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Article Summary: A traditional Skidi Morning Star sacrifice ceremony was cut short in 1827 when the chief or his son saved the Cheyenne woman who was to be its victim. In doing so the Indians chose not to observe the custom of their tribe but to side with a government agent who had intervened to save the woman.

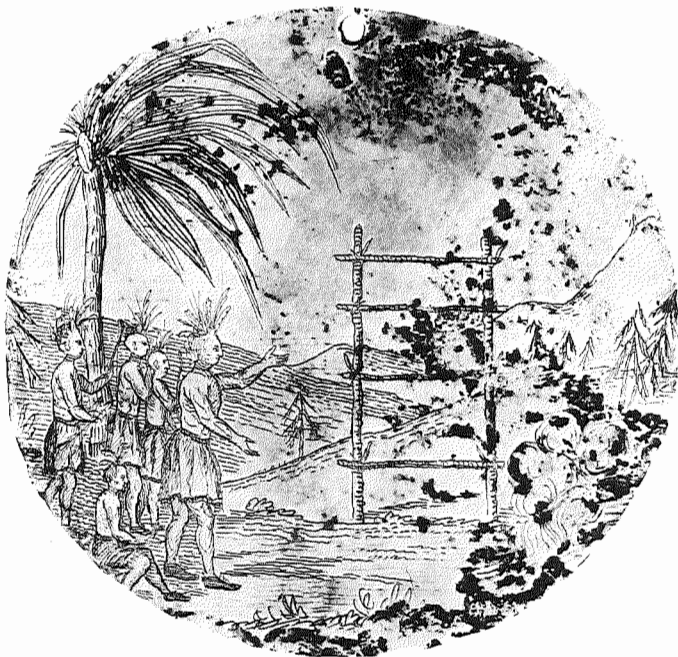
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Photographs / Images: silver medal awarded to Petalsharo in 1821 because he had intervened to save a Comanche girl, the intended victim of an 1817 Skidi Pawnee Morning Star sacrifice ceremony; a painting of Petalesharo, made while he was in Washington, DC, as a member of a Pawnee deputation in 1821 (painting attributed to Charles B King)



*About 1817 a Comanche girl, intended as a Morning Star sacrifice by the Skidi Pawnee, was saved through the intervention of Petalesharo, son of Knife Chief. The silver medal (above), awarded to Petalesharo, "bravest of the brave," at Washington, D.C. in 1821 for his heroic rescue, is about three inches in diameter. It was recovered in Howard County in 1883. The obverse shows the intended victim fleeing with her protector, while the reverse shows an empty scaffold.*

# THE SKIDI PAWNEE MORNING STAR SACRIFICE OF 1827

By MELBURN D. THURMAN

**F**AIRLY EXTENSIVE literature concerned with the Skidi Morning Star Sacrifice has come into being, principally because the ceremony was one of the few cases of human sacrifice among the Indians north of Mexico during the period of recorded history.<sup>1</sup>

In this ceremony the Skidi Pawnee sacrificed a captive woman to the Morning Star. The rites preceding the sacrifice, and the captive's death, were held by the Skidi to be the symbolic re-enactment of the marriage of the Morning and Evening Stars. In Skidi mythology their union ultimately led to the first human beings on Earth. The mystic re-enactment of this marriage was a world renewal ceremony for the Skidi, who believed it insured good crops, a plentiful buffalo supply, and a secure military position in the face of enemies.<sup>2</sup>

Virtually all modern writers dealing with the Morning Star Sacrifice have referred to an abrogated ceremony in 1833. In the course of the writer's research the bulk of John Dougherty's correspondence has been examined.<sup>3</sup> As Dougherty was the Indian agent supposedly involved in the abrogation of the 1833 ceremony it is significant that none of his official correspondence mentioned such an occurrence in that year. Instead these events were reported in his 1827 correspondence.<sup>4</sup>

Another paper has traced the manner in which the 1833 date became established in the literature;<sup>5</sup> here the events of 1827 will be narrated.

