McKenney and Hall Portrait Gallery

Creek Treaty Delegation to Washington, 1825-1826
On November 25th, 1825, President John Quincy Adams welcomed a delegation of Creek Indian headmen to the White House. Adams noted “they are almost all good-looking men, dressing not, as the Cherokees, entirely in our costume, but somewhat fantastically.” Their “countenances,” he observed, “were remarkable by a dark and settled gloom.” That “dark and settled gloom” was the result of tumultuous events in what are now the states of Georgia and Alabama, for Tustunnuggee Hutkee (William McIntosh), a leading warrior and chief of Coweta, had signed away nearly five million acres of Creek lands to Georgia and in the process enriched himself and his followers. This unauthorized action by McIntosh and a number of other minor chiefs was deemed treason under Creek law and the Creek Nation Council immediately repudiated the spurious treaty and sent “law menders” under Chief Menawa to execute McIntosh. McIntosh’s cousin, Governor George Troup of Georgia, demanded that the United States enforce the terms of the treaty, while the Creek National Council appointed a delegation of leading men to travel to Washington to secure peace with the United States and regain title to their land. Opothle Yoholo of Tuckabatchee was the designated speaker for the group, which included representatives from both Upper and Lower Creek towns. John Ridge, the Cherokee who served as advisor to the Creek delegates in 1825 noted that “this delegation is composed of the choice men of their Nation & as patriots are second to none in the world.”

Negotiations would drag on for months and, in the end, the Creek delegation was not successful in regaining control of their Georgia lands, but did regain land claimed by Alabama with a new Treaty of Washington, ratified in 1826. Thus, the infamous McIntosh treaty of Indian Springs was repudiated and stands as the first and only Indian treaty ratified by the United States Senate that was later set aside and renegotiated.

During their stay in Washington, the Creeks lodged at the Indian Queen Hotel, the most popular hotel in the city. Their chief contact with the Adams administration was the head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Thomas McKenney, who fell under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of War. The presence of the distinguished Creek delegation provided and unparalleled opportunity for McKenney, who, since 1821, had been developing an “archive” of Indian memorabilia and portraits of Indians who visited the federal city. The “Indian Gallery,” as McKenney’s collection of portraits came to be known, was largely the work of the famous portrait artist Charles Bird King (American, 1785-1862). The Creeks visited King’s studio to have their portraits rendered, and each sitter was also given a small
version of the completed portrait as a souvenir. McKenney’s famous Indian Gallery eventually came to include nearly 150 portraits, the property of the American government.

When President Andrew Jackson replaced Adams in 1829, he soon fired most of those associated with Adam’s administration, including McKenney. Thus, when McKenney wished to use the portraits from the Indian Gallery to illustrate his forthcoming history of American Indians, he did not have easy access. The solution that McKenney and his partner devised proved to be providential for posterity, for they hired Henry Inman, a highly regarded portrait artist, to make faithful copies of the original Charles Bird King portraits. From Inman’s oil copies, the publisher used a new method of print reproduction, lithography, to produce stunning color prints to illustrate McKenney’s now famous three-volume *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*. The work, coauthored by James Hall, represented a triumph of American art and technology and established American lithography as equal in quality to the finest European productions.

There is no doubt that the lithographs—and Henry Inman’s oil portraits—were faithful likenesses. In a letter to the Secretary of War, McKenney praised the first lithograph produced for the book, and noted that “I consider the above copy, perfect; a perfect likeness of the man, who is known to me—and an exact copy of the original drawing by King, now in the office of Indian affairs.” ³ Indeed, the first public exhibition of McKenney’s History was accompanied by Inman’s oil paintings, so the public could appreciate the high quality achieved by the lithographic process.

The collection of lithographs presented in the Caroline Marshall Draughon Center for the Arts & Humanities includes William McIntosh, who originally signed the Treaty of Indian Springs, as well as the majority of the 1825 Creek delegates, plus the young son of one of the delegates. The Creek headmen are listed in the order in which they generally signed (by their mark) official documents, including the 1826 Treaty of Washington. Alternative spellings of Indian proper names are not uncommon. Generally accepted modern versions of their proper names are used in this text.

