

## BRIG *ORBIT* SAILED INTO BUDD INLET (OLYMPIA)

*Orbit* was the first ship owned by the early settlers of (today's Washington)  
tiny brig was under the command of old Captain William H. Dunham  
Three young men, Colonel Isaac Ebey, Edmund Sylvester and Benjamin F. Shaw  
they sailed their brig into Budd Inlet (Olympia) from California -- January 1, 1850  
Many of the passengers and crew were disappointed prospectors  
who were, in addition, recovering from medical problems caused by harsh camp living conditions

## BIG PLANS ON BUDD INLET

Edmund Sylvester returned from California to his claim at Smithfield  
where the found things were just as he had left them  
Sylvester, Isaac Ebey and Benjamin F. Shaw were dissatisfied with their scattered land claims  
they planned to make use of the abundant natural resources of the region -- especially the timber  
Sylvester reopened his Puget Sound Milling Company  
he manufactured a cargo of wharf pilings to be delivered to San Francisco on the *Orbit*  
Sylvester, a man of vision, believed the tidewater land claim of Smithfield along Budd Inlet  
that he had inherited from Levi Smith was an ideal location for the region's first town  
other local pioneers, John Swan, Charles Smith and Henry Murray joined in the discussions  
it was decided to create a new community on the shores of Budd Inlet -- January 12, 1850  
on Edmund Sylvester's land claim of Smithfield  
Edmund Sylvester, Isaac Ebey and Benjamin F. Shaw consulted with Michael Simmons  
who was looking for ways to invest the proceeds of his property transactions  
Smmons had completed the sale of his two-year-old water-powered Tumwater sawmill  
and his New Market land claims to Captain Clanrick Crosbie (Crosby)  
Simmons was looking for a way to invest the proceeds  
he was seeking a place to start a store on the southern shore of Puget Sound  
this implied that a town would be quickly built around the store

## WHIG PRESIDENTIAL TERRITORIAL APPOINTMENTS CHANGE POLITICS IN OREGON

Democrats controlled local politics throughout the territorial period  
Democrats held a majority of the voters in Oregon Territory by 1850  
their political organization centered on powerful local political figures like Joe Lane  
their strongest hold was in the Willamette Valley  
Whigs, who controlled Oregon City, were opposed to political organization  
they were reluctant to accept the status of statehood for Oregon  
as it would mean putting Democrats in control of state government  
as a minority Whigs could not hope to have any influence  
In southern Oregon, where republicanism later grew rapidly,  
Whig Party and Know Nothing Party opposition to the Democrats were present

## OREGON TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR JOE LANE LEARNS OF HIS REPLACEMENT

Governor Joe Lane received word that newly-elected Whig President Zachary Taylor had appointed

Whigs John P. Gaines Governor and Edward Hamilton Secretary of the Territory -- January 1850  
both politicians were proceeding to Oregon by ship (and would arrive that summer)  
Joe Lane, already tired of being a Democrat governor in a town run by Whigs, could have resigned  
but he was concerned about the intentions of the local natives  
and was personally involved with efforts to capture the Indians  
suspected of the [1847] Whitman Mission murders  
rather than be officially fired, he wrote out his resignation, to be effective [June 18, 1850]

## ROADS IN OREGON TERRITORY

There were two types of roads in Oregon Territory -- January-February 1850:

- local roads -- built by towns, commercial organizations, or individuals

Cottonwood Road ran from the Colville River to Spokane

Barlow Road over the Cascade Mountains into the Willamette Valley

a trip over the Barlow Road was described by Theodore Wygant in 1850: **“For over eight days we struggled through snow, rain, mud, and cold and witnessed suffering and despair among the poor emigrants, beyond anything we had before encountered -- deserted wagons, hundreds of dead cattle mired in the mud, with only their backs sticking out, -- cattle lying dead around wagons, with the immigrant families and their camp fires near, the people waiting for help to come to them from the Willamette Valley; such were the scenes that we passed through the Cascade Mountains, ourselves nearly all the time on foot, picking our way as best we could and driving our poor animals.”**<sup>1</sup>

- military roads -- built by U.S. government funds

Colville Road -- 250 miles long

connected Fort Walla Walla (at today's Wallula, Washington) with Fort Colville

## BRIG *ORBIT* CHANGES HANDS

*Orbit* was loaded with cargo belonging to Edmund Sylvester, Isaac Ebey and Benjamin F. Shaw  
before she was purchased for \$3,500 to two successful and prosperous settlers

former sawmill owner and potential storekeeper Michael Simmons

along with his wealthy farmer partner black pioneer George Washington Bush

*Orbit* with its cargo of newly-cut spars and wharf pilings was dispatched out of Smithfield (Olympia)

bound for San Francisco in the charge of Captain Charles Hart Smith -- February 1850

with orders that her captain bring back enough general merchandise to start a store

this was the beginning of the lumber trade with San Francisco

and started the commercial era on Puget Sound

## TOWNS GROW IN OREGON TERRITORY

Champoeg developed from a small trappers' settlement on French Prairie to a thriving community  
it boasted a post office, stores, sawmills, warehouses, and blacksmith shop  
surrounded by homes and farms

---

<sup>1</sup> Theodore Wygant, Notes. Typed manuscript of reminiscences dictated in 1896 from the diary he kept on the overland journey. Reed College Library.

Salem became the home of Captain Charles Bennett who built Bennett House -- 1850  
he had been one of the discoverers of California gold at Sutter's Mill  
and now moved into his permanent residence  
Portland, Oregon was located at the mouth of the Willamette River  
where deep water lay conveniently close to the bank  
Captain John H. Couch of Cushing and Company's trading firms took up a land claim there  
he constructed a covered wharf so that goods could be handled during the winter rains  
this became the foundation of the settlement  
Portland's wharf lured the first steam powered mill  
which was established by W.P. Abram, C.A. Reed, and Stephen Coffin  
Steilacoom was visited by the British brig *Albion* bringing three settlers to begin a colony  
they were joined by Fayette Balch who owned the brig *George Emory* and set up a general store  
in direct competition with the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Nisqually

#### BEGINNINGS OF OLYMPIA

Edmund Sylvester constructed a two-story building of logs at his Smithfield land claim  
(at what is now Thurston Avenue and Capitol Way in Olympia)  
Sylvester gave his two-story edifice to Mike Simmons along with a pair of choice building lots  
asking in return only that a store be opened on the property  
Michael Simmons agreed to Sylvester's proposal and moved his family into the two-story building  
Simmons prepared to become a storekeeper  
Construction on the town started at once encouraged by Sylvester's offer of free town lots  
to residents who would construct housing  
shipwrights John Swan and Henry Murray built the first residences and other houses followed  
Sylvester continued to use the name Smithfield for his one-building town  
in memory of his departed friend and partner Levi Smith  
however the view of the Olympic Mountains was too dazzling for the name to stick  
soon the village was being called Olympia

#### OYSTERS BECOME A BUSINESS

Oyster beds were first discovered in Shoalwater (Willapa) Bay -- 1850  
this bay has some 100 square miles of shallow tideflats providing an ideal habitat for oysters  
these beds produced 2,000 baskets of mollusks marketed in San Francisco  
Export continued for about fifty years before the oysters began to deplete  
Budd Inlet in Thurston County soon followed  
(Jefferson, Whatcom and later Skagit counties developed the oyster trade also)

#### AMERICAN RIFLE REGIMENT FACES INADEQUATE HOUSING IN OREGON TERRITORY

While most of Colonel William Wing Loring's American Rifle Regiment was housed at the barracks  
at Vancouver Camp which had been abandoned by Major John Hathaway's  
First Regiment of the First U.S. Artillery Company L  
three hundred American Rifle Regiment soldiers were temporarily housed in Oregon City  
Colonel Persifer F. Smith, commanding the Pacific Division of the United States Army

ordered the construction of Vancouver Barracks under the supervision  
of Assistant Quartermaster Captain Rufus Ingalls  
to serve as quarters for the Mounted Riflemen  
During time many American Rifle Regiment soldiers deserted to the California gold fields  
in one instance 120 men pretended to be a government expedition  
before they hit the trail to California -- supplies were purchased from settlers on credit

#### CROWN COLONY OF VANCOVER ISLAND RECEIVES A GOVERNOR

Chief Factor James Douglas set up a salmon-curing station  
on the island of San Juan, the westernmost of the San Juan Islands -- 1850  
To free the proposed Canadian settlements from too much Hudson's Bay Company interference  
British Crown appointed an outsider to serve as governor of Vancouver Island  
and the colony of Victoria  
Governor Richard Blanshard crossed the Isthmus of Panama to Peru before boarding H.M.S. *Driver*  
he arrived at Fort Victoria as an unseasonable storm had dumped a foot of snow on the area  
because the infant colony had no accommodation to offer him  
Blanshard had to remain on board the *Driver* and then move to an empty storehouse in the fort  
until a house was made ready (in the fall)  
Governor Blanshard formally assumed office as Governor of the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island  
on a wintry day -- March 11, 1850  
every effort was made to make the ceremony as impressive as possible  
considering the rudeness of the surroundings at Fort Victoria  
H.M.S. *Driver* fired a seventeen-gun salute and was answered from the bastion of the fort  
all available British residents and a complement of sailors were assembled  
in front of the fort to hear the newly-arrived Governor read the Royal Commission  
appointing him the first Governor of the first Crown Colony  
to be established in British territory west of the Great Lakes  
Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor James Douglas, the Black Scot, became annoyed  
Douglas had grown autocratic over the years and resented this interference with his control  
Richard Blanshard quickly discovered Hudson's Bay Company really ran the region  
and Chief Factor James Douglas held all of the practical authority there  
there was no civil service, no police, no militia,  
and virtually every colonist was company employee

#### BLACK PIONEER GEORGE WASHINGTON SUFFERS DISCRIMINATION IN THE U.S.

(George Washington [not be confused with George Washington Bush]  
had been born a slave in Virginia [August 15, 1817]  
legend says his mother was an English woman and his father a slave  
when his father, a slave, was sold and taken from the area soon after George's birth,  
his mother left him with a white couple named Anna and James Cochran (or Cochrane)  
while George was still a child, the Cochrans moved west to Ohio  
George Washington moved to Missouri with his adoptive white parents  
Washington did well financially while living in Missouri

he operated a successful lumber business in Missouri

he was legally made a citizen by an act of the Missouri Legislature [1843]

he later stated the Missouri state legislature had **“passed a bill making me a citizen of the state, entitled to all the privileges and Immunities of a citizen, except that of holding office.”**<sup>2</sup>

Washington provided credit to some of his customers

one customer bought lumber on credit and when the note came due refused to pay

he claimed Washington, a black man, could not own property

including a promissory note

George Washington sued and won in the Missouri court

Washington, thus encouraged, decided to go into the distilling business

he bought the patent right for making whiskey and purchased the equipment

Washington’s case was appealed in federal court which found

that Washington was not able to prosecute because he was not considered an American citizen

Missouri Legislature passed a law prohibiting any man of color

from manufacturing, or selling spirituous or malt liquors

George Washington sold out his distilling venture and moved to Quincy, Illinois

but he found the Illinois legislature had passed a law

requiring any “colored man” entering that state to post a \$6,000 bond

to assure his good behavior

Washington left the state of Illinois in disgust

injustice had forced George Washington to move West

George Washington, at age 33, set out to cross the continent on the Oregon Trail

with his foster white parents, James and Anna Cochran-- March 15, 1850

#### DESERTERS FROM THE AMERICAN RIFLE REGIMENT ARE CAPTURED

Oregon Territory Governor Joe Lane sent a regiment of soldiers after the deserters

governor also led a volunteer party himself

Groups of deserters were found surviving in starving conditions

seventy were apprehended in Umpqua Valley -- seven more in the Siskiyou Mountains

they all gladly returned with Governor Joe Lane to Oregon City

#### OREGON TRAIL WAS NOW THOUGHT OF AS THE ROUTE TO RICHES

More California gold-seekers (49ers) traveled the Oregon Trail than the year before

estimates range up to 55,000 gold seekers and pioneers who journey west -- 1850

average wagon train consisted of sixty wagons but some caravans stretched on for miles

vast majority traveled to California

but only about 4,000 pioneers traveled in wagon trains to Oregon -- March to (October)

Accidents were caused by negligence, exhaustion, guns, animals, and weather

shootings were common -- but murders were rare

usually someone shot himself, a friend, or a draft animal when a gun discharged accidentally

besides shootings, drownings, being crushed by wagon wheels and injuries from handling animals

---

<sup>2</sup> Keith McCoy, *Cody: Colorful Man of Color*, P. 8.

were the biggest accidental killers on the Trail  
Indians were frightening but only very rarely threatening

#### CHOLERA PANDEMIC REACHES THE UNITED STATES

Begun in (today's Bangladesh) the disease entered the United States through New Orleans  
was carried up the Mississippi River to St. Louis and then along the Oregon Trail to the West  
epidemic thrived in the unsanitary conditions along the trail -- peaking in 1850  
as immense numbers of prospectors and would-be gold miners joined the migration  
Adults originating from Missouri seemed to be most vulnerable to the disease  
which was prevalent on the Great Plains, but once past Fort Laramie,  
higher elevations provided some safety from cholera  
Cholera ran rampant killing thousands of immigrants and untold thousands more Indians

#### AMERICAN RIFLE REGIMENT MOVES TO NEW QUARTERS

American Rifle Regiment was ordered to move into their newly-constructed Vancouver Barracks  
when the quarrelsome regiment finally was moved out of Oregon City  
relieved citizens celebrated by burning down their offensive and foul shelters

#### AMOS AND ESTER SHORT ONCE AGAIN FACE EVICTION FROM THEIR LAND

Hudson's Bay Company officer Dr. David Gardner accompanied by his Kanaka (Hawaiian) servant  
visited Amos Short and his family at their farm located just outside of Fort Vancouver  
in an effort once again to evict the Short family from their farm just outside of Fort Vancouver  
Amos Short was warned they were coming and he went to meet the British men  
Short took four or five who worked for him and volunteered to accompany him  
Short order the men off his land but to no avail  
he warned them he would shoot but was ignored  
in the ensuing dispute short were fired  
both Hudson's Bay Company men were killed -- late March 1850  
Amos Short was arrested by Hudson's Bay Company men and taken to Fort Vancouver  
Amos was in a legal battle to save his own life

#### SOME MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN RIFLE REGIMENT ARE DISPATCHED TO THE DALLES

Colonel William W. Loring, Commandant 11<sup>th</sup> Military District  
ordered the establishment of a post at The Dalles -- March 30, 1850  
Two companies of the American Rifle Regiment  
were sent from Vancouver Barracks (Fort Vancouver) to The Dalles to establish the small fort  
under the command of Captain Stephen S. Tucker  
Wascopam Mission was used as the base of operation  
since no barracks existed some of the troops lived in the abandoned Methodist buildings  
while a cantonment (temporary quarters) was being constructed

#### MICHAEL SIMMONS MAKES AND LOSES A FORTUNE

Brig *Orbit* returned to Puget Sound after selling her cargo of spars and wharf pilings in San Francisco

as a result George Washington Bush's family prospered as did his partner Michael Simmons who opened the first American store on Puget Sound at Smithfield (Olympia)  
Michael Simmons, on his own, sent Captain Charles Smith back to San Francisco on the *Orbit* with \$60,000 in cash and credit  
Captain Smith absconded with the entire amount causing a huge financial loss for Mike Simmons

#### FLATBOAT SERVICE BEGINS ON THE WILLAMETTE RIVER

James D. Miller arrived on the Pacific coast [1848] and settled on an acre of land at Clackamas City located just north of Oregon City  
Miller built a sixty-five-foot-long flatboat capable of hauling 350 bushels of wheat he hired four Klickitat Indians as crew and began provide service on the Willamette River between Canemah just above Willamette Falls and Dayton on the Yamhill River -- spring 1850  
Miller charged \$35 a ton to haul cargo to upriver farmers and fifty cents a bushel to carry out the farmers' wheat

#### THOMAS NELSON IS NAMED CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE OREGON SUPREME COURT

Whig President Zachary Taylor named New York attorney Thomas Nelson to replace Oregon Territory Chief Justice William P. Bryant  
Justice Nelson arrived in Oregon City -- April 21, 1850  
he was accompanied by Associate Justice Orville C. Pratt who accompanied the Chief Justice from San Francisco

#### TEMPORARY QUARTERS ARE CONSTRUCTED (NEAR WASCOPAM MISSION)

Two Companies of the American Rifle Regiment under the command of Captain Stephen S. Tucker with the help of hired pioneers used whip-sawed lumber from Wascopam Mission to construct a cantonment that consisted of a log barracks and several frame buildings -- May 1, 1850  
Because of the scarcity of forage and provisions it was decided to move the troops to a new location located closer to The Dalles

#### NEWLY APPOINTED OREGON TERRITORIAL OFFICIALS TRAVEL WEST

Oregon Territorial Governor Whig John P. Gaines and his family set out of New York aboard the ship *Supply* around South America  
Traveling with Territorial Governor Gaines were  
Oregon Territorial Justice William Strong of Ohio accompanied by his wife and family  
Oregon Territorial Secretary Edward D. Hamilton  
Governor Gaines' daughters, (Harriet & Florella) were lost to Yellow Fever at Santa Catarina Island, Brazil and his remaining children were sent back to relatives in the east before the party continued on to San Francisco aboard the sloop-of-war *Falmouth*  
Justice Strong's oldest son Frederick died after contracting Yellow Fever in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

#### FRESH INDIAN TROUBLES ARISE IN SOUTHERN OREGON

Table Rock in southern Oregon is a flat-topped mountain overhanging the Rogue River from the vista sweeping across the valley for miles Indians noted the vastly increased traffic

southbound leaving Oregon Territory caused by the California Gold Rush  
from this vantage point never-too-friendly Rogue River Indians could attack with unerring aim  
and annihilate complete encampments

Southern Oregon settlers also absorbed the brunt of the attacks with heavy losses in property  
this was the beginning of the Rogue River War -- 1850-[1855]

#### CAMP DRUM IS COMPLETED AT THE DALLES

Camp Drum was located on the south bank of the Columbia River on Mill Creek  
it was named in honor of Captain Simon H. Drum, 4<sup>th</sup> U.S. Artillery  
who had been killed in the assault on Mexico City [September 13, 1847]

Construction was completed at the ten square mile post  
by two companies of the American Rifle Regiment -- May 21, 1850  
under the command of Captain Stephen S. Tucker

This was the only military fort on the Oregon Trail between Fort Laramie and Fort Vancouver  
it was a real hardship post of the troops:

- most structures had dirt floors and no ceilings,
  - buildings were drafty, leaky and miserably uncomfortable,
  - shortages of rations for the troops perpetually existed
- priests at the Catholic Mission helped furnish food

American Rifle Regiment was to patrol the "Emigrant Road"

and to send settlers on their way down the Columbia River or over the Barlow Road

Camp Drum was chronically undermanned -- usually it was home to less than a few dozen men

#### OUTLAW BAND OF CAYUSE INDIANS ARE CAPTURED

Tamsuky and his supporters,

including many relatives who had not in any manner participated in the massacre,  
were hiding in the mountains at the headwaters of the John Day River

Umatilla Indians, who desired peace, undertook to capture the band

after a savage battle Tamsuky was killed and most of the warriors were captured  
taking Tiloukaikt, Tomahas and three others with them, several of the Umatilla chiefs  
and older men went to Camp Drum to deliver them up as hostages

Five captured natives were charged with leading the Whitman Massacre

Chief Tiloukaikt, the Umatilla leader, Tomahas, Kiamasumpkin, Iaiachalakis and Klokomas  
(there are numerous alternative transliterations of these names)

however, only two of the five, Tiloukaikt and Tomahas, had actually engaged in the bloody work  
Tiloukaikt had slashed Dr. Marcus Whitman's face beyond recognition

Tomahas was a bloody-minded villain whom his countrymen called "The Murderer"  
or so it was declared by the Indians living in the vicinity of the Whitman Mission

#### TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR JOE LANE DEALS WITH WHITMAN MASSACRE PERPERTRATORS

Governor Joe Lane had just returned to Oregon City

after suppressing some Indians disturbances in the lower Columbia River region

He was actively preparing for a fresh attack on the outlaw band of Cayuse hostiles

using U.S. regulars, the American Rifle Regiment, who were at his command  
when news came that five Cayuse involved in the Whitman Massacre had given themselves up  
Lane went with an escort party to Camp Drum to arrest them

#### OREGON TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR JOE LANE TRAVELS TO CONFRONT HOSTILE NATIVES

Governor Joe Lane knew that he was to be replaced as governor by a Whig appointee John P. Gaines  
when he learned of the hostilities demonstrated by Rogue River Indians in southern Oregon

Governor Lane might justifiably have let the problem wait for his replacement

but that wasn't his way -- he faced the enemy

Immediately he headed south with an with a pack train going to the gold fields  
escorted by fifteen whites and fifteen Klickitat Indians under Chief Quatley

Klickitats had long been determined enemies of the Rogue people

Governor Lane's Party overtook a herd of cattle being driven to California -- spring 1850

these wranglers were happy to have an escort to help protect their animals

All of the members of the expedition were well mounted with plenty of provisions on pack horses  
they traveled leisurely and stopped to hunt venison in the valley of Grave Creek

#### FIRST STEAMBOAT IS BUILT IN OREGON

Side-wheeler (fire-canoe in Indian parlance) *Columbia* was launched at Astoria [early June 1850]  
she was a basic vessel built with no frills of any kind -- not even a passenger cabin or a galley  
for Astoria businessman and Customs Collector John Adair and his partners -- early June 1850

engines and necessary parts were brought from San Francisco

an awkward-looking side-wheeler, double-ended with bow and stern blunted like a ferryboat

she was a small, seventy-five gross tons, ninety-foot long with a sixteen-foot beam

she had a draft of four-feet of water

#### EXECUTION OF WHITMAN MURDERERS TAKES PLACE

Death penalty was first invoked in Oregon Territory at Oregon City -- June 3, 1850

executions of Chief Tiloukaikt, Tomahas, Kiamasumpkin, Iaiachalakis and Klokomas

U.S. Marshal Joe Meek served as executioner

he may have taken some personal satisfaction in avenging his daughter Helen's death  
hanging was abhorrent to Indians -- they expected to be shot like warriors

Meek agreed to a compromise: trapdoor release was dropped with his tomahawk

It was commonly believed by the natives of the day that Tomahas should have been hung

but not the other four Indians as natives did not acknowledge the concept of accomplices

In view of the proceeding, even the Umatilla Indians who had brought in the five accused Cayuse  
congratulated themselves on escaping a similar fate

#### RESULTS OF CAYUSE WAR

Cayuse Tribe was broken because their spirit and prestige were gone

protestant missionaries ended their work east of the Cascade Mountains

It had been a very expensive effort

war costs amounted to almost \$175,000 of which \$2,885.02 was paid for in cash

Congress eventually appropriated \$100,000 for the Cayuse War  
to defray the costs incurred by the settlers

Congress also reserved land for military posts they had built in [1849]-1850

Columbia Barracks at Fort Vancouver was the home

of the First Regiment of the First U.S. Artillery Company L under Major John Hathaway

Fort Steilacoom on Puget Sound was home to Captain Bennett Hoskins Hill's

First Regiment of the First U.S. Artillery Company M

Vancouver Barracks housed most of Colonel William Wing Loring's American Rifle Regiment  
name of Camp Drum at The Dalles was changed to "Fort Drum"

and served as home to two companies of the American Rifle Regiment

under the command of Captain Stephen S. Tucker

Settlers, feeling confident in their own ability to maintain peace in the territory

gave notice they preferred to fight their own wars

because of the ill will generated in Oregon City they asked the United States Government  
to withdraw the American Rifle Regiment

### CONGRESS EXTENDS THE INDIAN TRADE ACT TO OREGON TERRITORY

Congress extended the [1834] Indian Trade Act to Oregon Territory -- June 5, 1850

this provided for negotiation of treaties with every tribe west of the Cascade Mountains

\$20,000 was appropriated for expenses

three commissioners were to be appointed to conduct talks

Indian Trade Act provisions were significant:

- they prohibited the sale of liquor to Indians,
- they set standards for trade relations,
- they officially declared that all Indians lands, until ceded by ratified treaty,  
were "Indian Country" where tribal law and custom prevailed

In theory, Indians would sell their lands for useful annuities

then they would move to reservations on the eastern side of the Cascade Mountains

settlers would then be free to claim the former Indians' lands under the Donation Act

### CONGRESS CREATES THE POSITION OF SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Congress passed an act creating the Oregon Territory Superintendent of Indian Affairs

at about the same time the Donation Land Act was passed

previously the Territorial Governor of Oregon had held dual office

as he also was in charge of Indian Affairs for the region

Oregon Territorial Governor Joe Lane was removed from the responsibility

of negotiating treaties with the natives

This act created a separate superintendent's position

Anson Dart of Wisconsin was named as the first Superintendent of Indian Affairs of Oregon

Oregon Territory at that time consisted of what is now Oregon (Washington and Idaho)

Dart's directions from Congress were to make treaties with the Indian people of Oregon

starting with those living in the area most occupied by settlers -- western Oregon Territory

Congress' intent was to get those living in the most settled areas to cede all of their lands

and agree to move east of the Cascade Mountains where a permanent reservation would be created out of the way of settlement  
three Indian Commissioners were appointed the assist Anson Dart in negotiating treaties  
Oregon Territorial Governor Joe Lane was removed  
from the responsibility of negotiating with the natives  
John P. Gaines, Alonzo A. Skinner, and Beverly S. Allen  
this commission was charged to negotiate treaties with Indians along the Pacific coast to acquire land and remove the natives to unsettled land East of the Cascade Mountains  
However, the gravest injustice was done, as usual, to the Indians  
Oregon's Donation Land Law said nothing about their titles to the land  
but under another measure Oregon Territorial Delegate to Congress Samuel Thurston had pressed on Congress these property rights had already been lost  
under the Indian Treaty Act [of June 5, 1850]

#### COLONEL ISSAC EBEBY SURVEYS PUGET SOUND

With the exception of small settlements near Olympia and Nisqually,  
Puget Sound was populated exclusively by native people  
Colonel Isaac Ebey hired Indians with a canoe to paddle him around  
in search of a farm site -- late spring 1850  
Ebey and his guides proceeded north from Olympia along the eastern shore of Puget Sound  
he examined the coast to a bay Ebey called "Dewams" (Elliott Bay)  
they entered a river of the same name (Duwamish River) and continued on to Lake Washington  
which he named Lake Geneva  
because of the "beauty of the lake and the scenery surrounding it"

#### GOVERNOR JOE LANE AND HIS PARTY REACH THE ROGUE RIVER

Governor Lane and his men camped near a Rogue River Indian village -- mid-June 1850  
Governor Lane sent word to the Rogue Indians' primary chief, Ahs-er-ka-her,  
that they had come to talk and make a treaty of peace and friendship  
Lane asked Chief Ahs-er-ka-her to come to his camp unarmed  
Ahs-er-ka-her and seventy-five of his villagers arrived in Governor Lane's camp  
they sat on the grass in a circle surrounding Lane  
Joe Lane flattered the chief and brought the Indian leader into the center of the circle with him  
fully armed Klickitat warriors, the enemy of the Rogues, sat just behind Governor Lane  
before talks could begin another seventy-five Rogue River Indians arrived with their weapons  
Lane instructed them to sit down which they did  
Governor Lane told Chief Quatley to come inside the circle with two or three of his Klickitat warriors  
they sat beside Rogue River Head Chief Ahs-er-ka-her  
Governor Lane began his demands for peace from the Rogue River Indians  
but he kept a sharp lookout and exchanged glances with Quatley  
Governor Lane reminded the Rogue Indians of their past hostilities toward the settlers and miners  
he said new laws now applied to their land and people  
if they obeyed everyone could live together peacefully

if they behaved well they could be compensated for their land and an agent would be sent to see they received justice

Rogue Chief Ahs-er-ka-her addressed his people in a loud, deliberate voice

warriors stood, raised a war-cry and those who carried weapons displayed them

at this sign of trouble Chief Quatley seized the Rogue chief and put a knife to his throat

During the tribe's moment of paralysis, Lane stepped boldly among them with a revolver in his hand

he lifted the barrels of the natives' leveled guns or struck the weapons from their hands

this action startled the Rogue chief

Joe Lane ordered the Indians to sit down

when the astonished Ahs-er-ka-her showed his agreement the Indians sat

Joe Lane continued talking as if nothing had happened

he told them to go home and return in two days in a friendly manner for another council

their chief would remain as the guest of Governor Lane

Rogue River Indians humiliated and sullen withdrew leaving their chief behind

#### TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR JOE LANE TALKS WITH THE ROGUE RIVER INDIAN CHIEF

An anxious Indian woman entered Lane's camp looking for her husband at sunrise the next morning she was warmly welcomed by the governor

For two days Governor Lane talked with the Rogue River chief about the need to cooperate assurances of peace, friendship, aid and justice secured by a treaty were provided

#### GOVERNOR JOE LANE CONCLUDES A TREATY WITH THE ROGUE RIVER INDIANS

Rogue River Indian Chief Ahs-er-ka-her had been convinced of the value of peace

when his people returned to Governor Lane's camp he advised them to accept the terms

Rogue Indians' anger had cooled and the council reached a successful conclusion

When the Indian interpreter asked the name of this great chief, the governor answered Joe Lane

**"Give me your name," said the Indian chief. 'I have seen no man like you,'**

**"I will give you half my name," said Lane. 'You shall be called Jo. To your wife I give the name 'Sally,' and your daughter shall be called 'Mary'."**<sup>3</sup>

As a sign of good faith, Oregon Territorial Governor Joe Lane **"wrote a word about the treaty on slips of paper and signed his name. Giving them to the Indians, he said, 'Whenever any white man comes into your country, show him this. Take care of my people.'**

**"As long as those precious bits of paper held together the Indians preserved them. Whenever a white man appeared they went to him, holding out the paper, saying rapidly the magic password, 'Jo Lane, Jo Lane, Jo Lane' -- the only English words they knew. For about a year Chief Jo tried to keep the peace with the ever-increasing flood of white men."**<sup>4</sup>

This remarkable display of courage and successful negotiation

was Joe Lane's last official act as governor before his resignation came due

#### OREGON TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR JOE LANE RESIGNS

---

<sup>3</sup> Eva Emery Dye, *Stories of Oregon*, P. 166.

<sup>4</sup> Eva Emery Dye, *Stories of Oregon*, P. 166.

Governor Lane's resignation became effective -- June 18, 1850

Oregon Territorial Secretary Kintzing Pritchette was commissioned Interim Governor  
he served in that capacity [until August 18,1850] when the new governor arrived

#### EX-GOVERNOR JOE LANE SEEKS GOLD IN CALIFORNIA

Joe Lane traveled to Shasta to seek his fortune in the gold mines

Rogue Chief Jo presented the ex-governor with a young Modoc prisoner to be his slave

Governor Lane, a Southern sympathizer, saw nothing wrong with this

he took the boy along when he led his party on south to prospect for gold

in the vast, canyon-scarred mountains south of the Oregon-California border

#### PACIFIC MAIL STEAMSHIP COMPANY IS THE FIRST TO REACH THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Pacific Mail Steamship Company provided regularly scheduled mail and passenger boat service  
between San Francisco and points on the Columbia River

town of St. Helens on the Columbia River was first proposed as the terminus -- June 1850

*S.S. Carolina* was 200 feet long with 33.6-foot beam and 20 foot depth

twin boilers drove the side-wheel at a top speed of twelve knots

she was the first mail ship to reach Oregon Territory

delivering the post which arrived in San Francisco by way of the Isthmus of Panama

*Carolina* traveled north up the Pacific coast and sailed up the Columbia River -- June 1850

*S.S. Goldhunter* was the second ship to steam up the Columbia River

she brought many immigrants bound for Oregon

*Goldhunter* was the first ocean-going steam vessel to land at the site of Portland

Pacific Mail Steamship Company operated for twelve years

but the service turned out to be very irregular

local newspapers continually raged against the company noting

**"...the provoking irregularity and wanton disregard of the public accommodation"<sup>5</sup>**

#### ADVANCES IN NAVIGATION ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Fur company brigades for years had carried freight and passengers in canoes and on flatboats

Because of gold rush in California regular steamer service commenced on the Columbia River -- 1850

towns that could be reached varied with the depth of the Willamette River

in low water Salem, Oregon could be reached

in mid-water Albany was accessible

at high-water as far as Eugene could be served

#### SIDE-WHEELER *COLUMBIA* CONDUCTS A TRIAL RUN

*Columbia* took her trial trip from Astoria in command of Captain James Frost -- July 3, 1850

Captain Frost was a former pilot on the Mississippi River

*Columbia* took two days to get from Astoria to Portland,

due to the captain's lack of familiarity with the river channel and his excessive caution

---

<sup>5</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P.190.

she reached Portland at 3:00 p.m. and after lying there two or three hours  
proceeded to Oregon City where she arrived about 8:00 in the evening -- July 5  
as a great celebration was held in her honor

#### **COLUMBIA PROVIDED SERVICE AMONG OREGON CITY, PORTLAND AND ASTORIA**

Regularly scheduled steamboat service (to a degree) was finally provided on the Columbia River  
steamboat *Columbia* made the Oregon City-Portland-Astoria run twice a month  
at four miles per hour, charging \$25 per passenger and \$25 per ton of freight  
she provided cargo and passenger service with little comfort between 1850 and [1853]  
(*Columbia* ran between Portland and Astoria for a year or so)  
for six months she had a monopoly on the Columbia River  
*Columbia* began the Steamboat Era in the Pacific Northwest: 1850-[1900]  
there were more than 100 steamboats in the Northwest over the fifty-year period

#### **PATRIOTIC SPEECH STIRS THE PIONEER CROWD**

John Butler Chapman, founder of the city of Chehalis, gave a speech at Steilacoom -- July 4, 1850  
voicing the thoughts of many he demanded a territory be created North of the Columbia River  
he even suggested a name "Columbia" Territory  
(this speech was often later referred to as the prime motivation for the Cowlitz Convention)

#### **SMOHALLA BECOMES THE LEADER OF A NEW NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGION**

Smohalla was a Wanapum Indian born between [1815 and 1820]  
Wanapum people (only a very few survive today) lived along the Columbia River  
between (today's Vantage and Pasco)  
Smohalla had an ability to predict the future, to foretell the coming of storms,  
to know when the salmon run would start and to predict the eruption of volcanoes  
Smohalla became a Wanapum chief and a prophet of a new religion  
he commenced to preach somewhere between the ages of 30 and 35 -- 1850  
he proclaimed peace; not war  
he taught that wisdom was acquired through dreaming or reflection in lonely places  
Smohalla's religion forbid scarring the face of the earth with a plow or cutting one's hair  
or rejecting any other old Native American customs  
drums used during sacred rites were shaped like Mother Earth -- musical rhythms symbolized  
**"...life, the sound of life within a person, the sound of life in the world."**<sup>6</sup>

#### **DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT**

Whig President Zachary Taylor died of gastroenteritis -- inflammation of the stomach and intestines  
(or perhaps he died of a heatstroke) just sixteen months into his term  
Whig Vice-President Millard Fillmore was sworn into office -- July 9, 1850  
President Fillmore had learned the clothier's trade, but began the study of law at age nineteen  
he had been elected to Congress [1832-1836]

---

<sup>6</sup> Cecil Dryden, *History of Washington*, P. 342.

he was selected as war hero Zachary Taylor's running mate to heal Whig Party wounds  
he had opposed the expansion of slavery and Texas' entering the Union as a slave state

#### FATHER ANTHONY RAVALLI BEGINS CONSTRUCTION ON HIS GRAND CATHEDRAL

Father Anthony Ravalli was placed in charge of the Mission of the Sacred Heart (at today's Cataldo)

Father Ravalli began construction his new mission church  
in the style of a European cathedral -- 1850

Father Anthony Ravalli's plans were faithfully followed using untrained labor and simple tools  
a broad axe, auger, ropes and pulleys, a pen knife and an improvised whip saw  
only Indians who were exemplary in their conduct  
were allowed to help in the construction of the House of the Great Spirit  
women worked alongside of men falling trees and carrying rocks

This building was built using large logs cut at the site

then latticed with saplings that were woven with grass and caked with mud  
this process was called wattle and daub

uprights eighteen inches square and rafters ten inches square were cut  
from might pines which grew in abundance on nearby hillsides

sawing was done in a saw-pit -- shaping and planning was done with a broad axe  
six large perfect pine specimen served as columns which supported the porch roof  
were placed on pedestals and hard finished to a remarkably smooth surface

roof and walls were made by boring holes in the uprights and rafters  
willow saplings were interlaced between them

wild grass was woven around the saplings and the whole thing covered with adobe mud  
dome of the mission created a feeling of grandeur and elegance

huge timbers were hewn and carefully placed as the floor

steps leading to the porch were split logs hewed from giant trees

Decorations of the interior illustrate both the piety of the workers and their ingenuity

fabric used on the interior walls came from Hudson's Bay Company Fort Walla Walla trading post  
chandeliers designed to replicate grand Italian cathedrals  
were fashioned out of used tin cans

Father Ravalli, a skilled artist assisted by Brother Huybrechts,  
constructed three alters and carved all of the decorations

including a large picture of the Sacred Heart behind the alter  
pictures depicting Heaven and Hell were located above the side alters  
these wooden alters were painted and treated to resemble marble

Ravalli painstakingly hand carved from blocks of wood  
statues of the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Evangelist

Brother Huybrechts hand-carved nine large and eight small panels for the ceiling  
each panel was suspended by a rawhide thong from a wooden peg

(Father Anthony Ravalli completed his work [1853])

this amazing mission building ironically became known by several names

The Old Mission Church, or Mission of the Sacred Heart, or Cataldo Mission

by whatever name, today Father Ravalli's cathedral is the oldest standing building in Idaho

notably, nails were not available -- holes were bored into the uprights and rafters  
which were then joined with wooden pegs)

#### OREGON TERRITORIAL JUSTICE WILLIAM STRONG ARRIVES IN OREGON

Whig President Zachary Taylor's territorial government appointments  
arrived in Oregon City aboard the military ship *Falmouth* -- August 13, 1850  
Oregon Territory Governor John P. Gaines  
Territorial Secretary Edward D. Hamilton  
Associate Justice William Strong  
after his arrival in Oregon Territory Justice Strong became presiding judge  
of the Third Judicial District, which included Clatsop County

#### OREGON CITY SEES A NEW STATEHOUSE BUILT

Oregon's Provisional Government had met in a series of private homes and buildings in Oregon City  
Oregon City had been designated the seat of power for Oregon Territory by Governor Joe Lane  
John L. Morrison constructed a new statehouse building in Oregon  
at the corner of Sixth and Main -- 1850

#### OREGON TERRITORIAL OFFICIALS SWORN INTO OFFICE IN OREGON CITY

Territorial Governor John Pollard Gaines took his oath of office in Oregon City -- August 18, 1850  
Governor Gaines was a dignified, even pompous, Whig in a land of Democrats  
shortly after arriving in the territory, his wife died [in 1851] after falling off a horse  
he served a turbulent term filled with contention until [May 16, 1853]  
under Governor Gaines work to organize the territorial government continued  
but he faced organized opposition from a Democratic majority of the population  
Oregon Territorial Secretary, General Edward Hamilton was sworn into office  
he had nominated Zachary Taylor for President at the Whig National Convention  
he served as Territorial Secretary from August 18, 1850 to [May 14, 1853]  
Whig Justice William Strong replaced absent Justice Peter H. Burnett -- August 18  
for the first time since the organization of Oregon Territory a full bench was present  
as Chief Justice Thomas Nelson joined Associate Justice Orville C. Pratt  
were joined by William Strong to form the Territorial Supreme Court  
all three judicial districts had assigned judges on duty within their respective district  
where the justices rode the circuit holding court

#### OREGON DEMOCRATS FEEL FRUSTRATED POLITICALLY

Following the inauguration of the Whig governor, frustrations of Oregon's Democrats became intense  
although they held a majority of the territorial legislature, they met in a Whig town  
and had to work not only with a Whig-appointed Governor John P. Gaines  
but a judiciary dominated by Whig appointees as well

#### ISAAC EBEL RECOUNTS HIS INVESTIGATION OF (TODAY'S WASHINGTON)

Colonel Isaac Ebel wrote a letter to one of the original Olympia settlers, Michael Simmons,

this letter was printed in the *Oregon Spectator*:

**“Olympia, Oregon Sept 1, 1850**

**M.T. Simmons, Esq:**

**“Dear Sir – In reply to your letter of inquiry, concerning the character of the land on the east side of Admiralty in-let [near today’s Hansville], in regard to its adaptedness to agriculture, grazing, &c., I would say that the time I have devoted in exploring that section, is not sufficient to warrant me in giving a minute description. What I have seen is no more than a mere outline of a great country. The filling up must be done at a future day, and by persons who have more time and leisure to devote to it than has fallen to my lot the past season.**

**“The Powalp [Puyallup] is the first stream of any size falling into the bay north of the Nesqually River. This stream falls into the Powalp Bay a little south and east of Vashon’s Island. This bay is beautifully situated, with abundance of good anchorage. It is surrounded, and to a considerable distance in the interior, by a body of low timbered land, covered with a growth of cedar, fir, and maple timber. This character of land continues to a considerable distance up this river. The soil will be found of first quality, with easy access to navigation. The river is rapid and of no great depth. Fine mill privileges exist here, with an abundance of good timber. Many good situations for farms are to be met with, where the removal of the timber is by no means an undertaking of serious moment. I know of no plains on this river near the bay. Where the wagon road to Walla Walla via Mt. Rainier crosses this river, about thirty miles from the bay, fine rich plains are found, with a soil that will not suffer by comparison with the best land in Oregon. Of their extent I am unacquainted.**

**“The next river north is the Dewams. This river falls into a bay of the same name, below Vashon’s Island, and immediately opposite Port Orchard. This bay forms a beautiful little harbor of about four miles in width, and some six miles in length. This bay, like the Powalp, is surrounded by wood land. The river, for a distance of about twenty miles, has an average width of about forty yards, with a deep channel and placid current.**

**“The river meanders along through rich bottom land, not heavily timbered, with here and there a beautiful plain of unrivaled fertility, peeping out through a fringe of vine maple, alder or ash, or boldly presenting a full view of their native richness and undying verdure. Other plains of more extensive character are represented as being near at hand, and of sufficient fertility to satisfy the most fastidious taste.**

**“At a distance of about twenty miles from the bay, the river forks – the right fork bears the name of Dewams [the future Black River]. It has its source about ten miles to the north in a large clear lake. This stream has an average width of about twenty yards. The country along its banks partakes of the same character as that lower down the river. A few miles of this stream will be found quite rapid, offering very fine opportunities for mill privileges. Sandstone, of a good quality for building materials, makes its appearance along this stream.**

**“The lake from whence this stream has its source is of considerable extent, surrounded principally with wood land, consisting of cedar, fir, maple, ash, oak, &c. It varies in width from one to six miles. I traveled on it to the north, a distance of more than twenty miles, without finding its terminus. The water is clear and very deep; from the beauty of the lake and the scenery surrounding it, we christened it by the name of ‘Geneva’ [renamed Lake Washington] Another lake [Lake Sammamish] of less extent lies about six miles east of Geneva, and connected with it by a small stream.**

**“Of the left bank of the Dewams very little is known, until you get into the region of country where the wagon [road?] crosses the same. The Indians represent the character of the country above much the same as that already described.**

**“Where the wagon road crosses this river, plains of unrivaled fertility are found, covered with the most luxuriant growth of grass I have ever met with, a great deal of it being from three to four feet high, in which the red and white clover are found sprinkled with liberal hand.**

**“The tide flows up this river a distance of more than twenty miles.**

**“Between Geneva lake and Admiralty Inlet, there appears an extensive country of low land, that has never been examined by white men, and when examined I have no doubt will be found very valuable. The distance from the Inlet to Geneva lake in many places cannot exceed a few miles, as the Indians make portages across with their canoes....**

**“I have extended this communication to a much greater length than I designed, but have not given as much description as I could wish, as my time is limited.”**

**Yours truly,**

**J [actually Isaac] N Ebey” (*Oregon Spectator*)**

Colonel Ebey’s glowing description inspired several early settlers to make their homes in the Puget Sound region<sup>7</sup>

## **BLACK PIONEER GEORGE WASHINGTON ARRIVES IN OREGON TERRITORY**

George Washington arrived in Oregon Territory with his white adoptive parent -- 1850 they settled in Oregon City where George got a job cutting timber for \$90 a month plus board after only three months on the job he became seriously ill he was taken to the only hospital in the area at Fort Vancouver George Washington spent several months recuperating in the hospital and the Cochran family moved north, across the Columbia River, to be near him twice a week during his recovery Anna Cochran brought him a home-cooked meal

## **LAND CLAIM DIFFICULTIES**

At the time of the original bill creating Oregon Territory [1848] Congress had been unable to reach a decision regarding the protection of land claims lawmakers simply declared the Provisional Government land laws null and void but put nothing in their place

Problems abounded:

- settlers were not permitted to take up land until treaties could be concluded with tribes;
- there was still no legal assurance that land could be possessed by the claimant as no legal means of filing a claim and having the claim protected in court existed;
- property lines of claims were very irregular -- usually following the geography;

To the pioneers of the Pacific Northwest this was intolerable they wanted their titles unclouded -- and free

## **QUESTIONS REGARDING SLAVERY COME TO A HEAD IN THE COMPROMISE OF 1850**

---

<sup>7</sup> Greg Lange, Essay 1748, HistoryLink.org, November 3, 2000.

There had been four years of political confrontation between Northern and Southern state leaders over the question of slavery in the land gained as a result of the Mexican War [1846-1848] In an effort to reach a compromise to resolve the issue Whig U.S. Senator Henry Clay from Kentucky introduced a Bill into Congress to resolve the issues

Whig Senator Daniel Webster (Massachusetts) supported Henry Clay's position but Webster lost the support of abolitionists who saw Clay as favoring expansion of slavery

Whig Senator William Steward (New York) opposed Clay's proposed Bill he stated a "higher law" than the Constitution required an end to slavery

U.S. Senate leader John C. Calhoun (Democrat, South Carolina) also opposed Clay's Bill as the proposal stopped expansion of slavery into the former Mexican lands

Whig President Zachary Taylor opposed the legislation (his death [July 9]) made Whig Millard Filmore who favored the Bill President

U.S. Senators defeated Henry Clay's Bill

U.S. Senator Stephen A. Douglas (Democrat, Illinois) split Clay's proposal into several individual Bills this allowed senators to vote or abstain (not vote at all) on each proposal individually

senators could pick and choose the portions they supported and ignore the other proposals

Five separate Bills passed Congress -- September 1850

these became known as the "Missouri Compromise:"

- Fugitive Slave Act was amended as a result of political pressure from Southern politicians among other features citizens were forcibly compelled to assist in capturing runaway slaves and slaves were denied the right to a jury trial;

- slave trade in Washington City (Washington, D.C.) was abolished;

- California entered the Union as a free state;

- government was created in a new Utah Territory;

- boundary dispute between Texas and New Mexico was resolved

and a territorial government was established for a new New Mexico Territory

(Compromise of 1850 enabled Congress to avoid sectional and slavery issues for several years)

## OREGON DELEGATE TO CONGRESS SAMUEL THURSTON ADDRESSES LAND ISSUES

As Delegate to Congress from a territory Samuel R. Thurston had no vote in Congress

but he could participate in debates and on strictly territorial matters his voice possessed influence

Samuel Thurston saw the entrenched power of George Abernathy's old mission party in Oregon City

he was attracted to them and supported their pro-Whig, anti-Democrat, politics

he listened to the pioneer tirades which followed Henry Spalding's baseless charge

that Hudson's Bay Company and the Catholics

together were responsible for the Whitman massacre

these charges Thurston blatantly echoed in the nation's capital

he misrepresented the facts of the Whitman massacre to Congress

in a letter mailed to members individually

## DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN IS SINGLED OUT FOR PARTICULAR ATTACK

Tirelessly Oregon Territorial Delegate to Congress Samuel Thurston

used his persuasive voice in Congress

Thurston took particular aim at Dr. John McLoughlin

he spent much of his political energy in an effort to deprive Dr. John McLoughlin  
of his land claim in Oregon City

Former Chief Factor McLoughlin had previously declared his intention to become an American citizen  
ignoring this, Samuel Thurston had inserted into the Donation Land Law  
a notorious clause which vested ownership of the island at Willamette Falls  
to a milling company that held title from the old Methodist mission  
this same clause further declared that the rest of McLoughlin's unsold building lots  
were to be placed at the disposal of the territorial legislature  
with the proceeds to be used for the founding of a university

## OREGON DONATION LAND LAW PASSED

Under Oregon Territorial Delegate to Congress Samuel Thurston's prodding  
Congress at length passed a stopgap measure based on the unsuccessful legislation  
Senator Lewis F. Linn of Missouri proposed a decade earlier  
this was one of the most significant, and at the same time, most mischievous  
bits of federal legislation connected to the Pacific Northwest -- the Donation Land Law

Oregon Donation Land Law passed Congress

and was signed by President Millard Fillmore -- September 27, 1850

this provided a remedy for the glaring omission in the original act creating Oregon Territory

Oregon Donation Land Law provided that:

- 1) a survey be made of the public lands of Oregon by a Surveyor General
- 2) size of claims was cut in half from the Provisional Government's 640 acres  
a grant of 320 acres of land would be made to every white  
or (reluctantly included) half-breed settler over eighteen years of age  
who was either a citizen or who would declare an intention of becoming one  
before [December 1], 1851  
if he married, the man and wife would each, in his or her own right,  
be entitled to 320 acres or together 640 acres  
this recognized the significant role women played in pioneering  
this obviously included foreigners -- like Dr. McLoughlin -- who were yet to become citizens  
provided, according to the law, they must either have made their declaration  
to become a citizen of the United States before the passage of the Donation Land Law  
or they must do so before [December 1], 1851
- 3) in an attempt to prevent speculation, final title, or patent, would be issued  
after four years of residence on said land if it had been farmed for four consecutive years
- 4) property rights of heirs to claimants would be recognized under the law

This was the protection the settlers had desired

(but the law was due to expire in [1853] before it was extended, with amendments, to [1855])

## PIONEER LAND CLAIMS ARE FINALLY PROTECTED UNDER LAW

Oregon Donation Land Law proved to be a great boon to agricultural settlement  
even at the expense of industrial and commercial development

However, if land must be farmed for four consecutive years,

what about lots already sold in the bustling town sites such as Portland, Oregon City, and Salem?

especially those belonging to former British Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin

it took ten years of litigation before the bill's sloppy wording was finally cleared up

In summing up the faults of the law, historian H.H. Bancroft stated: **"It developed rapacity in some places, and encouraged slothful habits among some by giving them more than they could care for, and allowing them to hope for riches from the sale of their unused acres."**<sup>8</sup>

#### OREGON DONATION LAND LAW CAUSED A SERIOUS PROBLEM

Land claims of 640 acres, or even 320 Acres, were far too large

it was not possible to farm so much land with the equipment of the day

also, settlers were widely scattered and isolated -- which impeded the growth of towns

But what a man couldn't plow he could sell -- once title to the land matured

there was frantic rush to cash in on real estate

girls as young as twelve and thirteen were married to men old enough to be their grandfathers

assuring maximum land grants were gained

#### ASSOCIATE JUSTICE STRONG FILES A LAND CLAIM (IN TODAY'S WASHINGTON)

Associate Justice William Strong settled on a farm in Cathlamet on the Columbia River

where he filed a land claim under the Donation Land Claim Act

Unlike Chief Justice Thomas Nelson, Justice Strong was a very good judge

Justice Strong remained in the territory where he enjoyed an unblemished reputation

#### AMOS AND ESTER SHORT ALSO FILE A LAND CLAIM

Amos Short and his family had worked the land near Fort Vancouver for five year [since 1845]

when the opportunity arose Amos filed a land claim under the Oregon Donation Land Law

to stop Hudson's Bay Company efforts to evict the Shorts from their homestead

#### SCHOOL OPENS IN MONTECELLO (TODAY'S LONGVIEW, WASHINGTON)

Montecello was first settled [1849] by pioneers Harry and Rebecca Jane Huntington

they named the in honor of Monticello, Thomas Jefferson's home in Virginia

Schools set up by missionaries had been for Indians

but were also attended by missionaries' and fur traders' children

Alexander and Nathaniel Stone, Harry Darby Huntington, Seth Catlin, Jonathan Burbee

and Peter Crawford, all settlers in the Monticello area built a school for children

of settlers and Hudson's Bay Company men living in lower Cowlitz Valley -- fall 1850

their first teacher was Fredrick Huntress

#### DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN'S LAND CLAIM LOST IS TO HIM

Dr. McLoughlin's land claim was valued at \$500,000 in property

some Americans felt the claim was really Hudson's Bay Company's land

---

<sup>8</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 158.

thus it was open for settlement

Some Americans criticized Dr. John McLoughlin

for displaying autocracy and having ulterior motives

after Oregon Country became an American territory

they refused to legalize his honest claims to personal property on the Willamette River

Oregon Donation Land Law took his land from him

Title to McLoughlin's land given to Willamette Milling Company

claim was **“set apart to be at the disposal of the legislative assembly, for the establishment and endowment of a university”**<sup>9</sup>

Dr. McLoughlin protested the land was his private property

even in Oregon City this was too much -- McLoughlin was allowed to live in his forfeited home

last ten years of his life, Dr. McLoughlin lived as an American citizen

but he was made despondent by the unfairness toward him

#### CONGRESS CREATES THE POSITION OF SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Congress passed an act creating the Oregon Territory Superintendent of Indian Affairs

at about the same time the Donation Land Act was passed

previously the Territorial Governor of Oregon had held dual office

as he also was in charge of Indian Affairs for the region

This act created a separate superintendent's position

Anson Dart of Wisconsin was named as the first Superintendent of Indian Affairs of Oregon

Oregon Territory at that time consisted of what is now Oregon (Washington and Idaho)

Dart's directions from Congress were to make treaties with the Indian people of Oregon

starting with those living in the area most occupied by settlers -- western Oregon Territory

Congress' intent was to get those living in the most settled areas to cede all of their lands

and agree to move east of the Cascade Mountains where a permanent reservation

would be created out of the way of settlement

However, the gravest injustice was done, as usual, to the Indians

Oregon's Donation Land Law said nothing about their titles to the land

but under another measure Oregon Territorial Delegate to Congress Samuel Thurston

had pressed on Congress these property rights had already been lost

under the Indian Treaty Act [of June 5, 1850]

#### DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN CONTINUES TO LIVE IN OREGON CITY

Dr. McLoughlin and his wife Marguerite remained in their Oregon City home

Dr. McLoughlin continued to be a prominent citizen of Oregon Territory

he was elected mayor of Oregon City (1851 winning forty-four of sixty-six votes)

he continued to provide aid to the needy immigrants

by providing them with employment

he built houses, sawmills, gristmills, and even a canal around the falls all at his own expense

he gave away 300 city lots for private and public use, including land given to a Catholic school,

---

<sup>9</sup> George Washington Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 205.

and Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Catholic, and Congregational churches  
and land for a city jail

#### CHURCHES BECAME SIGNIFICANT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SETTLEMENTS

Churches were founded in the more populous towns and districts as religious institutions  
almost as soon as a town was started residents organized a church  
they secured a preacher who often had to take outside work as well as preach  
the record of founding churches follows closely the sequence of the founding of towns  
Churches, both Protestant and Catholic, were also social and intellectual centers  
women usually organized singing circles and gave music concerts  
they set up sewing circles which met once or twice a week at member's homes  
often church members organized meetings to discuss community problems  
Catholic priests frequently were instrumental in establishing parochial schools  
Catholic Church was active in establishing seminaries and academies  
Often, churches were the first libraries  
reading and debating societies were sometimes organized  
priests and ministers often were asked to give lectures and speeches to clubs  
and they led discussion groups

#### EFFORT TO BUILD A ROAD OVER THE CASCADE MOUNTAINS IS UNDERTAKEN

Hoping to make the Puget Sound region more available to immigrants  
storekeeper Michael Simmons led a group of men eastward  
in an unsuccessful effort to chop out a wagon road over the Cascade Mountains  
and then down into the Yakima Valley to meet the Oregon Trail at Fort Walla Walla  
Simmons had private reasons for wanting the shortcut  
his aged mother, his married sister Catherine Broshear and her husband,  
and Broshear's brother-in-law were due to arrive with the fall 1850 migration  
Mike knew from experience how desperately hard crossing the Columbia Gorge would be  
to say nothing of the final pull up the Cowlitz River to Cowlitz Landing  
and then on through the bottomless mud and dense timber  
that separated the Columbia River drainage from Puget Sound

But the even denser timber of The Cascades turned the road builders back  
and the newcomers had to struggle with the normal route

Of Mike's family only his sister Catherine appeared -- fall 1850  
in the sun-drenched valley of the Platte River

cholera had killed Catherine's mother, her husband and her brother-in-law

Fortunately David Maynard, a doctor, had been summoned from another caravan to treat the dying  
he had taken over Catherine's team and wagon for her  
as they had crept along the rest of the way through sand and mosquitoes and Indian scares,  
this lonely pair had fallen in love

#### GEORGE WASHINGTON BUSH IS A SUCCESSFUL BLACK PIONEER

George Washington Bush, having settled on Bush Prairie north of the Columbia River,

was faced with the problem of not qualifying for a claim in the territory because he was black  
Since his arrival, Bush became famous for bestowing his generosity on new arrivals  
Bush's farm was located just off the "road" running south  
from New Market to Cowlitz Landing and on to Vancouver Barracks  
most new settlers, some half-starved from the journey, passed by on their way to Puget Sound  
newcomers were dependent on established settlers for food and seeds to start their own farms  
Bush family was openhanded in offering assistance  
Ironically, the discriminatory laws the Bushes were trying to escape when they journeyed west  
had followed them and put at risk the family's land claim they had painstakingly cultivated  
and from which they fed the waves of newly arriving travelers

#### BLACK PIONEER GEORGE WASHINGTON MOVES NORTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

When black pioneer George Washington [not be confused with George Washington Bush]  
had fully recovered from his illness,  
he traveled to Lewis County with his white foster parents James and Anna Cochran  
during their travels they stopped and built boats which carried them up the Cowlitz River  
James and Anna Cochran, George Washington's parents built a cabin at Cowlitz Landing  
and began taking in boarders

#### DAVID "DOC" MAYNARD ARRIVES IN OREGON CITY

Having crossed the continent with the 1850 migration, Doc Maynard arrived destitute  
he followed the widow Catherine Broshear to Olympia where her brother Michael Simmons lived  
For a while Simmons was deeply grateful for the attention Doc paid toward his sister  
until he learned that Maynard had left behind in Ohio a wife, two children and a mountain of debts  
Doc Maynard decided to leave Olympia and look for work elsewhere

#### IMMIGRATION NORTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER REMAINS SLOW

From [1845] to 1850 many problems had hindered settlement North of the Columbia River:

- Whitman Massacre generated great fear;
- Snoqualmie Indians attack on Fort Nisqually also was fearful;
- boundary line in the San Juan Islands was unsettled;
- legal disputes over land claims were still ongoing;
- gold discovered in California drew away potential pioneers

Columbia and Rosanna (Jones) Lancaster did settler north of the Columbia River  
they filed the first donation land claim north of the Columbia River -- total 640 acres  
located where the Lewis River enters the Columbia River -- (Woodland)

#### COLUMBIA GORGE IMPEDES RIVER TRAFFIC

North American rivers provided over two thousand miles of navigable water  
but these rivers were divided into sections with frequent natural obstructions impeding traffic  
such as Great Falls on the Missouri River and the Columbia River Gorge on that river  
Between Canada and Mexico the Columbia River was the only deepwater link to the interior  
glacial floods thousands of years ago carved this 1,200-mile-long river

which is the only water passage to cross the Cascade Mountains  
most of the drastic changes took place at the end of the last Ice Age  
this “relatively quick” erosion left many layers of volcanic rock exposed  
cliffs rising as high as 4,000 feet act as a funnel for North America's fourth largest river  
There were many barriers of shallow water and rapids on the Columbia River  
but the most significant challenge was at the Columbia River Gorge  
eighty miles in length it was composed of two obstacles, The Cascades and Celilo Falls  
both created transportation difficulties and military hazards on the Columbia River  
here native settlements and trading villages existed  
in various configurations for 11,000 years

Journeying upriver from Portland through the Columbia Gorge

first obstruction to travel on the Columbia was The Cascades Rapids

Lower Cascades Rapids (also known as the Long Narrows)

was a three-and-a-half mile long torrent where the river fell about forty feet  
through a channel about 150 yards wide

it stretched upriver from (today’s Horsethief Butte, Washington)

Upper Cascades Rapids (also known as the Short Narrows) began

with a bend around a rocky point

it was a little more than a mile of turbulent water where the river dropped twelve feet

it ended at (today’s Browns Island in the Columbia River )

together this series of waterfalls was a fearsome obstacle

they were significant enough to provide the associated mountain range its name

distance from the top of the Upper Cascades Rapids to the foot of the Lower Cascades Rapids

was five to six miles in length depending on the season of the year

this series of treacherous waters was named “the dalles” by early French-Canadian trappers

some historians say “les dalles” or “dalles” is translated to mean

rapids running through a narrow gorge

others believe the meaning was a corruption of “d’aller” the raceway of a mill,

a narrow chute which is used to transport logs quickly

still other historians translate the name from a French word for “flagstones” or “slabs,”

which refers to the huge slabs of basalt constricting the channel

this was described by explorer William Clark in his journal [1805]

as **“an agitated gut swelling, boiling & whorling in every direction”**<sup>10</sup>

David Thompson wrote of the same location six years later [1811]: **“Imagination can hardly form an idea of the working of this immense body of water under such compression, raging and hissing as if alive”**<sup>11</sup>

The Cascades Rapids was followed by another forty miles of smooth open water

known as the “Middle Columbia” (or sometimes the “Middle Cascades”)

second obstruction was Celilo Falls where the Columbia River cut into the basalt rock

to create a constriction of the river with a twenty-foot waterfall

---

<sup>10</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 344.

<sup>11</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 344.

followed by a mile of narrow, channeled rapids with a drop of eight feet  
Celilo was the oldest continuously inhabited community on the North American continent  
there Indians congregated to net the huge salmon that hurled themselves at the cataract  
on their way to the spawning grounds  
(Celilo Falls were located just downstream of Wishram, Washington and Celilo, Oregon  
and upstream of The Dalles, Oregon until [1957] when the falls and nearby settlements  
were submerged by the waters of Lake Celilo behind The Dalles hydro-electric dam)  
Canoes provided the mode of travel in the earliest days making portages around Celilo Falls  
to the open water of the Middle Columbia  
and another portage around The Cascades to the foot of Lower the Cascades Rapids

#### TRANSPORTATION UP THE COLUMBIA RIVER IS DIFFICULT

Steamboat traffic transported goods up and down on the Columbia River from Astoria to Portland  
traffic was shipped from Portland up the Willamette River to Willamette Falls and back  
limited cargo was shipped up and down the Columbia River from Portland  
freighting operations were hampered by the Columbia Gorge  
which blocked all upriver traffic and substantially impeded everything being transported  
it was necessary to portage freight and passengers around the obstacles of the gorge  
Columbia Gorge held two separate rapids that were collectively known as the Dalles  
(adding to the confusion, the city of The Dalles, Oregon [designated by a capital T]  
is located in the vicinity of these rapids)  
traveling upriver, the Dalles Rapids (the first of the obstacles to be overcome)  
was a fear-inspiring spectacle five to six miles long  
where the waters of the Columbia River dropped more than fifty feet in a wild tumult

#### PORTAGES ARE NECESSARY AROUND THE COLUMBIA GORGE

Running beside the Columbia Gorge was an old Indian portage trail on north side of the Columbia  
long used to carry goods and passengers around the Columbia Gorge Rapids,  
The Cascades of the Long and Short Narrows and Celilo Falls  
however, this was not satisfactory as the trail was muddy in winter, dusty in summer  
and full of ruts all year around  
this portage trail was nearly impassable after each autumn's immigrant rush

#### UPPER CASCADES BECOMES THE LOCATION OF A SETTLEMENT

Brothers Daniel F. Bradford and Putnam F. Bradford built a store, a warehouse, wharf and sawmill  
on the north side of the Columbia River above Celilo Falls  
at the upriver end of the Columbia Gorge  
several families were attracted to the area and homes were built at the town of Upper Cascades  
lumber for building purposes was produced by the Bradford Mill  
which supplied settlers at The Cascades Rapids and eastward on both sides of the river  
Nathaniel Coe built his home on Hood River, Oregon Territory  
using lumber produced at the Bradford Mill  
arrangements were made to build a barge at the upper end of the Columbia Gorge

for use by the Bradfords to transport lumber and other materials and even passengers  
from the landing at Upper Cascades  
however, it was difficult to get supplies from the lower Columbia River  
using the portage trail to river above the portage

#### JOHN R. JACKSON BUILDS JACKSON COURTHOUSE

(Englishman John R. Jackson moved with his family north of the Columbia River  
to Cowlitz River Plains and settled at Jackson Prairie about ten miles north of the Cowlitz Landing  
he built a one room cabin and named his farm "Highlands" [1845]  
while on a trip to Oregon City to acquire supplies he met and married Matilda Coontz [1848]  
she was widow with four boys [three more children were added in the next few years]  
Jackson's home became a frequent stopping place for travelers  
Matilda became known for her hospitality and tasty food)  
John and his stepsons, encouraged by Territorial Justice William Strong,  
constructed a two story courthouse on his land [near today's Chehalis] -- 1850  
this was used [until 1851] when it became the family home  
John's original cabin continued to be a meeting place for visitors to discuss politics  
Territorial Judge William Strong held the first U.S. District Court session north of the Columbia River  
at the Jackson Prairie courthouse -- November 12, 1850

#### "SALEM CLIQUE" IS FORMED BY OREGON TERRITORY DEMOCRATS

Democrat elected officials were forced to contend with the newly-appointed Whig officials,  
Democrats felt they had the power of popular local support behind them  
Democrats under the leadership of Matthew Deady, James W. Nesmith and Ashel Bush  
met secretly to discuss their strategy in the upcoming session of the Territorial Legislature  
they became known as the "Salem Clique" because the issue most important to them  
was the relocation of the territorial capital city from Oregon City to Salem, Oregon  
Salem Clique became the Democratic Party's political machine in Oregon Territory  
among the members were Matthew Deady, James W. Nesmith, Asahel Bush, L.F. Grover,  
Ben Harding, R.P. Boise, George L. Curry, William Tichenor, S.F. Chadwick and Joseph Lane  
they resolved to introduce an "omnibus" (collective) bill:

- to move the territorial capital to Salem,
- build a penitentiary in Portland,
- and establish a college in Marysville (which was soon to be renamed Corvallis)

#### WHIGS OPPOSE THE DEMOCRAT PLAN

When news of the omnibus bill leaked out before the legislature convened  
Territorial Governor Gaines publicly took the position that Section 6 of the Organic Laws  
(the constitution of the Provisional Government, which had been reviewed and approved  
by Governor Joe Lane in [1849])  
forbade bills which contained more than one item  
therefore, the Democrats' omnibus bill was, by definition, unconstitutional  
Territorial Attorney Amory Holbrook, a fellow Whig appointee, supported the governor

## OREGON TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE GOES INTO SESSION

Second session of the Oregon Territory legislature gathered in Oregon City -- December 2, 1850

W.W. Buck served as the President of the Council; Ralph Wilcox as the Speaker of the House  
this was not a harmonious meeting of the territorial government

legislature was run almost entirely by Democratic political leaders of the Willamette Valley

however, more and more settlers from California moved north

to make their homes on Puget Sound and in the Cowlitz River Valley

controversy raged over the location of the territorial capital -- Oregon City or Salem

majority of legislators were Democrats who favored moving to Salem

minority Whigs favored keeping the capital city in Whig-controlled Oregon City

Territorial Delegate Samuel Royal Thurston had been reelected

arguments developed over the size of Oregon Territory

many pioneers believe it was too large to form a single state

an omnibus bill awarding Salem the state capital, Portland the territorial penitentiary

and Marysville (Corvallis) the territorial university passed the legislature

by votes of 10-8 in the Territorial House of Representatives and 6-3 in the Council

Oregon City received no consideration to acquire this governmental economic boost

however, Governor John P. Gaines refused to relocate and remained in Oregon City

along with the Whig-appointed justices of the Oregon Territorial Supreme Court

Democratic-appointed Justice Orville C. Pratt moved to Salem

along with the majority of the Territorial legislature

## PORTLAND OREGONIAN NEWSPAPER IS FOUNDED

*Portland Oregonian* is the oldest continuously published newspaper on the west coast

it was founded as a weekly Whig newspaper by Portland town site promoters

who used the newspaper to promote the development of Portland

Stephen Coffin held half interest in the Portland town site

William W. Chapman had one-third interest in the Portland town site

Chapman owned a hand press and some letters of type

Chapman also served as the spokesman for Whig politics in Oregon

While in San Francisco Chapman hired youthful and enthusiastic editor Thomas J. Dryer

first issue of the *Portland Oregonian* was published -- December 4, 1850

it strongly supported Whig Oregon Territorial Governor John P. Gaines

(later the *Portland Oregonian* became the leading Republican newspaper in Oregon

it remains so to this day)

## UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TAKES THE FIRST OFFICIAL CENSUS

First official census of Oregon Territory was taken by the United States government -- 1850

U.S. Marshall Joe Meek was aided in the effort by

Daniel O'Neil, Samuel H. Culver, and W.H. Reese

There were 13,294 Americans who lived in Oregon Territory

80% of the children had been born in the newer states created in the Middle-West

there were 207 Free People of color living in the territory

Oregonians wanted Free Blacks no more than they wanted Negroes in bondage

There was a numerical division between Northerners and Southerners

53% had been born north of the Mason-Dixon Line -- 6,890

46% of adults were born south of the Mason-Dixon Line -- 5,980

There were 1,049 people who lived north of the Columbia River -- only 8% of the population  
population of Clark County showed ninety-five houses were located there

Vancouver, the center of county government, began to grow  
people from the Mid-West who settle in Puget Sound area

became increasingly dissatisfied with the Oregon Territorial Government

whose dependence on the Southern-based territorial political leaders had not lessened  
as the number of settlers North of the Columbia River increased

#### *LOT WHITCOMB*, FAMOUS PIONEER STEAMBOAT, BEGINS SERVICE

*Lot Whitcomb* was the second steamboat on the Columbia River (after the tiny *Columbia*)  
was the first steam-powered boat to be built on the Willamette River

she was constructed at Milwaukee, Oregon by the firm of Whitcomb and Jennings

*Lot Whitcomb*, named in honor of the founder and promoter of Milwaukie, Oregon)  
was a much more pretentious boat

*Lot Whitcomb* was launched -- Christmas Day, 1850

her first officers were: Captain -- John C. Ainsworth; Engineer: Jacob Kamm; Pilot: W.H.H. Hal  
U.S. Army brass band from Fort Vancouver played a selection of patriotic tunes

props were knocked out and she slid down the ways into the Willamette River -- 3:00 P.M.

but her trial run ended when she became hung-up on a reef for two weeks  
at the mouth of the Clackamas River

tragedy marred the celebration as Captain Frederick Morse of the schooner *Merchantman*  
was loading lumber from Whitcomb's sawmill

he unloaded an old saluting cannon from his vessel and fired it bursting the barrel

shrapnel flew through the air and hit Captain Morse in the neck killing him instantly  
none-the-less the celebration continued unabated for several days

#### CAPTAIN JOHN C. AINSWORTH IS MASTER OF THE *LOT WHITCOMB*

Captain Ainsworth came to the northwest as an experienced Mississippi River steamboat crew member  
originally he came out west seeking his fortune in the steamboat trade on the Sacramento River

but was convinced later to come to Oregon Territory

In Oregon he worked briefly as the Captain of the *Lot Whitcomb* on the Willamette River

(he soon owned several steam boats on the Columbia River  
and was saving money for future investments)

#### STEAMBOAT *LOT WHITCOMB* MAIDEN VOYAGE

First voyage of the *Lot Whitcomb* was a pleasure expedition to Astoria, Oregon

but a problem kept her from running on the Columbia River

she still had creditors who had an interest in the vessel that had not been paid

American law did not then allow a vessel to operate without a certificate  
which could not be lawfully issued if creditors had unpaid claims against the vessel  
even worse, the official in charge of enforcing this law  
was Astoria customs inspector John Adair who was, a co-owner the *Columbia*  
more *Lot Whitcomb* stock was sold to pay off the ship's debts

Regular operations were finally able to begin

*Lot Whitcomb* ran twice weekly on the route from Milwaukie, Oregon to Astoria  
making the run in ten hours, a great improvement over the *Columbia's* twenty-four hours  
she was much larger than the *Columbia* -- 160 feet long; 24-foot beam; with 5 feet of draft  
side-wheeler with paddlewheels measuring 18-feet across  
churned a top speed of twelve miles per hour  
at 600 gross tons she bragged far more comfortable passenger accommodations  
and a large space for heavy cargo  
she was able to run upriver 120 miles from Astoria to Oregon City in ten hours  
compared to the *Columbia's* two days

Shortly after launching, *Lot Whitcomb* struck a rock near Milwaukie tearing away her paddlewheel  
and sustaining damage to her wheel-house and tearing a hole in her hull  
she remained hung up for a week until her owners and the resourceful Captain Ainsworth  
were able to pull her off and repair her

*Lot Whitcomb* served on the Willamette and lower Columbia rivers for three years  
connecting Rainier, Oregon with the Cowlitz River Canoe and Bateau line  
she ran competition with the steamboat *Columbia*  
she was known for her good looks and good  
she also functioned well as a tow boat escorting many oceangoing ships  
from Astoria up the Columbia and Willamette rivers to Portland  
(because she was expensive to operate *Lot Whitcomb* was sold to California interests)

## JOE LANE RETURNS TO OREGON POLITICS

Joe Lane was still prospecting in California  
when an emissary reached him from the Oregon Territory capital -- winter 1850  
would he be willing to run for election as Oregon's Delegate to Congress  
against the pro-Whig and land-grabbing Samuel Thurston?