In April of 1827 the greater Council Bluffs area was still the entrepot of Americans for the Pawnee country, despite the fact that Fort Atkinson was to be closed that summer, the garrison withdrawn to Jefferson Barracks below St. Louis, and a new army post established well down the Missouri River at Fort Leavenworth.<sup>6</sup> John P. Cabanne's post (the Oto

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post of the powerful Western Department of the American Fur Company) was located a few miles south of Fort Atkinson<sup>7</sup> and Joshua Pilcher,<sup>8</sup> his rival, was located further south at Bellevue,<sup>9</sup> to which the U. S. Indian agency had been moved in 1823. It is possible that Joseph Robidoux had a post in the vicinity of Bellevue, as his license included the location of Bellevue and the "Mouth of Papillion."<sup>10</sup> After the winter hunt the agents of the licensed traders left these posts and went to the villages to trade for the furs which the Indians had secured.<sup>11</sup>

Chittenden, in setting down Joseph La Barge's memoirs, gave a synopsis of the Pawnee trade:

"The custom of the traders was to send over from their posts near the Old Council Bluffs one or more clerks, with a few men and the necessary merchandise, to reside in the [Pawnee] villages until the trade was over. The Clerk generally lived in the lodge of the principal chief, kept his goods there, and also such furs as were received in trade. After the season's business was over the furs were loaded into bullboats, in which they were floated down the Loup and Platte rivers to the Missouri. Here they were reshipped in large cargoes to St. Louis."<sup>12</sup>

For a somewhat later date (1844), Allis described the manner in which the traders conducted the trade within the chief's lodge: "The traders build a breastwork of lodge skins, some five feet high, at the back of the lodge to trade behind, and to protect their goods."<sup>13</sup>

The extent of traders' contact with the three Platte and Loup Fork Pawnee villages has frequently been underestimated. While data for the 1826-1827 trade have not been obtained, incomplete data for 1824-1825 are suggestive. Andrew Drips,<sup>14</sup> of the Missouri Fur Company, was in one Pawnee village from February through part of May, 1825. Lucien Fontenelle<sup>15</sup> of the same company went to a Pawnee village, apparently a different one, on April 5, 1825, and, while not specifying the day he finally left, had a horse stolen from him there on May 8.<sup>16</sup> Papin, apparently employed by B. Pratte and Company, seems to have spent the winter with the Skidi.<sup>17</sup>

For the 1826-1827 season licenses to trade in the Pawnee villages were held by three companies: The Western Department of the American Fur Company (issued to B. Pratte and Company, but this company's consolidation with Astor's company occurred in December, 1826); Pilcher and his associates; and Joseph Robidoux.<sup>18</sup>

On April 3, 1827, Fontenelle reached Bellevue after a five day journey from the Skidi village where he had been trading. \_ Alexandre Laforce

Papin, who, according to Wetmore was "resident trader" among the Skidi, was still in the village.<sup>19</sup> Papin's relationship to Pilcher's group cannot be stated with certainty, but it is most likely that he was still employed by the American Fur Company.

Fontenelle reported to Pilcher that a Skidi chief, Big Axe, had promised to give a captive Cheyenne woman as a sacrifice to the Morning Star. Pilcher wrote the Indian agent Dougherty at Council Bluffs to inform him of the situation.<sup>20</sup> Although Fontenelle's and Papin's efforts to halt the sacrifice had been unsuccessful, the Skidi chiefs told Fontenelle they would give up the woman if the Indian agent from Council Bluffs would come and ask for her.<sup>21</sup>

Dougherty received Pilcher's letter the day it was written (April 3). He wrote Brevet Major Daniel Ketchum, commandant of Fort Atkinson,<sup>22</sup> requesting a man to accompany his interpreter William Rogers and two horses for their transportation to the Skidi village.<sup>23</sup>

