third was from the Wayte Raymond Estate, in 1958. The present medal is the only new one to come to light since the Ford specimens were revealed to modern collectors more than a decade ago. The fact that decades passed between the Fisher sale and the next offering speaks as much to the prized nature of the medals as it does to their great rarity. As there were so few examples of this medal struck to begin with it is not likely that any further pieces will turn up in the near future, if ever. This one is a prize suitable for the finest of collections.

Awarded to Buffalo Meat, a Cheyenne Chief, circa November 1890; transferred by unknown means to Three Fingers, another Cheyenne Chief, at an unknown date; unknown intermediaries; Stack's Bowers Galleries, February 2015, lot 41.

Osage warriors under attack by Cheyenne. Ink, watercolor on wove paper by Buffalo Meat. (Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society)

2108

Nearly complete collection of the Julian series of large-size and oval Indian Peace medals Light golden bronze. All are essentially as issued, with modern fine matte finishes and nice eye appeal. As noted, all are the large-size format, or ovals for the later issues. Medals included are as follows: John Adams; Thomas Jefferson; James Madison; James Monroe; John Quincy Adams; Andrew Jackson; John Tyler; James K. Polk; Zachary Taylor; Millard Fillmore; Franklin Pierce; James Buchanan; Abraham Lincoln; Andrew Johnson; Ulysses S. Grant; Rutherford B. Hayes; James A. Garfield; Chester A. Arthur; Grover Cleveland; Benjamin Harrison (Oval). (Total: 20 pieces)

SIOUX WARS MEDALS

Rare 1891 Sioux Wars Medal

2109

1891 Sioux Wars Medal issued by the State of Nebraska. Brass. Very Fine. 38.0 mm (drop only), approximately 68.0 x 38.0 mm with hanger. Ornamental pinback hanger is attached at only one side, and the pinback is lost, but this still presents a complete picture of the issued medal. Some light olive gold surface remains, though there is light oxidation in places. A standard presentation is on the back of the drop, partly struck in: PRESENTED TO / FOR SERVICES RENDERED / THE STATE OF NEBRASKA, in three lines, with engravings to W.A. Miller, Co. E., 1st Reg.

Walter A. Miller was born December 14, 1856 in Millersburg, Illinois. He moved to Nebraska in 1886 and settled in Franklin County after the Sioux War, in 1894. He had five children with his wife, Edith E. Terry, who preceded him in death in 1917. He died August 12, 1935, near Franklin, Nebraska. Notes that accompanied this medal state that it was found by a hobbyist searching the lawn of an old home with a metal detector in Loveland, Colorado. There is no information as to how the medal ended up in Colorado, but it must be an interesting tale, indeed!

These medals were planned for just after the surrender of Sioux Chief Kicking Bear, in January 1891, which brought to a close a winter of conflicts between the Sioux and United States Army, the most famous of which are the Wounded Knee Massacre, of December 29, 1890, and the killing of famous Chief Sitting Bull. In actuality, most of the other events that took place amounted to little more than a general fear of Native American uprising, and the Wounded Knee altercation was the result of an attempt of the Army to disarm a band of Lakota Sioux. Though a roster of recipients indicates that 836 of them were presented, these medals are quite rare. None appear in our online archives.

Purchased in May 2005, via eBay.

A Second Rare Sioux Wars Medal

2110

1891 Sioux Wars Medal issued by the State of Nebraska. Copper. Very Fine. 38.0 mm (drop only). The ornamental pinback hanger is lost. Deep chocolate brown surfaces, with a few light scratches and marks noted under magnification. As with the above example, the reverse is stamped with: PRESENTED TO / FOR SERVICES RENDERED / THE STATE OF NEBRASKA, and engraved to: M.B. Herbert, but without any rank or regimental assignment. Private Herbert was a member of Company H, 1st Regiment, according to a roster of recipients.

Another example of this very rarely seen artifact of the 1890-1891 Sioux Wars that included the Wounded Knee Massacre. Remarkably, though it has been formally acknowledged by resolution of both houses of the American Congress as worthy of "deep regret," at the time, 20 participants were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for their parts in the affair.

Purchased in April 2003, via eBay. No further provenance recorded.

PRIVATE MEDALS FOR DISTRIBUTION TO NATIVE AMERICANS AND RELATED ISSUES

Fascinating Pendant Made from a Jefferson Peace Medal

Depicting María de Jesús de Agreda

The Lady in Blue

2111

19th-Century Engraved Silver Pendant made from one half of a Jefferson Peace Medal. Choice Extremely Fine. 79.3 mm. 395.1 grains. Thin wire suspension loop soldered at 12:00, as made. Mottled light gray and deep bluish gray over most of the obverse while the reverse is a bit more uniform soft golden gray. The edge is crimped, with a raised plain outer border and a prominent repoussé beaded inner border. Minor dents and obvious light wear within the top of the suspension loop indicate that this piece was lovingly worn.

This was made from one half of a second-size Thomas Jefferson Indian Peace medal shell (Julian IP-3), the remnant of likely one of many Jefferson medals that simply fell apart. The inherent weakness of their tripartite construction rendered these unsuitable for hard use, in practice. They were just not solid enough to endure years of their intended uses, and several of those that do survive show repairs. On the reverse of this piece, one can easily make out the design of the reverse of the Jefferson medal, with strong outlines of the uniformed and cuffed American arm, the dotted ornamentation of the Native American arm, the word AND at the center, and strong portions of the words PEACE and FRIENDSHIP near the rims. These elements are in mirror image, illustrating that this side was the inside of the Jefferson medal. The finished piece is convex, as made, which protected the reverse side and the remaining Jefferson elements to a degree.

On the other side is hand-engraved a religious scene, depicting María de Jesús de Agreda, who is also known as *The Lady in Blue*. The design here is anepigraphic and thus it is clear that the subject was expected to be recognizable by the intended audience. The obvious conclusion, therefore, is that the scene or central figure would be specific and not generally representational. The central figure is a standing female with long flowing hair, holding a large cross in her arms. A smaller cross is suspended around her neck, and another larger one is affixed low on her robes. Her attire is that of Franciscan Nun, based on the style of robe and knotted sash. Her long hair here is probably the result of a misunderstanding of the Nun's head covering seen in a printed depiction that served as a source for the engraver.

To her lower left and rear (viewer's right), are two Native American women and a swaddled baby, bound in a distinctive Native American style. In the near distance at her right is an adobe style house with its upper timbers exposed and a ladder positioned in front of it. This suggests the audience for this piece was in the American southwest or northern Mexico where such structures have been built for thousands of years. In the far distance the sun rises over mountains, with a large cross in the emanating sun rays.

María de Jesús de Agreda is an ideal historical figure for the attribution of this scene. Born in Spain in 1602, she was deeply religious and formally entered the Franciscan order in 1620. She convinced her father to convert a family castle into a convent for the order, and thus

must have been as persuasive as she was devout. During the 1620s, she claimed to have experienced bilocation during deep mystical trances, and stated that she had been physically present both in her home of Spain and at the same time in New Mexico and Texas, where she ministered to local Native American cultures. This extraordinary claim of bilocation was investigated by religious authorities, with inquiries made on both continents. Her superiors wrote to representatives in the New World seeking any available information about a young nun teaching local native populations in an effort to corroborate her claims. The inquiry eventually reached the religious superior in New Mexico, in 1628, remarkably just prior to the arrival of about fifty Jumano Indians from Texas at the Franciscan convent of old Isleta, near present day Albuquerque. These travelers had basic knowledge of Christianity and when asked where they had learned what they knew, they replied that the *Lady in Blue* had come to them and taught them. There were other accounts as well. A Franciscan expedition into the territory of the Jumano revealed that many more of the Native people claimed that they had been warned by this mysterious nun of the coming of the missionaries. As a follow up to these events, Fray Alonso de Benavides, Custodian of New Mexico, personally visited Spain and is said to have confirmed with María de Agreda that she was in fact the "Lady in Blue," after spending three weeks with her. He also met with King Felipe IV, who seems to have taken a personal interest in María, as a 22-year correspondence ensued between the two of them. The reports of Fray Alonso de Benavides also reached Pope Urban VIII. The Spanish Inquisition investigated these extraordinary circumstances and found her claims to be valid. It is believed by some that she again visited Texas in the 1840s, when, during a malaria outbreak, a mysterious woman in blue appeared to aid those in need.

The engraving is not in particularly fine style, but it is hand accomplished and a functional representation of the scene. Her depiction is quite similar to a statue of her that stands in front of the Convent of the Order of the Immaculate Conception in Agreda, Spain, today. As noted above, it was likely made in the American southwest and the silver it is cut on might well have been brought to the general area by Zebulon Pike, who is believed to have carried Thomas Jefferson medals on his expeditions into this area.

Said to have been from a priest in Walla Walla, Washington; Unidentified seller at the Ohio Gun Collectors Association Show in Columbus, Ohio, circa 1978-1980; Collection of Peyton C. "Bud" Clark, August 2016.