Democrat Joe Lane, who relished the political life, said he would  
although he must have known the confusions, challenges and recriminations  
to be faced during any period of volatile political change

When his name surfaced as a candidate, his opponents objected that he was not a true Oregonian  
he owned no property in the territory  
and, except for his adult son, he had brought none of his family west with him

In answer to the first charge, Joe Lane filed on a Donation land claim in the Umpqua Valley  
(near present Roseburg, Oregon)

Next he prepared for what promised to be a brutal political battle  
with incumbent Oregon Delegate Whig Samuel Thurston

(No such battle ever took place, Samuel Thurston died at sea on his way home for the campaign)

after that Joe Lane was easily elected)

#### JAMES DOUGLAS ASSUMES BRITISH LEADERSHIP IN NEW CALEDONIA

Richard Blanshard's tenure as Governor of New Caledonia was both brief and unhappy  
he suffered from "continual attacks of ague" (fever)

Chief Factor James Douglas, the Black Scot, induced Richard Blanshard to resign  
by making his life miserable

Governor Blanshard submitted his resignation -- January 1851

and requested permission to leave the colony (but it took nine months for him to receive a reply)

#### INDIAN TREATY NEGOTIATIONS NOT SUCCESSFUL

Three Commissioners, John P. Gains, Alonzo A. Skinner, and Beverly S. Allen, had been instructed  
to convince the Coastal natives to move across the Cascade Mountains into the interior  
in this they were unsuccessful

Commissioners then strayed from their Congressional instructions

they decided to establish reservations for Coastal people west of the Cascade Mountains

they agreed to allow coastal bands to retain a portion of their old lands

while giving up the remainder -- thus Indian reservations were created

natives were to become wards of the federal government and moved by force if necessary

#### PORTLAND DISPLAYS FORSIGHT

Captain John H. Couch of Cushing and Company's trading firm

spent tens of thousands of farsighted dollars laying an all-weather road faced with planks  
to tap the rich farms of the Tualatin Plains -- 1851

Meanwhile Oregon City, hemmed between rapids and falls, languished  
in spite of her access to water power

#### EXPRESS AND STAGECOACH SERVICE ARRIVES IN OREGON TERRITORY

In regions where something answering the description of roads appeared

wagon freighting gradually replaced mule packing during the dry season  
profitable business, even great fortunes, could be generated

by the speedy delivery of some types of goods -- namely small packages of high value

such as gold dust, bullion, jewelry, securities, or perishable commodities

transportation of such items was called "express"

Express businesses had begun with Adams & Co. on the East coast [1839]

Alvin Adams had expanded throughout the southern portion of the United States

by [1850] he was shipping by rail and stagecoach to his office in St. Louis

a badly-run subsidiary of Adams' company, Dugan & Co., opened in California 1850]

Oregon was served by its first express company, Todd & Co. -- 1851

they announced the locations of their businesses in handbills:

**“AGENTS IN OREGON -- Abernathy & Clark, Oregon City; Hopkins & Donald, Milwaukie; Capt. Samuel E. May, Portland; Sutler’s Store, Vancouver; W.H. Tappan, St. Helen[;] Hensil & Co., Astoria.”<sup>12</sup>**

their regular business consisted of receiving and forwarding gold dust and other valuables  
Todd & Company became an agency which provided deposit and safekeeping services  
Gregory & Company out of California quickly followed  
Conestoga wagons developed in Pennsylvania and made famous on the Oregon Trail  
flourished in communities not easily supplied by water routes

#### **BANKING COMES TO OREGON TERRITORY**

Pioneer merchants and express companies were the first banks in Oregon Territory  
Couch & Co., Portland advertised themselves as wholesale retail merchants as well as bankers  
they sold shares of their stock at exchanges in New York and San Francisco  
Morris & Co. operating as grocers and commission merchants  
announced they did banking on the side -- February 1851

#### **OREGON TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE ENDS ITS SECOND SESSION**

Bitter and hostile legislative session came to an end -- February 8, 1851  
Three new counties were created for the Oregon Territory  
Pacific County was established north of the Columbia River (in today’s Washington state)  
it was created out of the southwest corner of Lewis County  
Pacific City was designated the county seat  
Lane County included a portion of the Willamette Valley south of Benton and Linn counties  
Umpqua County was located south of the Calapooya Mountains  
and the headwaters of the Willamette River

In addition to military roads and private roads, territorial Post Roads were authorized  
these were built by the territorial legislature and paid for by the counties:

- first Post Road was from Astoria up the Columbia River to the mouth of the Cowlitz River  
and from the Cowlitz on up the Columbia to the Willamette River  
continuing southward to the Umpqua River;
- second Post Road ran between the mouth of the Cowlitz River and the Nisqually River;
- third Post Road was the Old Territorial Road that ran from Wallula to Colfax

during the 1850s much effort was expended in surfacing roads for all-season use  
planking (called corduroy) was at first the most practical and most widely used improvement  
because timber was abundant and sawmills numerous

#### **CONGRESS ENDS ITS INDIAN TREATY WRITING COMMISSION**

Three-man Indian Commission to write Indian treaties was abolished by Congress -- February 1851  
however, news of this event took several months to reach Oregon Territory  
in the meantime Commissioners, John P. Gains, Alonzo A. Skinner, and Beverly S. Allen  
continued to write treaties -- they negotiated thirteen treaties in councils with the Indians

---

<sup>12</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Old Oregon Country: A History of Frontier Trade, Transportation and Travel*, P. 150.

## DEMOCRATS BEGIN THEIR OWN NEWSPAPER -- THE *OREGON STATESMAN*

To help drum up public support for the Democrat political position,  
Oregon City printer Asahel Bush began publishing the *Oregon Statesman* -- March 28, 1851  
in competition with the Whig *Portland Oregonian* and its editor Thomas J. Dryer  
*Oregon Statesman* was a strongly Democratic pioneer Oregon newspaper  
that busied itself attacking Whigs in general and Whig Governor John P. Gains in particular  
as the majority political party's mouthpiece, the newspaper strongly supported statehood  
it became a vocal and lusty opponent of the Whig *Portland Oregonian*  
one major controversy focused on the location of the territorial capital city  
Whigs wanting to remain in Oregon City  
Democrats demanded a move to Salem

## OREGON STYLE OF JOURNALISM

Belligerent leader of the "Salem Clique" was *Oregon Statesman* editor Asahel Bush  
he used amusing, offensive and sometimes vulgar titles  
regarding people and newspapers of opposing his Democratic political opinions  
his malicious and slanderous approach to newspaper writing  
created what became known as the "Oregon style of journalism"  
for example he noted in print that if **"the editor of the Spectator don't like to be called  
'bullethead', 'blockhead,' etc., he should blame Nature for giving him a thick skull."**<sup>13</sup>  
(this tide of invective reached its flood during the Civil War)

## REGION NORTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER RECEIVES MORE SETTLERS

"Oregon fever" led a continually increasing number of pioneers on the long trip west  
more families did not stop at Fort Vancouver or visit the Willamette Valley  
they followed Michael Simmons and went north to settle  
they journeyed directly from the Midwest to the Cowlitz River and on to Puget Sound  
People of Puget Sound were completely separated from the Willamette Valley  
these highly independent citizens were on their own with no one to answer to  
they felt no allegiance to Oregon Territory or its government  
Thus isolated, the settlers north of the Columbia River lived in a world of their own  
it was difficult to communicate from Puget Sound to Oregon City and even more difficult to travel  
regular trade was conducted with San Francisco -- not Portland or Oregon City  
thus Puget Sound was commercially independent from the Columbia River region  
Although nearly every hour of daylight was dedicated with the tasks of settlement  
they took time to discuss their dissatisfaction with their plight as citizens of Oregon Territory  
seat of government, far down in the Willamette Valley at Oregon City, was too far away  
what little federal funding was made available to the territory was spent in the south  
while the north also needed government services such as  
roads, mail service, troops to control the Indians, law enforcement and courts

---

<sup>13</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 157.

northern settlers felt they were entitled to have their needs met  
and they wanted them met without delay  
Their needs called for a government of their own -- with a voice in Washington City  
soon the idea to create a new territory gained momentum

#### SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS ANSON DART BEGINS NEGOTIATIONS

Superintendent of Indian Commissioners Anson Dart was able and industrious  
but he was shackled by inadequate funds and incompetent help  
including Rev. Henry Spalding, Indian Agent for Southwest Oregon  
As instructed by Congress, Superintendent Dart began negotiations  
Indian Commissioners John P. Gains, Alonzo A. Skinner, and Beverly S. Allen  
attempted to move Coastal Indians to Eastern Washington -- April 1851  
During negotiations Dart found that the Indians did not see things as they were supposed to  
coastal natives were willing to turn over their land  
but were unwilling to leave the mild climate of the ocean for the deserts to the east  
their reluctance was intensified when the Interior Indians living East of The Cascades  
knowing the coastal tribes to be riddled with venereal disease  
promised to wipe out the proposed inland reservations  
Faced with impasse, Superintendent Dart wrote the same terms as had Governor Joe Lane before him  
to let the coastal Indians stay in compressed reservations on the western side of the mountains  
pattern of establishing reservations for Coastal people was followed between 1851 and [1853]

#### GOLD IS DISCOVERED IN SOUTHERN OREGON

Umpqua Valley had been explored and settled by such men as Jesse Applegate [who first arrived 1843]  
he and a number of other pioneers established town sites in the Southern Oregon region  
Shipwrecked sailors had landed at Crescent City, California where they deserted their vessel  
they discovered gold at the headwaters of the Illinois River in the Siskiyou Mountains  
Sailors worked their way northward across the Oregon line (to what is now Waldo, Oregon)  
they picked up gold nuggets in Southern Oregon along the Rogue River  
at Josephine Creek and Canyon Creek  
they prospected a considerable amount of gold at Sailor Diggings in the Umpqua Valley  
at the southwestern corner of Oregon Territory

#### NEWS OF OREGON GOLD REACHES CALIFORNIA

Discovery of gold in Oregon Territory intensified the anger of Rogue River Indians  
unaware of the threat of local Indians, California prospectors converged on the area by land and sea  
Sea approach was prompted by efforts to open supply routes into northern California  
vessels probed the sometimes risky mouths of the coastal rivers, unloaded exploring parties,  
and sent them up the south-tending canyons to see if roads could be opened to the interior  
these scouts panned the gravel bars as they went  
they found pay dirt in the tributaries of the Rogue River  
and even in the sand of some of the ocean beaches

## MULE PACK TRAINS SUPPLY THE OREGON GOLD FIELDS FROM CALIFORNIA

In the absence of roads, pack trains were first organized to transport goods almost immediately after the discovery of gold in Oregon Territory strings of pack mules could be seen winding their slow, lazy way across the Siskiyou Mountains along narrow winding mountain trails into the Rogue River Valley from Northern California supply depots such as Shasta City, Crescent City, and Humboldt Bay sprang to life

Jacksonville became the Oregon Territory center to receive much of the supplies that were carried in but Illinois Valley, Sailor Diggings, New Orleans Bar and Applegate Creek were also significant

Packers usually took ten days to cover the 120-mile trip

from Crescent City, California to Jacksonville, Oregon

one hundred mules were said to have left Union (Humboldt Bay) weekly

for the north California mines carrying \$4,000 to \$5,000 worth of goods -- during 1851

Mules had to be well cared for and exercised

to prevent the animals from becoming frustrated and annoyed

best way to assure their good health and attitude was to keep them fairly fat

Tough and strong as the mules were, difficulties were experienced in the Siskiyou Mountains

climatic conditions were unlike those of the Southwest and Mexico

to shelter the animals, mule skinnners were obliged to build sheds

many mules died during the cold and rainy seasons

Meanwhile packers traveling between the Willamette and Sacramento rivers

fell into the habit of refreshing their stock in the meadows bordering the upper Rogue River

to while away their time these packers used their pans -- and they, too, found gold

## OREGON TERRITORY'S NEW SURVEYOR-GENERAL ARRIVES

Whig President Zachary Taylor appointed John B. Preston as the first Surveyor-General of Oregon

Preston arrived in Oregon City -- April 20, 1851

he quickly set out to survey plots of land for claims under Oregon Donation Land Law

## FIVE MORE TREATIES ARE WRITTEN WITH WILLAMETTE VALLEY INDIANS

Commissioners John P. Gains, Alonzo A. Skinner, and Beverly S. Allen beginning in April 1851

they were unaware their positions had been abolished by Congress [February] 1851

Indians refused to be removed from their lands but did agree to remain in the Cascade foothills

Oregon Territory Superintendent of Indian Affairs Anson Dart signed five treaties

with the Kalapuya and Molalla tribes of the Willamette Valley and Cascade Range -- May 1851

he pledged to negotiate fairly and offered to pay the tribes for their land

demonstrating a fairness and political insight beyond that of most of his contemporaries

however, the continued presence of Indians in settled areas

and the Indian occupation of reservation lands for which pioneers thought they had better use

led to abuses of the natives and continual reduction of the Indians' land

## SETTLERS TAKE NATIVES' LAND

Presence of Indians in settled areas and the occupation of reservation lands

for which pioneers thought they had better uses

led to abuse of the natives and continual reduction of the Indians' property holdings  
Before the treaties could be ratified (in fact, they never were) settlers moved onto their reserves generally in good faith because the Donation Land Law implied that all land was open  
Indians' fences and huts were torn down; scanty game was reduced still further;  
pioneers' swine grubbed out roots that provided the main food of the Indians' diet  
fortunately for the Willamette Valley settlers, Indians in that vicinity were too weak to do more than complain

#### MORE UNREST ARISES AMONG THE INTERIOR NATIVES

Shoshone (Snake) Indians, who were stirred up by the Cayuse, became troublesome  
Shoshones were hostile toward the Nez Perce Indians who were allies of the settlers  
Superintendent of Indian Affairs Anson Dart discovered a tribal war was about to start  
he persuaded the Nez Perce to wait another year for United States troops  
further, he promised not to interfere with the Nez Perce if those troops failed to arrive  
Shoshones killed thirty-four people and wounded many more in several emigrant parties -- spring 1851  
they also stole property worth \$18,000

#### LOCATION OF THE TERRITORIAL CAPITOL REMAINS UNRESOLVED

One of the heated controversies in the territorial newspapers focused on the location of the capital city  
this question had permeated, saturated and poisoned the politics of Oregon Territory

Events came to a head when the Oregon Territory Legislature  
went into special session in Linn City -- May 1851

Democrats in the legislature insisted the capitol be moved to Salem  
Governor John P. Gaines and the Whig minority refused to relocate  
they tried to meet at the Statehouse in Oregon City along with the Oregon Supreme Court  
(except for justice Orville C. Pratt who had been appointed by Democrat President Polk)  
because Democrats held a majority in the legislature,

Salem Clique was able to obtain a quorum and passed a multi-faceted bill, the "Omnibus Bill,"  
which included an act moving the Territorial capitol further south to Salem

Governor Gains and other Whig government officials were opposed to the move from Oregon City  
United States Attorney Whig Amory Holbrook was supported by two judges (both Whigs)  
of the Territorial Supreme Court at Oregon City  
in declaring the Democrat law was unconstitutional

#### FORMER OREGON TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR JOE LANE TAKES A LEADERSHIP ROLE

Joe Lane, recently returned from California to Oregon City,  
and no longer opposed by Samuel Thurston was elected Territorial Delegate to Congress -- 1851  
(he filled that office until [1859])

Before leaving for Washington City the newly elected delegate to Congress  
started south with forty or more miners to inspect his California gold properties

While he was on the road south, the Rogue River Indians broke the knife-at-the-throat treaty  
he had extracted from them [1850]

Rogue River Indians began attacking the homesteaders moving onto native lands

#### AMERICAN RIFLE REGIMENT DEPARTS FROM OREGON TERRITORY

Having proven to be a more of a disturbance to the settlers of Oregon City than a protection  
Commander of 11<sup>th</sup> Military District Commandant Colonel William Wing Loring  
marched his American Rifle Regiment Camp Columbia to California -- May 1851

#### STEAMBOAT *HOOSIER* BEGINS OPERATION ON THE WILLAMETTE RIVER

Sidewheeler *Hoosier* owned by John Zumwalt

began to compete with James D. Miller's flatboat service on the Willamette River -- May 19, 1851

small *Hoosier* was capable of hauling much more cargo and wheat than any flatboat

at that time three steamboats operated below the waterfall on the Willamette River

linking Oregon City with Portland, the Columbia River and the Pacific Ocean

Rather than fight progress Miller managed to be hired by *Hoosier's* owner

Miller worked on board as the bookkeeper, purser, pilot, deckhand and roustabout

(James D. Miller and his brother-in-law Silas R. Smith bought *Hoosier* [fall 1856]

a second steamer, *Hoosier 2*, was added [1857] to run the Willamette River

*Hoosier 2* was later rebuilt and rechristened *Hoosier 3*)

#### STEAMER *BLACKHAWK* ARRIVES AT OREGON CITY

*Black Hawk* was brought from San Francisco to Oregon by Captain Richard Hoyt, Sr.

aboard the bark *Ocean Bird*

*Black Hawk* was thirty feet long with a beam of seven feet and depth of hold of three feet

tiny ship could carry ten tons of cargo

Captain Hoyt's steamboat arrived at the landing at Oregon City

she began making regular daily trips under Captain Charles Clark -- May 29, 1851

departing from Oregon City in the morning and returning the same day from Portland

C.H. Clark & Co., the *Black Hawk's* management company, soon advertised specific departure times

8:00 a.m. at Oregon City and 2:00 p.m. from Portland were the sailing times

with towing "attended to on short notice"

#### INDIANS ARE ATTACKED AT BEAR CREEK

Thirty-two miners led by Dr. James McBride were returning to Oregon after digging gold in California

about 150 Rogue River Indians ambushed them on Bear Creek -- -- June 2, 1855

(near present-day Ashland, Oregon)

seven Rogue River Indians were killed and wound wounded -- one miner was injured

but the Indians rode off with horses, pack and \$1,500 in supplies and gold dust

#### STEAMBOAT SERVICE EXPANDS ON THE WILLAMETTE RIVER

Steamboat *Washington* was built in California and operated on the Sacramento River [1850]

she was purchased by Alexander Sinclair Murray and placed aboard the oceangoing vessel *Success*

for delivery to Oregon Territory to compete with the *Hoosier* on the Willamette River

Alexander Murray had *Washington* launched above Willamette Falls at Canemah

to work on the Willamette River to the Yamhill River

it was hoped that *Washington* could go as far up the Willamette as Marysville (Corvallis)  
*Washington*'s began its first trip up the Yamhill River -- June 6, 1851

she was advertised as running from Canemah to Champoeg where the boat  
would meet a connecting stage coach line for travelers bound for Salem

#### SURVEYOR-GENERAL JOHN B. PRESTON BEGINS HIS WORK

Surveyor-General John B. Preston arrived in Oregon City and quickly went to work  
he drove the "starting stake" for the base surveys of the territory -- June 7, 1851  
at (what is today known as the Willamette Stone)

(this east-west Willamette Base Line and the north-south Willamette Meridian  
still defines surveying and legal land descriptions in Oregon [and Washington state])

Preston and his surveying crew completed their work in just over a year

each square of the grid, termed a section, is one mile on each side

it includes 640 acres of land -- the maximum acreage allowed for a married couple  
making a claim under the Donation Land Act

a single man could claim up to 320 acres

thirty-six sections make up a "township"

surveyors took careful note of waterways, hills, prairies, and roads

some places such as Salem and Lafayette were already viable communities

other communities of the period, Champoeg, Fairfield, Cincinnati, for example have vanished  
notably absent from the map was Mission Bottom (or Mission Landing) the abandoned site  
of the Methodist mission (of the 1830s), and St. Paul on French Prairie

roads that were mapped include ancient routes such as the California-Oregon Trail  
which had sections that paralleled both sides of the Willamette Valley

as well as newer roads

roads converging on Salem from the outlying farming districts

reflected the village's importance as a mill town powered by the water of Mill Creek

#### FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET NEGOTIATES WITH THE UPPER MISSOURI RIVER INDIANS

Father De Smet was kept busy with church business until 1851

by this time Cheyenne and Sioux Indians approached a state of war

because of the influx of whites crossing Indian land to reach the California gold fields

Council of Fort Laramie was organized by the United States government

to reach a treaty with the Indians assuring the rights to cross native land

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet was asked by the military to convince the Indians to accept

Father De Smet left St. Louis -- June 7, 1851

trials faced on his way to Fort Laramie took their toll

the riverboat De Smet used experienced an outbreak of cholera that killed thirteen passengers  
he fell ill but survived the journey

Father De Smet left the boat at Fort Union and began the overland journey

on the way he found smallpox was rampant and had killed hundreds of Indians  
most lay where they had died as the surviving could not bury so many dead

De Smet baptized over a thousand Indians and worked among the sick even in his weakened condition he survived the epidemic

#### INTERIOR TRIBES BECOME CONCERNED ONCE AGAIN

Talk of treaties alarmed the Yakamas and other native people of eastern Oregon Territory they refused to give up any property to either settlers or West coast natives  
Yakimas, for example, possessed a very strong sense of land ownership that required outsiders to get permission to cross their land they even posted guards along boundaries with neighboring people

#### ROGUE RIVER INDIANS ATTACK AT BATTLE ROCK (TODAY'S PORT ORFORD)

Captain William Tichenor in command of the steam propeller vessel *Sea Gull* entered Port Orford Harbor to establish a town and roads and investigate gold digging and timber removal opportunities -- June 10, 1851  
nine men led by J.M. Kirkpatrick, who was elected Captain by the party, were landed on the beach with provisions enough to support the party for two weeks  
Captain Tichenor sailed away saying he would return in two weeks with more men and supplies  
Local Rogue River Indians ordered the prospectors off what they considered to be their beach instead of leaving, Kirkpatrick and his prospectors climbed to the crest of a seastack rock rising above the beach they were armed with three muskets, two rifles, one pistol, several swords and a ship's cannon there they were besieged by over 100 warriors  
Rogue River Indians attacked and a fierce battle ensued at what became known as Battle Rock -- June 10, 1855  
seventeen natives were killed mostly by cannon fire -- two prospectors were seriously wounded temporary peace returned when a native chief then negotiated a truce to remove his dead  
J.M. Kirkpatrick explained he and his prospectors were to be picked up by Captain William Tichenor's steamer *Sea Gull* in fourteen days

#### AMERICAN RIFLE REGIMENT ENCOUNTERS SOUTHERN OREGON SETTLERS

One-armed Brevet Major Phil Kearny was leading twenty-eight men of the First Regiment of the American Rifle Regiment to California when he arrived at the Umpqua Canyon  
Kearny was met by a crowd of settlers, miners and packers who presented him a petition appealing for protection -- June 1851  
Kearny's troops joined with the volunteers mustered by Jesse Applegate  
Territorial Delegate to Congress Joe Lane joined in with his small company of prospectors who were on their way to confront the Rogue River Indians

#### MAJOR KEARNY TAKES ACTION AGAINST THE ROGUE RIVER INDIANS

Kearny's squad of First Regiment of the American Rifle Regiment joined by Indian Superintendent Joe Lane's miners and Jesse Applegate's settlers reached the area a few miles up the Rogue River from Table Rock (about seven miles north of present-day Medford, Oregon)

here a band of Rogue River Indians attacked Kearny's troops  
For the first time the U.S. Army fought several pitched battles against the Indians -- June 17, 1851  
Kearny's casualties were two soldiers wounded and a captain killed  
Rogue River Indians lost eleven warriors killed and six were wounded  
in his report Major Kearny noted settlers Levi Scott, Jesse Applegate and W.G. T'Vault  
provided as much service by their courage and coolness before the enemy  
as they did by their knowledge as guides in this new region

#### ROGUE RIVER INDIANS ARE NOT DEFEATED

As soon as Oregon Delegate to Congress Joe Lane and his prospector had disappeared  
Rogue River Indians and their relatives: the Umpquas, Shastas, Klamaths, Coquilles and Modocs  
went right on pillaging under the leadership of chiefs Sam, John, Enos, and others

#### JOE LANE RETURNS TO OREGON CITY

Oregon Delegate to Congress Joe Lane, his prestige shining even brighter with the recent victory,  
took several sullen prisoners back to Oregon City  
Lane reported Major Kearny kept pressure on the natives for more than ten days  
Indians had been completely beaten in every fight  
Kearny's success was apparent -- fifty Indians were killed and another thirty taken captive  
Oregon's new Territorial Delegate to Congress sailed for the nation's capital

#### FIGHT CONTNUES AT BATTLE ROCK (TODAY'S PORT ORFORD)

J.M. Kirkpatrick and his nine prospectors had avoided an Indian attack for fourteen days  
by claiming they were to be removed from Port Orford Harbor by a ship  
On the fifteenth morning after landing on the beach the sailors staying atop a seastack rock  
were attacked by a group of over 300 warriors -- June 25, 1851  
Tututni, a Rogue River Indian chief, was killed at the beginning of the assault  
warriors immediately withdrew with their dead chief  
they set up camp about 300 feet away from Battle Rock  
Prospectors fled north during the night  
all survived and with help of friendly Indians they encountered along the way reached Coos Bay

#### NEWS OF GOLD IN SOUTHERN OREGON SPREADS RAPIDLY

News of the Territorial Governor Joe Lane's [1850] victory over the Rogue River Indians  
also brought news of fresh gold finds  
Stampede of gold seekers from California rushed to Sailor Diggings in the Umpqua Valley  
others from California rushed to Josephine Creek and Canyon Creek in Oregon Territory  
California miners converged with the first major influx of prospectors from the Willamette Valley  
along the Rogue River where placer discoveries (prospectors sifted sand in search of gold)  
created new mining camps such as Applegate, Murphy and Sterlingville -- summer 1851  
several more members of the American Rifle Regiment deserted the Army  
soon, prospectors swarmed up every gulch along the Rogue River  
more and more gold seekers from California rushed to prospective sites

## STEAMER *WASHINGTON* ATTEMPTS TO REACH MARYSVILLE (CORVALLIS)

Steamboat service on the Willamette River faced additional competition

firm of Hedges & Barlow were building a new side-wheeler, the *Canemah*,  
to compete with the *Washington* and *Hoosier*

Captain Alexander Murray steamed away from Oregon City -- June 26, 1851

*Washington* went up the Yamhill River to Dayton, where the boat's crew was well-received  
leaving the next morning for Salem arrived at about 4:00 p.m. June 27

*Washington* was welcomed at Salem and saluted with cannon fire

firewood and other supplies were made available to the steamer free of charge  
after a stop of two hours *Washington* proceeded about three miles west of Salem  
to Cincinnati landing (Eola, Oregon today)

to attract steamboat service the people of Cincinnati dug a canal from the Willamette  
to the La Creole River -- *Washington* negotiated the canal without difficulty  
here however the upriver journey ended thirty miles short of Marysville

## DEMAND IS MADE TO CREATE A NEW TERRITORY NORTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

John Butler Chapman, a young lawyer in Oregon City, gave a speech in Olympia -- July 4, 1850

he demanded a new territory be created north of the Columbia River

he put his idea into print for the first time in a letter to an editor

he wrote that Oregon Territory should be divided north and south along the Columbia River

he further noted the northern part should be called "Columbia Territory"

Agitation to create a new territory north of the Columbia River became openly discussed

## OREGON DEMOCRATS PUSH THEIR POLITICAL AGENDA

Oregon Territory Democrats made themselves known as an organization

by holding a caucus of Democratic members of the 1851 legislature -- July 4, 1851

there a central committee was chosen and James Willis Nesmith was named chairman

Oregon Territory's population was preponderantly Democratic

because immigrants came principally from Democratic states

## WAGON FREIGHTING BRINGS GOODS TO THE GOLD FIELDS

Rogue River Valley west of the Cascade Mountains was cut off from navigable water

with the construction of roads wagon freighting enjoyed it's a robust start

as wagons replaced mule trains

agricultural goods and a great deal of other merchandise was shipped by water from San Francisco

to Crescent City, California where freight wagons were loaded for the interior

During southern Oregon's Gold Rush freighting between Portland and Jacksonville

also took on great importance

traffic operated two ways: farmers in Douglas County in the South

would haul bacon, lard, butter, cheese, and hides to Portland

in exchange for dry goods and groceries

## WAGON TEAMSTERS WERE THE THOUGHTEST OF THE TOUGH

Those who engaged in the work of freighting became accomplished in their art  
fabulous tales have been told about the skill of teamsters in handling their animals,  
in dealing with smug stage drivers as they hurried past a freight train,  
in modifying the King's English, and most of all, in wielding the whip

Teamsters were not known for their modesty -- often they gave added support to stories  
which extolled a mule skinner's or bullwhacker's accomplishments

At least one agreement was common to all teamsters:

one never admitted hauling less freight for the number of draft animals and the size of his wagon  
than any competitor could claim to be able to carry

Wagon freighting, wherever it was done, was hard, dirty, tedious, and dangerous work  
it was work which tried a man's patience

only the toughest of the tough ever made bullwhacking or mule skinning his life's work

An immense portion in the building of the West was accomplished by the wagon freighter

## SOUTHERN OREGON INDIANS REFUSE TO BE PACIFIED

Migration to Southern Oregon from California and the Willamette Valley was resisted by natives  
skirmishes and battles were fought with the Rogue River, Umpqua and Coquille Indians  
thirty-eight whites were killed and more wounded

(before winter rains brought a respite to the bloodshed)

as usual Indian casualties were incompletely recorded but beyond doubt soared far higher

## FRANCIS A. CHENOWETH CONSTRUCTS A TRAMWAY AROUND THE COLUMBIA GORGE

Rapids of the Columbia River Gorges, Dalles Rapids, Long and Short Rapids and Celilo Falls,  
were so swift and treacherous that riverboats could not negotiate them

cargo and people were loaded or unload at either end of the rapids and portaged around

Francis A. Chenoweth and his family moved west from Wisconsin [1849]

they settled at the new community of "Lower Cascades"

located on the north (Washington) side of the Columbia River

at the downstream end of the Columbia Gorge (below today's Stevenson, Washington)

Chenoweth started construction on a rail-like tramway around the Columbia Gorge's cascades  
variously estimated at two to four miles long running from Dalles Rapids

past the rapids of the Long Narrows and Short Narrows

leaving Celilo Falls as an obstacle yet to be overcome

initial construction along north side of Columbia River was primitive -- July 1851

very long "rails" of six-by-six fir logs were partially faced with strap iron

planking for mules to walk on were laid between the rails

three wooden bridges were constructed

it was easier and more cost effective to use a bridge

rather than fill in earthen embankments to support the track

however, such extensive use of bridging made the road susceptible to being washed out  
(almost 300 feet of the road was washed out near its lower landing the first year)

Chenoweth's tramway carried freight and passengers around The Cascades rapids

one crude four-wheeled wooden flat car with a roof to carry freight and passengers was pulled by one indifferent mule or by three or four as the load required this “first improved railroad in the territory” was owned and operated by Francis A. Chenoweth rather than a corporation -- he charged 75cents 100 pounds although this was an exorbitant rate at the time business was quite good

#### WILLAPA BAY OYSTERS ARE INTRODUCED TO THE SAN FRANCISCO MARKET<sup>14</sup>

Shoalwater Bay (today’s Willapa Bay) contained wide stretches of shoals or mud flats rich in shellfish of all kinds

Chinook and Chehalis Indian villages ringed the bay

inhabitants gathered the abundant oysters which they dried for storage and trade

America was in the midst of an oyster craze and there was a huge demand for the shellfish

white settlers who lived at the mouth of the Columbia River

were only a short portage from the south end of Shoalwater Bay

they were attracted by the abundance of oysters

Charles J. W. Russell from Virginia, hired Indians to harvest a load of oysters

and carry them back to the Columbia River

he then introduced the first fresh oysters to the booming San Francisco market

delivering them by steamboat -- summer 1851

#### WATER LEVEL OF THE WILLAMETTE RIVER DROPS

Willamette River became too hazardous for most steamboats to operate -- last two weeks of July 1851

only *Black Hawk* and the side-wheeler *Columbia* could continue service

*Black Hawk* remained in service until she was dismantled [1852]

*Columbia* also was dismantled her hull drifted out with the tide [1852]

*Columbia*’s machinery was saved (and later used on the newly-built *Fashion*)

#### SUPERINTENDENT ANSON DART NEGOTIATES THE TANSEY POINT TREATY

Clatsop and Nehalem peoples shared harvesting areas such as the Clatsop Plains,

a rich berry picking grounds, and visited the same sacred places such as Saddle Mountain

they gathered together each summer at the large village near Tansey Point (present-day Hammond)

to trade with visiting tribes, socialize and conduct ceremonies

Clatsop and the Nehalem Band of Tillamooks meet with Superintendent of Indian Affairs Anson Dart

at Tansey Point near Astoria, Oregon to negotiate a treaty to maintain the peace -- August 5, 1851

these treaties are drawn up with the Clatsop, Wau-ki-kum, Konnaacc, Kathlamet, Klatskania,

Wheelappa and Lower Chinook bands of the Chinook people as well as the Tillamooks

participating tribes believed the agreements they signed were valid, nation-to-nation agreements

#### SUPERINTENDENT ANSON DART CONCLUDES HIS NEGOTIATIONS

Thirteen treaties were successfully negotiated with the Clatsop and Nehalem peoples -- August 9, 1851

each group of natives had refused to conform to Congress’ plan for them

---

<sup>14</sup> Kit Oldham, Essay 5433, HistoryLink.org, March 17, 2003.

each group was willing to cede the majority of their territory, but insisted on permanently reserving a piece of their home country for themselves they also reserved the right to fish in all usual and accustomed areas

#### DENNY PARTY CROSSES ON THE OREGON TRAIL TO PORTLAND

Arthur Denny, David's older brother led the exhausted party into Portland -- August 17, 1851  
nineteen year old David Denny came west with his extended family  
his father and mother, brothers, sisters, aunts and uncles  
cheerful and hard-working, David Denny was well liked  
especially by Louisa Boren the daughter of David's stepmother  
David Denny agreed to help John Low herd cattle to (winter) pasture on the Cowlitz River  
David's older brother asked them to continue north to inspect the Puget Sound country  
while the remainder of the Denny Party stayed at Fort Vancouver

#### DAVID "DOC" MAYNARD HITS ON A PLAN

David "Doc" Maynard's welcome was worn out in Olympia thanks to Mike Simmons and his friends  
desperate for money Doc took work spitting 400 cords of firewood  
which he accompanied to San Francisco to sell  
while there he decided to try his luck in the gold fields  
after a few weeks of impatient prospecting and no luck in California  
his thoughts turned to the widow Catherine Broshear whom he had left behind in Olympia  
Doc used the money he acquired from the sale of firewood in San Francisco  
to purchase a cargo of merchandise to open a store in Olympia

#### STEAMBOAT *MULTNOMAH* SERVES THE UPPER WILLAMETTE RIVER

Side-wheeler *Multnomah* had been built in New Jersey, taken apart into numbered pieces,  
shipped to Oregon and reassembled at Canemah, just above Willamette Falls  
by Bissell, Maxwell & Gray in Canemah, Oregon  
she was 108-feet long with an eighteen-foot beam  
*Multnomah* made her first run to Salem -- August 18, 1851  
she operated above the falls for a little less than a year  
as her deep draft kept her from the upper Willamette River  
(she returned to the lower Columbia River [May 1852] where she developed a reputation  
as being a fast boat)

#### STEAMER *WASHINGTON* IS MOVED TO THE LOWER WILLAMETTE RIVER

Captain Alexander Murray's steamboat *Washington* faced difficulties  
when the level of the Willamette River dropped to three-and-a-half feet [July] 1851  
in several places she scrapped bottom while the *Hoosier*  
was able to continue regular trips to Dayton  
Captain Murray hauled the *Washington* around the falls to the lower Willamette River -- August 1851  
*Washington* ran between Portland and Oregon City competing with a small fleet of steamboats  
that included *Eagle*, *Blackhawk*, *Major Redding*, *Allan* and *Columbia*

*Washington* was the largest of the vessels

#### STEAMBOAT *JAMES P. FLINT* RUNS THE MIDDLE PASSAGE OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Daniel F. and Putnam F. Bradford used additional financing provided by a silent partner, businessman James P. Flint of San Francisco, to purchase parts to a small side-wheeler steamboat this was brought in pieces from the East coast

pieces of the small steamboat were assembled at The Cascades

by Daniel F. and Putnam F Bradford and another partner, Captain J.O. Van Bergen she was an eighty foot long steamboat with twelve foot beam and a five foot deep hold she was christened the *James P. Flint* and Captain J.O. Van Bergen was her master

*James P. Flint* was winched along the north bank of the Columbia Gorge

she began to operate on the forty mile “Middle Passage” of the Columbia River -- August 1851

traveling between the rapids of the Short Narrows and Celilo Falls

including the village of The Dalles where there was a military post

it was still necessary to portage thirteen miles around Celilo Falls

*James P. Flint* carried everything and anything

immigrants, household goods, limber, livestock, troops and army baggage

#### COWLITZ CONVENTION IS HELD TO DEMAND OREGON TERRITORY BE SPLIT

Population north of the Columbia still numbered fewer than two thousand -- 1851

one reason for the slow growth, according to northern boosters, was neglect by the legislature which was dominated by Willamette Valley farmers

territorial legislators were far more interested in feuding with Whig Governor John P. Gains and the Indians troubles to their south

than they were in the needs of their neighbors to the north

settlers north of the Columbia River were inspired by John Butler Chapman’s Olympia speech demanding the creation of a new territory for their region

Cowlitz Convention was held at a bend in the Cowlitz River

where travel going north and south shifted between land and water

and where a way station in the home of John R. Jackson passed for a country inn

twenty-six delegates assembled at Cowlitz Landing in spite of travel difficulties -- August 29, 1851

one delegate was James Cochran the foster parent of black pioneer George Washington

Cochran's presence helped to establish a favorable status for free Negroes

(when Washington became a territory in its own right [1853])

delegates declared themselves to be in convention assembled

every legislative district North of the Columbia River was represented

Seth Catlin, known as the “Sage of Monticello [Washington],” was elected chairman

he was one of the few delegates not still in his 20s and 30s

delegates drew up a formal memorial to Congress

asking that a new territory be created in northern Oregon

they also asked for more:

- \$100,000 to build a road from Walla Walla to Puget Sound over the mountains,
- authority to create new counties -- for which they had names already chosen

several reasons for separation for the south were set forth

geographical isolation north the Columbia River was the recurrent argument

region north of the Columbia River received very little benefit from appropriations

political leaders from south of the Columbia River controlled the Territorial Legislature

they kept the benefits of federal appropriations to themselves

Oregon Territory was too large to become a new state

they requested a capital city be placed north of the Columbia River;

Cowlitz Convention sent Congress a Memorial -- 1,500 insistent words written by John Chapman

**“to take into careful consideration the present peculiar position of the northern portion of the territory [of Oregon], its wants, the best method of supplying those wants, and the propriety of an early appeal to Congress for a division of the territory.”<sup>15</sup>**

Chapman’s Memorial to Congress demanded Oregon Territory be divided at the Columbia River

and “Columbia Territory” be created north of the river

name selected for the new territory was quite specific

Each territory was entitled to one elected nonvoting delegate to Congress

Oregon Territory’s Delegate was Joseph Lane who had been territorial governor

he was part of the Democratic organization that firmly controlled politics in Oregon Territory

northern settlers wanted a territorial delegate of their own

#### COWLITZ CONVENTION MEMORIAL WAS ACCEPTED IN THE TERRITORY

John Chapman’s Cowlitz Memorial to Congress was published in two territorial newspapers

the *Oregon Spectator* and the *Oregonian*

both of which had some circulation in the nation’s capital

Residents of the Willamette Valley gave their approval to the plan to divide Oregon Territory

Oregon Delegate to Congress Joe Lane was instructed to aid in that process

Cowlitz Memorial made its way to Joe Lane by the slow route of the mail at that time

down the Cowlitz River for a connection with a ship going to California,

then by another steamer to Panama, by land across the isthmus,

and on across the Caribbean Sea by another steamer to the East Coast and up the Eastern seaboard

#### PORT ORFORD SETTLERS DECIDE TO BUILD A ROAD TO THE INTERIOR

Captain William Tichenor returned to Port Orford with the steam propeller *Sea Gull*

three months later then he had promised to deliver more men and supplies

to assist the nine prospectors he had left behind led by J.M. Kirkpatrick -- September 1851

Port Orford settlers decided to blaze a road from the coast to the Oregon-California Trail

William T’Vault led twenty-three men on an exploratory expedition (end of July)

however, rough terrain and limited supplies caused thirteen of them to give up (by mid-August)

T’Vault and the other ten others plodded on until -- September 1, 1851

when they too decided to quit the effort

#### BRITISH GOVERNOR OF NEW CALEDONIA IS REPLACED

---

<sup>15</sup> Lancaster Pollard, *A History of the State of Washington*, P. 107-108.

At the request of Hudson's Bay Company and of a group of independent settlers  
Governor Richard Blanshard appointed a three-man council  
consisting of Chief Factor James Douglas, Chief Trader John Tod and James Cooper  
to guide the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island  
this three-man Council first met [August 30], 1851  
two days later Governor Blanshard departed from the colony  
on the ship *Daphne* -- September 2, 1851

#### NEW BRITISH GOVERNOR APPOINTED TO LEAD NEW CALEDONIA

British Crown yielded to the demands of the Hudson's Bay Company's London directors  
in the absence of Governor Richard Blanshard, the Black Scot, James Douglas  
was appointed the second governor of the Colony of Vancouver Island  
Governor Douglas was restrained, at least in theory, by the three-man council  
which supposedly controlled his actions but in practice restraint seldom occurred  
Black Scot named the council members himself -- two members were employees of the company

#### COAL IS DISCOVERED ALONG PUGET SOUND

California communities were in need of fuel  
coal had been discovered north of the Columbia River in the Cowlitz Valley [1848]  
several barrels were shipped to California but it was of an inferior quality  
coal had also been discovered on the Skookum Chuck River which generated interest in Olympia  
there was even talk of building a railway to the Columbia River which never happened  
Fur trapper Samuel Hancock while trading with Lummi Indians around Bellingham Bay  
learned of outcroppings of black stones in the area  
with Indian help he began searching for better coal deposits  
he found what appeared to be an important coal deposit along the Stillaquamish River -- 1851  
but Lummi Indians refused to let him develop the site

#### DENNY PARTY SCOUTS SEARCH FOR A SAWMILL LOCATION

David Denny and John Low ferried Low's cattle across the Columbia River  
at Fort Vancouver -- September 10, 1851  
they drove their herd north over the Cowlitz Trail to the Cowlitz Valley pastures  
all the while they searched for a site to establish a logging camp  
David Denny and John Low hiked to the tiny village of Olympia (formerly Smithfield)  
where they met Captain R.C. Fay and Leander (Lee) Terry  
who invited them to ride in their sailboat to the Duwamish River

#### FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET ARRIVES AT FORT LARAMIE

After an arduous journey by steamboat and overland, Father De Smet arrived at Fort Laramie  
to attend the Council of Fort Laramie to help write a treaty to help bring peace  
with the Cheyenne and Sioux -- September 10, 1851  
After twelve days of negotiations the treaty assuring peace was signed by many of the chiefs  
Father De Smet returned to St. Louis completing his harrowing five month journey [October 22]

## MASSACRE TAKES PLACE ON COQUILLE CREEK

Returning to Port Orford after ending their unsuccessful exploratory expedition to build a road

William T’Vault and his ten prospectors hired some Coquille Indians

to take them down Coquille River canoes

when they reached the Coquille Indian village on the coast the Indians paddled ashore,

they surrounded the prospectors and attempted to disarm them -- September 14, 1851

(near today’s Bandon, Oregon)

in the ensuing fight the Indians hacked and bludgeoned the white men

T’Vault, still in his canoe, saw **“the most awful state of confusion; it appeared to be the screams of thousands, the sound of blows, the groans and shrieks of the dying.”**<sup>16</sup>

William T’Vault paddled the canoe to the south bank of the river

he and a few others fought their way through the village and into the woods

five of T’Vault’s nine men were killed -- Indians suffered no casualties

## LUTHER COLLINS LEADS A PARTY OF SETTLERS TO THE DUWAMISH RIVER

Luther Collins and a party of settlers arrived at Elliott Bay

traveling with Luther Collins (about age 37) was his wife Diana (Borst) Collins (about 36)

and children Lucinda Collins (13 or 14) and Stephen Collins (about 7)

three additional adult men made up the party

Jacob Maple (age 53), Jacob’s grown son Samuel A. Maple (age 23)

and Henry Van Asselt (age 34)

Members of the Collins Party crossed Elliott Bay to the mouth of the Duwamish River

they began exploring where the river wandered through a fertile valley -- September 14, 1851

(in the vicinity of today’s Georgetown section of Seattle)

in a letter published in Portland’s *The West Shore* newspaper [February 1876]

Luther Collins, Jacob Maple and Henry Van Asselt wrote they had selected homesteads

on Duwamish River and each had filed a claim for 640 acres -- September 16, 1851

(in the vicinity of today’s Seattle’s Georgetown neighborhood)

## DENNY PARTY REACHES ELLIOTT BAY

Sailboat carrying David Denny, John Low and Lee Terry arrived on Elliott Bay -- September 25, 1851

they spent the night at Duwamish Head camped under a huge cedar tree near an Indian village

there, according to David Denny, they met Chief Sealth

(or as the settlers pronounced his unpronounceable name, “Seattle”)

next day, they hired two young Indians to paddle them up the Duwamish River

when they arrived they liked what they found

## TWO SETS OF PIONEERS MEET IN THE DUWAMISH WILDERNESS

David Denny, John Low and Lee Terry returned to their Duwamish Head camp -- September 27, 1851

that evening a scow passed by carrying Luther Collins and his family

---

<sup>16</sup> Charles Wilkinson, *The People Are Dancing Again, The History of the Siletz Tribe of Western Oregon*, P. 77.

along with Henry Van Asselt, Jacob Maple, and Samuel Maple  
with all of their household goods

Denny party and Collins Party greeted each other as the scow continued toward the Duwamish River  
where the Collins Party held land claims

#### DENNY PARTY SELECTS CLAIMS OF THEIR OWN

John Low and Lee Terry selected land for a possible homestead -- September 28, 1851  
it was agreed John Low would return to Portland to file the land claims

David Denny wrote a note suggesting that his brother Arthur bring the entire Denny party at once  
he sent the message to Portland with John Low

David Denny and Lee Terry remained behind

they used an axe and hammer, the only tools they had, to build a cabin for the Low family  
they went to work falling trees and building the cabin on tree-covered Alki Point  
(in today's Seattle)

A few days later, Lee Terry headed for Fort Nisqually to borrow a froe

(a tool needed to shave shakes from a bolt of cedar) leaving young David Denny alone  
for three weeks, curious but friendly natives watched and occasionally helped  
as David Denny labored on the cabin

however, his work came to a halt after he accidentally cut his foot with his axe

#### STEAMER *WILLAMETTE* LINKS PORTLAND AND PANAMA

*Willamette* was a large iron steamer owned by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company of New York  
she was built for the company at Wilmington, Delaware

and was brought around Cape Horn under sail as a three-masted schooner arriving -- fall 1851  
she was contracted to carry the mail between Panama and Oregon

*Willamette* was a large ship, 132-feet long, 23-foot beam, and drew 5 feet of water

she was an elegant boat with fine accommodations for passengers and great freight capacity

*Willamette* began operations between Portland and Astoria under Captain Durbrow

(she was, in fact, much too large for the trade and was moved to California within a year)

#### STEAMBOAT *CANEMAH* PLYS THE UPPER WILLAMETTE RIVER

Captain Charles Bennett of California gold rush fame had moved to Salem and built Bennett House  
he also was co-builder of the steamer *Canemah* -- 1851

along with Alanson Beers, Hamilton Campbell and John McClosky

*Canemah* was a sidewheeler with a 135-foot-long hull

she was the fourth steamer constructed on the Upper Willamette River

she was leased by Postal Agent Nathaniel Coe as the first floating post office

*Canemah* made her first trip up the Willamette River reaching Marysville (today's Corvallis)  
where she arrived -- October 1851

*Canemah* made weekly trips between Oregon City and Marysville for several years

When steamboats reached the navigable headwaters of the Willamette River at Marysville (Corvallis)

direct trade between Portland and China became possible

steamboats enabled settlers to reach local and distant markets with their products

## CALIFORNIA NEEDS LUMBER

Gold in California created huge demand for dressed lumber  
needed to build and rebuild places such as San Francisco, Sacramento and other California towns  
lumber was needed for homes, businesses, ships, stores, wharves, hotels and saloons  
wood was scarce around San Francisco  
harbors north of San Francisco were blocked by treacherous sand bars  
Puget Sound was the location of the closest timber that could be easily transported  
dense forests of huge trees grew down to the water's edge  
where the shoreline was free of obstacles  
small inlets clear of obstacles provided excellent sites for saw mills  
deep harbors and small inlets of that region were the ingredients nature provided  
for the benefit of the lumber business  
Former Provisional Governor George Abernathy built a sawmill at Oak Point  
located north of the Columbia River (west of today's Longview)  
where he sold lumber at \$60 per thousand feet

## PUGET SOUND HAS AN AMAZING SUPPLY TO TREES TO BE HARVESTED

Previous to European settlement  
forests had been growing for centuries with little or no interference from humans  
mild climate, heavy rainfall, and suitable soil conditions led to this immense growth  
Giant trees of ancient forests reached to the water's edge and continued unbroken to the mountains  
Northwest land was covered with more than twenty-eight million acres of mature forest  
60%-70% of the original forest was gigantic old growth trees  
greatest of the trees were the giant Douglas firs averaging 200 feet in height at maturity  
with some individual trees topping at 300 feet (30 stories)  
Western hemlock, Sitka Spruce and Western Red Cedar added diversity to the forest  
these trees produced a forest so thick it could not be penetrated by a rider on horseback  
shade loving plants lived on the damp forest floor 100 feet below the canopy

## EASTERN LUMBERMEN LEARN OF THE POTENTIAL OF PUGET SOUND

Andrew J. Pope and Captain William C. Talbot were a lumber dynasty  
with solid family backing in the prosperous lumber town of East Machias, Maine  
they set up business in San Francisco where they imported and sold dressed lumber -- 1851  
and they owned their own lumber ships  
When they learned of the vast timber resources of Puget Sound, they joined with Josiah Keller  
in a venture to build and operate a steam sawmill in the vicinity of Puget Sound -- November 1851  
They returned to their homes in East Machias, Maine to recruit workers and obtain supplies  
they added Charles Foster to their company and called their enterprise the Puget Mill Company  
In a short time thirty-seven sawmills were in operation on the lower Willamette and Columbia  
Puget Sound was free and clear of obstacles and lined with timber  
lumber could be shipped to San Francisco with relative ease  
(soon lumber mills also were operating to the north at Tumwater, Seattle, Steilacoom,

Cape Flattery, New Dungeness, Port Townsend and other places)  
(Today 80% of the original forest is gone -- only 10% to 12% of the existing forest is old growth that is about 4% of the original growth)

#### ARTHUR DENNY PARTY LEADS A PARTY TO ALKI POINT

Arthur Denny left Portland aboard the schooner *Exact* -- November 6, 1851

Denny was accompanied by his wife Mary Ann (Boren) Denny and their children

Louisa C. Denny (age seven), Lenora Denny (four), and infant Rolland H. Denny;  
with them were John Low, his wife Lydia and their children Mary (age nine), Alonzo (age seven),  
John (four) and Minerva Low (two);

Carson D. Boren (Mary Ann Denny's brother) his wife Mary Boren their infant daughter Gertrude  
and Carson's younger sister Louisa Boren (age twenty-four);

William Bell and his wife Sarah, their daughters Laura Bell (age nine), Olive Bell (five),  
Virginia Bell (four) and infant Lavinia;

Lee Terry's brother twenty-one year old Charles Terry completed the party

Their trip from Portland took a week to sail down the Columbia River  
and up the stormy November coast

*Exact* was overcrowded and everyone was seasick

#### SETTLERS ARRIVE AT ALKI POINT

One evening suffering chills, David Denny drank a cup of hot tea

he crawled onto a fir bough mattress in a corner of the roofless cabin he had stopped building  
and covered himself with blankets for a night's sleep

At daybreak he was awakened by clanking of anchor chains

he arose to the sight of the schooner *Exact* unloading Arthur Denny's Party

David Denny raced down to the beach, cupped his hands around his mouth and hollered:

"Welcome to your new home"

Seattle's founders had arrived -- November 13, 1851

Rainy season had begun

sky was colored dismal gray and a swirling wind blew the mist around

fog hid the long line of Olympic Mountains which were so glorious on a clear day

Families rowed to shore

they could see the little cabin protruding from the deep forest

but the future home of John Low and his family was still unfinished -- there was no front door

because Lee Terry still had not returned with a froe and David Denny was ill  
while the men moved the supplies and baggage from the *Exact* and up from the beach  
where an incoming tide threatened to wash it away

*Exact* set sail and disappeared into the shroud of fog

Several of the women, homesick, lonely, cold and wet sat on a log and cried

this was not what they had expected

when their husbands coaxed them into coming west to set up a logging camp

#### STEAMBOATS SERVE THE WILLAMETTE RIVER

Lower Willamette River was served by a fleet of steamboats running from Portland where ocean-going ships could tie up to Oregon City below Willamette Falls -- November 1851 because only a few hundred people lived in Portland and Oregon City competition among the steamboat companies became fierce Freight was portaged around the falls then delivered to locations on the upper river by the sternwheelers *Hoosier*, *Canemah* and *Multnomah* each making weekly trips

#### PORTLAND ACADEMY AND FEMALE SEMINARY IS FOUNDED

Rev. James H. Wilbur left his teaching position at the Oregon Institute at Chemeketa [1849] he wanted to found a Methodist school at Portland Rev. Wilbur prevailed on the real estate firm of Chapman, Coffin and Lownsdale to donate a site Wilbur borrowed \$5,000, cleared land and built Portland's first academy with his own hands Portland Academy and Female Seminary opened for classes -- November 17, 1851 this school was divided into three sections: primary, male and female student under Wilbur's direction the school flourished

#### EARLIEST SCHOOLS IN OREGON WERE SUPPORTED BY SUBSCRIPTION

Generally a little log cabin with shake roof and an earth or puncheon floor served as the school building fireplace served for heat and a window or two with cloth covering in winter provided ventilation furniture consisted of a split log bench and home-fashioned chairs and table for the teacher a small bench for water and a dipper -- possibly a washbasin was also provided some schools had blackboards; all used slates rather than pencils and paper eventually an outhouse was constructed -- but at first the tall surrounding timber sufficed Students learn by rote memory they read a *Reader* over and over, they memorized poetry and they practiced mental arithmetic

#### LIFE IN PUGET SOUND'S PORT OF ENTRY -- OLYMPIA

Simpson P. Moses, the first collector of customs on Puget Sound for Oregon Territory, was stationed in Olympia (formerly Smithfield) he wrote in his diary: November 19, 1851: **"The largest house by far in the town is the Customs House. It is the large two-story house not far from the Northernmost point, and on paper, is designated as being near First and Main Streets, though the streets, to a great extent exist only in the imagination.**

**"The Customs House, belonging to Col. [Michael] Simmons, has a little room parceled off for a store, though the stock is small, and a still smaller apartment dedicated as a Post Office. As the Colonel repudiates being 'learnt' the Post Office runs itself, or rather half a dozen sworn in as deputies, help themselves and the few who come to inquire for letters. For this Col. Simmons receives the snug little sum of \$50.00 per month."**<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> Guy Reed Ramsey, *Postmarked Washington*, P. 12.

## INDIAN SUPERINTENDENT ANSON DART CONCLUDES HIS TREATY NEGOTIATIONS

Superintendent of Indian Affairs Anson Dart signed a treaty with the Clackamas Indians at Oregon City in all, Anson Dart had negotiated nineteen treaties from the time of his appointment as Superintendent of Indian Affairs

Anson Dart then left for Washington City to deliver the treaties he had written -- November 1851 in all Dart had negotiated nineteen treaties with the Indians of Oregon Territory

he had acquired about six million acres for the U.S. government at a cost of about three cents per acre

his treaties created reservations for Indians within their traditional homelands and provided large annual appropriations for the land ceded to the United States

Word of Anson Dart's over-expenditures in presents, room and board and salaries for his helpers, and about the provisions of his treaties soon made it to Washington City quickly his authority for making treaties was ended

## CAPITOL CONTROVERSY REMAINS UNRESOLVED IN OREGON TERRITORY

Large majority of both Oregon legislative houses, all Democrats, moved territorial capital from Whig-invested Oregon City

to the Oregon Institute, a Methodist denominational school, in Salem

Democrats then met for the regular legislative session in the new territorial capital -- December 1, 1851 at the time, perhaps half a dozen families lived in Salem -- the town bragged of its one general store however, steamboat service, stagecoach and mail service all united in Salem

Oregon Territorial Legislature (that is the Democrats) met in the home of James W. Nesmith both houses of the legislature were organized and went about their official business a frame capitol building was constructed with money appropriated by Congress (but later mysteriously burned)

legislators slept where they could find room

In Oregon Territory, as is other United States territories, appointment of non-resident governors and justices by the president was a source of irritation

## TERRITORIAL SUPREME COURT MEETS IN OREGON CITY

Chief Justice Thomas Nelson and Associate Justice William Strong, both Whigs, met in Oregon City thus a quorum of the Supreme Court of the territory

was in place to hold its regular term-- December 1, 1851

Associate Justice Democrat Orville C. Pratt sat alone in Salem in defiance of the court

## OREGON CITY DELEGATES FORM A RUMP TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT

Four Whig Territorial House of Representatives members and one Council member held legislative meetings in Oregon City which they maintained

was the official seat of government -- December 1, 1851

Oregon City government was recognized by Whig Governor John P. Gains as the legal government each day for nearly three weeks they solemnly came to order in the nearly empty capital building each day they pretended to be the official government

they elected a Speaker of the House, Daniel F. Brownfield

he was the only member of the House of Representatives from north of the Columbia River  
he was joined in resisting the change by three other Whig members -- all from southern Oregon  
they were forced to adjourn each day after a few minutes as they had no quorum  
Single Territorial Council member meeting in Oregon City was Columbia Lancaster  
he had been appointed by Whig Territorial Governor Gaines  
to represent three northern counties in the Council -- 1851  
as the sole member of the Council present in Oregon City he elected himself Council President  
each morning he declared himself in session  
he passed bills sent him by the Territorial House of Representatives  
he dispatched Memorials to Congress, praying that the federal government  
would supply the needs denied his district by the unfriendly Salem legislature  
Oregon Whig Territorial Secretary General Edward Hamilton along with two Territorial Justices  
refused to attend 1851-1852 Legislative session in Salem  
Territorial Treasurer L.A. Rice, a Whig, refused to authorize payments  
for the salaries and expenses of officials meeting in Salem  
he resigned his office rather than issue the payments

#### OREGON CITY RUMP GOVERNMENT HAS A POINT -- EVEN WITHOUT LEGAL STANDING

In fact, Oregon Territory reached from California to Canada, from the coast to the Rockies  
an enormous area of 350,000 square miles  
Given the slowness of communications no single legislative body  
could possibly administer to so large an area  
even some of the legislators from south of the Columbia admitted as much  
Following the unsuccessful attempt by five legislators to convene a minority session of the legislature  
Governor John Gaines appealed to President Millard Fillmore, a fellow Whig,  
for federal assistance in bringing the Democrats into line

#### CONGRESSIONAL CHANGES IN THE OREGON DONATION LAND LAW

Congress did implement land law changed to be effective  
between December 2, 1851 and [December 31, 1853]:

- land claim sizes were halved again to 160 Acres -- wives received an equal claim,
- claim must be farmed for four consecutive years,
- claimant must be twenty-one years old and a citizen of the United States

#### OREGON DEMOCRATS IN THE TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE RESPOND TO GAIN'S APPEAL

Matthew Deady, the leader of the Democrat Salem Clique,  
responded to Whig Governor John P. Gaines' appeal to President Millard Fillmore  
for help in controlling the Oregon Democrats  
Deady appealed to the Democrat-controlled United States Congress for assistance  
he asserted that Salem had been legally designated as the new Territorial capital  
by a majority of the legislature and the judiciary was "fulminating" against the legislature  
while the governor was a proven failure as a chief executive  
Further, the Democrat majority of Oregon legislators asked for a constitutional convention

to write a state constitution in the event that Congress refused an appeal of the Legislature  
for direct election of territorial officers rather than an appointed Territorial Governor and judges

#### SCHOONER *ROBERT BRUCE* BURNS IN WILLAPA BAY<sup>18</sup>

Schooners began sailing directly into Shoalwater Bay  
to obtain oysters from the Chinook and Chehalis Indians  
first effort to deliver oysters directly to San Francisco ended in failure  
when the cargo spoiled en route [fall 1851]  
second attempt by the schooner *Sea Serpent* proved to be a success  
Schooner *Robert Bruce* entered Willapa Bay in search of oysters  
anchored off the east shore not far from the mouth of the Willapa River, she began loading oysters  
for some reason, the ship's cook laced the food with a combination of opium and alcohol  
as the crew lay unconscious, he set fire to the ship December 11, 1851  
he took the only rowboat for his escape  
Buring *Robert Bruce* was seen by Bill McCarty who lived on the portage route south of the Bay  
McCarty and his Indian crew had been cutting timber  
they raced to the scene and carried the crewmen to safety  
but the ship was had burned to the water line  
Partners in the venture had lost everything but they built cabins on the beach near an Indian village  
where oysterman Charles J. W. Russell had built a house and trading post  
they began hiring Indians to collect oysters to sell to arriving ships  
soon they had enough money to buy ships of their own  
(this area is still called Bruceport today, and Bruceport County Park is located  
near where the oystermen settled when their ship was burned)

#### FIRST PUBLIC SCHOOL OPENS IN PORTLAND

Resistance to creating public schools in Oregon was very active  
those who had no children of their own to educate joined with others  
who had personal interests in promoting private and denominational schools  
Finally a "Free School" was announced in the Portland *Oregonian* [December 6], 1851  
school board announced the hiring of twenty-two year old John T. Outhouse (pronounced o-thus)  
school opened in the schoolhouse, next door to the City Hotel -- Monday December 15, 1851  
four books were to be used: Sander's *Reader*, Goodrich's *Geography*, Thompson's *Arithmetic*  
and Bullion's *Grammar*

#### TERRITORIAL CAPITOL IS MOVED TO SALEM

Charade in Oregon City continued for seventeen days  
as the Rump Government sat in the deserted capitol building  
in an effort to stop the territorial capitol being moved to Salem  
Whigs attempted to find a judicial resolution to the political schism  
finally the Whigs gave up their effort to achieve a quorum

---

<sup>18</sup> Kit Oldham, Essay 5433, HistoryLink.org, March 17, 2003.

they joined the Democrats meeting in Salem -- December 17, 1851

#### TERRITORIAL SUPREME COURT RULES ON THE TERRITORIAL CAPITOL LOCATION

Legal opinion regarding the location of the capitol was rendered -- December 25, 1851

Territorial Supreme Court stated that any governmental action to move the capital was invalid  
two Whig justices of the Territorial Supreme Court who sat in Oregon City

Chief Justice Thomas Nelson and Justice William Strong  
gave the majority opinion as they ruled the Omnibus Bill  
which designated Salem as the state capitol was void

one justice, Democratic appointee Orville C. Pratt who sat at Salem  
sided with Democratic warlord Asahel Bush in battling the Whigs  
to move the state capital from Oregon City to Salem

Justice Pratt wrote a dissenting opinion when he said the capitol should be at Salem  
(this position was later sustained by joint resolution of Congress)

Oregon Territorial legislature moved back to Oregon City

but Democratic legislators ordered Asahel Bush to print 3,000 copies of Justice Pratt's opinion  
and distribute them throughout Oregon Territory

#### MORE GOLD IS DISCOVERED IN SOUTHERN OREGON

James Cluggage and John R. Poole were mule packers to the California gold fields  
they discovered gold in Southern Oregon when they washed color from Rich Gulch  
sometime in December 1851 or January 1852

this caused a stampede to the Jacksonville District  
village of Jacksonville rapidly reached a population of several hundred

New strikes kept new rushes of Oregon and California miners moving toward new gold fields  
rich placer areas (collecting gold off the ground) were discovered  
on Jackson Creek, a branch of the Rogue River

other mining centers were located in the same region and mining camps became towns:

Kerbyville, Althouse, Brinton, French Flat, Allentown, and Grass Flats  
centers of population were linked first with trails and later with roads

Millions in gold were washed first by panning and sluicing; then ditches were dug by hand for sluicing  
gold discovered in Southern Oregon kept the territorial economy at a fever pitch  
more and more prospectors pushed in to take up claims in the fertile Rogue River Valley

Chinese immigrants next placered the creeks

they often stayed in camps making the effort to work and rework the gravel bars in the river

#### STEAMBOAT *JAMES P. FLINT* MOVES TO SERVICE A NEW ROUTE

Little sidewheeler proved to be too small to meet shipping demands  
generated on the on the Middle Passage of the Columbia River  
between the town of Upper Cascades and Celilo Falls

After less than a year of service, when the busy season was over,

brothers Daniel F. and Putnam F. Bradford winched their steamer back down the Columbia Gorge  
along the north bank of the Columbia River to the lower river below the Dalles Rapids

*James P. Flint* completed the journey downriver to Portland -- January 1, 1852

## OREGON DEMOCRATIC LEADERS CALL FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Most of the people of Oregon Territory believed the true political power lie with the Democrats who represented most of the inhabitants

rather than the territorial officers appointed to the governorship, territorial supreme court and other offices named by Whig President Zachary Taylor

Democratic majority of the legislature approved a Memorial to Congress

calling for dividing Oregon Territory and demanded a "Columbia Territory" be created this name was quite specific and almost universally agreed to

Michael Simmons was appointed head of a committee to study the proposed split

Oregon legislature authorized the Speaker of the Territorial House the President of the Council

to hold an election calling for a constitutional convention to write a state constitution

in the event that Congress refused the appeal of the Legislature for direct election

rather than appointment of the Territorial Governor and judges -- 1852

some Oregonians viewed this as a power play by the Democratic Salem Clique

to gain more offices and power

United States Attorney General Thomas J. Jennings in Washington City sided with the Whigs

he refused to take action against appointed Territorial officials

who were withholding salary payments to Democratic members of the Salem Clique

Congressional Democrats hoped the United States Supreme Court might overrule this insult

to their fellow Democrats in Oregon Territory

## DAVID "DOC" MAYNARD RETURNS TO OLYMPIA

David "Doc" Maynard returned to Olympia in pursuit of widow Catherine Broshear

however, her brother Michael Simmons took exception to the proposed marriage as Doc Maynard

was still married to Mrs. Lydia A. Rickey Maynard and had a daughter, Frances

Doc Maynard opened a store in Olympia with the merchandize he purchased in San Francisco

however, as a businessman he was too generous with both credit and prices

which upset his competitor -- Michael Simmons

a delegation of Mike's friends suggested to Doc there were advantages to moving his goods

to the mouth of the Duwamish River in Elliott Bay miles to the north

after some conversation Mike agreed to his sister marrying Maynard

on condition that they move the store to some other location

Quickly grasping the situation Maynard listened to the proposal

he had previously struck up a friendship with a visiting Duwamish chief called Seattle

so he knew the natives' patronage could be counted on for business

a new settlement led by the Denny brothers was located at Duwamps on Elliot Bay

also a handful of settlers with Luther Collins had moved into the Duwamish River valley

(Duwamish River is the name of the lower twelve miles of Washington State's Green River)

## TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE CREATES NEW COUNTIES

Three new counties were created by the Oregon Territorial legislators -- January 12, 1852

Thurston County was broken away from Lewis County north of the Columbia River  
initially it was proposed to be named Simmons County in honor of Michael T. Simmons  
leader of the first party of Americans to settle in the Puget Sound basin  
however, prior to passage, the act was amended to change the name  
to honor Samuel R. Thurston, Oregon's first delegate to Congress  
Jackson County was created to bring law to the gold fields in the southwest section of the territory  
Douglas County was carved from a swath of Umpqua County  
this new county was named in honor of Democratic stalwart Senator Stephen A. Douglas

#### OREGON TERRITIRAL LEGISLATURE ADJOURNS

After generating a great deal of political heat and very little light  
Oregon's House of Representatives and Council meeting at the Oregon Institute  
adjourned -- January 21, 1852

#### INDIANS KNOW OF GOLD IN NEW CALEDONIA

Gold had been known to exist for many years on the Fraser River in New Caledonia (British Columbia)  
for years Hudson's Bay Company had been trading lead to the Indians for gold -- ounce for ounce  
where the Indians found their gold nobody paid much attention  
Hudson's Bay Company kept it as quiet as possible to avoid gold rush prospectors  
spoiling their trade with the Indians  
Gold was discovered on Vancouver Island and the Queen Charlotte Islands [as early as 1850]  
placer finds (collecting gold off the ground) let to a brief boom ([ate 1851]-1852  
Hudson's Bay Company Chief Trader Donald McLean procured gold dust from the Indians  
living near Kamloops -- [1851-1853]  
about the same time, Indians from the Skeena River brought pieces of gold  
to the Company's Fort Victoria  
gold was found in the Natchez Pass and Similkameen regions in the Canadian interior -- 1852

#### GOLD IS FOUND IN EASTERN OREGON TERRITORY

Some "pay dirt" had been found in Eastern Oregon Territory (today's Montana)  
Major John Owen wrote in his diary "**Gold Hunting found some**" -- February 15, 1852  
Gold was discovered by a French Canadian on the Pend d'Oreille and Upper Columbia rivers -- 1852

#### ALKI POINT SETTLERS SELECT A NEW LOCATION FOR THEIR HOMESTEADS

Arthur Denny, Carson Boren and William Bell found the location of their colony unsuitable  
windy exposure, shallow water, and nearly half a mile of beach between tide line and trees  
made logging extremely difficult as they discovered while cutting pilings through the winter  
there seemed to be a better location at Elliott Bay to the east  
even if the nearby hills were very steep there was deep water  
and tall trees were available for logging  
it was decided that the shore of Elliott Bay offered a better harbor than Alki Beach  
They marked claims (from Seattle's present-day Pioneer Square to Belltown) -- February 15, 1852  
and named the place "Duwamps"

## RUMORS OF COLVILLE GOLD

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet was convinced gold would be found in the in Eastern Oregon Territory there had been rumors of gold there as early as the (1830s)

Fort Colville received its last Chief Trader, Angus McDonald, the nephew of Archibald McDonald

Angus McDonald noted in his journal: **“I took charge of Colville in 1852 and hinted at the golden geology of that country to our men. I had a little sack of dark sand given to me by a friend in California, which I showed to our men. [Joseph] Morel had been out cutting a large tree for firewood and felt dry. He went and drank freely with his mouth deep into the Columbia. He saw some black sand of the kind I showed him in my little sack. Pulling off his old hat, he put some of the gravel of the beach and water into it, and managed to shake it enough to see several scales of gold, bigger and smaller than a pin-head, that remained in the hat after he poured the water out of it. Private information was sent to a few friends in Oregon about it.”**<sup>19</sup> -- February 1852

## NEWS OF THE GOLD FIND NEAR FORT COLVILLE REACHES THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

Hudson’s Bay Company employees at Fort Colville who were familiar with the gold-bearing sands of the rivers in California recognized gold in the sand found of the Columbia River

but they told only a few of their French-Canadian friends in the Willamette Valley

These men hurried to Fort Colville and began washing gold from the river shores

Fort Colville Chief Trader Angus McDonald noted: **“A few French Canadians and half-breeds arrived early in the spring and fixed their rocker machines where Morel washed before [at the mouth of Pend d’Oreille River]. They washed about three dollars a day per man.”**<sup>20</sup> -- early spring 1852

## FORT COLVILLE SEES A GOLD RUSH

News of the gold find on the confluence of the Columbia and Pend d’Oreille rivers quickly spread the rush was on -- spring 1852

Grave difficulties soon presented themselves as the Colville region was difficult to reach

an absence of adequate land transportation restricted the flow of supplies to the miners

early prospectors brought only picks, shovels, and pans

Gold found here was not abundant

it proved to be difficult to mine without sluice boxes and other equipment which was not available

Indians, particularly Shoshones (Snakes) and Yakimas, were openly hostile to the miners

## EXPRESS BUSINESS EXPANDS IN OREGON TERRITORY

Local farmers were unable to meet the demands of California and Southern Oregon gold miners who stormed into the Pacific Northwest in the early 1850s

California-based Todd & Co. sold out to Newell & Co. owned by L.W. Newell -- 1852

Newell quickly attracted local competition in Oregon Territory

One local express company had not originated in California:

W.G. T’Vault, Oregon’s first postmaster and former *Oregon Spectator* editor,

---

<sup>19</sup> Angus MacDonal, “Few items of the West.” Washington Historical, Quarterly, P. 201.