In an account published ten years after the event Wetmore, who may have fallen out with Dougherty, made the role of G. H. Kennerly more prominent at Dougherty's expense. Wetmore claimed that Dougherty was only going to send a protest, while Kennerly argued that both should go in person.<sup>24</sup> Whether Dougherty was persuaded by Kennerly cannot be ascertained, but it appears likely that Dougherty did change his mind, as his address to the Skidi chiefs was of the same gist as the written message he had supposedly given Rogers. And, as Dougherty made no statement that Rogers was dispatched it seems somewhat unlikely that Rogers ever left Council Bluffs.

If Rogers went to the Skidi village, he could not have started before April 5, as Dougherty's message, which was supposed to be borne by Rogers, was dated that day at Council Bluffs.<sup>25</sup> Dougherty's own party set out on the same day.<sup>26</sup> Thus, if Rogers went to the Skidi, it would seem he might as well have gone with Dougherty, but Dougherty made no mention of him.

Besides Dougherty<sup>27</sup> the party consisted of George H. Kennerly,<sup>28</sup> the Sioux sub-agent, three officers, and seven men of the Fort Atkinson garrison. The officers were Major Alphonso Wetmore,<sup>29</sup> Major Surgeon John Gale,<sup>30</sup> and Lt. Samuel R. Allston.<sup>31</sup>

When on April 9 Dougherty's party reached the first Pawnee village, that of the Grand (or Chaui) Pawnee, they found that many of the Grand Pawnee had left the village to go to the Skidi, the western-most of the

Pawnee villages, to watch the sacrifice. From the Grand village Dougherty sent runners to notify the Skidi of his approach, and in the evening the Dougherty party rode into the Skidi village. They were met by the head chief of the Skidi, who invited them to eat. This meal was only the beginning, as etiquette required them to accept five more invitations before they went to bed that night.<sup>32</sup>

The next morning before the council, Dougherty learned that all the materials for the sacrifice had been readied. In the council Dougherty told the chiefs that they had promised a number of times, to William Clark,<sup>33</sup> O'Fallon,<sup>34</sup> and Lisa,<sup>35</sup> to halt the Morning Star sacrifice. He himself had heard them promise Lisa they would stop. At that time Knife Chief and his son Petalesharo had freed the squaw who was the intended victim. Dougherty told the Skidi that the spirits of those great men who were now dead looked down on them, and if they carried out the sacrifice Knife Chief and his son would drive off the buffalo. Thus, said Dougherty, you will go hungry; but not only will you starve, you will also make the President angry.<sup>36</sup>

Wetmore stated that those Pawnee who had had the most dealings with the Americans, and the principal chiefs, favored the release of the captive, but others, especially the women and children, clamored for a sacrifice.

The warrior Bad Moccasin, who had visited Washington and promised the President to oppose the sacrifice, called for the release of the Cheyenne woman. He was followed by the second ranking chief, who, according to Wetmore, was the son of Big Axe, and who, until his voice failed, "made a very animated harangue against the sanguinary creed of his nation."

After this harangue the only dissenting voice in the council came from "a dark-visaged warrior, who in ironical phrase, said that he presumed his nation, by their apparent consent to release the victim, had secured themselves perpetual health and unceasing prosperity, then departed." Wetmore identified this man only as an "old Medicine."

This speech aroused the Skidi head chief, who said, "the dog lied," and that the Cheyenne woman should be given up to gratify the whites. Thus, after several hours of council, the freedom of the captive seemed to have been secured.<sup>37</sup>

Just then a medicine man, named "God Almighty" according to Wetmore,<sup>38</sup> entered the council lodge. After smoking the pipe offered him

he drew a pocket glass from beneath the laced coat he wore. He went to the sunlit portion of the lodge (probably the area beneath the central smoke hole), and by means of the glass "affected to hold communion with the Diety." He then said that the Master of Life (Tirawahat), contrary to his own expectation, would not be angry if the sacrifice was not offered. After saying that he left.