MYSTICA
CIUDAD DE DIOS,
MILAGRO DE SU
OMNIPOTENCIA,
Y ABISMO DE LA GRACIA,
HISTORIA DIVINA,
Y VIDA DE LA VIRGEN
MADRE DE DIOS,
REYNA, Y SEÑORA NUESTRA MARIA SANTISSIMA,
Reſtauradora de la culpa de Eva, y Medianera de la Gracia,
Manifeſtada en eſtos ultimos ſiglos por la miſma
Señora à ſu Eſclava
SOR MARIA DE JESUS,
ABADESA DE EL CONVENTO DE LA INMACVLADA CONCEPCION
de la Villa de Agreda, de la Provincia de Burgos, de la Regular obſervancia de nueſtro Seraſico Padre S. Francisco, para norma luz de el mundo, alegria de la Iglesia
Catolica, y confianza de los mortales.
Nueva Impreſſion adornada, y enriquezida con muchas lindiſſimas Eſtampas, repreſentando los Myſterios de la Vida, y Paſſion del Señor Nueſtro Jesu Chriſto, y de ſu Sanctiſſima Madre la Virgen MARIA Señora Nueſtra, y con un Indice General de las coſas notables, que ſe contienen en las tres Partes deſta divina Hiſtoria.
PRIMERA PARTE.
EN AMBERES,
Por CORNELIO y la Viuda de HENRICO VERDUSSEN,
Mercaderes de Libros. Año M. D. CC. XXII.
Con Gracia y Privilegio.

Extremely Rare Pierre Chouteau Medal From Previously Unpublished Dies

Just Two Recorded

2112

Circa 1843 Pierre Chouteau, Jr. & Co. Upper Missouri Outfit Fur Trade Medal. Pewter (tested as 98.397% tin, 1.056% antimony, 0.547% lead). Prucha-62, var. Fine, or so. 88.6 mm. 2367.4 grains. Pierced for suspension with obvious wear in the hole and slight outward distortion of the thin edge above. Fairly rough in places, though where the detail is present it is reasonably sharp. The surfaces are uniformly oxidized to gently granular slate gray, with extensive areas of deeper pitting that have earthen deposits. Ancient abrasions are seen on both sides, while a couple of deeper cuts are noted on the obverse. Wavy in places and with some small chips from the rims and edges.

This piece is from dies that we have not seen described before. The basic legends are the same as the usual Chouteau medals, and the letter punches appear identical to those seen on the usual medals as well as those with the George Washington portrait. Since both were made by B. Mead, this is as expected. On the obverse, the upper legend is: * ★ ★ PIERRE CHOUTEAU Jr & Co. ★ ★ [illegible]. The "★" symbols are six-pointed rosettes, three at left and at least two at right. They are free standing, and quite unlike the leaf motifs on the usual Chouteau medals. Each rosette is designed with a central depression and a tiny raised bead in the middle. Rosettes of this exact style are seen on the 1843 Washington head medals. The legend below is only partial but reads: UPPER MISSO[…], with the remainder lost due to corrosion.

The legends are close to the plain narrow rim, with an inner borderline of plain, tightly juxtaposed and roughly square dots. This is very similar to that inner border seen on the Washington obverse. Relative to the portrait, the legend is positioned similarly to that seen on the usual Chouteau, though the portrait is centered toward the right here..

On the reverse, the legend is as usual. PEACE is gently curved downward at the top, FRIENDSHIP is gently curved upward at the bottom, and both are positioned close to a thin plain rim. AND is slightly curved downward at the center, dividing the crossed tomahawk and pipe motif above from the clasped hands below. The left hand is cuffed with three buttons, as typical, while the right arm is very heavily oxidized but seems to be plain. There is no inner border to separate the legends from the central design and there does not appear to be a date on either side.

We are aware of seven Chouteau medals for the Upper Missouri Outfit, and only two of them are from this die pair. The writer has a circa 1940s image of the other example, which is of similar quality but certainly a different medal. We do not know its present location. All of the fur trade medals are great rarities, with the Astor medal long being considering the most desired. In actuality, all of these issues are so rare that their infrequent offerings tend to keep them off the proverbial radar of most collectors. They seem virtually legendary rather than pieces that can be acquired. The Ford Collection remarkably contained two of the Astor pieces and one of the 1843 Washington head medals but there was no Chouteau represented. The last Chouteau we handled was in our January 2003 sale, and was called "Fine," but was described as bent in places, oxidized, with spade marks on the obverse and scratched below the bust. It was a bit sharper than this one, but it was far from "nice." In that catalog it was stated that it was "the first we can remember handling."

Those we know about are as follows:

1. The Bauman Belden Plate, 1927. Whereabouts unknown.

2. American Numismatic Society

3. American Numismatic Society. The Prucha Plate Piece.

4. Stack's, January 2003:1520

5. Crane Collection, Denver Museum of Nature and Science

6. The present specimen.

7. Imaged in the 1940s. Whereabouts unknown.

Great Peace medal collections like those of Andrew Zabriskie, W.H. Hunter, W.W.C. Wilson, Charles Senter, David W. Dreyfuss, Chris Schenkel and Charles Wharton did not have one. This example is being offered here for the first time in the context of a major sale, it having first appeared on eBay more than a decade ago where our consignor acquired it. As a new specimen of the prized Chouteau medal it is certainly exciting. As a previously undescribed and much rarer die pairing that can so easily be punch-linked to both the usual Chouteaus and the Washington-head medals, it is a most remarkable offering, indeed, and a prize for anyone who appreciates these very historic pieces.

Though no maker's mark is visible on this piece (and it may simply have succumbed to the environment), this medal was certainly made by B. Mead, an engraver of St. Louis who has been virtually unknown beyond these fur trade medals.

Who was "B. MEAD?"

It would appear that our B. Mead was Benjamin Wicks Mead. The best supporting evidence is to be found in the Saturday, August 28, 1841 edition of the Daily Missouri Republican, where Mr. A.B. Chambers wrote in:

> *I take the liberty of sending a medal, dedicated to the 'Native Americans of the U. States,' by Benjamin Mead, a member of the Association of Missouri. I think you will, at least, award to the engraver, the merit of being a skillful [sic] artist, even if you cannot assent to all the principles with the Natives adhere to.*

The editor responds:

> *That we can do right heartily. The medal may be seen at this office. We learn upon inquiry, that it is the handiwork of an artist, on Oak street, to whose proficiency in the art it is altogether creditable.*

Mead himself placed an advertisement in the *Old School Democrat and Saint Louis Weekly Herald*, appearing Wednesday, April 13, 1842. Headed TEMPERANCE MEDALS, it read:

> *The subscriber respectfully informs the public that he is prepared to supply appropriate Medals for the Washingtonian Temperance Society, in numbers sufficient to supply the demand. Having been at considerable expense in making the dies and preparing to make the impression, and being a member of the Society, and of this community, he hopes that his sales may save him from material loss. The medals may be had at the Bulletin Office, at the St. Louis Type Foundry, and at my residence' on Morgan, between Seventh & Eighth streets.*
>
> *A very liberal discount will be made to the Societies and those who buy to sell again. They will be for sale on the Secretary's table at the meetings of the Society.*

While neither account points directly to the fur trade medals, here we have two entries in the historical record establishing Benjamin Mead as a die sinker in St. Louis. A city directory of 1852 places Benjamin W. Mead as a resident of the Virginia Hotel. A city directory of 1857 also lists a "Benj. W. Mead" in the city, residing at the Monroe House, which was located on a corner of Olive and Second Streets. Another mention of him local to St. Louis is in a published 1862 listing titled, *A Complete List of Exempts in St. Louis Division, E.M.M*, containing the names of those men not required to enlist in the local Militia. The reason given for Mr. Mead's exemption was his advanced age at the time.

Further promising evidence as to Mead's identity may be found in *Pioneer Life in Dayton and Vicinity, 1796-1940*, by John Farris Edgar. Passages therein discuss Benjamin Wicks Mead, who had married Abigail Webb Thatcher Hall in Boston, in 1829, and moved to Dayton in 1829. It is unclear from this text as to what business he was engaged in while in Dayton, but one promising prospect was an engraving firm, Peasley & Mead. The principal, Aaron Merrill Peasley was from Boston, and a successful button maker who produced buttons for military use during the War of 1812. Peasley relocated to Dayton around 1826 or 1827 where he was recognized as a "skillful engraver and die-sinker." The connection of Peasley and our Mead are circumstantial only, but Edgar's book further reports that Benjamin Wicks Mead was "very ingenious, and made a large clock, casting the parts in brass," illustrating a degree of skill with metal work. He commented that "Mead died in St. Louis in 1849," which does not align with the city directories we found of the 1850s, but it does place the Benjamin W. Mead of Boston and Dayton in St. Louis, and the death report could well be in error. Whatever the backstory of Mead, for the first time we have an identity for the mysterious engraver who produced the St. Louis fur trader medals.

We do not know what medals Mead created in celebration of Native Americans in 1841, nor do we know what Temperance medals he offered for sale in 1842, raising two interesting research questions. It is not difficult to imagine that the commissions for the fur trade medals were prompted in part by the newspaper notices of Mead's works in 1841 and 1842. The medals for Chouteau were struck in 1843 for the purpose of distribution among Native Americans encountered during fur trading activities that were important to the economy in that part of country at the time. The medals were undoubtedly used to make inroads and to expand business through alliances, not unlike the federal medals were used to make diplomatic progress. The styles of the medals were loose copies of the federal styles so that they would be more readily accepted among indigenous people. Though it is clear that the prospect had a small beginning, it would be short-lived. The secretary of War took exception to what he saw as private sector abuse of the Peace medal dynamic, which had long been an official business of government. Distribution of the private medals was made illegal as of March 1844.