<sup>20</sup> Angus MacDonal, “Few items of the West.” Washington Historical, Quarterly, P. 201.

combined the express and postal service

T'Vault established T'Vault & Co.'s Oregon and Shasta Express -- 1852

with offices at Oregon City, Minersville on Humbug Creek and Humbug City in Oregon  
and Shasta City, California

#### CONCORD COACH -- "FINEST COACH THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN"

Concord Coaches were marvelously well made by the Abbott-Downing Company  
in Concord, New Hampshire

running gear was strongly held together with parts of iron

coach body was made of well-seasoned ash lumber

it was mounted on very strong three-inch thick oxen-leather straps

straps extended from the curved arms joining the front and rear axles

this construction enabled the passenger compartment to roll rather than bounce and jerk

whenever the vehicle hit one of the countless ruts and holes in the road

low center of gravity kept the coach from tipping -- as often happened with most other makes

nine people could ride inside with two more on the driver's seat

and a dozen or more passengers could be carried on top

in the rear was the "boot" or leather-covered triangular-shaped rack for luggage and cargo

#### STAGECOACH DRIVERS WERE SKILLED

To drive over the corduroy-planked and dirt roads required dexterity and skill

it was noted: **"Time was when the man who held the ribbons over a six-horse team on the summits of the Sierra and in the canons [sic] of the Coast and Cascade ranges was more highly esteemed than the millionaire or the statesman who rode behind him."**<sup>21</sup>

#### WAYFARERS RIDING IN A STAGECOACH FACE MANY TRIALS

Transportation by stage in Oregon Territory was for a long time inferior to waterway travel

in going from Oregon City to the Puget Sound area, travelers almost always started by boat

they would sail down the Willamette River to its mouth

then down the Columbia River to the entrance of the Cowlitz River

and up the Cowlitz River to Cowlitz Landing or some other desired point

from Cowlitz Landing there was no convenient method of travel

horseback was the usual means but roads, primitive as they were,

conveyed some freight and passenger traffic toward Olympia

#### FIRST STEAM SAWMILL IS BUILT IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Dressed lumber had been shipped from hand-powered sawmills along Puget Sound since [1851]

because of devastating fires in California San Francisco investors

sent Captain William F. Sayward and John R. Thorndyke

to the Pacific Northwest to build a steam-powered sawmill

Thorndyke filed on a timber claim of 318 acres on Port Ludlow Bay

---

<sup>21</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P.199.

off Admiralty Inlet near the entrance to Hood Canal  
approximately six miles south of (today's Marrowstone Island) -- March 1852  
Sayward and Thorndyke started building a steam-generate sawmill there  
their initial mill housed two sash saws capable of producing 3,000 feet of lumber daily  
trees along the banks of the bay were logged first  
and then oxen and horses were used to bring more distant logs to the mill  
Thorndyke named the community that arose to support the mill Port Ludlow

#### DAVID "DOC" MANARD ARRIVES IN DUWAMPS ON ELLOIT B AY

David "Doc" Maynard moved out of Olympia  
he loaded his trading stock into Chief Seattle's long, graceful, black-painted canoes  
Doc arrived on Puget Sound -- March 31, 1852  
where he found Arthur Denny, Carson Boren and William Bell had filed a claim

#### PART OF THE ARTHUR DENNY PARTY RELOCATES FROM ALKI POINT

David "Doc" Maynard and his wife moved to Duwamps  
where they joined Arthur and Mary Ann Denny and their family  
Carson and Mary Boren, their daughter and Carson's younger sister Louisa Boren  
William Bell and Sarah Bell and their four children  
Maynard was willing to open a general store if they would move their claims a little to the north  
toward the bluffs so that he settled beside the river  
where he would be close to customers in the Indian village  
and to the salmon he hoped to pickle for export  
Denny, Boren and Bell promptly agreed to the move  
Doc Maynard selected a forested land claim (in present-day Pioneer Square) -- April 3, 1852  
he build a log home at the northwest corner of First Avenue South and Main Street  
he converted the living room into a store  
he also ran an unsuccessful salmon-fishing station and began a short-lived fish packing business  
next he opened the first hospital in the Pacific Northwest  
David Denny, in turn, built a cabin in the woods (near where present Denny Way meets the bay)

#### ALKI POINT PROVES TO BE A DIFFICULT LOCATION FOR SETTLEMENT

Charles Terry and his brother Lee Terry  
along with John and Lydia Low and their children Mary, Alonzo, John and Minerva  
remained at the original landing at Alki Point  
They named their new home "New York" in honor of Terry's hometown  
Charles established his "New York Store" -- the first store in the future King County  
but as reality overcame enthusiasm Terry changed the name to "Alki" (pronounced AL-kee)  
Chinook language for "Bye and Bye" or "someday"  
However, Elliot Bay offered more potential for development than did Alki Point  
Lee Terry returned to the East Coast  
Charles Terry and the John Low family joined the others at Duwamps -- mid-April 1852

## PRESBYTERIAN PIONEER GEORGE WHITWORTH ATTEMPTS TO FOUND A COLONY

Born in England, George Frederick Whitworth immigrated as a child with his family to America eventually he became a Presbyterian minister in Indiana

Whitworth conceived the idea of forming a colony of Presbyterians to settle in the Puget Sound area education, as well as religion, would be a central feature of the endeavor

he outlined in an issue of *The Presbyterian Magazine* -- April 1852

his educational intentions for the colony and his founding philosophy

for Sumner Academy and Whitworth College: **“It is intended that we shall ... establish a good parochial school for the benefit of the children and youth of the colony ... and no efforts will be spared to elevate the character of the school, and to make it an institution of learning of the highest grade ... It shall be a settled principle, that no child or youth, connected with the colony, shall ever be permitted to grow up without the benefit of a good English education, and a thorough religious training.”**<sup>22</sup>

Although Whitworth enlisted some fifty families for the colony,

as the time for departure approached, the number had dwindled to fifteen

reports of danger from Indians and disease dissuaded most

cholera along the Oregon Trail was especially devastating in 1852

none of the Whitworth’s recruits completed the trek to the Northwest

## BLACK PIONEER GEORGE WASHINGTON HOMESTEADS (IN TODAY’S WASHINGTON)

George Washington left his foster parents James and Anna Cochran at Cowlitz Landing

he crossed into the basin of the Chehalis River and built his own one-room cabin

where the Skookumchuck River joins the Chehalis River -- spring 1851

he was the fourth settler in the area

he established a pole ferry on the Skookumchuck River

George Washington cleared land built a cabin and began farming twelve acres

he operated a way station known as Corban’s Landing

where he opened his home to travelers when nightfall was nearing

## BLACK PIONEER GEORGE WASHINGTON FACES DISCRIMINATION

Because of Oregon Territory’s discriminatory land laws black pioneer George Washington

could not stake a claim -- he was technically a squatter without legal title to his land

even so, while he operated his Skookumchuck River ferry and way station at Corban’s Landing

he fenced off and cleared a twelve acre farm and bought two milk cows

in the hope that the law against the settlement of free blacks would change -- 1852

## CONGRESS RECEIVES THE COWLITZ MEMORIAL

Oregon Territory Delegate to Congress Joe Lane read John Chapman’s Cowlitz Memorial to Congress

but was not persuaded his territory, which he had just started to represent, should be cut in two

he filed the memorial with the clerk of the committee on territories

where it was effectively buried

---

<sup>22</sup> Alfred O. Gray, *Not By Might: The Story of Whitworth College, 1890-1965*. P. 13.

official action of the Congress was slow (nothing was accomplished for two more years)

#### STEAMER *EAGLE* ARRIVES ON THE LOWER COLUMBIA RIVER

Small iron propeller steamboat called the *Eagle* was brought around Cape Horn on the deck of a ship placed under the command of Captain W.B. Wells and Captain Richard Williams

she was put to work running between Portland and Oregon City -- 1852

*Eagle* generated a great deal of money for her owners carrying passengers between the two cities at the rate of \$5 a head

#### COMMERCE IN OREGON TERRITORY INCREASES THE DEMAND FOR COAL

Businesses in Oregon Territory relied on the unscheduled comings and goings of sailing vessels and “steam schooners” that worked their way up and down the California and Oregon coasts

these crafts were well adapted for maneuvering into what skippers called “dog holes”

small coves and rudely improvised harbors where cargoes of lumber and other commodities

could be taken aboard for delivery in many parts of the world -- but mainly California

lumber led the list of exportable commodities; flour was second in importance

Need for coal to fuel steam ships was increasingly significant

one of the first attempts to mine coal in (today’s Washington) was at (Renton) -- 1852

(this stopped when two miners were killed by Indians the following year)

(eventually thousands of tons of coal were shipped to San Francisco annually

providing great prosperity to each mining operation)

#### HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY OPERATED A SMALL STEAMER ABOVE THE CASCADES

Hudson’s Bay Company’s steamboat *Allan* under Captain Tom Gladwell

provided service between The Cascades and Celilo Falls -- 1852

(however, this boat sank off Mitchell’s Point [1854])

#### HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY DEVELOPS COAL RESOURCES IN NEW CALEDONIA

Coal deposits on Vancouver Island developed

Fort Rupert was established at north end of Vancouver Island -- 1852

Nanaimo was founded on east side of Vancouver Island as a coal mining enterprise -- 1852

#### STEAMBOAT *MULTNOMAH* LEAVES THE WILLAMETTE RIVER

Side-wheeler *Multnomah* operating above Willamette Falls moved to a new route

her draft was too deep (six feet) to allow her to reach the upper point of the Willamette

She returned to the lower river -- May 1852

where she had a reputation as a fast boat

making the 18-mile run from Portland to Vancouver in one hour and twenty minutes

#### NATIONAL INTEREST DEVELOPS IN AN OVERLAND ROUTE TO THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

In the United States overland routes to Oregon Territory and California state were demanded

to help settle those areas and encourage pioneers squeezing out any claims

that French, English or Russians may have -- 1852

Fort Benton (Montana) was the logical starting point for a trail to the Pacific coast  
it had been originally built as an American Fur Company trading post site [1845]  
it was named for Missouri Senator Thomas Hart Benton  
it was relocated and then rebuilt in Dakota Territory (Montana [1850])  
Fort Benton was situated on the east bank of the Missouri River  
where navigation upriver became impossible (where the town of the same name is today)  
Fort Benton quickly became the center to receive and forward freight

#### BUSINESSMAN BEN HOLLADAY GOES INTO BUSINESS IN CALIFORNIA

Ben Holladay got his business start selling mules to the government during the Mexican War  
he was greatly disliked and was universally described as crude and semi-literate  
however, he was also known as an energetic, adventurous man  
Ben Holladay traveled to California where he opened stage and express routes  
to the north and east -- 1852

#### OREGON CAPITAL CONTROVERSY CONCLUDES

United States Supreme Court refused to hear the case regarding the location of the territorial capitol  
thereby affirming the decision of the U.S. Attorney General Thomas J. Jennings  
this left the Democrats in Oregon with the prospect of having to return the capitol to Oregon City  
However, before the United States Supreme Court ruling could be enacted  
Congress acted on Salem Clique leader Matthew Deady's request for political support  
backed by the efforts of Democratic former Territorial Governor  
and Oregon Delegate to Congress Joseph Lane Congress passed legislation  
declaring Salem the new capital of the Oregon Territory  
money was appropriated to pay the Democrat legislators and build a new capitol in Salem  
President Fillmore was forced to sign the bills into law -- May 14, 1852  
in order to pass other, more politically valuable legislation pending in Congress  
(while the controversy will continue to rage for another twelve years until [June 1864]  
Salem remained the capitol city of Oregon Territory)  
(Democratic Party organization in Oregon had no difficulty electing a large majority  
of the members of the next territorial legislature [June 1852])

#### AMOS SHORT GOES TO TRIAL FOR MURDER

Amos Short had been held for more than year for the killing of two Hudson's Bay Company men  
Hudson's Bay Company officer David Gardner and his Kanaka (Hawaiian) servant  
he requested his trial be held in Oregon Territory rather than in a British court  
Amos Short faced an American judge and jury in Hillsboro, Oregon -- May 17, 1852  
where he had been held under house arrest  
members of the jury were handed an affidavit  
written by David Gardner, one of the victims, before he died that forgave Amos  
they also heard eyewitness accounts -- all of the evidence exonerated Amos Short  
Amos Short was found to have acted in self defense  
in a attitude that reflected the pioneer spirit of the day the Judge Joseph Petrain noted:

**“The only trouble I find with you, Short is that you didn’t shoot more of them.”<sup>23</sup>**

#### STEILACOOM GROWS IN SIZE

Fayette Balch’s general store attracted a growing population to the region  
Steilacoom acquired the first post office on Puget Sound  
other businesses were established: a pharmacy, brewery, barrel factory, salmon-packing plant,  
three sawmills and a burgeoning shipbuilding industry were in operation -- 1852  
Steilacoom’s main source of commercial prosperity  
was the manufacture and export of lumber to San Francisco

#### SETTLEMENT ON COMMENCEMENT BAY (TACOMA)

Nicholas Delin, a Swede, was one of the first settlers (in today’s Old Town Tacoma) -- spring 1852  
he started the industrial development of the community with a water-powered sawmill  
which had cut 550,000 board feet of lumber (by the end of the year)  
all destined to be sent to San Francisco aboard the brig *George Emory*

#### FIRST PROTESTANT CHURCH IS BUILT IN OLYMPIA

Methodist minister Rev. John F. DeVore built the first Methodist Church in Olympia -- 1852  
it was said that when soliciting for the project, Rev. DeVore went to a sawmill for a donation  
mill owner noted the minister was wearing kid gloves and his Sunday suit  
he offered as much lumber as DeVore could carry away in one day  
next day DeVore worked from dawn to dusk  
he carried enough lumber for a church and a parsonage  
(Two years later Rev. DeVore built a second Methodist Church at Fort Steilacoom  
Rev. DeVore traveled widely spreading Methodist influence  
and starting new churches in the Pacific Northwest)

#### GOVERNMENT OF PACIFIC COUNTY IS MOVED

When Pacific County formed [1851], the territorial government located the county seat in Pacific City  
a small town on the lower Columbia River (southwest of present-day Ilwaco)  
this land soon became part of a military reservation and the county seat moved to Chinook -- 1852  
Chinook was a wealthy isolated salmon fishing station along the Columbia River

#### ANSON DART’S INDIAN TREATIES ARE SUBMITTED TO CONGRESS

Native Americans were recognized only as occupants of the land -- not as owners  
with so many newcomers moving west, federal government officials established a policy  
of restricting Native Americans to reservations, small areas of land within a group’s territory  
reserved exclusively for their use, in order to provide more land for non-Indian settlers  
to save them from further violence from the settlers  
When Oregon Territory’s Superintendent of Indian Affairs Anson Dart’s treaties  
were submitted to Congress -- July 1, 1852

---

<sup>23</sup> Hillary Brown, *The Life and Times of Ester Short*, P. 156.

they were opposed by Secretary of the Interior Alexander H.H. Stuart  
because they failed to remove the Indians to the eastern part of Oregon Territory  
and, thus, failed to fully clear western Oregon lands for American settlers  
all nineteen treaties written Superintendent of Indian Affairs Anson Dart  
awaited ratification by the United States Senate

News arrived in Oregon Territory that Congress wanted more time to define its policy toward Indians

#### DEMAND FOR A NEW TERRITORY NORTH OF THE COLUMBIA GAINS SUPPORT

Gathering of a few settlers north of Columbia River was held in Olympia to celebrate July 4, 1852

Daniel R. Bigelow, a young attorney newly admitted to practice law, gave a speech  
he echoed the speech given by John Butler Chapman at Steilacoom [July 4, 1850]  
demanding the creation of a new territory out of Oregon Territory  
his ideas immediately found favor with the supportive crowd

Getting to Oregon's capital required a several-day horseback journey on the trail to Cowlitz Landing  
then down a turbulent stream in an Indian canoe to the mouth of the Cowlitz River  
then up the Columbia River in another canoe and into the Willamette River as far as the falls,  
it was nearly always three days of travel

Daniel R. Bigelow suggested a committee be appointed  
to arrange for a convention to be held at Cowlitz Landing

After the 4<sup>th</sup> of July Ceremonies were over a general discussion took place  
regarding the location of the Oregon Territory capitol city

how much better it would be to have the seat of government right in Olympia  
it was decided to call a meeting of delegates from each county north of Columbia River  
the reality that northern Oregon had less than a thousand settler -- no one knew just how many  
was no deterrent at all to the disgruntled settlers

#### TABLE ROCK CONFERENCE WITH THE INDIANS ENDS IN DISASTER

Hostilities between the settlers of southern Oregon and the Shasta and Rogue River Indians  
flared up -- summer 1852

Oregon Territory Superintendent of Indian Commissioners Anson Dart  
sent Indian Commissioner Alonzo A. Skinner to hold a meeting

near a large gravel bar in the Rogue River below Table Rock (at today's White City, Oregon)

Commissioner Skinner persuaded some of the Indians to stack their arms and attend the conference  
with difficulty he talked the Oregon Volunteers under John K. Lamerick into doing the same

California Volunteers under Elisha Steele arrived to make matters worse -- July 17, 1852

Steele refused to stack his arms

when Skinner crossed the river to talk to some more Indians

Steele's volunteers attacked the Indians at the conference

one volunteer shot the son of Shasta chief Sullix in the head and a melee broke out  
reports of Indian deaths in the incident ranged between four and twenty  
after the episode Commissioner Skinner was unable to negotiate a settlement and gave up

#### U.S. COAST SURVERY STEAMER *ACTIVE* ENTERS NEAH BAY

U.S. coast steamer *Active* under Captain James R. Alden reached Neah Bay delivering a surveying party under Lieutenant George Davidson and Lieutenant James Lawson after receiving approval from the Makahs camp was made on shore near the trading post of Samuel Hancock

*Active* then proceeded on a preliminary survey up the Strait of Juan de Fuca to Dungeness and Port Townsend

Lieutenant Davidson established astronomical stations at Port Townsend and Port Angeles *Active* returned to Neah Bay where a party of nine surveyors was dropped off to continue their work

*Active* left for Shoalwater Bay (between Longbeach, Washington and Long Island) to make a survey there before the close of the season

nine surveyors left at Neah Bay had no means of leaving until *Active* returned

Neah Bay surveying party had a well-armed camp with rifles, cavalry pistols, shot guns, and revolvers although no danger was anticipated

however, after the departure of the steamer a fleet of canoes

containing between 150 and 200 Nootka Indians from Vancouver Island anchored in the bay, most of them remained in their canoes

leading the surveyors to assume this was a precaution to avoid trouble

surveyors were pleased with the visitors' discretion -- July 1852

However, trader Samuel Hancock was buying fish oil from the Vancouver Island Indians one day when he overheard a conversation regarding a plot to massacre him and the surveying party and take the trade goods and weapons

he hastened to inform lieutenants George Davidson and James Lawson of the plot

they immediately loaded all of their weapons, threw up a defensive perimeter and posted a watch through the night

Hancock and two visitors to his trading post made preparations for an attack and stood guard

During the night some Nootka Indians came ashore and proceeded to the surveyors' camp,

but when they were challenged by guards they retreated to their canoes and departed at daybreak

This plot had originated with the Nootka Indians

no mention of the attempted assault was made to the Makahs by the surveying party as they knew the Makahs were reluctant accomplices

#### INDIAN TROUBLES CONTINUE IN SOUTHERN OREGON

During the summer at least eighteen prospectors were killed by roving bands of Indians clusters of miners struck back hanging various Indians for the murders

often without evidence that their victims were guilty of anything

Indians retaliated, whites responded, and ill-will spiraled out of control -- summer 1852

#### SOUTHERN OREGON GOLD RUSH IS ON AGAIN

Gold seekers from California rushed across the mountains into the land of the Oregon Modoc Indians crossing the still not yet surveyed Oregon-California border whose location was so uncertain

that some men cynically voted in both Oregon and California yet refused to pay taxes to either

Boomtown of Jacksonville, Oregon Territory was the supply center for the gold fields -- 1852

but the real heart of the mining district was the unguessable number of ill-defended

tent and log-shanty camps scattered throughout the bewildering maze of canyons  
Immigration along the Oregon Trail reached a climax  
when the greatest flood of migrants in Oregon history poured down the Trail from the East  
motivated by the warmth of yet-to-be constructed homes and farms  
promised by the Donation Land Law  
most immigrants followed the normal route over the Blue Mountains and down the Columbia  
no small portion, however, were drawn by talk of gold to take the Applegate Trail  
south to the Rogue River and its potential riches

#### OREGON TERRITORY INDIAN TREATIES WERE HEARD IN THE U.S. SENATE

United States Senate heard Oregon Territory Superintendent of Indian Affairs Anson Dart's  
nineteen treaties -- August 21, 1852

objections of the Indians were added to the complaints received from settlers  
United States Senate refused to ratify any of the treaties Dart had negotiated  
these treaties were tabled in the Senate  
presumably this left land titles exactly where they had been before the start of the negotiations  
that is, in the hands of the Indians  
meantime, settlers feeling negotiations had been successful, moved onto the Indians' land

#### PUGET MILL COMPANY RECEIVES STEAM EQUIPMENT

After construction was well underway on his steam-powered sawmill on Teekalet Spit  
Captain William C. Talbot sailed the *Julius Pringle* to California  
with his first shipment of Puget Sound lumber  
but this did not come from his Teekalet Sawmill  
rather Talbot purchased a supply of pilings from Henry Yesler at Seattle  
After the purchase from Yesler Talbot sailed the *Julius Pringle* to San Francisco -- September 1853  
en route Talbot encountered his other ship, the clipper schooner *L.P. Foster*, near Port Townsend  
aboard was his business partner Josiah Keller  
*L.P. Foster* had carried Keller around Cape Horn from East Machias, Maine  
bringing sawmill machinery and merchandise for a store  
Talbot told Keller about the site he had selected for their Puget Mill Company sawmill

#### INDIANS ATTEMPT TO PROTECT THEIR COUNTRY

More than 2,000 miners had arrived in "Thompson's Dry Diggings" (today's Yreka, California)  
following the southern route of the old Emigrant Trail -- through Modoc Indian Country  
Pit River Indians living in the vicinity of Shasta Lake killed several settlers  
in retaliation gold-seekers not familiar with the Indian people traveled in small groups  
unprovoked revenge attacks by prospectors took place on Indians who were "in the way"  
including an innocent Modoc village where men, women and children were killed  
Modoc Chief Kintpuash (later known Captain Jack) lost some of his family in the attack  
Modoc Indians began a series of systematic attacks in retaliation  
one such attack took place on an immigrant wagon train at Tule Lake -- September 1852  
located east of the Sierra Mountains and just inside the northern boundary of California

it was said nearly a hundred men, women, and children died at intervals at Bloody Point where a narrow cliff crowded the wagon road close to the muddy shores of Tule Lake other pioneers were captured and suffered a fearsome fate

#### MINERS AND SETTLERS SEEK REVENGE ON THE NATIVES

Word of the Modoc outrages to the wagon train at Bloody Point reached the miners and settlers in Jacksonville, Oregon Territory and Yreka, California -- September 1852

Ben Wright gathered a company of thirty-six miners and settlers from Yreka to recover what captives may remain alive and hunt down the Modoc perpetrators

Ben Wright was a violent man who wore his hair in glossy feminine ringlets about his shoulders an odd trait about which no one in the vicinity ever dared to offer any comment

Ben Wright's vigilantes camped south of the Modoc Indian village near Bloody Point, California on a peninsula that jutted out into Tule Lake

he tried without success to induce the Modocs to release the missing white victims and to return items they had stolen from emigrants

#### OLYMPIA NEWSPAPER *COLUMBIAN* BEGINS PUBLICATION

(Four newspapers were in operation south of Columbia River before [1852])

two printers, Thornton F. McElroy and James W Wiley, launched a weekly newspaper in Olympia they purchased the small Ramage printing press that had printed the first book in Oregon, parts of the Bible in the Nez Perce language [1839],

and the first edition of the *Oregon Spectator* in Oregon City [1846]

McElroy and Wiley gave their paper a name they hoped would be prophetic: the *Columbian* this was the first newspaper north of the Columbia River

#### FIRST ADDITION OF THE *COLUMBIAN* HITS THE STREET

Dateline: Olympia, Puget Sound -- Saturday, September 11, 1852

primary interest of the *Columbian's* printers were obvious

they advocated splitting Oregon Territory along the Columbia River and demanded a new territory north of Columbia River

they were devoted to the interests of Oregon in general

and the territory north of the Columbia River in particular

cost: fifty cents per year

Front Page consisted of:

- a two column essay on Japan copied from an Eastern newspaper,
- an adventure story set in Rio de Janeiro,
- advice on how to submit material,
- an attempted humorous essay on marriage

Page Two held a story on the death of Senator Henry Clay [deceased June 28, 1852]

Page Three:

•provided an editorial on the need to split the territory in which it was stated: **“We are warranted in saying that the country bordering the Sound has no superior on the continent for the various pursuits of husbandry -- farming, grazing, and horticulture. Her magnificent forests of valuable**

timber -- with mineral resources, which are constantly being developed -- an extent of country capable of supporting almost countless population -- the Sound, itself, destined to become the great commercial mart of Oregon, if not the Pacific coast -- a climate of the most congenial character.”<sup>24</sup>

•local news:

between [November 15, 1851] and [January 30], 1852

thirty-eight vessels arrived and departed Olympia

Brig *Exact* dropped off twelve settlers -- [November 1851]

•also the following letter was printed: **“Our section of the country at present is difficult to approach by land, owing to the pugnacity of inhabitants, and our consequent present inability to open good roads. This defect, however, is growing smaller by degrees and beautifully less, and Congress has, I believe, recently made appropriations for the opening of two military roads, one from the valley of the Yakima cross the Cascades Range, and the other from the Columbia River to Puget’s Sound.**

**“These roads would be a great value for a military point of view, because having an armed force at each of these points would mean assistance could be had immediately to crush any insurrection of the savages. The absence of such roads now might cause ruinous delay.**

**“Let these roads be made, and in a few years I assure you that there will be enough of us here to defend this region against all foes civilized or savage. Do not imagine that I speak under the rose on this subject. I deal simply with facts. I can arrive at but one conclusion, which is that this Puget’s Sound country will be one of the most important and interesting agricultural and commercial points in all the land shadowed by the Stars and Stripes.”**

Page Four provided a long 4<sup>th</sup> of July oration by Daniel R. Bigelow at Olympia on the need to form a new territory which took up most of the page

#### SCHOONER *CYNOSURE* BRINGS SMALL POX TO NEAH BAY

Schooner *Cynosure* owned by Enos Fowler of Boston sailed from San Francisco

she arrived at Neah Bay with two Makah Indians and a white man sick with smallpox

Members of the Makah village soon fell ill and spread the contagion among their people

who died by the scores as the beach at Neah Bay became strewn with the unburied bodies

as the Makahs were no longer able or willing to attend the sick or bury the dead

Not being able to control the disease, the Makahs attempted to run away from the scourge

they fled to Vancouver Island where they contaminated the Nootka people

At the end of six weeks the disease abated but the Makahs had lost a large percentage of its members and suffered from untold grief and despair

#### GEORGE WASHINGTON BUSH IS ESPECIALLY HELPFUL TO IMMIGRANTS

George Washington Bush and his family used their Bush Prairie farm’s produce to help recent arrivals

this was especially important when the arrival of large numbers of emigrants

exhausted most of the region’s grain harvest

Bush’s farm was one of the few with supplies available -- fall 1852

Ezra Meeker, who was among the 1852 arrivals recalled that George Washington Bush

---

<sup>24</sup> Lancaster Pollard, *A History of the State of Washington*, P. 108-109.

gave out nearly all of his crop that year

those with no money were told: **“Pay me in kind next year”**<sup>25</sup>

those with more were told: **“Don’t take too much -- just enough to do you”**<sup>26</sup>

Oregon Territory’s discriminatory land laws remained a real concern for George Washington Bush  
however, many friends did not forget his kindnesses  
they created an uproar heard all the way back to the nation’s capital

#### BENJAMIN LOUIS EULALIE DE BONNEVILLE RETURNS TO THE FAR WEST

Soldier, explorer and fur trader Ben Bonneville had ended his western adventures [1836]  
he now returned once again to Oregon after successful service in the Mexican War -- 1852  
this time as Commandant of the Military Reservation -- 1852 [-1855]  
he was ordered to take command of Camp Columbia on the parade ground of Fort Vancouver  
Intensive development of the military reservation was accomplished under Colonel Bonneville  
he also mapped the military reservation

#### SCHOOLS INCREASE IN NUMBER NORTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Mrs. Clark Short was the teacher in a tiny log cabin school  
in a brush patch just North of Fort Vancouver -- 1852-[1853]  
shortly after Mts. Short’s school began another school opened at Camp Columbia -- 1852  
Olympia saw its first school when A.W. Moore, the first post master on Puget Sound,  
also served as the first teacher -- fall 1852  
this school’s roof caved in under four feet of snow -- [night after Christmas 1852]  
(this building was followed by two more schools in the Olympia area the next year  
Several additional schools soon opened north of the Columbia River  
but as quickly closed for lack of funds

#### TEACHERS HAD ONLY INFORMAL TRAINING

Teachers could be almost anybody who seemed above the ordinary  
educational preparation ranged from the bare fundamentals to doctors and lawyers  
salary ranged from as low as the teacher would accept to as high as the community could afford  
School term was short -- usually not more than three months  
many schools closed when roads became impassable (in winter)  
Attendance was irregular -- children were kept home to work

#### U.S. FOURTH INFANTRY ARRIVES IN OREGON TERRITORY

(U.S. Fourth Infantry under General Zachary Taylor had fought with distinction  
during the Mexican-American War [1846-1848]  
Captain Robert E. Lee and Lieutenant Ulysses S. Grant both served in the Fourth Infantry  
after the war the U.S. Fourth Infantry was assigned briefly to Camp Jeff Davis, Mississippi

---

<sup>25</sup> Ezra Meeker Papers, Manuscripts, Special Collections, University Archives (University of Washington Libraries, Seattle, Washington). Ezra Meeker, “Biographical Sketch of George W. Bush,”

<sup>26</sup> Ezra Meeker, “Biographical Sketch of George W. Bush,” Ezra Meeker Papers, Manuscripts, Special Collections, University Archives (University of Washington Libraries, Seattle, Washington).

before being sent to garrison duties at several different points in New York and Michigan  
1,100 officers, men and camp followers were ordered to Oregon Territory [July 5, 1852]  
they were to take the SS *Ohio* to Aspinwall on the Isthmus of Panama  
they arrived at the height of the rainy season and cholera was raging  
transportation across the Isthmus was lacking  
jungles, mountains and rivers were difficult to cross  
cholera decimated the Army as well as the families who accompanied the men)

Major Gabriel J. Rains, Commander of the United States Pacific Military District,  
arrived at Columbia Barracks with a portion of the U.S. Fourth Infantry -- September 20, 1852  
this post had been constructed by the First Regiment of the First U.S. Artillery Company L  
under Major John Hathaway [1849]

(Gabriel Rains later served in the Confederate Army as a brigadier general)

Columbia Barracks served as the Pacific District Headquarters

Fourth Infantry regiment was reduced in numbers by sickness crossing the Isthmus of Panama  
those who survived were not fit for service -- however, the new arrivals were fortunate  
they had nothing to do but make themselves comfortable for the [winter]

Captain Ulysses Samuel Grant was a thirty year old West Point graduate

he had hoped for a cavalry assignment but instead he was placed in the infantry

he was sent first to St. Louis -- he then participated in the Mexican War

he was next assigned to several army posts in New York and Michigan

and finally to Columbia Barracks with the U.S. Fourth Infantry

he was so far removed from civilization that he decided to leave his wife and family behind

Columbia Barracks at the time was described by Delia B. Sheffield (young wife of another soldier):

**“My first impression of Vancouver was a dreary one and a feeling of homesickness came over me as I saw only a few old dilapidated log huts inhabited by half-breeds. But when we reached the garrison and I had a good view of the grand old Columbia river and the snow-clad peaks of Mt. St. Helens, Mt. Adams, and Mt. Hood, looking like giant sentries, I felt as if I could battle with the pioneer life of a new country.**

**Life at Vancouver in 1852 and for several years later was of a very simple and primitive sort. Luxuries were not to be had and the necessities of life were costly; eggs cost a dollar and a half a dozen, potatoes nine dollars a sack, and flour twenty-four dollars a barrel. Carpets were unobtainable, all furniture was rude and home-made, and fortunate were those who could secure pieces of furniture that had been brought across the plains, or around by the Isthmus.”<sup>27</sup>**

#### UNITED STATES INFANTRY POSTED IN THE WEST IS AT A DISADVANTAGE

Infantry (foot soldiers) replaced the Calvary (horse soldiers) in most Western outposts

each man carried a knapsack, bed roll, poncho, ammunition, ammunition belt and rifle

as he tried to capture unencumbered Indians on horseback

fine points of marksmanship were not taught by the Army

individual shooting skill was unimportant -- shooting at moving targets was unheard of

officers preferred volley fire and saber charges

---

<sup>27</sup> *Reminiscences of Delia B. Sheffield*, University of Washington Press, 1924, 16 pages.

Indians generally refused to come close enough to cooperate

#### PUGET MILL COMPANY ADVERTISES FOR WORKERS

Even before the Puget Mill Company steam sawmill was ready for operation

Josiah Keller inserted an item in the weekly *Columbian* (Olympia) -- September 24, 1853  
with a list of the goods in the store and a call for crews to cut timber and mill lumber

#### EZRA MEEKER ARRIVES IN OREGON TERRITORY

Ezra Meeker was born in Huntsville, Ohio [December 29, 1830]

during his childhood he had little formal education -- he preferred the outdoors

Ezra married his childhood sweetheart Eliza Jane Sumner [May 13, 1851]

they settled on a farm they rented in Iowa but the cold winter

and the urging of Ezra's older brother Oliver were enough to convince Ezra and Eliza Jane  
to move west with their then month old son Marion

Ezra, his family and his brother Oliver arrived in Portland -- October 1, 1852

he became very dissatisfied with the government of Oregon Territory

Ezra and his brother Oliver traveled to Puget Sound in search of land to farm near water  
fewer than 500 settlers lived along the sound with more than 100 of these in Olympia

Meeker brothers' first vision of Puget Sound was of mud flats exposed by low tide

they met friendly Indians who sold them clams and showed them how to cook shellfish

one of the Indians was hired to guide them around the region in search of farmland

they entered the Puyallup River and camped (at present day Puyallup)

huge trees there made clearing land for farming difficult

they decided on McNeil Island across the water of Puget Sound from Steilacoom

where the village would provide a ready market for their farm products

Oliver began work on a cabin (at the site of McNeil Island Corrections Center)

while Ezra returned to the Willamette Valley to get his family and possessions

they returned to the cabin Oliver had built overlooking the water and Mount Rainier

(Ezra Meeker lived a long, adventurous, successful life repeating his adventure several times:

- Meeker returned East over same route painting inscriptions on landmarks along the trail [1906]
- he repeated his performance [1910]
- he traveled over most of the trail once again by auto [1916]
- and finally he traveled by airplane [1924]
- Meeker went on to become a prominent pioneer leader and author of numerous reminiscences)

#### COAL IS DISCOVERED ON THE SHORES OF BELLINGHAM BAY

William Prattle arrived at the San Juan Islands -- 1852

he had come from San Francisco to cut timber for California's building boom  
following the Gold Rush

while in the San Juans, Prattle heard Indian reports of coal around Bellingham Bay

coal was commanding a high price in San Francisco

eager to take advantage of an economic opportunity he decided to investigate these reports

William Prattle landed on the shores of Bellingham Bay before any pioneers had settled in the area

while exploring Bellingham Bay found promising coal deposits (along the Fairhaven shore near the present-day Chrysalis Inn & Spa on 10<sup>th</sup> Street) -- October 1852  
Prattle then traveled to San Francisco to raise funds  
finding two partners they formed the Puget Sound Coal Mining Association

#### THE *COLUMBIAN* PUSHED FOR DIVISION OF OREGON TERRITORY

Three themes were stressed in the first year:

- wonderful possibilities of Puget Sound Country,
- need for construction of a wagon road over Cascade Mountains to Fort Walla Walla (today's Wallula, Washington),
- creation of an independent territory north of the Columbia River to be called Columbia

Newspaper aggressively promoted "Columbia Territory" even before there was any assurance that northern Oregon would be allowed to secede

*Columbia's* editors gave a picture of life in Washington as they reported that they had **"...informed our readers of the dissolution of Oregon -- our establishment as a separate Territory -- of a large acquisition of population -- the spread of intelligence -- the organization of schools -- a heavy accumulation of commerce -- a corresponding increase of agricultural products -- the erection of many mills and handsome houses -- the opening of new farms -- the extension of fisheries -- the making of new roads, particularly that across the Cascade Mountains, and the commencement of surveys for a route for the Northern Pacific Railroad. We have chronicled the marriage of twenty-two persons, the death of eight by disease, nine by drowning, one by falling from a tree, one by murder and two by suicide. Marriages would have been more frequent if there had not been such a scarcity of ladies."**<sup>28</sup>

An article addressed to those planning to move west -- October 9, 1852

it was promised that **"a territorial government will be organized for northern Oregon as soon as practicable, when we will have a market of our own -- a governor, federal officers and a legislature of our own -- a delegate in Congress of our own and finally a STATE of our own. ...Your assistance is wanted in the settlement and improvement of the country -- the organization of our territory and in the formation of a state."**

In a later issue the *Columbian* confidently predicted that

**"legal divorce from the south is inevitable"**

#### OREGON TERRITORIAL DELEGATE TO CONGRESS JOE LANE WAS IN WASHINGTON CITY

As the Delegate to Congress from Oregon Territory Joe Lane made every effort to secure military protection for emigrants who were continually arriving -- 1852

Lane also directed his energies toward passing an appropriate land law  
(Later Joe Lane ran as the Vice-Presidential candidate with John Breckenridge in the race against Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin [1860])

#### DUWAMPS RECEIVES AN IMPORTANT NEW RESIDENT

Henry Yesler from Maryland arrived in Duwamps -- October 1852

---

<sup>28</sup> Lancaster Pollard, *A History of the State of Washington*, P. 152.

he was an older man than most new-comers -- perhaps forty or more  
with a solid frame, heavy features and calculating eyes  
he had visited Portland the year before intending to cut lumber for the California trade  
but the dangerous Columbia River sandbar had discouraged him  
if Duwamps was a better choice, he was prepared to move in with a steam sawmill  
Hastily the town founders readjusted their claims  
so that Yesler could have a thin stretch of land from the Elliot Bay waterfront up into the timber  
beyond their claims, his claim could expand out to take as many acres of trees as the law allowed  
Satisfied with this proposal, Yesler went to San Francisco to acquire his steam-powered sawmill  
he left others to build a long, open shed to house the machinery and a solid log cookhouse  
complete with the biggest fireplace in the region

#### DUWAMPS BECOMES THE HOME OF THE FIRST SKID ROAD

Henry Yesler brought the second steam-powered sawmill to Washington Territory  
and set up operation in the settlement of Seattle  
Loggers developed this method to bring the timber from the nearby hillsides to the mill  
skid roads were built by first clearing a path through the forest to the water's edge  
partially buried logs were placed across the path like ties on a railroad  
these cross-ties (skids) were painted with grease  
fallen logs were skidded over the top to avoid hanging up on rocks or being mired in the mud  
teams of oxen or work horses pulled long "turns" (chains) of logs over the skid road  
Henry Yesler was credited with building first skid road  
he skidded logs purchased from David "Doc" Maynard from the woods on surrounding hills  
Yesler's skid road used oxen to drag logs to his mill on Elliott Bay -- October 1852  
(Seattle owes its existence to lumbering and shipping  
they were the most important economic and social factors in its early development)  
(after it was no longer used for skidding, this road became the main street in the settlement  
Skid roads later came to mean that part of town where loggers hung out (Skid Row)  
rough and tough loggers were proud to be associated with the name  
every logging town had a Skid Row where working men gathered  
to brawl, booze, gambol and womanize)

#### ANOTHER PUSH IS MADE FOR A NEW TERRITORY

United States District Court convened in the Cowlitz Valley  
at the home of John R. Jackson near Cowlitz Landing -- October 1852  
So many pioneers were on hand  
that Major H. A. Goldsborough, one of the most vocal of Columbia Territory advocates,  
called a spontaneous meeting to consider holding a second convention to create a new territory  
out of this discussion came a call for delegates to be elected in every part of northern Oregon  
to attend a convention in Olympia

#### COLUMBIAN BEGAN A CAMPAIGN TO GENERATE INTEREST IN THE CONVENTION

*Columbian* promoted the upcoming convention enthusiastically

it raised its editorial voice to a shout with the biggest type it had:

**“CITIZENS OF NORTHERN OREGON!”**

**It behooves you to bestir yourselves to claim your independence from the territorial authority exerted over you by the Willamette Valley. Call meetings in your several precincts; memorialize Congress to set us off; exhibit our grievances both in omission and commission under which we have suffered from all departments of government and that body will be compelled to regard your prayer.”**

#### CALL IS MADE FOR DELEGATES TO BE SELECTED FOR A CONVENTION

Public meeting of Oregon Territory inhabitants living north of the Columbia River was held at the Jackson Prairie courthouse on Cowlitz Landing-- October 27, 1852

this meeting resulted in a resolution being passed to appoint and send delegates to a general convention to be held in Olympia

some Americans living along the Columbia River objected to the Olympia location

Oregon City was more convenient for them than Olympia would be

demands of the more southerly Delegates forced the location to be moved from Olympia

to Monticello located along the west bank of the Cowlitz River

near the confluence with the Columbia River

(within what is now the present-day city of Longview, Washington.)

Monticello was meant to assure good attendance from those living along the Columbia River

even though they could not be expected to be as eager to split off from southern Oregon

as those who lived far away on Puget Sound demanded

apparently the major concern was the number of delegates rather than their opinion

#### COLUMBIAN CONTINUES ITS CAMPAIGN FOR A NEW TERRITORY

*Columbian* was determined that attendance at the Monticello Convention be substantial

realizing that the more names on a petition to Congress the more attention it was likely to receive

Under the heading **“PREPARE! PREPARE!”** printers Thornton F. McElroy and James W Wiley

explained that the meeting was to be held at Monticello far down on the Columbia River

a hundred miles from Olympia

*Columbian* said territorial voters should meet in every precinct and elect delegates and alternates

there was to be no limit on number: **“Let all be appointed who can possibly attend”**

Newspaper warned that **“if we should fail again”**

(referring to lack of action after the Cowlitz Convention)

southern Oregon might achieve statehood before another attempt at separation could be made

and **“in the settlement of her boundaries, serious encroachments may have been made**

**upon territory which nature designed should be incorporated with our own. We must be vigilant and active in arranging matters for the crises before us. Again we say, PREPARE! PREPARE!”**

Tone of the next issue of the *Columbian* reflected the fear of its printers that the convention

might not be well attended and therefore would not impress Oregon Territorial Delegate Joe Lane

and his colleagues in congress

**“TURN OUT! TURN OUT!”** shouted the headline

“**ACTION! ACTION!**” -- time was growing short and convention delegates must be elected Of utmost concern, the *Columbian* explained, was that southern Oregon would receive all of the favors from the federal government because all the territorial officers were down there and because even the existence of northern Oregon might not be known in the national capital only through action at the Monticello Convention could their existence be made known *Columbian* printer Thornton F. McElroy realized that travel at any time was difficult and (in November) the trail to Olympia would likely be deep in mud he urged those who lived along the route to help care for travelers going on foot or by horse to Cowlitz Landing and resting there before continuing down the twisting course of the Cowlitz River for another thirty miles by canoe or bateau to Monticello

#### NATIONAL ELECTION CHANGES THE POLITICAL DYNAMICS IN OREGON TERRITORY

Whig President Millard Fillmore had taken office after the death of General Zachary Taylor Taylor and Fillmore did not even meet until after the election and they did not get along well as a result Fillmore was excluded from any major role in the administration President Taylor’s entire cabinet resigned after his sudden death Fillmore sided with Democratic U.S. Senator Stephen Douglas in a series of bills that became the Compromise of 1850 he also supported the Fugitive Slave Act that allowed for the capture and return of runaway slaves in the United States was unpopular in the North [1850] President Millard Fillmore was so unpopular that the Whig Party refused to nominate him for office General Winfield Scott and William Alexander Graham were selected Democrats ran “darkhorse” candidate Franklin Pierce and his running mate William R. King Pierce outlasted the Democratic front-runners although he had not received a single vote on the first ballot of the Democratic Convention It was a lackluster campaign as the Whigs and Democrats ran on almost indistinguishable platforms quickly the contest became one of personality lack of personality by either candidate resulted in the lowest voter turnout since [1836] Franklin Pierce won in a landslide besting General Winfield Scott -- November 2, 1852 he entered office without a Vice-President as William R. King had died without taking office (King County, Washington was named in his honor before the honor was changed to Dr. Martin Luther King [April 19, 2005])

#### DEMOCRATS IN OREGON TAKE POLITICAL CONTROL OF THE TERRITORY

Whig leadership in Oregon Territory was removed by the election of 1852 Oregon Democrats became convinced that a pervasive political organization was necessary Local Democratic Party control was consolidated in the hands of a few men of the “Salem Clique” Asahel Bush of the *Statesman* dominated their political policy decisions “Salem Clique” was arrogant and strongly partisan and resented interference from the Eastern Democratic establishment it was rumored Oregon Democrats might establish a republic to resolve the national slavery question in favor of slave holders

## VOLUNTEER BEN WRIGHT HAS LITTLE SUCCESS DEALING WITH THE MODOC INDIANS

After remaining for two months in their camp on a peninsula that jutted out into Tule Lake  
Ben Wright's Yreka, California vigilantes motivated by desires to rescue the missing white victims  
and collect the items stolen from the emigrant wagon train at Tule Lake changed their tactics  
when some of his men returned from Yreka, California with a supply of food,  
Wright invited the Modocs to his camp for a feast and a peace talk  
but Indians suspected he had put strychnine in their food and would not eat it  
Wright moved to the north end of Tule Lake by Lost River Bridge just inside of the Oregon border  
and camped next to a Modoc village -- November 14, 1852

## CALIFORNIA VOLUNTEER LEADER BEN WRIGHT ATTACKS THE MODOC INDIANS

As Modoc Indians dried meat for the winter -- morning November 15, 1852  
Ben Wright walked calmly into the village, threw open his coat, and began firing  
Chief Captain Jack's father, who was then primary chief of the Modoc Indians,  
was unarmed in the camp when he was gunned down by Ben Wright  
Wright's gun shots were a signal to eighteen Yreka volunteers  
concealed around the village and on a nearby bluff to open fire too  
Modocs panicked some jumped into the lake and drowned  
others ran into the tall tulle reeds bordering Tule Lake  
but Wright's posse searched and hunted the frightened natives down  
when flushed out of their cover the Indians were shot  
Indians formed a line and sent a shower of arrows at the volunteers but they aimed too high  
after emptying their rifles, Wright's men dropped their rifles and charged, revolvers in hand  
continuing to flee the natives took refuge in the Lost River  
Wright's men took long poles from the teepees -- those hiding in the river were poked out  
and shot as they struggled in the water  
to avoid the bullets the Indians would dive and swim beneath the surface  
but watching the bubbles rise as they swam, the men shot them when they came up  
only five of the forty-six Modocs in the village escaped -- the rest were killed  
(other accounts go as high as ninety Indians killed)  
Remaining remember of the immigrant wagon trains were safely escorted over the mountains  
it was said Ben Wright's men counted twenty-two mutilated immigrant bodies along the trail  
another company from Jacksonville found fourteen more  
other rumored victims, mostly women and children, had vanished without a trace  
But Ben Wright was not finished

## BEN WRIGHT EXPANDS HIS KILLING SPREE

He traveled all through Klamath Indian country killing Indians wherever he could find them  
he went through Goose Lake Country where he killed Paiute Indians wherever he got a chance  
At least thirty, or as many as forty, Indians were massacred and scalped  
Ben Wright's posse rode joyfully back to Yreka, California  
waving their trophies from the muzzles of their rifles

Yreka gave Wright and his men a big dance  
Oregon Territory Superintendent of Indian Affairs Anson Dart arrived on the Tule Lake scene  
he and his commissioners spent time negotiating and enforcing a peace  
despite continued efforts by miners and settlers to instigate war with the Indians  
Anson Dart was told not to negotiate any more treaties except as necessary to keep the peace

#### DUWAMPS RAPIDLY EXPANDS

San Francisco had been destroyed by six fires between [December 24, 1849, and July 22, 1851]  
each rebuilding increased the demand for wood  
for pilings, ship spars and heavy squared timbers a man could hew with a broadax,  
for the deep-scented cedar shingles that practically anyone could “rive (shave) with a froe”  
during the time of year when there was nothing else to do  
Arrival of more and more loggers and settlers homesteading in growing California villages and towns  
increased the need for farm produce  
Arthur Denny started the first milk delivery and express service at Duwamps  
using the settlement’s first horse: Old Tib  
Arthur soon opened the second store in the town rivaling David “Doc” Maynard  
Dexter Horton, a clerk in Arthur Denny’s store, accepted cash from loggers, trappers and sailors  
which he placed in individual sacks labeled with the owner’s name for safe keeping  
he stored the sacks in the bottom of the coffee barrel  
Horton’s coffee barrel banking system emerged into the town’s first formal bank  
Doc Maynard, not enamored with the name Duwamps convinced the early settlers  
to name their town Seattle in honor of the Great Tyee (chief)  
who passively watched them with interest but not alarm -- Duwamps became Seattle

#### MANUEL LOPES, BLACK PIONEER, SETTLES IN SEATTLE

Born in Africa [1812] he was believed to have been kidnapped from Africa and enslaved  
before he arrived in Massachusetts  
next he reportedly worked as a sailor in New England  
Manuel Lopes made his way to Seattle  
when he arrived he promptly started a barber shop on 5th Avenue -- 1852  
complete with the first barber chair brought to Seattle around Cape Horn  
soon he also operated a restaurant in the same building as the barber shop  
Lopes was well known for his generosity towards working men  
he often gave meals and lodging to them even when they could not pay  
Manuel Lopes, in addition to his unique personality, was a devoted snare drummer  
who announced meal times at his restaurant with drum solos  
even though he was foreign born, he was an avid patriot  
every Fourth of July celebration he and a fife player named Kelly  
marched around downtown playing patriotic tunes

#### COLUMBIAN CONTINUES ITS SUPPORT FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

**"Rally! Rally!" "On to the convention!"** shouted the *Columbian* -- November 20, 1852

by then some of the delegates were already on their way to Monticello including a few who had settled only the year before on Puget Sound at Duwamps and New York Alki -- even more distant Port Townsend sent a delegate Help was necessary to get the delegates to the convention

*Columbian* urged, and **“inasmuch as dollars are not plentiful in this region...and as many of our delegates will have to incur considerable sacrifice in order to attend the convention, it is to be hoped that the good people along the routes -- Warbassport, etc., instead of desiring to turn the necessary means for reaching Monticello at a profit, on the contrary...will endeavor to make the expenses of the delegates from the interior as light as possible.”**

Quincy Brooks, one of the delegates, was surprised to find Edward J. Allen at Cowlitz Landing Brooks had known twenty-two-year-old Allen in the East Allen was invited to accompany the group back to Monticello and take part in the convention Allen said he could hardly qualify as a citizen of Oregon as he had just arrived Brooks assured him this made no difference as what was needed was numbers -- not delegates Allen, to be obliging or just for the fun of it, went along

#### MONTICELLO PROVIDES LITTLE RELIEF TO THE CONVENTION ATTENDEE

Monticello consisted only of six buildings:

- Harry Darby Huntington’s place -- part home and part hotel,
- Olson and Mahan’s store,
- two old Hudson’s Bay Company warehouses,
- and the houses and barns of L. P. Smith and Royal Smith

Delegates found shelter wherever they could

#### MONTICELLO CONVENTION HELD

This was the second convention held to consider separation from Oregon Territory this one in Monticello near mouth of the Cowlitz River in Harry “Uncle Darby” Huntington’s large home -- November 25, 1852

Forty-four were counted as delegates -- officers were elected

George N. McConaha from Puget Sound was elected Convention chairman without opposition Dr. R. J. White was elected Secretary

Colonel Isaac Ebey from Whidbey Island traveled the furthest distance

Quincy Brooks moved the appointment of a thirteen member committee

to undertake the all-important task of drafting the memorial to Congress

appointees besides Brooks who served as chairman, were David “Doc” Maynard of Seattle, Seth Catlin, the “sage of Monticello,” W. W Plumb, Alfred Cook, John R. Jackson, Eugene L. Finch, A. F. Scott, Fred A. Clarke, C. S. Hathaway, E. H. Winslow, Nathaniel Stone, and the young man who just happened by: Edward Allen

#### MONTICELLO CONVENTION WRITES A MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS

Thirteen member committee prepared a Memorial to Congress and reported to the convention delegates this Memorial was considerably shorter and was far better written than the Memorial written at the Cowlitz Convention [1851]

author may well have been recent arrival Edward Allen  
who put into words what the committee members advised him  
Addressed to the national House of Representatives and Senate  
this memorial said that it “respectfully represents” northern Oregon Territory  
be set apart as a new territory to be called “Columbia Territory”  
Columbia River should provide the border on the south and east  
49<sup>th</sup> parallel on the north and the Pacific Ocean on the west  
(this 32,000-square-mile area requested did not even approximate the huge area of land  
eventually designated as the new territory)  
several reasons were given to support the petition:

- Oregon Territory was far too large to become a new state,
- regions north and south of the Columbia River were economic rivals and always would be,
- most of the voters lived in the southern part, thus the north were not getting a fair share of the appropriations from Congress,
- seat of government was 300 miles from those living on Puget Sound.

Monticello Memorial concluded: **“Northern Oregon, with its great natural resources, presenting such unparalleled inducements to immigrants and with its present large population constantly and rapidly increasing by immigration, is of sufficient importance, in a national point of view, to merit the fostering care of Congress, and its interests are so numerous, and so entirely distinctive in their character, as to demand the attention of a separate and independent legislature.”**

no mention of the population numbers was actually made

All forty-four delegates signed the Monticello Memorial  
to create “Columbia Territory” -- November 25, 1852

*Columbian* trumpeted the entire convention was held in a **“Spirit of harmony and agreement.”**

#### MONTICELLO MEMORIAL IS MAILED TO JOE LANE

Copies of the Monticello Memorial as signed by all forty-four delegates were made  
several were entrusted to the uncertain mails -- December 3, 1852

hopefully to be delivered to Oregon Territorial Delegate Joe Lane in Washington City

#### JOE LANE INTRODUCES A BILL TO CREATE COLUMBIA TERRITORY

Oregon Territorial Delegate to Congress Joe Lane had been in contact by mail  
with the leaders of Oregon Territory

they probably urged him to take action to divide Oregon Territory

or, at least, they informed him that they would not object to such an action

Delegate Joe Lane, who could speak on the floor of Congress but could not vote,

asked Congress to create Columbia Territory out that portion of Oregon Territory  
north of the Columbia River -- December 6, 1852

(this was before the Monticello Memorial could have reached Washington City)

#### THERE WAS NO POLITICAL MOTIVATION TO CREATE A NEW TERRITORY IN THE WEST

Whole Pacific Northwest, the old Oregon Country, encompassed one-tenth of the land area  
of the complete United States

older frontiers such as the Midwest had been settled by a spillover from neighboring areas resulting in a consistent, and thus harmonious, population  
Rush to Oregon had been motivated by Oregon Fever and Manifest Destiny  
lust for gold caused the rush to California which was admitted to the Union [1850]  
without even having to go through the territorial process  
population of California was large enough to make the concerns of Californians  
of interest to Eastern politicians  
proposed new territory was not of much concern since many towns in the new state of California had larger populations than all of struggling Oregon Territory  
there was no immediate potential for Oregon Territory to become a state  
thus, there was no potential voters to intrigue and motivate Eastern politicians

#### OREGON TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE GOES INTO SESSION

Oregon Territory House of Representatives and Council met in Salem -- December 6, 1852  
Matthew Deady served as the President of the Council  
Benjamin F. Butler was the Speaker of the House for the session  
W.T. Matlock was elected *Speaker Pro Tem* (substitute Speaker)  
two northern representatives, F. A. Chenoweth and Isaac Ebey, were in attendance  
although neither had been at Monticello both strongly supported the division  
Members of a special committee delivered the Monticello Memorial to the legislature  
David "Doc" Maynard went along to Salem with the committee seeking personal assistance  
he wanted a divorce from his abandoned wife in Ohio  
(in those days a divorce decree could be obtained only through legislative action)

#### MILITARY ROAD IS BUILT FROM FORT STEILACOOM TO THE PUYALLUP VALLEY

Military Road was the first legally established road in Washington Territory  
then known as Byrd's Mill Road it ran from Fort Steilacoom  
and it twisted its way through the Puyallup Valley  
it was named for Andrew Byrd who had established a sawmill and grist mill  
on Chambers Creek near Fort Steilacoom (in the early 1850s)  
Oregon Territory legislators made this the first official road  
(in what would become the state of Washington) -- 1852  
this road was scarcely wider than a wagon but it served as an important arterial for the pioneers  
(Washington Territorial Legislature established it as a military road [1854])

#### STEAMER *FASHION* SERVES SEVERAL LOCATIONS ON THE LOWER COLUMBIA RIVER

*Fashion* was constructed from the remains of the *James P. Flint* and the machinery of the *Columbia*  
she was placed under the command of Captain J.O. Van Bergen -- 1852  
she served the Cowlitz River Monday and Tuesday, Oregon City Wednesday and Thursday,  
Friday, Saturday and Sundays she ran between Vancouver and The Cascades

#### OREGON DELEGATE TO CONGRESS JOE LANE DECIDES TO TAKE ACTION

Joe Lane introduced a resolution calling for the creation of Columbia Territory -- December 6, 1852

as he had been urged the year before by the Cowlitz Convention,  
While he had not yet received the Monticello Convention Memorial, he was aware of its existence and he knew what it would say because he had read the content in the *Columbian* newspaper which:

- advocated the territorial division,
- announced that a convention was to be held to petition Congress,
- called for wide-spread election of delegates
- and otherwise stirred up public sentiment in favor of the creation of a new territory

Joe Lane must have noticed the lack opposition from anyone in Oregon Territory  
Congressional Delegate Lane's remarks did not convince Congress  
official action of the Congress was slow  
but they did demonstrate the depth of the convictions held by the settlers

#### TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR GAINES IS FAMILIAR WITH THE SEPARATIST MOVEMENTS

Political leaders in Oregon Territory favored a scaled-down version of the existing territory  
Northern Oregon Territory had been gaining population  
since the boundary treaty with Britain had been signed [Convention of 1846]  
there was more free land in the north for new settlers to claim  
effort to create "Columbia Territory" out of northern portions of Oregon Territory  
had been well discussed  
voter strength could grow in northern Oregon to such an extent  
that those in power in Salem would be threatened  
it was better to let the northerners go off and form their own government  
remainder of Oregon was large enough for a state without the northern part anyway  
another, similar movement in southern Oregon Territory was also gathering steam  
Governor John P. Gaines was well aware of these separatist movements  
addressing himself "**to friends of separate territorial government in northern Oregon as well as those of Umpqua, Rogue River, Shasta, etc., ....**" he said a W.T. Matlock had introduced a bill  
for the formation of a state with a new territory on both its north and south sides  
he said the boundaries of this state would probably be the Columbia River on the north  
and Umpqua Mountains on the south

#### BELLINGHAM BAY SEES ANOTHER INDUSTRIALIST ARRIVE

Captain Henry Roeder and Russell V. Peabody arrived at Bellingham Bay from California  
intent on building either a salmon cannery or a sawmill  
although they had little equipment to establish either  
While visiting in Olympia and Port Townsend Roeder and Peabody learned of the existence  
of a waterfalls on Whatcom Creek near Bellingham Bay  
they traveled to Bellingham Bay and were guided to the waterfall -- December 15, 1852  
discussions with Lummi Chief Chowitzit proved to be positive  
it was proposed a sawmill could be built at the falls by Indians and others  
While Peabody traveled to Oregon City file a land claim on Whatcom Creek  
Captain Roeder sailed from Bellingham Bay to San Francisco  
to purchase tools and machinery for their sawmill

## OREGON TERRITORY LEGISLATORS ADDRESS LOCAL CONCERNS

Three new counties were created north of the Columbia River -- December 22, 1853

Jefferson County named for President Thomas Jefferson, County Seat: Port Townsend,

King County named for Vice-President William Rufus King who died in office without serving  
and re-named for Dr. Martin Luther King [April 19, 2005]. County Seat: Seattle,

Pierce County named for President Franklin Pierce, County Seat: Tacoma

David "Doc" Maynard of Seattle was successful in his plea to end his marriage  
as both chambers passed an act dissolving the marriage

between David S. Maynard and Lydia A. Maynard [December 22]

legislators even granted Maynard an additional gift

he was appointed justice of the peace for recently created King County

## SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS ANSON DART RESIGNS

Superintendent of Indian Affairs Anson Dart threw up his hands in despair

he sent in his resignation -- December 1852

Anson Dart had tried to honor the wishes of the native people

but his fate was to be mistrusted ever after by both Indian and settler alike

President Franklin Pierce appointed long time Oregon resident General Joel Palmer

to replace Anson Dart who had resigned the year before

Joel Palmer traveling without his family had been a wagon train captain

who led his followers to The Dalles where they joined Sam Barlow

crossing the Cascade Mountains into the Willamette Valley [1845]

next year Joel Palmer returned to his family in Indiana and published his diary [1847]

entitled *Palmer's Journal of Travels Over the Rocky Mountains, 1845-1846*

this was a popular guidebook for immigrants into and through the 1850s

traveling west again, this time with his family, Palmer again served as captain of a major train

while passing through the Walla Walla Valley he met Marcus and Narcissa Whitman

at their mission shortly before their deaths in the Whitman Massacre [1847]

Joel Palmer became Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory

at the time the debate of what to do with the Native Americans varied in options

from full integration to total extermination

(Palmer gained an anti-settler reputation among immigrants, newspapers and officials,

who said he acted too favorably toward the Indians)

## PUGET SOUND COAL MINING ASSOCIATION PARTNERS RETURN TO BELLINGHAM BAY

William Prattle with his two partners traveled from San Francisco to Bellingham Bay -- January 1853

they had formed in the Puget Sound Coal Mining Association

each of the partners staked a claim to the shoreline at what became known as Prattle's Point

## LESCHI BECOMES WELL KNOWN IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Up to this time, Leschi was a minor leader of the Nisqually people

from the unremarkable village of Bashalalbish located up the Nisqually River

his grandmother was Klickitat Indian  
he had been born about [1808] and grew to be a large man  
he was slightly under six feet tall and about 200 pounds  
light skinned, he wore his hair short and combed back  
he possessed a round face, thin, strait, mouth and a short chin  
he was and noted orator with piercing black eyes and heavy eyebrows

In his youth, Leschi may have been an eye-witness to warfare  
collective unity was weak in the villages of the Coastal people -- thus formal war was not known  
however, unending raids and counter raids were conducted

between whatever villages developed a resentment against one another  
each new raid demanded an act of vengeance -- and on and on for years and decades  
purpose of these raids was always to uphold the honor of the village  
by taking plunder and slaves -- with a minimum of bloodshed

from time to time the fierce Haida and Kwakiutl Indians would bringing terror to Puget Sound  
as they swept down from the Canada's Queen Charlotte Islands in long war canoes

Leschi first appeared in history in the writings of the Hudson's Bay Company clerk at Fort Nisqually  
when a Kanaka (Hawaiian) employee at the post was injured by an Indian [July 1843]

Leschi and his brother, Quiemuth, stepped in to help bring the Indian assailant to justice

Other glimpses are seen in the years following:

- killing a long-tailed cougar at George Washington's homestead,
- buying clothes at Fort Nisqually,
- selling meat to settlers and visiting Olympia and Steilacoom,
- riding in a buggy with Dr. William Tolmie, Chief Factor of Fort Nisqually

Polygamy was accepted among the Indian people

like many Indian men of his day, Leschi had at least three wives

his first and oldest wife was Sara

at one point Sara took up with a younger, unmarried man

Leschi, in a fit of rage, chopped off part of her hair to publicly humiliate her

she fled to his brother for protection and Leschi followed threatening to kill her

Quiemuth intervened and the couple eventually reunited

to help resolve things Leschi gave Sara's father three horses and received a slave in return

family harmony was reestablished Nisqually style

Leschi took a second wife named Annie

after Sara died, he took as his bride a teenager named Mary

who had been born in a village near [today's Tenino about 1839]

this was not a particularly happy union but his violent, hair-trigger temper had subsided

Leschi was a good provider and always treated Mary kindly

he had a positive reputation with her people

but she never learned very much about the man old enough to be her father

as time went on Leschi spent less and less time at home

he preferred to occupy himself on long horseback rides into the distant hills

he became a mystery man to his wives

Leschi was good-humored, seemingly untiring, and terribly silent

he never spoke of the events of his life

(his wives remained ignorant of the details of ensuing events that unfolded in his life

once Leschi found gold in a little mountain stream and showed it to Mary

she didn't think much of it and could never remember where it was discovered)

Leschi, when not farming wheat and corn, covered a lot of ground and was well known

he knew the country up the Nisqually River almost to the snow line

sometimes he stayed away from home for two weeks or longer

he displayed considerable skill as a hunter

he would pack out enough game to supply his family's needs

with plenty left to sell to settlers

Kind in spirit, the gold and the sale of game and horses left Leschi willing and able

to help the old and sick of his Indian village

as a successful farmer his assistance could be counted on by Indians and settlers alike

his conduct, coupled with his skill as an orator, increased his standing with everyone

#### ESTER SHORT HOMESTEADS (TODAY'S VANCOUVER, WASHINGTON)

After his acquittal of the murder charges

in the killing of Hudson's Bay Company officer David Gardner and his Kanaka (Hawaiian) servant

Amos Short traveled to California to sell a cargo of potatoes to hungry prospectors

while sailing home on the *Vandalia* the boat sank at the mouth of the Columbia River

drowning Amos Short

Esther Short filed notice of her widow's land claim to 640 acres -- January 9, 1853

under the terms of the old Donation Land Law Act

she claimed the eastern half of their land claim -- 320 acres in her own name

(from today's W Fourth Plain Boulevard to the Columbia River and west from Main Street)

more land was being cleared and more settlers arriving

320 acres of the western half of the Short claim went to the children

this was divided into ten strips by parallel north-and-south lines

Undaunted, Esther carried on the task of raising her family:

Jerusha, Drusilla, Amos, Clark, Samantha, Aubrey B. (sometime called Maxie B.), and Alfred

Grant Hall Short (born on the Oregon Trail at Fort Hall), Esther M. Short was born in Oregon

Hannah Emmaline Short was born in Vancouver

two children, Ira and Elizabeth, had died in early childhood before the journey west

Esther also opened a restaurant and founded a city (today's Vancouver, Washington)

Esther Short Park was established -- 1853

it is the oldest public park in Washington and the second in the West

(only Lafayette Park in St. Louis, Missouri is older)

(Esther Short Park is located in Vancouver's downtown at West Columbia and 8th Street)

(Esther also opened the region's first hotel, the Pacific House [1854] on South Main at 2<sup>nd</sup> Street)

#### OREGON TERRITORY LEGISLATURE CONTINUES ITS SESSION IN SALEM

Oregon Territory Council and House of Representatives address concerns of the northern settlers

population living north of the Columbia River was dependent on the Willamette Valley

both politically and economically  
settlements in the north were few and growing only slowly  
after receiving the Monticello Convention Memorial the Oregon Territory Legislature  
sympathized with the demands from northern settlers for a new territory  
Territorial House of Representatives adopted the Monticello Memorial to Congress -- January 14, 1853  
Territorial Council adopted the memorial -- January 18, 1853  
Monticello Memorial would take at least a month  
to reach Territorial Delegate to Congress Joe Lane in Washington City  
Oregon's legislature amended school law -- 1853  
interest money from the sale of land sections 16 and 36 was insufficient to support the schools  
Oregon's Organic Code was revised to provide for a two-mill (.002¢) tax levy in every county  
to be added to the school fund  
together with the money secured from fines imposed for breaking the Laws in the Territory  
Oregon's legislature passed a resolution naming Seattle the County Seat of King County

#### DAVID DENNY IS MARRIED

Bride Louisa Boren married David Denny in his older brother Arthur's cabin -- January 23, 1853  
Emily Inez in her book *Blazing the Way* wrote: **“In order to fulfill law and custom, David had made a trip to Olympia and back in a canoe to obtain a marriage license, but was told that no one there had authority to issue one, so undaunted he returned to proceed without it.”**  
No minister was available to perform the ceremony, but David ‘Doc’ Maynard,  
who was justice of the peace, successfully tied the knot in Seattle's first wedding  
Inez recorded: **“The young couple moved their worldly possessions to their cabin in an Indian canoe. Among their few gifts were a hen and rooster from Doc Maynard. Now they began years of toil, struggle, progress and heartbreak that characterized life in pioneer Seattle.”**  
Adept at learning languages, David soon was able to communicate with the natives in simple terms  
he also taught the Indians some English words

#### SETTLEMENT IS FOUNDED ON BELLINGHAM BAY

Russell V. Peabody returned to Bellingham Bay after filing a land claim in Olympia  
he was joined by his business partner Captain Henry Roeder when he returned from San Francisco  
with equipment to establish a sawmill at the waterfalls on Whatcom Creek  
also with him were additional partners Captain Edward Eldridge his wife and baby daughter  
along with Henry Hewitt, William Utter and William Brown -- 1853  
Roeder and Peabody and partners began construction on their Whatcom Milling Company sawmill  
however, their success was diminished by the need to buy supplies,  
falling lumber prices in California  
and the loss of productivity caused by low levels of water at the falls

#### BILL TO CREATE A NEW TERRITORY NORTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER MOVES FORWARD

Washington Organic Act (House Resolution 348) to establish Columbia Territory was reported  
in the U.S. House of Representatives by Michigan Democrat Charles E. Stuart -- January 25, 1853  
this was one of several territorial bills including those pertaining to Nebraska and Wyoming

none had completely smooth sailing

Delegate Joe Lane delivered a speech in favor of a new territory

it was a forceful argument for Columbia Territory emphasizing the points made in the Cowlitz and Monticello memorials

at one point Lane was interrupted by Representative Charles Skelton, Democrat of New Jersey who asked how large the population of northern Oregon was

Lane was ready with an evasive answer: **“as much population as the whole of Oregon Territory had had when it was admitted in 1848”**

this seemed to satisfy the questioner

however. Congressman Skelton had a point

only eight Americans lived north of the Columbia River [in 1846]

two years later when Oregon Territory was created only a few more resided there

when the movement for separation was launched [1851] the population

may have been a thousand

in fact, if Lane had been forced to provide a number and he was completely honest about it

he would have noted there were less than 4,000 citizens north of the Columbia River

(not the 8,785 living in Oregon Country in 1848 before becoming a territory

Democrat Congressman Daniel Jones of New York was concerned

about the lack of population in the northern portion of Oregon Territory

he moved to Table (delay) passage of the Bill

Lane next emphasized that the regions on both sides of the Columbia River

were essentially the same -- heavily forested with abundant good soil for farming

both areas, he said, would make fine states

Lane noted Congress had invited people to move west when the donation land claim law passed

now Congress had an obligation to provide adequate government

for those who were responding to the invitation

When Joe Lane's speech ended, a new issue was injected into the proceedings

Democrat Congressman Richard H. Stanton of Kentucky rose and argued the proposed name,

“Territory of Columbia” might be confused for the District of Columbia

Stanton suggested rather that President George Washington should be honored

suddenly the question was not whether the new territory should be created,

but by what name it should be called

Lane, perhaps sensing that this would give his colleagues a new reason to vote for his bill

by honoring the first president said, without hesitation, **“I shall never object to that name.”**

Congressman Daniel Jones persisted in his effort to get a vote on his motion to Table the bill,

but he was interrupted by Whig Representative Edward Stanly of North Carolina

who made a short speech favoring the name Washington: **“There is something very appropriate about it. And it is a little singular that this same idea should have occurred to others at the same time.”**

Congress was never told that his was contrary to the wishes of the people involved

who emphatically expressed many times their desire to be known as “Columbia Territory”

Consideration of House Resolution 348 to create a new territory was put aside

while the House of Representatives took up debate on a bill to create the territory of Nebraska

After the debate on Nebraska, Whig Representative Alexander Evans of Maryland made an attempt to restore the name “Columbia” to the Washington Bill he agreed that no one would object to honoring George Washington but, he said, **“our geographical nomenclature has become such a mass of confusion that it is almost impossible, when you hear the name of a town, to know in what part of the world it is, much less to know in what part of the United States it may be found. We have perhaps in this country one hundred counties and towns of the name of Washington.”**

Congressman Evans suggested giving northern Oregon **“one of the beautiful Indian names which prevail in that part of the country.”**

Congressman Edward Stanley, perhaps reconsidering in position on the name Washington had only moments before made the same suggestion to his seatmate he noted it **“might lead to trouble”** if the territory also had a city by the same name **“Washington, Washington”** would not be appropriate

But it was too late -- Washington had already been substituted for Columbia throughout the bill

#### OREGON TERRITORIAL DELEGATE JOE LANE REPLIES TO THE MONTICELLO MEMORIAL

Oregon Delegate to Congress Joe Lane acknowledged receipt of the [1852] Monticello Memorial in a letter dated January 31, 1853

Lane noted he had already introduced a resolution calling for the creation of Columbia Territory that had been placed on the calendar of the U.S. House of Representatives for consideration

#### SETTLEMENTS IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY GROW IN SIZE AND NUMBER

Seattle began to attract settlers

Bishop Modeste Demers held first the Catholic religious service in Seattle in cook house at Henry Yesler’s Mill

Rev. David E. Blaine preached to a group of Methodists in a cabin at Alki Point his bride, Catherine Paine Blaine, had attended the meeting in Seneca Falls, New York to declare women’s independence [July 1848]

(as an eighteen-year-old she had signed a document that called on the U.S. Government to give women “all the rights and privileges” that white American men enjoyed)

Arthur Denny and Carson D. Boren filed a plat map for Seattle that same evening, Doc Maynard filed his own plat

Thomas Mercer brought the first wagon to Puget Sound along with Dexter Horton, Edward and Seymour Hanford

Whidbey Island received its first doctor -- Dr. J.S. Kellogg became known as “canoe doctor”

Spokane Falls saw its first potential settler, Antoine Plante (sometimes Plant) -- 1853

French-Canadian Metis had built a cabin and operated a ferry above the falls soon four stockmen, two Americans and two British subjects, arrived driving several hundred head of cattle to pasture in the long, green valley

Olympia was the largest village in Washington Territory

thus it was the clear choice to become the territorial capitol

it also was the most influential political center of Washington Territory

U.S. Congress established the Customs District of Puget Sound for Washington Territory

there was a brisk sea trade and a Customs Revenue Office was established first in Olympia  
(and then in Port Townsend)

Colonel Isaac N. Ebey became the United States Collector of Customs in Olympia

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ESTABLISHES A SEA-GOING STEAMBOAT FLEET

Hudson's Bay Company's *Beaver* had been the first steamboat to reach the Pacific Northwest [1836]  
(she continued to steam up and down the West coast under various owners [until 1888]  
when she was wrecked on rocks near Vancouver, British Columbia)

*Otter* was the second steamboat owned by Hudson's Bay Company

she was an up-to-date 220-ton steam-propelled ship that operated from 1853

Arthur Denny **reminded "In early times we occasionally saw the Hudson Bay steamers,  
*Beaver* and *Otter* passing to and from the station at Nisqually..."**<sup>29</sup>

#### U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES PASSES THE BILL CREATING WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Region north of the Columbia was home to approximately 4,000 white inhabitants

fifty percent of these lived in the Puget Sound area

House Resolution 348, amended to substitute the name "Washington" for Columbia

in addition the eastern boundary was extended from the Columbia River to the Rocky Mountains  
tripling the size of the territory to 100,000 square miles

House Resolution 348 passed in the United States House of Representatives

by a vote of 128 YEA to 29 NO with 74 not voting -- midnight, February 10, 1853

#### PROVISIONS OF THE WASHINGTON ORGANIC ACT

Organic Act along with its amendments served as the Washington Territorial Constitution

Section One: established the boundary for Washington below 49° north

Western boundary was the Pacific Ocean

Eastern boundary followed the summit of the Rocky Mountains north to the Canadian border,

Southern boundary was along mid-channel of the Columbia River from the mouth to intersection  
where forty-six degrees crossed the river near Fort Walla Walla (today's Wallula, Washington)  
thence eastward along forty-six degrees due East to the summit of the Rockies,

Washington Territory would be twice as much territory as was bargained for

it included all of Washington, much of present-day Idaho and Montana west of the Rockies  
and the northwest corner of Wyoming

this was a huge amount of land -- so large it was difficult to administer

Section Two: listed duties of the executive officer

Territorial Governor was to serve a four-year term and must reside within the territory

as Commander of territorial militia, he was to see that all laws were carried out

further he had the power to grant pardons and commission all militia officers

he was also to serve as Superintendent of Indian Affairs

Section Three: listed the duties of the Territorial Secretary

he was charged with recording all proceedings of Legislative Assembly

---

<sup>29</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 204.

and send a copy of all laws passed in the Territory to the President  
if the Governor was absent from the territory, the Secretary was to serve until his return

Section Four: defined the Legislative Assembly

Territorial legislature was composed of two bodies:

- Council (Senate) made up of nine members who served for three years  
one-third of that body to be elected every year,
- House of Representatives composed of eighteen members who served for one year

Section Five: listed qualifications of the voters in the new territory

white males at least twenty-one years of age

who resided in the territory and were U.S. citizens could vote

however, the territorial legislative assembly of the territory could alter those requirements  
for future elections

no military man could vote until he lived in the territory for six months

no military man could hold elective office

Section Six: required all laws passed by the Legislative Assembly

must be submitted to Congress for approval

if Congress disapproved, the territorial law was null and void

citizens could not be accused of a crime if the conduct was legal in the United States

no coining of money or banking was allowed

all taxes must be equal and uniformly applied

Section Seven: established Townships of thirty-six sections of land and Counties

it further stated all county officials must be elected

seven counties had been created north the Columbia River by the Oregon Territorial legislature  
to administer laws and give limited self-government to the people:

- Clarke -- [June 184]) in honor of William Clark; County Seat: Vancouver,
- Lewis -- [December 1845] for Meriwether Lewis; County Seat: Chehalis,
- Pacific -- [February 1851] for the ocean; County Seat: Pacific City,
- Thurston -- [January 1852] for Territorial Delegate Samuel R. Thurston;  
County Seat: Olympia,
- Jefferson -- [December 1852] for Thomas Jefferson; County Seat: Port Townsend,
- King -- [December 1852] for Vice President William R. King; County Seat: Seattle,
- Pierce -- [December 1852] in honor of President Franklin Pierce; County Seat: Tacoma

Section Eight: limited the power of the Legislative Assembly

it was illegal to improve an office (in salary or power) in the Legislature and then acquire that job

Section Nine: established the Court system

three Judicial Districts were placed under the jurisdiction of the Chief Justice

and two Associate Justices

Washington Territory First Judicial District was composed of Eastern Washington  
Justice Obadiah B. McFadden presided

Washington Territory Second Judicial District was south of the Thurston County line  
Chief Justice Edward Lander presided

Washington Territory Third Judicial District was north of the Thurston County line  
Justice Francis Chenoweth presided

two or three justices meeting together made up the Territorial Supreme Court  
Justices of the Peace were established to deal with property losses of less than \$100  
any decision of the courts could be appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court

Section Ten: created the office of Peace Officers

Attorney General was to serve a four year term

U.S. Marshall also served a four year term

Section Eleven: required the offices of Governor, Secretary, Chief Justice, Associate Justices,  
Attorney General and United States Marshall was to be filled by the President of the United States  
with the approval of Congress

all other officials must be elected within the territory

legislators were to receive a salary of \$3.00 a day when in session

plus \$3.00 for every twenty miles they traveled to reach the territorial capitol

Section Twelve through Section Twenty-one outlined various other laws:

- Twelve: all existing laws remained in force if they were acceptable to Congress
- Thirteen: Territorial Governor to name time and place of the first Legislative Assembly
- Fourteen: county officials must be elected from within the Territory
- Fifteen: Territorial Representative to Congress must be a U.S. citizen
- Sixteen: current officials remained in office until an election could be held
- Seventeen: fund of \$1500 was established for Territorial Capitol Library
- Eighteen: Territorial Governor was to define the original Judicial Districts
- Nineteen: all territorial officers must give some type of security  
for money received from Territorial Treasury except for salaries
- Twenty: in each Township, land sections sixteen and thirty-six  
were to be set aside for sale by the public schools
- Twenty-one: Washington and Oregon were to share jurisdiction  
for crimes committed on the Columbia River

## NEW CALEDONIA (BRITISH COLUMBIA) GOVERNMENT UNDERGOES ANOTHER CHANGE

Royal Charter establishing the Royal Colony of Vancouver Island

specified that Hudson's Bay Company must form a colony of British subjects  
who should be encouraged to immigrate by the sale of land at reasonable prices  
ninety percent of the money generated from land sales and mining royalties  
was to be used for further improvement and colonization

remaining ten percent was to be retained by the Company to cover costs of administration  
in fact, the British government's land ownership terms were so burdensome  
that English immigrants had little reason to risk the long trip around Cape Horn

When Governor James Douglas was eventually ordered by the British ministry  
to institute an elected assembly

members of his hand-picked council set property requirements to vote  
so high that only forty men qualified

when a new seven-man assembly was put into place

they were given access only to funds generated by the sale of liquor licenses

all other revenues (from land sales and from the newly discovered coal mines at Nanaimo)

were collected by Hudson's Bay Company  
Seven-man assembly became curious about these administrative expenses  
Douglas withheld his books which he was entitled to do under the wording of the grant  
and there were few independent settlers around to protest James Douglas's autocracy  
In his own eyes at least, British Governor James Douglas, The Black Scot,  
had reasons for looking askance at the workings of democracy:

- Oregon officials, bursting with the new self-importance, seized and sold for trespass a valuable British ship simply because its crew cut a few timbers from the unbroken forest beside Juan de Fuca Strait;
- company steamer *Beaver*, with another ship in tow, was likewise confiscated for landing a single passenger at Nisqually before reporting to the port of entry at Olympia; according to one set of statistics, Hudson's Bay Company had protested fifty cases of illegal squatting on its lands by 1853 in each case United States courts awarded the company twenty thousand dollars in damages; but other violations were unpunished -- especially regarding Puget Sound Agricultural Company land near Nisqually and Cowlitz

These hostile acts toward Hudson's Bay Company were considered fair by Americans having been issued no land claims by the United States Government  
Hudson's Bay Company paid no taxes to the Territorial Government  
also, Hudson's Bay Company occupied the choice prairie sections of a heavily timbered region most irritating of all the French-Canadian retired employees who worked farms for the company were suspected, rightly or wrongly, of being secretly in league with the Indians

#### MULE-POWERED TRANWAY IS BUILT AROUND WILLAMETTE FALLS

Oregon City Portage Railroad was built on the Willamette River  
between Oregon City and Chemo -- 1853  
it was operated by D.P. Thompson, A.L. Lovejoy, W.E. Decent and J.D. Decent  
tram cars were pulled by mules over wooden rails to transport river freight around Willamette Falls

#### EVEN THE *COLUMBIAN* HAS SOME DOUBTS ABOUT BECOMING A TERRITORY

Olympia's newspaper admitted discouragement regarding the outcome for creating a new territory  
it said in its March 2, 1853 issue: "**Even the most active and enthusiastic supporter of these movements** [perhaps referring to the editor himself] **did not think that either of the memorials would have the desired effect on Congress.**"

#### WASHINGTON ORGANIC ACT BECOMES LAW

House Bill to create Washington Territory was introduced into the Senate -- March 2, 1853  
senators quickly approved the Washington Organic Act with no debate  
as one senator explained

**"It is one of the old-fashioned territorial bills and so needed no discussion."**<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> John McClelland, Jr., *Prelude to War, COLUMBIA: Summer 1988*; Vol. 2, No.2  
<http://www.washingtonhistoryonline>.