The chiefs agreed then to free the prisoner. The second chief, "the son of Big Axe," distributed all his horses, firearms, and personal property, including his scarlet lace coat, among the chiefs agreeing to free the woman. It seems clear that the property distribution was made to the chiefs, who in turn redistributed it to their own dependents.

When the property distribution was completed, the captive was brought to the council lodge and told by sign language that she would be freed. Sign language was required because only one Skidi could speak Cheyenne, and he refused to interpret, as he favored sacrificing the woman.

In the evening after the council, however, a rumor began making the rounds in the village that the woman was to be killed. Dougherty, though, was assured by the Skidi chiefs that she would be freed the next day, and the warrior who had captured her took up a station at the entrance to the lodge where she slept, holding a bared sabre in his hand to protect her from any assassination attempt.

Wetmore was not completely clear in his explanation, but it seems that a Skidi soldier society sat through the night plotting the seizure of the woman. Wetmore identified them only as "red soldiers," who served as police-officers.<sup>39</sup>

Until more research is done it cannot be determined if this society and the Tewaarouchte society, which directed the 1838 sacrifice, were the same, nor if either can be identified with the Society of Reds or the Skidi Red Lance Society discussed by Murie.<sup>40</sup>

The next morning, April 11, five of the principal men of the Skidi presented themselves at the lodge where the Cheyenne woman was held. They planned to accompany her and the agent to Council Bluffs on foot. The young woman was terrified, and the warrior who had captured her had to threaten her with a knife to get her to mount the horse that had been brought for her. The five Skidi surrounded the horse and started through the village, while Dougherty and his party were detained at the lodge door by the farewells of some of the chiefs.

There was considerable confusion before the captive and her escort had cleared the village, and Dougherty and his party hurried to reach the scene of the trouble. As the Cheyenne woman had passed one of the earthlodges, a warrior holding a bow and arrows darted from its covered entrance passage. One of the escorts who was guiding the woman's horse grabbed the assailant and wrested the weapons from his hands, but as he did so another warrior sprang forward and shot her with an arrow.<sup>41</sup>

The situation had become dangerous for the Americans, for the two Skidi factions were struggling with one another, and if blood was shed they would unite in turning on the Americans for revenge. When Dougherty arrived, the Skidi head chief was grappling with the assassin. Irving, who apparently used descriptive terms for the various Pawnees as the names he used do not correspond to names in documents, wrote that the assassin was "Soldier Chief," who was "the second brave in the village."<sup>42</sup>

Dougherty and Papin called out in Pawnee for the Skidi to stop their fighting, saying that the agent was satisfied with them but would be unhappy if Skidi blood was shed over a Cheyenne squaw. At the same time Kennerly prevented Big Sergeant from attacking the first assailant with his bow. While the Americans tried to calm the situation a number of the Skidi who had favored the sacrifice were carrying the woman's body to the head of a ravine. The commotion died down and about 200 warriors and a number of women and children surrounded the body. The warriors dipped their weapons in the woman's blood, while the women cut the body into a hundred pieces.<sup>43</sup>

The Americans rode out of the village by themselves, but about two miles out of the village Big Sergeant,<sup>44</sup> who was on foot, caught up with them. He announced that he would accompany them back to Fort Atkinson. As feeling was running high in the village, this accompaniment was apparently undertaken with the safety of the agent's party in mind. They mounted him on a horse and he rode with them back to the Council Bluffs. Later, when Big Sergeant started back to the Skidi village, he was given a large number of presents by the Americans.