Discovered in California and purchased by our consignor through an intermediary on eBay, October 2007.

Extremely Rare 1843 Fur Trade Medal

Its Second Public Offering

2113

1843 Fur Trade "Indian Peace" Medal. Pewter (tested as 98.79% tin, 1.2% lead). Prucha-63, Belden-68, Musante GW-165, Baker-173R (Rulau-Fuld). Choice Very Fine. 87.3 mm (without the hanger). 2037.1 grains. This is another extraordinary medal that we are offering here for the second time ever. It was brought to our attention in early 2018 by a Canadian family through which it had descended and was a highlight of our March 2018 sale. As little has changed since that time, we present it here with only minor edits to our original 2018 catalog description.

An essentially *perfect* example of a medal presented to Native Americans in terms of its overall condition, one that shows its age and, perhaps more importantly, its history. However, in no way is it severely damaged or unattractive. It is exactly as it should be. Indeed, even the original copper suspension loop remains soldered to the edge, undoubtedly the most fragile part of any medal. The surfaces are a bit worn and have been lightly cleaned such that the pewter is mostly light gray. Small areas darkened by gentle natural oxidation remain on both sides, illustrating that any efforts to brighten it were merely well-intentioned attempts to take care of it by someone who valued it, though without benefit of a numismatic perspective. The few small areas of oxidation appear slightly rough but glossy and harmless under close inspection. A series of scratches in the right obverse field are noticed immediately and intensive study will reveal a few smaller ones scattered about. Other marks consist of tiny nicks and bumps but there is nothing else serious enough to mention other than a bend in the flan near 10:00 relative to the obverse.

The designs of this medal were inspired directly by the United States government medals struck under each presidential administration for distribution to Native Americans who cooperated in some way with Euro-American interests of expansion, whether at signings of treaties or in recognition of some other perceived good deed. The obverse features a large, somewhat folksy rendering of George Washington facing right, styled loosely after the famous Houdon Bust. Around, within concentric rings of fine beads at the inside and tight segments at the outside, is the legend, THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. around the top, and GEORGE WASHINGTON. below. A single six-petaled rosette is seen left of GEORGE and a pair of these is placed after WASHINGTON. On the reverse is PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP through the center. Above are a crossed tomahawk and peace pipe, with the all-seeing eye at 12:00. Below the legend is the prominent clasped hands motif with the date 1843 below and the mark of the maker below that, B. MEAD D.S. St. LOUIS.

Notably, the size of the medal is between the largest and second size Thomas Jefferson medals, but larger than those being distributed by the United States at the time this one was made. In addition, we note that both of the clasped hands are ornamented. Here, the left hand is cuffed and buttoned, while the Native American counterpart wears wrist bands. In the United States government series, only the Jefferson medals had ornaments on the Native American arm, while that arm was bare on all later issues.

By the 1840s, the tradition of Peace medal distribution was well known to those on the frontier and it would seem that the recipients of such medals wore them with pride, feeling as though they had earned some degree of respect from the newcomers to their traditional lands. The sentiments surrounding the medals were very different on either side of the line between presenter and recipient, yet it was clear that such medals were found to be desirable among the indigenous peoples. In this, American fur traders saw opportunity.

John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company was the first to copy the style of the American government medals, producing its own for distribution in the 1830s. These medals, known both in silver and gilt copper are among the most prized of all private issues and are rarely ever seen. They prominently bear his portrait and his firm's name on the obverse.

In the early 1840s, three additional issues followed in the tradition of private enterprise Indian medals as inaugurated by Astor, yet the practice was very short-lived, prohibited by the secretary of War in

March 1844. It is unknown how many of these medals were produced and distributed, but they are all great rarities. As far as we are aware, prior to the appearance of this piece in our 2018 sale, it had been more than a decade since *any* Fur Trade medal had been sold in a major auction, the most recent appearances at the time being the three examples in our John J. Ford, Jr. Collection Sale, Part XVI, in October 2006, all different variants, including two of the Astor types. We have not seen any offered since 2018.

The medals of the 1843-1844 period are unique in that they were produced in St. Louis, by an engraver identified on the medals themselves as "B. MEAD D.S." There has never been any detailed information published on Mead until the present sale, as far as we are aware. As discussed at length in the previous description, this seems to be Benjamin Wicks Mead, who spent time in Boston and Dayton, Ohio before arriving in St. Louis and being identified there as a die-sinker in two different newspaper notices, in 1841 and 1842. Other possible historical connections to our Mead may be found in *Kovel's American Silver Marks*, where there is an entry "B. MEAD / Massachusetts?" This clearly is uncertain as to location, but it is intriguing at least that the name is presented in the same manner as that on these medals, and that our B. Mead was married in Boston in 1829. Another similar entry is in Stephen Guernsey Cook Ensko's, *American Silversmiths and Their Marks*. That entry is for a Benjamin Mead of Wiscasset, Maine, who used the similar mark, B. MEAD on his works.

In terms of numismatic connections, we have a store card token sold in Lyman Low's May 1902 sale:504, described as having "B. Mead, the engraver's name, below bust." The token was "Good For One Loaf of Bread" and issued by "D. Woodman." It is apparently a great rarity. Low commented that he did not recall having seen another specimen, consigned it to the "earlier period," and proclaimed it "very rare." It does not appear in the Russell Rulau references on American token issues. In addition, we have contemporary mentions of a circa 1841 medal "dedicated to the 'Native Americans," and a circa 1842 medal for the Washingtonian Temperance Society of St. Louis, neither of which we are otherwise aware of. Mead was anything but prolific. and it would seem that the fur trade medals were his greatest mark on the field of medallic engraving. As to the medals of the 1840s, there are three types, as follows.

The American Fur Company, successor to the Astor firm, now operated by Pierre Chouteau, Jr., issued medals bearing a portrait identified as Martin Van Buren, though he was no longer in office by 1843, the date on the medals. These medals bore the name of Chouteau's firm with prominence, PIERRE CHOUTEAU & Co. / UPPER MISSOURI OUTFIT around the portrait on the obverse. The maker's mark was below the portrait, in small letters, B. MEAD D.S.

Another medal was issued by the aggressively competing but short-lived Union Fur Company. Their medals were dated 1844 and featured the same portrait as the Chouteau medals. A different inscription included not only their firm name, UNION FUR COMPANY around the top, but a far more prominent identification as to the maker, "B. MEAD D.S." as part of the primary legend. This was perhaps a concession on the part of Union Fur Company to have Mead make the medals, considering that Mead's contract with the more established Chouteau firm came first and this greater prominence would allow him greater marketing visibility.

The presently offered type is the third of this group, (though dated 1843 and likely the second in chronology). While it was also made by Mead and bears similarities in size, fabric and design, it also differs markedly from the others in terms of the featured portrait and legend. The most significant divergence is that it bears no identification of the issuing authority, a potentially important detail. This fact suggests that it was not distributed by either the American Fur Company or Union Fur Company, entities which both used their names prominently on their medals.

When we last offered this medal, we suggested that it might be the medal of a smaller competing fur trading outfit, but the lack of a firm's name has remained a troubling detail in the writer's mind. A new and very intriguing prospect has emerged as to the nature of these medals, and while it is not conclusive, it connects to the Chouteaus, includes a specific purpose based on the necessity of friendly relations with Native Americans on the frontier, includes a system of distribution, and has elements of its genesis in St. Louis at exactly the right time.

The primary actor in this exciting prospect is the one-time military governor of California, United States Senator from California, Governor of Arizona Territory and U.S. presidential candidate, John Charles Frémont.

Frémont is most famous today for the accomplishments listed above, but perhaps his greatest contributions to American history stem from five expeditions he made into the Great Plains and Northwest between 1842 and 1854. His goals were scientific in nature, leading to important mapping and documentation of the territories he traveled with his men that contributed greatly to the accessibility of these areas to further Euro-American development. Much has been written about these expeditions, including by his own hand, published as *Memoirs of My Life*, in 1886.

Frémont's first expedition was in 1842, and it was in preparation for that venture that he first came in contact with the Chouteaus. In his *Memoirs*, he references their valuable contributions. In discussing the efforts required prior to departure, he wrote:

> *Such social evenings followed almost invariably the end of the day's preparations. These were soon now brought to a close with the kindly and efficient aid of the Fur Company's officers. Their personal experience made them know exactly what was needed on the proposed voyage, and both stores and men were selected by them; the men out of those in their own employ. These were principally practiced voyageurs, accustomed to the experiences and incidental privations of travel in the Indian Country.*
>
> *The aid given by the house of Chouteau was, to this and succeeding expeditions, an advantage which followed them throughout their course to their various posts among the Indian tribes.*

He mentions elsewhere one of his first stops on his first expedition,

> *From the Landing I went ten miles up the Kansas River to the trading-post of Mr. Cyprian Chouteau, where we were already on Indian ground. This was one of the friendly contributions by the St. Louis Chouteaus, which were to come in aid on this and future journeys.*

He departed this trading post on June 10, 1842, before the Chouteau medals and the type offered here were produced, but these passages from his memoirs relating to his first expedition nicely establish that the Frémont expeditions were closely advised and supported by the Chouteau tur trading firm. It is clear that he felt a debt of gratitude

for their counsel and aid, backed by their long-term experience in the area. As such, it requires virtually no imagination that when the Chouteaus devised a plan to distribute their own medals to various Native Americans in the hopes of using them in creating alliances along the fur trade routes (medals dated 1843), they might well have proposed that the Frémont expeditions carry similar tokens of friendship.