While there no debate over the name of the territory in the U.S. Senate pointed editorials continued in eastern newspapers -- most opposed to the name Whig President Millard Fillmore signed the Washington Organic Act the same day two days before his term of office ended

#### CONGRESS APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR THE NEW TERRITORY

Congress as provided by the Organic Code granted \$1,500 for the establishment of Washington Territory's Library located in Olympia it housed the first public collection in the Organic Code Congress also appropriated \$5,000 for purchase of books with the money more than 2,000 volumes were purchased by the first governor made up mostly of law and reference books for use by governmental officials and of reports of government departments in addition \$50 a year was provided to expand the library little progress was made over the next thirty-six years not much could be done with so few dollars Congress appropriated \$20,000 for road construction one route was to be a

**“military road from Walla-Walla to Steilacomb [Steilacoom], Puget Sound”**

(settlers displaying more enthusiasm than engineering skill set out with what tools they had to construct a “citizen’s road” across Naches Pass -- reality overwhelmed them)

#### ARMY APPROPRIATION ACT AUTHORIZES A TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD SURVEY

Congress responded to the demands to discover the most practical railroad route across the continent Army Appropriation Act passed Congress and was signed into law -- March 3, 1853

Congress appropriated \$150,000 and authorized Secretary of War Jefferson Davis **“to Ascertain the Most Practical and Economical Route for a Railroad From the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean.”**<sup>31</sup>

Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, disregarding the fact he had a vested interest in the South, was to direct the surveys -- a large measure of discretion was provided him

Secretary Davis was instructed to provide Congress detailed reports of all of the routes being considered for the Pacific Railroad within ten months final selection was to be made by Secretary Jefferson Davis

Secretary of War Davis mobilized the Corps of Topographical Engineers to carry out the project although the government surveying service was amply equipped it was an impossible task

#### RAILROAD ROUTES ARE IDENTIFIED FOR EXPLORATION

Four possible Western routes were to be examined:

- southerly survey which closely followed the California Trail along the 32<sup>nd</sup> parallel was conducted by Lieutenant John G. Parke and Lieutenant Robert S. Williamson

---

<sup>31</sup> Journal of the Franklin Institute, Volume 32; Volume 62, 1856.

from California along the Gila River to the Pima villages and the Rio Grande River  
Captain John Pope mapped the eastern portion of the route to the Red River  
thus the Southern Route traveled from the Colorado River to San Francisco Bay  
this route, advocated by Southern interests, (was later used by Union Pacific Railroad)

•two central routes were traced:

-Captain Amiel W. Whipple and Lieutenant Joseph Christmas Ives surveyed the route  
along the 35<sup>th</sup> parallel westward from Albuquerque to southern California  
this line was favored by Secretary of War Jefferson Davis

-another central survey effort was the ill-fated party under Captain John W. Gunnison  
who explored the route between the 38<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> parallels, or the Cochetopoa Pass route,  
this was advocated by Missouri Senator Thomas Hart Benton  
after Gunnison's death at the hands of hostile Indians, Lieutenant Edward G. Beckwith  
continued the survey along the 41<sup>st</sup> parallel (South Pass Route)

•northern survey route ran from near the head of Missouri River between 47° N and 49° N  
from Lake Superior to Puget Sound -- (across Montana, upper Idaho and central Washington)  
through the Cascade Mountains directly into the new Washington Territory  
this route closely approximated that proposed by businessman Asa Whitney  
three principal towns on Puget Sound competed for the western terminus:

Olympia, Steilacoom (the first incorporated town in Washington Territory) and Seattle

Fifth survey, following a north-south orientation, also was conducted

under the direction of Lieutenant Robert S. Williamson and Henry L. Abbot

they surveyed from Redding, California north by way of Pit River Pass into Oregon Territory  
they performed topographical surveys to locate passes through the Sierra Nevada Mountains  
and the Coast Range in California in order to determine a route that would connect  
California, Oregon and Washington

(this became the route of Oregon and California Railroad and even later the Southern Pacific)

Colonel John J. Abert and his Army Corps of Topographical Engineers

immediately fielded survey parties

#### PRESIDENT MILLARD FILLMORE IS REPLACED BY PRESIDENT FRANKLIN PIERCE

Two days after signing the Organic Act creating Washington Territory

President Fillmore's term of office expired

His successor, Democrat President Franklin Pierce was inaugurated -- March 4, 1853

#### OLYMPIA'S NEWSPAPER THE *COLUMBIAN* BECOMES WELL READ

*Columbian* had a circulation of 350 within six months of its first edition being printed -- March 1853

readership spread over a wide area, with agents in Monticello, Whidbey's Island, Port Townsend,

Steilacoom, Nisqually, Cowlitz Farms, Chlickeeles (Chehalis), New York (Alki),

New Dungeness, Oregon City, Jackson's Prairie, Poe's Point and Washington City

this last listing showed the *Columbian* had readers from its outset in the national capital

#### JOE LANE RESPONDS TO THE MONTICELLO CONVENTION MEMORIAL

Pioneers in Oregon Territory received a reply from Delegate to Congress Joe Lane -- March 7, 1853

he wrote to his constituents that he had received the Monticello Convention Memorial and a bill to create a new territory was under consideration in the U.S. House of Representatives. Pioneers, especially north of the Columbia River, felt their spirits buoyed but they now had nothing left to do except wonder if Congress had acted on their request.

#### PRESIDENT FRANKLIN PIERCE APPOINTS WASHINGTON TERRITORY OFFICIALS

Incoming President Franklin Pierce named his officials -- March 17, 1853

all terms in the administration of Washington Territory were for four years

- Governor: Isaac Ingalls Stevens was described as a "Human dynamo" by historian Edmond Meany
- Chief Justice Edward Lander was a dignified and polished New England man  
he was educated in Massachusetts before moving to Indiana  
where he served as prosecuting attorney
- Associate Justice John R. Miller who declined the position  
Obadiah (O.B.) McFadden had been appointed by Franklin Pierce  
to the Oregon Territory court as an Associate Justice  
he was reassigned to Washington Territory when John Miller did not accept
- Associate Justice Victor Monroe was a Democrat from Kentucky  
(he died in Olympia [September 15, 1856] -- his family never had an opportunity to join him)
- Territorial Secretary Charles H. Mason was a young man from Rhode Island  
he graduated with honors from Brown University [1850]  
he was recommended for the bar shortly after
- Attorney General was J.S. Clendenin from Louisiana
- U.S. Marshall Democrat J. Patton Anderson was educated as an attorney and a doctor  
when he entered politics he served in the Mississippi House of Representatives  
where he became a strong supporter of Mississippi U.S. Senator Jefferson Davis and slavery  
(Jefferson Davis was later president of the Confederate States of America)  
when J. Patton Anderson lost his seat in the Mississippi legislature he wrote to Jefferson Davis  
and received an invitation to travel to Washington City  
visiting the city at the same time was Anderson's uncle John Adair  
who served as Customs Inspector at Astoria, Oregon  
by coincidence the bill to organize Washington Territory was signed into law  
through the work of his uncle Anderson received the U.S. Marshall appointment  
in preparation for the journey to Washington Territory, thirty-one year old J. Patton Anderson  
married his eighteen year old cousin Henrietta Buford Adair  
one week later they left from New Orleans for Washington Territory by way of Nicaragua

#### ISAAC INGALLS STEVENS BECOMES THE FIRST WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR

Born [March 25, 1818] in Andover, Massachusetts the third child of Isaac and Hannah Stevens

he grew up at Lake Cochichewik, Massachusetts

where his family had lived north of Boston since [1638]

Isaac Stevens' early life with his hard driving and unyielding Puritan family was demanding

he learned the value of hard work in the sternest most unsympathetic way possible

through heavy farm chores from his earliest youth

laboring on the family farm he was felled by a heatstroke and nearly died  
Success was a prime concern to his family and his father always pushed him to be better  
at age ten he was sent to a state school where his strongest subject was mathematics  
he displayed skills which astonished his teachers and his family  
he stayed for a year before he rebelled at the strenuous mental effort  
he left school to work at his uncle's woolen mill -- ten to twelve hours a day  
after a year he returned, with all of his wages, to his father's farm  
there his father took the money ignoring even the plea for a penny to buy ginger bread  
At age twelve he ruptured himself pitching hay and for the rest of his life he wore a truss  
which did not prevent spells of excruciating pain  
At age seventeen Isaac Stevens was accepted to West Point Military Academy [1835]  
Isaac was not over 5 feet 3 inches tall  
he had wide-set, brown eyes surrounded by an over-large head  
once again the hard-driven, unyielding young man excelled  
he graduated as a Lieutenant of Engineers -- number one in his class [1839]  
After West Point he served as a construction engineer on a string of coastal fortifications  
he was a man of great courage, he was intelligent, eloquent, energetic, ambitious and impatient  
he possessed a great ability for getting things done  
Stevens married a socially prominent Rhode Island woman -- Margaret Lyman Hazard [1841]  
four daughters and a son were born -- one daughter died in infancy at Buckport, Maine  
as her father labored on a Pacific coast fort  
Isaac Stevens had Mexican War experience -- [1846-1848]  
being a skilled engineer kept him near the heat of battle at the American front  
on last day of the war he was wounded by a shot in the foot  
which never healed properly and for years he had to wear a special shoe  
occasionally the raw scar would fester and expel fragments of bone  
After the war, Stevens held several positions for the engineering corps  
he was assigned to supervise construction of Fort Knox, Kentucky [1844]  
next he moved to Washington City to be the assistant-in-charge of the U.S. Coast Survey [1849]  
under survey director Alexander Bache, one of the renowned scientists of the day  
Stevens ran the U.S. Coast Survey Washington office of the survey from [1849] to 1853  
he reorganized the office into eight divisions, increased staff, improved efficiency  
and served as the liaison for the survey, Congress and the public  
Becoming frustrated with his prospects for advancement in the army during peacetime,  
Isaac Stevens decided to seek his future in politics and the West  
over the objections of the Secretary of War Whig Charles Conrad  
he campaigned for Democratic presidential nominee Franklin Pierce [1852]  
although he had served on the staff of the opposing candidate -- General Winfield Scott  
and in spite of a reprimand from the War Department  
his involvement with Pierce's campaign stemmed from his beliefs as a pro-slavery Democrat  
Isaac wrote a series of letters to the *Boston Post* and a pamphlet defending Pierce's war record  
he also stumped for Pierce during the final weeks of the campaign  
After a Pierce landslide victory,

Stevens won an appointment to be Governor of Washington Territory at age 35 -- March 17, 1853  
a post that also carried the title of Superintendent of Indian Affairs

Stevens and his new territory shared two characteristics

neither ever suffered from modesty or from a lack of ambition

Governor Isaac Stevens' family followed him to Washington Territory

his son, Hazard Stevens, often shared in the life and adventures of his father

(Major Isaac Ingalls Stevens died leading his troops the Civil War Battle of Chantilly

Hazard Steven would fall wounded in the same battle [September 1, 1862])

#### TRAVELING SHOWS ARE ENJOYED IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

"General Jack Rag" was a vocalist and actor who gave a grand performance

in the Olympia House -- the town's only hotel -- March 19, 1853

his show, called *Grecian Statues* consisted mostly of tableaux scenes on stage

where actors remained silent and motionless as if in a picture

Other shows followed

Professor Yankee Plummer gave dramatic readings and comic selections in Seattle at Yesler's Hall

he also held forth in Walla Walla and several other towns

"Dude" Vivian provided good entertainment and made the Northwest men more clothes-conscious

(Charles Vivian, an impersonator and a very handsome man, appeared a few years later

and created a sensation when he **"strolled out of the hotel in patent leather shoes, lavender**

**trousers, black velvet sack coat, white vest and grey crush hat and exceptional linen and underwear."**<sup>32</sup>

#### MRS. PHOEBE JUDSON DESCRIBES SETTLING A NEW HOME ON PUGET SOUND

Scene around Lynden was described by Mrs. Phoebe Judson in her autobiography -- 1853

as soon as she and her husband arrived: **"Mr. Judson began at once to fell the fir trees and hew them to build our habitation, the dimensions of which were sixteen by eighteen [feet], surmounted by the shake roof, and the floors of the style called puncheon [broad rough-hewn boards]. The shakes, puncheon, doors, bedstead, table and stools were made from lumber split from a green cedar tree.**

**"The fireplace he built of blue clay that was hauled from some distance, mixed with sand, and then pounded into a frame model. When it became dry he burned the frame, which left the walls standing solid.**

**"An old gun barrel, the end embedded in either jamb, answered for a crane to attach the hooks to hang the pots and kettles. The chimney, built of sticks and mortar, ran up the outside of the house.**

**"When the crevices were chinked with moss we moved into our rudely built cabin, with scarcely an article to make it look attractive or homelike. Holes were sawed through the walls for windows, and over them I tacked white muslin to keep out the cold and let in the light..."<sup>33</sup>**

**"Mr. Judson put up a few three-cornered shelves in the chimney corner, on which I arranged my china and glassware, which consisted of three stone china plates, as many cups and saucers, and one glass tumbler that my thoughtful husband brought to me as we were about starting over the plains,**

---

<sup>32</sup> Works Projects Administration, *The New Washington: A Guide to the Evergreen State*, P. 143.

<sup>33</sup> Phoebe Goodell Judson, *A Pioneer's Search for an Ideal Home: A Book of Personal Memoirs*, P. 86-87.

thinking a tin cup would be distasteful to me.... Many a time on those hot, dusty deserts I would have been thankful to have drank from an old shoe for the sake of a draught of good water; and as a tin cup served me on all occasions, I put a cactus bulb into my glass, brought it through, and was that much ahead of my neighbors.

“These articles, with our camping outfit of camp kettles, long-handled frying pay, and Dutch oven, comprised all our household effects, with the exception of a broom that I forgot to mention.”<sup>34</sup>

“Our provisions were all shipped around Cape Horn, requiring six months’ time from New York to Puget Sound; consequently flour was twenty dollars a barrel--groceries and dried fruits in proportion, and as we were, like nearly other emigrants, called ‘strapped,’ when their money is gone, we possibly might have starved had not my father and nature generously provided.”<sup>35</sup>

“Capturing deer became a frequent occurrence, and had bread come as spontaneously to us we would have fared sumptuously; but as it was not rained down from heaven, some of the emigrants were obliged to go hungry for the ‘staff of life.’

“In those days anyone residing within twenty miles was considered a neighbor; and we soon became united in love and sympathy, for it was not riches, splendor, fame or glory we were seeking, but peace and contentment, while each was bearing the privations incident to a pioneer’s life, and doing his part in helping to develop a new country. Our wants and cares were few, for our simple style of living correspond with the primitive environments of the territory.”<sup>36</sup>

“The little town of Olympia, at the head of Puget Sound, was the only one in the territory, and from this little trading post all the pioneers a half a century ago transported their supplies to all the settled portions of the territory by the tedious and laborious process of plodding after a yoke of oxen, or paddling an Indian canoe.

“A more rapid mode of transit was on the back of a “kiuse” [cayuse]. These ponies were surefooted, making their way through the Indian trails, walking foot longs across soughs and small streams without stumbling. A gallop over the prairie on the back of a pony was as easy and enjoyable as swinging in a hammock, or riding the bicycle in modern times.”<sup>37</sup>

“We were comfortable all winter without glass in the windows, and when gathered around our fire bark fires in the large clay fireplace, with our children, our cabin was bright and cheerful.

“Our library consisted of the Bible and Webster’s dictionary--the only two books we felt we could not do without, and to make sure of them we brought them all the way across the plains.

“The Bible...was a very heavy, illustrated book, and had it not been the Bible, to lighten the load of our poor, jaded cattle I would have discarded it way back on the plains with my little rocking chair and truck, both of which I missed so much.

“During the long winter evenings, for amusement, as well as to be useful, I put out words from it [the dictionary] by the firelight for Mr. Judson to spell...”<sup>38</sup>

“The news of great events that transpired on the other side of the world were not known to us for from six to eight weeks after they had transpired.

---

<sup>34</sup> Phoebe Goodell Judson, *A Pioneer’s Search for an Ideal Home: A Book of Personal Memoirs*, P. 87.

<sup>35</sup> Phoebe Goodell Judson, *A Pioneer’s Search for an Ideal Home: A Book of Personal Memoirs*, P. 89.

<sup>36</sup> Phoebe Goodell Judson, *A Pioneer’s Search for an Ideal Home: A Book of Personal Memoirs*, P. 91.

<sup>37</sup> Phoebe Goodell Judson, *A Pioneer’s Search for an Ideal Home: A Book of Personal Memoirs*, P. 91-92.

<sup>38</sup> Phoebe Goodell Judson, *A Pioneer’s Search for an Ideal Home: A Book of Personal Memoirs*, P. 95.

**“Our eastern mail came by way of the Isthmus of Panama, and, later on, over the mountains by Ben Holladay’s pony express--it frequently requiring three months to get returns from our letters.”<sup>39</sup>**

**“It was owing to the scarcely settled condition of the country that so little was accomplished by the early settlers in developing its many rich resources.**

**“The few pioneers were kept busy hewing down the monarchs of the forests, as they carved out their homes in the wilderness; or, what was more difficult, striving to support their families from the gravelly prairies that lay adjacent to the Sound, before they had been fertilized.**

**“Many thousands of acres of rich bottom land, through which meandered beautiful brooks and rivers, sending abroad through the land their life giving branches, as well as many isolated vales, among the hills, were favorable locations, but lay dormant because they were so inaccessible; neither were they safe for a home lying so remote from settlements.”<sup>40</sup>**

**“We longed for spring, that we might make a garden, having been so long without vegetables or fresh fruit.**

**“Mr. Judson split out a fine lot of fir and cedar rails and fenced off a goodly portion of our preemption right of three hundred and twenty acres of land [given by the Federal government to the settlers] for a garden and orchard.”<sup>41</sup>**

**“The fencing for the garden and orchard being finished, it was necessary for Mr. Judson to hasten off to Oregon for his cattle...”<sup>42</sup>**

Mr. Judson having returned with his cattle, the writer continues: **“Our earthly possessions now consisted of one yoke of oxen, wagon, cow and calf, and a squatters’ right to three hundred and twenty acres of wild land enriched with an unlimited supply of gravel--and we began to consider ourselves quite “plutocratic” [nicely fixed].”<sup>43</sup>**

The garden did not do well, which was a **“great disappointment to us, more especially as we were expecting our friends from the east in the fall. However, we were far from starvation, for game was plentiful, although I remember when a kind neighbor who had raised a good garden in the creek bottom gave me a few potatoes, I bedewed them with tears of joy as I carried them home in my apron.**

**“Another kind friend gave me a fine ‘dominic’ hen and rooster, and I raised a beautiful brood of ‘yellow-legged dominics.’ I was very proud of my fancy poultry.**

**“Eggs at that time were worth one dollar a dozen, and had the gravel on our place been turned into grain we would have, in a short time, made our fortune.”<sup>44</sup>**

**“We had been settled in our home but a short time, when one day the little old Indian chief surprised us by appearing before our door with his dogs...and [his wives]. [He] set them to building their wigwam close by the spring--claiming the land as his ‘illihee.’**

**“We were much perplexed, but, after talking the matter over, concluded that it was no more than justice that they should be allowed to build their homes wherever they pleased, and we would not interfere with them.**

---

<sup>39</sup> Phoebe Goodell Judson, *A Pioneer’s Search for an Ideal Home: A Book of Personal Memoirs*, P. 96.

<sup>40</sup> Phoebe Goodell Judson, *A Pioneer’s Search for an Ideal Home: A Book of Personal Memoirs*, P. 97.

<sup>41</sup> Phoebe Goodell Judson, *A Pioneer’s Search for an Ideal Home: A Book of Personal Memoirs*, P. 98.

<sup>42</sup> Phoebe Goodell Judson, *A Pioneer’s Search for an Ideal Home: A Book of Personal Memoirs*, P. 99.

<sup>43</sup> Phoebe Goodell Judson, *A Pioneer’s Search for an Ideal Home: A Book of Personal Memoirs*, P. 103-104.

<sup>44</sup> Phoebe Goodell Judson, *A Pioneer’s Search for an Ideal Home: A Book of Personal Memoirs*, P. 105-106.

**“How could they realize they were trespassing on our rights, when no doubt this spring [beside the Judson’s cabin] had been one of their favorite camping places and hunting grounds, as well as that of their forefathers for generations.**

**“The earth with its haunts, and trails, had been as free for them to roam, hunt and fish as the air they breathed, and we, in reality, were the interlopers.**

**“Mr. Judson, however, prevailed upon them to build their lodges below, instead of above, the spring.”<sup>45</sup>**

#### BLACK PIONEER GEORGE WASHINGTON IS FORCED TO SELL HIS CLAIM

George Washington’s livelihood was threatened by two white speculators who were his guests they filed a claim and included Washington’s prime land at Corban’s Landing as their own George’s foster parents James and Anna Cochran came to his aid since they had not yet claimed land in their own names, they hurried to Oregon City and claimed 640 acres along the Skookumchuck River Cochran’s claim included Washington’s twelve acres which he sold to them for \$200 once the Cochran family had lived on their claim for four years they could sell it back to their foster son while the Cochran’s held the claim George Washington did the farming

#### SAINTE MARIE DE WILLAMETTE ACADEMY IN ST. PAUL, OREGON CLOSSES

Sainte Marie de Willamette Academy was founded by six Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur as a girl’s school at St. Paul, Oregon [1844] written records show that the site where the Sisters lived served a dual function as a religious and educational facility and as a homestead Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur ran the academy for nine years before leaving the Willamette Valley and moving their school to San Jose, California where it opened as Notre Dame High School -- 1853 (Sainte Marie de Willamette Academy remained vacant for eight years until it was taken over by the Sisters of the Holy Names [1861])

#### VIOLENCE AGAIN ERRUPTS IN SOUTHERN OREGON

Settlers and miners of the Rogue River Valley were sadly deficient in arms and ammunition many having traded their arms to the Indians who were much better equipped for war than their white neighbors rifles and revolvers had displaced the bow and arrow and the war club for the Indians Rogue River sub-chief called Taylor by the whites was especially hated -- spring 1853 he roamed the country around about Grave Creek, a northern tributary of Rogue River, he killed seven whites during a winter storm and reported them drowned he committed other violent acts on small parties passing over the local road it was believed that white women were being held as prisoners among the Indians near Table Rock fueled by vague reports of the captivity of two white girls near Klamath Lake

---

<sup>45</sup> Phoebe Goodell Judson, *A Pioneer’s Search for an Ideal Home: A Book of Personal Memoirs*, P. 107-108.

## OREGON LEARNS OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES VOTES A NEW TERRITORY

News the U.S. House of Representatives had passed the Organic Act reached Olympia -- early April  
size of the favorable vote, 128 to 29, made the Olympia *Columbian* confident  
the bill would soon receive U.S. Senate approval

*Columbia's* publisher stated: **“No longer in the hands of go-betweens, we have become ... ‘a people’ within ourselves”**

commenting on the name change from “Columbia” to “Washington” Territory the paper noted:  
**“Although Washington is not the name with which we prayed that our infant might be christened, yet it is certainly a very beautiful one. Nevertheless this novelty has met with some distaste among many of our citizens, whilst with others it met with enthusiastic applause. It will be remembered that our Memorial prayed for the name ‘Columbia’ -- this the House refused to grant us. Be it so. Even if the name ‘Columbia’ had our preferences, we would not cavil (quibble) at a name when principles are at stake. It is a mere difference in taste, and the people of northern Oregon are not sticklers for trifles.”<sup>46</sup>**

## CAMP DRUM BECOMES FORT DALLES

Name of Fort Drum [established 1850] was changed to Fort Dalles  
by Commanding officer Brevet-Major Benjamin Alvord -- April 1853  
this became possible because the U.S. government changed the size requirement for a fort  
from a ten-mile-square (ten miles by ten by ten by ten) area to a one-mile-square area  
Major Alvord created a one square mile military reservation  
he wanted to ensure the fort was entitled to at least a full mile square  
even though the post had never been surrounded by a stockade or fortified  
New buildings were designed for the fort by Louis Scholl  
under the direction of Captain Thomas Jordan  
Availability of riverfront land allowed for civilian development of the town of The Dales  
which began to expand

## NORTHERN ROUTE OF THE TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD SURVEY IS ORGANIZED

Not content with being Washington Territorial Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs,  
Isaac Stevens also lobbied for the job of organizing and leading a government survey party  
to explore the northern route for a proposed wagon and transcontinental railroad  
this was to be a military route used by the army to quell potential Indian problems  
and also as a path for pioneers to follow into the west

Newly-commissioned Governor of Washington Territory Isaac Ingalls Stevens  
was assigned by Secretary of War Jefferson Davis to survey a Northern route -- April 8, 1853  
this was to be suitable for building transcontinental railroad, telegraph line and a wagon road  
from the Missouri River to the Columbia River and Puget Sound  
under Congressional authority an expedition made up of engineers and explorers

---

<sup>46</sup> *The Literary World*, Volume 13, P. 109.

led by Washington Territory Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs Isaac Stevens was organized near St. Paul, Minnesota  
Stevens commanded the largest and most elaborate of the survey expeditions  
Congress appropriated \$40,000 for the northern survey  
123 men, many of them U.S. Army Topographical Engineers, were to carry out the task  
Stevens faced the most difficult tasks of any of the survey parties  
they were to detail the geographical and topographical character of the country  
much of the vast distance between St. Paul and Puget Sound had not been examined  
since Lewis and Clark had crossed the continent [1804-1806]  
there was a good probability of mountain passes receiving heavy snowfalls (in early autumn)  
which made speed essential  
Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens spent the next three months organizing the expedition

#### PLAN FOR THE NORTHERN SURVEY EXPEDITIONS

Governor Stevens, himself, would lead the Eastern Division of the Northern Survey expedition  
Stevens procured the appointment of twenty-seven-year-old Captain George Brinton McClellan to serve as his principal aide and lead the Western Division  
McClellan was known during the Mexican War as “Little Mac”  
he had struck Stevens as “**brave, intrepid, efficient, and devoted to duty**”<sup>47</sup>  
(Stevens would later revise this estimate downward)  
Captain McClellan was to do the actual surveying  
he would explore the Cascade Range to find a mountain pass  
where a telegraph line, wagon and railroad route could be constructed  
he was instructed to “**use every exertion**” to rush his work through to completion  
in time for the 1853 immigration (during the coming autumn)  
Lieutenant Rufus Saxton would be responsible for establishing a supply base  
he was ordered to assemble supplies at Columbia Barracks on the Columbia River  
and establish a depot in the Bitterroot Valley (in what is now western Montana)  
Another young soldier assigned to conduct surveys through the Rocky Mountains  
was twenty two year old Lieutenant John Mullan

#### LIEUTENANT JOHN MULLAN -- MILITARY ENGINEER ASSIGNED TO MCLELLAN'S UNIT

Among the U.S. Army Topographical Engineers was a small, dark-haired young lieutenant named John Mullan  
U.S. Army Engineer Mullan was just a year out of West Point  
he was anxious to prove his mettle as a military trained engineer  
he and the others in the assigned survey crew boarded boats  
which they took to Fort Benton (Montana) at the headwaters of the Missouri River  
Lieutenant Mullan's thoroughness and exacting nature assured the U.S. Army Topographical Engineers would succeed in their effort

---

<sup>47</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 289.

## CAPTAIN GEORGE B. McCLELLAN, U.S. ARMY ENGINEERS, SETS OUT TO DO HIS DUTY

To save time Governor Stevens dispatched U.S. Army Engineer Captain George B. McClellan several U.S. Army Topographical Engineer officers, two companies of the U.S. Fourth Infantry and thirty civilians directly to Columbia Barracks

where they were to begin their survey the northern Cascades  
for a wagon road, transcontinental railway and telegraph line

McClellan had ample assistance to carry out his assignment they journeyed by ship to the isthmus of Panama which they crossed then continued aboard the steamer *Columbia* to San Francisco before reaching Columbia Barracks

also on the *Columbia* were Customs Collector John Adair and his nephew U.S. Marshall J. Patton Anderson

In the meantime Governor Stevens explored across the Great Plains and through the Rocky Mountains McClellan was to meet Steven's Eastern Division between the Rocky Mountains and The Cascades

## JAMES LONGMIRE MAKES PREPARATIONS IN "ST. JO" TO TRAVEL THE OREGON TRAIL

St. Joseph, Missouri had been one of the marshaling points along the Missouri River for ten years there independent travelers and small clusters of pioneers gathered to join caravans large and small for the journey across the continent

James Longmire noted that while in St. Jo he **"bought eight yoke of oxen and a large quantity of supplies and proceeded in wagons along the river to Cainsville, now Council Bluffs, and camped. As it was yet too early to start on our long journey, the grass not grown sufficient to feed our oxen along the routes, we decided to remain for several weeks and make some preparations for another start. I bought a carriage and span of horses for \$250, which Mrs. Longmire and the children were to use as far as the road would permit. I also got a sheet-iron stove, which with utensils for cooking, only weighed twenty-five pounds, but which proved a real luxury, as we were thus able to have warm biscuits for breakfast whenever we chose, besides many other delicacies which we could not have by camp fires. For the stove, I paid \$12, though to us it proved almost invaluable. At Cainsville, I stood guard at night for the first time in my life, in company with [John] Van Ogle, who was also camped here, preparatory to going to Puget Sound. It was dark one evening when I finished the feeding of my cattle, so I could not see the person who spoke in a fine, childish voice, saying, 'Is there a man here by the name of Longmire?' I thought it must be a boy, judging by his voice, and told him that was my name, whereupon he introduced himself as John Lane. A man of whom I had often heard, but never had seen; a tall man, well-built, with a smooth, boyish face, and fine squeaking voice, much out of keeping with his great body. He invited me to his camp nearby, where I met his brother-in-law, Arthur Sargent, and his family. After some conversation, we made arrangements to continue our journey together. While here, we met a young man by the name of Iven Watt, who was anxious to cross the plains. I engaged him to drive one of my ox teams, and found him an excellent help at various times when obstacles met us which seemed hard to overcome. His friend, William Clafin, hired to Mr. Sargent to assist his son [Nelson] and Van Ogle with Sargent's ox team."**<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> David Klausmeyer Twodof, *Oregon Trail Stories: True Accounts of Life in a Covered Wagon*, P. 96-97.

## JANES BILES LEADS A WAGON TRAIN TO THE WEST

James Biles was chosen Captain of a major 1853 wagon train

he was assisted by William R. Downey, Bartholomew Baker, Charles Biles and Nelson Sargent  
they left Independence, Missouri on their 2,000 mile six-month crossing  
to the Pacific Ocean -- April 15, 1853

As was often the case on the long transcontinental journey,  
personnel of a wagon train changed constantly when the original caravan  
was joined by late arriving new-comers and other travelers dropped out or died along the route

## PEOPLE OF WASHINGTON TERRITORY LEARN OF THEIR NEW STATUS

Information concerning President Millard Fillmore's signing the Washington Organic Code  
which created Washington Territory did not reach Olympia  
and the newspaper *Columbian* until April 15, 1853  
(notice of the appointment of Major Isaac I. Stevens as Governor  
was not received in Washington Territory until May)

## OLYMPIA'S COLUMBIAN REPORTS THE GOOD NEWS OF TERRITORIAL STATUS

**"The Territory of Washington is a fixed fact. Henceforth northern Oregon has an independent existence, and a destiny to achieve separate and distinct from that of her southern neighbor. She has been baptized by the Congress into a new name -- a name Glorious and dear to every American heart. Everywhere, throughout the length and breadth of the Territory the news will be received with joyful acclamations. The separate organization which the citizens of northern Oregon with earnestness, and, may we say, entire unanimity, have ardently wished and labored for, has been triumphantly achieved."** -- Dateline April 30, 1853

Having accomplished its good work, the Olympia *Columbian* was sold  
by Thornton F. McElroy and James W. Wiley to Edward Furste -- 1853  
newspaper's name was changed to the *Pioneer and Democrat*  
and became the mouthpiece for the Democratic Party in Washington Territory

## WASHINGTON TERRITORY GOVERNOR ISAAC INGALLS STEVENS JOURNEYS WEST

Governor Steven's party left Washington City on their expedition West -- May 9, 1853

Governor's first duty was to identify possible northern railroad and wagon routes  
through the Rocky Mountains and into the new territory

Stevens had written his own orders: **"...examine the passes of the several mountain ranges, the geography and meteorology of the whole intermediate region, the character, as avenues of trade and transportation, of the Missouri and Columbia rivers, the rains and snows of the route, especially in the mountain passes, and in short to collect every species of information bearing upon the question of railroad practicality, moreover, to give great attention to the Indian tribes, as their friendship was important and bore directly upon the question both of the Pacific railroad and the safety of [the] party."**<sup>49</sup>

Governor Stevens was to report directly to Secretary of War Jefferson Davis

---

<sup>49</sup> James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 41-42.

## CHANGE OF OREGON TERRITORY GOVERNORS

With the end Whig President Millard Fillmore's term of office came an end to the terms of his Oregon Territory appointments Democrat President Franklin Pierce had been in office two months when Oregon Territorial Governor Whig John P. Gains Territorial was replaced Oregon Territorial Delegate to Congress Joe Lane, spokesman for the Democrat "Salem Clique," was named "Acting-Governor" of Oregon Territory -- May 16, 1853 this was his second stint a territorial governor Governor Lane led the movement to replace the unpopular Governor Gains with a Democrat undeterred by the past hostilities of the Oregon electorate John Gains chose to stay in Oregon where he remarried and settled on a farm just outside of Salem, Oregon

## OREGON TERRITORY RECEIVES A PERMANENT TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR

Oregon Territorial Governor Lane served as for three days until May 19, 1853 during this time he remained in Washington City lobbying the president to appoint his good friend -- Oregon Democrat George Law Curry who had served as the third editor of the Democratic *Oregon Spectator* Lane secured the appointment of Curry as Oregon Acting-Governor Democrat Franklin Pierce appointed Democrat activist Territorial George Law Curry Governor of Oregon Territory -- May 19, 1853 (he served until [December 2], 1853 Curry was the former editor of the *Oregon Spectator* and was the founder of the *Free Press* Oregon Territorial Delegate to Congress and former General Joe Lane returned to Oregon Territory he began his trip to the West -- this time bringing his family along -- May 26, 1853

## VIOLENCE ERRUPTS ALONG THE ROGUE RIVER

Rogue River sub-chief Taylor continued to harass the miners and settlers along the Rogue River he was hunted down by a party from Jacksonville, Oregon excited by what they knew, and even more by what they imagined, Taylor and three other Indians were hanged -- June 1, 1853 Marauders then went to Table Rock to rescue the alleged captive white women finding none they fired into a native village killing six then went on their way to get drunk and boast of their brave deeds this atrocity was celebrated by the editor of the Yreka Herald who opined: **"Let our motto be extermination," "and death to all opposers"**<sup>50</sup>

## INDIAN AGENT JOEL PALMER REACTS TO THE ROGUE RIVER ATROCITIES

Newly appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer had only one agent working for him agent Samuel H. Culver was dispatched with a group of men originally organized to build a road over the Cascade Mountains

---

<sup>50</sup> Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Pacific States of North America*, P. 312.

while the U.S. Fourth Infantry was stationed in the Pacific Northwest it was so scattered that no companies were within reach of the Rogue River region

#### MEEKER BROTHERS DECIDE TO SETTLE ON McNEIL ISLAND

Ezra and his brother Oliver explored the Puget Sound region looking for suitable land to homestead they decided to settle on McNeil Island<sup>51</sup> -- June 1853

Meekers established their homestead on the eastern shore across from Steilacoom

McNeil Island had an abundance of building materials and soil adequate for farming

but the necessary three mile crossing by rowboat from Steilacoom made it very remote supplies were hard to obtain and the Meekers' social life was nonexistent

(After about a year, Ezra Meeker moved his family to Steilacoom and he became a merchant)

#### SEATTLE OPENS ITS FIRST HOTEL

Mary Ann Boyer was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania [1821]

at age thirty met and met and perhaps married Captain David W. "Bull" Conklin

who commanded a whaling ship in the waters of Russian America (Alaska)

after a falling out, Captain Conklin unceremoniously deposited Mary Ann Conklin in Port Townsend and sailed away to Alaska -- 1853

Mary Ann Conklin moved to the tiny village of Seattle

Captain Leonard Felker of the brig *Franklin Adams* carried a pre-fabricated building to Seattle in the hold of his ship

he purchased land from David S. "Doc" Maynard at 1<sup>st</sup> Avenue South and Jackson Street

he erected his a two-story frame building on that site

it was the first in Seattle with milled clapboard sides, an imported southern pine floor, and lath-and-plaster walls and ceilings

Somehow Mary Ann Conklin became the boss of Felker's hotel

she ran an efficient business with clean sheets, good food and no-nonsense attitude toward guests

her salty language in English, French, Spanish, Chinese, Portuguese and German

was legendary -- she was known locally and along the West coast as "Mother Damnable"

Felker's establishment became known as "The Conklin House," or "Mother Damnable's"

Mary Ann Conklin, Mother Damnable, provided meeting rooms

she charged the Territorial government \$25 for the use of one of her rooms as a "court room" and \$10 for rooms occupied by jurors

once a prosecuting attorney made the mistake of asking for a receipt

she threw a few sticks of stove wood at him in reply

Mary Ann Conklin diversified her hotel business by adding a brothel on the upper floor

with her new vocation apparent she became known near and far as "Madam Damnable"

#### JAMES BILES WAGON TRAIN INCREASES IN NUMBER

When the James Biles wagon train approached South Pass their numbers increased to 175 people as smaller trains joined with them

---

<sup>51</sup> Daryl C. McClary, Essay 5238, HistoryLink.org, April 17, 2003.

first company to join the original train was led by James Longmire

next company to join was led by George H. Himes

Crossing the Continental Divide was described by James Longmire: **“We crossed the Rocky Mountains at South Pass, according to instructions given in “Horn’s Guide Book For Emigrants,” which we had carefully observed during our trip. It gave minute instructions as to proper camps, roads, the crossing of streams, where to find good water and grass, and other information which we found of great value, as our experience afterward proved. Some days after crossing the mountains our party was increased by the families of Tyrus and [Emeline] Himes, the (parents) of George Himes of Portland, Oregon, and Judson Himes of Elma, and Mr. [John] Dodge, who settled, on their arrival here, on Mima prairie. All went smoothly till we crossed Bear River Mountains, and, feeling some confidence in our camp judgment, we had grown somewhat careless about consulting our guide book, often selecting our camp without reference to it. One of these camps we had good cause to remember. I had gone ahead to find a camp for noon, which was on a pretty stream with abundance of grass for our horses and cattle, which greatly surprised us, as grass had been a scarce article in many of our camps. Soon after dinner, we noticed some of our cattle beginning to lag and seem tired and some of them began to vomit. We realized with horror that our cattle were poisoned, so we camped at the first stream we came to, which was Ham’s Fork of Bear River, to cure if possible our poor sick cattle. Here we were eighty or a hundred miles from Salt Lake, the nearest settlement, in such a dilemma. We looked about for relief. Bacon and grease were the only antidotes for poison, which our stores contained. We cut bacon in slices and forced a few slices down the throats of the sick oxen, but after once tasting it the poor creatures ate it eagerly, thereby saving their lives, as those that did not eat it (cows we could spare better than our oxen) died next day. The horses were none of them sick. Had we consulted our guide before, instead of after camping at the pretty spot, we would have been spared all this trouble, as it warned travelers of the poison existing there. This event run [sic] our stock of bacon so low we were obliged to buy more, for which we paid 75 cents per pound, and 50 cents per pound for butter, which we bought of Mr. Melville, one of our party.”<sup>52</sup>**

#### MORE UNITS OF THE U.S. FOURTH INFANTRY ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Major Granville Owen Haller and Brevet-Major C.H. Larned sailed from New York around Cape Horn aboard the U.S. store ship *Fredonia* to join with the Fourth Infantry under Major Gabriel J. Rains at Columbia Barracks

Major Granville Owen Haller, Brevet-Major C.H. Larned arrived safely in Washington Territory after completing a seven month voyage -- June 1853

After a brief rest at Columbia Barracks

Major Larned led two Companies of the U.S. Fourth Infantry to Fort Steilacoom where he took command of the post

Major Haller proceeded to Fort Dalles, Oregon with two Companies of men

#### LIEUTENANT WILLIAM SLAUGHTER IS TRANSFERRED TO FORT STEILACOOM

(Lieutenant William Alloway Slaughter arrived at Columbia Barracks [1852])

born in Kentucky and educated at West Point, Lieutenant Slaughter possessed an indomitable spirit although he suffered from seasickness every day that he was at sea or shipboard in port

he had sailed from the East coast to California -- out and back and out again  
his bride of less than a year, Mrs. Mary [Wells] Slaughter,  
accompanied him on his second voyage to California)  
Lieutenant Slaughter was transferred to Fort Steilacoom along with his wife Mary -- 1853  
they quickly became part of the social scene at the fort and in the tiny village  
Mary Slaughter ran the Officers Mess at the post  
William Slaughter surveyed and platted the township  
for Lafayette Balch's part of Steilacoom Slaughter eventually owning thirty-two lots  
as a member of the Masons he was one of the original group  
who successfully petitioned to form a lodge in Steilacoom [founded in 1854]

#### ULYSSES S. GRANT REMAINS POSTED AT COLUMBIA BARRACKS

Ulysses S. Grant had arrived at Columbia Barracks with the members of the U.S. Fourth Infantry  
under Major Gabriel J. Rains [1852]

Captain Ulysses S. Grant served as Quartermaster at Columbia Barracks

Delia B. Sheffield (young wife of another soldier) described Captain Grant in 1853

as he struggled with his garden: **“Captains Grant and Wallin leased a tract of land from Mr. W. Nye, situated about a mile from the post, along the Columbia river, intending to raise a crop of potatoes on part of it, and seed the remainder to oats. The two officers ploughed the ground and planted that portion of it nearest the river with potatoes.**

**“Passing this field one day, in the early spring, I saw Captain Grant, with his trousers tucked in his boots, sowing oats broadcast from a sheet tied about his neck and shoulders. Captain Grant worked thus in the hope of realizing a profit from his crop which would enable him to bring his wife and family out to live with him. His pay as Captain was not sufficient to meet his expenses, and this was the cause of the farming venture. It was, however, a sad failure; the river overflowed and killed most of their potatoes....”<sup>53</sup>**

Grant in discussing fate of Indians during his assignment at Columbia Barracks noted:

**“The Indians along the lower Columbia as far as the Cascades and on the lower Willamette died off very fast during the year I spent in that section, for besides acquiring the vices of the white people they had acquired also their diseases. The measles and the smallpox were both amazingly fatal. In their wild state, before the appearance of the white man among them, the principal complaints they were subject to were those produced by long involuntary fasting, violent exercise in pursuit of game and overeating.**

**“Instinct more than reason had taught them a remedy for these ills. It was the steam bath. Something like a bake-oven was built, large enough to admit a man lying down. Bushes were stuck in the ground in two rows about six feet long and some two or three feet apart; other bushes connected the rows at one end. The tops of the bushes were drawn together to interlace and confined in that position; the whole was the plastered over with wet clay until every opening was filled. Just inside the open end of the oven the floor was scooped out so as to make a hole that would hold a bucket or two of water. The ovens were always built on the banks of a stream, a big spring or pool of water.**

---

<sup>52</sup> Oregon Pioneer Association, Transactions of the [1<sup>st</sup>]-56<sup>th</sup> Annual Reunion, P. 337-338.

<sup>53</sup> James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 44-45.

**“When a patient required a bath, a fire was built near the oven and a pile of stones put upon it. The cavity at the front was then filled with water. When the stones were sufficiently heated, the patient would draw himself into the oven; a blanket would be thrown over the open end and hot stones put into the water until the patient could stand it no longer. He was then withdrawn from his steam bath and doused into the cold stream near by. This treatment may have answered with the early ailments of the Indians. With the measles or smallpox it would kill every time.**

**“During my year on the Columbia River the smallpox exterminated one small remnant of a band of Indians entirely and reduced others materially. I do not think there was a case of recovery among them until the doctor with the Hudson’s Bay Company took the matter in hand and established a hospital. Nearly every case he treated recovered. The decimation among the Indians I knew of personally, and the hospital established for their benefit was a Hudson’s Bay building not a stone’s throw from my own quarters.”<sup>54</sup>**

#### INDIANS OF THE ROGUE RIVER REGION RETALIATE

As could be expected natives living in the vicinity of the Rogue River responded to the exploits of the Jackson marauders settlements were attacked and blood flowed Volunteer companies quickly gathered up the isolated families and patrolled the country settlers petitioned Captain Bradford Alden in command of U.S. Fourth Infantry at Fort Jones in Scott Valley, California asking for arms and ammunition Alden immediately responded by sending twelve men to their aide small company of volunteers was formed under Isaac Hill they obtained arms and ammunition from Fort Jones, California and kept guard at Ashland Raiding, murdering and raping began once again by both sides vengeance and retaliation increased by both races against the other -- late spring 1853 clashes between non-treaty Indians and roving bands of whites continued with short pauses for gold-seeking on several occasions friendly natives and settlers suffered from misunderstandings two Indians accused of murder traveled to a reservation before the Reservation Indians turned them over to the local authorities to be hanged

#### ARMY REINFORCEMENTS TRAVEL TOWARD SOUTHERN OREGON

Oregon Territory Governor George L. Curry requested District Commander Major Gabriel J. Rains then in command of the Fourth U. S. Infantry at Columbia Barracks supply the threatened Southern Oregon settlers with arms and ammunition this request was promptly granted Major Rains provided a howitzer, rifles and ammunition to assist in subduing Southern Oregon Indians but the army suffered from a shortage of troops to escort the equipment Recent West Point graduate Second Lieutenant A.V. Kautz, on his first military campaign, was placed in charge of six artillerymen and a twelve-pound howitzer with wagons of rifles and cartridges and a good supply of cannon ammunition

---

<sup>54</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 137.

they started from Columbia Barracks bound for the conflict  
Governor Curry believed a larger escort was necessary and called for volunteers  
a company of seventy-five men was quickly raised in Salem, Oregon  
James W. Nesmith was commissioned its captain  
Nesmith marched his volunteers to Albany, Oregon where they joined Lieutenant A. V. Kautz  
and his six regulars at Albany, Oregon to assist with guarding the howitzer, rifles and ammunition  
this combined party proceeded southward

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR ISAAC INGALLS STEVENS BEGINS HIS SURVEY

Governor Stevens was to survey a northern transcontinental railroad route and wagon road  
between the 47<sup>th</sup> and 49<sup>th</sup> parallel as far as Puget Sound  
he expected to examine a northern segment of country 2,000 miles long and 250 miles wide  
and reach Washington Territory before winter  
as was his custom he wasted little time  
reaching St. Louis he started his supplies up the Missouri River by keelboat  
Territorial Governor Stevens hurried to St. Paul where he would begin his survey assignment  
Stevens' 143 men including eleven U.S. Army Topographical Engineers officers  
and a staff of scientists and artists who gathered information about the topography, geography,  
flora, and fauna identifying several previously unknown species along the route  
were divided into several detachments -- each with its own assignment  
Stevens and his survey expedition left St. Paul, Minnesota -- June 6, 1853  
they traveled west through the Dakotas, (Montana and Idaho)  
throughout the summer they mapped and charted their way west

#### MORE INCIDENTS TAKE PLACE ALONG THE ROGUE RIVER

Settler Isaac Hill while protecting Ashland from threatening Indians  
attacked a group of natives five miles from Ashland killing six -- June 7, 1853  
surviving Indians fled for their lives  
Business was suspended in the Rogue River Valley  
every available man started out to hunt Indians  
retaliating against local Rogue River and other Indians who were generally innocent

#### CALIFORNIA ORGANIZES VOLUNTEERS TO MEET THE CRISIS

More than two hundred California men were formed into two companies  
overall command was given to Captain Bradford Alden from Fort Jones  
Yreka, California organized an additional eighty volunteers under Captain Goodall  
While there were plenty of volunteers, supplies and equipment remained a problem  
Captain Alden appointed a board of military commissioners  
to serve as a general department of supply  
Captain Alden learned the Indians had gathered in force near Table Rock  
he planned an attack for the night of [June 11]  
however, in the meantime he learned the Indians were conducting raids throughout the valley  
Away rushed the volunteers to the defense of their homes without waiting for officers or orders

roving parties of white men scoured the countryside for several days

Sam, the war chief of Rogue River, approached the volunteer camp and offered battle

#### ULYSSES S. GRANT REMAINS POSTED AT COLUMBIA BARRACKS

Ulysses S. Grant had arrived at Columbia Barracks with the members of the U.S. Fourth Infantry under Major Gabriel J. Rains [1852]

Captain Ulysses S. Grant served as Quartermaster at Columbia Barracks

Delia B. Sheffield (young wife of another soldier) described Captain Grant in 1853

as he struggled with his garden: **“Captains Grant and Wallin leased a tract of land from Mr. W. Nye, situated about a mile from the post, along the Columbia river, intending to raise a crop of potatoes on part of it, and seed the remainder to oats. The two officers ploughed the ground and planted that portion of it nearest the river with potatoes.**

**“Passing this field one day, in the early spring, I saw Captain Grant, with his trousers tucked in his boots, sowing oats broadcast from a sheet tied about his neck and shoulders. Captain Grant worked thus in the hope of realizing a profit from his crop which would enable him to bring his wife and family out to live with him. His pay as Captain was not sufficient to meet his expenses, and this was the cause of the farming venture. It was, however, a sad failure; the river overflowed and killed most of their potatoes....”<sup>55</sup>**

Grant in discussing fate of Indians during his assignment at Columbia Barracks noted:

**“The Indians along the lower Columbia as far as the Cascades and on the lower Willamette died off very fast during the year I spent in that section, for besides acquiring the vices of the white people they had acquired also their diseases. The measles and the smallpox were both amazingly fatal. In their wild state, before the appearance of the white man among them, the principal complaints they were subject to were those produced by long involuntary fasting, violent exercise in pursuit of game and overeating.**

**“Instinct more than reason had taught them a remedy for these ills. It was the steam bath. Something like a bake-oven was built, large enough to admit a man lying down. Bushes were stuck in the ground in two rows about six feet long and some two or three feet apart; other bushes connected the rows at one end. The tops of the bushes were drawn together to interlace and confined in that position; the whole was plastered over with wet clay until every opening was filled. Just inside the open end of the oven the floor was scooped out so as to make a hole that would hold a bucket or two of water. The ovens were always built on the banks of a stream, a big spring or pool of water.**

**“When a patient required a bath, a fire was built near the oven and a pile of stones put upon it. The cavity at the front was then filled with water. When the stones were sufficiently heated, the patient would draw himself into the oven; a blanket would be thrown over the open end and hot stones put into the water until the patient could stand it no longer. He was then withdrawn from his steam bath and doused into the cold stream near by. This treatment may have answered with the early ailments of the Indians. With the measles or smallpox it would kill every time.**

**“During my year on the Columbia River the smallpox exterminated one small remnant of a band of Indians entirely and reduced others materially. I do not think there was a case of recovery among them until the doctor with the Hudson’s Bay Company took the matter in hand and established a**

---

<sup>55</sup> James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 44-45.

hospital. Nearly every case he treated recovered. The decimation among the Indians I knew of personally, and the hospital established for their benefit was a Hudson's Bay building not a stone's throw from my own quarters."<sup>56</sup>

#### ARMY REINFORCEMENTS TRAVEL TOWARD SOUTHERN OREGON

Oregon Territory Governor George L. Curry requested District Commander Major Gabriel J. Rains then in command of the Fourth U. S. Infantry at Columbia Barracks supply the threatened Southern Oregon settlers with arms and ammunition this request was promptly granted

Major Rains provided a howitzer, rifles and ammunition to assist in subduing Southern Oregon Indians but the army suffered from a shortage of troops to escort the equipment

Recent West Point graduate Second Lieutenant A.V. Kautz, on his first military campaign, was placed in charge of six artillerymen and a twelve-pound howitzer with wagons of rifles and cartridges and a good supply of cannon ammunition they started from Columbia Barracks bound for the conflict

Governor Curry believed a larger escort was necessary and called for volunteers a company of seventy-five men was quickly raised in Salem, Oregon James W. Nesmith was commissioned its captain

Nesmith marched his volunteers to Albany, Oregon where they joined Lieutenant A. V. Kautz and his six regulars at Albany, Oregon to assist with guarding the howitzer, rifles and ammunition this combined party proceeded southward

#### OREGON TERRITORY GOVERNOR CURRY SENDS HELP TO THE ROGUE RIVER

Oregon Territory George L. Curry received a courier from Ashland requesting military assistance Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Bonneville at Fort Vancouver was contacted

arrangements were made for rifles, ammunition and a howitzer to be delivered -- June 15, 1853 Second Lieutenant A.V. Kautz led his six Fourth Infantry artillerymen and their twelve-pound howitzer wagons loaded with rifles, cartridges and ammunition for the cannon on the difficult march leading through Umpqua Canyon up and down mountain trails made slippery by recent rains

Kautz's troops were accompanied by Captain James W. Nesmith's forty Salem volunteers other militia officers were 1<sup>st</sup> Lieutenant L.F. Grover, 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant W.K. Beale, surgeon J.D. McCurdy and J.M. Crooks orderly sergeant

#### CAPTAIN ALDEN MOUNTS AN ATTACK AGAINST THE ROGUE RIVER INDIANS

Captain Bradford Alden gathered together his forces and marched to attack the enemy -- June 15, 1853 he approached a bushy canyon five miles north of Table Rock but there were no Indians present following their trail was very difficult as the Indians set fire to the forest behind them wiping out their trail and filling the air with smoke and heat -- marching forward was dangerous

#### ROGUE RIVER INDIANS ARE DISCOVERED ON EVANS CREEK

---

<sup>56</sup> W. Storrs Lee. *Washington State*, P. 137.

Yreka volunteers continued their search for Indians

they discovered a group of natives on Evans Creek -- morning June 17, 1853

since there were only twenty-five volunteers they returned to their camp for supplies

once in camp a messenger was sent to headquarters for reinforcements

Before other volunteer companies arrived

Rogue River Indian Chief Toquahear (later known as Sam) conducted an attack

advancing along the gullies and behind the willows, the Indians opened fire killing two volunteers retreated as rapidly as possible to the safety of a pine ridge a quarter of a mile away

but they were outflanked and surrounded

fight continued for three and a half hours -- four volunteers were killed and four wounded when more volunteers arrived on the scene the Indians broke off the engagement -- June 17

hostile Indians gathered in a large body and withdrew northward toward the Umpqua River

chiefs Ahs-er-ka-her (later known as Jo), Toquahear (Sam), Anachaharah (Jim) and John were brothers and the principal leaders of the Indians

they were aided by such young and vigorous warriors as George and Lympe

#### FEDERAL OFFICIALS ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

U.S. Marshall J. Patton Anderson and his bride Etta (Henrietta) aboard the steamboat *Columbia* \ arrived in Astoria, Oregon -- end of June 1853

he was the second federal official to arrive in Washington Territory

after Associate Justice O.B. McFadden who had formerly been a justice in Oregon Territory

Andersons arrived at Astoria with just one dollar -- not even enough to pay to unload their luggage and paper money was useless on the Pacific coast anyway

Anderson threw the dollar into the Columbia River and began to whistle to keep up his courage

just then an officer he had not seen before asked him if he Colonel Anderson was in the crowd

Anderson introduced himself and learned the officer was Lieutenant Rufus Saxton

Lieutenant Rufus Saxton of the U.S. Army Topographical Engineers

produced a large envelope from the Secretary of the Interior

instructing Anderson to immediately take a census of Washington Territory

the envelope also contained a Treasury draft for \$4,000 to defray Anderson's expenses

Lieutenant George B. McClellan also reached Astoria, Oregon on the Columbia River

on board the steamboat *Columbia*

he was leading the Western Division of the Northern Survey expedition

McClellan's orders from Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens noted

beginning from Columbia Barracks he was: **"...to fix the line of the road, especially through the Cascade Mountains, and to perform such work on the most difficult portions as will enable the immigrants to render the route practicable by their exertions, detaching a suitable person as guide and director, to meet them at Walla Walla."**

further, they were to **"operate in the mountains until they are thoroughly explored or till driven away by the snow"**<sup>57</sup>

in addition to surveying the Northern Pacific Railroad route, McClellan was also assigned

---

<sup>57</sup> Thomas W. Prosch, *United States Army in Washington Territory*, "Washington Quarterly", Volume II, P. 120.

to build a Military Road from Fort Walla Walla over the Cascades to Fort Steilacoom

#### EFFORT IS MADE TO LINK FORT STEILACOOM BY ROAD WITH FORT WALLA WALLA

Military effort to construct a road from across Pierce County and into Eastern Washington begins again  
road from Fort Steilacoom followed Byrd's Mill Road (later Military Road)  
as it ran through (present-day Ponders and McChord)  
before turning eastward to (McMillan) in the Puyallup Valley  
Byrd's Mill Road then turned north to Elhi Hill and continued eastward toward (today's Buckley)  
it then followed the White River to the Greenwater River until it linked with the very rough  
"citizen's road" up Naches Pass and continued across Eastern Washington Territory

#### NEWSPAPER OREGON STATESMAN CHANGES TOWNS

Asahel Bush's Democratic *Oregon Statesman* moved from Oregon City to Salem -- June 28, 1853  
where the newspaper became the *Salem Statesman*  
but still served as the mouthpiece of the Democrat "Salem Clique"  
which continued to direct political events in Democratic Oregon Territory  
*Salem Statesman's* policy became broader and even more liberal

#### LIEUTENANT GEORGE B. McCLELLAN ARRIVES AT COLUMBIA BARRACKS

Lieutenant McClellan's Western Division of the Northern transcontinental survey effort  
reached Columbia Barracks -- July 3, 1853  
where spent a leisurely three weeks assembling men and equipment  
for the tasks of road building and surveying  
McClellan's command was increased to sixty-five men and 173 horse and mules  
this was more than ample assistance to conduct the road surveying operations  
Lieutenant McClellan and Captain Grant, Columbia Barracks Quartermaster,  
were acquainted from the Mexican War  
while at Columbia Barracks Grant and McClellan developed a friendship  
both soldiers were destined for fame  
Quartermaster Grant worked diligently to assemble the horses and supplies McClellan needed  
including 173 head of livestock -- far more than necessary or advisable for the purpose  
but before the task was finished Grant began drinking  
which annoyed and offended "Little Mac" a great deal  
although transportation was soon arranged,  
McClellan never forgave Grant for the dereliction of duty and personal slight  
Little Mac decided he did not have enough men for both road building and for surveying  
he solved his dilemma by improperly awarding a few civilian construction contracts  
from then on he ignored the road building assignment -- which was never done correctly  
his surveying efforts proved to be equally inadequate

#### OLYMPIA EXPRESS COMPANIES PROVIDE A LINK WITHIN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

John G. Parker and Henry D. Colter began carrying mail and light packages on horseback  
Parker, Colter, and Company Express with headquarters in Olympia was founded -- 1853

company shipped parcels to and from Portland  
(this company lasted eighteen months until Colter absconded with thousands of dollar  
Parker, Colter, and Company Express was succeeded by Stuart's Express)  
which operated between Portland and Olympia[1854])  
Smith's Express (later Lambert and Smith's Express) also was organized -- 1853  
to carry local packages between Olympia and Alki Point on Puget Sound  
These local express companies helped Oregon's territorial population to break down  
some of the isolation in which it found themselves

### THIRD STEAM SAWMILL ARRIVES ON PUGET SOUND

(Andrew J. Pope aboard the clipper schooner *L.P. Foster*  
and Captain William C. Talbot on the fifty-ton sailing schooner *Julius Pringle*  
left from East Machias, Maine for the Pacific Coast  
Talbot captained the *Julius Pringle* by way of Cape Horn to San Francisco  
and on to Puget Sound)  
Captain Talbot reached the Strait of Juan de Fuca's Discovery Bay  
he anchored the *Julius Pringle* off the Olympic Peninsula  
Captain Talbot hired Cyrus Walker to take an Indian canoe into Puget Sound  
Walker and his Indian guides paddled past Henry Yesler's new steam sawmill at Seattle  
going as far as Vashon Island  
Captain Talbot set out on the *Julius Pringle* to explore Hood Canal  
looking for the best site for a steam-powered sawmill  
he noted that Port Ludlow was an ideal location for a mill  
but another mill operation, Captain William F. Sayward and John R. Thorndyke,  
had taken that location  
Talbot spotted a sandspit at the mouth of Port Gamble and judged it, too, to be ideal  
this spit had room enough for a mill and other buildings  
plentiful supplies of "Oregon Pine" (Douglas fir),  
and the spit sheltered sailing ships from the prevailing winds  
local Native Americans called the spit Teekalet meaning "brightness of the noonday sun"  
Captain Talbot established a steam sawmill at Port Gamble -- Puget Mill Company -- July 1853

### PUGET MILL COMPANY CONSTRUCTION BEGINS

Captain William C. Talbot had brought dressed lumber from East Machias, Maine  
for the construction of buildings to house his steam-powered sawmill, Puget Mill Company  
He landed ten men at the mouth of Port Gamble on Teekalet Spit -- July 1853  
they built a bunkhouse, a cookhouse which were then roofed with local shakes  
and a store to trade with the natives and settlers  
foundation timbers for the saw mill came from trees at the head of the bay  
but further construction had to await the arrival of the steam-powered sawmill equipment  
being delivered from East Machias, Maine by his business partner Josiah Keller

### ISSUE OF SLAVERY ARISES AGAIN IN OREGON TERRITORY

Colonel Nathaniel Ford had brought his slaves Robin and Polly Holmes and their three children when he came to Oregon Country [1844]

Ford had promised them their freedom but did not deliver on his pledge

Robin Holmes sued Ford in civil court to free his family

on the grounds that slavery was illegal in Oregon Territory [1852]

no Territorial Justice was available to hear the case so the issue remained unsolved

Oregon Territorial Chief Justice George Henry Williams was nominated by President Franklin Pierce to replace Chief Justice Thomas Nelson -- 1853

eleven months after Robin Holmes' case was filed Chief Justice Williams heard the evidence

he ruled Robin Holmes and his family were free because slavery did not and could not exist in Oregon Territory -- July 13, 1853

this decision seemed obvious and was accepted as final

#### AMERICAN COMMODORE MATTHEW PERRY ATTEMPTS TO OPEN TRADE WITH JAPAN

Commodore Perry, "The Father of the Steam Navy," commanded four steam frigates from Norfolk, Virginia bound for Japan [July 8, 1852]

Japan at this time was isolated from all trade by order of the Emperor of Japan

Hermit Empire, as it was known, traded only with China and the Dutch

through the Portuguese port of Macao using fragile vessels not able to withstand heavy seas

Sailing under a white flag, Perry attempted to intimidate the Japanese by presenting them a letter warning that if they resisted America's offer to trade they would be attacked

Perry's fleet landed (at today's Yokosuka) -- July 14, 1853

after delivering his message he left for the Chinese coast with a promise to return to accept a reply

Japan remained closed to the outside world

#### LIEUTENANT GEORGE B. McCLELLAN BEGINS HIS RAILROAD SURVEY

Lieutenant McClellan and his men set out from Columbia Barracks -- July 18, 1853

they explored the country from to the Lewis River

then down into the Trout Lake Valley by way of Goose Lake to Camp Chequos

from the mountain near this camp five snow-covered mountains could be seen:

Rainier, St. Helens, Adams, Hood and Jefferson

they had traveled ninety-three miles

McClellan's company of men camped for one night in the Klickitat River Valley

at what they called Camp Hool-hool-se which was south and slightly west of Trout Lake

they were following the little used trail known as Klickitat Pass

which ran south of Mt. Adams and Mt. St. Helens, crossing the valley into Camas Prairie

Soon they became entangled in the dense old growth timber and underbrush

that blanketed the moist western slopes of the Cascade Mountains

to make their passage easier, McClellan's survey party crossed to the eastern side of the Cascades where ancient cedar and fir trees gave way to open forests of pines

they investigated such places as the Yakima and Wenatchee valleys of the Columbia River

they eventually reached the foot of Lake Chelan

## BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE RETURNS TO THE PACIFIC COAST

Ben Bonneville, military officer, explorer, trapper and mountain man first visited Fort Vancouver while on leave of absence from the United States Army [1834]

He returned to Columbia Barracks (the former Fort Vancouver) as Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Louis Eulalie De Bonneville of the U.S. Fourth Infantry -- July 1853

Ben Bonneville had been made famous by the writings of Washington Irving *Adventures of Captain Bonneville: History Made Man* [1837] and a two volume version: *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U.S.A., in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West* [1837]

Since his last visit to the region Americans taken control from British Hudson's Bay Company had established Oregon Country and created Oregon Territory settlements had become towns and steamboats delivered goods on a regular schedule there was even the beginning of a survey for a transcontinental railroad

## LIEUTENANT RUFUS SAXTON AND HIS MEN ARRIVE AT FORT WALLA WALLA <sup>58</sup>

Lieutenant Rufus Saxton of the U.S. Army Topographical Engineers had assembled supplies at Columbia Barracks with the help of Quartermaster Captain Ulysses S. Grant

Lieutenant Saxton and his pack train, packers and military escort followed the Oregon Trail along the south side of the Columbia River

they arrived at the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Walla Walla -- July 27, 1853

there they were visited by Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox, a chief of the Walla Walla Tribe, who pledged his friendship to the whites and offered his help to them along their way

## LIEUTENANT SAXTON LEAVES FORT WALLA WALLA TO ESTABLISH A SUPPLY DEPOT

As the territorial governor worked his way westward up the Missouri River,

Lieutenant Rufus Saxton, left Fort Dalles with a pack train

headed for the western Montana Bitterroot Valley to establish a supply depot for the survey

his packers and equipment were guarded by a military escort

of two officers and eighteen soldiers U.S. from the Fourth Infantry<sup>59</sup>

## LIEUTENANT RUFUS SAXTON CONTINUES HIS JOURNEY TO THE MISSOURI RIVER

Rufus Saxton of the U.S. Army Topographical Engineers had been ordered to establish a depot in the Bitterroot Valley of the Rocky Mountains

he learned that the most direct trail across the mountains to the Bitterroot Valley

was too arduous for his pack animals so he set off on an alternate route

by way of the Spokane and Clark Fork rivers

guided by veteran fur trader Antoine Plante, the party left the Walla Walla valley

Lieutenant Saxton and his pack train began their journey through a landscape

that would become very familiar -- July 30, 1853

---

<sup>58</sup> Jack Nisbet, Essay 8594, HistoryLink.org, May 23, 2008

<sup>59</sup> Jack Nisbet, Essay 8594, HistoryLink.org, May 23, 2008.

midsummer heat in the arid country was so fierce that the men remained in camp the next day,  
then marched through the night to reach the Snake River  
As they made camp opposite the mouth of the Palouse River, about fifty Palouse and Nez Perce Indians  
arrived in full war costume to hold a grand war talk  
they had heard a rumor that American soldiers were coming to take possession of their home  
Lieutenant Saxton gave the Native Americans assurances of the peaceful nature of his journey  
Indian delegation accepted gifts and watched the soldiers of the military escort  
display the firepower of their Colt and Sharpe's rifles

#### COLUMBIA BARRACKS BECOMES FORT VANCOUVER

Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Louis Eulalie de Bonneville was in command of the post  
when the name was changed by the U.S. Army

Columbia Barracks was designated Fort Vancouver once again  
this name change took place -- July 30, 1853 [until 1879]

Ben Bonneville was ordered to survey and map the 640 acre military installation  
he cheerfully began the assignment -- surveying and map making were tasks he did well  
he was so efficient in laying out the post that his plan of buildings is still in use today

#### LIEUTENANT RUFUS SAXTON'S PARTY IS AIDED BY THE INDIANS<sup>60</sup>

Palouse and Nez Perce tribesmen loaded their canoes with the Americans' packs and baggage  
and ferried them across the Snake River

while the soldiers swam the horses and mules -- August 2, 1853

Marching northwest from the mouth of the Palouse River for three and a half days,

Saxton's pack train reached the Spokane River -- August 6

there they met Chief Garry of the Spokanes who spoke "tolerable English"

as he had been educated in Canada by the Hudson's Bay Company

Spokanes had also heard reports that soldiers were coming to make war

but they were happy to receive peace offerings from the "Great Father at Washington"

Lieutenant Saxton left three crippled horses in the care of Chief Garry before he continued eastward  
for his rendezvous with Washington Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens

#### OREGON'S ROGUE RIVER INDIANS BECOME BELIGERANT

Different groups of Indians inhabited the Rogue River Valley in southern Oregon  
they assumed a hostile attitude -- August 1853

along the main-traveled route, extending from Cow Creek on the north,

in a southerly direction to the Siskiyou Mountains

several settlers and miners were murdered

nearly all of the buildings for a hundred miles were burned

#### STEAMBOAT *WALLAMET* IS BUILT TO SERVE THE UPPER WILLAMETTE RIVER

Mississippi River style steamer *Wallamet* was designed by Capt. John McCrosky and associates

---

<sup>60</sup> Jack Nisbet, Essay 8594, HistoryLink.org, May 23, 2008

John T. Thomas was the builder of *Wallamet*, as well as many other steamers  
*Wallamet* was launched at Canemah, Oregon -- August 11, 1853  
there were now four steamboats serving the upper Willamette River linking Canemah and Corvallis  
This 150-foot long side-wheeler with a twenty-three foot beam had a hold five feet deep  
she had two high pressure steam engines  
each engine was a single cylinder with a fourteen inch-inside diameter cylinder  
driving a piston sixty inches long  
*Wallamet* featured twin smokestacks placed forward of the pilot house  
there were sixty staterooms in the boat's upper saloon and she could carry 400 tons of freight  
(however, she made little money and was sold to California interests)

#### INDIANS RAID WILLOW SPRINGS, OREGON

In retaliation for the [June 7] killings carried out by settler Isaac Hill's men and other random attacks  
bands of Shasta and Rogue River Indians continued raiding Jacksonville, Oregon settlements  
settlers kept retaliating against local non-nomadic Indians who were generally innocent.  
Growing tired of the unfair attacks, the local non-nomadic Indians joined together  
they attacked a party of five travelers on the immigrant road at Willow Springs -- August 11, 1853  
(near today's Medford, Oregon)  
William T'Vault, who had survived the Coquille Massacre [September 14, 1851], escaped  
but two others in the party were killed and several cabins were burned

#### JACKSONVILLE, OREGON SETTLERS SEND TO FORT JONES FOR HELP

In response to the southern Oregon settlers call for help after the attack at Willow Springs  
Captain Bradford R. Alden marched north from Fort Jones, California  
with a detachment of twenty men of the U.S. Fourth Infantry  
on the way north he picked up a company of volunteers in Yreka, California  
led by Jacob Rhodes  
in Jacksonville Captain Alden added three companies of Jackson County volunteers  
led by captains Robert L. Williams, John S. Miller and John Lamerick

#### JOE LANE ARRIVES WITH A SMALL FORCE FROM ROSEBURG, OREGON

Oregon's Territorial Delegate to Congress former-General Joe Lane arrived in the Rogue River Valley  
at the request of local citizens he assumed control of the body of Rogue River Valley volunteers  
that was formed for the defense of the settlers -- August 13, 1853  
Oregon Territorial Governor Curry had already commissioned Joe Lane a brigadier-general  
but James W. Nesmith, who had not yet arrived, carried the commission  
at the time this commission was unknown to those in the Rogue River Valley  
Joe Lane was joined by U.S. Fourth Infantry Captain Bradford R. Alden and his twenty soldiers  
accompanied by Jacob Rhodes' Yreka volunteers  
and Robert L. Williams, John S. Miller and John Lamerick  
three companies of Jackson County volunteers  
Joe Lane's combined force established their headquarters at Camp Stuart  
(near present-day Manzanita, Oregon)

where preparations were undertaken to hunt down the Indians

#### GENERAL JOE LANE PURSUES THE INDIANS

Joe Lane, now with his rank of "General" in place, took command of the Oregon Territory volunteers he directed the Jackson County volunteers to proceed up Evans Creek to a designated rendezvous Oregon volunteer companies under John Lamerick and John S. Miller were the first to move out they hoped to trap the Rogue River Indians responsible for the deaths at Willow Springs Simeon Ely led a twenty-two men detachment who found Chief Sam (Toquahear) on Evans Creek fifteen miles north of Table Rock -- August 17, 1853

Ely sent a messenger to Camp Stuart for help and retired to an open meadow between two willow-lined streams that flowed into Evans Creek

Chief Sam had seen Ely's volunteers and maneuvered his warriors into the willows for an attack Rogue River Indians killed two of Ely's men in the first volley at Evans Creek Meadows Ely retreated 500 yards to a pine-covered ridge where the fight went on for three hours finally, Jacob Rhodes' California volunteer company arrived and Chief Sam broke off the fight but not before capturing eighteen horses and mules, along with blankets, guns and ammunition Rogue River Indians had only a few wounded

volunteers lost six men killed and four more were wounded, including Simeon Ely

General Joe Lane made camp at the eastern base of a rock ridge between Evans Creek and a small stream farther up the Rogue River where he was joined by California volunteers under James P. Goodall and Oregon volunteer companies under Captain Robert L. Williams

#### STEAMBOAT *BELLE OF OREGON CITY* IS CONSTRUCTED FOR THE LOWER WILLAMETTE

*Belle of Oregon City*, or simply *Belle* as she was generally known, was notable because everything, including her machinery was of iron that had been worked at the Oregon City ironworks owned by Thomas V. Smith

iron-hulled side-wheeler *Belle of Oregon City* was launched -- August 18, 1853

Captain W.B. Wells and Captain Richard Williams co-owned the steamboat

Every morning at 7:30 she would leave the warehouse at the base of Willamette Falls she reached the Oregon City dock by 8:00 A.M. next stopping at Milwaukie at 8:30 A.M.

*Belle* reached Portland at 9:30 A.M.

*Belle* steamed back downriver, reaching Willamette Falls again by 4:00 P.M.