There is a good deal of drama in the story of the Indian agent and a handful of Americans riding into the Skidi village to secure the release of a captive woman. The village contained about 2,000 people, and the Skidi tribe was only one of the four associated Pawnee tribes. For several years the Pawnees had made forays against the American traders on the Sante Fe



*Petalesharo was in Washington, D.C. in 1821 as one of a Pawnee deputation. This portrait of him was painted there, probably by Charles B. King.*



trail and had gained a reputation for hostility comparable to that of the Comanches. Further, since the mishandled 1823 expedition against the Arikara, the plains tribes held American arms in low repute, and the American military presence at Council Bluffs could hardly have been used, had the agent so desired, to awe the Skidi into compliance with the agent's wishes.

Although the bargain fell through, the fact that the Skidi chiefs agreed to free the captive is of considerable interest. It is this fact, rather than the drama of the situation, which has led a number of anthropologists to deal with the incident. Most anthropologists, while perhaps expressing certain reservations, would agree that "custom is king" in non-civilized societies. Hence, anthropologists have been concerned with determining why the Skidi chiefs agreed to act contrary to the established customs of their society. Without seeking, however, to understand the context of Skidi culture and society, some anthropologists have "explained" opposition to the Morning Star sacrifice as due to a vague "humanitarianism." The details of my counter-argument to a historical "explanation" of this sort cannot be given here, as to do so would soon lead to a bog of anthropological jargon. The argument will be detailed elsewhere, and is only summarized here.

Earlier some pains were taken to stress the deep involvement of the Pawnee in the fur trade. This entailed much greater contact with

Americans than many workers have realized, and not only created demands for new items of technology but also resulted in the introduction of certain items which functioned as status symbols.

Pawnee society was stratified: the most important chiefs and families attained their rank by birth. While a limited degree of social climbing was possible, primarily by means of warfare and raiding, most men never attained very high rank and were precluded from the highest ranks by birth. Hereditary rank, as well as achieved rank, was not purely honorific but entailed an elaborate system of "gift" giving if a man was to maintain "face." And this system was one of the principal means by which surplus foods—goods of all sorts—and horses were distributed through the society.

The fur traders wintered in the chiefs' lodges and carried out their trade there. The chiefs thus gained a disproportionately large share of the benefits of the trade. Further, in the 1820's the Americans began to become seriously involved in tribal politics on the plains and sought to establish a universal peace.

By means of gifts the government encouraged the chiefs to maintain peace. The power of the chiefs, which to some degree was tied to control and redistribution of goods, was strengthened by both their role as intermediaries between their tribesmen and the traders and as intermediaries between their tribesmen and the American political structure.

It is in this light that the apparent change in Chief Big Axe's position should be considered. While Big Axe was first reported to be preparing to sacrifice the captive, having the hereditary rights to the bundle associated with the ceremony, it was either he or his son, or perhaps both, who sought to halt the impending sacrifice. The son probably stood to inherit the rights to the bundle. In short, those people who would appear to benefit most from the sacrifice were its strongest opponents. The chiefs chose to relinquish their position in the "aboriginal" ceremonial cycle rather than alienate the Americans and hence sided with the agent. Social climbing men, on the other hand, had nothing to gain and much to lose by a triumph of the policy of the government and the traders, and their position was epitomized by "Soldier Chief" who killed the Cheyenne woman.

The attempt to save the Cheyenne captive can hardly be pointed to as an example of altruism, as some anthropologists have done. The agent was acting within the framework of a government policy which sought to limit inter-tribal conflict, and the chiefs, after calculating their conflicting

interests, sided with the agent and thereby turned their backs to Skidi custom.

## NOTES

1. The portion of an original article which dealt with the anthropological analysis of the ceremony has been deleted by the author, and will be published elsewhere. No other changes have been made, except additions to the footnotes (which are enclosed in brackets) referring to a recent article by Dorothy V. Jones, "John Dougherty and the Pawnee Rite of Human Sacrifice: April, 1827," *Missouri Historical Review*, LXIII, 3, (April, 1969). Summation paragraphs are made necessary for stylistic reasons by the cutting of the original text.