We know that Frémont carried gifts for Native American presentation on his second expedition, 1843-1844, (conveniently contemporary with the dated Chouteau and Washington head medals). He specifically entered mention of this into his journal for the second expedition, on July 7, 1843:

Having few goods with me, I was only able to make them a meagre present, accounting for the poverty of the gift by explaining that my goods had been left with the wagons in charge of Mr. Fitzpatrick, who was well known to them as the White-Head, or the Broken Hand… though disappointed in the obtaining the presents which had been evidently expected, they behaved very courteously, and after a little conversation, I left them…

Unfortunately, we have not been able to find specific mention of medallic gifts, any engagements with B. Mead, or other notes that might more specifically point to these medals. But, the contextual circumstances of the Frémont expeditions fit almost too perfectly with what might have been necessary to prompt the manufacture of these medals bearing the name of no issuing authority. As the business of Frémont was not of a private commercial nature, and also not official government business in terms of Native American relations (that being under the aegis of the Bureau of Indian Affairs), medals like this one would have been ideal as markers of friendship for a scientific and peaceful expedition like Frémont's.

The earliest appearance of the Washington Head type we are aware of was in the June 1869 Edward Cogan sale of the Mortimer MacKenzie Collection, where Cogan simply commented that it was the "only one seen." Unfortunately, it did not appear on the famous catalog plate.

We have been able to confirm seven distinct specimens, including this newly discovered one. Four are permanently impounded in institutional collections. The examples are as follows:

1. Robert Hewitt Collection; Thomas Elder, March 1914:555 "AU"; Plated in Volume 27 of The Numismatist, page 300, where it was being announced as "…a new variety as far as can be ascertained." W.W.C. Wilson Collection; Wayte Raymond's sale of the Wilson Collection, November 1925:973; Plated in Bauman Belden's *Indian Peace Medals Issued in the United States*, 1927; Gifted to the ANS by Henry Walters and George Clapp.

2. Sotheby's London, July 1969 to John J. Ford, Jr.; Stack's sale of the John J. Ford Collection, Part XVI:184; private collection.

3. William Sumner Appleton to Massachusetts Historical Society, in 1905 (signature of Mead tooled off).

4. Smithsonian Institution, Plated in Prucha.

5. Gilcrease Museum.

6. Private Maryland Collection.

7. Archibald McDonald; Larry Ness (the present specimen).

Other appearances or reports are as follows:

1. Edward Cogan's Mortimer MacKenzie sale, 1869:759 to Levick at $16. Called "Fine."

2. Charles P. Senter Collection, Wayte Raymond, October 1933:89 (sold to Wayte Raymond, called "Poor").

3. J.C. Morgenthau's sale of February 1934:172 (signed and called Very Fair) [Likely the same as above].

4. J.C. Morgenthau's sale of December 1935:189 (called Fairly Good). [Likely the same as the above two].

5. University of North Dakota, (per Michael Hodder, Stack's, October 2006, however they cannot locate a specimen at present).

6. Western Reserve Historical Society, per Belden, (they have not been able to confirm as of the date of this writing).

It is worth noting the great institutions and collections of the past that we have confirmed did not include an example of this medal. They include that of Captain Andrew Zabriskie, the Garrett Family, David Dreyfuss, Chris Schenkel, the Schermer Collection (National Portrait Gallery), The Glenbow Foundation holdings in Calgary (per internet search of collections, which appears reliable), The Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (The Gateway Arch in St. Louis), The Crane Collection at the Denver Museum of Natural History, and the Museum of the Fur Trade in Chadron, Nebraska.

Of the three that are known in private hands, this is arguably the most desirable. In terms of condition, it is the only one with its intact original hanger. Both of the others are missing theirs, and the generally quite rough Maryland Collection specimen is holed. All three seem to have been distributed (which is very important considering the lacking identification of an issuing authority) and this one comes with an interesting provenance.

This medal has descended through the family of Archibald McDonald (1836-1915), the last acting Chief Factor of Hudson's Bay Company. McDonald was born in Scotland, and arrived in Canada in 1854, on a Hudson's Bay Company ship, apparently already in their employ. After apprenticeships and lesser positions within the firm, he was appointed a Chief Trader at Fort Qu'Appelle in 1869, and a District Factor in at Fort Ellice in 1873 before returning to Fort Qu'Appelle as Chief Factor in 1879 where he lived out the remainder of his life, even after retirement. During his time at Fort Ellice, he was met by one Andrew Browning Baird, who wrote this account of him, published by the Manitoba Historical Society, February 2007:

"It was in 1854 that McDonald came by way of Hudson Bay to York Factory on the annual trip from London, and was assigned to the Swan River District, within whose bounds he spent his life, doing his work at Manitoba coast, Shoal River, Lake Winnipegosis, Fort Pelly, Touchwood Hills, Fort Ellice, and Fort Qu'Appelle. In his earlier experience he made contacts with the Indians of the woods who, in the main, were peaceful and tractable, and not difficult to manage, and he had the good fortune to be trained in the service by unusually capable men, Messrs. A. H. Murray, W. J. Christie when they were in succession in command of the district. This apprenticeship in the north qualified him for the more arduous tasks which he encountered when he was assigned to Fort Ellice and Fort Qu'Appelle where he had to deal with the warring tribes of the Buffalo Plains. He was naturally a high spirited and courageous man, and his fearlessness made him friends with the brave Crees of the plains with whom he maintained a friendship, and established an influence which prevailed through thick and thin through two rebellions, till his death."

It is uncertain precisely how the family came into possession of this medal, but clearly McDonald's respected position with the Hudson's Bay Company, and his apparently long-standing good rapport with at least some of the local native peoples set the stage for such an acquisition. One can easily imagine such a piece being an object worthy of gifting to a respected official or even having been traded back out of native hands along the way, decades after its original presentation. It is a good fortune of history that it was valued and saved, being one of an extremely rare class of artifacts that played an important part in American frontier history.

Ex Archibald McDonald and descended through his family; Stack's Bowers Galleries, March 2018, lot 524.

Very Rare Large Size Washington Medal

Just Two Known According to Rulau-Fuld

2114

Circa 1890 George Washington Private Indian Peace medal. White Metal. Reeded Edge. With Periods Reverse. Prucha-64, var., Musante GW-1148, var., Baker-173Q. Very Good. 79.7 mm; 2103.5 grains. Pierced for suspension. A very rare variant of this medal, one of only two known in this large format to Russell Rulau and George Fuld when they published their second edition of the revision of William Spohn Baker's, *Medallic Portraits of Washington*, in 1999. Therein, they recorded this piece and one at the ANS, and those are still the only two we are aware of today. They did not mention, however, that two reverse dies are known for this issue, and the one employed in striking this medal is by far the rarest of the two. It can be easily distinguished by periods after the words PEACE and FRIENDSHIP. Both large format medals are from this reverse (and have reeded edges), and we have seen at least two more examples of this reverse type on the usual smaller format flan. Since the no-periods reverse was used for the collector strikes, including pieces in aluminum, we assume that the with-periods type is the earlier die and have ordered it accordingly, though this is not in agreement with the Rulau-Fuld arrangement.

This piece is clearly a ground find, which places it into a somewhat interesting context, as the smaller format medals are known to have been made as collector strikes and a rare variant like this could easily otherwise be relegated to such a status. However, this looks worn and aged, though probably not quite as bad in hand as it is likely to reproduce photographically. The ANS specimen is sharper, identified as "lead" (which we doubt), and still looks to have been used. It had been in the W.W.C. Wilson sale in 1925. This one is heavily porous and uniform deep gray, with some of the design features obscured by the oxidation. Still it is very rare, indeed, not only for its large diameter flan but for the rare with-periods reverse. As far as we know, it is unique in private hands.

What is known of the origin of this series of medals is nicely laid out by Bauman Belden and rather less thoroughly by Father Prucha. Belden, who published his work under the Aegis of the American Numismatic Society in 1927, was working fairly close in time to the likely origin of these medals and probably was well-positioned to discover what was discoverable about them. He communicated with prominent collector, Walter C. Wyman, who in 1901 discovered the existence of these medals "while visiting the Omaha tribal reservation, in search of Indian relics." One was offered to him at that time, and the seller stated that it had been recently made by a man at Pender, Nebraska. He further wrote to Belden that "In my travels through the various reservations, which include most every one in the country, these medals have been offered me…in various states of defacement and wear, with fantastic tales attached to them…"

Wyman was able to track down the person selling the medals at Pender, one Joseph A. Lamere, a self-described member, councilman and representative of the Winnebago, who claimed to have lived among them his entire life. In the letter he wrote to Wyman, dated October 17, 1901, reprinted in full by Belden, he made it clear that he owned the dies and had made a business of striking the medals and selling them. From the vantage point of an informed numismatist, the letter is replete with nonsense designed to create a false historical context for these pieces. However, to a different audience, there are enough nuggets based in fact to lure in the unsuspecting. To the present writer, there are several clues that Lamere himself knew he was perpetrating an unsavory scheme. Perhaps he was even the architect!