² John Ridge to Col. M’Kenney, 18 January 1826, with the Creek Indians, Bureau of Negotiation of the Treaty of January 24, 1826, with the Creek Indians, Bureau of Indian Affairs, RG 75 (T494).
William McIntosh, or Tustunnuggee Hutkee, was the son of Capt. William McIntosh and Senoya. From his Creek mother, he inherited membership in the Wind clan and a prime leadership role in the powerful Creek town of Coweta. Through his father, he acquired connections to a politically prominent Georgia family. Educated and comfortable in both the Creek and American worlds, McIntosh was uniquely positioned to forge economic and political networks and alliances that allowed him to become a very wealthy man as well as one of the most famous and powerful Creek headman of his day. A leading Creek warrior, he commanded the “law menders” or warriors delegated to carry out commands of the National Council. During the Creek War, he led a regiment of Creeks who fought with Andrew Jackson against the Red Sticks at Horseshoe Bend. While McIntosh was noted for his courage by General Jackson during that war as well as the First Seminole War (1818), he is largely remembered for the negotiating the Treaty of Indian Springs, in violation of Creek law, that gave up Creek claims to all land in Georgia.

In accordance with Creek law, which forbade cessions of Creek land by unauthorized headmen, McIntosh was executed for treason on April 30, 1825, by law menders dispatched by the Creek National Council to punish the men who had signed the fraudulent treaty. The lithograph of McIntosh included in McKenney and Hall's work is likely fanciful, as McIntosh is not known to have sat for a portrait from which the lithograph was derived. It is possible that his son Roly McIntosh, who took up leadership of his father's faction, was the model for the portrait.

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1Biographical information and quotations on the Indian chiefs are from Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall’s History of the Indian Tribes of North America, and Andrew K. Frank and Christopher Haveman's entries in the Encyclopedia of Alabama.
Opothle Yoholo, from the Creek town of Tuckabatchee, was one of the most distinguished headmen of the Creek Nation. He emerged as the leading speaker for the Creek Nation during the turmoil over the Treaty of Indian Springs. His first major role of national importance came in 1825, when he was dispatched by the National Council to warn McIntosh not to sign the Treaty of Indian Springs. At the end of his speech, Opothle Yoholo pointed his finger at McIntosh and declared “I have told you your fate if you sign that paper. I once more say, beware!” McIntosh did not heed the warning, signed the treaty, and was later executed by Creek law menders, as the warriors who carried out the directions of the National Council were known. During negotiations for the Treaty of Washington, that would replace the Treaty of Indian Springs, Opothle Yoholo was the leading spokesman for the Creek delegation and McKenney noted that he was “cool, cautious, and sagacious; and with a tact which would have done credit to a more refined diplomatist.”

His charisma and leadership during this troubled period earned him much respect among the Upper Creeks, and he remains one of the most venerated headmen in Creek history. After an ill-advised deal with land speculators in Texas to move his people there, he eventually settled in present-day Oklahoma in 1836 after the Creeks lost their lands in the east. During the American Civil War, the McIntosh faction among the Creeks supported the Confederacy. Opothle Yoholo opposed them, and he and his followers were forced to flee to Union-held Kansas where he died.
Yaha Hajo was a Lower Creek Chief, whose home was on the territory ceded by William McIntosh under the Treaty of Indian Springs. Thomas McKenney related in his *History* that Mad Wolf’s “name is not expressive of his character, which was comparatively mild and benevolent.” At the time of forced Creek removal in 1836, Mad Wolf had taken up residence among the Seminoles and had become their second principal war chief, leading them against the Americans in the Second Seminole War. He was killed in 1836 in a shoot-out with General Joseph Shelton. Yaha Hajo died, as McKenney aptly observed, “resisting to the last gasp with the obstinacy which always marks the death of the Indian warrior.” In the portrait, Yaha Hajo’s dark blue-and-red striped coat is embellished with fabric trim. His beaded shoulder strap displays a diamond pattern. Each member of the delegation received a peace medal from the president and his is shown in the portrait. His headdress combines a silver headband imported feather, and imported cloth, probably a scarf or bandana.
The Principal Chief of Eufaula, an Upper Creek town on the Tallapoosa River, Yoholo Mico was at one time the speaker for the Creek Nation. He fought against the Red Stick Creeks alongside William McIntosh. In his *History*, McKenney noted that the chief served honorably in the war and that his “bravery was equaled only by his eloquence, which gained him great distinction.” Like all Creek speakers, Yoholo Mico spoke in the “persuasive manner of an accomplished orator, and in the silver tones of a most flexible voice.” He died at the age of 50 during the forced emigration of the Creek people to Indian territory.