2. Only the Skidi (Pawnee Loup) tribe of the Pawnee practised this sacrifice. The most extensive anthropological account of the ceremony was given by Ralph Linton, "The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee," *Field Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology, Leaflet No. 6* (Chicago, 1922). Gene Weltfish, *The Lost Universe* (New York, 1965), 79-87, 151-156, *passim*, gave an account of Pawnee religion and mythology. This is the outstanding work on Pawnee ethnology.

3. This research is concerned on the one hand with the origin of the "Plains culture type" in its ecological situation, and on the other with a biographical study of Dougherty. For a sketch of Dougherty see Margaret Stauf, "John Dougherty, Indian Agent," *Mid-America*, XVI, No. 3 (January, 1934), 135-156. [Mrs. Jones cited an article on Dougherty with which I was unfamiliar: William E. Eldridge, "Major John Dougherty, Pioneer," *The Trail Guide*, VII, (December, 1962), 1-15.]

4. This interpretation of the documentary sources (that there was no 1833 sacrifice) is corroborated by astronomical data. Linton, *op. cit.*, 22, wrongly stated that sacrifices were "apparently made when Mars was Morning Star." Early writers who specified the planetary identity of the "Great Star" of the Skidi always stated it was Venus. Further, the exact date of the two sacrifices is known: April 22, 1838, and April 11, 1827. On both occasions Venus was the Morning Star, while Mars was in the evening sky. *In the spring of 1833 both Mars and Venus were in the evening sky.* This is discussed at greater length in my manuscript "The Morning Star Sacrifice of the Skidi Pawnee." [It is strange that after utilizing the documentary sources Mrs. Jones concluded that Irving's reference to an "1833 incident remarkably similar to this of 1827" was in fact a separate event, rather than a confusion of dates. (Jones, 316, n. 32)]

5. Melburn D. Thurman, "A Case of Historical Mythology: The Skidi Pawnee Morning Star Sacrifice of 1833," *Plains Anthropologist*, in press.

6. Fort Atkinson was abandoned in the summer of 1827. William Clark recorded that part of the troops and the Indian agent arrived in St. Louis on May 16 and 17, while the rest of the troops arrived on June 16. Louise Barry (ed.), "William Clark's Diary," Part I, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, XVI, (February, 1948), 25-26, 28.

7. For a biographical sketch see Ray H. Mattison, "John Pierre Cabanne, Sr." in Leroy R. Hafen (ed.), *The Mountain Men and Fur Trade of the Far West* (Glendale, 1965), II, 69-73. Cited hereafter as Hafen, *MMFT*.

8. For a biographical sketch see Ray H. Mattison, "Joshua Pilcher," in Hafen, *MMFT* (1966), IV, 251-260.

9. Dale L. Morgan (ed.), *The West of William H. Ashley* (Denver, 1964), 243, 232.

10. "Abstract of Licenses Granted . . . to trade with the Indians . . ." *Senate Executive Documents*, 19th Congress, 2d Session, (Serial No. 146), document 58.

11. Under the Act of May 7, 1822, amending the Trade and Intercourse Act of 1802 licenses were still granted for specified tribes or regions. Under Section 4, Act of May 25, 1824, trade could be conducted only at the points specified by the issuing agent. *Annals of Congress* (Washington, 1855-1856), 39:2610-12, 42:3228.

12. Hiram M. Chittenden, *History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River . . .* (New York, 1903), I, 29.

13. Rev. Samuel Allis, "Forty Years Among the Indians and on the Eastern Borders of Nebraska." *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society* (1887), II, 154.

14. For a biographical sketch see H. M. Chittenden, *A History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West* (Stanford, Calif., 1954), I, 392.

15. For a biographical sketch see Alan C. Trotman, "Lucien Fontenelle," in Hafen, *MMFT* (1968) V, 81-99.

16. Fontenelle to Dougherty, Feb. 29, 1829, an enclosure in Dougherty to the Secretary of War, May 15, 1829. Fontenelle to Beauchamp, March 12, 1829. National Archives, Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Received, Upper Missouri Agency. (Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Received is cited hereafter as NA, followed by the specific file heading.)