Regardless, Walter Wyman wrote to Belden that he had "also seen many of them worn by the Indians and very highly regarded by them." We, too, have seen many image of Native Americans wearing the "Pender Medals" in period photographs. Undoubtedly some of these were owned by photographic studios and used merely as props, while others, like some seen in the present sale, were clearly worn rather hard and probably were, in fact, used as adornment by people who hoped to garner some of the respect that the official government medals had conveyed for generations.

Ex Jack Collins, Stack's, May 1996, lot 158; Charles A. Wharton Collection, Stack's Bowers Galleries, March 2014, lot 2149.

Nicely Used Private Washington Peace Medal

2115

Circa 1890 George Washington Private Indian Peace medal. White Metal. Reeded Edge. No Periods Reverse. Prucha-64, Musante GW-1148, Baker-173N. Fine. 63.2 mm. 1180.6 grains. Pierced for suspension with a thick iron ring attached. Mostly deep pewter gray with some lighter accents on the higher areas of relief. Heavily dented and bent left of Washington's portrait, with many marks and a bit of gentle oxidation, yet the overall appearance is glossy. This is one of the examples that has clearly been worn a long time and it has a great deal of character as a result. Quite attractive as a well-used specimen.

Purchased from an unrecorded source, June 2004; sold, February 2005; acquired a second time "at a later date" from Jim Aplan.

Another Well Worn Washington Medal

2116

Circa 1890 George Washington Private Indian Peace medal. White Metal. Plain Edge. No Periods Reverse. Prucha-64, Musante GW-1148, Baker-173P. Very Fine, or so. 62.7 mm. 1074.1 grains. Pierced for suspension. Fairly even pewter gray with lighter gray highlights. Scattered marks and fairly even wear, but no serious distractions. A couple of tiny nicks are noted in the central reverse and a few minor rim nicks are visible. A very pleasant medal that was clearly worn for a time.

Ex Triple A Auction Company's sale at the Ft. Pierre, South Dakota Community and Youth Involved Center, April 22, 2018, lot 209. Said to have been collected by Brule County Sheriff named "Campbell".

Rare Bronze George Washington Private Indian Peace Medal

2117

Circa 1890 George Washington Private Indian Peace medal. Copper. Plain Edge. No Periods Reverse. Prucha-64, Musante GW-1148, Baker-173M. Extremely Fine. 63.3 mm. 1645.1 grains. Pierced for suspension with a thin brass ring. Light chocolate brown with light hairlines in the fields from an old cleaning that has now largely toned back to brown. Some dark gray patina in the outer recesses around the legends, and devices. Rarely seen in copper. There is a thin reverse die break from the rim into the wreath, passing through the first star after PEACE.

Purchase through eBay from an unrecorded seller in Marietta, Georgia, September 2007.

Rare Aluminum Washington Peace Medal

Ex Lucien LaRiviere

2118

Circa 1890 George Washington Private Indian Peace medal. Aluminum. Plain Edge. No Periods Reverse. Prucha-64, Musante GW-1148, Baker-173P, var. Mint State. 62.6 mm. 591.1 grains. Bright aluminum surfaces with good reflectivity in the fields and satiny, lustrous devices. Some light hairlining is visible in the soft metal, as are a couple of thin scratches in the left obverse field. A sharp and quite attractive example of this medal in a composition that the maker, Joseph A. Lamere, offered to collector Walter C. Wyman for $2, in 1901, for quantities of 50 or more! This is nicely outlined in Bauman Belden's work, *Indian Peace Medals Issued in the United States*, where he reprints the entirety of a letter from Lamere to Wyman on page 45. Wyman being a knowledgeable collector did not accept the offer, and the rarity of this medal in aluminum suggests that no one else did, either! This has a nice provenance to the impressive collection of Washington medals assembled by Lucien LaRiviere, which we sold in November 1999. LaRiviere was a serious collector of these medals and other series, but was driven first and foremost by quality in all of his numismatic pursuits.

Ex Johnson and Jensen, May 1980, lot 315; Lucien LaRiviere, Bowers and Merena, November 1999, lot 3114; Anthony Terranova; Charles A. Wharton Collection, Stack's Bowers Galleries, August 2013, lot 1071.

Rare 1911 "Bacon Rind" Medal in Silver

Just Five Believed Struck

2119

1911 Edward Knox Elder / Chief Wah-She-Ha (Bacon Rind) medal. Silver. Mint State. 40.2 mm. 376.6 grains. Original fixed suspension loop intact, but slightly bent. Gently prooflike fields on the obverse form a nice background for the sharp, satiny portrait of this Osage Chief. Soft blue and gray mottling over lighter silver surfaces on both sides. A few light hairlines and one thin old scratch left of the portrait.

This is one of five believed to have been struck in silver, along with 25 in brass, 15 in copper and 400 in aluminum, though none is frequently seen. In fact, it has been nearly six years since one of any composition was offered in one of our sales, and that was a pierced aluminum example.

This medal depicts Osage Chief Wah-She-Ha, translating to "Bacon Rind," on the obverse. Bacon Rind was photographed often between 1900 and 1920. In the latter year, he was photographed among an Osage delegation on the steps of the U.S. Capitol. We have seen him wearing both a silver large-size James Buchanan medal and a post-1903 George Washington U.S. Mint Indian Peace medal. The reverse of this medal is based on that used for all issued Peace medals from Thomas Jefferson through Zachary Taylor, as well as that seen on the post-1903 Washington medal mentioned above.

The seat of the Osage Nation remains at Pawhuska in northeastern Oklahoma where this medal was apparently distributed. During this era, the Osage became well accustomed to visitors, particularly due to the oil and mineral wealth of their lands. Perhaps these early tourists who were fascinated by the natives were the natural consumers of medals like this, though some examples appear to have been worn by the Osage themselves as a lingering homage to the long series of official government medals that had been distributed for more than a century, but had long since come to an end by the time these were struck.

Ex F.C.C. Boyd; John J. Ford, Jr.; Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XVIII, May 2007 lot 172; Stack's, January 2009, lot 5130; Stack's, January 2010, lot 4763; Stack's Bowers Galleries, August 2013, lot 1078.

Cheyenne Indian Chief Mad Bull and Bear Man each wearing a war bonnet and holding a calumet. Bear Man, at right, is wearing one of the "Pender Medals." (Underwood & Underwood • Library of Congress)

Choice "Bacon Rind" Medal in Copper
One of Just 15 Struck

2120

1911 Edward Knox Elder / Chief Wah-She-Ha (Bacon Rind) medal. Copper. Choice Mint State. 38.2 mm. 305.6 grains. Pierced for suspension. Generous original orange and red copper remain while soft lavender accents the prooflike fields. A very handsome specimen with just a few scattered patina flecks, mostly requiring magnification to discern. Though not as rare as the silver example above, this medal in copper is very far from common. Just 15 examples are thought to have been struck in this composition and it is nearly a decade since we last sold one, this example, in January 2011.

Ex Stack's, January 2011, lot 6197.

2121

1975 Sovereign Nation of the Osage medal. Silver. As Issued. Oval. 89.8 x 61.9 mm (not including integral suspension hanger). 3796.4 grains. By Medallic Art Company, and marked MACO 152 on the edge, along with FINE SILVER. Mostly brilliant silver with a brushed antiqued finish. A relatively modern take on the Peace medals of old, copying the shape of several of the final United States types, yet celebrating the Osage as a sovereign nation, led by the Chief, Sylvester J. Tinker, rather than an outside governing entity. Tinker was the Chief of the Osage from 1970 to 1982 and had a private visit with Pope Paul VI in 1975, bringing him a degree of international fame. During this visit, Tinker presented the Pope with an example of this medal in silver, one of 400 said to have been struck in this metal. With his presentation, he is reported as having said to the Pope, "I present this Medal as a symbol of peace and friendship and ask that you pray for all mankind so we may live in harmony. God has given us the land, the sky, the water and all living things. Let us endure and enjoy."

No recorded provenance.

TRADE TOKENS DISTRIBUTED AMONG NATIVE AMERICANS

Very Popular 1820 Northwest Company Token

2122

1820 Northwest Company Beaver Token. Brass. Breen-1083, W-9250. Rulau-E Ore-1A. Extremely Fine. 28.8 mm. 142.0 grains. Pierced for suspension as usual. A very sharp example that was only lightly used at the time it was presumably lost and subjected to the elements for a time. As is typical of these, the surfaces show fairly extensive pitting, but what is visible in the detail is very sharp. Generally dark but largely glossy patina, with somewhat lighter areas on the high points. These were used in the Oregon Territory, in the fur trade, and the beaver motif is believed to be the denomination, one beaver pelt.

A rare issue, avidly collected by pre-federal specialists as a "colonial" coin from the Northwest, an example that is thought of as a hallmark of an advanced collection of early American issues. The fact that this issue may have been used as a prize or trading item with Native Americans makes this an especially desirable type.

Whole books have been written about the exciting history of the Northwest Company and its commercial battle with the Hudson's Bay Company to obtain market share in the rich fur trade of the American Northwest, a battle it eventually lost to the HBC. Currency was little used in the primitive Northwest, but this token issue has become an evocative souvenir of the days of fur trading, mountain men, and the country that was claimed by Russia, Great Britain, France, and Spain—and populated by some of the most adventurous citizens of each land. Spain yielded their claim to Oregon in 1819. Russia was eventually kicked out in 1823 despite the fact that Lewis and Clark encountered Russian trade beads in the region when they arrived, indicating an earlier relationship with the Russians than with the Americans! The Oregon country became a galvanizing issue in the Election of 1844—with the slogan "54°40 or Fight!" coming into vogue. The lands were divided between British Canada and the United States at the 49th Parallel in 1846.