(She was the longest lived of the pioneer boats on the Columbia River before being scrapped [1869] while a good boat she was no substitute for the speed and comfort of the departed *Lot Whitcomb*)

#### *BELLE OF OREGON CITY* PLYS THE COLUMBIA RIVER

*Belle of Oregon City* provided cargo and passenger service on Willamette River joining Oregon City, Milwaukie and Portland four days a week

But three days a week she ran up the Columbia River to the Lower Cascades passengers traveling upriver would disembark at the Lower Cascades

travel on Bradfords' Cascade Railway along the Columbia's north bank

then board the steamer *Mary* bound upriver for the head of navigation at The Dalles

## BATTLE AT EVANS CREEK TAKES PLACE

After Simeon Eli's fight at Evans Creek Meadows, a search for Chief Sam's Rogue River band was undertaken until scouts reported finding the Indian trail -- morning August 24, 1853 a road from General Joe Lane's camp to the trail was made by cutting a passage for the horses through a thicket

General Lane led Jacob Rhodes' Yreka volunteer company from Camp Stuart accompanied by Captain Bradford R. Alden and twenty U.S. Fourth Infantrymen and James P. Goodall's California volunteers who proceed on foot along the trail as they searched up Evans Creek by way of Table Rock they passed over broken country enveloped in clouds of smoke from fires set by the Indians

Chief Sam's Rogue River Indians also felled trees as they went to delay their pursuers

Jackson County volunteers John S. Miller and John Lamerick led their companies of men from Camp Stuart down the Rogue River to the mouth of Evans Creek -- then turned upstream

General Joe Lane found the Indians' trail and continued north up Evans Creek at the headwaters of the creek General Lane and Captain Bradford R. Alden reached the Indians there were about 200 Indians led by Rogue River Indian chiefs Sam (Toquahear), Jo (Apserkahar) and Jim (Anachaharah) defending a log-and-thicket fortification Captain Alden led a frontal attack as Jacob Rhodes circled from the flank -- August 24, 1853

Indians learned they were discovered only when Alden's command fired into their camp although completely surprised they put up a vigorous resistance their camp was fortified with logs and they were well supplied with ammunition to get at the natives it was necessary for Alden to charge through dense thickets an operation both difficult and dangerous

as the terrain offered many opportunities for ambush Alden's men got no closer than thirty yards before gunfire halted them several volunteers went down, including Captain Alden (his wound would cause him to resign the following month)

General Joe Lane riding along the very broad trail in advance of his men heard gun fire and voices his troops were halted on the summit of the ridge where they were ordered to dismount in silence and tie their horses -- preparations for a fight were begun

General Lane waited for the rear guard to come up -- he intended to lead them into action

General Joseph Lane renewed the assault on the Indians' fortified camp he found U.S. Fourth Infantry Captain Bradford R. Alden severely wounded lying in the arms of a sergeant

driving the Rogue River Indians from their camp Joe Lane led a vigorous pursuit in the murky light of forest fires set by the Indians he overtook and attacked the natives in a rough, mountainous and heavily timbered region when he was within thirty yards of the enemy

he was struck by a rifle-ball in his right arm near the shoulder

he put a crude bandage on the wound and conducted the fight for another three hours Indians and whites were so close together that they could easily converse

volunteer Captain Pleasant Armstrong, an old and respected pioneer of Yamhill County,  
was shot through the heart and died instantly  
John Scarborough and Isaac Bradley also were killed  
five other attacking volunteers were wounded  
Charles C. Abbe subsequently died of his injuries  
Rogue River Indians had lost fifteen killed and thirteen wounded

#### ARRANGEMENTS ARE MADE FOR A PEACE CONFERENCE

Rogue River Indians desired peace and called out for a parley -- evening August 24, 1853  
General Joe Lane ordered a suspension of firing  
he sent Robert B. Metcalfe and James Bruce into the Indians' lines to learn what they had to say  
when told that their former friend Joe Lane was in command the Indians asked for an interview  
this request was granted

#### GENERAL JOE LANE VISITS THE ROGUE RIVER INDIAN CAMP

Concealing his wounded arm under his coat, Joe Lane entered the Indian camp  
General Lane found many wounded  
they were burning their dead as if fearful they would fall into the hands of the enemy  
General Lane was met by his namesake Chief Jo, and his brothers Sam and Jim,  
who told him their hearts were sick of war  
after a long meeting it was finally agreed that there should be a cessation of hostilities  
both parties should return to the neighborhood of Table Rock  
on the north side of the Rogue River Valley  
Indians said they would meet Joe Lane in seven days at Table Rock, give up their arms,  
make a treaty of peace and place themselves under the protection  
of the Indian superintendent who should be present at the council  
an armistice should exist until Superintendent of Indian Affairs General Joel Palmer  
could be sent for to negotiate a treaty  
Joe Lane agreed, taking a son of Jo as hostage  
Both whites and Indians marched back slowly over the same trail, encumbered with their wounded,  
each group keeping a vigilant watch on the other  
General Lane returned to the volunteer encampment at the place of the morning's dismounting  
where the wounded were being cared for and the dead were being buried

#### OREGON VOLUNTEERS ARRIVE TOO LATE TO ENTER THE FRAY

John E. Ross, colonel of the Jackson County volunteers, had a difficult time  
marching another company of Jacksonville volunteers to the scene of battle  
when they arrived too late to participate they were disappointed  
they would have renewed the fight if General Joe Lane had not restrained them  
For two days the camps of the volunteers and Indians were less than four hundred yards apart  
but the truce remained unbroken  
during this time Indian women brought water for the wounded soldiers and volunteers  
there was no mention of such humane conduct on the part of the whites

armistice continued intact so far as the military and volunteer units under General Lane and the Indians under Jo, Sam and Jim were concerned

#### BOTH INDIANS AND WHITES MOVE TO THE LOCATION OF THE PEACE TALKS

Both General Joe Lane and his advisories moved to Table Rock

where talks were to be held -- August 26, 1853

both groups appeared confident as they slowly moved toward the council grounds

however, both sides covertly kept a close eye on the other

Rogue River Indians selected a strong and almost inaccessible position on a high piece of ground directly under the perpendicular cliffs of Table Rock

at night the Indian campfires could be plainly seen

as the natives looked directly down on the soldiers and volunteers

General Lane made his camp in the valley about one mile from the Indian position and in plain view this encampment became known as Fort Lane

as the wounded men had to be moved fifteen miles to General Lane's camp

Rogue River Indian men helped serve as litter bearers

Lane supposed 700 warriors were camped above him on the side of the bluff below Table Rock

Joe Lane remained in his Table Rock camp and awaited the arrival

of Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer and Indian Agent Samuel H. Culver

who were authorized by the federal government to write treaties with the Indians

#### GENERAL JOE LANE'S ARMITICE WITH THE ROGUE RIVER INDIANS IS BROKEN

After the Evans Creek fight, plans for further talks between the two adversarial groups kept the peace intact

Without General Joe Lane's knowledge Elias A. Owens led a company of Oregon volunteers in search of hostile Indians further down the Rogue River

they lured five or six Grave Creek Band of Rogue River Indians to a council

where they were disarmed them, tied up and shot -- August 28, 1853

enraged Indians gathered up more of their people and burned cabins along Jump Off Joe Creek

Owens and his volunteers continued south along the Rogue River to Long's Ferry

(near present-day Grants Pass, Oregon)

there, the Indians jumped them and killed three volunteers

#### HOSTILTIES IN THE ROGUE RIVER REGION CONTINUE

General Joe Lane's Oregon volunteers under Captain Robert L. Williams

killed twelve Indians on Grave Creek when under a pledge of peace

he got the Indians into his camp and shot them all -- Williams lost one man

Williams also surprised a party of Indians on Applegate Creek

he convinced them to lay down their weapons and shot eighteen

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR STEVENS CONTACTS THE PLAINS INDIANS

As he crossed (today's Montana) Isaac Stevens dedicated his time to his new obsession

making arrangements for treaty talks with the Indians -- late August 1853

He used as his model the council held near Fort Laramie two years before [1851] by mountain man and Indian agent Thomas “Broken Hand” Fitzpatrick where the Indians had agreed to allow passage rights to the whites and to stay within carefully delineated tribal boundaries -- thus ending the incessant warfare Stevens hoped to drive the same bargain along the anticipated transcontinental railroad route further, he hoped to reach an agreement with the Blackfoot and Flatheads that Fitzpatrick missed to carry out his goal, Stevens scheduled a great intertribal council for the next summer [1854] although he had not sought authorization to do so from the Indian Department As he proceeded West he conducted preliminary talks with every native band he could reach very quickly he achieved an inflated idea of his abilities as an Indian manager

#### JAMES BILES WAGON TRAIN MEETS WALLA WALLA INDIANS

Family of Tyrus Himes was camping in the Blue Mountains with other emigrants Chief Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox (or Yellow Serpent) the great chief of the Walla Wallas accompanied by a number of braves dressed in fringed and beaded buckskins and feathered war bonnets, they rode into their camp and were attracted to the wagon of Mr. Himes regarding the great chief James Longmire noted: **“The chief of the Walla Wallas Peu-peumox-mox (sic) or Yellow Serpent, a very important person who rode, with the dignity of a king, a large American horse, a beautiful bay, with holsters on his saddle, and a pair of navy revolvers. He was a large, fine looking Indian, fully aware of his power as a chief...”**<sup>61</sup>

Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox became infatuated with the pretty, curly haired, strawberry-blond little girl who was under the care of her older brother George watching the child for some time, the chief and his warriors mounted their horses and rode away Next morning hundreds of Indian ponies were seen around the hills close by immigrants soon learned the Indians were there by order of Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox to trade for the little fair-haired baby Great chief’s offer was rejected upon leaving with his braves, the Chief of the Walla Wallas was heard to say “Nika tum-tum, wake skookum” meaning his heart was not strong, or he was weak and sick this rejection demonstrated proof of the great chief’s honor he easily could have massacred the wagon train and taken his coveted prize, but he did not

#### JAMES LONGMIRE WAGON TRAIN SPLINTERS FROM THE BILES WAGON TRAIN

At the Umatilla River, Longmire led thirty-one wagons as they struck out for Fort Walla Walla (today’s Wallula, Washington) -- 1853 Longmire’s party decided to immigrate over the Cascade Mountains directly to Puget Sound rather than continuing down the Columbia River to Fort Vancouver as the usual route required taking flatboats down Columbia River from Fort Walla Walla portages were made where necessary before arriving at Fort Vancouver where Indians were hired to canoe the settlers to Puget Sound

---

<sup>61</sup> Oregon Pioneer Association, Transactions of the [1<sup>st</sup>]-56<sup>th</sup> Annual Reunion, P. 341.

Longmire and his immigrants hoped to find a “guide and director” waiting at Fort Walla Walla left for them by Captain George B. McClellan as he had been instructed by Congress (in fact, McClellan failed to discharge his road building duties -- no guide had been left)

#### *JAMES P. FLINT* SUFFERS AN ACCIDENT

After eighteen months plying the waters of the Columbia River between the Cascades and Portland steamboat *James P. Flint* crashed into a rock opposite Multnomah Falls and sank while in command of Captain George Coffin -- September 1853  
no lives were lost but the steamboat was abandoned  
(she was raised, equipped with the engines out of the *Columbia* and renamed the *Fashion*)

#### STEAMBOAT *FASHION* PROVIDES SERVICE ON THE COLUMBIA BELOW THE CASCADES

*James P. Flint* was raised from the waters of the Columbia River near Multnomah Falls  
Daniel F. and Putnam F. Bradford equipped her with the engines out of the tiny *Columbia*  
*James P. Flint* was rebuilt and was renamed the *Fashion*  
Bradford & Company’s *Fashion* continued to provide steamboat service  
where the *James P. Flint* left off -- 1853  
Lawrence White Coe, the son of first postal agent in the Northwest Nathaniel Coe,  
had come to Oregon Territory (in [1852])  
he served as purser aboard the *Fashion*  
(later he made a name for himself as a steamboat builder, operator and captain)

#### SETTLERS CONFRONT A PARTY OF MAKAH INDIANS

New Dungeness was visited by a large group of Makah Indians in their canoes  
they camped on the sand spit at the entrance to the harbor  
with them was an Indian who had killed Albert Pettingill near Port Townsend (the previous spring)  
Clallam Indians informed the local settlers of the presence of the murderer  
six pioneers who were in the neighborhood met and sent for reinforcements  
one of the pioneers was sent to talk with the Indians and demand the killers surrender  
when he arrived in the camp the Makahs refused to deliver up him  
they challenged the white men to battle  
when three additional whites arrived the nine men attempted to enter the Indian camp  
they were fired upon and firing followed from both sides  
two Indians were killed and two wounded  
one white man slightly hurt by a musket ball in the next  
darkness put an end to the engagement which was conducted in canoes,  
Indians dispersed, the murderer going to Port Townsend

#### SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS JOEL PALMER ARRIVES IN SOUTHERN OREGON

Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer who had replaced Superintendent Anson Dart and Indian Agent Samuel H. Culver arrived at the Rogue River -- September 1853  
Palmer was authorized by the United States Government to negotiate treaties with the Indians  
Palmer was trying desperately to write a new series of treaties

that would suit both Congress and the Indians of the Northwest

Table Rock looked like an opportunity to deal with Oregon's most troublesome tribe  
Second Lieutenant A.V. Kautz and his six Fourth Infantry artillerymen escorted the Indian Agents  
they delivered their twelve-pound howitzer accompanied by a company of Willamette Valley men  
Captain A. J. Smith also arrived from California with the troops of U.S. First Dragoons Company C

#### GENERAL JOE LANE MEETS WITH THE ROGUE RIVER INDIANS

General Lane believed he now had sufficient force to confront the Indians  
his whole command was anxious and willing to fight, but General Lane had pledged to the Indians  
that an effort should be made to reestablish peace

Rogue River Indians asked for a council

General Lane met with the Rogue River Indians -- September 4, 1853

arrival of the howitzer did a great deal to awe the natives into submission

Indians had become aware of the approach of the howitzer several days before

they said it was a "hyas rifle" that took a hatful of powder for a load

and would shoot down a tree

it was an object of great terror to the Indians -- they begged not to have it fired

Through negotiations General Joe Lane called for a peace council to be held

date for the council to be held in the Indian camp was set for [September 8]

it was agreed General Lane would be accompanied by ten unarmed men

preliminary talks would be held to complete arrangements

#### JAMES W. NESMITH DISAPPROVES OF THE COUNCIL TERMS

Captain James Nesmith arrived in General Lane's with forty Salem volunteers

he told General Lane that he did not like the terms agreed to for the treaty talks

he said that he had traveled this country for five years

and he had fought these same Indians before

they were notoriously treacherous and earned the designation of "Rogues"

by never allowing a white man in their power to escape

Nesmith said he knew the Rogues better than the General did

it was criminal folly for eleven unarmed men to place themselves voluntarily

within the power of well-armed hostile Indians in their own secure camp

General Lane listened to the protest and replied that he had agreed to the terms of the meeting

and would keep his word -- if Nesmith was afraid he could remain behind

Nesmith responded that he was as well acquainted with fear as the General

Nesmith would accompany him to what he believed would be their slaughter

#### GENERAL JOE LANE HOLDS A PRELIMINARY MEETING WITH THE ROGUE RIVER INDIANS

Lane met with the Rogue River Indians preliminary to peace talks -- September 5, 1853

General Lane was accompanied by Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer,

Captain A. J. Smith of the U.S. First Dragoons Company C,

L.F. Grover of Nesmith's Salem Volunteers and others -- all well-armed

## ELEVEN BRAVE MEN FACE THE ROGUE RIVER INDIANS IN PEACE TALKS

General Joe Lane, with customary fearlessness, set out for the Council -- morning September 8, 1853  
he brought ten additional unarmed men with him

including Superintendent Joel Palmer and Indian Agent Samuel P. Culver

U.S. First Dragoons Company C Captain A. J. Smith and Adjunct L. F. Mosher,

Fourth Infantry Second Lieutenant A.V. Kautz with soldiers R. B. Metcalf and J. D. Mason

California volunteer John E. Ross, Oregon volunteer James W. Nesmith

and T. P. Tierney who spoke Chinook Jargon and acted as guide and interpreter

After riding a couple of miles across the level valley they came to the foot of the mountain

where it was too steep for horses to ascend -- they dismounted and hitched their horses

With a great deal of effort they scrambled for half a mile up over huge rocks and through brambles

then found ourselves in the Indian stronghold just under the perpendicular cliff of Table Rock

they were surrounded by seven hundred well-armed hostile warriors

all in their gorgeous war paint and feathers

as James W. Nesmith later noted: **“Captain Smith had drawn out his company of dragoons, and left them in line on the plain below. It was a bright, beautiful morning, and the Rogue River Valley lay like a panorama at our feet; the exact line of dragoons, sitting statue like upon their horses, with their white belts and burnished scabbards and carbines, looked like they were engraven upon a picture, while a few paces in our rear the huge perpendicular wall of the Table Rock towered, frowningly many hundred feet above us.”**<sup>62</sup>

## TREATY TALKS WITH THE ROGUE RIVER INDIANS BEGIN

Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer, General Joe Lane and other unarmed men  
entered the Rogue River Indian camp on one of the prominent mesa formations

Talks began but the writing of a treaty became unduly complicated

an initial “Treaty of Peace,” was agreed to

and signed by the significant participants -- September 8, 1853

Terms of the agreement were harsh for the Rogue River Indians:

- they were bound to reside permanently in a place to be set aside for them;
- they were to give up all firearms to the Indian agent placed over them  
except for seventeen rifles to be kept for hunting;
- they were to receive an annual annuity from the federal government for their lands  
but they must pay out of that sum an indemnity for property destroyed by them  
if they went to war with the settlers they would forfeit all of their annuities;
- they were to notify the agent of other tribes entering the Rogue River Valley with warlike intent  
and assist the settlers in expelling them;
- they were to apply to the Indian agent for redress whenever they suffered any grievances  
at the hands of the white people;
- in short, they gave up their entire independence  
and become wards of a government of which they knew nothing

---

<sup>62</sup> *The Council at Table Rock, 1853, Reminiscences of Senator James W. Nesmith and General Joseph Lane.*  
[Oregon Historical Society Quarterly, VII, 190), P. 217.

## JAMES LONGMIRE WAGON TRAIN LEAVES FORT WALLA WALLA

Preparations were completed at the post and Longmire noted construction of a raft was finished crossing the Columbia River began -- 2 o'clock in the afternoon September 8, 1853  
by sunrise the next morning the crossing was complete except for the animals

Indians were sought to drive the cattle and horses across

Nelson Sargent was the only man who could speak Chinook Jargon  
but not well enough to make a bargain with the Indians

Fort Walla Walla's agent hired Indians for the wagon train to swim their stock across  
Indians were paid \$18 for their service and they brought up twenty-five canoes  
they formed in line below the crossing and the cattle and oxen were driven into the water  
they swam safely across to shore

Next came the horses

when the herd was about in the middle of the river the treacherous Indians laid down their oars  
they made signs which demanded more money  
meanwhile the horses were drifting down stream to where high bluffs rose on either side  
they could not possibly land at that location  
when more money was provided, they took up their oars at once and paddled across  
safely landing the horses

## ADDITIONAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Arriving by ship were Chief Justice Edward Lander, Territorial Secretary C.H. Mason  
and Attorney General J.S. Clendenin and his family -- September 1853

## SECOND TREATY IS SIGNED WITH THE ROGUE RIVER INDIANS

At the second treaty meeting conducted at Table Rock -- September 10, 1853  
long speeches were made by General Joe Lane and Superintendent Joel Palmer  
these were translated twice: first by James Nesmith into Chinook Jargon  
then by a Rogue River native into their language  
the same procedure was followed with each reply -- but in reverse  
double translation of each long speech made communication tedious  
extremely limited vocabulary of Chinook Jargon allowed for none of the subtleties  
necessary to communicate legal ideas, terms and understandings

During the talks a young Indian came running into camp stark naked

he was perspiring freely from his great exertion  
after a short tirade he threw himself on the ground exhausted  
his speech created a great clamor among his tribe

After the usual translation process was finished, General Lane was informed  
white men on Applegate Creek under the command of California volunteer Captain Owen  
captured an Indian known as Jim Taylor that morning  
they tied him to a tree and shot him to death

Turmoil and confusion among the Indians immediately became intense  
an Indian interpreter warned James W. Nesmith that Rogue Indians

were talking of treating them the same way  
some Indians gathered ropes  
others drew the skin covers from their guns and removed the ramrod from the muzzle

#### EVASIVE ACTIONS ARE ATTEMPTED

There could be a volley of fire from the Indians at any instant  
James Nesmith explained in a few words to Joe Lane what the interpreter had told him  
he explained to the others using words not easily understood by the interpreter  
they should not huddle together but rather “disperse” and “segregate”

All of the whites remained calm

they separated from one another and moved closer to the warriors  
so any general firing would have been nearly as fatal to the Indians as to the whites  
this action removed the temptation the group as a whole presented

General Joe Lane invited the Indians to lay down their weapons and join the Council  
Lane’s demeanor was composed and deliberate

Lane took the precaution of communicating a plan with friendly Klickitat Chief Quatley  
Quatley and a few of his tribesmen moved close the principal Rogue River Indian chief  
General Lane sat on a log his bandaged arm in a sling with his mouth rigidly compressed  
his eyes flashed his fierce countenance

Captain A. J. Smith, who was prematurely gray-haired, leaned on his saber  
he looked anxiously down to his orderly line of U.S. First Dragoons in the valley below  
his squadron looked beautiful, but they could not be of assistance

Nesmith hiding a sharp hunting knife under his shirt sat down on a log close to the Rogue chief  
he kept one hand near its handle determined to make use of it if firing started

In a few moments as the tension increased, General Lane stood up and spoke slowly but distinctly  
he began: **“Owens who has violated the armistice and killed Jim Taylor, is a bad man. He is not one of my soldiers. When I catch him he shall be punished. I promised in good faith to come to your camp, with ten other unarmed men to secure peace. Myself and my men are placed in your power; I do not believe that you are such cowardly dogs as to take advantage of our unarmed condition. I know that you have the power to murder us, and you can do so as quickly as you please, but what good will our blood do you? Our murder will exasperate our friends and your tribe will be hunted from the face of the earth. Let us proceed with the treaty, and in place of war, have a lasting peace.”**<sup>63</sup>

As General Joe Lane continued to speak in this vein the excitement gradually subsided  
when Lane promised to give fair compensation in shirts and blankets for the deceased Jim Taylor  
the crisis passed

#### TABLE ROCK TREATY IS SIGNED

Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer signed a second agreement,  
this one was titled “The Treaty for Sale of Lands” -- September 10, 1853

---

<sup>63</sup> *The Council at Table Rock, 1853. Reminiscences of Senator James W. Nesmith and General Joseph Lane, “Oregon Historical Society Quarterly,” VII, 1907. P. 219-220.*

this amounted to two translations of the same document

this agreement was also signed by Jo (Apserkahar), Sam (Toquahear), Jim (Anachaharah),  
John and Lympe

witnesses were Joseph Lane, Augustus V. Kautz, James W. Nesmith, R.B. Metcalf,  
John (Indian interpreter), J.D. Mason and T.P. Tierney

Joel Palmer's treaty was unique in that it did not herd the Indians off their ancient land

rather, this treaty let them retain full sovereignty over a "reserved" portion of their native home  
and granted them certain hunting and fishing rights even in the ceded portions

this became the model for future Indian negotiations throughout the Northwest

Eleven very brave men made their way among the rocks down to where their horses were tied  
they mounted and returned to the squadron of dragoons

Captain A.J. Smith galloped up to his squadron and gave a brief order

as the bugle sounded the squadron wheeled and trotted off back to camp

Rays of the setting sun reflected from the summit of Table Rock

as General Joe Lane and his party rode back across the valley

#### TERMS OF THE TABLE ROCK TREATY DO NOT FAVOR THE INDIANS

Under the Treaty for Sale of Lands all the country claimed by the Rogue River Indians was given up  
except 100 square miles on the north side of the Rogue River between Table Rock and Evans Creek

only ten or twelve square miles were arable land -- the remainder being rough and mountainous

United States agreed to pay \$60,000 for the whole Rogue River Valley

after deducting \$15,000 for the losses of property by settlers

\$5,000 of the remaining \$45,000 was to be spent on agricultural implements, blankets,  
clothing, and other goods deemed conducive to the welfare of the Indians

payments would be made in sixteen installments of \$2,500 in clothing, blankets,  
farming utensils, stock and such other articles

as would best meet the needs of the Indians [beginning September 1, 1854]

further the U.S. Government agreed to build a dwelling not to exceed \$500 each

for the three principal chiefs as soon as practical

after the treaty was ratified by the U.S. Senate

when the Indians were removed to their permanent reserve

new buildings of equal value should be constructed for the three chiefs,

and \$15,000 additional should be paid to the tribe in five annual installments

beginning after the previous sixteen installments had expired

other articles were added to the treaty:

- Indians were bound to protect the agents or other persons sent to live with them  
by the United States Government;
- Indians were to refrain from harassing any white person passing through their reserves;
- it was agreed that no private revenges or retaliations should be indulged in by either side  
chiefs should, on receiving a complaint being made by the Indian agent,  
deliver up the offender to be tried and punished under United States law;
- Indian complaints of any violation of law by white men against them  
would result in the perpetrator suffering the penalty of the law

Under the terms of the treaties the Rogue River Indians would receive “**benefits they did not want, could not understand and were better off without**”<sup>64</sup>

#### PUGET SOUND SETTLERS ATTEMPT TO BUILD A ROAD OVER NACHES PASS

Pioneers in the newly created Washington Territory believed too many settlers traveled over Sam Barlow’s toll road to Oregon City or down the Columbia to Fort Vancouver before turning toward the Willamette Valley more settlers were needed in Washington and the overflow from the south did not provide enough For many years when hunting Indians followed a trail between the Yakima Valley and Puget Sound they crossed the Cascade Mountains over Naches (sometimes Nahchess or Nachess) Pass early settlers had also crossed the Cascades using that pass but only on foot or horseback using the first carved out of the dense forest by migrating animals and improved up by Indians pioneers for some time pushed for construction of a wagon road over Naches Pass nothing had been accomplished -- or even seriously attempted in spite of Captain George B. McClellan and his orders Puget Sound settlers, frustrated by the lack of action from Washington City employed typical pioneer regional enthusiasm to attempt to a build a road linking Steilacoom with Fort Walla Walla (today’s Wallula, Washington) road builders from Olympia and Steilacoom headed by Edward Allen of Olympia went to Naches Pass to carve a road across the Cascades from the summit to Puget Sound Leschi, a Nisqually sub-chief, had the largest horse herd on the Nisqually Prairie he offered a dozen horses to help with the project he asked how much the settlers were being paid and was told all of the others were volunteering he agreed to donate the use of his animals Quiemuth, Leschi’s brother, also went along to lead a pack train

#### BOAT BUILDER ROGER ATTWELL MOVES TO THE VILLAGE OF UPPER CASCADES

Daniel and Putman Bradford operated the portage tramway portage along the north bank of the Columbia River that ended upriver at the village of Upper Cascades Roger Attwell had arrived at Bradford’s Landing at Upper Cascades with him 500 pounds of boatbuilding tools [1852] Roger met Mary Jane Hervey-Williams who arrived on the Oregon Trail -- 1853 they married and established a land grant of 320 acres on the Oregon side of the Columbia River just above the rapids where there was a mountain stream suitable for water-power for a sawmill good timber was available and there was also a suitable landing and launch site a sandbar in the Columbia created a long slough large enough to dock several vessels Isaac Bush owned the local hotel at Upper Cascades and became acquainted with Roger G. Attwell discussions with Roger met Mary Jane Attwell soon resulted in a project to build a steamer led by master carpenter and Boatwright Roger G. Attwell Mary became a member of the boat construction team

---

<sup>64</sup> Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Pacific States of North America*, P. 319.

Bush and Company bought the hull of Hudson's Bay Company's small steamer *Allen* that had wrecked one night at Mitchell's Point (Hood River, Oregon [1851] hull of the *Allen* was too long and too heavy to move in one section so it was cut in half and moved up river to the Attwell landing and mill

Roger Attwell and his crew got to work adding a twenty-foot middle section to the two ends of the hull he strengthened the hull and added a side-wheel to the middle section

#### STEAMBOAT *MARY* IS LAUNCHED FOR SERVICE ABOVE THE CASCADES OF THE COLUMBIA

Steamer *Mary* was the product of a community effort and team work led by Roger Attwell funds for the *Mary* were supplies by local businessmen

Roger Attwell named his little side-wheel steamer *Mary* in honor of his wife she was launched and a big celebration was held on board -- September 12, 1853

*Mary's* home port was to be at Bradford's Landing

she served the fifty miles of the Middle Passage of the Columbia River delivering cargo and passengers between Bradford's Landing and The Dalles for eight years [until 1861]

she was far from a luxury steamer, however, she was well constructed for the hard work in the swift waters of the Middle Passage the Columbia River

#### COLUMBIA RIVER STEAMBOATS PROVIDE SERVICE AS FAR UPRIVER AS THE DALLES

Steamers *Bell of Oregon City* and *Fashion* delivered passengers and freight from Portland to the village of Lower Cascades below the Cascade Rapids where portage service was provided to Bradford's Landing on the Middle Passage of the Columbia River

Steamer *Mary* under the command of Captain Dan Baughman carried traffic from Bradford's Landing at The Cascades upriver to The Dalles

#### MORE TROUBLE FOR THE LONGMIRE TRAIN

Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox's brother had been hired to guide the wagons to Naches Pass one day the guide made a horse trade in which he felt himself cheated he grew indignant and deserted the immigrants who were left alone without a landmark, a compass, or a guide

#### CHENOWETH'S TRAMWAY IS PURCHASED BY THE BRADFORD BROTHERS

Daniel F. and Putnam F. Bradford dreamed of a shipping monopoly on the upper Columbia River Francis Chenoweth sold his four-wheeled wooden flat car and mules and track -- 1853

bypassing Dalles Rapids and Long Narrows Rapids to the Bradford brothers this purchase by the Bradford brothers was financed by a "silent partner" businessman James P. Flint of San Francisco

Bradford & Company extended their "Cascades Railway" six miles around The Cascades Rapids an upriver landing was constructed at Upper Cascades above Celilo Falls

Bradford Landing, for used by steamboats, was constructed downriver at the foot of Celilo Falls

## JAMES LONGMIRE WAGON TRAIN REACHES THE YAKIMA RIVER

Longmire Party continued to the upper Yakima River Valley  
they were forced to ford the Yakima River a total of eight times

They followed the Yakima a few miles then turned north  
toward Wellspring near Rattlesnake Spring (on today's Hanford Site)

traveling through the wilderness, Longmire reported: **"From the Yakima River we [were] followed by a band of Indians, who had kept our wives and children in perfect terror, but laughed and chatted gaily as they rode along. The tyees or big men were dressed in buckskin leggings, handsomely beaded, and breech-clouts, made of cedar bark. The (Indian women) were dressed very similarly. Men and squaws all had painted faces. The (Indian women) always carried the papooses done up in proper Indian fashion and hung to the horn of the saddle, which bobbed up and down in no very easy manner when the ponies were in full gallop."**<sup>65</sup>

Longmire train reached Wellspring

because the region seemed impossible to cross they sent out men to find a better road  
but without success

Seeing their plight the Indians dismounted their horses,

cleared a small patch of ground and marked two roads -- one heading northeast; other northwest  
along each road they placed dots in the ground saying "sleeps, sleeps"  
at the end of the road they said "soldiers"

Immigrants decided on the route with the fewest "sleeps" and set out for the northeast

## LONGMIRE WAGON TRAIN DISCOVERS ITS ERROR

Even without a compass it became obvious they had taken the wrong route

James Longmire reported in his diary: **"We saw before us almost a perpendicular bluff, seemingly 1,000 feet high, extending far away to the mountains. This we learned later was White Bluffs, on the Columbia River. Here we camped for the night, ordering the Indians to camp at a respectful distance from us, which they did, much to our surprise. However, we placed a double guard out, as we suspected they had led us to this trap in order to massacre our whole party; but I really believe, now, that their intentions were good, if they had been able to make us understand them. The next day we retraced our way to Well Springs [sic], where we had left our proper course; but in due time we learned that our Indian escort meant to conduct us to Fort Colville [sic], an English trading post, for the winter, thinking the snow on the Cascades would prevent our reaching Fort Steilacoom, where United States soldiers were stationed. Upon reaching Well Springs, our followers left us, much to our relief. We were further encouraged the same night by the return of Nelson Sargent, who with others had gone in advance to look out a good road, with the glad news that after crossing the canyon a good road lay before us; and still better news that they had struck a trail which the Steilacoom and Olympia Company had blazed for the coming emigrants."**<sup>66</sup>

## LONGMIRE TRAIN LEAVES WELLSRING AGAIN

Wellspring was left behind again, but this time the route traveled lay northwest -- September 18, 1853

---

<sup>65</sup> Oregon Pioneer Association, Transactions of the [1<sup>st</sup>]-56<sup>th</sup> Annual Reunion, P. 342.

<sup>66</sup> Oregon Pioneer Association, Transactions of the [1<sup>st</sup>]-56<sup>th</sup> Annual Reunion, P. 343.

they traveled the length of a canyon covering about a mile of extremely difficult terrain  
before coming out on a beautiful plain

Following Cold Creek for two days they came to Selah Valley on the upper Yakima River  
which was crossed

They had reached the Wenas Valley (northwest of today's Yakima)

Longmire continued his narrative: **"...taking our course along Wenas Creek, about ten miles, when we came to a garden [cultivated by Chief Ow-hi], now the farm of David Longmire, my son, who was a little boy making his way with the rest of us across the plains. This garden was kept by Indians, of whom we bought thirteen bushels of potatoes, the first vegetables we had had since leaving the Rocky Mountains -- a real feast, though boiled in their jackets. It required a bucketful to make one meal for us."**<sup>67</sup>

A few days of well-deserved rest were taken in the Wenas Valley

#### LONGMIRE TRAIN SETS OUT AGAIN

In an effort to make their journey less difficult the Longmire Train traveled along river beds  
they followed Wenas Creek to its source and crossed to the Naches River

which they followed for four days crossing and recrossing sixty-eight times

to add to their difficulties, their bedding and food were wet most of the time

Leaving the Naches River the wagon train began the difficult climb

up the east side of the Cascade Mountains -- September 24, 1853

these hardy pioneers now faced with a grave challenge which had previously defeated

George B. McClellan and his survey crew

and the naive efforts of the Olympia and Steilacoom road builders

but this time failure meant disaster

Longmire and his companions followed a ridge

between the North and Middle Forks of the Little Naches River toward the Cascade summit

slowly the wagon train climbed higher into the mountains

frequently boulders had to be rolled out of the way

when they reached the timber line, trees had to be cut down to provide a passage

women and children cleared away brush ahead of the caravan

it was back-breaking work

sometimes the wagons moved less than a mile a day

each night the people wondered if they would ever get to the top of the mountain pass

#### TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS REACHES WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Averaging a hard forty miles a day from Fort Benton, the governor's pack train angled southward  
then turned west to cross the summit of the Rocky Mountains at Cadotte's Pass

he was at the extreme eastern edge of his new domain -- September 24, 1853

though drenched in a violent rainstorm, Stevens conducted an appropriate ceremony

he formally declared the establishment of the Territory of Washington by Congress

Stevens noted a train tunnel 4.25 miles in length would be required at Cadotte's Pass

---

<sup>67</sup> Oregon Pioneer Association, Transactions of the [1<sup>st</sup>]-56<sup>th</sup> Annual Reunion, P 343-344.

he then led the way down the Big Blackfoot River (to the vicinity of present-day Missoula)  
Rumors of gold (they were true) enticed the expedition members  
but the party continued up the beautiful Bitterroot Valley to Fort Owen  
(site of the first permanent white settlement in Montana)

#### TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR ISAAC TEVENS' SURVEY PARTY REACHES FORT BENTON

Washington Territorial Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens stopped in (central Montana)  
to reassemble and re-supply scattered surveying parties of engineers at Fort Benton  
in anticipation of the most daunting part of their work -- probing the Rocky Mountains  
to locate a passage through the Bitterroot Mountains  
which still lay ahead of them-- early September 1853  
he knew additional appropriations of funds would be necessary to complete the railroad survey  
he wrote Secretary of War Jefferson Davis saying it would be shame to stop the work at this point  
he wrote an additional letter to the Indian Department asking for authorization  
of the anticipated council he had been promising the Indians  
Stevens then dispatched his exploring parties toward the mountains as if their expenses were paid  
while he turned to the north toward Canada to invite still more Indians to the big talk  
he had set for the following summer [1854]

#### GOVERNOR STEVENS RETURNS TO FORT BENTON

Washington Territorial Governor Stevens had not traveled very far north  
when a courier summoned him back to Fort Benton  
Lieutenant Rufus Saxton, who had established a supply station in the Bitterroot Valley,  
had ridden east with a small party across the Continental Divide to meet Stevens' Party  
after a brief conversation Stevens decided he would have to forgo his northern swing  
to get through the Rocky Mountains before they were blocked by snow  
he also would have to abandon his slow wagons and hurry along with a pack train

#### ISAAC STEVENS' EXPEDITION ESTABLISHES CANTONMENT STEVENS

By now the governor knew that the looping curves and tangled spurs of the Continental Divide  
could not be surveyed within a matter of weeks  
He decided to establish a base called Cantonment (temporary quarters) Stevens  
a few miles upstream from Fort Owen  
and keep several parties working from that location as long as the weather allowed  
One lieutenant, twenty-three-year-old John Mullan, was even detailed to stay all winter  
and keep measurements on the snowfall -- a record of obvious importance to a railroad  
Mullan noted in his report to the Topographical Bureau noted: **“the lateness of the season, the difficulty of the country, the importance of our mission, the scarcity of our supplies, the meagerness of the information we then possessed and the necessity felt for a more detailed and thorough exploration of the Rocky Mountain section ... all conspired to influence Governor Stevens to leave in the mountains a small party for the winter of 1853, for further explorations....”**  
Because of his pressing duties as governor, Isaac Stevens pushed with a small party  
down the Bitterroot Valley to the Clark Fork River

## GEORGE FREDERICK WHITWORTH LEADS A PARTY OF PRESBYTERIANS WESTWARD

George Whitworth was born in England and educated in Indiana where he attended Hanover College he became a Presbyterian minister but moved his family to Washington Territory -- 1853 where he hoped to establish a Presbyterian colony

For the first three months while traveling over the Oregon Trail Whitworth's party rested themselves and their oxen every Sunday and listened to a sermon from the preacher but rumored dangers in Indian country forced them to abandon the restful Sabbath and hasten westward for the remainder of the journey

Whitworth family members who completed the journey to Puget Sound consisted of George and Mary and their children James Edwin, Frederick, John Matthew and Clara, Mary's two nieces, her 70-year-old mother, and two young men named Bell they also brought cattle and horses

Whitworth and others traveling with him brought with them a world view that was Victorian Christianity, education, government and capitalism were all necessary to the advance of civilization

## LONGMIRE TRAIN ARRIVES AT THE SUMMIT OF NACHES PASS

After three days of back-breaking toil hacking through dense forest a rich prairie of fine grass and good water was reached -- September 27, 1853 this became known as Summit Prairie (and today as Government Meadow)

George Himes, nine years old at the time, wrote a description of the scene in a letter [1905]:

**“In due time the summit of the Cascades was reached. Here there was a small prairie -- really it was an old burn that had not grown up to timber of any size.”**<sup>68</sup>

James Longmire commented they found **“fine grass and good water. Here we stopped for two days, giving our tired oxen a good rest and plenty of food, which they badly needed, for the rest of the trip.”**<sup>69</sup>

Some of the men made camp for the night on Summit Prairie in full view of Tacobet Lemonti (later known as Mount Tahoma or Mount Rainier) they took in the scene around them:

- green meadows swept away from their feet,
  - leaves on the shrubs had turned to red and yellow,
  - in the distance they could view broad valleys and hills covered with timber,
  - every way they turned, they gazed upon the wild beauty of the mountains
- lofty peaks rose up in every direction and rising over them all was (Mount Rainier) covered with glacial ice and snow

Other pioneers eagerly went to look for the construction party which had been promised and relished the opportunity to travel the newly-constructed road to Puget Sound

When the seekers returned, they walked slowly and said little to each other no road to Steilacoom could be found they could not know that the road crew from Puget Sound had stopped work

---

<sup>68</sup> Joan and Gene Olson. *Washington Times and Trails*, P. 89

<sup>69</sup> Oregon Pioneer Association, Transactions of the [1<sup>st</sup>]-56<sup>th</sup> Annual Reunion, P. 344.

due to hunger and discouragement when it seemed no one was coming through Naches Pass some of the workers had gone home just a week before Longmire's party arrived on the scene

#### CAPTAIN GEORGE B. McCLELLAN INVESTIGATES EASTERN WASHINGTON

After crossing the outlet of Lake Chelan,

McClellan moved his party northward reaching the Okanogan River -- September 27, 1853

Captain McClellan's survey party averaged only five mile a day as they worked northward

Little Mac allowed his surveyors time to pan for gold as they traveled

Camp was made along the river about one and a half miles from Fort Okanogan,

an old Hudson Bay Company establishment that lay in ruins

McClellan described structure and noted that little business took place there

Fort Okanogan's caretaker, Joe Lafleur, told McClellan **"there was no pass between Mt. Baker and the Hudson's Bay Company's trail from Okinakane [sic] to Langley [in British Columbia],"**<sup>70</sup>

but there was a foot trail that led from the headwaters of the Methow River to Puget Sound

Running low on supplies George McClellan cut his forces

McClellan and his remaining men continued north at least to Lake Osoyoos

#### LONGMIRE PARTY PRESSES ON

In spite of the surrounding majestic beauty after two days of rest Longmire and his party moved on they began their journey down the west side of the Cascade Mountains

A trek of three miles brought the pioneers from Summit Prairie up to Summit Hill atop Naches Pass there they found a bluff overlooking the (Greenwater River) -- September 29, 1853

George Himes continued in his letter: **"Now it was October [sic] and bitter cold to the youth with bare feet and fringed pants extending half way down from knees to feet. My father and the teams had left camp and gone across the little burn, where most of the company was assembled, apparently debating about the next movement to make. And no wonder for as we neared we saw the cause of the delay. For a sheer thirty feet or more there was an almost perpendicular bluff. For more than a thousand feet further down the mountain it was so steep that a team could not stand up.**

**"It was at this point my mother exclaimed, after looking over the precipice, 'Well, George, I guess we have got to the jumping-off place at last.'"**<sup>71</sup>

Men were sent to find a way around the precipice -- they found none

heavy timber in all directions eliminated the possibility of getting on by any other route

they thought of the oncoming winter -- there would soon be heavy snows and freezing weather

there was very little food left in the wagons -- to go over the cliff was the only way

#### LONGMIRE PARTY PREPARES TO ENCOUNTER THE JUMPING-OFF PLACE

Longest rope in the wagon train was stretched down the cliff

leaving just enough to be wound twice around a small tree which stood on the edge of the drop-off

but it was far too short -- pioneers were trapped on the edge of the bluff

---

<sup>70</sup> United States War Department, *Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean: 1853-55. Volume 1*, Washington: A.O.P Nicholson, printer, 1860: p. 142.

<sup>71</sup> Joan and Gene Olson. *Washington Times and Trails*. P. 89.

James Biles said **“Kill one of my poorest steers and make a rope of his hide, and if that is not long enough, kill another.”**<sup>72</sup>

three steers were killed and skinned before the necessary length of rawhide was secured  
this was added to the 180-foot rope they already had  
With no other option, the wagons were unloaded -- September 29, 1853  
wagon tongues were tied upright  
wheels were chained so they would not turn, but rather had to skid  
small trees were tied to the backs of the wagons to further act as brakes  
to help keep the wagons from getting away  
One end of rawhide line was tied to the wagon axles and the other end was looped a few turns  
around a tree and held by several men  
when the free end of the line was gradually let out, the wagons were lowered slowly over the cliff  
by holding tightly the end of the line wrapped around the tree,  
men could also help keep the wagon from running away  
One by one each wagon skidded down the 300 yards to the relative safety of a large bench  
located part of the way to the Greenwater River below  
next sleds were made to lower the possessions which had been taken from the wagons  
Lowering each wagon and sled down the cliff was hard and dangerous work  
on the bench, safely below the steepest part of the cliff, the ropes were loosened  
but the wheels remained locked to hold the wagon in place  
Next, the animals were driven down the cliff single file via a circuitous route to the bench  
finally the pioneers themselves followed their animals  
an almost perpendicular descent had been overcome  
From the bench each wagon was hitched to the oxen  
with wheels locked and branches still attached to the back,  
one by one each wagon slowly rolled another quarter mile downhill from the bench  
to the Greenwater River below  
amazingly, all the wagons were lowered safely with the exception of [John] Lanes'  
which was lost when the line broke and the family's wagon with a small quantity of provisions  
went crashing down the slope to be smashed to bits on the rocks and trees below  
Lanes' family finished the journey on horseback  
Descent down the Jumping-Off Place took two days

#### HELP ARRIVES FOR THE LONGMIRE TRAIN

As the men labored to deliver the last of the wagons to the stream bed of the Greenwater River,  
women and children followed a circuitous Indian trail down the steep slope -- September 30, 1853  
Virinda (Mrs. James) Longmire and Mrs. A.E. Light had started early in the morning  
down the difficult, narrow trail leading to the river below  
as they descended the route Virinda Longmire in the lead was surprised to meet a white man  
she had not seen one except in their party since leaving Fort Walla Walla

---

<sup>72</sup> Laura B. Downey Bartlett, *Student's History of the Northwest and State of Washington*, Vol. I. P. 163.

Andy Burge had been sent out from Fort Steilacoom with supplies for the road construction crew he exclaimed to the ladies, **“My God, women, where in the world did you come from?”--a greeting rough, but friendly in its roughness to the two women who shrank against the trees and shrubbery along the narrow trail to give him room to pass with his pack animal to pass with his pack house (horse), the trail being barely wide enough for one person.”**<sup>73</sup>

he learned the location of the wagon train from the two lone women in the wilderness  
Burge sought out the pioneers to tell them they could not possibly make it across the country ahead  
he urged returning to where there was grass and water for their animals and food for themselves  
Longmire’s party met in council and decided to move on toward Puget Sound  
when Andy Burge failed to convince them he set to work distributing his supplies  
Burge shook his head sadly and started out ahead of them on his return to Steilacoom  
blazing trees as he went and leaving notes tacked up trying to provide encouragement  
and preparing them for what was yet to come

At the western base of the Cascade Mountains, the Longmire Party crossed the (Greenwater River)  
they camped for the night at Bare Prairie -- September 30, 1853  
so named because of the lack of vegetation

however, the bubbling spring of clear water did provide some refreshment  
Longmire Party became very familiar with the westward flowing rivers --October 1, 1853

James Longmire noted: **“We crossed the Greenwater sixteen times and followed it until we came to White River, which we crossed six times, then we left it for a dreary pull over Wind Mountain, which was covered with heavy fir and cedar trees but destitute of grass, with a few vine maples, on whose long leaves our poor oxen and horses had to live for seven long days not having a blade of grass during that time.”**

Longmire continued his narrative: **“I must not forget to mention the fact that in these dark days--seven of them--we and our half-starved cattle worked the road every day. We bridged large logs which lay before us, by cutting others and laying alongside, making a bridge wide enough for the oxen to draw our wagons across....”**<sup>74</sup>

#### DESPERATION AGAIN SWEEPS THE LONGMIRE TRAIN

Progress slowed as the pioneers focused their attention every day for a week on road building  
grass was not available for the animals -- every day one or more died

Everyone was hungry and their food was almost gone  
when it seemed they could go no further, the Longmire Party met a few Indians  
who described the route to a place where there was grass for the oxen

Longmire accepted their generous advise

James Longmire described their situation: **“...all, except John Lane, E. A. Light and myself, left their wagons on account of their failing oxen, which they drove before them to Boise Creek Prairie [Northwest of today’s Buckley], where there was good grass. Lane, Light, and I arrived first;**

---

<sup>73</sup> Oregon Pioneer Association, Transactions of the [1<sup>st</sup>]-56<sup>th</sup> Annual Reunion, P. 344.

<sup>74</sup> Oregon Pioneer Association, Transactions of the [1<sup>st</sup>]-56<sup>th</sup> Annual Reunion, P. 345.

**the rest soon followed with their cattle and horses. Four miles further we reached Porter's Prairie...."**<sup>75</sup>

After seven days of hardship and weariness, the safe haven described by the Indians was reached Longmire's wagon train, most of the pioneers without their wagons, camped at Porter's Prairie -- October 1, 1853  
women and children gathered salal berries for food and found roots which provided some nourishment as the oxen ate their fill of grass famished and exhausted pioneers and oxen alike rested

#### **PUGET MILL COMPANY BEGINS OPERATION**

Josiah Keller landed with his wife and a daughter on Teekalet Spit there bunkhouse, cookhouse and store awaited the steam-powered sawmill and merchandise Keller served as superintendent of the mill

Within a week of landing the engine, boilers and a Muley saw was taken from the *L.P. Foster* Keller had steam up and he and the crew cut its first log at Teekalet Mill -- October 1, 1853 (first full year saw four million board feet of dressed lumber produced)

Outcome of the operation:

(Josiah Keller died at Victoria, B.C. which dissolved the partnership -- [1861]  
Andrew J. Pope and Captain William C. Talbot settled with Keller's heirs they bought out Captain William C. Talbot's interest in the Puget Mill Company  
Pope and Talbot then formed a partnership that included the old Puget Mill Company they changed the Teekalet Mill name to Port Gamble [1868]  
sawmill at Port Gamble operated continuously for 142 years from 1853 [until 1995])

#### **U.S. MARSHALL J. PATTON ANDERSON TAKES A CENSUS OF WASHINGTON TERRITORY**

After completing living arrangements in Olympia U.S. Marshall J. Patton Anderson conducted a census of Washington Territory as instructed by Secretary of the Interior Robert McClelland it was found that 3,965 whites, of which 1,682 were voters, were in residence -- autumn most of the population of Washington Territory resided mainly in places such as:  
Olympia, Tumwater, Vancouver, Cowlitz Prairie, Monticello and Seattle  
located in Clark, Thurston, Lewis, Pierce, Island, Jefferson King and Pacific counties  
with only limited numbers of people living outside of these jurisdictions

<u>County</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Voters</u>
Clarke	1,134	466
Thurston	996	381
Lewis	616	239
Pierce	513	276
Island	195	80
Jefferson	189	68
King	170	111
Pacific	152	61

---

<sup>75</sup> Oregon Pioneer Association, Transactions of the [1<sup>st</sup>]-56<sup>th</sup> Annual Reunion, P. 345.

Washington Territory was at the mercy of a far larger number of Indians  
it was reported that western Washington was home to between seven and eight thousand  
and east of the Cascade Mountains between six and seven thousand  
Indians on the sea-coast of Washington and along the Strait of Juan de Fuca  
were sometimes guilty of murder  
those living near the settlements could not always withstand the temptation to commit a robbery  
In addition, the Haida and Kwakiutl Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands (today's Haida Gwaii)  
were good seamen who possessed large strong war canoes in which they made long voyages  
to commit a murder or theft

#### GOVERNOR STEVENS CONTINUES HIS TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD SURVEY

After crossing the Rocky Mountains through a gap he called Cadotte Pass  
Stevens and his men made a quick stop at the Coeur d'Alene Mission  
next they followed old fur trader trails around Coeur d'Alene Lake to the ruins of Spokane House

#### CAPTAIN McCLELLAN CONTINUES HIS INVESTIGATION OF EASTERN WASHINGTON

For the next week Little Mac's survey party explored the Methow River route  
and an alternate route along the Twisp River

McClellan directed a member of the expedition party, Lieutenant Johnson Kelly Duncan,  
to navigate the Methow River as far as practical

continuing on foot, Duncan surveyed the region **“until the roughness of the trail and the  
barometer assured him of its unfitness for a railroad.”**<sup>76</sup>

McClellan examined the Twisp River, noting: **“I was by this time quite certain that this route would  
not answer for a railway but determined to keep on upon the same trail myself until the question  
could be fairly settled.”**<sup>77</sup>

he followed the valley of the Twisp River until reaching War Creek  
which he followed until the trail became impassable for pack animals

Captain McClellan observed: **“The trail is said to pass from this ravine [War Creek], over a  
very difficult country [War Creek Pass & Purple Pass] to the stream emptying into the head of Lake  
Chelan [Stehekin River], then to cross very steep and lofty mountains at the head of that stream  
[Cascade Pass], and finally to reach the Skagitt [sic] river on the western slope.”**<sup>78</sup>

Much of his examination he conducted simply by looking at the surrounding countryside  
from some convenient promontory

McClellan made a few perfunctory stabs up some of the streams, but he conducted no survey  
and never crossed to the west to see what the land would be like on that side

After his reconnaissance of the Methow and Twisp River valleys,

---

<sup>76</sup> United States War Department, *Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and  
Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean: 1853-55. Volume 1.* Washington:  
A.O.P Nicholson, printer, 1860: p. 142.

<sup>77</sup> United States War Department, *Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and  
Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean: 1853-55. Volume 1.* Washington:  
A.O.P Nicholson, printer, 1855: p. 197.

<sup>78</sup> Majors, Harry M., editor, “Exploring the Kettle Range: The Pierce Expedition of 1882”. *Northwest Discovery*,  
September 1982: p. 89-90.

McClellan and party left Fort Okanogan and proceeded to explore the Spokane Plains

**“on foot until there was no longer any doubt as to the impracticability of the route”<sup>79</sup>**

McClellan’s survey party arrived at Fort Colville -- October 7, 1853

#### SEVERAL OPEN PRAIRIES GREET THE LONGMIRE TRAIN

After backtracking to gather their wagons and goods

Longmire’s wagon train set out from Porter’s Prairie much refreshed -- October 7, 1853

Crossing the (White River) a seventh and final time the pioneers pushed on to (Connell’s Prairie) where camp was made for the night

#### GREAT CELEBRATION IS HELD AT THE PUYALLUP RIVER

Longmire and his pioneers exited (Connells Prairie) and proceeded to the Puyallup River

this route crossed the virtually unobstructed (South Prairie)

unclaimed or unimproved land was considered to be public land with access available to all thus locating their specific route is difficult at best

Longmire Wagon Train reached the Puyallup River Valley -- October 8, 1853

Longmire reported how the travelers overcame their hunger once they reached the Puyallup River:

**“...the present site of Van Ogle’s hop farm [along the East side of the Puyallup River at the mouth of Fennel Creek]. Little did Van think then that he would ever raise, bale, and sell hops on that piece of ground. We found the river low and filled with humpback salmon. We armed ourselves with various weapons, clubs, axes and whatever we could get and went fishing. Every man who could strike a blow got a fish, and such a feast we had not enjoyed since we had potatoes boiled in the jackets, but fish was far ahead of potatoes. John Mayer declared they were the best fish that he had ever eaten. We had a royal feast; some of our party was up all night cooking and eating fish. All relished them but my wife, who was feeling indisposed, but she was fortunate in finding an Indian who had just killed a pheasant, which she bought--her first purchase in Puget Sound, and which caused much merriment in our party, as the Indian was a perfect nude.”<sup>80</sup>**

#### END FOR THE TRAIL FOR THE LONGMIRE WAGON TRAIN

Longmire’s wagon train departed from where Fennel Creek

empties into the Puyallup River -- October 8, 1853

because of the swampy condition of the land surrounding the Puyallup River

Longmire chose to traverse the hill to the south -- a much easier and safer route

Local settlers also celebrated the arrival of the wagon train over Naches Pass

unofficial greeters and/or the curious arrived to visit with the new arrivals

While this reception was meant a friendly gesture, the immigrants felt self-consciousness

Longmire relates: **“Before proceeding with my narrative I must mention the fact that I arrived in this country with torn and ragged pants and coat, my cap battered, with only one boot, my other foot covered with an improvised moccasin made of a portion of a cow’s hide which we had killed a few days before. In this garb I was to meet a party of well dressed gentlemen from Olympia, who had**

---

<sup>79</sup> Majors, Harry M. editor, “Exploring the Kettle Range: The Pierce Expedition of 1882.” *Northwest Discovery*, September 1982: P. 89-90.

heard of us from Andy Burge, led by Mr. [James] [Hurd, who had come out to welcome the first party of emigrants direct from the East over the Cascade mountains north of The Dalles. My garb was a sample of those of the other men, and when we were together felt pretty well, all being in the same fashion; but when brought face to face with well dressed men we felt somewhat embarrassed. But our new friends were equal to the emergency and our embarrassment was soon dispelled by copious draughts of 'good old bourbon,' to which we did full justice, while answering questions amidst introductions and hearty handshaking. This was on the 8th day of October."<sup>81</sup>

#### GOVERNOR STEVENS LEARNS OF CAPTAIN McCLELLAN'S ARRIVAL AT FORT COLVILLE

At the Spokane House ruins Isaac Stevens learned  
that Captain George McClellan and the Western Division survey crew  
had just reached Fort Colville some eighty miles north of their location  
Although suffering from a recent episode of his old rupture, Stevens decided to join them at once  
accompanied by a single guide, the governor forced himself to keep going  
until he reached his destination at nine o'clock p.m. October 8, 1853

#### GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS AND CAPTAIN GEORGE McCLELLAN MEET

There was genuine joy as the two leaders of the Western Division of the Northern Survey expedition met at Fort Colville -- October 8, 1853

Captain George B. McClellan shook the governor's hand and pounded him on the back  
post trader at Fort Colville tapped a keg of whiskey  
and the trader's wife cooked thick steaks in buffalo fat  
reunion lasted into the wee hours of the morning

McClellan reported to Stevens that no feasible railroad pass existed  
between the Columbia gorge and the Canadian border  
this was a blow to Stevens' plans

he needed a pass over the Cascade Mountains to make his railroad possible

Governor Stevens angrily ordered McClellan to go back and do a decent job

McClellan protested that his animals and equipment were too worn  
he told the governor of a brisk snow fall which supported his argument  
reluctantly his superior gave in

But the next day a hung-over Stevens, irritable from the pain in his abdomen,  
began to have his doubts about Captain McClellan's work  
there were reasons for doubt -- Little Mac had slighted every one of his assignments

#### SURVEY PARTIES CONTINUE ON TO FORT WALLA WALLA

Traveling separate routes from Fort Colville

Governor Stevens and Captain McClellan moved south to Fort Walla Walla -- October 9, 1853  
Stevens arrived first and learned that Puget Sound settlers  
annoyed by McClellan's neglect of their needed road

---

<sup>80</sup> Oregon Pioneer Association, Transactions of the [1<sup>st</sup>]-56<sup>th</sup> Annual Reunion, P. 345-146.

<sup>81</sup> Virinda & James Longmire, YelmHistory Project.com, Posted on August 23, 2010.

had voluntarily chopped out a passageway themselves  
Stevens also heard a train of thirty-five wagons had managed to get across  
furthermore, according to Hudson's Bay traders and Indians  
recent snows reported by McClellan had been no more than a normal October flurry  
McClellan's report did not change their belief that in any average year  
Naches Pass could be crossed with pack stock as late as (December)  
When McClellan arrived at Fort Walla Walla, Governor Stevens again ordered him into the mountains  
once again Little Mac talked his way out of the assignment

#### MEMBERS OF THE LONGMIRE WAGON TRAIN HAVE THEIR LAST CAMP TOGETHER

Leaving the Puyallup River Longmire chose to traverse the hill to the south  
this was a much easier and safer route than the swampy, tree-filled banks of the meandering river  
their journey concluded along Clover Creek where the pioneers assembled their last camp together  
at this last campsite, immigrants received needed provisions  
unselfishly offered by established residents of the region  
two elderly settlers, Mrs. J.P. Lackey and Mrs. Christopher Mahan  
provided produce from their garden

Longmire described the location: **"The next day [October 9] we moved on and camped at Clover creek, some 300 yards from the home of Mrs. [Christopher] Mahan, who, I believe, still lives there, and whose kindness the ladies of our party will never forget. ... The men all went out to Fort Steilacoom to see Puget Sound, [leaving the women to keep camp], and during our absence Mrs. Mahan made a raid on our camp and took my wife, Mrs. E. A. Light, Mrs. [Mary Ann] Woolery and other ladies whose names I do not remember, to her home, where she had prepared a dinner which to these tired sisters, after their toilsome journey, was like a royal banquet. After months of camp life, to sit once more at a table presided over by a friend in this far-away land, where we thought to meet only strangers, was truly an event never to be forgotten, and one to which my wife often refers as a bright spot on memory's page.<sup>82</sup>**

Thirty-five wagons had crossed the Cascade Mountains by a new road  
Longmire Trail from the Yakima River over Naches Pass  
was opened to Steilacoom and Puget Sound  
but only through the efforts of the travelers themselves was the wagon road completed  
this route also became known as the Cascade Road or Emigrant Road

Longmire and his companions had accomplished the **"last of the 'firsts' for wagon trains:"**

- first wagon train to California had arrived in [1841];
- first wagon train to Oregon City had arrived in [1842];
- first wagon train to cross Cascade Mountains into Puget Sound Country 1853

For first time the Puget Sound region was open to a considerable number of emigrants

#### DR. WILLIAM TOMLIE PROVIDES A GIFT TO THE NEW ARRIVALS

Dr. William Tomlie was the manager fo the Puget Sound Agricultural Company  
and Chief Factor of Fort Nisqually provides a gift to the members of the Longmire Wagon Train

---

<sup>82</sup> Virinda & James Longmire, YelmHistory Project.com, Posted on August 23, 2010.

as reported by James Longmire: **“On the 10th of October Dr. Tolmie, chief factor of Hudson Bay Company, stationed at Fort Nisqually, paid us a visit, asked us numerous questions about our long journey and arrival. He treated us in a very friendly manner, but soon left, bidding us a polite farewell. In about three hours he returned with a man driving an ox cart, which was loaded with beef just killed and dressed which he presented to us, saying, ‘Distribute this to suit yourselves.’ Not understanding it to be a present we offered to pay him, which he firmly but politely refused, saying, ‘its a present to you,’ and it was a present most welcome to us at that time, and for which we expressed heartfelt thanks to the generous giver.”**<sup>83</sup>

Leaving their families in camp, James Longmire, E. A. Light and John Lane

set out looking for a place to homestead

in their absence, Dr. Tolmie placed his bounteous gift in the care of a very highly regarded lady,

Mrs. Mary Ann Woolery “Aunt Pop”

Dr. Tolmie instructed her to keep the meat safe until J.P. Lackey and Christopher Mahan

could return and equally divide the portions

results of these instructions were indicated by Laura B. Downing Bartlett: **“It was not long before Mrs. Wollery was put to the test of guarding her trust -- and thus far on the journey all the honor and credit had been given the men for strength of will and character -- but here the little lady, of not over one hundred pounds weight, steps to the fore, showing so much determination and pep that she backed down a large, over-bearing man, bent on running things to suit his own pleasure, regardless of others. This man referred to came with a knife and wanted some meat. Mrs. Wollery said: ‘No sir, you can’t have any now.’ He replied: ‘I am hungry, and I am going to have some of it. I can’t wait.’ Then Mrs. Wollery replied: ‘You will have to wait; I am just as hungry as you are, and I expect to wait; and so are all the rest hungry; and the man (meaning Dr. Tolmie) said I was not to allow any one to touch the meat until the two eldest men came into camp, and they would divide it evenly.’ The man again said: ‘I can’t wait for that, and I will not either.’ ‘You will have to,’ she replied. ‘By what authority?’ he questioned. ‘There is my authority,’ she said in a defiant tone, shaking her clenched fist at him, ‘and if you touch that meat I’ll take that ox bow to you,’ and suiting her action to her word, she picked it up and stood between the man and the fresh meat. The man, seeing she meant business, gave it up and went away to await his turn with the others. “The two eldest men soon after returned, released her from guard duty and divided the meat.”**<sup>84</sup>

#### JAMES LONGMIRE CONCLUDES HIS STORY

Several days later, after breaking camp, the pioneers scattered in different directions,

but the majority of settlers took up land claims in Pierce and Thurston counties

Mr. Longmire enjoys contentment: **“Having received due notice from the Hudson Bay company not to settle on any lands north of the Nisqually River. We crossed the river and went to Yelm prairie, a beautiful spot. I thought, as it lay before us covered with tall, waving grass, a pretty stream bordered with shrubs and tall trees, flowing through it, and the majestic mountain, which the Indians almost worshipped and which they gave the name Ta-ko-bed, as it seemed standing guard over all in its**

---

<sup>83</sup> Virinda & James Longmire, Yelm History Project.com, Posted on August 23, 2010.

<sup>84</sup> *Students’ History of the Northwest and the State of Washington, Volume 1*, by Laura B. Downing Bartlett, Smith-Digby Company, Tacoma, Washington, 1922. Pages 164-165.

snowy coat. It was a scene fit for an artist's brush--the most beautiful I had even seen, and good enough for me; so I bought a house from Martin Shelton, but no land, as it was yet unsurveyed, and returned to my family. On this prairie the grass grew tall and rank, and herds of deer wandered leisurely as cattle in their pastures at home."<sup>85</sup>

#### U.S. FOURTH INFANTRY PURSUE THE KILLER OF ALBERT PETTINGILL

When he learned of the skirmish with the Makah Indians and the killer's escape  
Captain Bradford Alden in command of U.S. Fourth Infantry set out in pursuit  
traveling from port to port aboard the survey steamer *Active*  
he captured the killer at Port Ludlow when the local village chief was detained  
until the criminal was given up  
this killer was brought to trial at the October term of the Third District Court -- October 1853  
he, along with an accomplice, was hanged

#### OTHER LUMBERMEN ARRIVE ON PUGET SOUND

Several California-owned mills were built on Puget Sound -- 1853  
Captain William Renton was persuaded by Charles C. Terry  
to build a small sawmill at New York-Alki  
Renton found other backers and purchased equipment for a small sawmill  
north winds, difficult moorage and bobbing deadheads (floating logs)  
(within a year he was to move his business to Port Orchard)  
George Meigs purchased an existing sawmill at Apple Tree Cove (today's Kingston) from J.J. Felt  
after this equipment was moved it became the Port Madison Mill Company -- 1853

#### INDIANS ARE ATTACKED ON THE ILLINOIS RIVER

Miners along the Illinois River in Oregon Territory complained  
that coastal Indians of an unidentified tribe were stealing cattle in the region  
they sent a call for help to Fort Lane built only a month before at Table Rock  
First Dragoon Lieutenant Richard C. W. Radford took detachments of Companies A, C and E  
over the Siskiyou Mountains to assist the miners  
When he arrived Lieutenant Radford realized he did not have enough men to round up the Indians  
he sent for reinforcements -- Lieutenant Thomas F. Castor came with another detachment  
Lieutenants Radford and Castor traveled up the Illinois River into the Siskiyou Mountains  
until they came across a camp of Indians  
Radford attacked the camp on the Illinois River (at Cave Junction, Oregon) -- October 24, 1853  
soldiers killed fifteen Indians, captured sixteen horses,  
they burned all the property they could gather  
two soldiers were killed and four were wounded in the skirmish

#### STEAMER *FAIRY* BEGINS SCHEDULED SERVICE ON PUGET SOUND

Steamer *Fairy*, a tiny side-wheeler, was brought to Puget Sound

---

<sup>85</sup> Oregon Pioneer Association, Transactions of the [1<sup>st</sup>]-56<sup>th</sup> Annual Reunion, P. 347.

by Seattle businessmen A.B. David and Warren Gove  
she arrived from San Francisco on the deck of a lumber bark *Sarah Warren*  
*Fairy*, took the place of the canoe express service that carried the mail  
she was the first locally owned steamboat  
to provide scheduled service in Washington Territory -- November 1853  
she was supposed to make two trips a week between Olympia and Steilacoom  
and one trip a week from Olympia to Seattle  
when she steamed into Olympia with Captain David J. Grove at the helm  
she was greeted by a big celebration including cannon fire  
fares were high: \$5 for Olympia-Steilacoom, and \$10 for Olympia-Seattle  
it took at least two days and often three to make the trip from Seattle to Olympia  
travelers camped on the beach at night

*Fairy* proved to be unseaworthy in bad weather

she provided distinctly undependable steamer service around Puget Sound -- 1853  
after a few runs from Olympia to the then very small village of Seattle

*Fairy* eventually replaced by a sailing schooner which ran irregularly  
mail and passengers were usually transported by more predictable Indian canoes

*Fairy* was placed into service on the much shorter Olympia-Fort Steilacoom run  
where she provided good service until [1857] when her boiler exploded

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY GOVERNOR STEVENS COMPLETES HIS JOURNEY WEST

Isaac Ingalls Stevens left Captain McClellan in the Cascade Mountains to complete his assignment  
while the governor and his expedition took canoes down the Columbia River to Columbia Barracks  
where they arrived -- November 19, 1853

Governor Steven and the members of his party were received  
as the guests of Ben Bonneville who was now in command of the army post

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY GOVERNOR STEVENS COMPLETES HIS SURVEY

Isaac Stevens and his expedition had surveyed the Northern transcontinental route  
investigating a swath 2,000 miles long and 200-400 miles wide from St. Paul, Minnesota  
they had explored nine passes through the Rocky Mountain

Governor Stevens' survey identified the first rail route from St. Paul to the Puget Sound  
(his reconnaissance, in general, determined the route of the Northern Pacific Railroad  
which was built about three decades later)

Stevens called his route ideal:

- he reported on the vast extensive prairie available for construction;
- he reflected on the uncomplicated nature of the Rocky Mountain passes;
- he noted the even less challenging character of the passes further west  
through the Coeur d'Alene and Cascade mountains;
- he skipped lightly over the troubles presented by the mountains and severe winters;
- he rhapsodized about a potential connection with oriental markets

(Shanghai was only 5,000 miles from Puget Sound);

•Stevens believed the northern route was highly advantageous over its competitors

However, little had been accomplished regarding Cascade Mountain passes

#### CAPTAIN GEORGE B. McCLELLAN, U.S. ARMY ENGINEERS, FAILS IN HIS ASSIGNMENT

U.S. Army Topographical Engineer Captain George B. McClellan did not do well as a road builder or as a mountain pass surveyor

McClellan arrived late at Columbia Barracks (Fort Vancouver) and showed no sign of doing anything rather than examine Naches Pass over which his wagon road to Fort Steilacoom was to travel

he simply reported to Washington Territory Governor Stevens what he had heard from Indians who reported deep snow made it impossible for him to pass through the Cascades

he gave up the project and failed to carry out his military instructions

his opinion was that only the Columbia River route was worth considering

he proposed a route suggested by a Hudson's Bay Company trapper and guide

McClellan never actually saw the proposed route himself

Isaac Stevens was unsuccessful in compelling Captain McClellan to brave the wintry mountains characteristically cautious, McClellan halted operations when snow began to fall

consequently he never managed to determine the depths of snow in the Cascade passes

Only through the effort of the settlers themselves was a wagon road over Naches Pass completed

#### PUBLIC SCHOOL OPENS AT COWLITZ LANDING, WASHINGTON TERRITORY

In Washington Territory Cowlitz Landing School was constructed as a public institution -- fall 1853

private schools charged a fee ranging from eight to ten dollars per term for each pupil

H.H. Pinto served as the teacher for the three month school term

Teachers were frequently itinerant -- surroundings were crude and the instruction simple among the textbooks uses were:

- McGuffey's *Electric Reader* (a separate one for each grade),
- Thompson's or Smith's *Arithmetic*,
- Smith and Clark's grammar book

#### COAL MINING BEGINS ALONG BELLINGHAM BAY

William Prattle and his two partners in the Puget Sound Coal Mining Association began working a nearly vertical eight-foot seam of coal -- fall 1853

after being dug by hand the coal was loaded into a wheelbarrow

to be taken to the Bellingham Bay shore where it was loaded on ships

to be transported to San Francisco

(Prattle's mine was not large enough to achieve commercial success

its operation was gradually reduced over the next few years

about 150 tons of coal were shipped before the mine closed permanently)

#### ANOTHER COAL SEAM IS DISCOVERED ALONG BELLINGHAM BAY

As William Prattle's Puget Sound Coal Mining Association began working

another nearly vertical seam of coal was discovered to the north of Prattle's Point

on the bluff (below the west end of present day Bellingham's Laurel Street)  
this seventeen-foot thick vein was found by two of Henry Roeder's employees -- fall 1853  
Captain Roeder owned the Sehome Hill property on which the vein was discovered  
he immediately saw an opportunity for financial profit from the coal  
he had sixty tons of coal extracted from the seam and shipped as a sample to San Francisco  
where it sold for \$16 a ton

#### CAPTAIN HENRY ROEDER DEVELOPS HIS NORTHERN PUGET SOUND LAND HOLDINGS

Captain Roeder became actively involved in the industrial development  
of property around Whatcom Creek, Bellingham Bay and beyond  
he purchased ninety-three acres on land along the Chuckanut shoreline -- 1853  
and opened Chuckanut Stone Quarry  
Roeder and his partners Henry Hewitt and William Brown sold his coal-bearing land  
for \$18,000 to San Francisco investors  
who organized the Bellingham Bay Coal Company [1854]  
they opened the Sehome Mine [1855]  
Edmund Fitzhugh was made the mine's first local manager  
Roeder also staked donation land claims of 1,600 acres in Whatcom County [1855]  
(reaching from Bellingham's present day Holly to G streets)  
he also owned property on Whidbey Island and San Juan Island

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR STEVENS IS WELCOMED TO OLYMPIA

Isaac Ingalls Stevens, traveling unescorted from Fort Vancouver,  
took the usual route by way of the Cowlitz River to Olympia  
He arrived in Olympia alone hungry and very muddy  
because of the bad roads he had been traveling -- November 25, 1853  
no one recognized him since no one knew what the new governor looked like  
everyone in town expected him to arrive with pomp and ceremony  
Stevens made an effort to get something to eat at the only eating place he could find in town  
but the cook had no time to serve him

Stevens was told, "**We are going to have doin's here, and we can't feed a stranger till after they're through**"<sup>86</sup>

Governor protested that he was hungry and begged to be provided some scraps at the kitchen table  
in kindness, the muddy traveler was sent to the kitchen and given some odds and ends to eat  
after satisfying his hunger, Stevens went out into the street to look around  
While investigating Olympia a man complained to Stevens about the slow arrival of the new governor  
Stevens answered, "**Then I suppose I am the man you are looking for.**"<sup>87</sup>  
Once the honored guest's presence was discovered  
someone began to beat on an old saw hung on a post with a hammer  
men appeared from all directions and gathered in the dining hall

---

<sup>86</sup> Edmond Stephen Meany, *History of the State of Washington*, P. 161.

<sup>87</sup> Edmond Stephen Meany, *History of the State of Washington*, P. 161.

When the Governor explained who he was, everyone gave him a hearty welcome  
he was informed the party was in his honor  
dinner, in the best style and form the town could achieve, was served in the dining room  
Governor Stevens sat at the head of the table and watched the others eat  
he was not hungry -- he had already eaten

After dinner, Governor Stevens declared to the people of Puget Sound

there were several great stretches of Eastern Washington which invited settlement

he remarked: **“I can speak advisedly of the beautiful St. Mary’s valley just west of the Rocky Mountains and stretching across the whole breadth of the territory; of the plain fifty miles wide bordering the south bank of the Spokane River; of the valley extending from the Spokane River to Colville; of the Coeur d’Alene Prairie of six hundred square miles; the Walla Walla valley. The Nez Perce’s country is said to be rich as well as the country bordering on the Yakima River.”**<sup>88</sup>

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY GOES INTO OPERATION

Territorial Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens proclaimed the government in operation  
in Olympia -- November 28, 1853

he also proclaimed Olympia the new territorial capitol city

he called for an election of territorial legislators to be held [January 30, 1854]

with the session to open in Olympia [February 27]

Governor Stevens offered his first speech

**“Fellow citizens of the town of Olympia...after my six months experience in the plains and mountains I feel that I have now reached home -- a home soon to be cheered by the presence of my wife and children -- and to be the scene of my future labors.**

**“You have reason to complain of the great delays which have occurred in the organization of your Territory. It is my pleasant duty; to be able to report that a railroad is eminently practical from the head of navigation on the Mississippi to your own magnificent Puget Sound.**

**“Gentlemen, I have now seen much of the Territory, and am convinced that it is to play no secondary part in the progress of our country. Its position on the north Pacific is august, and makes it the greatest outpost on the western coast. Its resources...are inexhaustible... We have everything to encourage us, and [the region] MUST become a great emporium of trade.**

**“A great field opens to our view, and we can labor with the conviction that from our hands...an imperial domain will descend to our children in the cause of freedom and humanity.”**<sup>89</sup>

But Stevens found the situation in the territory dangerous as well because of the Donation Land Law

this measure amounted to an invitation to take up land

regardless of whether it had been surveyed or not

regardless of extinguishing Indian title to the land

or providing for the land already guaranteed by treaty to the British

Hudson’s Bay Company was resentful

Indians were concerned and restless

New governor appointed two Indian Agents to help with the Indian concerns

---

<sup>88</sup> Joseph Schafer, PhD., *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 221.