17. Morgan, *op. cit.*, 262.

18. "Abstract of Licenses . . .," *loc. cit.*

19. Alphonso Wetmore, *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1837), 341. Papin a decade or so earlier had been involved in Petalesharo's freeing of an intended sacrificial victim. He had formerly been associated with Robidoux (1819), and Pilcher (1823-1824) before becoming associated with Cabanne of B. Pratte & Co. (Morgan, *op. cit.*, 243, 253, 260.) In November, 1828, Dougherty mentioned him as a "principal clerk of the American Fur Company at the Pawnee Villages." (Copy in Dougherty Letter Book, letter No. 73, State Historical Society of Missouri. Cited hereafter as *Dougherty Letterbook*. Original is in NA, Upper Missouri Agency.) Papin married a sister of a Skidi chief, and one of the twin daughters from this marriage married Lucien Fontenelle's son Henry. (E. G. Platte, "Some Experiences of a Teacher Among the Pawnee," *Kansas State Historical Society Collections*, XIV, 785-786, 790.) A biographical study of Papin would do much to clarify the details of the Pawnee trade situation.

20. Extract of Pilcher to Dougherty, April 3, 1827. NA, Central Superintendency. I have been unable to locate the complete text of this letter. The extract was enclosure No. 16 (of 70) appended to Dougherty's *Report to the Secretary of War*, March 9, 1832. A copy of this report is in the Dougherty Papers, and a photostatic copy of the enclosures is in the Indian Envelope (1825-1835) of the Missouri Historical Society (St. Louis). [The text of the extract was printed by Mrs. Jones, p. 298.] The Palmer archeological site located in eastern Howard County has been identified as the Skidi Pawnee village in which this event occurred. It was visited by various explorers from 1811 to 1836.

21. *Dougherty Letterbook*, No. 3.

22. He succeeded Col. A. R. Woolley in October, 1826. Woolley resumed command later in April, 1827. (Sally A. Johnson, "The Sixth's Elysian Fields. Fort Atkinson on the Council Bluffs," *Nebraska History*, 40 [March, 1959], 8.)

23. *Dougherty Letterbook*, No. 27. Rogers, himself a Pawnee, at the age of 17 in July, 1824, was admitted to the school at Harmony Mission, where he learned to read and write. (*American Missionary Register*, 6 [1825], 273.)

24. Wetmore, *op. cit.*, 341. Wetmore's first account did not mention this. (*Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser* [Fayette, Missouri], Oct. 19, 1827, p. 1, col. 1-3.)

25. *Dougherty Letterbook*, No. 29. [The text of the message supposedly given Rogers was printed by Mrs. Jones, p. 300.]

26. While Dougherty (*Letterbook*, No. 3) stated that his party set out on April 4 and reached the Skidi village on April 9, the dating of No. 29 and Wetmore's statement that the party started on April 5, and reached the Skidi village on the fifth day, seems conclusive. (Wetmore, *op. cit.*; *Missouri Intelligencer*, *op. cit.*) Wetmore's statement seems to support Dougherty's that they arrived on April 9.

27. Sub-agent and acting agent since O'Fallon had resigned. His commission as agent arrived after his return from the Skidi village.

28. He was the brother-in-law of Indian Superintendent William Clark. For material on him and his brother, the sutler of the fort with whom he may have been in partnership, see Stella M. Drumm, "The Kennerlys of Virginia," and Edgar B. Wesley (ed.), "Diary of James Kennerly," both in *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, VI, No. 1 (Oct., 1928).

29. For a biographical sketch see F. F. Stephens (ed.), "Major Alphonso Wetmore's Diary of a Journal to Santa Fe, 1828," *Missouri Historical Review*, VIII, No. 4 (July, 1914), 177-192.