Yoholo Mico’s striking likeness is notable for his red and blue face paint and remarkable headdress, which appears to be constructed of rolled bands of blue, yellow, and red patterned fabric, most likely calico. His beaded shoulder bag is typically Creek in design, as is his coat, which features an unusually wide banded cloth belt. Yoholo Mico’s costume, bead work, and body paint reveal the Creek penchant for vibrant self-expression and pride in presentation as well as the skill of the Creek women who constructed the garments and completed the bead work.
Menawa’s name means “The Great Warrior” and he is arguably the most renowned warrior of the Creek Nation. Of mixed ancestry, he was one of the wealthiest Upper Creeks prior to the Creek War, but lost all his property in that conflict. He led the Okfuskee towns at Tohopeka (Horseshoe Bend), and was among only a handful to survive the battle, in which he was severely wounded. Following the Creek War, Menawa emerged as one of the most respected and powerful men in the nation, a signal honor for a former Red Stick. He was selected to lead the Creek law menders who were dispatched to execute William McIntosh after he signed the Treaty of Indian Springs.

Thomas McKenney reported that Menawa’s portrait was “one of the most spirited of the works of that gifted artist, King, and has been often recognized by Menawa’s country-men, who, on seeing it, have exclaimed, “Menawa!” and then, fired by the remembrance of the deeds which gained him the name of the Great Warrior, they have gone on to recount them.” He was 60 when he sat for Charles Bird King in 1825.

Notable are his deformed earlobes, common among southeastern Indian men in the eighteenth century, but falling out of favor by the Removal Era. Slititng the outer rim of the ear and stuffing it with soft material until the incision healed achieved the deformation. By careful extension of filler material or weights, the earlobes were stretched until they acquired the desired shape. As one earlier observer reported, the ear “extends semi-circularly like a bow or crescent; and it is then very elastic, even so as to spring or bound about with the least motion of flexure of the body.”¹ Menawa employed a coil of sheet silver to wrap the detached cartilage of his ear.

¹Bernard Romans, A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida (New York, 1775), 73.
Charles Cornells was the son-in-law of noted eighteenth-century Creek headman Alexander McGillivray. In his *History*, McKenney spelled Cornells’s war name (Okchai Fixico) phonetically as Oche Finceco. Through his maternal line, Cornells traced his ancestry and clan connections to leading families in Tuckabatchee. His family generally sided with the national Creeks during the Red Stick War. According to Thomas McKenney, Cornells committed suicide not long after he returned home from Washington.

For his portrait, he, like most of the sitters, exhibited a preference for the traditional colors of red and blue. His coat sports an asymmetrical cape with red fabric ruffles at both the neck and the edge of the cape. The cape design no doubt was meant to accommodate the beaded shoulder strap, which is embellished with a diamond pattern.
Biographical details for Apauly Tustennuggee are scarce. Thomas McKenney’s brief description merely recorded that he was “a chief and a warrior...a firm, brave man — and of good sense.” Like many of the other members of the delegation sent to Washington to protest the Treaty of Indian Springs in the winter of 1825-1826, his title “tustennuggee” indicates his status as warrior. Thanks to the efforts of the Creek delegation, the United States declared that treaty “to be null and void to every intent and purpose whatever” and renogotiated with the lawful delegates of the Creek people, thereby recognizing Creek sovereignty and restoring the Creeks’ Alabama lands.
An Upper Creek chief from Tuckabatchee, Nahetluc Hopie’s name likely refers to his position as a “medicine man.” His wife’s grandfather through the paternal line was the British trader Joseph Cornells, who was also the paternal grandfather of Opothle Yoholo, the speaker for the 1825 delegates.

Details provided by Superintendent McKenney about his face and body paint provide insight into Creek practices. An early Smithsonian report noted, “The red spots on his dress mark the balls that he received when he was surprised in his hut. The three lower balls were lower than marked in the picture. The paint on the face is commemorative of the same event, as the blood ran from his nostrils and mouth." Details about the attack on Nahetluc Hopie do not survive.