<sup>89</sup> *Centralia Daily Chronicle*, “Gov. Isaac Stevens Surprised Olympians” P. 14, November 26, 1775

Michael Simmons for Puget Sound west of the Cascades  
A.J. Bolen for Yakima Country east of the mountains

#### OLYMPIA CLIQUE GOES INTO OPERATION

This group of leaders served as the Democratic Party political machine  
to them Governor Stevens was a hero

his personality and talent gave him an immediate following  
Olympia's *Pioneer and Democrat* newspaper supported him

Isaac Stevens' success in finding a practical route for a railroad  
gave him great influence over the people of Washington Territory  
he served as territorial governor until [1857]

(then he was elected Territorial Delegate to Congress

he remained in that position until the outbreak of the Civil War)

However, like every active political organization, the Olympia Clique had its detractors  
after the hue and cry for territorial status had accomplished its purpose  
many people regretted the loss of their completely non-partisan independence

#### CHIEF SEATTLE, THE SAGE OF THE DUWAMISH PEOPLE, SPEAKS HIS MIND

Dr. Henry Smith who was present at the occasion noted: **“Chief Seattle arose with all the dignity of a senator, who carries the responsibilities of a great nation on his shoulders. Place one hand on the governor’s head and slowly pointing heavenward with the index finger of the other, he commenced his memorable address in solemn and impressive tones.”**<sup>90</sup>

**“Yonder sky has wept tears of compassion on our fathers for centuries untold, and which, to us, looks eternal, may change. To-day it is fair, to-morrow it may be overcast with clouds. My words are like the stars that never set. What Seattle says the great chief, Washington (the Indians in early times thought that Washington was still alive. They knew the name to be that of a president, and when they heard of the president at Washington they mistook the name of the city for the name of the reigning chief. They thought, also, that King George was still England’s monarch, because the Hudson’s Bay traders called themselves ‘King George men.’ This innocent deception the company was shrewd enough not to explain away for the Indians had more respect for them than they would have had, had they known England was ruled by a woman. Some of us have learned better.) can rely upon, with as much certainty as our pale-face brothers can rely upon the return of the seasons. The son of the white chief says his father sends us greetings of friendship and good-will. This is kind, for we know he has little need of our friendship in return, because his people are many. They are like the grass that covers the vast prairies, while my people are few, and resemble the scattering trees of a wind-swept plain.**

**“The great and I presume also good, white chief sends us word that he wants to buy our lands but is willing to allow us to reserve enough to live on comfortably. This indeed appears generous, for the red man no longer has rights that he need respect, and the offer may be wise, also, for we are no longer in need of a great country. There was a time when our people covered the whole land as the**

---

<sup>90</sup> *Recovering the Word: Essays on Native American Literature*. Edited by Brian Swann and Arnold Krupat, P. 518-521.

waves of a wind-ruffled sea cover its shell-paved floor. But that time has long since passed away with the greatness of tribes almost forgotten. I will not mourn over our untimely decay, nor reproach my pale-face brothers with hastening it, for we, too, may have been somewhat to blame.

“When our young men grow angry at some real or imaginary wrong and disfigure their faces with black paint, their hearts, also, are disfigured and turn black, and then their cruelty is relentless and knows no bounds, and our old men are not able to restrain them.

“But let us hope that hostilities between the red man and his pale face brothers may never return. We would have everything to lose and nothing to gain.

“True it is that revenge, with our young braves, is considered gain, even at the cost of their own lives, but old men who stay at home in times of war, and old women who have sons to lose, know better.

“Our great father Washington, for I presume he is now our father as well as yours, since George has moved his boundaries to the north; our great and good father, I say, sends us word by his son, who, no doubt, is a great chief among his people, that if we do as he desires, he will protect us. His brave armies will be to us a bristling wall of strength, and his great ships of war will fill our harbors so that our ancient enemies far to the northward, the Simsians and Hydass, will no longer frighten our women and old men. Then he will be our father and we will be his children. But can this ever be? You God loves your people and hates mine; he folds his strong arms lovingly around the white man and leads him as a father leads his infant son, but he has forsaken his red children; he makes your people wax strong every day, and soon they will fill the land; while our people are ebbing away like a fast-receding tide, that will never flow again. The white man’s God cannot love his red children or he would protect them. They seem to be orphans and can look nowhere for help. How then can we become brothers? How can your father become our father and bring us prosperity and awaken in us dreams of returning greatness?

“Your God seems to be partial. He came to the white man. We never saw Him; never even heard His voice; He gave the white man laws but He had no word for His red children whose teeming millions filled this vast continent as the stars fill the firmament. No, we are two distinct races and must ever remain so. There is little in common between us. The ashes of our ancestors are sacred and their final resting place is hallowed ground, while you wander away from the tombs of your fathers seemingly without regret.

“Your religion was written on tables of stone by the iron finger of an angry God, lest you might forget it. The red man could never remember nor comprehend it.

“Our religion is the traditions of our ancestors, the dreams of our old men, given them by the great Spirit, and the visions of our sachems [chiefs], and is written in the hearts of our people.

“Your dead cease to love you and the homes of their nativity as soon as they pass the portals of the tomb. They wander off beyond the stars, are soon forgotten and never return. Our dead never forget the beautiful world that gave them being. They still love its winding rivers, its great mountains and its sequestered vales, and they ever yearn in tenderest affection over the lonely hearted living and often return to visit and comfort them.

“Day and night cannot dwell together. The red man has ever fled the approach of the white man, as the changing mists on the mountain side flee before the blazing morning sun.

“However, your proposition seems a just one, and I think my folks will accept it and will retire to the reservation you offer them, and we will dwell apart and in peace, for the words of the great white

chief seem to be the voice of nature speaking to my people out of the thick darkness that is fast gathering around them like a dense fog floating inward from a midnight sea.

“It matters but little where we pass the remainder of our days. They are not many. The Indian’s night promises to be dark. No bright star hovers about the horizon. Sad-voiced winds moan in the distance. Some grim Nemesis [unbeatable opponent] of our race is on the red man’s trail, and wherever he goes he will still hear the sure approaching footsteps of the fell destroyer and prepare to meet his doom, as does the wounded doe that hears the approaching footsteps of the hunter. A few more moons, a few more winters and not one of all the mighty hosts that once filled this broad land or that now roam in fragmentary bands through these vast solitudes will remain to weep over the tombs of a people once as powerful and a hopeful as your own.

“By why should we repine [complain]? Why should I murmur at the fate of my people? Tribes are made up of individuals and are no better than they. Men come and go like the waves of the sea. A tear, a tamanamus [guardian spirit], a dirge [hymn of grief], and they are gone from our longing eyes forever. Even the white man whose God walked and talked with him, as friend to friend, is not exempt from the common destiny. We *may* be brothers after all. We shall see.

“We will ponder your proposition, and when we have decided we will tell you. But should we accept it, I here and now make this the first condition: That we will not be denied the privilege, without molestation, of visiting at will the graves of our ancestors and friends. Every part of this country is sacred to my people. Every hillside, every valley, every plain and grove has been hallowed by some fond memory or some sad experience of my tribe. Even the rocks that seem to lie dumb as they swelter in the sun along the silent seashore in solemn grandeur thrill with memories of past events connected with the fate of my people, and the very dust under your feet responds more lovingly to our footsteps than to yours, because it is the ashes of our ancestors, and our bare feet are conscious of the sympathetic touch, for the soil is rich with the life of our kindred.

“The sable braves, and fond mothers, and glad-hearted maidens, and the little children who lived and rejoiced here, and whose very names are now forgotten, still love these solitudes, and their deep fastnesses at eventide grow shadowy with the presence of dusky spirits. And when the last red man shall have perished from the earth and his memory among the white men shall have become a myth, these shores shall swarm with the invisible dead of my tribe, and when your children’s children shall think themselves alone in the field, the shop, upon the highway or in the silence of the woods they will not be alone. In all the earth there is no place dedicated to solitude. At night when the streets of your cities and villages shall be silent, and you think them deserted, they will throng with the returning hosts that once filled and still love this beautiful land. The white man will never be alone. Let him be just and deal kindly with my people, for the dead are not altogether powerless.”<sup>91</sup>

---

<sup>91</sup> Note: some controversy surrounds this speech as Chief Seattle (or as he preferred, Noah) did not speak English well and most probably delivered the speech in Lushotseed, the native language of the Duwamish people. This was translated into Chinook Jargon and then into English. Dr. Henry Smith, who had mastered the language of the Duwamish, took notes and reproduced the speech from his notes. Chief Seattle’s Speech as recorded by Dr. Smith was published in the *Seattle Star*, October 28, 1887. This speech is often reported to have been delivered at the 1855 Point Elliott Treaty signing but according to Dr. Smith it was delivered at a reception for Superintendent of Indian Affairs Isaac Stevens “in front of Dr. Maynard’s office” on Main Street in November or December 1853. Finally, there are at least four versions of this speech attributed to Chief Seattle.

## OREGON TERRITORY GETS A NEW GOVERNOR

John Wesley Davis arrived in Salem, Oregon -- December 2, 1853; (will serve until [August 1, 1854])  
he assumed power from local politician Acting-Governor George Law Curry  
Oregon Territorial Governor Davis  
was a former Democratic Speaker of the National House of Representatives  
who had presided over the Political Convention which nominated Franklin Pierce  
During his administration he suffered nine months of attack by the Whig Portland *Oregonian*  
even the Democratic Salem Clique, which dominated Oregon politics,  
labeled Governor Davis a foreigner

## OREGON TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE GOES INTO SESSION

Washington Territory had been carved out of the northern and eastern portions of Oregon Territory  
Oregon's legislature went into session representing a area than previously -- December 5, 1853  
C.Z. Bishop was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives by its members  
Ralph Wilcox served as President of the Council  
Council member promptly reelected Joe Lane as Territorial Delegate to Congress  
Democrats dominated the newly reconstituted government with the capital established at Salem  
that should have put an end to the political squabbling once and for all, but it did not  
Issue of slavery came to a head in Oregon Territory -- 1853  
debate centered around the Blue Book Controversy which had continued unabated since [1849]  
*Little Blue Book*, Iowa Territorial Laws [1839], forbade slavery  
**“neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime”**  
*Big Blue Book*, Revised Statute of Iowa of [1843], was less direct  
James K. Kelly, Reuben P. Boise, David R. Bigelow, and Joseph G. Wilson  
submitted a code of laws designed to alleviate legal conflicts between the *Blue Books*  
these proposed codes were adopted by the Territorial Legislature -- December 1853  
to go into effect [May 1, 1854]  
Oregonians split into “cliques” along political lines -- Democrats vs. Whig-Republicans  
rabid political quarrels continued on in the pages of the local Oregon newspapers  
Democrat-controlled Salem newspaper, the *Oregon Statesman*,  
began referring to the *Argus* as the “Air Goose”  
and the Whig mouthpiece in Oregon City, the *Argus*,  
took to calling the *Statesman*'s publisher, Asahel Bush, “the Ass of Hell”

## SAN JUAN ISLAND BECOMES A SCENE OF CONTROVERSY

British Governor and Chief Factor Sir James Douglas at Victoria  
became alarmed that an influx of Americans would challenge British sovereignty over the island  
James Douglas decided to establish farm on San Juan Island  
under the auspices of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company  
Steamer *Beaver* dropped off the farm's foreman, Charles John Griffin -- December 1853  
accompanied by a crew of Kanaka (Hawaiian) shepherds and 1,300 sheep  
along with the sheep Griffin brought crop seed and farm animals, including some Berkshire pigs  
Griffin located his farm's headquarters on the narrow peninsula

leading to (Cattle Point) on San Juan Island's southern tip  
he placed the sheep under the care of his Kanaka shepherds  
Impressed with the glorious views across the island, Puget Sound and neighboring islands  
Griffin named his piece of paradise Belle Vue Farm  
An American settler who was cutting timber on San Juan Island  
was informed he was trespassing on Puget Sound Agricultural Company (and British) land

#### CAPTAIN GEORGE B. McCLELLAN'S ISSUES HIS REPORT ON THE CASCADE ROUTE

Apathetic and deficient in his work though he was, McClellan's efforts proved valuable anyway  
his report provided a wealth of general information that was previously unknown:

- he was the first to explore the area of the North Cascades as far north as the 49th parallel, documenting various water courses and drainages -- often to their source;
- he found and verified that the territory was inaccurately mapped and, defying former beliefs about the region, the northern country was very rugged;
- he did basic survey work on the eastern side of the Cascade Mountains centered on an Indian trail which was later useful;

however, McClellan's report also was inaccurate:

- he reported that the Columbia River Gorge afforded the only route worth considering;
- he noted great physical challenges prevented construction across the Cascades further north; he completely missed two good routes through the Cascade Mountains to the West Coast (thus the northern Cascade Range was untouched by railroad development for many years)

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR STEVEN'S WRITES HIS REPORT

Isaac Stevens informed Secretary Davis that regarding the railroad survey  
he recommended the route should branch at the Snake River:

- one crossing the Cascade Mountains through Snoqualmie Pass directly to Puget Sound
- other along the North side of the Columbia River to a yet to be named desirable terminus

Not only did the Army Topographical Engineer expedition document the route of the northern railroad,  
but it recorded the flora and fauna and Native American tribes

artists John Mix Stanley and Gustavus Sohon created a pictorial record of the expedition  
that included some of the first graphic representations of the regions explored

Isaac Stevens had conducted an exhaustive preliminary study

he estimated the cost of a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean at \$117,121,000  
this cost was increased by Secretary Jefferson Davis to \$150,871,000,

Stevens himself attributed this to Davis' bias in favor of the Southern railroad route  
Steven's survey report [published in 1859] was the most thorough of the four railroad surveys

#### SOME EXPEDITION MEMBERS DISAGREE WITH GOVERNOR STEVENS

Regarding the desirability of the Northern route through Washington Territory  
naturalist George Suckley accused Stevens of outright puffery

he told his brother, **"A road might be built over the tops of the Himalayeh [sic] mountains -- but no reasonable man would undertake it. I think the same of the Northern route. Tunnels of two miles in length are not our only obstacles; gullies, steep grades and deep cuts are bad enough, but the**

**almost innumerable heavy and strong bridges required, and the large number of short and sudden curves, frequently of less than 1,000 feet radius, are very serious obstacles.”<sup>92</sup>**

he added even most Washingtonians thought the most likely path was through South Pass  
Truth lay somewhere between Steven's boosterism and Suckley's ridicule  
developing the northern route would be possible -- but not easy

However, most significantly, Secretary of War Jefferson Davis himself used his influence  
in favor of the Southern Transcontinental route along the California Trail

Davis stated: **“Not only is this the shortest and least costly route to the Pacific, but it is the shortest and cheapest route to San Francisco, the greatest commercial city on our western coast.”<sup>93</sup>**

(no final decision would be made until the South had seceded from the Union  
and Jefferson Davis led the Confederacy as its president)

#### GOVERNOR STEVENS REJECTS McCLELLAN'S REPORT

Washington Territorial Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens had been assigned three principal tasks  
by President Franklin Pierce and Secretary of War Jefferson Davis:

- 1) survey a northern transcontinental railroad and telegraph route  
and a wagon road from the Missouri River to Puget Sound;
- 2) serve as Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Washington Territory;
- 3) establish and maintain a government for Washington Territory

Governor Stevens rejected Captain George B. McClellan's suggested route along the Columbia River  
Stevens had heard of a possible railroad route through Snoqualmie Pass

Stevens decided he wanted to use this route although he had never visited it himself

Stevens sent two reports to Secretary of War Jefferson Davis

Captain George B. McClellan's report (although he disagreed with the contents)  
and his own report

#### GEORGE WHITWORTH ESTABLISHES PORTLAND'S FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Rev. George Whitworth and Mary Whitworth and their five children wintered in Portland  
there Rev. Whitworth and Dr. J. S. Yantis established the First Presbyterian Church  
he worked to develop his dream: a Presbyterian colony

#### U.S. THIRD ARTILLERY TRAVELS BY SHIP TO CALIFORNIA BUT IS FORCED TO TURN BACK

Headquartered at Fortress Monroe, Virginia where its artillery school was established  
portions of Third Artillery Regiment were ordered to ship out for California

aboard the new steamer *San Francisco* -- December 21, 1853

these included about 500 men of Companies A, D, G, H, I and K with their band  
and large detachments of recruits for Companies B and L

weather became very threatening -- a high wind came up and the sea became mountainous  
*San Francisco* became unmanageable

a huge wave swept away part of the upper deck carrying 150 soldiers and twenty-five civilians

---

<sup>92</sup> James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 42.

<sup>93</sup> Joseph Schafer, PhD., *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 237.

overboard to their death

425 survivors were taken to New York, Boston or Liverpool, England

#### ADDITIONAL PARTIES CONDUCT SURVEYS

When Governor Steven's appropriation to conduct the northern route survey ran out he was obliged to draw an additional \$16,000 to complete the work

Lieutenant Abiel Tinkham was hired by Governor Stevens to explore for a mountain pass  
Tinkham traveled east across Snoqualmie Pass on foot with a party of Yakama Indians who were familiar with an Indian trail to reach a Snoqualmie Indian camp near Snoqualmie Falls -- during the winter 1853-1854 their explorations were conducted all the way to Seattle

Tinkham was much more optimistic than was Captain George B. McClellan about the route being suitable for a railroad

he had not seen snow over six feet deep all the way

his reports were the basis for early road building efforts across Snoqualmie Pass

A party under Lieutenant Rufus Saxton established a depot at the western base of the Rockies they later surveyed a large portion of the region

between the Columbia River valley and Fort Benton on the Missouri River

Lieutenant Andrew Jackson Donelson went up the Missouri River

to create a supply base at Fort Union, a fur trading post far upstream, and examine the country

Lieutenant John Mullan with thirteen men was billeted at Fort Owen

an outpost on the upper reaches of Clark's Fork River and the Coeur d'Alene Mountains throughout the winter Mullan and his men traveled around the valley and nearby mountains taking measurements, mapping and seeking information from local folks, Indian and white

Mullan depended heavily on an enlisted man, Gustavus Sohon, "an artist and gifted linguist"

he learned the Salish tongues of the Flatheads and Pend d' Oreilles

and became the party's interpreter

Sohon helped gather information on the trails, mountain passes and other geographical features and his sketches are still among the earliest and best of the region

Mullan became well-known among the area residents who met him

as he explored the Mission valley where St. Ignatius Mission was located

and in the Bitterroot Valley where St. Mary's Mission and Fort Owen were built

Still another small independent party under naturalist George Suckley

spent a frigid month in the mountains sometimes eating roots to stay alive

and huddling at night under eleven blankets and a buffalo robe to keep warm

Suckley accumulated a large collection of natural history specimens

he and four companions built a canoe

packed notebooks crammed with data on the courses of rivers and the specimens into the craft, and pushed off to rejoin their comrades at Fort Vancouver on the coast

they completed the remarkable journey of 1,049 miles in fifty-three days

#### SMALLPOX EPIDEMIC SWEEPS THE REGION

Once again smallpox struck the settlers and decimated the natives -- 1853-1854

many Indians and settlers were saved by the efforts of Catholic priests

#### CALIFORNIA STAGE COMPANY IS FORMED IN SACRAMENTO

Five of the six stage lines in California merged into the California Stage Company -- January 1, 1854  
leaving Adams and Company as their only competition in California

At the time of merger, California Stage Company was the largest organization of its kind  
with capital stock was fixed at one million dollars

Sacramento became the headquarters for 170 stations scattered over fourteen separate routes

This giant merger soon brought Oregon Territory  
into direct and regular communication with the outside

however, Washington Territory had no direct overland link beyond its borders

#### STUART'S EXPRESS OPERATES BETWEEN PORTLAND AND OLYMPIA

It was the custom for freighting concerns in Olympia to meet Cowlitz River boats  
with an eye for extra business, freight haulers offered to transport passengers  
to and from Cowlitz Landing

A.B. Stuart opened Stuart's Express which was affiliated with California's Adams and Company  
the one express company that did not merge into the California Stage Company

Stuart's Express provided the first regular passenger service out of Olympia to Portland -- 1854  
it appears to have been a strictly regional operation

as they transshipped and received freight through the Adams and Company

Stuart boasted that **“even with ‘stoppages’ its messenger had covered the 180-mile distance between these two cities ‘within thirty-six hours’!”**<sup>94</sup>

Ezra Meeker recounted how the unhappy travelers in an out of Olympia were **“conveyed over either the roughest corduroy or deepest mud, the one bruising the muscles the other straining the nerves in the anticipation of being dumped into the bottomless pit of mud.”**<sup>95</sup>

#### TRAVEL AND COMMUNICATION WAS SLOW AROUND PUGET SOUND

Steamer *Fairy* ran for a short time on Puget Sound but proved to be unseaworthy  
she was withdrawn from service -- January 1854

for nine months nothing faster than a sailing vessel or canoe could be had

to transport passengers or troops from place to place

while land travel north of Seattle was impracticable

Absence of steam vessels on Puget Sound made communication of news slow and uncertain

it also made the possibility of help in case need nearly hopeless

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY'S TWO MAIN SETTLEMENTS GROW

In Vancouver, Washington Territory a courthouse was built -- 1854

it joined two hotels, Peter Fulkerson's saloon and bowling alley

Clark County sheriff agreed to rent the courthouse to the school directors at three dollars a month

---

<sup>94</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 195.

<sup>95</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 188.

provided “**school was not to interfere with court proceedings**”<sup>96</sup>

Olympia’s population increased to almost 1,000

there were no paved roads and the houses consisted mostly of log cabins

household goods such as clothing and kitchen utensils had to be brought across country

## EDUCATION TAKES A STEP FORWARD IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

First school in King County opened -- January 17, 1854

a schoolroom was rented in the first frame house in Seattle: “Bachelor’s Hall”

Dr. Henry A. Smith, a versatile and active leader, arrived in Seattle -- 1854

he built an infirmary which received patients from all points in the Puget Sound area

he later became the first superintendent of schools in King County

School in Vancouver received a new teacher

Mr. M. R. Hathaway replaced Mrs. Clark Short who had conducted classes [1852-1853]

M. R. Hathaway was a homesteader and one-time postmaster at Vancouver

during his career he moved around to a variety of teaching positions

(and eventually became superintendent of schools for Clark County)

## SAN JUAN ISLAND DISPUTE

International boundary along the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel became confusing at the shore of Puget Sound

there was no agreement where the line extended as it continued west (if it continued west)

across the water, through the archipelago and across Vancouver Island

British Puget Sound Agricultural Company’s Belle Vue Farm on the southern tip of San Juan Island

brought a response from Washington Territory officials

U.S. Customs Collector Colonel Isaac Ebey stationed at Port Townsend sent his deputies,

Henry Webber and Paul K. Hubbs on several trips across the Strait of Juan de Fuca

to collect the revenue due on incoming British goods

Hubbs found British sheep on San Juan Island

Colonel Ebey demand that Puget Sound Agricultural Company

pay custom duties on animals and other property it had (in Ebey’s view)

smuggled into the United States

## SOUTHERN OREGON ENJOYS A PERIOD OF PEACE AFTER THE TABLE ROCK TREATY

Hostilities between Indians and whites remained in check -- but suspicions were prevalent

settlers and miners in Randolph, Oregon Territory and at the Whiskey Run Mines

thought the Nasomah band of Lower Coquille Indians were up to something

they decided to do something about it

George H. Abbott, A.F. Soap and William H. Packwood led forty volunteers

to a sleeping Coquille village a mile and a half from the Oregon coast

they attacked with a fury (near today’s Bandon, Oregon) -- January 28, 1854

Indians had only three guns and some bows and arrows to defend themselves

volunteers killed fifteen men, one woman and wounded four others

---

<sup>96</sup> Cecil Dryden, *History of Washington*, P. 311.

twenty Coquille Indians were captured  
jubilant volunteers believed they had pre-empted a planned Indian up-rising  
in fact they had only begun another series of reprisals

#### ELECTION DAY -- A FIRST FOR WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Date for the first territorial election was set by Governor Isaac Stevens for January 30, 1854  
of an estimated population of 3,965 there were 1,682 white, male voters  
Democrat Columbia Lancaster was elected Washington Territorial Delegate to Congress  
defeating Whig candidate William Wallace 698 votes to 500 f  
Lancaster served one term [April 12, 1854 until March 3, 1855]  
Nine Councilmen (members of the upper legislative house) were elected  
Territorial House of Representatives was composed of seventeen members  
Pacific County seemed to suffer from a peculiar malady

J.L. Brown was nominated for the office of Representative but died before Election Day  
John Scudder was then nominated and elected, but died en route to the legislative session  
another candidate, Henry Fiester, was elected by special permit  
he arrived safely in Olympia and took his oath of office  
next day, Fiester entered the Pacific Hotel

where members had gathered around a stove to discuss the topics of the day  
he complained of pain in his shoulder, he sat in a chair and was seized by a coughing spell  
he dropped over dead

lobbyist James Strong secured a proclamation from the governor  
calling for still another election in Pacific County  
James Strong was elected representative and finished the term

#### OLYMPIA'S NEWSPAPERS CHANGES ITS NAME

Washington Territory's only newspaper, the *Olympia Columbian*  
owned by two printers, Thornton F. McElroy and James W Wiley, had begun operation [1852]  
it had advertised itself as being politically independent

After the first election the *Columbian* became the *Pioneer and Democrat* -- February 4, 1854  
this newspaper became the spokesman of the Olympia Clique  
and Washington Territory government

Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens was a hero  
his energetic personality and talent as reported in venerated newspaper articles  
assured him an enamored following

#### SECRETARY OF WAR JEFFERSON DAVIS DISAGREES WITH STEVEN'S REPORT

After reviewing the various reports related to the Northern Transcontinental Railroad route  
Jefferson Davis threw his support behind Captain George McClellan's report  
of the difficulties inherent with the northern route

Secretary of War rejected Governor Steven's report out of hand  
this could have been because of Davis' southern leanings  
and his willingness to accept the southern (or even central routes) as superior

possibly the Secretary of War was prejudiced against Stevens  
because of the presumptuous way he ran up deficits  
even authorizing unauthorized additional survey efforts  
Secretary Davis protested the charges as they came in  
he wrote Governor Stevens a blistering letter ordering all further operations stopped  
and the surveying parties disbanded

#### CHESTCO RIVER INDIANS OF OREGON ARE ATTACKED

Chetco River Indians had lived peacefully along that river in spite of the events surrounding them  
they operated a ferry for miners and packers traveling along the Oregon coast  
(white settler A.F. Miller had built a house about a quarter mile from the river's mouth [1853]  
he decided to take over the ferry business  
he promised the Chetco Indians peace and a good trade relationship  
if they gave up their weapons -- they complied)  
A.F. Miller contacted friends living in the Smith River settlements in California  
they attacked the unsuspecting and unarmed Chetco Indians (near Brookings, Oregon)  
shooting at them and burning their lodges -- February 15, 1854  
two Indians trapped inside a plank house burned to death  
another was shot down as he ran  
attackers allowed most of the women and children to escape, but they killed twelve men

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY LEGISLATIVE BUILDING IS CRAMPED

Washington Territory legislators met in the building constructed by Edmund Sylvester  
as a general store with living quarters on the second floor [1852]  
located on Main Street (now Capitol Way) near Third Avenue  
this building became The Parker-Coulter Dry Goods Store [1853]  
second floor became the home of the territorial legislature  
access to the Council and House of Representatives chambers  
was by an outside stairway that led to both rooms  
Olympia founder, Edmund Sylvester gave the legislature twelve acres on which to build the capitol  
located on a hill the site overlooked a body of water (that is now known as Capitol Lake)

#### FIRST LEGISLATIVE SESSION IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY OPENS IN OLYMPIA

Newly elected members of the Territorial Legislature arrived on foot, horseback, canoe or small boat  
their average age was twenty-eight  
ten were farmers, seven were lawyers, four were mechanics  
no other occupation was represented by more than one member<sup>97</sup>  
First legislative assembly convened -- February 27 [to May 1] 1854  
eight of the nine Councilmen (members of the upper legislative house) who were present  
elected their Officers:  
G.N. McConaha from King County was made President of the Council

---

<sup>97</sup> Don Brazier, *History of the Washington Legislature 1854-1963*, P. 3.

he was an attorney and had been chairman of the Monticello Convention,  
H.M. Frost from Pierce County was elected Chief Clerk after twenty-five ballots  
one week later he resigned due to poor eyesight

Elwood Evans of Thurston County was elected as Frost's replacement,  
W.E. Hichs was elected Assistant Clerk,  
J.L. Mitchell was elected Sergeant-at-Arms,  
W.G. Osborne was elected Door Keeper

seventeen members of the House of Representatives elected their Officers:

Francis Chenoweth of Clark County was elected Speaker,  
B.F. Kendall was elected Chief Clerk,  
D.L. Phillips was elected Assistant Clerk,  
E.W. Austin was elected Sergeant-at-Arms,  
James H. Roundtree was elected Door Keeper,

legislators received \$3.00 per diem and 10 cents per mile for travel expenses

Territorial officers were selected by the members of the legislature

Treasurer -- William Cook

Auditor -- D.R. Bigelow

Librarian -- B.F. Kendall

Prosecuting Attorney:

First District -- F.A. Chenoweth

Second District -- D.R. Bigelow

Third District -- F.A. Clark

## WASHINGTON TERRITORY LEGISLATURE GOES INTO ACTION

First session of Washington Territory's first Legislature opened -- February 27, 1854

Almost the very first topic for discussion in the Territorial House of Representatives  
was that of Suffrage (voting) rights

it was of such importance that it became the subject of the first section of the first act adopted  
an amendment extending the franchise to **"persons of mixed white and Indian blood who**

**had adopted the customs and habits of civilization"** was proposed and lost

another amendment offered by King County Representative Arthur A. Denny, **"to allow all  
white females over the age of eighteen years to vote,"** also was lost on a nine to nine tie vote

one representative who was married to an Indian woman voted "no"

because Indian women were not included in the Bill

First Bill passed established a Board of Commissioners to prepare a Code of Laws

legislators agreed to adopt the laws of Oregon Territory where practical

## TERRITORIAL LEGISLATORS RECEIVE MONEY FROM CONGRESS IMPROVEMENTS

Congress had granted additional funds to the territory for specific improvements:

- navigation was improved with a grant of \$94,000 to construct lighthouses along the shoreline,
- Superintendent of Indian Affairs was provided \$100,000 for use in dealing with the natives,
- money was granted for the construction of important roads:

- \$25,000 for a road between The Dalles and Fort Vancouver,

-\$30,000 for a wagon road between Fort Steilacoom and Fort Vancouver  
(this road eventually ran southeastward from Fort Steilacoom  
across the American Plain [at present North Fort Lewis] to the Nisqually River  
then overland to the head of navigation of the Cowlitz River  
it continued near [today's Toledo, Washington] and then by river or along the river bank  
to Fort Vancouver  
bridges across the lower portion of the Nisqually River were often washed away  
by flooding and ferries had to be used to cross the river)

#### GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS TURNS HIS ATTENTION TO ROADS

One of the major concerns of Washington Territory pioneers was the lack of roads

In his first message to the territorial legislature,

Governor Stevens stressed the need for road building

few roads existed in the territory at that time

most commerce and travel was by water or on horseback over Indian trails

he noted there was a general desire to relieve the isolation in which pioneers found themselves

and develop faster ways to reach the market areas

Governor recommended his own road construction projects between:

- Puget Sound and Walla Walla,
- Puget Sound and the Columbia River,
- along the eastern shore of Puget Sound from Olympia to Bellingham Bay

Governor Stevens took road improvements seriously

Lieutenant Richard Arnold U.S. Fourth Infantry stationed at Ft. Steilacoom

took charge of the government road building program over Naches Pass -- 1854

only minor improvements were accomplished

(each succeeding session of the legislature passed a steadily increasing amount of legislation  
pertaining to transportation)

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY LEGISLATURE CREATES EIGHT NEW COUNTIES

To facilitate election of territorial officers:

- Whatcom -- [March 9, 1854] in honor of a local chief; County Seat: Bellingham,
- Skamania -- [March 9, 1854] means: "swift water"; County Seat: Stevenson,
- Sawamish -- [March 13, 1854] County Seat: Shelton  
(renamed Mason County in honor of Territorial Secretary C.H. Mason [1864]),
- Chehalis -- [April 14, 1854] means: "sand" (renamed Grays Harbor) County Seat: Montesano,
- Cowlitz -- [April 21, 1854] named in honor of local Indians; County Seat: Kelso,
- Wahkiakum -- [April 24, 1854] named in honor of local chief; County Seat: Cathlamet,
- Walla Walla -- [April 25, 1854] means "swift water"; County Seat: Walla Walla,
- Clallam -- [April 26, 1854] means: "strong people"; County Seat: Port Angeles

These joined existing Washington counties that had been created by the Oregon Territory legislature:

Clarke (later Clark) County [August 20, 1845], County Seat: Vancouver,

Lewis County [December 19, 1845], County Seat: Claquato which is no longer in existence,

Pacific County [February 4, 1851], County Seat: Pacific City,

Thurston County [January 12, 1852], County Seat: Olympia,  
Jefferson County [December 22, 1852], Seat: Port Townsend,  
King County [December 22, 1852], County Seat: Seattle  
Pierce County [December 22, 1852], County Seat: Tacoma

#### JUDICIAL DISTRICTS WERE ESTABLISHED AND JUDGES ASSIGNED

First Judicial District -- Justice O.B. McFadden

Walla Walla, Skamania, Clarke, Cowlitz, Wahkiakum and Pacific counties

Second Judicial District -- Justice Victor Monroe

Lewis, Chehalis (renamed Grays Harbor), Thurston and Sawamish (renamed Mason) counties

Third Judicial District -- Chief Justice Edward Lander

Pierce, King, Island, Clallam, Jefferson and Whatcom counties

#### HOSTILITIES TAKE PLACE ALONG PUGET SOUND

William Young, an engineer employed at the Alki Point sawmill

operated by Charles Terry and William Renton hired three members of the Snohomish natives  
to take him north to locate a land claim on Whidbey Island -- early March 1854

several days later, two of the guides were seen with Young's clothing, watch and money  
fearing that Young had met with foul play, King County Sheriff Thomas Russell organized a posse  
consisting of himself, Dr. Wesley F. Cherry, Mr. Tyson, and one or two other white men  
along with four Indians

Russell's posse followed the suspects by canoe to Holmes Harbor on Whidbey Island

where they attempted to take the Indians into custody but a fight broke out on the beach

*Pioneer and Democrat* reported nine Indians killed including at least one of the suspects

Deputy Sheriff Russell, Tyson, and Cherry were wounded -- March 5, 1854

Russell's posse returned to Seattle where Dr. Wesley F. Cherry died the next day -- March 6, 1854

Cherry was the first public safety officer to die in the line of duty in Washington

citizens of Seattle discussed retaliation but reconsidered

they drafted a request to Governor Isaac Stevens for military action

#### FIRST SCHOOL FUNDING LAW PASSES IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Territorial Councilman D.R. Bigelow of Thurston County introduced a Bill to provide territorial money  
for schooling all children between four and twenty-one years of age -- March 1854

this proposal was almost an identical to Oregon Territory's school law

two-mill (.002¢) tax was levied in every county to be added to the school fund

from the sale of land granted by the Federal government (land Sections 16 and 36)

to provide funds for maintenance of the common schools

together with the money secured from fines imposed for breaking the laws of the Territory

Each county set up its own school system -- or not

no central authority was created to provide uniformity

In Washington Territory standards for pupils and teachers alike were inadequate

instruction was largely confined to elementary grades

in the absence of "normal" (teacher training) schools

standards for teacher education and teacher qualifications were necessarily very inferior equally inadequate were the school buildings and the equipment that went in them

#### INDIAN AGENTS ARE ESTABLISHED BY GOVERNOR STEVENS

Governor Stevens established Indian Agents for three districts in Washington Territory  
Michael Simmons became Indian Agent for the region west of the Cascade Mountains,  
A.J. Bolan, a member of the legislature from Clarke County,  
became the Indian Agent for the region east of the Cascade Mountains to the Bitterroots  
W.H. Tappan, a councilman from Clarke County, became a special agent  
for the Columbia River District

#### GOVERNOR STEVENS ACCOMPANIES THE MILITARY TO WHIDBEY ISLAND

Soldiers from Fort Steilacoom under Lieutenant William Slaughter set out for Whidbey Island  
they were accompanied by Territorial Governor Stevens, Indian Agent Michael Simmons  
and Deputy Indian Agent George Gibbs  
boat containing members of Companies A and C of the U.S. Fourth Infantry  
capsized in Puget Sound -- nine of the eleven soldiers drowned  
Governor Stevens continued on with Indian Agents Michael Simmons and George Gibbs  
they met with Chiefs Seattle of the Suquamish people and Patkanim of the Snoqualmie Indians  
it was learned that engineer William Young became drunk and quarreled with his Indian guides  
he assaulted them with a sword, killing one and wounding the other  
Indian Tom Taylor, the son of the murdered guide, killed Young in revenge -- March 1854  
Seattle and Patkanim named the Indians in the Holmes Harbor fight, but said the killers had fled  
Stevens' party continued on to Holmes Harbor and ordered the Indians to deliver up the suspects  
when they refused, Stevens burned their canoes and paddled back to Olympia  
Soon after Tom Taylor pleaded guilty to murdering William Young and one of the guides  
Taylor was indicted for murder

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY LEGISLATORS EFFECT OTHER CHANGES

Legislators made other changes in the laws they had inherited from Oregon Territory:

- legislature petitioned Congress to eliminate Indians' property rights  
and to purchase thousands of acres owned by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company;
- laws targeting Chinese were passed to discourage immigration  
and severely limit their financial success  
Washington Territorial legislature denied the vote to anyone from China;
- legislature sent a Memorial to Congress asking for confirmation  
of George Washington Bush's claim which he had cultivated for nearly ten years -- March 1854  
Bush could not claim land under the Oregon Donation Land Law;
- legislature passed an Act creating a Territorial University with the location to be determined;
- provisions were made for the location, establishment and operation of ferries  
but apparently nothing was done about bridge construction
- Columbia City (today's Vancouver, Washington) was named the county seat of Clarke County

## GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS APPOINTS INDIAN AGENTS

No Indian agents had been commissioned by the federal government for Washington Territory  
Governor Stevens, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, appointed Michael Simmons  
to serve as special agent for the Puget Sound District

Simmons began his duties by publishing a request to all good citizens  
to assist in suppressing the sales of liquor to Indians by:

- informing him of every such infraction of the law which became known to them;
- advising persons employing Indians to have a written contract  
witnesses by a white man;
- refraining from punishing suspected Indians criminals  
except with certain proof of their crimes

he hoped these guidelines would preserve the peace

## KILLERS OF CAPTAIN JEWELL AND HIS COOK ARE PURSUED

U.S. Fourth Infantry commander Lieutenant Floyd Jones set out with a squad of men  
in pursuit of the killers of Captain Jewell and Mr. Church his cook  
in a confrontation two Clallam Indians were killed and several slightly wounded  
three natives were arrested and taken to Fort Steilacoom  
three others were subjected to floggings

When Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens heard of the encounter  
he made a visit to Dungeness Spit confront the natives and to reassure the settlers

## SAN JUAN ISLANDS ARE CLAIMED BY WASHINGTON TERRITORY

In response to Hudson's Bay Company's Belle Vue farm,

Whatcom became the first and northernmost county created by the Washington Territory legislature

San Juan Islands were made part of the newly-formed county  
name Whatcom derives from a Nooksack word meaning "noisy water"  
and also was the name of a Nooksack Indian chief

British government on Vancouver Island protested that this was an illegal action  
as was the action of the American settler taking up residence on the island

Canadian New Caledonia Governor James Douglas refused to pay the American taxes

U.S. Customs Collector Colonel Isaac Ebey continued his visits to San Juan Island -- March 1854

he raised an American flag over his tent and sent word to Governor Douglas  
that Puget Sound Agricultural Company was trespassing on American property  
verbal confrontations followed as Ebey and his deputies threatened to seize Company sheep  
to pay for the uncollected duties

Belle Vue Farm manager Charles Griffin threatened to have the Americans arrested

Paul K. Hubbs, assistant Puget Sound District Collector of the Customs,

went straight to Governor Douglas in Victoria and informed the governor

that he would enforce the United States revenue laws around San Juan Island

he would collect duties from the Puget Sound Agricultural Company sheep farm

and that all vessels in the vicinity would be boarded

to ensure compliance of American revenue laws

## COMMODORE MATTHEW PERRY'S SECOND VISIT TO JAPAN

Commodore Perry returned to Japan leading twice as many steam frigates [February 1854]

Japan could not retain its isolation policy without risking war

After weeks of long and tiresome talks, Perry reached a treaty with Japan -- March 31, 1854

peace and friendship between the United States and Japan would be assured

two Japanese ports were opened to American ships

Japan would provide help for any American ships wrecked along the Japanese coast

and shipwrecked crews would be protected

permission for American ships to buy supplies, coal, water and other necessary provisions

in Japanese ports was guaranteed

Key translator for the Japanese during the treaty negotiations had learned English

from Ranald MacDonald who had intentionally marooned himself in Japan [1848]

MacDonald, the son of a Hudson's Bay Company trader, later said

his fascination with Japan began with stories he heard as a child

about the shipwrecked Japanese sailors he had met in Oregon [1833]

After signing of the treaty, the Japanese invited the Americans to a feast

Americans admired the courtesy and politeness of their hosts

and thought very highly of the rich Japanese culture

## GOVERNOR STEVENS TRAVELS TO WASHINGTON CITY

Secretary of War Jefferson Davis' blistering letter was received by the governor [February 1854]

not only were each of Governor Stevens' financial requests rejected

but all further railroad survey operations were ordered stopped

Isaac Stevens asked for and was granted a leave of absence by the Washington territorial legislature

he had four goals in mind:

- to secure the payment of the protested drafts and to gain permission for still more exploration;
- to preserve the results of his railroad and road survey;
- to support the acts of the legislature which required approval of Congress;
- to escort West his wife and children back to Washington Territory

Leaving twenty-four-year-old Territorial Secretary Charles Mason in charge of his office

Governor Stevens hurried via Panama to the national capital -- early April 1853

## BRITISH COUNTER AMERICAN CLAIM

New Caledonia Governor James Douglas protested to Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens

British collector of customs, Captain James Sanister, arrived on San Juan Island

he raised the British flag over the shepherd's cabin at Belle Vue farm

Sanister swore out a warrant for the arrest of American Customs Officer Colonel Isaac N. Ebey

Ebey snatched the document out of the arresting officer's hands

he stated he would never leave the island (eventually he did leave, however)

(in the course of the next year, two more American tax collectors were subject to arrest)

## LIEUTENANT JOHN MULLAN ELIMINATES TWO ROUTES THROUGH THE BITTERROOTS

From their winter camp John Mullan and his men sought the best route across the mountains for a transcontinental railroad, telegraph line and wagon road  
Through his interpreter Gustavus Sohon, Lieutenant John Mullan located an Indian drifter who suggested the pass (later called Sohon's Pass and the future route of the Mullan Road) however, Mullan was still not convinced that the route was the best one  
he sent party member topographer Thomas Adams with the Indian to make a close examination of the spot when the snow depth became more manageable  
As the weather improved they pushed their way through a second route over the Lolo Pass he found the snow so scant that he was able to bring a wagon across the roadless Continental Divide from Fort Benton to the Bitterroots -- early spring 1954 entering the Lochsa River area (Idaho) in search for a passage suitable for a railroad eventually Mullan noted in his report regarding his second option: **"I can arrive at but one conclusion -- that the route is thoroughly and utterly impracticable for a railway. The country is one immense bed of rugged, difficult, pine-clad mountains, that can never be converted to any purpose for the use of men ... In all my explorations I have never seen a more uninviting beds of mountains."**  
he eliminated Lolo Pass as a potential route

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL LAWS ARE NOT APPLIED EQUITABLY

Snohomish Indians hanged two of their own people in Seattle for the murder of a white man at Lake Union [July 1853] -- April 1854 friendly relations between the two races continued in that region  
At about the same time, James Burt murdered an Canadian Indian in an encounter near Olympia Burt was tried and acquitted -- he fled the territory to avoid the vengeance of the natives public opinion believed James Burt should have been punished apprehensions regarding the consequences of his act were expressed in the Olympia newspaper

#### STEAMBOAT EXPLOSION ON THE WILLAMETTE RIVER

Sidewheeler *Gazelle* served the upper Willamette River she blew up while tied to the dock awaiting departure at Canemah -- 6:40 A.M. April 8, 1854 of the fifty people on board, twenty were killed and four more died later of their injuries many were prominent people in the territory tragedy of the *Gazelle* was the first steamboat disaster in the Pacific Northwest *Gazelle* was rebuilt and operated briefly as the barge *Sarah Hoyt* -- with no boiler she was towed

#### TABLE ROCK TREATY RATIFIED BY CONGRESS

Table Rock Treaty had been negotiated by Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer with the Rogue River Indians in Oregon [September 10, 1853] Congress ratified the terms of the agreement -- April 12, 1854 Rogue River Indian tribe was sent to their reservation Provisions of the treaty soon were violated by both sides

#### MARGARET BAILEY RECEIVES A DIVORCE FROM DR. WILLIAM BAILEY

Margaret Smith Jewett had traveled to Oregon with Rev. David Leslie and his family

as part of the second reinforcement of the Methodist Champoeg Mission [1837]  
she soon entered into a feud with Rev. Leslie  
she married Dr. William Bailey a doctor and early pioneer leader and politician [1839]  
Margaret Smith Jewett Bailey divorced Dr. Bailey because of his drinking and abuse -- April 12, 1854  
however, community sympathy seemed to have attached to the disfigured Dr. William Bailey  
in her own words as a divorcee Margaret was **“shunned and slighted and regarded with suspicions in every place, till my life is more burdensome than death would be.”**<sup>98</sup>  
Former Mrs. Bailey sought solace by continuing her long-term feud with Rev. David Leslie  
Margaret Smith Jewett Bailey also sought comfort by writing the first novel  
published in the Pacific Northwest which was actually a thinly disguised biography:  
*Grains, or Passages in the Life of Ruth Rover, with Occasional Pictures of Oregon, Natural and Moral* [published in 1854]

#### TWO MEN FROM THE SHIP *JOHN ADAMS* ARE KILLED BY NATIVES

*John Adams* was the first vessel to come into the harbor at New Dungeness -- spring 1853  
Captain Jewell master of the barque *John Adams*, and his cook Mr. Church  
started out for Port Townsend in a small boat but were never seen again  
both men had considerable sums of money which fell into the hands of the Indians  
Clallam Indians admitted that two of their people had murdered the men

#### CONFEDERATION OF INDIANS FORMED

Yakima Chief Kamiakin began building a confederation of Indian tribes to oppose the white threat  
he quickly enlisted Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox, Head Chief of the Walla Walla people  
and Looking Glass, War Chief of the Nez Perce  
Plateau tribes laid in extra supplies in preparation for the possibility of war -- spring 1854  
In secrecy, these three Indian leaders planned a council  
to be held in the Grande Ronde Valley of Eastern Oregon which was selected  
both because of its remoteness and because it was hoped the Shoshone tribes might join  
couriers quietly and quickly spread word of the secret council throughout the region

#### ST. IGNATIUS MISSION IS REPLACED

Original St. Ignatius Mission (near today's Cusick, Washington)  
was named for the founder of the Society of Jesus -- St. Ignatius Loyola [1844]  
Father Joseph Joset noted the clay soil was not good for growing  
and that severe winters depleted the surrounding game animals  
causing the Indians and missionaries to starve  
this site also was both isolated and vulnerable to flooding  
St. Ignatius Mission near the Washington-Idaho border had been abandoned after nine years  
Father Pierre De Smet and Jesuit Adrian Hoecken constructed a new St. Ignatius Mission  
in the Flathead River Valley forty miles north of (today's Missoula, Montana)  
near the old mission of Saint Mary -- 1854

---

<sup>98</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 189.

new St. Ignatius Mission would serve the Flathead Indians (north of Missoula, Montana)  
as Father De Smet had promised them  
initially the Upper Kalispel and most of the Lower Kalispel Indians  
moved to the new St. Ignatius Mission  
new St. Ignatius Mission provided the longest continuous mission service in the interior

#### STEILACOOM BECOME THE FIRST INCORPORATED TOWN IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Steilacoom established several “first” for the territory:

- first community in Washington Territory to be incorporated -- April 22, 1854;
- first Protestant (Methodist Episcopal) church building in the territory;
- first public lending library in Washington Territory;
- first brick building north of the Columbia River (this was also the first jail in Pierce County);
- first school in Pierce County

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY LEGISLATURE ADJOURNS

First session of the Washington Territory Legislature adjourned -- May 1, 1854  
at the conclusion of the session there was apparently a “Sine Die” celebration  
(Washington’s Territorial [and State] governments adjourn “Sine Die”  
that is, indefinitely -- with no date set to go back into session

**“At least one account of the festivities relates that [David] Denny and [George] McConaha of King County were accosted and coaxed back to the celebration as they were about to embark by boat for Seattle. Denny was a teetotaler and McConaha was a reformed drinker. Whether Mr. McConaha succumbed to temptation is not entirely clear, however, his departure for Seattle was substantially delayed. This may have been the cause for the end of a promising political career. En route to Seattle in Indian canoes the McConaha party of five including Indian guides encountered a storm between Vashon Island and Alki Point. A canoe capsized and Mr. McConaha and two others perished.”<sup>99</sup>**

#### REV. GEORGE FREDERICK WHITWORTH BRINGS THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH NORTH

Rev. Whitworth and his family moved from Portland, Oregon into Washington Territory  
where they were among the early pioneers to settle in the southern Puget Sound area  
Whitworth himself arrived at Olympia, the new territorial capital of Washington [March 4, 1854]  
he soon took out a donation land claim of 320 acres north of Olympia  
Rev. George Whitworth’s family joined him from Portland, Oregon Territory -- May 1854  
Whitworth lost no time in organizing the First Presbyterian Church of Olympia  
as well as churches in Grand Mound and present-day Chehalis -- he rode circuit on horseback  
he is considered the father of Presbyterianism in Washington  
in addition, he turned his prodigious energies to law, Indian affairs, farming education  
and the development of the area’s coal resources  
Initially upon his arrival on Puget Sound and for many years thereafter,  
Whitworth was a leader in the Temperance Movement

---

<sup>99</sup> Don Brazier, *History of the Washington Legislature 1854-1963*, P. 5.

demanding absolute abstinence from his followers  
he founded the first temperance society in the new territory --1854  
which advocated a law based on one enacted in Maine ([851]  
prohibiting the manufacture and sale of liquor  
Whitworth's dream of a colony of Presbyterians never materialized

#### DEPARTMENT OF THE PACIFIC RECEIVES A NEW COMMANDER

Number of regular soldiers available in the Pacific Northwest was incredibly small  
whole United States Army numbered only about 10,000 men  
2,000 of these were stationed along the Pacific coast west of Rocky Mountains  
(Department of the Pacific had been created by the United States Army [1853]  
to replace the older Pacific Division [1848-1853]  
and abolish the 10<sup>th</sup> Department [California] and 11<sup>th</sup> [Oregon Territory] Department)  
Department of the Pacific was headquartered inland from San Francisco at Benicia, California  
Major General John Ellis Wool, the second most senior officer in the United States Army  
following only General-in-Chief Winfield Scott himself  
at the age of seventy Wool was a veteran of the War of 1812 during which he was wounded  
General Wool took command of the Department of the Pacific -- 1854  
Wool was a capable administrator, but he was less adept at dealing with political problems  
he truly believed that the Army was best qualified to deal with westward expansion problems  
he was intolerant of interference by those outside the military, including territorial officials  
Wool thought problems between Indians and whites were generally the fault of whites  
he believed the Indians were being poorly treated by the settlers  
he especially blamed volunteer militias whose behavior toward the natives appalled him  
critics of Wool often referred to him as pompous or arrogant  
they claimed he held too high an opinion of his own moral infallibility  
Wool, however, had little interest in public opinion -- he performed his duties as he saw fit

#### U.S. THIRD ARTILLERY IS SENT TO THE DEPARTMENT OF THE PACIFIC

After the disastrous [1853] trip on their way to California aboard the steamer *San Francisco*  
the undaunted U.S. Third Artillery Companies D, G, I, K and M  
set out from New York around Cape Horn aboard the steamboat *Falcon* -- 1854  
this time on their way to California the U.S. Third Artillery was accompanied  
by the U.S. Fourth Infantry Companies B and L on the steamer *Illinois*  
U.S. Third Artillery Companies D, G, I, K and M on the steamer *Falcon*  
nearly repeated the voyage of the *San Francisco*  
disabled in a storm they managed to return to Hampton Roads, Virginia  
where the troops landed at Fortress Monroe  
there the steamer *Illinois* picked them up they again began the journey to California

#### BRADFORDS CASCADE RAILWAY LINKS WESTERN AND EASTERN WASHINGTON

Goods from below the Lower Cascades were portaged around the Columbia Gorge  
on Bradfords' mule-powered Cascade Railway to the village of Upper Cascades

this portage railway on the north bank of the Columbia River had existed nearly five years  
Inhabitants of Lower Cascades and Upper Cascades made their living cutting firewood  
fueling steamboats which consumed an average four cords of wood an hour  
while traveling on the Columbia River

Daniel and Putnam Bradford's side-wheeler steamboat *Mary* was used above the Columbia Gorge  
*Mary* linked the Upper Cascades with The Dalles in what became known as the Middle Cascades  
this was as far as steamboats could travel up the Columbia River  
above The Dalles remained the still impossible to navigate Celilo Falls  
Middle Cascades was considered to be the most treacherous part of the Columbia River

#### PORTAGES ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER PROVIDE A VITAL LINK

Sidewheelers *Belle of Oregon City* owned by Captain W.B. Wells and Captain Richard Williams  
and *Mary* owned by Colonel Joseph Ruckel and Captain Lawrence White Coe  
provided the transportation link from Portland, Oregon City, Vancouver and Fort Vancouver  
up the Columbia River to Lower Cascades

Two villages, one at either end of The Columbia Gorge provided stopping places  
for portaging goods around rapids, rocks and islands both up and down the Columbia River  
Lower Cascades was a loading platform and village located nearest to Fort Vancouver and Portland  
there goods had to be unloaded from the steamers

and then were placed on Bradford and Company's little mule-drawn wooden railway  
that ran along the north (Washington) side of the Columbia River

loading and unloading service at the portage was provided by the few settlers residing there  
Upper Cascades was the other end of the portage's mule-car railroad

it consisted of a few houses, Bradfords' store, a warehouse, a wharf and a sawmill

Fort Cascades was built at the foot of the upper rapids to protect the portage route

two little steamers, *Mary* and *Wasco*, transported supplies back and forth

across the forty miles of water between Upper Cascades and The Dalles

this was considered the most treacherous part of the portage

Cascade Railway linked Lower Cascades with village of Upper Cascades

after the original Cascade Railway line was severely damaged by a flood [winter 1855]

the link between Lower and Upper Cascades was rebuilt

by brothers Daniel F. Bradford and Putnam Bradford -- 1856

Daniel F. Bradford hired men to rebuild track along the north side of the Columbia River

(this track was later lengthened and reached six miles when completed)

Middle Cascades as it was called linked Lower Cascades and Upper Cascades

had a blockhouse, Fort Rains, which served to protect the wooden-rail, mule-powered railway

Fort Rains was located one mile below the falls of Upper Cascades

Settlements above and below the rapids of The Cascades were unprotected

outermost settlements were ten miles apart

supplies tended to accumulate at either end waiting for shipment to Fort Vancouver or Fort Dalles

this proved to be a military hazard in the movement of supplies

Meeting the needs of gold seekers in the Colville region added to the growing trade at The Dalles

but the greatest demand was generated by the increase in the number of troops

stationed in Yakima and Walla Walla country  
necessitating the transportation of munitions and supplies

#### STEAMBOAT WASHINGTON SERVES THE UMPQUA RIVER

Steamer *Washington* made three trips a week on the Umpqua River between Scottsburg, Oregon Territory and the mouth of the river she left Allan, McKinlay & Company's wharf at Scottsburg on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays one of *Washington's* owners was Captain Sylvester Hinsdale a former sailor and a merchant at Gardiner, Oregon on the Umpqua River company's owners advertised

**“a good scow for the transportation of cattle is always in readiness”**

#### JOHN MULLAN EXIMINATES TWO MORE ROUTES ACROSS THE BITTERROOT MOUNTAINS

Mullan traveled to investigate the Clark Fork River Valley for a another potential railroad route he traveled through (today's Dixon, Paradise, Plains, to Thompson Falls) -- May 1854 to see how difficult it would be to build a wagon road through that area spring runoff resulted in all the streams boiling with rapid, deep water which covered the trails rocky mountainsides also made travel difficult

Mullan became convinced this third course was not a suitable route either Lieutenant John Mullan's fourth and final route over the Bitterroot Mountains

followed the Nez Perce Trail along the St. Joe River this route was used by Father Pierre-Jean De Smet when he arrived to set up St. Mary's missions among the Flathead Indians [1841]

Mullan rejected this option because of the **“difficulties and disasters arising from snow and other obstacles that attended the trip of Mr. W.W. Finkham, one of our civil engineers”**<sup>100</sup>

#### LIEUTENANT JOHN MULLEN ELIMINATS ALL OPTIONS

Lieutenant Mullan had found that none of the four routes explored across the Bitterroot Mountains were satisfactory as a railroad route

satisfied he had done a thorough and complete job of the surveys

Lieutenant Mullan returned to his Willow Creek camp and finished his report to Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens

#### SACRED HEART MISSION BECOMES HOME TO FATHER ANTHONY RAVALLI

Father Anthony Ravalli took charge of Sacred Heart Mission that had been established among the Coeur d'Alene Indians of Northern Idaho by Father Nicholas Point [1843]

Father Ravalli designed and supervised the building of a church he carved the alter and beautiful statues himself

---

<sup>100</sup> OFFICE MILITARY ROAD EXPEDITION, *Topographical Bureau, Washington, D.C., February 14, 1863.*

Governor Isaac Stevens visited the mission [1855] and stated in his official report: **“The church was designed by the superior of the mission, Father Ravalli, a man of skill as an architect and, undoubtedly, judging from his well-thumbed books, of various accomplishments.”**

#### CONGRESS PASSES THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT

Democratic Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois crafted the Act to increase opportunities for a transcontinental railroad across America’s heartland it created two new territories: Kansas and Nebraska -- May 26, 1854 popular sovereignty was featured in the proposal providing for settlers to decide for themselves whether or to allow slavery in any specific territory this allowed for the expansion of slavery into Washington Territory and Oregon Territory as the voters living in each territory would be provided an opportunity to accept or reject slavery in the territory

Democrats nationally favored the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the effort to spread of slavery into the territories in the possession of the United States Oregon Territory Democrats were concerned with more than the slavery question to them popular sovereignty meant the fulfillment of their hopes and demands for self- government and for the election of all Territorial officers and, most importantly, it meant an end to imported officials

New Republican Party had formed in opposition to the spread of slavery while they were not opposed to slavery where it already existed, they opposed its expansion they denounced the Kansas-Nebraska Act as a concession to the slave holders of the South Republican Party was rapidly becoming the dominant political force throughout the North Oregon and Washington territories were divided on the issue of slavery there was strong opposition to the extension of slavery into the West but there also was strong support for the expansion of slavery into the new territories

#### NEW PACIFIC REPUBLIC IS PROPOSED IN SOUTHERN OREGON TERRITORY

Oregon Territorial Legislature proposed creation of a new pro-slavery territory to be carved from Southern Oregon and Northern California -- 1854 this was referred to at various times as “Jackson Territory” and the “State of Jefferson” Oregon Territorial Legislature instructed Delegate Joe Lane to procure passage of appropriate legislation to create Jackson Territory however, the resolution was not adopted by Congress thus a local legislative committee was appointed to draft memorials to Congress Delegate Joe Lane refused to introduce the memorials into Congress -- idea was temporarily dropped (until it resurfaced [1857] and again was dropped -- statehood ended the effort [1859])

#### NEW POLITICAL PARTY, SUPREME ORDER OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER, ARISES

Supreme Order of the Star Spangled Banner was also known as the “Know Northing Party” this was the most recent version of the old “Americans only” movement they were strongly anti-Roman Catholic -- especially Irish immigrants they also wanted to exclude foreign-born citizens from all government offices

whether federal, state, county or municipal

Support of the Know Nothing Party surfaced in Oregon Territory -- 1854

membership in Oregon was recruited from former Whigs and Democrats opposed to slavery

Northern California and Southern Oregon miners had once been strongly Democratic

now they were opposed to Willamette Valley settlers and the Democrat Salem Clique

they joined the Know Nothings and the effort to withdraw from Oregon Territory

to form pro-slavery Jackson Territory

but in Oregon the Know Nothing movement was more anti-Democrat and anti-Salem Clique

than it was pro-slavery

#### BRITISH COLUMBIA NATIVES CONDUCT RAIDS IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Ten large war canoes with several hundred Haida Indians aboard appeared at Vancouver Island

eight warriors came ashore and shot Englishman Charles Bailey

who had been mistaken as an American -- end of May 1854

New Caledonia Governor James Douglas ordered out a force from the fort at Victoria

who pursued them to their canoes

two of the Haidas proceeded to Bellingham Bay

where they landed at the claim of a settler named Clayton

Mr. Clayton could see from their demeanor that hostilities were intended

he fled to the woods pursued by the Indians

he escaped to the house of Captain William Prattle where some Lummi Indians tribe were visiting

these natives delivered the alarm to the settlements in the area

Clayton, Prattle and five others set out in a canoe in case the Indians had found their trail

they anchored off Captain Prattle's house

from Saturday afternoon until 10 o'clock Sunday -- May 28-29, 1853

all went ashore except David Melville and George Brown who were left to keep guard

Safely on shore, precautions were undertaken

during the night Richard Williams discharged his gun to clean it

as the weapon had become wet during the day

this shot his fire was answered by a volley out of the darkness and from the water

at the sound of gunfire some friendly Indians came to the rescue -- the enemy was driven off

David Melville and George Brown were never seen again

but as their canoe was found on the beach the next morning covered with blood

it was supposed that they were surprised while asleep and beheaded

as was customary with these northern Indians

two Haida murderers then robbed several houses on Bellingham Bay and Whidbey Island

before they disappeared

Secretary and Acting-Governor Charles Mason and Indian Agent Michael Simmons

learned that armed northern Indians had appeared in the waters of Washington Territory

they immediately set out from Olympia to Fort Steilacoom

they gathered a small detachment of soldiers and proceeded up Puget Sound

to ascertain the condition of affairs in Bellingham Bay

however, nothing was accomplished other than making a display that the United States

would punish crimes committed against its citizens -- when able

## OREGON STATEHOOD EFFORT IS ATTEMPTED

An election calling for a state constitutional convention finally was held -- June 1854  
proposed constitutional convention was rejected by the territorial voters by 869 votes  
Southern Oregon gold miners and Know Nothings were solidly opposed to statehood  
(Additional efforts would be made in Oregon every year until statehood was granted [1859])

## PACIFIC NORTHWEST TRADE EXPANDS

Columbia River was main artery for commerce in the Pacific Northwest  
Portland was by far the largest and busiest city in the region  
Several sailing schooners served Puget Sound:  
•*Colonel Ebey* was built at Port Townsend,  
•*H.C. Page*, a small schooner, was constructed by Captain Roeder at Bellingham  
connected Bellingham with the rest of the territory,  
•two lumber ships, *Julius Pringle* and *L.P. Foster*, served Josiah Keller's Teekalet Mill  
California provided the principal market for Washington goods such as lumber, fish, grain, and coal  
China and the Orient occasionally became a good market for trade  
especially after Japan was opened to Americans -- 1854  
Other markets were also contacted  
four ships carried lumber from Puget Sound to Australia and one sailed for Calcutta, India -- 1854

## BUSINESS GROWS AT THE COLUMBIA GORGE PORTAGE

Bradford and Daniel Bradford had a monopoly providing service above The Cascades to Celilo Falls  
when the Bradford brothers had purchased the Cascade Railway [1853] it was in Oregon Territory  
but now it was in Washington Territory which maintained low taxes on the business  
Crude as it was, the Bradfords' shipping monopoly made a great deal of money for its owners  
U.S. government poured a steady stream of supplies to soldiers stationed in Indian Country  
annual influx of immigrants each fall contributed to the business at the portage  
recently discovered gold in eastern Washington and Oregon created a vast increase in business  
Bradford's freight charges soon came to be considered exorbitant by some  
in addition to the fees charged by Captain W.B. Wells and Captain Richard Williams  
to carry cargo from Portland to The Dalles on the *Belle of Oregon City*  
Bradford and Company charged an additional \$50 a ton to deliver goods the The Dalles  
but *Belle of Oregon City* and Daniel and *Mary* could not handle the demand

## BRADFORD AND COMPANY FACES COMPETITION ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Small iron propeller steamboat *Eagle* ran between Portland and Oregon City [1852]  
she was moved to connect Portland and Vancouver with the Lower Cascades of the Columbia River  
in competition with the steamboats *Belle of Oregon* and *Fashion* -- 1854  
(*Eagle* was sold to a towing business [1865] and operated until [1871]  
when she was again purchased and her engines removed to be placed in the *Jane West*)

## PACIFIC COUNTY GOVERNMENT MOVES ONCE AGAIN

Tiny isolated fishing station of Chinook on the Columbia River had been named Pacific County seat after a military reservation was made of the land surrounding Pacific City, the former county seat  
Chinook was an inconvenient county seat  
Oysterville had grown up around the oyster trade in Willapa Bay  
residents of Oysterville on the Long Beach Peninsula petitioned the county commissioners to transfer the county seat there  
an election sanctioned the move to Oysterville -- 1854

## EARLY ADVENTURES OF BEN SNIPES

Ben Snipes was born in North Carolina where his family lived until Ben was twelve years old when they moved to Iowa

Ben attended school in short bursts during the winter when farm work permitted

When news of the California gold rush reached Iowa, Ben unrelentingly insisted his father move the family to California where gold nuggets lay in the streambeds ripe for picking  
his parents, Elam and Asenath, just as adamantly refused

Ben learned a neighbor, George Humphrey, was going to Oregon and needed a hired man  
Humphrey had several teams of oxen and a considerable number of cattle  
at age seventeen Ben signed on "passage free" in return for his help along the Oregon Trail

Ben Snipes and the covered wagon train left Iowa [spring 1852]

Ben soon made himself the "right-hand-man" of the train

he drove and cared for the Humphrey oxen and served as second cook to the party  
because of his excellent care of the oxen entrusted to him

they fared much better than other wagon trains journeying to Oregon

Humphrey's oxen came through in fine condition with little or no loss

crossing took five months before they arrived in the Willamette valley ([ate fall 1852]

George Humphrey settled near the present site of Salem, Oregon

Ben Snipes' first occupation in Oregon was harvesting potatoes by digging with a potato fork  
but soon he was hired to work with a pack train bound for California with a load of apples  
he was put in charge of the "bell mare" (lead mule) in the train of forty-five mules

his assignment was the equivalent to having charge of the caravan

apples were sold at \$1 per pound -- fresh apples were even more rare than gold in Yreka

Young Ben Snipes bought a miner's pick and pan and set out to find his fortune

his first claim showed good signs and on his third day he took \$500 in gold dust for the claim  
(this mine eventually made \$75,000 for its new owner)

Ben stayed on to assist the buyer for \$7.00 per day

he now had more money than his father had ever owned at any one time

and a job that paid several times the wages his father had ever drawn

Snipes next bought a "drifting claim" (mineshaft) for \$1,500 at Yreka Flats

he worked this claim all winter [1852-1853]

when the pocket ran out [spring 1853] he could not even pay his beef bill and had to work it off

Ben went to work for the butcher who was doing a boom business buying beef at a low price  
and selling at very high prices

Ben learned every phase of the business and bought a shop of his own

Ben's competition soon closed his place and left when winter stopped mining operations

Snipes' business now produced more wealth than a gold mine

all on the credit basis [winter 1853]

suddenly the town stampeded for richer diggings

young Snipes was left with a number of uncollectible bills which represented his profits

fate had dealt him several cruel blows: Ben Snipes lost everything -- he was "dead broke" -- 1854

#### GRANDE RONDE INDIAN COUNCIL MEETS TO FORM AN INDIAN CONFEDERATION

Grande Ronde council was held for five days to coordinate an Indian strategy -- summer 1854

to deal with Washington Territorial Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs Isaac Stevens

This was the most noted gathering of Indians that had ever been seen in the Pacific Northwest

speeches were given by representatives of nearly every Eastern Washington tribe

with the exception of the Shoshone Indians who were not present at the council

Only Chief Lawyer of the Nez Perce, Sticcus of the Cayuse and Garry of the Spokanes

were in favor of holding a council and making a treaty with Governor Stevens to sell their lands

they hoped if everyone heard what the governor proposed perhaps war could be avoided

they were very much in the minority

More aggressive chiefs at the council met without the three pacifists

they identified the boundaries of each tribe's ancient lands ensuring nearly all the land

in Eastern Washington and a large part of Eastern Oregon was claimed by the Indians

their plan was for each chief in council with Governor Stevens to claim his boundaries

and demand that land be his tribe's reservation

in that way Lawyer's, Sticcus's and Garry's demand for a council would be met

but no land would be left for sale and the council with Stevens would fail

Finally on the fifth day the chiefs agreed that if Governor Stevens if he demanded a council

they would meet but no Indian land would be given up

However, Chief Lawyer notified Indian Agent A. J. Bolon of the council

the Indians' secret was out

#### CONGRESS PROVIDES FUNDS FOR WASHINGTON TERRITORY

On his visit to the nation's capital Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens was very successful in lobbying Congress:

- he secured \$30,000 from Congress to construct a wagon road

from the headwaters of the Missouri River at Fort Benton, Montana

to Wallula, the site of Fort Walla Walla on the Columbia River

where connections could be established with other routes;

- he also helped the Northwest's two delegates to Congress

Columbia Lancaster (Washington) and Joe Lane (Oregon) obtain

congressional appropriations for building other roads leading to Puget Sound

and the Willamette Valley;

- most gratifying to the governor's own interests were \$10,000 from the Indian Department

for concluding his postponed council between the Blackfoot and the Rocky Mountain tribes

However, Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens was not able to win funds for completing his surveys of the northern transcontinental railroad route  
Secretary of War Jefferson Davis did all he could to discredit the evidence of the surveys in an effort to maintain the Southern route as the only legitimate choice  
but fortunately the survey already was substantially complete

#### GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS JOURNEYS BACK TO WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Leaving the nation's capital Isaac Stevens headed back west via Panama  
he brought with him his wife Margaret (Cyman) their twelve-year-old son Hazard and their four daughters, Virginia, Kate, Maude, and Susan  
while crossing the isthmus, Margaret Stevens and the girls were stricken with fever  
Pressing on, the governor and his family reached San Francisco  
where a month-long convalescence was spent by the Stevens ladies  
Stevens came into frequent contact with General John Ellis Wool, a veteran of the Mexican War and currently in command of the United States Department of the Pacific Military District  
Wool enjoyed describing his Mexican War exploits to friends, guests, or anyone within hearing  
on one occasion he told a group he was responsible for victory in the Battle of Buena Vista  
Stevens reminded General Wool that General Zachary Taylor was in command of the battle and deserved full credit for victory -- not John Wool  
General Wool carried a grudge against the governor from that day forward  
a less brash and more insightful governor may have realized  
that if military operations ever became necessary in the territory of Washington they would have to be conducted under the supervision of  
General John E. Wool's Department of the Pacific

#### ALEXANDER WARD WAGON TRAIN IS MASSACRED

For more than a decade the Oregon Trail had been the focal point of two cultures  
one saw the route as a means to reach the land of opportunity  
the other saw the route as the conduit of an unlimited number of invaders  
Even so there were only a handful of incidents where Indians  
made a concerted, sustained and ultimately effective attack on a wagon train party  
Alexander Ward Wagon Train was overrun and gruesomely massacred  
along the Boise River near Fort Hall -- August 20, 1854  
twenty pioneers including women and children were viciously attacked  
eighteen were killed -- brutality of the incident caused great alarm among the settlers  
(As a result of these murders and other Indians activities in the region  
Hudson's Bay Company decided to close Fort Boise and Fort Hall)

#### U.S. FOURTH INFANTRY GOES ON THE ATTACK

Word of the Ward Massacre reached Major Gabriel J. Rains  
commanding officer of the United States Army Fourth Infantry -- August 28, 1854  
by this time many of his men's five-year enlistment had expired and they had been discharged  
other soldiers had just received eight month's pay -- feeling flush they deserted

Major Rains sent orders to Major Granville Owen Haller who was stationed at Fort Dalles with about fifty enlisted men of the U.S. Fourth Infantry together with Lieutenant Robert MacFeely and Surgeon George Suckley Major Haller organized a force numbering twenty-seven privates that set out from Fort Dalles traveling on horseback along the immigrant road to provide protection to the trains coming West and, if possible, to punish the murderers proceeding on the road they were joined by a company of thirty-seven mounted volunteers commanded by volunteer Captain Nathan Olney, Lieutenants Orlando Neal and J.A. Staley Olney was provided with rations for thirty men but he had acquired a few more

#### MAJOR HALLER'S COMMAND REACHES FORT BOISE

Major Granville Haller's twenty-seven privates and two officers set up camp -- September 11, 1854 along with Nathan Olney, Orlando Neal and J.A. Staley leading a party of volunteers Pack train carrying supplies from Fort Dalles was late in arriving consequently supplies ran short regulars and volunteers had to subsist on captured cured Indian salmon and captured Indian horses

#### FOUR INDIANS INVOLVED IN THE WARD WAGON TRAIN MASSACRE ARE CAPTURED

Volunteers traveling with Major Granville Haller's U.S. Fourth Infantry troops captured four Shoshone Indians -- September 12, 1854 they were indicated to be involved in the massacre of the Alexander Ward wagon train they were placed in the charge of volunteer Lieutenant Orlando Neal and six men All four Shoshone Indians were examined by a court of inquiry where each explained his part in the wagon train massacre one tried to escape and was shot dead by the guard three others were hanged on the massacre grounds near the grave of Mrs. Ward and her seven children

#### MAJOR GRANVILLE HALLER MOVES TO THE PAYETTE RIVER

Major Haller with the twenty-seven men of the U.S. Fourth Infantry accompanied by about forty volunteers force moved to the Payette River -- September 15, 1854 they captured five empty native lodges and several packs of dried salmon friendly Indians who served the army as guides discovered caches of articles which had been stolen from the Alexander Ward wagon train civilian Captain Nathan Olney leading the volunteers entered an Indian camp an old man, who proved to a head chief, was captured along with an Indian woman and three children

#### MAJOR GRANVILLE HALLER'S EXPEDITION ENCOUNTERS MORE INDIANS

While scouting the Payette River Haller's soldiers surprised a lodge of Indians -- September 16, 1854 they killed two and captured three Indian women they also confiscated several horses and a quantity of provisions Haller's U.S. Fourth Infantry soldiers and volunteers returned to the Boise River

stirring up a great deal of dust along the way  
they conducted a night attack on a village of Indian lodges belonging to the suspected murders  
(just a few hours earlier other Indians made a hurried escape keeping to the river bed  
they had been warned by the dust cloud)  
Major Haller's expedition then marched thirty-five miles beyond Fort Boise and went into camp

#### STEAMBOAT *MAJOR TOMPKINS* ARRIVES ON PUGET SOUND

James M. Hunt and John N. Scranton found the unused steamboat in San Francisco  
they brought her to Puget Sound arriving -- September 16, 1854

*Major Tompkins* began operation on Puget Sound as regular service was offered  
from the wharf built by Edward Giddings, Jr. on the north end of Olympia to Port Townsend  
she arrived at Steilacoom during a time when there was no cannon to be fired in tribute  
so the citizens dynamited a few stumps in celebration  
when she arrived at Elliott Bay (Seattle) the occasion was marked with  
patriotic pride and the blowing up of stumps

*Major Tompkins* delivered freight and passengers on Puget Sound  
she also was contracted to carry the mail between Seattle and Olympia  
Nathaniel Coe was the first postal agent in the Northwest  
this operation replaced the canoe mail service then in operation  
as a sometimes rival to the *Fairy*, she slowly made her way (approximately five miles per hour)  
among Olympia, Seattle, Victoria, the islands of Puget Sound and other places

Local pioneers endeared her with the nickname *Pumpkins*  
however, the *Major Tompkins* was too small and too poorly constructed  
she suffered from constant engine trouble -- and no repair shops existed in the region

#### MAJOR GRANVILLE HALLER'S MEN PROTECTS A WAGON TRAIN

A scouting party met a small group of immigrants headed by Mr. Jeffreys -- September 21, 1854

Major Haller was informed Indians were following the train and had threatened to attack  
U.S. Fourth Infantry Soldiers charged the pursuing Indians who retreated  
one horse was captured but no Indians were killed

Haller's soldiers continued the pursuit and captured eight natives  
who were tried by a military commission  
condemned, they were executed on a gallows erected on the Indian camp ground

Jeffreys' Party was the last of the "immigration of 1854"

Major Granville Haller returned to Fort Dalles with his U.S. Fourth Infantry command  
without having lost a single man in the expedition

#### SAN JUAN ISLAND DISPUTE ESCALATES

Whatcom County Sheriff Ellis Barnes repeatedly visited San Juan Island  
stopping at British Puget Sound Agricultural Company's Belle Vue Farm  
to demand that manager Charles Griffin pay taxes claimed due to Whatcom County  
when Griffin continued to refuse to pay, Sheriff Barnes announced  
he would sell Belle Vue Farm's sheep at auction to collect for the tax bill

One night Sheriff Barnes landed on San Juan Island with a party of four armed men to seize Puget Sound Agricultural Company sheep  
a Kanaka (Hawaiian) shepherd guarding the flock once again refused to pay  
thirty-four sheep were confiscated to be auctioned off as payment for taxes owing  
Prospective bidders from Whatcom County who accompanied Sheriff Barnes and his deputies began bidding at the post-midnight auction on the beach  
successful bidders struggled mightily to load their newly-acquired livestock into canoes and other boats too small to carry them  
uncooperative sheep only added to the mayhem

About dawn when Sheriff Barnes and his men were attempting to leave: **“there was a whoop from the hill and Griffin, together with some twenty Kanakas brandishing knives, were seen charging down toward them.”**<sup>101</sup>

Sheriff Barnes’ men drew their revolvers -- Charles Griffin and his Kanakas beat a hasty retreat  
Griffin reported the theft to British New Caledonia Governor James Douglas in Victoria  
Governor Douglas wrote a heated letter of protest to Governor Stevens  
he asked for damages to be paid in the amount of three thousand pounds

#### PETER SKENE OGDEN DIES

Peter Skene Ogden was left to oversee Fort Vancouver after its purchase by the United States [1849]  
Ogden’s last years at Fort Vancouver were frustrating ones as he coped with the problems of a fast-changing environment in which settlers and prospectors were more in evidence than were fur traders and Indians  
in ill health, he left Fort Vancouver for Oregon City  
where he died at age sixty-four -- September 27, 1854

#### UNITED STATES REVENUE CUTTER *JEFFERSON DAVIS* ARRIVES ALONG THE COAST

United States Revenue Cutter Service was operated under the U.S. Department of the Treasury providing maritime law enforcement and collecting United States import fees on shipping (this service will merge with the Lifesaving Service [1915] to form the United States Coast Guard)  
Cutter *Jefferson Davis* was a topsail Schooner built by J M Hood of Sommerset, Massachusetts in 1853  
she was ninth-four and one-half feet in length with a twenty-three-foot beam  
she had nine feet in depth and displaced 176 tons of water  
sailed into Puget Sound -- September 28, 1854  
Captain William C. Pease, USRCS, commanded the crew of three officers and thirty-two men  
he was the youngest captain in the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service (USRCS)  
(a nice model of a cutter is on display at the Kitsap County Historical Museum in Bremerton)  
*Jefferson Davis* was to assist vessels in distress and enforce American territorial law at sea  
this relieved the feeling of isolation for the inhabitants of the northern counties

#### UNITED STATES REVENUE CUTTER *JEFFERSON DAVIS* VISITS PUGET SOUND

*Jefferson Davis* frequently stopped by to contact Assistant Customs Collector Paul Hubbs

---

<sup>101</sup> David Richardson, *Pig War Islands*, P. 40.

to make sure all was well with his post and with San Juan Island in particular  
All was quiet on the waters of Puget Sound -- October 1854  
protecting and patrolling shipping proved to be unnecessary for the moment  
with only minimal maritime traffic moving through the Tacoma Narrows

#### MURDERERS ESCAPE FROM FORT STEILACOOM

Two Clallam Indians escaped from Fort Steilacoom -- October 19, 1854  
they were accused of the murder of Captain Jewell and Mr. Church of the barque *John Adams*  
Acting-Governor Charles H. Mason offered a large reward for their capture  
Indian Agent Michael Simmons proved his worth  
when he convinced Clallam Indians to surrender Mr. Church's murderer  
but the Clallams refused to give up the other escaped convicts

#### ACTING-GOVERNOR MASON SEEKS MILITARY ASSISTANCE

Washington Territory Acting Governor Mason who was also serving learned that four Indians  
accused in the murder of Captain Jewell of the *John Adams* and his cook Mr. Church  
had escaped from Fort Steilacoom  
as the Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs for employed the only naval resource at hand  
Captain William C. Pease, USRCS, received an urgent letter  
from Acting Governor Mason -- October 20, 1854

**“Sir: four Indians who were confined in the garrison of Fort Steilacoom for the  
crime of murder, having made their escape therefrom on the night of the 19th of October, I have to  
request your cooperation with the Indian Agent for the Puget Sound Indian District, Mr. T. [sic]  
Simmons Esqr. in effecting their recapture. Having learned from reliable information that these  
Indians are now on the shores of Hoods Canal and that the presence of a force will be necessary to  
succeed in retaking them, I will request if it is not too incompatible with your present duties that you  
will transport Mr. Simmons to that point and render him such assistance as may be necessary to  
effect the object in question.”**

Captain Pease, USRCS upon reading the request immediately wrote in reply to the Acting Governor:  
**“This vessel together with the officers and crew are at all times when not inconsistent with my  
legitimate duties at your service in enforcing the laws of this Territory. I am ready at a moments  
notice to take Col. Simmons and as many U.S. troops on board as can be conveniently  
accommodated, and transport them to any point desired within the waters of this collection district.”**

Captain Pease further suggested that the cutter *Jefferson Davis* be towed to Hoods Canal  
by the paddle wheel steamer *Major Tompkins* with Captain James M. Hunt commanding  
since the winds had been light it was more expedient for the cutter to get there under tow  
*Jefferson Davis* prepared for action  
and loaded a contingent of the U.S. Fourth Infantry under Lieutenant John Nugen

#### WASHINGTON GOVERNOR ISSAC INGALLS STEVENS RETURNS TO THE TERRITORY

Steven's trip north from San Francisco was discouraging -- especially for the governor's ailing wife  
last leg of the of the journey to Olympia almost brought her to despair  
all one drizzly day the family sat huddled in canoes as they were paddled up the Cowlitz River

to the log "hotel" at Cowlitz Landing  
these accommodations consisted of two rooms  
a small chamber with a few cots reserved for women  
a larger dormitory with rows of bunks served the men  
this was jammed with bewhiskered gents in sweaty wool shirts  
and mud-encrusted boots  
apparently the governor's wife and daughters were the only female guests  
as the Stevens spent the night sleeping seated upright on a stool beside his wife  
next day and the day following they rode a springless wagon beneath dripping fir trees  
through frequent mud holes so large and soft the wheels would become stuck  
more men would have to be gathered to pry them free  
at the end of the second day they reached a narrow neck of land reaching into a gray bay  
down the center of the village wandered one muddy street bordered by twenty rude houses  
and perhaps twice than many Indian huts  
massive tree stumps stood everywhere  
a scattering of canoes were drawn up on the beach

This was Olympia -- this was home

Margaret Stevens recorded her first impressions -- November 1, 1854

**"Below us, in deep mud, were a few low, wooden houses, at the head of Puget Sound. My heart sank, for the first time in my life, at the prospect."**<sup>102</sup>

Settlers in Washington Territory numbered about 5,000

Olympia was the largest town -- twenty miles Northwest on the Nisqually Road was Steilacoom  
north of Steilacoom lay thirty miles of wilderness  
populated by small Indian villages and homesteads  
northern edge, Seattle, consisted of fifty-five houses and buildings  
across Puget Sound were Port Gamble and Port Townsend  
Vancouver, Cowlitz Landing and Monticello composed the other centers of population  
north of the Columbia River

#### GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS ATTEMPTS TO ESCALATE THE SAN JUAN DISPUTE

After reading the heated letter of protest regarding events on San Juan Island  
from New Caledonia Governor James Douglas

Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens demanded protection from his superiors in Washington City

#### STEAMBOAT WASHINGTON IS PLACED ON A WINTER SCHEDULE

Steamer *Washington* ran the Umpqua River three times a week

between Scottsburg, Oregon Territory and the mouth of the river

Captain Sylvester Hinsdale, the ship's owner, the *Washington* would run every Saturday evening  
carrying the U.S. mail departing from Umpqua City at 8:00 A.M.

and return to the Allan, McKinlay & Co. wharf in lower Scottsburg at 8:00 A.M. Sunday

---

<sup>102</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 165.