30. Surgeon's Mate, 23d Inf., July 6, 1812; Surgeon, 34th Inf., Aug. 31, 1814; Honorable Discharge June 15, 1815; Reinstated as Surg. Mate, 3d Inf., Sept. 13, 1815; Surg., Rifle Regiment, Apr. 18, 1818; Major Surgeon, June 1, 1821; Died July 27, 1830. (Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* [Washington, 1903] I, 595).

31. Entered West Point, July 1, 1820; Brevet 2d Lt., 6th Inf., July 1, 1825; 2d Lt., 4th Inf., July 1, 1825; 1st Lt., Nov. 28, 1835; Resigned Jan. 31, 1836; Died Feb. 14, 1836. (*Ibid.*, I, 160.)

32. Wetmore, *op. cit.*, 341-342.

33. For biographical sketches see Harlow Lindley, "William Clark—The Indian Agent," *Mississippi Valley Historical Association Proceedings*, II (1908-1909), 63-75; R. G. Thwaites, "William Clark: Soldier, Explorer, Statesman," *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, II, No. 7 (Oct. 1906), 1-24.

34. For a sketch see John W. Steiger, "Benjamin O'Fallon," in Hafen, *MMFT*, V (1968), 255-281.

35. For a sketch see Richard E. Oglesby, "Manuel Lisa," *ibid.*, 179-201.

36. *Dougherty Letterbook*, No. 3, No. 29. This information permits the bracketing of the deaths of Knife Chief and his son, who were dead by April, 1827. They signed the treaty of September 30, 1825, where Petalesharo was listed as "Scar-lar-la-shar, the man chief." (Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* [Washington, 1904], II, 258-260.)

37. Wetmore, *op. cit.*, 342-344. McDermott cited evidence which rather conclusively shows that Big Axe was the first chief of the Skidi from 1833 until his death in 1840, but it has not been established whether Big Axe was first chief before 1833. (John T. Irving, *Indian Sketches* . . . ed. by John Francis McDermott [Norman, 1955], 181 n. 7; 194, n.2.)

Allis' statement in 1834 that "the First Chief of the Loups wanted one of us to go with him & learn his children to read" does not imply the age apparently attributed by Wetmore in calling the first chief of the Skidi "old Antoine." Further, while Wetmore mentioned that the Morning Star bundle was hereditary in the Big Axe family, and that the second chief was the son of Big Axe, he nowhere specifically mentioned Big Axe. ("Letters Concerning the Presbyterian Mission in the Pawnee Country, near Bellevue, Neb., 1831-1849," *Kansas State Historical Society Collections*, XIV (1915-18), 696; Wetmore, *op. cit.*, 344-346) It is possible that "Big Axe's son" was really Big Axe.

38. The supreme god of the Pawnee was *Tirawahat*. (Weltfish, *op. cit.*, 64) Personal names derived from this appellation were not uncommon, and this medicine man or priest probably possessed such a name.

39. Wetmore, *op. cit.*, 344-345.

40. H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson, *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S. J., 1801-1873* (New York, 1905), III, 985; James R. Murie, "Pawnee Indian Societies," *American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers*, XI, Pt. VII (1914), 567-569.

41. Wetmore, *op. cit.*, 347-348.

42. Irving, *op. cit.*, 183, 187-189.

43. *Dougherty Letterbook*, No. 3. The account in *Missouri Intelligencer* stated that the woman was still alive when thrown to the ground, and that the warriors assembled around her. Wetmore, *op. cit.*, 348-349, said she was killed while on the horse and that her body was dragged off to the ravine.

44. Wetmore, *op. cit.*, 349-350. Wetmore's "Big Sergeant" can probably be identified with the fourth Skidi signer of the 1833 treaty, "Big Soldier," although McDermott thought "Big Soldier" was Irving's "Soldier Chief." (Kappler, *op. cit.*, II, 417; Irving, *op. cit.*, 183 n. 10.)