No recorded provenance..

2123

Oregon Territory. Grouping of three circa 1832-33 Phoenix Buttons. Rulau-E Ore-5. No. 27. Brass. 24.7 mm. 75.6 grains. Very Fine. Missing the shank and with some surface scale that has partly been cleaned off. Rather sharp and fairly typical condition for one of these. **Rulau-E Ore-7, var. No. 25**. Brass. 16.2 mm. 26 grains. Extremely Fine. Missing the shank and with some surface corrosion, but with superb detail. **Rulau-E Ore-7. No. 29**. Brass. 15.8 mm. 26 grains. Very Fine. No shank and granular from exposure, but still with good detail. Also included is a more modern embossed shell bearing a similar design. The buttons are known to have been imported into the Pacific Northwest circa 1832-1833, likely by a trader named Nathaniel Wyeth, according to Russell Rulau. Their frequent appearance in Western archaeological contexts has led them to be collected as Indian trade goods and as tokens, thus their listing in the Rulau token reference. Rulau notes, "the buttons are found most extensively on Sauvies Island, along the Cowlitz and Clackamas Rivers, at the falls at Oregon City, and at the Cascades. They have also been found near California missions at San Juan Capistrano, San Luis Rey, Santa Barbara, and Santa Ynez." Notes with these particular buttons indicate that they were found in South Dakota, which is rather remarkable. (Total: 4 pieces)

No recorded provenance.

2124

Denomination set of circa 1854-1870 Hudson's Bay Company Tokens. East Main District. Brass. Reeded Edge. 1 Made Beaver. Breton-926. 29.4 mm. Punch canceled. Extremely fine, but showing signs of an old cleaning; **1/2 Made Beaver**. Breton-927. 27.2 mm. No cancelation. About Uncirculated, lightly cleaned; **1/4 Made Beaver**. Breton-928. 24.5 mm. Punch canceled. Choice About Uncirculated. Quite nice surfaces and very attractive; **1/8 Made Beaver**. Breton-929. 19.5 mm. Punch canceled. About Uncirculated. Attractive surfaces. A pleasing set from this highly successful trading firm. (Total: 4 pieces)

Ex Stack's, January 2001, lot 384.

2125

Circa 1854-1870 Hudson's Bay Company Token. 1 Made Beaver. Breton-926. East Main District. Brass. Reeded Edge. Extremely Fine. 29.7 mm. No cancellation and very sharp, though the surfaces are lightly oxidized.

No recorded provenance.

2126

Circa 1854-1870 Hudson's Bay Company Token. 1 Made Beaver. Breton-926. East Main District. Brass. Reeded Edge. Extremely Fine, but mount removed. 29.4 mm. Punch cancelation. Sharply detailed on the obverse, though an apparent button shank mount was removed from the central reverse. Both sides are microgranular.

No recorded provenance.

2127

Pair of Catholic order medalets. Jesuit medalet. Brass. Approximately 24 x 21.6 mm (without the attached suspension loop). Extremely Fine. Light oxidation; **Benedictine medalet**. Brass. Approximately 17 x 14.7 mm. Extremely Fine. Deep olive patina and a trace of rough oxidation. Medalets of these general types are known to have been distributed among Native Americans, though not exclusively so. Also included is a selection of various brass game counters and tokens styled after English Spade Guineas of George III, in two sizes (12), and a pair of East India Company coins: 1835 Half Anna. Very Fine; 1858 Quarter Anna. Fine. (Total: 16 pieces)

Ex eBay Canada, July 2012 (the Jesuit piece); No recorded provenance otherwise.

2128

Iowa, Sioux City. (ca. 1870s-1880s) George W. Felt. [1 Dollar]. Brass, Gilt. Choice Mint State. 37.6 mm. A lovely specimen with nice prooflike fields, gently speckled toning and excellent eye appeal. Some faint hairlines are seen upon close inspection but the eye appeal is superb otherwise. George W. Felt is said to have lived in Sioux City, but had trading posts at several locations. These tokens have been attributed to the Dakota Territory in the past.

No recorded provenance.

2129

Kansas, Fort Larned. Circa 1859-1878 Subsistence Department. "One Ration." Cunningham KS170b. Brass. Choice Fine. 28 mm. Pierced for suspension as usual. Fairly even brown surfaces with no serious marks.

No recorded provenance.

2130

Wyoming Territory, Fort Bridger. W.A. Carter. 50 Cents. Cunningham WY20a. Choice Extremely Fine. 33.6 mm. Lightly mottled olive brass with some very superficial oxidation spots. Well impressed punches on both sides and attractive overall.

No recorded provenance.

End of Session Three

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$0-$99	$5.00
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$200-$499	$20.00
$500-$999	$50.00
$1,000-$1,999	$100.00
$2,000-$4,999	$200.00
$5,000-$9,999	$500.00
$10,000-$19,999	$1,000.00
$20,000-$49,999	$2,000.00
$50,000-$99,999	$5,000.00
$100,000-$199,999	$10,000.00
$200,000-$499,999	$20,000.00
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3. The Bidding Process. The Auctioneer shall have the right to open or accept the bidding on any lot by placing a bid on behalf of the Consignor or his or her agent; a Bidder by mail, telephone, Internet or telefax; or any other participant in the Auction Sale. Bids must be for an entire lot and each lot constitutes a separate sale. All bids must be on increment as established by the Auctioneer, or half increment (a cut bid). Nonconforming bids will be rounded down to the nearest full increment and this rounded bid will be the bidder's high bid. No lot will be broken up unless otherwise permitted by the Auctioneer. Lots will be sold in their numbered sequence unless Auctioneer directs otherwise. All material shall be sold in separate lots to the highest Bidder as determined by the Auctioneer. Auctioneer shall have the right in its sole and absolute discretion to accept or decline any bid, establish bid increments, challenge any bid or bidding increment, to reduce any mail bid received, adjudicate all bidding disputes, to exclude any bidder and to determine the prevailing bid. The Auctioneer shall have the right, but not the obligation, to rescind the acceptance of any bid and place the lot(s) for Auction Sale again. Auctioneer's decision on all bidding disputes shall be binding and final. For the mail and Internet Bidder's protection, no "unlimited" or "buy" bids will be accepted. When identical bids are received for a lot, preference is given to the first bid received as determined by the Auctioneer. A mail bid will take precedence over an identical floor bid; a Floor Bidder, Telephone Bidder and Live Internet Bidder must bid higher than the highest mail bid to be awarded any lot. Cut bids are only accepted on bids greater than $500 and each bidder may only execute one cut bid per lot. Bids will not be accepted from persons under eighteen (18) years of age without a parent's written consent which acknowledges the Terms of Sale herein and agrees to be bound thereby on behalf of the underage Bidder. The auction sale is complete when the Auctioneer so announces by the fall of the hammer or in any other customary manner.

THIS IS NOT AN APPROVAL SALE. Bidders who physically attend the Auction sale, either personally or through an agent ("Floor Bidders") should carefully examine all lots which they are interested in purchasing. Bidders who bid by telephone, either personally or through an agent, or through our live auction software receive a similar benefit as Floor Bidders in being able to actively participate in the live Auction Sale ("Telephone Bidders" and "Live Internet Bidders"). Except as otherwise expressly provided in these Terms of Sale, NO PURCHASED ITEMS MAY BE RETURNED FOR ANY REASON. All prospective Bidders who examine the lot(s) prior to the Auction Sale personally assume all responsibility for any damage that Bidder causes to the lot(s). Stack's Bowers shall have sole discretion in determining the value of the damage caused, which shall be promptly paid by such Bidder.

Certain auctions or auction sessions, will be conducted exclusively over the Internet, and bids will be accepted only from pre-registered Bidders.

STACK'S BOWERS IS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR ANY ERRORS IN BIDDING. All Bidders should make certain to bid on the correct lot and that the bid is the bid intended. Once the hammer has fallen and the Auctioneer has announced the Buyer, the Buyer is unconditionally bound to pay for the lot, even if the Buyer made a mistake. Stack's Bowers reserves the right to withdraw any lot at any time, even after the hammer has fallen, until the Buyer has taken physical possession of the lot. No participant in the Auction Sale shall have a right to claim any damages, including consequential damages if a lot is withdrawn, even if the withdrawal occurs after the Auction Sale.

4. Bidder Registration Required. All persons seeking to bid must complete and sign a registration card either at the auction or online, or otherwise qualify to bid, as determined in the sole discretion of the Auctioneer. By submitting a bid, the Bidder acknowledges that Bidder has read the Terms and Conditions of Auction Sale, the descriptions for the lot(s) on which they have bid, and that they agree to be bound by these Terms of Sale. This agreement shall be deemed to have been made and entered in California. The Bidder acknowledges that the invoice describing a lot by number incorporates the catalog and Terms of Sale. Person appearing on the OFAC list are not eligible to bid.

5. Buyer's Premiums. A premium of twenty percent (20%) based upon the total amount of the hammer (minimum of $20), will be added to all purchases of individual lots, regardless of affiliation with any group or organization (the "Buyer's Premium"). A reacquisition charge may apply to Consignors pursuant to a separate agreement, which may be higher or lower than the Buyer's Premium.