*Washington* was advertised as being ready to “**meet vessels at all other times, and receive freight and passengers for every point within the bounds of navigation on the Umpqua river.**”

(*The Umpqua Weekly Gazette* [advertisement], February 24, 1855. p.4, col.4.)

#### MURDERER OF CAPTAIN JEWELL IS CAPTURED

*Major Tompkins* entered Hoods Canal with the *Jefferson Davis* in tow transporting U.S. Fourth Infantry Company C under Lieutenant John Nugen they proceeded to a camp of Clallam Indians on Hoods Canal to demand the surrender of the three convicts accused of the murder of Captain Jewell of the *John Adams* and his cook Indian Agent Colonel Mike Simmons was waiting on the beach by Hoods Head at the canal entrance with him was Captain Jewell’s murderer -- November 1854 but the Clallams refused to give up the others

#### CUTTER *JEFFERSON DAVIS* SEES HER FIRST ACTION

*Major Tompkins* with the revenue cutter *Jefferson Davis* carrying troops in tow, proceeded to a camp of the Clallams on Hood Canal to demand the surrender of the convicts U.S. Fourth Infantry Company C under Lieutenant John Nugen saw their first action on Puget Sound soldiers were awakened, fed and loaded into the *Jefferson Davis*’ boats to go ashore early in the next morning -- November 26, 1854 meanwhile, the *Jefferson Davis* hove to while her gunners ran out the ship’s cannons other crewmen were assigned to wait at the oars

Two of the revenue cutter’s officers and some of her sailors were assigned to shore duty each officer carried his Navy Colt pistol sailors were armed with Perry Carbines and each had a cutlass strapped to his side they were ready for any action that might come

With Lieutenant John Nugen of the U.S. Fourth Infantry in command of the landing party men of Company “C” reached the gravelly beach and rapidly made their way toward the village when they stormed through the village they found it abandoned

Indians had fled as soon as they caught sight of the *Jefferson Davis* with her cannons run out pointing menacingly at the village

with no Indians in sight the officers had the men move cautiously through dense woods and foliage in search of any Indians who might be hiding there

after a few hours in the woods without any success the troops returned to the village and burned it along with its winter supply of salmon

soldiers then hauled all of the Indian’s canoes off the beach and out to the two waiting ships where they hoisted them on board the *Jefferson Davis* and broke up each canoe

as a final punishment for harboring fugitives from the law

Apparently in frustration at not finding the fugitive Indians

Indian Agent Michael Simmons requested the cutter fire several rounds into the woods where some Indians were supposed to be hiding

reluctantly, Captain William Pease ordered his gunners to fire into the woods nine rounds of twelve-pound solid shot were fired

when each twelve-pounder was touched off, shot and smoke spit across the water

rounds of grape-shot also raked the forest

it was later rumored that five Clallams were killed in the bombardment

Captain Pease later wrote the Treasury Secretary a report about the incident saying: **“While I regret the necessity to open the batteries of this vessel against what will be termed the inoffensive Indian, a proper regard for the lives of the people of this territory, and the laws of humanity, together with the special request of acting Gov. Mason and the Indian agent have impelled me to pursue the course I have.”**

#### AFTER THE ATTACK OF THE *JEFFERSON DAVIS* ON THE CLALLAM VILLAGE

Captain William Pease had the revenue cutter move out of Hoods Canal

to an area that was called Ho-Hum-Ah by the Indians (or McNeir’s Claim as the settlers knew it)

there they anchored and waited for the tide and wind to shift

for a favorable passage back to Port Townsend

At the change of the tide, the *Major Tompkins* proceeded to Port Townsend to refuel carrying with her Lieutenant John Nugen’s U.S. Fourth Infantry Company C

#### REVENUE CUTTER *JEFFERSON DAVIS* REMAINS ON DUTY

*Major Tompkins* had departed when a canoe full of Indians was seen

trying to slip by the *Jefferson Davis* heading north -- November 27, 1854

Captain William Pease, USRCS ordered the cutter’s launch lowered with an armed crew to pursue and arrest the individuals

he also signaled their plight to the *Major Tompkins* which also took up pursuit of the natives

Indians were terrified by the speed with which the *Major Tompkins* followed them and the ease with which they were overtaken in flight

Once the canoe was captured the Indians were brought back for questioning

they turned out to be Clallam leaders well known as by the settlers by the names

Duke of York, Duchess of York, General Scott, General Taylor and Prince of Wales they were accompanied by several Indian women

Duke of York was detained as a hostage to be exchanged for the surrender of the escaped convicts

three suspected killers were traded for the Clallam chief who was returned to his people

they were turned over to the Indian Agent Colonel Mike Simmons

to be taken to Fort Steilacoom for a hearing and possible punishment

but because it could not be shown the Captain Jewell and Mr. Church

were actually dead the accused were never tried

#### REVENUE CUTTER *JEFFERSON DAVIS* RETURNS TO PATROL

After the capture of the Clallam Chief known to settlers as The Duke of York

*Jefferson Davis* reached Port Townsend in a few days

month of December 1854 was rather uneventful for the Revenue Service

only pressing issue being a ship that was supposedly boarded and seized

by some northern coastal Indians

(*Jefferson Davis* patrolled the water of Washington Territory for four years [1858])

## AMENDMENTS BY CONGRESS TO DONATION LAND LAW GO INTO EFFECT

Some desirable changes to the Donation Land Laws went into effect -- December 3, 1854  
in Washington and Oregon territories the four year waiting period to file a claim was dropped  
now after two years of residence settlers could buy their land for \$1.25 an acre  
these land purchasing privileges were extended to any unclaimed lands

## CAPITOL CONTROVERSY IN OREGON TERRITORY CONTINUES

Construction on a permanent capital building was begun in Salem -- December 1854  
moving the Oregon Territory capital to Salem remained a source of dispute in the territory  
this controversy continued into [January and February 1855]

## FEDERAL GOVERNMENT LEARNS OF THE SAN JUAN ISLAND RAID ON BRITISH SHEEP

When news of the international uproar reached Washington City  
including the demand for protection made by Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens  
Secretary of State William Marcy wrote a sternly worded letter to Governor Stevens  
instructing the governor to stop confronting the British  
while a joint commission of both governments studied the problem  
Congress finally appropriated money for a boundary commission  
which the British had first proposed [1848] to settle the dispute

## GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS SERVES AS SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Congress had replaced the three treaty-writing Commissioners of Oregon Territory  
Superintendent of Indian Affairs General Joel Palmer had set out to write new treaties there  
With the creation of Washington Territory  
Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Washington Territory Isaac I. Stevens got the assignment  
possessing courage, energy and bad judgment in equal measure  
Stevens carried the burden of knowing future development of the territory  
depended on the arrival of the railroad  
much of the ground needed to lay rails belonged to the Indians  
best way to acquire the right-of-way was to negotiate a series of treaties for the land

## NATIVE AMERICAN DEMOGRAPHICS OF WASHINGTON TERRITORY

It would be Superintendent of Indian Affairs Isaac Stevens  
who would attempt to deal with the approximately seven or eight thousand Indians  
including women and children who lived on Puget Sound  
including those living along the Strait of Juan de Fuca  
Upriver Nisqually and Downriver Puyallup -- sixty-five warriors  
led by brother chiefs Leschi and Quiemuth  
Klickitat and Upper Green and White Rivers -- fifty-five warriors  
led by Kanasket  
Duwamish and Downriver Green and White Rivers -- thirty-five warriors  
led by chiefs Nelson and Kitsap  
Upriver Puyallup -- twenty warriors

led by Chiefs Sluggia (nephew of Leschi) and Koquilton  
there were another six to seven thousand Plateau Natives in Eastern Washington

#### CHIEF LESCHI SAVES SETTLER ANDREW BRADLEY

Andrew Bradley was attempting to herd cattle across the swift-flowing Puyallup River -- 1854  
he was swept downstream in the torrent

Leschi, braving the hazardous condition of the river, managed to save him from drowning

#### GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS PLANS HIS APPROACH TO DEAL WITH THE INDIANS

Washington Territorial legislature went into its second session -- December 4, 1854

Governor Stevens informed them it was time to settle the question of Indian land ownership

Isaac Stevens proposed to write treaties to eliminate the natives' claims

beginning with the Indians nearest to Olympia

who represented the regions longest and closest contact with settlers

Stevens served several roles:

- as Territorial Governor he represented the needs of the federal government and settlers;
- as Superintendent of Indian Affairs he represented the needs of Indians as defined by the federal government;
- as negotiator he represented the United States State Department

Stevens knew the development of Washington centered on the proposed transcontinental railroad from the Mississippi River to Puget Sound

he needed Indian land on which to build

but first the Coastal Natives would have to be removed to provide adequate room for the constant stream of newly-arriving settlers

Inland Indians of Eastern Washington during the Grande Ronde Council had developed their strategy for dealing with the Federal and Territorial governments [summer 1854]

they would claim abutting properties for their reservations leaving no land for the whites

Stevens felt that without a reservation to maintain their lifestyle the Indians could lose everything

his first step was to hold a series of meetings in his office with local experts on Indians

Stevens' strategy team drew rough maps of the territory

looking at the areas occupied by the Indian villages of Puget Sound

they defined the reservations they thought would be suitable for the natives

next focusing on all of the Indians residing East of the Cascade Mountains

Stevens proposed moving these people onto the Olympic Peninsula

but this appeared impractical

he decided to create one large reservation on Nez Perce land for all Inland People instead

governor felt the Nez Perce would be excellent leaders and would pacify the others

Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens sent out notices to the Coastal Natives

that councils were to be held with them to write treaties to acquire their land and maintain peace

#### SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS ISSAC STEVENS MAKES TREATY PREPARATIONS

After addressing the opening session of the territorial legislature -- December 4, 1854

Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens turned his full attention to preparing treaties

affecting the lives of about 8,500 Indians on Puget Sound and the Strait of Juan de Fuca  
by convincing them to sell large portions of their land and move onto smaller reservations

## TREATIES WITH THE NATIVES AMERICANS HAD LONG BEEN A PROBLEM FOR AMERICA

Article Two Section Two Clause Two of the U.S. Constitution grants the President the power  
to write treaties with the “advice and consent” of the United States Senate

approval of the treaty after it has been written requires two-thirds of the Senators to accept  
Treaties are written by nations

President George Washington declared a similar practice would apply to agreements with Indians

President Washington first made diplomatic overtures to the Creek Indians [1789]

he met with the U.S. Senate to gain approval for him to write a treaty

this was the only time a president ever appeared in person to seek advice and consent

President Washington wrote additional treaties with tribes of Native Americans

as did his successors and their representatives

Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer wrote treaties with Oregon Indians [1853-1855]

a segment of the white population wished to wage a war of extermination

Joel Palmer was removed from office charged with being too lenient toward the natives

Governor Isaac Stevens faced many challenges in his efforts to persuade the many small bands  
of Coastal Puget Sound and Strait of Juan de Fuca Indians to relinquish their land

Stevens decided these would not be treaty negotiations

Indians were to be presented with a treaty already written except for a few details

Indians had only to sign

there was no consideration of the Indians refusing to participate

land was needed for railroad routes, telegraph lines and wagon roads,

land was needed for farmers and industry,

land was needed for villages, towns and cities

next was the question of who would represent the Indians during the treaty signings

coastal natives lived as families in villages of one or more long houses

several villages could be composed of closely related families

but there was no leader of multiple villages

each village was politically independent

Stevens determined that groups of villages would constitute a tribe (that is, a nation)

he decided who would be the head chief that would represent the villagers

Strategy planning resulted in a several-step approach when dealing with the natives

Stevens’ lack of experience was compensated for by the knowledge of his two main assistants

long-time settler and leader Michael Simmons and red-headed Benjamin Shaw

Special Agents Michael Simmons and Benjamin Shaw went to work

Simmons managed the many details necessary to conduct successful signings

in the meantime Benjamin Shaw delivered message to the Indians to attend the meetings

both believed in getting the job done -- at any cost

Shaw once said in describing his own talents:

**“I can get the Indians to sign their death warrants.”<sup>103</sup>**

(he had no idea that future generations would accept this metaphor literally)  
next Simmons and Shaw would take several canoe loads of trinkets and food  
to the designated meeting ground  
as runners would assemble the natives for a preliminary briefing  
finally, when all was ready, the governor would come sweeping in to conduct the signings  
Isaac Stevens possessed several personality traits counterproductive to the negotiation process  
including impatience, arrogance and a maddening assurance his view was always correct

#### MEDICINE CREEK TREATY FINAL PREPARATIONS ARE COMPLETED

Winter of 1854 was the coldest in recorded history as the thermometer hovered at 10° above zero  
this fact was noted by the 600 to 700 Nisqually, Puyallup, Squaxin Island people  
along with S’Homamish, Stehchass, T’Peeksin, Squi-aitl, and Sa-heh-wamish villagers  
leaders, commoners and slaves who attended the council  
they blamed the invaders for the bitter weather  
few or none of the Indians spoke English -- variations of Salish were their native languages  
Orrington “Old Cush” Cushman led the advance party and supervised site preparations  
they arrived at the council site where Medicine Creek enters the Nisqually River  
about a mile above the river’s mouth  
there they cleared the council area of brush and set up tents for the governor’s party  
Next came Indian Agents Michael Simmons and Benjamin Shaw who served as interpreter  
Shaw and several others present could speak the 5,000 words of the native Salish tongue

#### PROSPECTIVE CHANGES WITH TIME

People today decry the negotiation process as robbery of the Indians’ land  
spending millions of dollars and thousands of man-hours hardly qualifies as robbery  
“robbers,” as a term, better applies to the long list of insatiable, greedy and dishonest  
incompetents who administered the basic policy -- not to the authors of the treaties  
indeed, taking into consideration the pressure of that day to deal with the “Indian problem”  
it is hardly possible to imagine the destruction that could have taken place  
to accomplish the goal  
in fact, the hunting-gathering economy of the natives required huge amounts of productive land  
which was, in the eyes of the settlers and loggers, going to waste  
teaching the Indians skills to be productive with less ground  
while paying them for the relinquished land seemed a very reasonable solution in the 1850s

#### INDIANS BEGIN TO ARRIVE AT MEDICINE CREEK

Upriver Nisqually Indians traveling by horse were the first Indians to arrive -- December 24, 1854  
they were dressed proudly for the occasion in their finest ceremonial costumes  
Leschi arrived accompanied by his brother Quiemuth and nephew Sluggia  
Leschi was part Yakima Indian and had made frequent trips across the Cascade Mountains

---

<sup>103</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 298.

to visit his inland relatives  
for some time they had been discussing an attack on the invaders  
Leschi had brought back to Puget Sound warnings he had heard about the settlers' lust for land  
he told of other native people who had lost their hunting and gathering grounds  
he warned that Americans would get the Nisqually to sign a paper  
then send them to *polakly illeha* -- a land far away where it was perpetually dark  
Leschi had asked his white friends Dr. Tolmie and James McAllister about this dark place  
they said it was true, but Americans would not send the Nisqually there

#### GOVERNOR STEVENS ARRIVES AT THE COUNCIL SITE

Isaac I. Stevens in his role as Superintendent of Indian Affairs arrived in the cold winter rain  
he sloshed ashore from a canoe accompanied by:

- boyish looking twenty-five-year-old Territorial Secretary Charles H. Mason,
- First Lieutenant William Alloway Slaughter who represented the military,
- James Doty who served as Secretary of the Treaty Commission,
- and his twelve-year-old son Hazard Stevens

At Medicine Creek Governor Stevens seems genuinely to have felt  
that he was working in the best interest of the Indians

although the parcels of land he offered were small, he was convinced  
that if settlement continued unchecked for a few more years,  
Indians would be left with no land whatever

it was better, he reasoned, for them to accept something now than to lose everything later

Governor Stevens, all five foot three of him, with his small closely trimmed beard  
did not make a good impression -- December 24, 1854

although he had the look of a powerful man in his prime of life, he wore work clothes  
red flannel shirt open at the throat,  
rough homespun pants tucked into his boots  
battered broad-brimmed black felt hat with his pipe stuck in the hatband

Stevens' mood did not reflect patience or cooperation -- he was a man in a hurry  
his stomach hurt from his old rupture injury, his foot injury was causing him pain  
enveloping chilling mist and cold rain was endless  
incessant Indian chatter added to his irritable state

Indians were affronted by Governor Stevens' appearance and attitude

they considered a treaty signing to be a state occasion requiring grand ceremony

That evening Puyallup Indians arrived in the gathering gloom  
bringing with them sub-Indian Agent John Swan

Treaty meetings began in the vicinity of an old fir tree: "Medicine Creek tree" -- Christmas Eve 1854  
Indians sat on the ground in concentric circles

outside the evergreen arbor sheltering the white dignitaries  
chiefs were set to work drawing up a map of the Indian land claims  
all participated except Leschi who refused to finish his map

Finally, standing before them, Governor Stevens made an introductory speech sentences by sentence  
Ben Shaw translated each sentence into Chinook Jargon -- a contrived language of 350 words

then Indian interpreters from each band translated the Jargon into Nisqually-Puyallup  
in fact, Shaw could speak Nisqually-Puyallup well, but Stevens insisted  
he use Jargon to convey difficult legal concepts -- an impossible task  
Stevens promised to tell everyone once and for all  
what land belonged to the Indians and what belonged to the whites  
it quickly became clear that the Indians were not brought together to negotiate  
but rather to sign the treaty as already written  
Indians would get what land was offered in Article One and that was all  
At the conclusion of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs' speech the gathering was dismissed  
to talk among themselves about what had been said

## SECOND DAY OF THE MEDICINE CREEK TREATY COUNCIL CONVENES

As Governor Stevens spoke, Ben Shaw again translated into Chinook Jargon -- Christmas Day 1854  
after Stevens' speech, Commission Secretary James Doty read the proposed treaty article by article:

- Indians were to reduce their herds of horses to 500 head;
- Indians must agree to give up their slaves;
- Indians must refrain from making war on the villages;
- Indians must allow the federal government to direct their internal affairs;
- Indians could not trade on Vancouver Island or anywhere outside of the United States;
- Indians could not use or sell alcoholic beverages on the reservation

Ben Shaw attempted to turn the simplicity of Chinook Jargon into complex legalese  
this reading lasted all afternoon

it was noted in Article III, for instance, that Indians were to take fish and game **“at all usual  
and accustomed grounds and stations in common with all citizens of the Territory”**

there was no explanation of “usual and accustomed,”

there was no identification of “grounds and stations,”

there was no clarification of “in common with,”

and, of course, Indians were not considered to be “citizens of the Territory”

Indians were told that if they had any questions they were to come to Stevens or his assistant

## MEETING OF INDIANS IS HELD

There was considerable hesitation on the part of the natives -- most of it led by Leschi  
there were arguments over the location of the reservation

each band of natives wanted to be on their own accustomed territory

Pioneer negotiators retired to celebrate with whiskey -- some said with too much whiskey

(settler George Gibbs threw the charge at Stevens three years after the fact -- but not at the time)

Indians later said the Nisqually were puzzled by the proposal

gradually they came to understand the reservation was not to be located in the vast unknown

but within their own homelands -- or at least within the land of one of their neighboring people

in fact, they were to give away all of their land except a useless portion known as “The Rock”

because nothing grew there

## THIRD DAY OF THE MEDICINE CREEK TREATY COUNCIL

Governor Stevens was under a great deal of pressure to conclude negotiations -- December 26, 1854

Indian land was needed for both settlements and the railroad

misunderstandings abounded for a variety of reasons:

- time pressure and weather conditions,
- personal shortcomings,
- inadequacy of the languages,
- perhaps the Indians acquired exaggerated notions of what was being offered  
perhaps they simply misunderstood,  
or perhaps there was exaggerated talk on the part of agents being goaded by Stevens  
to hurry up and get the thing finished

Indian objections to losing their land could be overcome only by impossible promises:

- for all time they would be allowed to hunt and fish and dig roots in the old, familiar places,
- teachers, machine shops, livestock and annuities of useful goods would be provided

#### MEDICINE CREEK TREATY COUNCIL CONCLUDES

Participants gathered for the last time -- December 26, 1854

second reading of the treaty was completed and another speech was given by Governor Stevens:

- Stevens promised a free agricultural and industrial school for all Indian children  
would be built within a year and maintained for twenty years  
(it was hoped the Indians would learn to live like whites)
  - Stevens promised the Indians \$32,500 in goods, clothing and farm equipment  
over the next twenty years;
  - Stevens promised \$3,500 for relocation;
  - Stevens promised three reservations:
    - Nisqually Reservation was 1,280 acres located primarily east of the Nisqually River  
this is a rocky piece ground where no Indian had existed in living memory;
    - Puyallup Reservation for the Puyallup, Cowlitz, Muckleshoot and Steilacoom people  
(is composed of 17,643 acres near present-day Tacoma and Puyallup)
    - Squaxin Island was approximately 1,280 acres in the southwest corner of Puget Sound  
there was no source of water on the island (and no one lives there today)
- in exchange the natives relinquished 2.24 million acres of land to the United States  
foremost among those objecting to the terms of the treaty was Leschi

Stevens kept an escape clause for the federal government to use if necessary

which stipulated the President of the United States retained the right to move Indians  
to other suitable locations within the territory -- Article 6

Sixty-two spaces for Indians to make their mark beside their name were at the bottom of the treaty

Indians began signing the treaty that was to alter their lives forever

sixty-two chiefs and headmen representing more than 800 Indians signed

Squaxin Indians were the first to capitulate accepting the island homeland without complaint  
knowing the reservation sat on their ancestral land

Leschi's mark remains a mystery

when the document was filed, Leschi's signature or mark, appeared with the other chiefs  
there are witnesses who say they saw him sign

others swear that he refused to sign and refused the gifts offered to him  
he later insisted, and Stevens' enemies made much of the contention, that the mark was forged  
some Indians said he became so angry he tore up a certificate  
naming him as a sub-chief of the Nisqually people  
and stomped it into the ample mud of the treaty site and rode away  
after signing, the Indians were given presents of food, blankets and trinkets  
Nineteen whites witnessed the treaty including Michael T. Simmons, Charles H. Mason  
and Governor Stevens' thirteen-year-old son Hazard  
First of the treaties was signed (and was later ratified by the United States Senate)  
Nisqually, Puyallup Squaxin and representatives of the Steilacoom, S'Homamish, Steh-Chass,  
T'Peek-sin, Squiatl and Sa-ha-wamish were under treaty  
Governor Stevens sent his agent, James Doty, among Plateau tribes -- winter 1854

#### GOVERNOR STEVEN'S TREATIES ESTABLISH A NEW POLICY REGARDING INDIANS

America's Indian Policy had been rooted in traditions first developed by the English colonists  
it proposed that merely pushing the Indians further west was the solution for the "Indian Problem"  
this policy became impossible to carry out with the acquisition of Oregon Territory  
as there was no west to push the Native Americans into  
Governor Isaac Steven's treaties reflected a new American government policy  
its goal was to concentrate Indians onto reservations  
this paternalistic policy was designed in part to protect Indians from white harassment  
and to provide an environment where the Indians could be "civilized"  
Indians were promised medical care and schools  
through education, development of agricultural skills and industrial training  
it was hoped that once the Indians were civilized they would be ready for assimilation  
into American society -- after they had surrendered their culture and spiritual beliefs  
and adopted American values and Christian beliefs  
It never occurred to the Indians that Governor Steven's treaties promised cultural genocide

#### A FEW DAYS AFTER MEDICINE CREEK TREATY

Two or three days after the treaty was made Indian Agent Benjamin Shaw rode to the Nisqually River  
where he met Leschi and Stahi who reported: **"They were dissatisfied and they complained very much. I told them if anything was wrong, it would be fixed by the government. They were very excited and accused me of deceiving them. I denied it and told them I had told just what the governor had said. They tried to get a new treaty. They asked me to report their dissatisfaction to the governor. I told the governor, but the treaty was [already] sent to Washington."**<sup>104</sup>

#### INDIAN TENSIONS INCREASE AS MISUNDERSTANDINGS ARE CLARIFIED

As the year of 1854 was drawing to a close  
tensions between the Indian and pioneers were increasing  
due in part to Washington Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens

---

<sup>104</sup> Herbert Hunt and Floyd C. Kaylor, *Washington West of the Cascades*, P. 139.

and the treaties he had drawn up for the Washington Indians  
when they signed the Indians thereby forfeited the lands they once roamed  
Treaties specified that the Indians give up their ownership of the lands  
in exchange for reservation land set aside for the native's use  
though they would still be free to journey under certain circumstances  
Puget Sound Salish Indians did not perceive the concept of ownership of the land  
it was believed the land belonged to everyone  
Indian Chiefs selected by Governor Stevens signed the treaties not expecting anything to come of it

#### RUMORS OF HIDDEN WEALTH SPREAD THROUGH THE WEST

A widely accepted story was told about a Nez Perce Indian who wandered into Sacramento  
there he made the acquaintance of several miners who became positively impressed  
by his general demeanor and dignity  
one of the Indian's admirers was an old prospector, Captain Elias D. Pierce  
who had devoted a decade of his life to gold hunting  
Pierce's Nez Perce Indian friend gave a vivid account of his home in the wilds (of Idaho)  
he told of how he, with two companions, was once in the high mountains  
where they observed in the night a light of dazzling brilliance with the appearance of a star  
Indians looked on the light with awe believing it was the "eye of the Spirit of the place"  
in the morning the natives summoned the courage to investigate  
they found a glittering ball that looked like glass  
but it was so deeply embedded they could not remove it  
in their belief that it was "medicine," they feared to use any violence to remove it  
thus they came away allowing the glittering ball to remain  
Pierce immediately believed they had found an immense diamond  
but he was prevented by the Nez Perce Indians from prospecting on their reservation

#### GOVERNOR STEVENS SAILS FROM OLYMPIA TO WRITE ADDITIONAL TREATIES

Washington Territory Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs Isaac Stevens  
was considered a strong "anti-Indian man"  
Stevens chartered a small side-wheeler steamer *Port Townsend* for a tour of Puget Sound  
to conduct meetings with the Indians to sign treaties -- early January 1855  
(During the next six rainy, storm-lashed weeks Stevens and his party traveled eight hundred miles  
throughout the Puget Sound region and concluded three more treaties  
details of each treaty differed but reservation lands and Indian fishing rights  
were constant provisions of each treaty)

#### GOVERNOR STEVENS CONDUCTS A SECOND TREATY SIGNING

Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs Isaac Stevens opened his Second Treaty Council  
on the beach at *Muckl-te-oh* or Point Elliott (now Mukilteo, Washington)  
2,300 Indians representing twenty-two Indian groups living in allied villages  
along the east side of Puget Sound as far as Bellingham Bay  
were in attendance -- January 12, 1855

## CAPITOL CONTROVERSY IN OREGON TERRITORY RAGES ON IN OREGON

Oregon Territorial Legislature passed a bill moving the seat of government from Salem to Corvallis -- January 13, 1855

Oregon Territorial Governor George Law Curry and many others objected to the move in part, because public buildings in Salem were already under construction

Governor Curry sent the matter to the United States Secretary of the Treasury in Washington City

## POINT ELLIOTT TREATY SIGNING IS CONCLUDED

Eighty-two native leaders attended the Point Elliott Treaty Council

listed in order among those who signed with their "X" -- January 22, 1855:

- Suquamish and Duwamish people led by Chief Sealth (Seattle),
- Snoqualmoo (Snoqualmie) and Sno-ho-mish (Snohomish) Chief Pat-ka-nam (Patkanim), Lummi Chief Chow-its-boot, Skagit Chief Goliah,

also present were the Swinomish, Nooksack, Sauk-Suiattle, Muckleshoot and Stillaguamish this treaty guaranteed both fishing rights and reservations

land was set aside for Suquamish, Port Madison, Tulalip, Swin-a-mish (Swinomish) and Lummi people

reservations for the Dwamish, Skagit, Snohomish and Snoqualmie natives are conspicuously absent

(Point Elliott Treaty was ratified by the United States Senate [March 8, 1859])

## CHIEF NOAH (SEATTLE) GIVES A SPEECH AT POINT ELLIOT

On the occasion of the Elliott Bay Treaty signing Noah spoke for his people

and thousands of other Native Americans who found themselves facing the same unknown future:

**“Yonder sky that has wept tears of compassion upon my people for centuries untold, and which to us appears changeless and eternal, may change. Today is fair. Tomorrow it may be overcast with clouds. My words are like the stars that never change. Whatever Seattle says, the great chief at Washington can rely upon with as much certainty as he can upon the return of the sun or the seasons. The white chief says that Big Chief at Washington sends us greetings of friendship and good will. This is kind of him for we know he has little need of our friendship in return. His people are many like the grass that covers the vast prairies. My people are few. They resemble the scattering trees of a storm-swept plain. The great, and I presume -- good, White Chief sends us word that he wishes to buy our land but is willing to allow us enough to live comfortably. This indeed appears just, even generous, for the Red Man no longer has rights that he need respect, and the offer may be wise, also, as we are no longer in need of an extensive country.**

**“There was a time when our people covered as the waves of wind-ruffled sea cover its shell-paved floor, but that time long since passed away with the greatness of tribes that are now but a mournful memory. I will not dwell on, nor mourn over, our untimely decay, nor reproach my paleface brothers with hastening it, as we too may have somewhat to blame.**

**“Youth is impulsive. When our young men grow angry at some real or imaginary wrong, and disfigure their faces with black paint, it denotes that their hearts are black, and that they are often**

cruel and relentless, and our old men and old women are unable to retrain them Thus it has ever been. Thus it was when the white man began to push our forefathers ever westward. But let us hope that the hostilities between us may never return. We would have everything to lose and nothing to gain. Revenge by young men is considered gain, even at the cost of their own lives, but the old men who stay at home in times of war, and mothers who have sons to lose, know better.

“Our good father in Washington -- for I presume he is now our father as well as yours, since King George has moved his boundaries further north -- our great and good father, I say, sends us word that if we do as he desires he will fill our harbors, so that our ancient enemies far to the northward -- the Haidas and Tsimshians -- will cease to frighten our women, children and old men. Then in reality he will be our father and we his children. But can that ever be? Your God is not our God! Your God loves your people and hates mine! He folds his strong protecting arms lovingly about the paleface and leads him by the hand as a father leads an infant son. But, He has forsaken His Red children, if they really are His. Our God, the Great Spirit, seems also to have forsaken us. Your God makes your people wax stronger every day. Soon they will fill the land. Our people are ebbing away like a rapidly receding tide that will never return. The white man’s God cannot love our people or He would protect them. They seem to be orphans who can look nowhere for help. How then can we be brothers? How can your God become our God and renew our prosperity and awaken in us dreams of returning greatness? If we have a common Heavenly Father He must be partial, for He came for His paleface children. We never saw Him. He gave you laws but had no word for His red children whose teeming multitudes once filled this vast continent as stars fill the firmament. No; we are two distinct races with separate origins and separate destinies. There is little in common between us.

“To us the ashes of our ancestors are sacred and their resting place is hallowed ground. You wander far from the graves of your ancestors and seemingly without regret. Your religion was written upon tablets of stone by the iron finger of your God so that you could not forget. The Red Man could never comprehend or remember it. Our religion is the traditions of our ancestors -- the dreams of our old men, given them in solemn hours of the night by the Great Spirit; and the visions of our sachems (chiefs), and is written in the hearts of our people.

“Your dead cease to love you and the land of the nativity as soon as they pass the portals of the tomb and wander away beyond the stars. They are soon forgotten and never return. Our dead never forget this beautiful world that gave them being. They still love its verdant (lush green) valleys, its murmuring rivers, its magnificent mountains, sequestered vales and verdant lined lakes and bays, and ever yearn in tender fond affection over the lonely hearted living, and often return from the happy hunting ground to visit, guide, console, and comfort them.

“Day and night cannot dwell together. The Red Man has ever fled the approach of the White Man, as the morning mist flees before the morning sun. However, your proposition seems fair and I think that my people will accept it and will retire to the reservation you offer them. Then we will dwell apart in peace, for the words of the Great White Chief seem to be the words of nature speaking to my people out of dense darkness.

“It matters little where we pass the remnant of our days. They will not be many. The Indian’s night promises to be dark. Not a single star of hope hovers above his horizon. Sad-voiced winds moan in the distance. Grim fate seems to be on the Red Man’s trail, and wherever he will hear the approaching footsteps of his fell destroyer and prepare stolidly to meet his doom, as does the wounded doe that hears the approaching footsteps of the hunter.

**“A few more moons, a few more winters, and not one of the descendants of the mighty hosts that once moved over this broad land or lived in happy homes, protected by the Great Spirit, will remain to mourn over the graves of a people once more powerful and hopeful than yours. But why should I mourn at the untimely fate of my people? Tribe follows tribe, and nation follows nation, like the waves of the sea. It is the order of nature and regret is useless. Your time of decay may be distant, but it will surely come, for even the White Man whose God walked and talked with him as friend to friend, cannot be exempt from the common destiny. We may be brothers after all. We will see.**

**“We will ponder your proposition and when we decide we will let you know. But should we accept it, I here and now make this condition that we will not be denied the privilege without molestation of visiting at any time the tombs of our ancestors, friends, and children. Every part of this soil is sacred in the estimation of my people. Every hillside, every valley, every plain and grove, has been hallowed by some sad or happy event in days long vanished. Even the rocks, which seem to be dumb and dead as they swelter in the sun along the silent shore, thrill with memories of stirring events connected with the lives of my people, and the very dust upon which you now stand responds more lovingly to their footsteps than yours, because it is rich with the blood of our ancestors, and our bare feet are conscious of the sympathetic touch. Our departed braves, fond mothers, glad, happy hearted maidens, and even the little children who lived here and rejoiced here for a brief season, will love these somber solitudes and at eventide they greet shadowy returning spirits. And when the last Red Man shall have perished, and the memory of my tribe shall have become a myth among the White Men, these shores will swarm with the invisible dead of my tribe, and when your children’s children think themselves alone in the field, the store, the shop, upon the highway, or in the silence of the pathless woods, they will not be alone. In all the earth there is no place dedicated to solitude. At night when the streets of your cities and villages are silent and you think them deserted, they will throng with the returning hosts that once filled them and still love this beautiful land. The White Man will never be alone.**

**“Let him be just and deal kindly with my people, for the dead are not powerless. Dead, did I say? There is no death, only a change of worlds.”<sup>105</sup>**

#### CHIEF NOAH (SEATTLE) EXPRESSES MISGIVINGS ABOUT THE TREATY HE SIGNED

In a second speech Chief Noah expressed his misgivings about the treaty: **“There is no place in the white man’s cities. No place to hear the leaves of spring or the rustle of insect’s wings. But perhaps because I am a savage and do not understand, the clatter only seems to insult the ears. And what is there to life if a man cannot hear the lovely cry of a whippoorwill or the arguments of the frogs around a pond at night? The Indian prefers the soft sound of the wind darting over the face of the pond, and the smell of the wind itself cleansed by a midday rain, or scented with a pinion pine. The air is so precious to the redman. For all things share the same breath--the beasts, the trees, the man. The white man does not seem to notice the air he breathes. Like a man dying for many days, he is numb to the stench....**

**What is man without the beasts? If all the beats were gone, men would die from great**

---

<sup>105</sup> This version of *Chief Seattle’s 1854 Oration* was printed in the Seattle Star October 29, 1887 in a column by Dr. Henry A. Smith. Subsequent versions also attributed to Chief Seattle followed. In fact, Noah (as he preferred to be known) spoke only limited English and his speech was translated into Chinook Jargon and later translated into English. Whatever his exact words may be, his intent is very clear.

**loneliness of spirit, for whatever happens to the beast also happens to man. All things are connected. Whatever befalls the earth befalls the sons of the earth.”<sup>106</sup>**

#### GOVERNOR STEVENS' WRITES HIS THIRD TREATY ON PUGET SOUND

Continuing his tour of Puget Sound and the Strait of Juan de Fuca to conduct treaty signings on the small side-wheeler steamer *Port Townsend* Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens held a Third Council with the natives from the west side of the Cascade Mountains to acquire land from Puget Sound to the crest of the Olympic Mountains Stevens met with 1,200 Lower Elwha Klallam, Port Gamble Klallam, Skokomish and Chimakums at Point-No-Point in the midst of a severe storm -- January 25-26, 1855 Skokomish Indians provided considerable opposition during the discussions (Point-No-Point Treaty was ratified by Congress [March 8, 1859])

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY AUTHORIZES A TERRITORIAL UNIVERSITY

Washington Territorial Legislature demonstrated a growing willingness to support education as the territorial legislature made formal provision for a territorial university -- January 29, 1855 legislators voted to locate the territorial University of Washington at Seattle also selected were three members of the Board of Commissioners: Daniel Bagley, John Webster and Edmund Carr ten-acre wooded lot in “downtown” Seattle was donated as a site by Arthur A. Denny, C.C. Terry and Judge Edward Lander

#### GOVERNOR STEVENS SIGNS ANOTHER TREATY WITH COASTAL NATIVES

Continuing his tour to conduct treaty signings, the side-wheeler *Port Townsend* carried Steven’s party along the Strait of Juan de Fuca about 120 miles to Neah Bay at the Pacific Ocean Governor Stevens held a Fourth Council -- this time 600 Makah Indians accepted the Superintendent of Indian Affairs proposed treaty -- January 31-February 1, 1855 (Neah Bay Treaty was ratified by Congress -- [March 8, 1859])

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE ADJOURNS

Several significant tasks had been accomplished during the session that ended -- February 3, 1855 Olympia was named the permanent territorial capital Masonic Hall on Main Street (Capitol Way) had housed the legislature up to now penitentiary was located at Fort Vancouver territorial university was placed in Seattle with a branch campus on Boisfort Plains, Lewis County

#### JENNIE CLARK IS THE FIRST STERNWHEELER ON THE WILLAMETTE RIVER

*Jennie Clark’s* hull and upper works were built by Jacob Kam at Milwaukie, Oregon [1854] on the same spot where the *Lot Whitcomb* was constructed *Jennie Clark* was owned by the firm of Abernathy, Clark & Company composed of George Abernathy, Ransom Clark, Jacob Kam and J.C. Ainsworth

---

<sup>106</sup> James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 49.

Kam and Ainsworth decided on the sternwheeler design  
as it was superior to propeller-driven and side-wheel boats  
propellers were too vulnerable to expensive-to-repair damage to propellers and shafts  
from rocks and other obstructions in the river  
side-wheelers were too difficult to steer and needed expensive dock facilities  
her two engines were built in Baltimore to Kam's specifications for a price of \$1,663.16  
and were shipped around to the West Coast at a cost of another \$1,030.02  
equipped with two engines, she was thus easily controlled  
*Jennie Clark* at 50-tons was 115 feet long; 18½ foot beam; and 4-foot draft

*Jennie Clark* went into service on Willamette River  
with John C. Ainsworth was her first captain -- February 1855  
she provided transportation between Oregon City and Portland

#### SPECIAL ACT OF CONGRESS COMES TO THE AID OF PIONEER SETTLER GEORGE BUSH

In response to the [March 1854] Memorial to Congress from Washington Territorial Legislature  
seeking protection for black pioneer George Bush's land claim

Congress passed a special act under the Oregon Donation Land Law  
pioneer George Bush's relief -- February 10, 1855

Bush and his wife Isabella were allowed to claim the open land east of Tumwater  
George and Isabella Bush claimed 640 acres of today's Bush Prairie  
this was later expanded the claim to one thousand acres of showplace ranch and orchard

#### MAJOR TOMPKINS LOST IN A SHIPWRECK

To the chagrin of the white population and the relief of the Indians who had tried to outrace her  
steamboat *Major Tompkins* (nicknamed *Pumpkins*) was lost -- night of February 10, 1855  
when she was blown toward the rocks at the entrance of Esquimalt Harbor, Vancouver Island  
her passengers all safely escaped to land

(*Major Tompkins* was soon replaced by the steamer *Water Lily* owned by Charles C. Terry)

#### LOCATION OF THE OREGON TERRITORIAL CAPITOL CITY IS MANDATED

Location of Oregon the territorial capital city was resolved by the U.S. Treasury Department  
which refused to expend monies for a capital building anywhere but in Salem -- February 1855

Treasury Secretary James Guthrie declared the move to Corvallis invalid  
unless the move was approved by the United States Congress

Governor Curry and Oregon Secretary of State Benjamin Harding returned back to Salem

#### GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS MEETS OPPOSITION WITH HIS TREATY PROPOSAL

Fifth Treaty Council was held on the Chehalis River

Governor Stevens expected to purchase the Indians' title to part of western Washington  
Chehalis River Council Treaty Council began -- February 24, 1855

Stevens met with Indian resistance for the first time during his whirlwind tour of treaty-making  
for one week Stevens and his treaty commission met representatives of various Indian peoples  
who lived along the Pacific coast and in the southwestern part of Washington Territory

Quinault and Queets people from the north side of Grays Harbor, Satsop,  
Lower Chehalis, Upper Chehalis, Shoalwater Bay, Chinook and Cowlitz Indians  
for a week Governor Stevens and other members of the treaty commission  
tried to impose terms which the Indians found unacceptable  
for a week Indian representatives tried to convince the Governor  
to renegotiate the unacceptable terms in order to reach a reasonable compromise  
Indians offered to make considerable concessions  
Stevens refused to make any concessions  
Stevens was not able to secure the necessary signatures from the Indian delegates

#### SOUTHWEST WASHINGTON TREATY COUNCIL FAILS

After a week of negotiations along the Chehalis River only the Quinault Indians  
signed Governor Stevens' Treaty -- March 2, 1855  
representatives of the other native peoples refused to sign  
Isaac Stevens abruptly broke up the council  
he announced that no treaty had been made -- and that none would be made  
his agreement with the Quinaults was eradicated

#### U.S. NINTH INFANTRY REGIMENT IS RE-FORMED FOR DUTY IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

U.S. Ninth Infantry was one of the oldest and most decorated units in the United States Army  
it was first authorized by Congress [July 16, 1798] with the creation of twelve regiments  
which saw duty in both The War of 1812 and the Mexican War before it was disbanded  
U.S. Ninth Infantry Regiment was reconstituted at Fortress Monroe, Virginia -- March 3, 1855  
(it has remained in continuous existence since then)  
officers of the U.S. Ninth Infantry Regiment included:

- Colonel George Wright who was a take-charge, go-ahead little man,
- Captain Silas Casey, formerly of the U.S. Second Infantry, was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel,
- Captains Edward J. Steptoe, formerly of the U.S. Third Artillery, and  
Robert S. Garnett, U.S. formerly of the U.S. First Cavalry, were both promoted to Major

#### MEDICINE CREEK TREATY RATIFIED BY THE UNITED STATES SENATE

President Franklin Pierce reviewed the treaty terms of the Medicine Creek Treaty  
this was the first of ten treaties negotiated by Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens  
President Pierce then sent the proposed treaty to the U.S. Senate for their advice and consent  
Medicine Creek Treaty was ratified by the U.S. Senate -- March 3, 1855  
after the Senate concurred, the president signed  
(other treaties were not ratified until four years later [March 8, 1859])

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY SEATS A NEW DELEGATE TO CONGRESS

James Patton Anderson had served as U.S. Marshall for Washington Territory for four years  
he was elected Territorial Delegate to Congress  
by the voters of Washington Territory -- March 4, 1855  
he replaced former Territorial Delegate Democrat Columbia Lancaster

Anderson, also a Democrat, served in this capacity for one term -- 1855-[1857]

#### TREATY MISUNDERSTANDINGS BECOME APPARENT

Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens had faced Indian concerns with too much bluntness perhaps unfortunately for the Indians, the signing of the governor's treaties was an unwise decision only hand-picked chiefs were allowed to sign the papers formerly native land was then put up for sale and quickly bought up by new homesteaders With the land being in the new owner's possession they put up fences blocking other people out it was at this point that tensions rose -- the Indians still considered the land free for all to use natives were angered when they were blocked out of their hunting and fishing grounds Along with the loss of the land Indians were being killed by white men just for the sake of prejudicial hatred settlers went unpunished for these crimes of murder

#### BOUNDARY PROBLEMS RESURFACED

Both the United States and Great Britain thought they had settled the long-standing question over the location of the U.S.-Canada boundary with the signing of the Oregon Treaty [1846] which gave the United States possession of the Pacific Northwest south of 49° north as written the international boundary extended **"...to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island; and then southerly through the middle of said channel."** Problem was that nothing specified which channel, Haro or Rosario, the treaty identified placing the boundary along Haro Strait gave Americans possession of the San Juan Islands but moving the border east to Rosario Strait would place Great Britain in control of the islands In the 1850s both American and English settlers took up residence on San Juan Island including the Hudson's Bay Company which set up a salmon curing plant and a sheep ranch on the Island of San Juan

#### OWNERSHIP OF THE SAN JUAN ISLANDS IS DISPUTED

Whatcom County contained the San Juan Islands and the northern portion of the mainland county officials charged British Puget Sound Agricultural Company American taxes company property was taxed as American land company sheep were taxed as foreign imports Whatcom County Sheriff Ellis Barnes believed he had jurisdiction over the San Juan Islands he and ten armed men rowed to the Island of San Juan to collect the real estate and import taxes a sheepherder working for the British company refused to pay the "illegal" taxes -- March 1855 Americans did not bring enough boats to impound enough sheep to cover the cost of the tax desperate, the Americans commandeered an Indian canoe and tried to coax several animals into it sheep panicked, officials were butted and the canoe foundered several rams galloped across the prairie with Americans in stumbling pursuit eventually thirty-four sheep were confiscated to be auctioned off as payment for taxes owing When Sheriff Barnes and his men were leaving

“...there was a whoop from the hill and [Charles] Griffin, together with some twenty Kanakas [Hawaiians] brandishing knives, were seen charging down toward them.”<sup>107</sup>

Sheriff Barnes' men drew their revolvers

Charles Griffin and Kanakas beat a hasty retreat but thirty-four sheep lost their British status

#### VANCOUVER ISLAND GOVERNOR SIR JAMES DOUGLAS RAISES THE STAKES

British Governor and Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor James Douglas

refused to pay the American taxes

he appealed to Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens and to the British colonial office

The Black Scot claimed \$15,000 in damages for the thirty-four “stolen” sheep

(Enough concern was later expressed in Washington City

that Secretary of State William L. Marcy urged that neither Americans nor British

should try to claim exclusive rights until the ownership of the islands was settled politically  
no further action was taken by either side

nor was any additional attempt made to collect American taxes on the Island of San Juan)

#### U.S. NINTH INFANTRY REGIMENT IS ORDERED TO WASHINGTON TERRITORY

U.S. Ninth Infantry Regiment recruiting offices were opened by its officers in Maine, Connecticut,

New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio and Tennessee -- March 26, 1855

Companies A, F and G were organized -- [May 1855]

Companies B, H and I -- [June]

Companies D and K -- [August]

Company E -- [September]

Company C -- [November 1855]

U.S. Ninth Infantry Regiment was ordered to the Pacific Coast, via Panama [November 1855]

#### GOVERNOR STEVENS SENDS HIS SURVEY REPORT TO WASHINGTON CITY

Stevens issued a report to the War Department in Washington City

regarding his survey efforts for a potential northern railroad route -- 1855

*Pacific Railroad Survey* [1853]-1855 in several volumes

included was a section written by Lieutenant John Mullan

regarding routes crossing the Bitterroot Mountains

Lieutenant Mullan himself followed the report to the nation's capital -- 1855

#### JUSTICE IS NOT AN EASILY ACQUIRED COMMODITY IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Tom Taylor was brought to trial for the revenge murder of engineer William Young

Young had killed Taylor's father

Court was convened at Coveland on Whidbey Island -- April 9, 1855

Tom Taylor was defended by Victor Monroe, William H. Wallace and Elwood Evans

who were appointed to represent him

after reviewing the facts of the incident at Holmes Harbor on Whidbey Island

---

<sup>107</sup> David Richardson, *Pig War Islands*, P. 40.

prosecutor asked for a continuance to the (October) term as courts convened every six months  
defense counsel opposed continuing the case for six months  
prosecutor then moved to drop the charge and Taylor was discharged

#### U.S. THIRD ARTILLERY AND PARTS OF THE U.S. FOURTH INFANTRY REACH CALIFORNIA

After many tribulations the U.S. Army Department of the Pacific headquarters at Benicia, California  
were reached by U.S. Third Artillery Companies D, G, I, K and M  
and U.S. Fourth Infantry Companies B and L -- April 1855

they served under Department of the Pacific Commander General John E. Wool

U.S. Third Artillery Companies D, G, I, K and M

became a "foot-cavalry" of the Department of the Pacific

they were dispersed to Washington, Oregon and Utah territories

where they were actively employed in marching and scouting

throughout the length and breadth of the Pacific Coast

there was not an Indian tribe from the Rockies to the Pacific Ocean they did not visit

U.S. Fourth Infantry Companies B and L were stationed in California

Company B disembarked at the Benicia, California Department headquarters

Company L disembarked at the Presidio, San Francisco

almost immediately both companies B and L under command of Major Gabriel R. Rains

steamed north for Fort Vancouver

#### GENERAL JOHN E. WOOL EXPRESSES HIS VIEW OF THE INDIAN CRISIS

General John E. Wool was ordered to maintain the peace between Native Americans and settlers

General Wool wrote to local newspapers expressing his opinions of the Indian situation

in both Oregon and Washington Territories

he defended the Indian tribes and condemned the violent acts

committed by undisciplined militiamen

#### NEWSPAPERS IN OREGON AND WASHINGTON TERRITORIES COME AND GO

*Oregon Statesman* was the Democratic newspaper founded and edited by Asahel Bush

Bush had long been active and influential in Oregon Democratic politics

he moved from Oregon City to Salem when the territorial capital relocated there [1853]

and continued to rail against the Whig *Portland Oregonian* [founded 1850]

First issue of the *Oregon Argus*, Whig in policy and influence,

appeared at Oregon City -- April 21, 1855

editor Dr. William Lysander Adams served as the owner's political organizer

he was assisted by David Watson Craig

soon Dr. Adams purchased the *Oregon Spectator* which ceased publication in Oregon City

Dr. Adams shifted his allegiance to the new Republican Party

he was regarded as the "Father of the Republican Party in Oregon"

*Puget Sound Courier*, the second newspaper in Washington Territory

(after the *Olympia Columbian* [September 1852] begins publication -- May 19, 1855)

Whig newspaper was established in Steilacoom by William Affleck and E.T. Gunn

it remained in operation about a year

(A total of four weekly newspapers were established west of the Cascades in the next five years)

#### PUGET SOUND PIONEERS BECOME SUSPICIOUS OF THE LOCAL INDIANS

Settlers could see something strange was going on in the Indian villages -- spring 1855

unfamiliar faces gathered around the council fires of local villages

Indians were purchasing uncommonly large quantities of gunpowder

many settlers believed they were burying most of the supply -- perhaps for some future use

Settlers talked a lot about Leschi's suspicious absences

(in fact, that spring he had taken a long horseback ride to Albany, Oregon

to talk to a cousin there who spoke English well

Leschi wanted to bring him back to Puget Sound as a translator

his cousin, it turned out, had forgotten how to speak Nisqually

and had no desire to return to Puget Sound)

Leschi learned that territorial officials had labeled him a troublemaker

they were plotting to jail him or even to hang him

#### MORE MEMBERS OF THE U.S. FOURTH INFANTRY ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Traveling by steamship from Benicia, California 150 U.S. Fourth Infantry Companies B and L troops

under Captain Angor reached Astoria, Oregon after a passage of six days -- May 1, 1855

They arrived at Fort Vancouver early the next morning where they joined

two companies of the U.S. Fourth Infantry and one company of the U.S. Third Artillery

that had been stationed at Fort Vancouver, Fort Steilacoom and Fort Dalles since [1852]

Fort Vancouver was under the command of Colonel Benjamin Louis Eulalie De Bonneville

Fourth Infantry Lieutenant Henry Hodges was ordered to Fort Dalles with Company L

he was accompanied by U.S. Fourth Infantry Lieutenant Lawrence Kip

who was interested in seeing as much of the territory as possible

#### U.S. FOURTH INFANTRY COMPANY L TRAVELS TO FORT DALLES

Lieutenants Henry Hodges and Lawrence Kip took the steamer *Belle of Oregon City*

from Fort Vancouver fifty miles up the Columbia River to The Cascades Rapids

where the Columbia River flowed whirling and boiling in a succession of waterfalls

for more than two miles

eighty-four soldiers of Company L walked the five mile portage past the Columbia Gorge

then took the little steamer *James P. Flint* to Fort Dalles at The Dalles

where U.S. Fourth Infantry Companies B and L were stationed

under command of Major Granville O. Haller

#### USS MASSACHUSETTS ARRIVES IN CALIFORNIA

(Navy ship USS *Massachusetts* had departed from Norfolk, Virginia bound for the Pacific coast

under the command of Naval Lieutenant Richard W. Meade)

*Massachusetts* arrived at Mare Island Navy Yard near San Francisco California -- May 8, 1855

and prepared for duty selecting sites for lighthouses and buoys

## REV. AND MRS. BLAINE IMPACT LIFE IN SEATTLE

Rev. David E. Blaine constructed a Methodist Church building -- May 12, 1855

he cleared the land and taught night school in addition to his duties as minister

As a minister's wife, Catharine Paine Blaine was expected to teach "Sabbath school" without pay  
she also opened Seattle's first community school

she was paid \$65 a month for a three-month term

thirteen of the fourteen students she taught in the first term were girls

school ran Tuesday through Saturday -- Sunday and Monday (wash day) were off

school was moved from the church to the Blaine home

after the parsonage was completed -- spring 1855

Catharine, who had attended the [1848] Seneca Falls, New York Convention on women's rights  
continued to follow the suffrage movement on the East Coast

she subscribed to political newspapers that addressed women's rights issues  
and the outlawing of alcohol

like many women of her time, Catharine wrote several letters back home and to friends  
and acquaintances railing against slavery, alcohol and the injustice of voting laws

## PREPARATIONS BEGIN FOR THE WALLA WALLA TREATY COUNCIL

Governor Stevens, following Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joe Lane's technique in Oregon,  
called for a council in which he invited the Plateau (Inland) Indians

including those tribes that held land in both Washington Territory and Oregon Territory

Walla Walla Treaty Council location at Mill Creek was selected by Kamiakin, Chief of the Yakimas  
one large meeting site was prepared at an old council ground in a lush meadow five miles

from Waiilatpu and thirty miles east of Fort Walla Walla (today's Wallula, Washington)

Walla Walla Treaty Council became one of the most picturesque events  
in the history of American Indians affairs

## GOVERNOR STEVENS MOVES HIS TREATY WRITING EFFORT

Stevens had quickly persuaded most of the villages of Puget Sound and the Strait of Juan de Fuca  
to accept reservation status

Believing the Indian situation west of the Cascade Mountains was now under control,

Stevens shifted attention to meet with the great horse tribes of the lower interior of the territory  
behind him he left nine thousand Indians depressed with second thoughts about their future

some insisted they had not understood the treaty terms, which is quite possible,  
since Chinook Jargon used for the negotiations is a rudimentary language

of no more than three or four hundred words

Governor Stevens sought to tie up almost 200,000 square miles of Eastern Washington

Stevens wanted the Indians to sell part of their land to the federal government

while the remainder would be set aside as reservations which the natives would occupy  
as wards of the federal government

on the reservation, the government would maintain schools, mills, blacksmith and carpenter shops  
these services were offered as part payment for the land -- not as a favor to the Indians

Before Governor Isaac Stevens left Olympia pudgy, humorless, baby-faced twenty-five-year-old Territorial Secretary Charles H. Mason was placed in charge of Washington Territory as Acting-Governor  
(Stevens would be away from the capital for seven months -- three of those out of the territory)

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS STOPS AT FORT DALLES

Territorial Governor Stevens, now in his role as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, was on his way to the interior to hold a grand council of tribes he had summoned from far and near Stevens invited Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer to attend negotiations with him as the land claimed by the Indian tribes were in both of their territories  
Columbia River served as the dividing line from the Pacific Ocean to its great bend to the north but from there to the Rocky Mountains the territorial boundary was the invisible 46° north a concept so abstract there was no use even trying to explain it to the nomadic Indians who wandered across the invisible line at will  
Superintendent Stevens stopped to request a small body of troops to be sent to escort Oregon's Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer and to guard the presents he would provide to the council Indian attendees these troops were to meet Isaac Stevens at the council grounds

#### U.S. FOURTH INFANTRY COMPANY L SETS OUT FROM FORT DALLES

Lieutenant Archibald Gracie's command of forty mounted troopers of Company L, a Cayuse Indian to serve as guide, two Metis packers driving fifteen mules that carried the camp equipment bid farewell to the officers at Fort Dalles and rode away -- noon May 18, 1855  
Lieutenant Gracie had invited Lieutenant Lawrence Kip to join him on the expedition these two men had been cadets together at West Point

#### SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS STEVENS THREATENS THE YAKIMA NATION

Prominent Yakima Indian leader Owhi met with Superintendent of Indian Affairs Isaac Stevens it was said Stevens told the chief that if the Indians refused to give up their land and sign a treaty soldiers would be sent into their country to wipe them off the face of the earth  
Stevens asked Owhi to communicate this message to the other leaders -- which he did  
When Chief Kamiakin, leader of the Yakima, Palouse and Klickitat peoples east of the Cascades, learned of Stevens' threat he sought counsel from the priests at St. Joseph's Mission he was told that although an Indian attack might delay the threat for a time the battle must be lost -- Yakamas would inevitably lose their homes to the whites

#### KAMIAKIN -- CHIEF OF THE YAKIMA, PALOUSE AND KLICKITAT INDIANS

During his spirit quest Kamiakin had a vision of a buffalo singing a power song to him later his elders interpreted the vision saying he would be a great warrior, but would lead a tragic life however, in spite of the tragedy he was still to follow his destiny  
Kamiakin had many leadership qualities  
his mother was daughter of a great Yakima leader and her two brothers also were prominent

his father was a Palouse Indian  
he possessed courage, good judgment and generosity  
Kamiakin was raised along Ahtanum Creek (near today's Yakima)  
as a young man he traveled with his family to the Great Plains  
where he established himself as a warrior and buffalo hunter  
he was curious about the white religion  
he tried to persuade missionaries Henry Spalding at Lapwai and Marcus Whitman at Waiilatpu  
to establish a mission near his tribe -- they refused his offer [1839]  
he demonstrated good business sense by traveling to Fort Vancouver [early 1840s]  
there he traded horses for cattle and drove his herd back to Ahtanum Creek  
Kamiakin's herd was the first in the Yakama Valley  
he met a Catholic priest at Fort Walla Walla and offered land for a mission  
if the Catholics would live there and teach his tribe  
two Catholic priests arrived and built St. Joseph's Mission on Ahtanum Creek [1848]  
Kamiakin grew wealthy enough to have five wives  
but he broke native custom by marrying women not approved by his family  
however, his marriages did assure important political ties among many tribes  
When Washington Territory was established, Superintendent of Indian Affairs Stevens  
needed a prominent Yakima leader with which to negotiate  
there were several Yakama bands each headed by its own chief  
Kamiakin was the most prominent Yakama leader, although he was not the head leader  
Stevens bestowed on Kamiakin the title "Head Chief"

#### STEILACOOM BEGINS A NEWSPAPER OF ITS OWN

*Puget Sound Courier*, published by W. B. Affleck and E. T. Gunn, began production -- May 19, 1855  
pioneers of the region enjoyed local articles of interest, poetry, works of fiction  
and an occasional news story reporting events in the world, nation, or territory  
this four page weekly newspaper remained in publication for two years

#### SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS ISAAC STEVENS ARRIVES AT THE COUNCIL SITE

Federal government negotiation party arrived at Mill Creek -- Monday May 21, 1855  
dealing with the Plateau Indians varied vastly from those people West of the Cascade Mountains  
Plateau natives villages were politically aligned into tribes  
making talks between nations, the usual approach in establishing treaties, more reasonable  
however, Plateau natives were more warlike  
Tents were pitched; an arbor of boughs was constructed under which a roughhewn pine table  
was placed for use by those who would take notes during the speeches  
there was no display of ceremonial status Indians were long accustomed to  
and Hudson's Bay Company had used to great effect in their dealings with the natives

#### U.S. FOURTH INFANTRY COMPANY L ADDS MORE SOLDIERS TO THEIR PARTY

Forty mounted soldiers under Lieutenant Archibald Gracie accompanied by Lieutenant Lawrence Kip  
reached the Umatilla River after departing from Fort Dalles -- May 22, 1855

there they came upon seven Fourth Infantry soldiers under the command of a corporal who had been dispatched the week before in an unsuccessful pursuit of Indian marauders these men were added to Lieutenant Gracie's command

#### SOLDIERS ARRIVE AT THE WALLA WALLA COUNCIL SITE

U.S. Fourth Infantry Company L led by Lieutenant Archibald Gracie arrived at the council grounds there they found Stevens and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon General Joel Palmer and their party settled into their camp -- May 23, 1855

Lieutenant Lawrence Kip, who accompanied the expedition

later published an account of the Council: **"Wednesday, May 23. At two o'clock P.M. we arrived at the ground selected for the Council... one of the most beautiful spots of the Walla Walla Valley, well wooded and with plenty of water. Ten miles distant is seen the range of the Blue Mountains, forming the southeast boundary of the great plains along the Columbia.... It stretches away along the horizon until it is lost in the dim distance, where the chain unites with the Snake River Mountains."**<sup>108</sup>

**Here we found General [Joel] Palmer, the Indian Agent, and Governor Stevens, with their party, who had already pitched their tents.... As was proper for the highest dignitary on the ground, he had a dining room separate from his tent. An arbor had been erected near it, in which was placed a table, hastily constructed from split pine logs, smoothed off, but not very smooth...."**<sup>109</sup>

Escorting soldiers occupied huts of branches draped with pack covers

log cabin, hastily erected, sheltered the goods Stevens had brought along for presents

Potatoes placed in a huge mound and a small herd of beef cattle

furnished the foundation for future feasts

In the intolerant words of Captain Thomas Jefferson Cram, U.S. Topographical Engineers, who later investigated the Indian trouble for General Wool's Depart of the Pacific,

this camp was **"meager...shabby...deficient in those points of show that are so well calculated to strike the fancy or command the respect of an Indian."**<sup>110</sup>

#### NEZ PERCE INDIANS ARRIVE AT THE WALLA WALLA TREATY COUNCIL GROUNDS

First of the Indians to arrive were the Nez Perce composed of several separate tribes or bands

almost the whole Nez Perce nation, except for buffalo hunters then East of the Rocky Mountains,

had assembled to meet with Superintendents of Indian Affairs Isaac Stevens and Joel Palmer

Lieutenant Lawrence Kip wrote: **"Thursday, May 24<sup>th</sup> ...About 2500 of the Nez Perce tribe have arrived. It is our first specimen of this Prairie cavalry, and it certainly realized all our conceptions of these wild warriors of the plains. Their coming was announced about ten o'clock, and going out on the plain to where the American flag staff had been erected, [an American flag had been presented to the Nez Perce by officers during the [1847-1848] Cayuse War] we saw them approaching on horseback in one long line. They were almost entirely naked, gaudily painted and decorated with their wild**

---

<sup>108</sup> Adapted from: "The Indian Council at Walla Walla, May and June of 1855" in *Army Life on the Pacific: a Journal* by Lieutenant Lawrence Kip.

<sup>109</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 257.

<sup>110</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 301.

trappings. Their plumes fluttered above them, while below, skins and trinkets and all kinds of fantastic embellishments flaunted in the sunshine.

“Trained from early childhood almost to live upon horseback, they sat upon their fine animals as if they were centaurs. Their horses, too, were arrayed in the most glaring finery. They were painted with such colors as formed the greatest contrast; the white being smeared with crimson in fantastic figures, and the dark colored streaked with white clay. Beads and fringes of gaudy colors were hanging from the bridles, while the plumes of eagle feathers interwoven with the mane and tail fluttered as the breeze swept over them, and completed their wild and fantastic appearance.

“When about a mile distant, they halted and half a dozen chiefs rode forward and were presented to Governor Stevens and General Palmer in the order of their rank. On came the rest of the wild horsemen in single file, clashing their shields, singing and beating their drums as they marched past us. They formed a circle and dashed around us while our little group stood there, the center of their wild evolution. They would gallop up as if about to make a charge, then wheel round and round, sounding their loud whoops until they had apparently worked themselves up into an intense excitement. Then some score or two dismounted, and forming a ring, danced for about twenty minutes while those surrounding them beat time on their drums.<sup>111</sup>

Treaty Commissioners and the members of their party stared in awe at the fabled mountain tribesmen beyond any doubt they were the most powerful natives in the Northwest

Nez Perces, or pierced-nose Indians (as they were named by early French-Canadian trappers) called themselves Chipunish

they were the most friendly Indians to the whites of any tribe in the region

they were also one of the most numerous tribes

roaming over the rivers and streams to the West of the Rockies,

throughout the Rocky Mountains reaching to the almost limitless plains to the East

all of the way to the hunting grounds of the Missouri River tribes

Lieutenant Lawrence Kip visited the lodge of an old chief of the Nez Perces named Lawyer

who displayed an unhealed old wound that had been inflicted in a fight with the Blackfoot Indians

he also displayed several locks of hair that Kip presumed were the remains of acquired scalps

#### LIEUTENANT LAWRENCE KIP CONTINUES HIS ACCOUNT OF THE WALLA WALLA COUNCIL

Lieutenant Kip reported the morning brought rain

making him thankful he was in camp and not on the march -- May 25, 1855

when it cleared up about noon several soldiers rode to the Nez Perce camp

to find their friend Lawyer who was surrounded by his family

reading a portion of the New Testament

while a German soldier of Governor Stevens' party drew his portrait in crayon

Later that evening Chief Lawyer made a visit to the soldiers' camp

where he enjoyed the rudimental hospitality available

#### CAYUSE INDIANS WERE THE NEXT TO APPEAR ON THE COUNCIL GROUNDS

---

<sup>111</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 257-258.