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1William J. Rhees, An Account of the Smithsonian Institution (Washington, 1859), 56.
Selocta was a Natchee [Natchez] Creek Indian. The Natchez Indians originally lived in what is today Mississippi but were nearly exterminated and driven from their homeland by the French in 1729. The Creek towns extended sanctuary to the remnants of the tribe, and, as the Natchee town, they became a part of the Creek Nation. The Natchee Indians fought against the Red Sticks in the Creek war. Selocta was Andrew Jackson’s guide during the Horseshoe Bend campaign. McKenney wrote of the chief that he was “an intelligent and sagacious guide... and a brave warrior and leader in battle.” He was a signatory of the Treaty of Fort Jackson that ended the Creek War.

Selocta is depicted wearing a large silver gorget, typical of an earlier period. The costumes of the Creek delegates reflect Creek traditions in color (red, blue, black, and white), materials (imported seed beads, textiles, and silver ornaments), and styles (great coats or hunting shirts), while accommodating individual sensibilities and personal taste.
Major Barnard was the chief of the Yuchi Indians, a tribe that joined the Creek confederation of towns in the early eighteenth century. Barnard and other Yuchi warriors were active participants in the Creek War, against the Red Sticks. At the Battle of Calabee Creek (present-day Macon County Alabama), despite having suffered severe wounds, Barnard led his men in the rescue of a company of Georgians cut off by the main Red Stick force. Andrew Jackson later declared to Barnard’s son, “A braver man than your father never lived.” A signatory of the Treaty of Fort Jackson, which ended the Creek War, Barnard adamantly opposed the Indian Springs cession.

Barnard’s name, as well as his penchant for facial hair, reveals his bicultural background. His clothing is typically Creek, including the brilliant red turban, caped coat, finger-woven sash, and finger-woven strap, which probably supported a shot pouch.
Ledagie, was an Upper Creek Chief from the town of Hillabee who was later associated with the trading post at Jacksonville, the County seat of Benton, now Calhoun County. He was a member of the 1825 treaty delegation and signed the Treaty of Washington in 1826, which replaced the Treaty of Indian Springs. Like Selocta, Mad Wolf, and Yoholo Micco, his land was included in the illegal McIntosh cession and was reclaimed by the Creek people under the new treaty, which restored some three million acres of land in Alabama to the tribe.

In his portrait, he wore shawl fashioned into a turban and accented with ostrich feathers. He also displayed silver arm bands and a gorget, as well as face paint.

Mistipee, along with Paddy Carr, another young Creek, accompanied the 1825 delegation to Washington. His name derives from the pronunciation of his English name: Benjamin. As McKenney related, “To this familiar name, respect for his family soon prefixed the title of Mr. and in the mouths of the Indians, Mr. Ben soon became Mistiben, and finally Mistipee.” He was, according to McKenney, “a remarkably handsome boy, and in all respects prepossessing.” At maturity, Mistipee married a Creek woman from Hillabee town. Soon after their wedding, the young couple, along with the majority of the Creek people, were forcibly removed from Alabama.

The landscape background and accompanying bow and arrows distinguish this portrait. Particularly notable are Mistipee’s finger-woven sash, shoulder strap, and bandolier bag, as well as his red and blue face paint.
Paddy Carr or Artoway, the son of an Irish trader and a Creek woman, was only nineteen when he accompanied the Creek chiefs to Washington. He served as their interpreter and long after the congress, his bicultural background and abilities made him a prominent intermediary between Creeks and Americans. James Barbour, Secretary of War, believed him to have “a quick perception of the human character, which enabled him to manage and control the Indians with more success than many who were his seniors…in rapidly interpreting the speeches of the Indian orators…he often gave it additional vigour and clearness… He possessed the entire confidence of the whole delegation, who regarded him as a youth of superior talents.”

Soon after he returned from Washington with delegation, Paddy Carr married and accumulated considerable property, ultimately becoming a wealthy landowner, with large herds of horses and cattle, and seventy to eighty slaves. During the removal era, he was a member of the Columbus Land Company and a noted speculator in Creek lands, using his talents to further his own economic interests. During the Seminole War, he fought with the U.S. government against the Seminoles and served as the interpreter for General Thomas Sidney Jesup. McKenney regarded him as a man of “a liberal and generous disposition, hospitable to strangers, and kind to the poor.” One of his wives was the daughter of William McIntosh, and he was ultimately associated with the McIntosh faction during the removal era. He and his family left Alabama for the Indian Territory in 1847.
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