6. Payment. Payment is due immediately upon the fall of the auctioneer's hammer. Payment is delinquent and in default if not received in full, in good funds, within fourteen (14) calendar days of the Auction Sale (the "Default Date"), without exception, time being of the essence. Unless otherwise agreed in writing prior to the Auction Sale, all auction sales are payable strictly in U.S. Dollars, Hong Kong Dollars or Chinese Renminbi. All invoices will be made in United States Dollars. If paying in Hong Kong Dollars or Chinese Renminbi, Buyer's invoices will be credited with the amount of U.S. Dollars received from Auctioneer's bank. Payments may be made by credit card, Paypal, Union Pay, check, wire transfer, money order and cashier's check. Cash transactions will be accepted in the sole discretion of Stack's Bowers, and if accepted, for any cash transaction or series of transactions exceeding $10,000, a Treasury Form 8300 will be filed. Contact Stack's Bowers for wiring instructions before sending a wire. Bank wires sent from a foreign bank are subject to an international bank wire fee of $35. We accept payment by Visa, MasterCard, American Express, Discover or Paypal for invoices up to $2,500, with a maximum of $10,000 in any 30 day period. All payments are subject to a clearing period. Checks drawn on U.S. banks will be subject to up to a 10 business day hold, and checks drawn on foreign banks will be subject to a 30 day hold. Stack's Bowers reserves the right not to release lots for which good funds have not yet been received. On any past due accounts, Stack's Bowers reserves the right, without notice, to extend credit and impose carrying charges (as described

below). Buyers agree to pay reasonable attorney's fees and cost incurred to collect past due accounts. Any invoice not paid by the Default Date will bear a five percent (5%) late fee on the invoice amount. Buyers personally and unconditionally guarantee payment in full of all amounts owed to Stack's Bowers. Any person submitting bids on behalf of a corporation or other entity, by making such bid, agrees to be personally jointly and severally liable for the payment of the purchase price and any related charges and the performance of all Buyer obligations under these Terms of Sale and Stack's Bowers reserves the right to require a written guarantee of such payments and obligations. Bidders who have not established credit with Stack's Bowers must furnish satisfactory information and credit references and/or deposit at least twenty-five percent (25%) of their total bids for that Auction Sale session(s) or such other amount as Stack's Bowers may, in its sole and absolute discretion require before any bids from such Bidder will be accepted. Deposits submitted will be applied to purchases. Any remaining deposits will be promptly refunded, upon clearance of funds.

7. Sales Tax. Buyers will be charged all applicable sales tax unless a valid Resale Certificate has been provided to the Auctioneer prior to the auction. Should state sales tax become applicable in the delivery state prior to delivery of the property on the invoice, the Buyer agrees to pay all applicable state sales tax as required by the delivery state as of the shipping date. In the event any applicable sales tax is not paid by Buyer that should have been paid, even if not such tax was not charged or collected by Stack's Bowers by mistake, error, negligence or gross negligence, Buyer nonetheless acknowledges responsibility to pay such sales tax and remains fully liable for and agrees to promptly pay such taxes on demand, together with any interest or penalty that may be assessed by the taxing authority and agrees to indemnify and hold Auctioneer harmless from any applicable sales tax, interest or penalties due. Lots from different Auctions may not be aggregated for sales tax purposes.

8. Financial Responsibility. In the event any applicable conditions of these Terms of Sale herein are not complied with by a Buyer or if the Buyer fails to make payment in full by the Default Date, Stack's Bowers reserves the right, in its sole discretion, in addition to all other remedies which it may have at law or in equity to rescind the sale of that lot or any other lot or lots sold to the defaulting Buyer, retaining all payments made by Buyer as liquidated damages, it being recognized that actual damages may be speculative or difficult to compute, and resell a portion or all of the lots held by Stack's Bowers, in a commercially reasonable manner, which may include a public or private sale, in a quantity sufficient in the opinion of Stack's Bowers to satisfy the indebtedness, plus all accrued charges, and Stack's Bowers may charge a seller's commission that is commercially reasonable. More than one such sale may take place at the option of Stack's Bowers. If Stack's Bowers resells the lots, Buyer agrees to pay for the reasonable cost of such sale, together with any incidental costs of sale, including reasonable attorney's fees and costs, cataloging and any other reasonable charges. Notice of the sale shall be by U.S.P.S. Certified Mail, Return Receipt Requested to the address utilized on the Bid Sheet, Auction Consignment and Security Agreement or other last known address by Stack's Bowers. The proceeds shall be applied first to the satisfaction of any damages occasioned by Buyer's breach, then to any other indebtedness owed to Stack's Bowers, including without limitation, commissions, handling charges, carrying charges, the expenses of both sales, seller's fees, reasonable attorneys' fees, costs, collection agency fees and costs and any other costs or expenses incurred. Buyer shall also be liable to Stack's Bowers for any deficiency if the proceeds of such sale or sales are insufficient to cover such amounts.

Buyer grants to Stack's Bowers, its affiliates and assignees, the right to offset any sums due, or found to be due to Stack's Bowers, and to make such offset from any past, current, or future consignment, or purchases that are in the possession or control of Stack's Bowers; or from any sums due to Buyer by Stack's Bowers, its affiliates and assignees. In addition, defaulting Buyers will be deemed to have granted to Stack's Bowers, its affiliates and assignees, a security interest in: (x) the purchased lots and their proceeds, and (y) such sums or other items and their proceeds, in the possession of Stack's Bowers, its affiliates or assignees, to secure all indebtedness due to Stack's Bowers and its affiliated companies, plus all accrued expenses, carrying charges, seller's fees, attorney fees, and costs, until the indebtedness is paid in full. Buyer grants Stack's Bowers the right to file a UCC-1 financing statement for such items, and to assign such interest to any affiliated or related company or any third party deemed appropriate by Stack's Bowers. If the auction invoice is not paid for in full by the Default Date, a carrying charge of one-and-one-half percent (1-1/2%) per month may be imposed on the unpaid amount until it is paid in full. In the event this interest rate exceeds the interest permitted by law, the same shall be adjusted to the maximum rate permitted by law, and any amount paid in excess thereof shall be allocated to principal. Buyer agrees to pay all reasonable attorney's fees, court costs and other collection costs incurred by Stack's Bowers or any affiliated or related company to collect past due invoices or to interpret or enforce the terms hereof or in any action or proceeding arising out of or related to the Auction Sale. Stack's Bowers reserves the right to assign its interest to any third party. To the extent that the Buyer for any lot consists of more than one person or entity, each such person or entity is jointly and severally liable for all obligations of the Buyer, regardless of the title or capacity of such person or entity. Stack's Bowers shall have all the rights of a secured creditor under Article 9 of the California Commercial Code and all rights of the consignor to collect amounts due from the Buyer, whether at law or equity.

9. Shipping. It is the Buyer's responsibility to contact Stack's Bowers after the sale to make shipping and packaging arrangements. Due to the fragile nature of some lots, Stack's Bowers may elect not to assume responsibility for shipping or packing, or may charge additional shipping and handling. Lots indicated as being "framed" or that are specifically identified in the catalog are shipped at Buyer's risk. All taxes, postage, shipping, if applicable, handling, insurance costs, the Buyer's Premium, and any other fees required by law to be charged or collected will be added to the invoice for any lots invoiced to Buyer. All lots shipped to foreign countries will be billed an additional one-half percent (1/2%) for insurance (minimum of $10). For any lots delivered outside the United States, the declaration value shall be the item'(s) hammer price plus its buyer's premium. Auctioneer shall not be liable for any loss caused or resulting from seizure or destruction under quarantine or customs regulation or confiscation by order of any government or public authority. Buyer shall be responsible for paying all applicable taxes, duties and customs charges for all lots delivered outside the United States. All lots will be shipped FOB Destination, freight prepaid and charged back. Title and risk of loss pass to the Buyer at the destination upon tender of delivery. Acceptance of delivery constitutes acceptance of the purchased lots. Inspection of the purchased lots is not required for acceptance. Any and all claims based upon Buyer's failure to receive a purchased lot, Buyer's receipt of a lot in damaged condition, or otherwise related to delivery, must be received in writing by Stack's Bowers no later than the earlier of thirty (30) days after payment, or the date of the Auction Sale (the "Outside Claim Date"). As Buyers may not receive notification of shipment, it is Buyer's responsibility to keep track of the Outside Claim Date and make timely notification of any such claim. The failure to make a timely claim, time being of the essence, shall constitute a waiver of any such claim. Orders paid by credit card will only be shipped to the verified address on file with the credit card merchant.

10. DISCLAIMER AND WARRANTIES. NO WARRANTY OF MERCHANTABILITY OR FITNESS FOR A PARTICULAR PURPOSE IS MADE OR IMPLIED ON ANY LOT. NO WARRANTY, WHETHER EXPRESSED OR IMPLIED, IS MADE WITH RESPECT TO ANY LOT EXCEPT FOR WARRANTY OF TITLE, AND IN THE CASE OF TITLE, AUCTIONEER IS SELLING ONLY THAT RIGHT OR TITLE TO THE LOT THAT THE CONSIGNOR MAY HAVE AS OF THE AUCTION SALE DATE. ALL LOTS ARE SOLD "AS IS" AND WITH ALL FAULTS. PURCHASER HEREBY ASSUMES ALL RISKS CONCERNING AND RELATED TO THE GRADING, QUALITY, DESCRIPTION, CONDITION, AND PROVENANCE OF A LOT.

a. COINS AND CURRENCY LISTED IN THIS CATALOG GRADED AND ENCAPSULATED BY PCGS, NGC, ANACS, ICG, PCGS CURRENCY, PMG, PCGS BANKNOTE GRADING, CMC OR ANY OTHER THIRD PARTY GRADING SERVICE MAY NOT BE RETURNED FOR ANY REASON WHATSOEVER BY ANY BUYER. ALL THIRD PARTY GRADING SERVICE GUARANTEES, INCLUDING AUTHENTICITY, ARE THE SOLE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE THIRD PARTY GRADING SERVICE AND NOT WARRANTIES OR GUARANTEES OF THE AUCTIONEER.

b. In the case of non-certified coins and currency that have neither been examined by the Buyer prior to the Auction Sale, nor purchased by the Buyer or Buyer's agent at the Auction Sale, if it is determined in a review by Stack's Bowers that there is a material error in the catalog description of a non-certified coin or currency, such lot may be returned, provided written notice is received by Stack's Bowers no later than seventy-two (72) hours of delivery of the lots in question, and such lots are returned and received by Stack's Bowers, in their original, sealed containers, no later than fourteen (14) calendar days after delivery, in the same condition the lot(s) were delivered to the Buyer, time being of the essence. Non-certified coins and currency that have been

either examined by the Buyer prior to the Auction Sale or purchased by the Buyer or Buyer's agent at the Auction Sale, will not be granted return privileges, except for authenticity.

c. All non-certified coins and currency are guaranteed to be genuine.

d. If an item or items are returned pursuant to the terms herein, they must be housed in their original, sealed and unopened container.

e. Late remittance or removal of any item from its original container, or altering a coin constitutes just cause for revocation of all return privileges.

f. Grading or condition of rare coins and currency may have a material effect on the value of the item(s) purchased, and the opinion of others (including independent grading services) may differ with the independent grading services opinion or interpretation of Stack's Bowers. Stack's Bowers shall not be bound by any prior, or subsequent opinion, determination or certification by any independent grading service.

g. Questions regarding the minting of a coin as a "proof" or as a "business strike" relate to the method of manufacture and not to authenticity.

h. All oral and written statements made by Stack's Bowers and its employees or agents (including affiliated and related companies) are statements of opinion only, and are not warranties or representations of any kind, unless stated as a specific written warranty, and no employee or agent of Stack's Bowers has authority to vary or alter these Terms and Conditions of Auction Sale. Stack's Bowers reserves the right to vary or alter the Terms of Sale, either generally or with respect to specific persons or circumstances, in its sole discretion. Any variation or alteration shall be effective only if in writing and signed by an officer of Stack's Bowers authorized to do so.

i. Stack's Bowers is acting as an auctioneer. Title to the lots purchased passes directly from the Consignor to the Buyer. Accordingly, Stack's Bowers is not making, and disclaims, any warranty of title.

j. Bidders shall have no recourse against the Consignor for any reason whatsoever.

k. Bidder acknowledges that the numismatic market is speculative, unregulated and volatile, and that coin prices may rise or fall over time. Stack's Bowers does not guarantee or represent that any customer buying for investment purposes will be able to sell for a profit in the future.

l. Bidder acknowledges and agrees that neither Stack's Bowers, nor its employees, affiliates, agents, third-party providers or consignors warrant that auctions will be unimpaired, uninterrupted or error free and accordingly shall not be liable for such events.

11. Waiver and Release. Bidder, for himself, his heirs, agents, successors and assignees, generally and specifically waives and releases, and forever discharges Stack's Bowers, and its respective affiliates, parents, officers, directors, shareholders, agents, subsidiaries, employees, managers and members and each of them, and their respective successors and assignees from any and all claims, rights, demands and causes of actions and suits, of whatever kind or nature, including but not limited to claims based upon Auctioneer's negligence, whether in law or equity, tort or otherwise, whether known or unknown, suspected or unsuspected (a "Claim"), which Bidder may assert with respect to and/or arising out of, or in connection with any challenge to the title to or authenticity of any goods purchased, the sale itself, any lot bid upon or consigned, and/or the auction, except where such Claim is otherwise expressly authorized in these Terms of Sale. It is the intention of Bidder that this waiver and release shall be effective as a bar to each and every Claim that may arise hereunder or be related to the Auction Sale, and Bidder hereby knowingly and voluntarily waives any and all rights and benefits otherwise conferred upon him by the provisions of Section 1542 of the California Civil Code, which reads in full as follows:

"A GENERAL RELEASE DOES NOT EXTEND TO CLAIMS WHICH THE CREDITOR OR RELEASING PARTY DOES NOT KNOW OR SUSPECT TO EXIST IN HIS OR HER FAVOR AT THE TIME OF EXECUTING THE RELEASE, WHICH IF KNOWN BY HIM OR HER MUST HAVE MATERIALLY AFFECTED HIS OR HER SETTLEMENT WITH THE DEBTOR OR RELEASED PARTY."

12. Disputes. If a dispute arises concerning ownership of a lot or concerning proceeds of any sale, Stack's Bowers reserves the right to commence a statutory inter-pleader proceeding at the expense of the Consignor and Buyer and any other applicable party, and in such event shall be entitled to its reasonable attorneys' fees and costs. Stack's Bowers reserves the right to cancel or postpone the Auction Sale or any session thereof for any reason whatsoever. No Bidder shall have any claim as a result thereof, including for incidental or consequential damages. Neither Stack's Bowers nor any affiliated or related company shall be responsible for incidental or consequential damages arising out of any failure of the Terms of Sale, the auction or the conduct thereof and in no event shall such liability exceed the purchase price, premium, or fees paid. Rights granted to Bidders under the within Terms and Conditions of Auction Sale are personal and apply only to the Bidder who initially purchases the lot(s) from Stack's Bowers. The rights may not be assigned or transferred to any other person or entity, whether by sale of the lot(s), operation of law or otherwise. Any attempt to assign or transfer any such rights shall be absolutely void and unenforceable. No third party may rely on any benefit or right conferred by these Terms and Conditions of Auction Sale.

Any dispute arising out of or related to these Terms of Sale, the Auction Sale or any lot, with the sole exception of actions by Stack's Bowers to collect amounts owed to it and other damages, shall be submitted to binding arbitration pursuant to the commercial arbitration rules of the American Arbitration Association, with any arbitration hearing to occur in Orange County, California. Absent an agreement of the parties, the arbitrator shall limit discovery to that which is necessary to enable the hearing to proceed efficiently. The arbitrator shall not have the power to award punitive or consequential damages, nor alter, amend modify any of the terms of this Agreement. The award by the arbitrator, if any, may be entered in any court having jurisdiction thereof. Each party shall pay one-half the costs of the arbitration. Bidder acknowledges and agrees that the competent courts of the State of California shall have exclusive in personam jurisdiction, subject to the requirement to arbitrate, over any dispute(s) arising hereunder, regardless of any party's current or future residence or domicile. Bidder further agrees that venue of the arbitration proceeding shall be in Orange County, California; and any court proceeding shall be in the Orange County Superior Court, in the State of California, and in each case waive any claim of Forum Non Conveniens. Bidder agrees that any arbitration or legal action with respect to this Auction Sale is barred unless commenced within one (1) year of the date of this Auction Sale. AUCTION PARTICIPANTS EXPRESSLY WAIVE ANY RIGHT TO TRIAL BY JURY.

13. General Terms. These Terms and Conditions of Auction Sale and the auction shall be construed and enforced in accordance with, and governed by, the laws of the State of California, regardless of the location of the Auction Sale. These Terms of Sale and the information on the Stack's Bowers' website constitute the entire agreement between the parties hereto on the subject matter hereof and supersede all other agreements, understandings, warranties and representations concerning the subject matter hereof. If any section of these Terms of Auction Sale or any term or provision of any section is held to be invalid, void, or unenforceable by any court of competent jurisdiction, the remaining sections or terms and provisions of a section shall continue in full force and effect without being impaired or invalidated in any way. Stack's Bowers may at its sole and absolute discretion, make loans or advances to Consignors and/or Bidders.

14. Chinese Translation. The Chinese translations are provided as a matter of convenience. In the event of a conflict, all English Terms and Conditions and lot descriptions take precedence and are binding.

Bidding in this auction sale constitutes unconditional acceptance by the Bidder of the foregoing terms of sale.

Please note: Transparent holders in which the auction lots are stored are to facilitate viewing and inspection of the lots and ARE NOT for long-term storage.

PCGS and NGC numbers provided are for bidder convenience only, we do not guarantee their accuracy. An incorrect PCGS or NGC number is not grounds to return a lot.

For PRICES REALIZED after the sale, call 1-800-458-4646. Preliminary prices realized will also be posted on the Internet soon after the session closes.

At Stack's Bowers Galleries

Specialized Collections Are Our Specialty!

Throughout our history we have helped to build and have cataloged and sold at auction many of the most important collections and finest specialized cabinets ever formed. The covers shown here illustrate our diverse areas of expertise in all collecting specialties. Let us share this success with you.

Whether you are a beginning collector or a seasoned veteran, are still acquiring rarities or are on the verge of selling, we invite you to contact a Stack's Bowers Galleries specialist today to find out how we can assist you in all your numismatic needs.

Contact Us for More Information

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Email: Consign@StacksBowers.com

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