Lieutenant Lawrence Kip noted reported the scene: **“Towards evening the Cayuse tribe arrived, numbering about three hundred. They came in whooping and singing in the Indian fashion, and after riding around the camp of the Nez Perce two or three times, they retired to form their own at some little distance.”**<sup>112</sup> -- Saturday, May 26, 1855

Several of the principal Cayuse chiefs including Weyatenatemany and Young Chief visited Isaac Stevens’ camp and the soldiers’ camp to size up their enemies’ strength

#### SOLDIERS VISIT WITH THE INDIANS

For almost as far as the eye could see enormous horse herds grazed hills still green from spring rains

Lieutenant Kip noted: **“Sunday, May 27<sup>th</sup> ... We went to the Nez Perce camp, where we found they were holding service in one of the largest lodges; two of the chiefs were officiating, one of them delivering an address -- taking the Ten Commandments for his text -- and at the end of each sentence the other chief would repeat it in a louder voice. This is their invariable custom with all their speeches. Everything was conducted with the greatest propriety, and the singing, in which they all joined, had an exceedingly musical effect.**

**“After service we rode through the Cayuse camp, but saw no evidence of Sunday there. The young warriors were lounging about their lodges, preparing their arms and taking care of their horses to be ready for their evening races. The Christianity among these Indians, we suspected is confined to the Nez Perces.”**<sup>113</sup>

#### LAST OF THE NATIVES ARRIVE AT THE COUNCIL GROUNDS

Lieutenant Lawrence Kip reported: **“Today [Monday, May 28, 1855] leading chiefs belonging to some of the most distant tribes, attended by their followers, have been coming into the camp, and most of those for which the Commissioners have been waiting are now represented. Their encampments and lodges are scattered over the valley for more than a mile, presenting a wild and fantastic appearance....”**<sup>114</sup>

Indian chiefs representing three great nations arrived at the council grounds

Yakima Chief Kamiakin, unfriendly Yakima Chief Owhi and Umatilla Chief Wenap-snoot reached the council site -- May 28, 1855

angry Chief Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox and his Walla Walla people arrived

Lieutenant Kip remarked: **“The Walla Wallas, another of the principal tribes present, is one much reduced in numbers and in importance since the pioneer trappers first came among them. They range through the valley for thirty miles to old Fort Walla Walla, once a central trading post of the Hudson Bay Company....”**

**“In a short time some of the principal chiefs paid their respects to Governor Stevens and then came down to look at our camp. It was not, as we had reason to believe afterwards, a friendly visit, but rather a reconnaissance to learn our numbers and estimate our powers of resistance....”**<sup>115</sup>

When they saw the huge number of Nez Perce present,

Kamiakin and Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox began to realize that Nez Perce Chief Lawyer

---

<sup>112</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 259.

<sup>113</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*. P. 259.

<sup>114</sup> W. Storrs Lee. *Washington State*. P. 260.

had betrayed their trust  
not wishing to accept gifts from false friends,

Kamiakin refused Stevens' offer of tobacco for his pipe and provisions for his party  
Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer spoke to the assembled chiefs: **"I want to say a few words to these people, but before I do, if Ka-mi-akin wants to speak, I would be glad to hear him."**

Kamiakin replied, **"I have nothing to say."**<sup>116</sup>

#### WALLA WALLA COUNCIL MEETS FOR THE FIRST TIME

About 5,000 Indians, including women and children, were gathered on the council grounds  
they were well armed and well informed

Leschi had visited with the Yakimas and told of Stevens' tactics in negotiations  
Isaac Ingalls Stevens had set the time of the first meeting at noon Tuesday May 29, 1855  
he planned to follow the precedence established with the [1853] Table Rock Treaty  
written by Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs Anson Dart  
Indians did not gather in front of the council table until 2:00 P.M.  
about eight tribes were represented -- interpreters were sworn in  
Superintendent of Indian Affairs Stevens gave a short speech  
after two hours it began to rain and the council adjourned to meet at 10:00 A.M. the next day  
if the weather was pleasant -- or to wait for the first pleasant day

#### WALLA WALLA TREATY COUNCIL OPENS FOR A SECOND DAY

After the preliminary meeting of the day before  
several great chiefs were presented themselves -- 1:00 P.M. Wednesday, May 30, 1855  
Lawyer and Wellamotkin (or Old Joseph) (Nez Perce),  
Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox (Walla Walla),  
Owhi (Umatilla)  
Kamiakin (Yakima),  
Weyatenatemany and Young Chief, old Chief Stickus and Five Crows (Cayuse),  
other chiefs did not show up at all  
an arrogant Palouse chief said his people would not attend  
hostile Spokanes refused to participate, however, Spokane Garry attended as an observer  
Directly in front of Isaac Stevens' tent, a small arbor with a rough pine table inside  
several of the governor's party sat taking notes of everything that was said  
in front of the arbor on a bench sat Washington Superintendent of Indian Affairs Isaac Stevens  
and Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs General Joel Palmer  
in the open air before them in concentric semi-circles sat the Indian chiefs  
in ranks by order of dignity -- other tribesmen sat behind them in order of descending rank  
filling the background were the women and children  
about 1,000 Indians composed the scene on that afternoon

---

<sup>115</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 258-259.

<sup>116</sup> A. J. Splawn, *KA-MI-AKIN The Last Hero of the Yakimas*, P. 30.

others remained in their various camps tending to the necessities of the day  
After smoking the traditional pipe for half an hour, a ceremony which precedes all Indian business,  
the Walla Walla Treaty Council was opened with a short address  
by Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs General Palmer  
Superintendent of Indian Affairs Isaac Stevens then rose and made a long speech  
he set forth the object of the council and what he desired from the Indians  
when he finished each sentence, the interpreter repeated it to two of the Indians  
who announced it in a loud voice to the others  
one in the Nez Perce language and the other in the Walla Walla language  
this process necessarily caused business to move slowly

#### MISUNDERSTANDINGS BEGAN IMMEDIATELY

Indians could not conceive of selling land -- no one owned the earth -- it was provided for all to live on  
they demanded as their reservation all of the land they had always hunted  
since the hunting grounds of various tribes overlapped nothing was left for the whites to occupy  
most of the Indians held firm on their position

#### WALLA WALLA COUNCIL MEETS FOR THE THIRD TIME

After the usual preamble of smoking, first Isaac Stevens and then Joel Palmer,  
made long speeches explaining the benefits the Indians would receive by signing this treaty  
and the advantages which would result to them when they moved to the new lands  
offered in exchange for their present hunting grounds -- Thursday May 31, 1855  
this day's council meeting broke up at 3:00 P.M.

#### NO COUNCIL MEETING IS HELD ON THIS DAY

There was no meeting of the Walla Walla Council -- Friday, June 1, 1855  
Indians wished to consider the proposals made to them during the past two days  
It was learned by the whites that two Nez Perce Indians who could write were keeping a minute record  
of everything that took place during the meetings

#### CHEIFS BEGIN TO REPLY TO SUPERINTENDENT ISAAC STEVENS' TREATY OFFERS

Fourth session of the Walla Walla Council assembled about noon Saturday June 2, 1855  
after an opening speech by Governor Steven several chiefs began to reply to the treaty proposals  
most of the Indian leaders had an unfavorable view of the treaty  
Unknown to the whites the Cayuse Indians had developed a plot to attack the whites  
first they would massacre the military escort -- which could be easily done  
more than 3,000 armed Indian warriors faced fifty soldiers on the open plains  
some of the troops might have time to fire one round before being overrun  
their next move would be to surprise the soldiers at Fort Dalles  
this also was easily done as most of the troops were on assignments away from the post  
this was to be the beginning of an Indian war of extermination waged on the settlers  
only the refusal of the Nez Perce to agree prevented the execution of the plot  
constant negotiations were going on between the tribes

Nez Perce were more powerful than all of the others united  
it was impossible carryout the plot without their consent

#### PLOT TO KILL SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS ISAAC STEVENS IS REVEALED

Because it was Sunday no meeting of the council was held

Sundays were revered by many of the Indians -- especially the Nez Perce who heeded the teachings  
of the missionaries sent to bring them the religion of the whites

On the fifth night of the Walla Walla Council the Cayuse plot was reported to Nez Perce Chief Lawyer  
alleged conspirators were reported to be Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox (Walla Walla), Young Chief (Cayuse)  
and Kamiakin (Yakima)

Lawyer told Superintendent Isaac Stevens of the murderous scheme -- Sunday June 3, 1855

Superintendent Stevens told only two of his men

Lieutenant Lawrence Kip and C.P. Higgins who was Pack Master of the supply train  
Stevens posted a guard but no reason was offered for the precaution

After midnight old Chief Lawyer moved into the Commissioner's camp

he set up his tent next to Stevens to show his protection was extended  
over the governor and the other Commissioners

Lawyer explained the relocation of his tent to the other Indians

this was a demonstration of friendliness toward the governor and the peace commission

Nez Perce were nearly equal in number to all of the other tribes present

Lawyer's move prevented an attack on the commission officials

as the Cayuse knew the Nez Perce chief would be killed in the fight

and the Nez Perce would unite to avenge his death

(in fact, historians have speculated that the rumor may have been started by Chief Lawyer himself  
to provide him a better bargaining position)

#### WALLA WALLA COUNCIL MEETS AGAIN IN THE AFTERNOON

Talks began for a fifth time -- 1:30 P.M. Monday June 4, 1855

Superintendent of Indian Affairs Stevens proposed that all of the Indian tribes in attendance  
would be placed on one large reserve within the Nez Perce homelands

he believed the friendly tribe would exert a positive influence over the more intractable others

he may also have been influenced by old Chief Lawyer's story and protective gesture

after Superintendent Stevens addressed the Indians Chief Lawyer spoke

it was the first time the Nez Perce Indians had been heard in the council

chiefs of other tribes were not so accepting of the treaty proposals

several other Nez Perce chiefs spoke before the council broke up about 5:00 P.M.

Nez Perce Indians alone seemed willing to consent to the agreement

Finally the council adjourned about 5:00 P.M.

speeches by Nez Perce leaders seemed to have little effect on the other Indians

who could be heard singing and beating their drums as they danced long into the night

#### PRESSURE BUILDS TO GET THE TREATIES SIGNED

On the sixth gathering of the council Superintendent of Indian Affairs Isaac Ingalls Stevens

again addressed the natives -- Tuesday June 5, 1855

he again explained, this time more elaborately, what the "Great Father" would provide to them if they agreed to give up their land and if all interior Indians agreed to settle on the Nez Perce reservation

Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs General Joel Palmer spoke for over an hour attempting to illustrate the many benefits they would receive he even attempted to explain the coming of the railroad and the telegraph to the comprehension of none of the Indians

After Superintendent Palmer had finished Stickus, the old Cayuse chief, made a short speech stating his opposition to moving from the long-held land of his ancestors hostility grew among the Indians as the up-to-now friendly-appearing Cayuse turned sullen Superintendent Stevens adjourned the council until the next day

#### HOSTILITY OF THE CAYUSE INDIANS KEEPS THE COUNCIL FROM MEETING

Indians again were determined not to meet in council

Chief Lawyer's apparent acceptance of the treaty for the Nez Perce heightened native concerns they wished to consult among themselves and another day was lost -- Wednesday June 6, 1855

#### SEVERAL CHIEFS BECOME OPPOSED TO SIGNING THE TREATY

Walla Walla Treaty Council began discussions for the seventh time -- noon Thursday June 7, 1855 Lieutenant Lawrence Kip took a place at the pine recorders' table and recorded some of the speeches Kamiakin (Yakima) and Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox (Walla Walla) were vocally opposed to the treaty Cayuse Indians also objected that they had no right to sell the land given to them by the Great Spirit -- they feared to do so

Young Chief made an eloquent speech on this subject and asked, **"I wonder if the ground has anything to say? I wonder if the ground is listening to what is said? I wonder if the ground would come alive and what is on it? Though I hear what the ground says. The ground says 'It is the Great Spirit that placed me here. The Great Spirit tells me to take care of the Indians, so lead them aright. The Great Spirit appointed the roots to feed the Indians on.' The water say the same thing. 'The Great Spirit directs me. Feed the Indians well.' The grass says the same thing. 'Feed the horses and cattle.' The ground, water and grass say 'the Great Spirit has given us our names.' We have these names and hold these names. Neither the Indians or whites have a right to change these names. The ground says, 'The Great Spirit has placed me here to produce all that grows on me, trees and fruit.' The same way the ground says, 'It was from me man was made.' The Great Spirit, in placing men on the earth desired them to take good care of the ground and to do each other no harm. The Great Spirit said, 'You Indians who take care of certain portions of the country should not trade it off except you get a fair price'."**<sup>117</sup>

Five Crows of the Walla Wallas said **"I will speak a few words. My heart is the same as Young Chief's."**<sup>118</sup>

---

<sup>117</sup> Adapted from: "The Indian Council at Walla Walla, May and June of 1855" in *Army Life on the Pacific: a Journal* by Lieutenant Lawrence Kip.

<sup>118</sup> Adapted from: "The Indian Council at Walla Walla, May and June of 1855" in *Army Life on the Pacific: a Journal* by Lieutenant Lawrence Kip.

members of other tribes related that they did not clearly understand what was proposed

one chief (his name was unrecorded by Kip) noted: **“The Indians are blind. This is the reason we do not see the country well. Lawyer sees clear. This is the reason why I don't know anything about this country. I do not see the offer you have made to us yet. If I had the money in my hand I should see. I am, as it were, blind. I am blind and ignorant. I have a heart, but cannot say much. This is the reason why the chiefs do not understand each other right, and stand apart. Although I see your offer before me, I do not understand it and I do not yet take it. I walk as it were in the dark, and cannot therefore take hold of what I do not see. Lawyer sees and he takes hold. When I come to understand your propositions, I will take hold. I do not know when. This is all I have to say.”**<sup>119</sup>

several chiefs noted that some tribes were not sufficiently represented

another council should be held before deciding -- Indians never saw any reason for haste

Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox, chief of the Walla Wallas said: **“I do not know what is straight. I do not see the offer you have made to the Indians. I never saw these things which are offered by my Great Father. My heart cried when you first spoke to me. I felt as if I was blown away like a feather. Let your heart be, to separate as we are and appoint some other time. We shall have no bad minds. Stop the whites from coming up here until we have this talk. Let them not bring their axes with them. The whites may travel in all directions through our country, we will have nothing to say to them, provided they do not build houses on our lands. Now I wish to speak about Lawyer. I think he has given his land. That is what I think from his words. I request another meeting. It is not in one meeting only that we can come to a decision. If [you] come again with a friendly message from our Great Father, I shall see you again at this place. Tomorrow I shall see you again, and tomorrow evening I shall go home. This is all I have to say.”**

some became more suspicious of Superintendent of Indian Affairs Stevens' good faith when he would not listen to the suggestion of a second council

Kamiakin, Yakima Chief simply noted, **“I have nothing to say.”**

Umatilla chief Owhi said to the council, **“We are together and the Great Spirit hears all that we say to day. The Great Spirit gave us the land and measured the land to us, this is the reason I am afraid to say anything about the land. I am afraid of the laws of the Great Spirit. This is the reason of my heart being sad. This is the reason I cannot give you an answer. I am afraid of the Great Spirit. Shall I steal this land and sell it? or, what shall I do? This is the reason why my heart is sad. The Great Spirit made our friends, but the great Spirit made our bodies from the earth, as if they were different from the whites. What shall I do? Shall I give the land which is a part of my body and leave myself poor and destitute? Shall I say I will give you my land? I cannot stay so. I am afraid of the Great Spirit. I love my life. The reason why I do not give my land away is I am afraid I will be sent to hell. I love my friends. I love my life. This is the reason why I do not give my land away. I have one word more to say. My people are far away. They do not know your words. This is the reason I cannot give you an answer. I show you my heart. This is all I have to say.”**

General Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory said: **“We have listened and heard our chiefs speak. The hearts of the Nez Perces and ours are one. The Cayuses, the Walla Wallas, and the other tribes say they do not understand us. We were in hopes we should have but one**

---

<sup>119</sup> Adapted from “The Indian Council at Walla Walla, May and June of 1855” in *Army Life on the Pacific: a Journal* by Lieutenant Lawrence Kip.

heart. Why should we have more than one heart? Young Chief says he does not know what we propose to him. Pe[u]-pe[u]-mox-mox says the same, Can we bring these saw mills and these grist mills on our backs to show these people? Can we bring these blacksmith shops, these wagons and tents on our backs to show them at this time? Can we cause fields of wheat and corn to spring up in a day that we may see them? Can we build these school houses and these dwellings in a day? Can we bring all the money that these things will cost, that they may see it? It would be more than all the horses of any one of those tribes could carry. It takes time to do these things. We come first to see you and make a bargain. We brought but few goods with us. But whatever we promise to give you, you will get.

“How long will these people remain blind? We come to try and open their eyes. They refuse the light. I have a wife and children. My brother here has the same. I have a good house, fields of wheat, potatoes, and peas. Why should I wish to leave them and come so far to see you? It was to try and do you good, but you throw it away. Why is it that you do so? We all sometimes do wrong. Sometimes because our hearts are bad, and sometimes because we have bad counsel. Your people have sometimes done wrong. Our hearts have cried. Our hearts still cry. But if you will try to do right, we will try to forget it. How long will you listen to this bad counsel and refuse to receive the light? I, too, like the ground where I was born. I left it because it was for my good. I have come a long way. We ask you to go but a short distance. We do not come to steal your land. We pay you more than it is worth. There is the Umatilla Valley that affords a little good land between two streams and all around it, is a parched up plain. What is it worth to you, what is it worth to us? Not half what we have offered you for it. Why do we offer so much? Because our Great Father told us to take care of his red people. We come to you with his message to try and do you good....”

Superintendent Stevens adjourned the council for the day with a long speech saying in part: “I must say a few words. My Brother, and I have talked straight. Have all of you talked straight? Lawyer has and his people have, and their business will be finished tomorrow. Young Chief says, he is blind and does not understand. What is it that he wants? Stickus says his heart is in one of these places -- the Grand Roande, the Tuche [Touchet], and the Tucanon. Where is the heart of Young Chief? Pe-pe-mox-mox cannot be wafted off like a feather. Does he prefer the Yakima to the Nez Perce reservation? We have asked him before. We ask him now. Where is his heart? Kamiakin, the great Chief of the Yakimas, has not spoken at all, his people have no voice here today. He is not ashamed to speak? He is not afraid to speak? Then speak out. Owhi is afraid to lest God be angry at his selling his land. Owhi, my brother! I do not think God will be angry with you if you do your best for yourself and your children. Ask yourself this question tonight. Will not God be angry with me if I neglect this opportunity to do them good? But Owhi says, his people are not here. Why then did he tell us, some hear our talk? I do not want to be ashamed of him. Owhi has the heart of his people. We expect him to speak out. We expect to hear from Kamiakin and from Schoom [Skloom, the brother of Kamiakin]. The treaty will have to be drawn up tonight. You can see it tomorrow. The Nez Perces must not be put off any longer. This business must be dispatched. I hope that all the other hearts and our heart will agree. They have asked us to speak straight. We have spoken straight. We have asked you to speak straight; but have yet to hear from you.”<sup>120</sup>

---

<sup>120</sup> Adapted from: “The Indian Council at Walla Walla, May and June of 1855” in *Army Life on the Pacific: a Journal* by Lieutenant Lawrence Kip.

## TALKS NEARLY REACH A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION FOR SUPERINTENDENT STEVENS

Superintendent Stevens convened the eighth day of proceedings -- 3:00 P.M. Friday June 8, 1855

Stevens opened with a few remarks

Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs General Joel Palmer made a long speech

aimed at the chiefs who refused the treaty proposal of the day before

they would not have to go to the Nez Perce reservation

he would give them another reservation on the land where they now lived

after this offer had been clearly explained to them and considered

all agreed to it except one tribe -- the Yakimas

Natives would be ceding to the United States more than sixty thousand square miles of land

approximately equal to the combined areas of Pennsylvania and New Jersey

in return they were to receive annuities at the rate of about ten cents an acre

(later objected to by Congress as being too high a price), plus the usual shops and teachers

It seemed as if the end of the Walla Walla Council was near

when just before the Council adjourned, an Indian runner arrived

with the news that Looking Glass, the great war chief of the Nez Perce, was coming

Half an hour later the seventy year old Chief and another chief arrived with about twenty warriors

after an absence of three years hunting buffalo and fighting Blackfoot Indians on the Great Plains

Chief Lawyer served as head chief while Looking Glass was away

word had quickly spread that the great War Chief of the Nez Perce had heard of the council

and had ridden hard all week in order to participate

Superintendents Stevens and Palmer went out to meet them and mutual introductions were made

Looking Glass without dismounting from his horse said in a low voice:

**“My people, what have you done? While I was gone, you have sold my country.”**<sup>121</sup>

After this the council adjourned for the day

## WALLA WALLA COUNCIL TALKS ARE REACHING A CRISIS

Although the council did not meet on the ninth day until 3:00 P.M. Saturday June 9, 1855

it was apparent the talks were at a crisis point

either the Indians must accept the treaty or they would ride away

Based on the approval of the treaty by all of the Indian tribes except the Yakimas

papers were drawn up and brought into the Council to be signed by principal chiefs

Isaac Stevens once more, this time for Looking Glass' benefit, explained the three treaties:

- Cayuses, Walla Wallas and Umatillas were forced to cede four million acres of tribal land and move to the Umatilla Reservation composed of 95, 000 acres in northeast Oregon but they retained the right to hunt and fish in their "usual and accustomed places"
- fourteen different tribal groups would go onto the Yakima reservation after giving up a combined 29,000 square miles of land but they retained the right to hunt and fish in their "usual and accustomed places"
- Nez Perces were confined to a reservation that included parts of southeastern Washington,

---

<sup>121</sup> George Washington Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 222.

northwestern Oregon, and west-central Idaho

they ceded 7.5 million acres of tribal land

but retained the right to hunt and fish in their "usual and accustomed places"

none of the Indians were to be removed to these reservations for two or three years

Looking Glass then rose and made a strong speech against the treaty

he said that not only the Nez Perce but the other tribes now refused to sign

while Looking Glass was speaking Lawyer left the Council without saying a word

many regarded this as a sign that he had surrendered his position

Superintendents Stevens and Palmer made several speeches to induce him to change his decision

all to no effect -- it seemed Looking Glass would ruin all that had been gained

#### OUTLOOK FOR THE TREATY SIGNING WAS OMINOUS

There was great excitement throughout the Indian camps -- Sunday June 10, 1855

Nez Perce held their Christian religious services then held a council among themselves all day long

few Nez Perce Indians were in sight

there was talk of Looking Glass being appointed head chief over Lawyer

Then the impasse was suddenly broken

Walla Walla Chief Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox came to Superintendent of Indian Affairs Stevens

and agreed to sign regardless of action of the others

Superintendent Stevens now induced a number of other chiefs to sign his treaty

Chief Kamiakin said he would sign the Yakima portion of the treaty

he declared he was also high chief of the Palouses by family ties

and included them among the tribes he pledged

Both Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox and Kamiakin signed their treaties privately

William Cameron McKay, a stockman and later physician to the Cayuses,

was present at the council as an interpreter and witnessed Kamiakin's signing: "[W]hen the

**Indians hesitated, the Governor said to tell the chief, 'if they don't sign this treaty, they will walk in blood knee deep.' To illustrate, Mam-ia-kin [Kamiakin] was about the last to sign by making his cross. When he returned to his seat, his lips were covered with blood, having bitten them with suppressed rage. Father Chaurause [Chirouse] the Catholic Priest was standing by me at the time, and he drew my attention to the blood, remarking 'I am afraid we will all be murdered before we leave these grounds'."**<sup>122</sup>

#### WALLA WALLA TREATY COUNCIL CONCLUDES THEIR WORK

Last day of the Walla Walla Council -- Monday June 11, 1855

Lieutenant Lawrence Kip noted: **"...At ten o'clock the Council met. Governor Stevens opened it with a short speech, at the close of which he asked the chiefs to come forward and sign the papers. This they all did without the least opposition."**<sup>123</sup>

---

<sup>122</sup> David L. Nicandri, *Northwest Chiefs: Gustav Sohon's View of the 1855 Stevens Treaty Councils*. Tacoma: Washington State Historical Society, 1986.

<sup>123</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 265.

Kip continued: “**What he has been doing with Looking Glass since last Saturday, we cannot imagine, but we suppose savage nature in the wilderness is the same as civilized nature...and ‘every man has his price’.**”<sup>124</sup>

Nez Perce chiefs signed the treaty

Lawyer came forward and signed followed by the other chiefs:

Wellamotkin (Old Joseph) signed because his homeland was included in the reservation grant

his people were designated to be a “Free Band” of Nez Perce Indians without boundaries

Cayuse chiefs Five Crows, and Stickas each signed -- in all thirty-six signers were included

Klickitat Indians who had won favor from Oregon’s Indian Superintendent General Joel Palmer

by turning against the Willamette and Rogue River natives were rewarded for their loyalty

they were allowed to return to their old homelands at the head of the Cowlitz River

After the council meeting was done the presents Superintendent of Indian Affairs General Joel Palmer

had brought with him were distributed

Walla Walla Treaty Council, like other legislative bodies adjourned *sine die*

Nez Perce held a great Scalp Dance, with 150 women taking part and then began breaking camp

#### AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE WALLA WALLA COUNCIL

Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs General Joel Palmer

went home and reported that all was well

Washington Superintendent of Indian Affairs Isaac Stevens, convinced that the tribes were placated,

decided to ride on across the Rocky Mountains two write additional treaties

he proceeded to Cataldo Mission in Coeur d’Alene Country

there he notified the local chiefs of a council to be held on his return from Blackfoot Country

#### THREE RESERVATIONS ARE CREATED

Agreements or treaties were finally concluded after ten days of talks

Indians had ceded a total of 47,000 square miles of land and agreed to accept life on reservations

in return for payment of \$750,000

As a result of the rumor to kill Superintendent Stevens, he separated the Nez Perce from other Indians

he gave them better treatment

Nez Perce got the best land and were provided with a tremendously large reservation

5,000 square miles between the Snake River and the lovely Bitterroot Mountains

for their sole use

plus \$200,000 for industrial improvements

and an annual salary of \$500 for twenty years for chiefs Lawyer and Looking Glass

who may have arranged the whole show for the benefit of themselves and their tribes

some Nez Perce bands were even allowed the status of “Free Bands”

were not confined to a reservation, but could roam over their traditional homeland

Yakima Indians were represented by the unhappy Chief Kamiakin

there were fourteen signers: Kamiakin, Owhi, Skloom, and eleven delegates

Confederated Yakima Nation got more marginal land on two reservations: Simcoe and Wenatchee

---

<sup>124</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 302.

plus \$200,000 for industrial improvements and \$500 for twenty years for each chief  
Cayuse Indians now stood alone -- Young Chief decided to sign the treaty also  
Cayuse were placed on the Umatilla Reservation in eastern Oregon  
along with the Walla Walla and Umatilla people  
this was the smallest reservation -- 800 square miles  
plus \$150,000 cash and annuities for industrial improvements  
in addition, allotments in the form of chief's' salaries were made  
Superintendent Stevens promised annuities of about 10¢ an acre for the rest of the land  
when Congress ratified the treaty [March 8, 1859], it failed to appropriate these funds

#### TREATIES WERE NOT BINDING ON THE INDIANS

Chiefs could not speak for all of the members of their village or tribe  
also some chiefs refused to sign at all -- thus these people were not bound to the agreement  
Wellamotkin's (Old Joseph) Nez Perce people were granted special status as a "Free Band"  
Treaties would not become operative until ratified by the United States Senate  
Indians were not required to move to the reservation  
until a year after the treaty was ratified by Congress  
Americans misunderstood the workings of their own government (a not unusual circumstance)  
although the treaties were not in effect homesteaders headed for Eastern Washington Territory  
they claimed land belonging to Yakima, Walla Walla, Cayuse, Nez Perce and Umatilla Indians  
United States Senate was slow to ratify Stevens' treaties,  
so the United States was not obligated to provide protection to the tribes  
treaties eventually were ratified -- five years after the Treaty Councils took place [March 8, 1859]

#### INDIANS WERE NOT SATISFIED WITH THEIR TREATIES

Yakimas and Klickitats were seething in the aftermath of their own treaty signing  
they were horse Indians accustomed to life galloping over the treeless hills of Eastern Washington  
even during negotiations plots were formulated for the renewal of hostilities  
dissenting native groups who supported the treaties refused to comply with the arrangements  
Yakima chiefs met with Chief Kamiakin after the Walla Walla Council  
some were for immediate hostilities  
some Yakima chiefs went among all of the other tribes fomenting discontent  
Kamiakin decided they would fight only if troops entered their land

#### GOVERNOR STEVENS LEAVES WASHINGTON TERRITORY TO WRITE MORE TREATIES

Isaac Stevens left Cataldo Mission in Coeur d'Alene Country and rode out of Washington Territory  
he traveled from the site of the Walla Walla Treaty Council along Mill Creek  
Stevens took with him for the protection of his treaty writing party only fourteen Nez Perce Indians  
including Chief Looking Glass who had joined Stevens on his journey east  
to represent their tribe in the council with the Blackfoot Indians  
Isaac Stevens and his party entered Nebraska Territory (today's Montana)  
to write treaties with the Missouri River Indians east of the Rocky Mountains

## MORMON PIONEERS MOVE INTO WASHINGTON TERRITORY

First Mormon settlement in Washington Territory (today's Idaho) was founded while (Idaho) was still part of Washington Territory  
party of twenty-seven Mormons arrived after a month's journey north from Utah -- June 18, 1855  
they established a mission to the Bannock and Shoshone Indians  
They selected the site for a fort, Fort Lemhi (near Tendoy, Idaho) and prepared to farm an eight acre tract as they planted corn, turnips, peas, beans, and potatoes  
in addition to the fort, twenty-five cabins were built  
other settlers soon arrived and the settlement flourished

## CONVENTION IS HELD IN OREGON TERRITORY TO OPPOSE THE EXPANSION OF SLAVERY

An anti-slavery convention was held in Albany, Oregon Territory -- June 27, 1855  
thirty-nine men were present and signed their names to the records of the meeting  
they became the charter members of the movement against slavery in the Pacific Northwest  
intense feelings that the expansion of slavery was an outrage had been aroused after the repeal of the [1820] Missouri Compromise with passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act [1854]  
which replaced a ban on slavery in the Pacific Northwest with popular sovereignty  
members of the convention encouraged holding public meetings in each county  
to arouse sentiment against the spread of slavery across the nation  
and to support local candidates for office who held the same strong feelings

## GOLD WAS OCCASIONALLY DISCOVERED IN NEW CALEDONIA (BRITISH COLUMBIA)

Small amounts of gold had been reported by fur traders [in the 1830s]  
but Hudson's Bay Company policy kept news of such discoveries quiet  
Local Secwepemc Indians living beside (ironically named) Tranquille Creek carried a large amount of gold to Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Kamloops, New Caledonia  
Prospector James Huston wandered across the Canadian border  
he entered New Caledonia (British Columbia)  
where he discovered gold in Tranquille Creek in the Fraser River Valley  
this touched off searches in other locations  
gold strikes were made on the Thompson, Fraser, Colville and Columbia rivers -- 1855  
gold also was discovered in the Okanogan Valley -- 1855

## RUMORS OF GOLD CIRCULATE AROUND WASHINGTON TERRITORY AND BEYOND

For twenty-nine years Fort Colville had been a Hudson's Bay Company trading post  
but employees had failed to observe (or least did not advertise) the presence of gold dust there  
region around Fort Colville between the Spokane and Pend d'Oreille rivers  
provided the first significant discovery of gold made in the interior of Washington Territory  
richest discoveries of fine flour gold occurred in the Fraser River Canyon  
between (today's Hope and Yale, British Columbia)  
this region was controlled by Americans who invaded the Indians' land  
and provoked conflicts  
Just as Washington Territory Governor Stevens was conducting treaty talks with the Plateau tribes

word of gold strikes on the Thompson, Fraser, Colville, and Columbia rivers reached Fort Colville

#### PROSPECTORS ATTEMPT TO BUILD A COLONY AT (TODAY'S PORT ORFORD)

Captain William Tichenor in command of the steam propeller ship *Sea Gull*

entered Port Orford Harbor to establish a town and roads

and investigate gold digging and timber removal opportunities -- June 1855

Nine men led by J.M. Kirkpatrick, who was elected Captain by the party, were landed on the beach with provisions enough to support the colony for two weeks

Captain Tichenor sailed away saying he would return in two weeks with more men and supplies

Kirkpatrick's Party made a defensive camp on a seastack rock on the beach

they were armed with three muskets, two rifles, one pistol, several swords and a ship's cannon

Local Tututni Indians ordered the sailors off what they considered to be their beach

instead of leaving, the sailors climbed to the rock's crest

where they were besieged by over 100 warriors

#### USS MASSACHUSETTS STEAMS NORTH FROM SAN FRANCISCO

U.S. Navy ship *Massachusetts* was dispatched to Washington Territory to provide support and select sites for lighthouses and buoys

*Massachusetts* left Mare Island Navy Yard near San Francisco California

on a cruise to the Columbia River-- June (and July) 1855

#### FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS TAKE PLACE WITH THE QUINAULT INDIANS

In the absence of Governor Isaac Stevens, Indian Agent Michael T. Simmons,

a member of the original treaty commission, was sent to negotiate with the Quinaults

because they were the only Southwest Washington natives to attempt to sign a treaty

Simmons traveled to the Quinault River to negotiate a separate treaty

with the Quinault Indians at Port Townsend -- July 1, 1855

these were a continuation of the earlier council conducted by Governor Stevens [February 25]

When the treaty was eventually concluded by Indian Agent Michael T. Simmons

uniquely they were granted the right to reside where they wished as long as they kept the peace

Quinaults received reservations and the services of physicians, teachers

agricultural and industrial instructors

Quinaults retained their rights to fish and to pasture their stock as they always had

and to grow berries on unoccupied land

Representatives of the Quinaults signed the treaty at Port Townsend -- July 1, 1855

(Governor Stevens formally signed the treaty in Olympia [January 25, 1856]

thus it became known as the Olympia Treaty)

#### GOLD IS DISCOVERED IN THE OKANOGAN VALLEY AND ON THE FRASER RIVER

Gold discoveries in other locations assured additional gold rushes -- 1855

news of gold strikes in the Okanogan Valley leaked out

Fraser River region produced gold and the rush spread into Canada

Yakima chiefs went among all other tribes fomenting discontent

## PROSPECTORS WERE QUICKLY FOLLOWED BY OTHER INTRUDERS

In addition to prospectors, homesteaders also headed for Eastern Washington and the land belonging to Yakima, Walla Walla, and Umatilla Indians although the land was not open for settlement but still belonged to the Indians as the proposed treaties had not been ratified by the U.S. Senate or signed by the president  
Influx of miners also led to increased populations at distributing points and centers of trade along the Columbia River at Lower Cascades, The Dalles and Upper Cascades  
it became obvious that conditions at these portages needed to be improved

## YAKIMA INDIANS HOSTILITY GREW QUICKLY

Yakima Valley was the scene of multiple ugly incidents  
Qualchan, Kamiakin's nephew, took the initiative with five of his relatives  
they came upon five prospectors along the Yakima River on their way to the Colville diggings  
Charles Walker, L. O. Merilt, J. C. Avery, Eugene Borier, and a man named Jamieson  
Walker and Jamieson were killed by the Yakimas  
Soon after, two more prospectors were found dead along the trail across Yakima land  
other prospectors in the high country east of the Cascade Mountains were killed by Indians  
Misunderstanding, bitterness and fear  
resulted in an uprising of the Eastern Washington Territory Indians against the settlers  
every tribe East of the Cascade Mountains in Washington Territory was in the field  
except the Flatheads, Spokanes, Pend d'Oreilles, and a portion of the Nez Perce  
and many of the young men of these tribes joined the camps of the hostiles  
lowest estimates of those engaged in the war placed the number of native participants  
at three thousand warriors

## SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS ISAAC STEVENS WRITES ANOTHER TREATY

Governor Isaac Stevens, now in his role as Superintendent of Indian Affairs,  
arrived at Hell Gate treaty grounds in the Bitter Root Valley (in today's western Montana)  
Flathead, Kootenay, and Upper Pend d'Oreille Indians took part in treaty talks -- July 8, 1855  
they became known as the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes  
Indian leader Victor was recognized as their head chief by Superintendent Stevens

## JOSEPH RUCKEL AND HARRISON OLMSTEAD SETTLE THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE CASCADES

Colonel Joseph Ruckel took up a land claim along the south bank of The Cascades of the Columbia  
he settled the portion of the Cascade's Rapids that was known as Middle Cascades -- 1855  
Soon after Colonel Joseph Ruckle had secured his land, Harrison Olmstead took a claim  
abutting Ruckel and extending one mile farther down the south bank of the Columbia to the west  
Olmstead's land included the mouth of Eagle Creek and Tooth Rock  
but did not include the site of Bonneville which was owned by John C. Tanner

## COLONEL JOSEPH S. RUCKEL BECOMES PART OWNER OF THE *FASHION*

Steamer *Fashion* (the rebuilt *J.P. Flint*) was purchased from J. and C.E. Williams -- July 1855

Colonel Joseph Ruckel convinced J.O. Van Bergen, the *J.P. Flint's* former captain,  
to join in the purchase of the *Fashion*  
*Fashion* was put in service delivering cargo between Portland and The Cascades of the Columbia River

#### COLONEL JOSEPH S. RUCKEL AND HARRISON OLMSTEAD FORM A PARTNERSHIP

Colonel Ruckel's steamboat *Fashion* provided service between Portland  
and The Cascades of the Columbia River  
Working quickly and quietly Joseph Ruckel formed a partnership with his neighbor Harrison Olmstead  
Ruckel and Olmstead were determined to link The Dalles with Portland  
all that was missing was a portage around The Cascades on the Oregon side

#### CONSTRUCTION BEGINS ON A SECOND PORTAGE ROUTE AROUND THE CASCADES

Colonel Joseph S. Ruckel and Harrison Olmstead began construction on a wagon road  
across their adjoining land claims along the south side of The Cascades of the Columbia River  
They hired men, secured a right-of-way and constructed a roadbed and bridges  
landings were built at both the Upper Cascades and at the mouth of Tanner Creek  
W.R. Kilborn oversaw construction of the road-building and furnished animal teams  
this wagon road ran from the upper landing to Ruckel's settlement  
and a pack trail was carved out from there over "Tooth Rock" to the lower landing  
warehouses were built to hold the cargo being moved along the south side of the Cascades Rapids

#### SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS ISAAC STEVENS CONCLUDES ANOTHER TREATY

Washington Territory Superintendent of Indian Affairs Stevens concluded treaty talks -- July 16, 1855  
after eight days tribal leaders became reluctant signers of the Hellgate Treaty  
Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes gave up twelve million  
of their twenty-two million acres for a 1.23 million acre reservation  
(known today as the Flathead Indian Reservation)  
Indians left Council Groves sad and angry -- and forever changed  
(Hellgate Treaty was ratified by the U.S. Senate, [March 8, 1859])

#### SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS ISAAC STEVENS CONTINUES EAST

Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens left the Hellgate Treaty grounds  
Stevens requested a delegation of Flathead, Kootenay and Upper Pend d'Oreille Indians  
be added to his fourteen Nez Perce Indian escort under Chief Looking Glass  
to accompany him by way of the Coeur d'Alene Pass  
although he had been advised this route was impracticable because of deep snow  
Gratified by the success of his Hellgate treating-writing efforts, Isaac Stevens  
crossed the Continental Divide into Dakota Territory (today's Montana)  
to address the Blackfoot Indians at Fort Benton

#### TOWN OF COLUMBIA CITY (VANCOUVER, WASHINGTON) IS PLATTED

(Establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company headquarters at Fort Vancouver [1825]  
prevented development of the region by pioneers as an effort was made to preserve a wilderness

favorable to the propagation of fur-bearing animals and to hold the region for Great Britain  
urban development could take place only after the trading company finally abandoned the post  
and even after the Hudson's Bay people had gone title to much of the land was in dispute)  
(United States Military authorities laid out Columbia Barracks [1849] just north of Fort Vancouver  
and claimed a large part of the territory as a military reservation

urban development was once again held up pending the resolution of land claims)

After the death of her husband Amos, Mrs. Ester Short platted the family land claim  
to establish a town -- July 28, 1855

she donated Esther Short Park and also a long strip of waterfront  
to be perpetually managed by the city

(when she died Esther Short Park became her monument)

Joseph Brant built Metropolis Hall in Columbia City, Washington -- 1855

ground floor served as a livery stable; second story was a theater and dance hall

(Washington Territory Legislature changed the name of Columbia City  
back to "Vancouver" [December 1855])

(City of Vancouver was incorporated [1857])

#### STEAMER *WASCO* PROVIDES SERVICE ABOVE THE CASCADES

Harrison Olmstead had the seventy-foot side-wheeler steamer *Wasco* built by Captain Isaac McFarland  
and his brother Cornelius who served as the steamboat's engineer

Harrison Olmstead's *Wasco* was put into service on the Middle Cascades of the Columbia River  
to compete with the Bradford brothers' *Mary* -- August 1, 1855

#### MAJOR RAINS ORDERS FORT CASCADES BUILT AT THE LOWER CASCADES PORTAGE

Necessity of keeping open a portage road around the Columbia River Gorge rapids was necessary  
for the military to supply Fort Dalles in Eastern Washington Territory

Construction of Fort Cascades (also known as the "Lower Blockhouse") was begun on Hamilton Island  
by soldiers of the U.S. Fourth Infantry in the Columbia River at the Lower Cascades

(near present-day North Bonneville, Washington) -- early August 1855

at the time the U.S. Army moved onto the Johnson Land Claim

this property included a wharfboat, three buildings

and a small field enclosed by a split-rail fence

Work was also undertaken to survey and construct a Military Portage Road

#### FORTS, BLOCKHOUSES AND FORTIFICATIONS PROVIDE SECURITY FOR SETTLERS

Blockhouses were little "forts" built in communities around Washington Territory

term "fort" for many of these shelters is misleading

some had stockade fences and hut housing

but lacked barracks, mess halls, parade grounds and other physical features of a fort

this arrangement provided for some cooking and sleeping space as well as defense

Blockhouses were built of large logs with the second story jutting out over the first

this enabled men to better defend them since it placed the defenders above the attackers

## BLOCKHOUSES AND MILITARY POSTS ARE BUILT BY UNITED STATES ARMY TROOPS

U.S. Military troops constructed blockhouses and forts at critical locations

Klickitat County was the location of two U.S. Military posts at the Columbia Gorge

- Fort Cascades or “Lower Blockhouse” at the Lower Cascades portage was built on Hamilton Island in the Columbia River at the Lower Cascades by U.S. Fourth Infantry soldiers [August 1855]  
this property included a wharf boat, three buildings and a small field enclosed by a split-rail fence  
work was also undertaken to survey and construct a Military Portage Road
- Fort Rains construction of was begun by Lieutenant Day, U.S. Third Artillery to protect the portage road around the Middle Cascades Rapids [October 1855]  
logs for the construction project were obtained from the nearby northern hills  
Fort Rains was located on Sheridan’s Point along the Washington side of the Columbia 2½ miles above Fort Cascades (west of today’s Bridge of the Gods)

Jefferson County was the location of one U.S. Military post

- Fort Wilson was built by the U.S. Army at Point Wilson [1855]  
(Fort Worden was later built at the site)

Whatcom County was the location of one U.S. Military post

- Fort Bellingham was two blockhouses built by settlers on a bluff three miles northwest of the mouth of Whatcom Creek [1855]  
it was taken over Captain George E. Pickett [August 1856]  
sixty-eight men of U.S. Ninth Infantry Company D resided at the fort

King County was the location of three U.S. Military posts

- Fort Thomas was a twenty-six foot square temporary U.S. Army post constructed by the U.S. Fourth Infantry on the south bank of the Green River [1855]  
about six miles north of (today’s Auburn near today’s Kent)  
on land belonging to settler John Thomas  
this post was in use for only a few weeks and was abandoned [1855]
- Camp Muckleshoot Prairie was built by Captain Erasmus Darwin, U.S. Third Artillery and soldiers of the U.S. Ninth Infantry as a defensive position on Muckleshoot Prairie along the White River near its junction with the Green River [1856]  
(southeast of today’s Auburn)  
it included two blockhouses, a log stockade and log quarters for the men  
Camp Muckleshoot Prairie was renamed Fort Slaughter  
in honor of U.S. Fourth Infantry Lieutenant William Slaughter who was killed in action
- Fort Slaughter on Muckleshoot Prairie was a stockade with two bastions  
manned by soldiers of the U.S. Fourth Infantry
- Black River Blockhouse was constructed by regular U.S. Army Troops [1856]  
this defensive position was located new (today’s SeaTac but the exact location is unknown)

Yakima County was the location of two U.S. Military posts

- Fort Naches was built near the bank of the Naches River nine miles above the river’s mouth  
one large gabion (earth-filled basket) rectangular structure  
was built by Ninth Infantry troops under the command of Colonel George Wright [1856]

Fort Naches protected up to two companies of soldiers and their supplies  
it included one building within the stockade

(Fort Naches was abandoned with the construction of Fort Simcoe)

- Fort Simcoe was constructed by Major Robert Garnett and his Ninth Infantry troops [1856]  
it was located at the “bubbling spring” on Toppenish Creek  
near the site of Major Granville O. Haller’s [1855] defeat

Fort Simcoe was designed by architect Louis Scholl who also designed Fort Dalles  
it had a blockhouse at each corner of the post that was a standalone fortification  
but there was no stockade

there was a 420-foot square parade ground  
surrounded by log and frame barracks and buildings

(today Fort Simcoe is located south west of White Swan on the Yakima Indian Reservation)

Pierce County was the location of one U.S. Military post

- Fort Maloney was constructed by U.S. Fourth Infantry troops  
under Captain Maurice Maloney [1856]  
this two-story blockhouse was unusual because in that the first story had a low ceiling  
perhaps less than 6 1/2 feet high  
it was located on the north bank of the Puyallup River  
to protect the John Carson Ferry crossing

(today marker is located near the northwest end of the bridge carrying traffic  
across the Puyallup River into Puyallup is located near the site)

Franklin County was the location of one U.S. Military post

- Fort Taylor, built by the Ninth Infantry, was located east of (today’s Starbuck, Washington)  
this was a temporary constructed of rocks and logs  
which served for one month [August 11-September 11, 1858]  
its name honored First Lieutenant Oliver H.P. Taylor, who had been killed in action

## LIFE IN THE BLOCKHOUSE WAS MISERABLE

Most blockhouses provided enough room for several families to crowd into  
dozens of men, women and children were cooped up in muddy, stinking compounds  
arrangements were made for cooking and sleeping as well as for defense  
food was of poor quality and in short supply  
settlers often bickered and quarreled about the causes and purpose of the war they faced

Rev. John H. DeVore wrote: **“Can you sympathize with us on this side of the Great Columbia?  
Have you one consoling word to utter in our behalf? Our country is laid waste. We hear nothing but  
the clangor of arms and the war-whoop. We lie down at night after bidding each other farewell and  
resign ourselves into the hand of the God of battles, not knowing that we shall even behold the light  
of another day. When we find that we have lived to see the light of another day, oh! how thankful....  
How intolerable this state of suspense!”**

In fact, few of the blockhouses were ever attacked (some of the buildings are still standing)  
but each served as a ready refuge for pioneers in the event of an attack  
Indians attacked the blockhouse at the White River crossing  
after much maneuvering the Indians were defeated

Leschi was reported leading these attacks of violence and cruelty against settlers

## SECOND PORTAGE ROAD ALONG THE COLUMBIA RIVER BEGINS OPERATION

Colonel Joseph S. Ruckel and Harrison Olmstead opened their six miles wagon/pack trail portage along the Oregon side of the Columbia Gorge -- August 15, 1855  
to compete with Bradford and Company's Cascade Railway  
(begun on the Washington side of the Columbia River [1851])  
Both Captain J.O. Van Bergen (a former partner in the dismantled *J.P. Flint*)  
and Captain McFarland from The Dalles bought stock in the portage wagon road

## BRADFORD AND COMPANY IMPROVES THEIR CASCADE RAILWAY

It had become obvious the military needed a better portage at The Cascades  
tons of equipment and supplies were necessary to provide protection to Eastern Washington  
U.S. military was interested in improving the portage around The Cascades  
and in lowering the shipping rates  
a survey of the Columbia's riverbanks was conducted along the Columbia Gorge by the military  
it was determined the north side of the river offered better prospects  
In response to the survey, brothers Daniel F. and Putnam F. Bradford began construction on five miles  
of improvements to their the Cascade Railway around the Columbia Gorge  
between the settlements of Upper and Lower Cascades -- late 1855  
Colonel Joseph S. Ruckel and Harrison Olmstead's Oregon Portage Railroad on the Oregon side  
could do nothing but watch as improvements to their competition were undertaken

## OREGON TERRITORY'S ROGUE RIVER INDIANS BREAK OUT

Rogue River Indians were not a single tribe but rather a combination of many related tribal groups  
vicious little conflicts between Oregon settlers and Indians culminated -- August 1855  
several drunken Indians massacred ten or eleven miners along the Klamath River  
in revenge the miners shot, hanged and threw into prospect holes twenty-five or more Indians  
none were guilty of any hostile action -- the guilty natives had already fled  
Indians struck back, and the war was on  
Oregon Volunteers hurried to the scene of conflict  
in the dark they ambushed an unsuspecting Indian village  
at dawn they discovered that most of the twenty-three victims were old men, women and children  
Outraged, the Indians burned isolated farms and mines through the Rogue districts  
and ambushed wagon trains killing at least sixteen settlers  
Major Gabriel Rains sent soldiers and artillery to subdue the uprising

## YAKIMA INDIAN LAND IS OVERRUN BY GOLD PROSPECTORS

Word of the gold find at Fort Colville passed quickly among the people of the Pacific Northwest  
stories of gold brought excited gold seekers who rushed to the Fort Colville region  
Washington Territory's first real gold rush was on -- late summer 1855  
business on the Pacific coast was slow at the time  
therefore, a considerable number of people took part even at the beginning of the gold rush

hundreds of California prospectors rushed from the south into the Colville area to pick out claims  
gold seekers swarmed across the Rocky Mountains from the East  
Shortest route to the gold fields of Fort Colville was through the Yakima reservation  
excited gold rushers blatantly ignored the closure of Indian lands to pioneers  
increasingly large groups of miners raced to the Colville diggings  
miners, heavily burdened with supplies carried by mules, were known to steal Indian horses  
and to mistreat Yakima Indian women  
Yakimas believed Governor Stevens had promised the tribes would remain undisturbed  
until after treaty was ratified by the United States Senate  
First causality of the increasingly tense situation was prospector Henry Mattice of Olympia  
he had crossed Naches Pass to the gold fields  
Yakima Indians said he raped the young daughter of a chief and he was killed

#### SUB-INDIAN AGENT ANDREW J. BOLON GOES TO INVESTIGATE THE YAKIMA INDIANS

Andrew J. Bolon was a young Irishman with flaming red hair and a quick temper  
known for his honesty he also was fearlessness -- some believed foolhardy  
he lived at The Dalles where he served as Sub-Indian Agent  
Hearing of the death of the prospectors at the hands of Qualchan  
Bolon left home to ride to Ahtanum Creek to ask Yakima Chief Kamiakin  
reasoning that an escort of soldiers would attract rather than prevent resistance,  
Bolon rode alone northward into the Yakima Valley  
Bolon was intercepted by Yakama chief Shumaway  
who warned him that Qualchan was too dangerous to confront  
sub-Indian Agent Andrew Bolon turned back and began the ride home

#### SUB-INDIAN AGENT ANDREW J. BOLON IS KILLED

Andrew Bolon, riding alone through Yakima Country on his return to The Dalles  
when he came upon a group of Yakama Indians traveling south he decided to ride along with them  
one of the members of this group was Mosheel -- Shumaway's son and Kamiakin's nephew  
Although a number of Yakama Indians in the traveling party protested Mosheel decided to kill Bolon  
as Bolon and the Yakamas were eating lunch (fifteen miles from present Goldendale)  
Mosheel and three other Yakamas attacked Bolon with their knives -- September 23, 1855  
they tried to conceal the murder by burning his and his horse's bodies

#### YAKIMA LEADERS ARE CONCERNED ABOUT RETALIATION BY THE MILITARY

Yakima leaders held a council and it was decided that if retaliation for Bolon's killing was demanded  
it would be necessary to give up the murderers to the soldiers  
Shumway was distressed when he heard his own son was responsible for Agent Andrew Bolon's death  
response to the news Shumway sent an ambassador to U.S. Fourth Infantry Commander  
Major Gabriel Rains at Fort Vancouver

#### YAKIMA CHIEF KAMIAKIN DEVELOPS A PLAN OF HIS OWN TO WAGE WAR

Kamiakin's ability as a leader was not appreciated by the military or territorial government leaders

he knew the killing of Special Indian Agent Andrew J. Bolon would lead to immediate war  
Kamiakin prepared by gathering his allies in his own camp and waited for cold weather  
Cascade Mountains would be wrapped in deep snow

Columbia River would be covered with ice and steamboats would be locked up in their ports  
with communication between the Willamette Valley and Puget Sound population cut off  
then would be the time for his warriors to attack the few soldiers and settlers  
east of the Cascade Mountains and wipe them out

#### NEWS OF SUB-INDIAN AGENT ANDREW BOLON'S DEATH REACHES THE DALLES

When Andrew Bolon failed to return to his home at The Dalles,  
Indian Agent Nathan Olney sent a Des Chutes chief among the Yakimas to investigate  
he learned that after leaving Shumaway, Bolon was followed by three young warriors  
Des Chutes chief also learned of continuing Yakima preparations for war  
this information was delivered to Major Granville Haller at Fort Dalles  
(Bolon's charred and mutilated remains was found in a gully in the Simcoe Mountains  
beside the charred body of his horse)

#### POPULATION OF PUGET SOUND PIONEERS IS SPREAD THINLY

Between 4,000 and 5,000 settlers lived in Washington Territory -- most were along Puget Sound  
Olympia was the largest town in Washington and the capital  
there thirty legislators met periodically in the old Masonic Hall  
Steilacoom was located twenty miles north along the rutted Nisqually Road  
both towns intended to be the capital although they were political opposites  
Olympia's *Pioneer and Democrat* newspaper proudly announced its political leanings  
Steilacoom's *Puget Sound Courier* was more subtle with its newspaper banner  
but no less adamant in its political support of the Whig Party  
North of Steilacoom was thirty miles of roadless wilds almost completely unvisited by pioneers  
only a few small Indian villages populated the wilderness  
along the edge of Commencement Bay were a few homesteads (today's Tacoma)  
further north was the village of Seattle with about forty-five homeowners  
who bragged about the handful of other buildings and a sawmill facing Elliott Bay

Across Puget Sound were two other population centers:

- Port Gamble was a handful of houses built around a sawmill surround by logging camps,
- Port Townsend which was similar in same size and makeup

Lack of roads in the wilderness meant each homestead was, in effect, an island unto itself  
visiting a neighbor meant an hour's walk

neighbors living two or three miles distance were considered close  
going to town was a day's journey or more  
visiting the territorial capital in Olympia could take a week or more

#### FEAR INCREASES AMONG THE SETTLERS OF WESTERN WASHINGTON

Yakima Chief Kamiakin's gathering of Indians who supported fighting the white invaders  
was seen as an expansion of the outbreak by Rogue River Indians in Oregon Territory

if the natives living in the Puget Sound region joined the uprising  
the results could become an Indian war of extermination  
On the lonely farms of Puget Sound country families reacted with horror and panic  
to the ambush of Sub-Indian Agent Bolon and the killing of prospectors in Eastern Washington  
Warning cries grew increasingly shrill with each passing day  
from the White River Valley reports came to Fort Steilacoom  
that Leschi was seen drilling his people like soldiers  
territorial officials went to Muckleshoot Prairie to meet with Leschi  
and a fierce-looking Indian named Kanasket -- but nothing came of the talks

#### TERRITORIAL SECRETARY CHARLES H. MASON REQUESTS MILITARY SUPPORT

Acting-Governor Charles Mason requested the aid of Federal troops  
from Fort Vancouver and Fort Steilacoom be sent to punish the Yakima tribe  
in response to the incidents in Eastern and Western Washington  
it was also implied that Washington Territorial Governor was expected to arrive in Spokane County  
sometime in September and under the circumstances a detachment of soldiers  
might be sent to assist him

#### CAPTAIN MAURICE MALONEY IS ORDERED TO FORT STEILACOOM

U.S. Fourth Infantry Commander Major Gabriel Rains at Fort Vancouver  
ordered Irish-born Captain Maurice Maloney to transport forty-one soldiers from Fort Vancouver  
Captain Maloney was to travel to Fort Steilacoom  
there he was to replace Second Lieutenant John Nugen as Commander at the post  
and take command of the troops operating in the Puget Sound Region  
United States Revenue Cutter Captain William C. Pease undertook the assignment  
carrying Captain Maloney and his men aboard the Revenue Cutter *Jefferson Davis*  
north from Fort Vancouver to Fort Steilacoom

#### FORT STEILACOOM WAS A COLLECTION OF UNFORTIFIED BUILDINGS

Fort Steilacoom served as the official home of two U.S. Fourth Infantry companies  
on the muster rolls were listed 152 men but only twenty-five soldiers were present for duty  
Hardly a fort at all, Fort Steilacoom had no stockade around the post and no blockhouse  
it was composed only of frame buildings set beside parade ground  
there were rumors that only 400 rounds of ammunition were on hand at the post  
Fort Steilacoom Acting-Commander Lieutenant John Nugen  
had heard rumors that 250 Indians were coming down the Puyallup River to attack the post

#### SETTLERS BUILT BLOCKHOUSES OF THEIR OWN

Blockhouses and stockades were constructed by settlers during the Indian uprisings 1855-1856  
wherever there were three or more families living in close proximity  
local citizens were urged to build a blockhouse of their own rather than leave the area  
entire cost of the construction effort was defrayed by auctioning animals captured from Indians  
Whidbey Island also was the location of nine pioneer-built blockhouses:

- Fort Nugen was a log fort constructed by settlers west of Oak Harbor [1855]
    - it was named in honor of Fort Steilacoom Commander Lieutenant John Nugen
      - (although the exact location is unknown today by was in the vicinity of Fort Nugen Park)
  - Alexander's Blockhouse was a two-story building constructed by settlers in Coupeville [1855]
    - it was surrounded by a ten foot high double log stockade with sharpened ends.
      - (it has been moved from the John Alexander property to Coupeville and restored
        - it now stands next to the Island County Historical Museum)
  - John Crockett's two blockhouses were located on the farm belonging to him [1855]
    - several hundred yards north of Crockett's Lake on Whidbey Island
      - both buildings were connected by a log stockade
        - (this site was located near Terry Road and Fort Casey Road near Fort Casey)
        - (one blockhouse that is still located on the old farm property was restored
          - by employees of the WPA (Works Progress Administration [1938]
            - and is open to the public)
        - (other blockhouse was sold to Ezra Meeker and moved to Seattle
          - for the [1909] Alaska-Yukon Pacific Exposition
            - it was later moved to Point Defiance Park in Tacoma but no longer exists
  - Ebey Blockhouse was one of four blockhouses connected by a twelve foot stockade
    - built by Jacob Ebey overlooking his farm on Whidbey Island [1855]
      - Ebey Blockhouse is not to be confused with Fort Ebey on the Snohomish River
  - Davis Blockhouse was built by settlers on James Davis' Whidbey Island claim near Coupeville
    - by the three Davis brothers response to the murder of Isaac Ebey by hostile Indians [1857]
      - (this building was restored and became known as the Cook Blockhouse)
- Thurston County had the largest population of settlers and the most blockhouses built by pioneers:
- Fort Eaton (not be to confused with Eaton Blockhouse on Yelm Prairie)
    - was a small civilian outpost built by settlers of Chamber's Prairie on Nathan Eaton's land claim
      - it had an unusual in design with sixteen log houses in a square facing inward [1855]
        - (today a marker is located near the site on the Yelm Highway just east of Meridian Road);
  - Chambers Blockhouse was built by settlers on Andrew Chambers' land claim [1855]
    - (in Lacy, Washington at today's present 6909 Rainier Road
      - location of this blockhouse is marked by a Daughters of the Revolution plaque)
        - (this structure also was known as Andrew Chambers Blockhouse and Fort Chambers);
  - Fort Henness was constructed by local settlers on Grand Mound Prairie
    - it was composed of the Goodell family stockade, two blockhouses, a school
      - and huts to shelter the locals
        - it was reportedly occupied for sixteen months by thirty families -- 224 people
      - it was named in honor of Captain Benjamin Lee Henness, Washington Territory Volunteers,
        - who had a nearby land claim
          - (today a monument at 183<sup>rd</sup> and Apricot Road, Grand Mound, has a fort diagram and history)
  - Rutledge's Blockhouse was constructed by William Rutledge and Jesse Ferguson Jesse [1855]
    - on land between their two land claims (in today's Tumwater one-quarter mile south
      - of Tumwater Middle School)
        - it never became necessary to settlers to use this defensive structure

- Stockade at George Washington Bush's land on Bush Prairie enclosed about an acre of land (this stockade was sometimes referred to as the second blockhouse in today's Tumwater)
- Blockhouse at Dofflemyer Point was constructed by the Dofflemyer family [1855] at the eastern entrance to Budd Inlet at Boston Harbor

King County's population was centered in Seattle where two blockhouses were constructed by settlers:

- Fort Duwamish was a two-story blockhouse built of small unpeeled logs by Seattle settlers [1855] it was located (in today's Georgetown district at Corson Avenue South and South Shelton) where a palisade stretched across the peninsula  
Fort Duwamish protected the residence of Seattle during the siege
- Fort Decatur was constructed by Seattle settlers and U.S. Marines from the USS *Decatur* who built two blockhouses after the Battle of Seattle [1856]  
one at the northern end of Elloitt Bay (at today's 1<sup>st</sup> Avenue and Cherry Street)  
another at the southern end of Elliott Bay (at today's Main Street)  
both blockhouses held a cannon and were protected by a palisade that ran from the northern to the southern blockhouse

Fort Decatur was also known as the Seattle Blockhouse

(a marker at 3<sup>rd</sup> Avenue and Jefferson Street, Seattle, tells the story)

Kitsap County had one settler-built blockhouse and a settler-owned stockade:

- Teekalet Blockhouse (also known as the Port Gamble) was two-story octagonal log building constructed as a defense against marauding Haida and Kwakiutl Indians [1853] by Captain William C. Talbot's employees of the Puget Mill Company at Teekalet (today's Port Gamble)

Cowlitz County also was the location of one pioneer constructed blockhouse:

- Fort Arkansas was a blockhouse built beside the Cowlitz River by local settlers at the southeast end of Arkansas Valley (near today's Castle Rock) [1855]
- Cochran's stockade was located at the farm of James and Anna Cochran along the Skookumchuck River

Jefferson County had two settler-built blockhouses:

- Fort Mason blockhouse was built by settlers on Point Wilson on Point Wilson in Jefferson County (at a location within today's Fort Worden State Park, it is not to be confused with Fort Madison located in the Walla Walla Valley)
- Fort Townsend was a blockhouse established to protect local settlers  
Fort Townsend was first established as a blockhouse about two miles south of Port Townsend for the protection of settlers [1855]  
(Fort Townsend will later be expanded by the U.S. Army into a post [1856]  
Old Fort Townsend State Park, Jefferson County marks the location of the Army post but much remains except the grounds and a flagpole)

Four additional blockhouses have been indicated as being built by settlers

but their locations remain unknown:

Mime Prairie, Port Ludlow, Meigs' Mill, Boisford Prairie and the Lewis River

## OREGON MILITIA BUILDS THREE BLOCKHOUSES IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Fort Bennett was a temporary stockade built by Oregon Mounted Volunteers

about six miles from today's Walla Walla, Washington  
named for Captain Charles Bennett who was killed in the Battle of Frenchtown  
it was soon moved to a location about two miles above Waiilatpu Mission  
Fort Borst was a blockhouse built by Captain Francis Goff and five Oregon Militiamen  
on land belonging to Joseph Borst  
to protect the Chehalis River crossing near the mouth of the Skookumchuck River  
and for storage of supplies needed by troops  
(Jeremiah Borst used the abandoned blockhouse as his home in [1858]  
it was moved [1922] to Fort Borst Park in Centralia and restored)  
Fort Mason in Walla Walla County was the location of a temporary blockhouse  
built by Oregon Territory militiamen somewhere in the Walla Walla Valley  
near a little tributary of Mill Creek about seven miles from Dr. Marcus Whitman's sawmill  
and twenty-three miles from Fort Walla Walla [1855]  
(this post is not to be confused with the Fort Mason built at Port Townsend in Jefferson County)

#### CAPTAIN MAURICE MALONEY AND HIS COMMAND ARRIVE AT FORT STEILACOOM

Revenue Cutter *Jefferson Davis* delivered Captain Maloney with forty-one U.S. Fourth Infantrymen  
from Fort Vancouver to Fort Steilacoom  
this did a great deal to relieve the feelings of isolation around Puget Sound  
Captain Maloney replaced Lieutenant John Nugen as the officer in charge of Fort Steilacoom  
Revenue Cutter Captain William C. Pease and his officers  
became honored guests of the army at Fort Steilacoom  
off-duty crewmen received liberty to visit the fort and the small town of Steilacoom

#### MAJOR GABRIEL RAINS DEPLOYS HIS FORCES

U.S. Commander of the Pacific Military District Major Gabriel J. Rains at Fort Vancouver  
ordered a demonstration in force to intimidate the Yakimas:

- Major Granville O. Haller led eighty-four men of the U.S. Fourth Infantry Company B and  
with a howitzer from Fort Dalles into Yakima Country;
- Lieutenant Day leading fifty-five men of the U.S. Third Artillery on patrol in Eastern Oregon  
had recently arrived at The Dalles  
Day and troops were to remain at Fort Dalles in reserve
- Lieutenant William Slaughter was to lead forty soldiers of Company C of the U.S. Fourth Infantry  
from Fort Steilacoom into Yakima Country to support Major Granville Haller's effort

#### LIEUTENANT WILLIAM SLAUGHTER IS ASSIGNED TO PUNISH THE YAKIMA INDIANS

Lieutenant William Alloway Slaughter was to lead the forty men of Company C  
of the U.S. Fourth Infantry out of Fort Steilacoom and across the Cascade Mountains  
to join Major Granville O. Haller in his advance on the Yakima Indians  
Twenty-eight year old Lieutenant Slaughter was anxious for the assignment  
as the young career officer he wanted an opportunity to prove his worth  
to an army notoriously slow in offering promotions

## LIEUTENANT WILLIAM A. SLAUGHTER MARCHES TO SUPPORT MAJOR HALLER

Lieutenant William Slaughter with forty men of Company C of the U.S. Fourth Infantry marched from Camp Connell to cross the Cascade Mountains at Naches Pass in support of Major Granville Haller's advance on the Yakima Indians -- September 27, 1855  
Because of delays in sending Major Granville Haller's troops from Fort Dalles Lieutenant Slaughter remained in camp along the White River

## INCIDENT IN THE WHITE RIVER VALLEY

A.L. Porter, a young settler, was concerned with the recent arrival of an increasing number of Indians he took the precaution of sleeping in the woods away from his White River cabin at night one night he heard a disturbance outside his cabin and realized he was surrounded by Indians who were calling his name -- night September 27, 1855  
Creeping, boots in hand, as quietly as possible to investigate he was soon discovered he fired one shot, dropped his gun, boots, and hat in a panic and fled for his life through a swamp Porter somehow made his way to the home of his nearest neighbors  
Dominick Corcoran and James Riley  
he was badly slashed and bloodied by the thick brambles, his clothes were in shreds  
Porter, Corcoran and Riley rode twelve miles on horseback to William and Elizabeth Brannan's homestead on the lower White River and convinced them to join in the escape to Seattle by canoe  
On the way to Seattle they alerted other White River families  
most of the farmers who had settled in the region made a frantic flight to Seattle's blockhouse

## ACTING-GOVERNOR CHARLES MASON REACTS TO THE WHITE RIVER VALLEY INCIDENT

Acting-Governor Mason undertook a tour of the White River Valley -- September 30, 1855  
he was accompanied by a squad of U.S. Fourth Infantry soldiers from Fort Steilacoom to investigate allegations raised by the young homesteader A.L. Porter  
On the inspection tour neither the Acting-Governor nor the military contingent saw any sign of hostile Indians or further evidence of their presence  
they concluded there was nothing to worry about  
Acting-Governor Mason and the military squad marched on to Seattle  
there they announced they could find no cause for alarm  
they believed hysteria had gripped the pioneers  
Mason told the settlers to return home to their farms -- most did  
Mason returned to Olympia and the U.S. Fourth Infantry soldiers to Fort Steilacoom

## FORT CASCADES IS COMPLETED AT THE MIDDLE CASCADES PORTAGE ROUTE

It took five weeks to construct the Fort Cascades (also known as the "Lower Blockhouse") on Hamilton Island in the Middle Cascades  
construction of the blockhouse and military portage road was completed -- September 30, 1855  
Fort Cascades was enclosed by a fence measuring 590 feet on the north side and by 338 feet of fence on the west  
south and east sides were bordered by the Columbia River

structures in the compound included the commanding officer's quarters, officers' quarters, commissary storehouse, company kitchen, bakery and guard house  
When Fort Cascades was completed Sergeant Matthew Kelley and eight privates from U.S. Fourth Infantry Company H were dispatched to occupy the small blockhouse (Slightly upstream the town of Lower Cascades grew around the fort)

#### MAJOR GRANVILLE O. HALLER TAKES UP THE MARCH ON THE YAKIMA INDIANS

Major Granville Haller led a column of eighty-four men of the U.S. Fourth Infantry Company B  
Haller had with him a mountain howitzer placed in the charge of Lieutenant  
Major Haller hoped to make a show of force against the hostile natives  
he felt this troops and the mountain howitzer he brought with him would awe the Indians  
he would reestablish peace in the Yakima Valley before the onset of winter  
and would punish the murders of Agent Bolon  
Major Haller traveled across the Columbia River in (winter) weather -- October 3, 1855  
his route north of the Columbia River lay over a gradual elevation for ten miles  
to the summit of the bald range of hills beyond which was the Klickitat Valley  
this was crossed before the timbered range of the Simcoe Mountains were entered  
about sixty miles from Fort Dalles was the Simcoe Valley  
home of Kamiakin and the Ahanahm Mission -- their objective

#### KAMIAKIN LEARNS OF THE APPROACH OF THE SOLDIERS

Yakima Chief Kamiakin while in camp was approached by a messenger from Qualchan  
who informed him soldiers from Fort Dalles were seen that morning  
crossing the Columbia River and marching toward Yakima Country -- evening October 3, 1855  
Kamiakin, through spies, was kept informed of every step of Haller's advance  
fires were lit on the highest peaks to signal Indians to gather and post scouts at strategic points

#### INDIANS FACE A SEVERE SHORTAGE OF WEAPONS

Only a few of the wealthiest Indians were armed with modern rifles or handguns  
standard weapon for Indian use was a smoothbore musket manufactured by Parker, Field & Co.  
produced in England they were intended to be sold in British India  
but proved to be unpopular there  
Hudson's Bay Company then sold the muskets in North America  
firearm's two ounce lead ball was virtually impossible to hand-cast perfectly round  
musket had a huge trigger guard suited for a gloved hand during cold northern winters  
side of the weapon displayed a flamboyant brass plate in the shape of a dragon  
which was greatly admired by Indians  
if the musket was discharged strait into the air  
the musket ball would travel upward about 300 yards before returning to earth  
however, the weapon's effective range was about fifty yards  
(the distance a target could reasonably be expected to be hit)  
muskets were plentiful and enough powder and shot were available to keep them in use  
there was scarcely any report of an Indian resorting to bow and arrow

Guns carried by the whites were often no better than the Indians' muskets  
but gunsmiths to repair them were available and they had easier access to better weapons

#### MORMONS ALSO ARM THE NATIVES

Native unrest was enflamed by the arrival of a Bannock Indian into Eastern Washington  
sent by the Fort Lemhi Mormons to arm the Indian tribes  
many guns and powder balls later found among the Walla Walla and Cayuse warriors  
had Mormon brands on them

#### NATIVES DID HAVE ONE GREAT ADVANTAGE

Living and hunting in their homeland for generation after generation, Indians knew the lay of the land  
every hill and stream between Puget Sound and the Cascade Mountains was known to them  
while there were regions in Washington Territory no pioneers had ever seen  
Roads, which were poorly maintained, existed in a few locations  
these had to be used to move soldiers and equipment into the field  
however, identifying the location of the enemy was almost impossible until fighting started  
and the Indians never chose to fight on a road

#### YAKIMA CHIEF KAMIAKIN MAKES FINAL PREPARATIONS FOR BATTLE

Kamiakin moved his camp to where he could better accommodate the three hundred painted warriors  
of the Yakima, Columbia, Sinkiuses, Walla Walla, Cayuse, Palouse, Chelan, and Spokane tribes  
who soon assembled to defend Indian land against military invasion  
Warriors moved to the rough country along Toppenish Creek (near the present site of Fort Simcoe)  
where preparations were completed to face the slowly moving soldiers

#### BATTLE OF TOPPENISH CREEK OPENS THE YAKIMA WAR

No Indians were seen until the third day on the march -- Saturday October 6, 1855  
Major Granville Haller's U.S. Fourth Infantry Company B worked their way  
through dense thickets of underbrush and small trees down a long hill toward Toppenish Creek  
Yakima Chief Kamiakin and Palouse Indians Chief Owhilay led 300 to 500 Indians  
who laid concealed in the thick undergrowth, ravines and rock  
While an army advance party approached near where the creek crossed the trail  
gunfire erupted -- 3:00 Saturday afternoon  
advance guard was drawn in, the rear guard closed up, and the battle commenced  
loss at that point was one soldier killed and seven wounded  
War parties of Indians had been constantly arriving considerably increasing their numbers  
also large numbers of Indians spectators had gathered to watch the Battle of Toppenish Creek  
this led Major Haller to believe he was fighting a force of almost a thousand warriors  
Indians lacked any real chain of command -- each warrior fought independently  
in the pitched engagement the soldiers had some success  
Captain Russell and his Fourth Infantry soldiers descended the hill  
they advanced along the warrior's right flank -- unperceived they reached the enemy's rear  
when Russell and his troops began a vigorous charge the warriors fled

after fighting for some time, Major Haller drove the warriors at bayonet point  
until the soldiers possessed the heights above the creek  
Battle of Toppenish Creek continued until nightfall when the Indians stopped to eat and sleep  
Major Haller made camp where they fighting had stopped  
without concern for water and grass for the animals  
Indians could be heard only a short distance away  
Haller's scouts informed him they were preparing for an attack  
It was quite dark before Haller's eight casualties could be moved  
throughout the night the Fourth Infantry lay on the ground and kept their weapons close at hand

#### LIEUTENANT WILLIAM SLAUGHTER MARCHES TO MEET MAJOR HALLER

Lieutenant William Slaughter led his forty men of the U.S. Fourth Infantry Company C  
out of his White River camp and crossed Naches Pass -- October 6, 1855  
Unaware of Major Granville Haller's battle with the Chief Kamiakin and his warriors,  
Lieutenant William Slaughter intended to make contact with Major Haller's forces  
together they would punish the Yakima Indians for their hostilities  
Slaughter's command crossed the summit of the Cascades  
and marched toward to the northern edge of Yakima Country

#### BATTLE OF TOPPENISH CREEK CONTINUES

As dawn broke, Major Haller found his camp was completely surrounded by Kamiakin's warriors  
fighting resumed with a vengeance -- Sunday morning October 7, 1855  
here the fight remained all day  
troops maintained their position by repeated bayonet charges which kept Indian skirmishers at bay  
During the day Kamiakin was reinforced by accessions of bands  
all day long squads of mounted Indians were seen approaching and joining the war party  
Father Charles Pandosy from St. Joseph Catholic Mission on Ahtanum Creek  
was being held by the Indians seemingly as an interpreter but in reality as a prisoner  
he considered the small force of soldiers in imminent danger  
he sent Cheruscan, a Christian Indian, to Haller's camp with a letter and a white flag  
to inform Haller of the peril and the only terms the chiefs would consider for peace  
In fact, the Indians' position was not as strong as it appeared  
warriors did not have weapons or ammunition sufficient to arm a sizeable force,  
they fought in small detachments, at different times and at different points,  
making their assaults less formidable than if delivered simultaneously  
whenever one warrior got tired, he would fall back and turn over his weapon to another  
who would try his skill at crawling forward until he was within certain aim  
Toward noon the Indians began growing weary of the fight  
Kamiakin sent his swiftest rider to Qualchan asking for immediate reinforcements  
Kamiakin could be heard above the noise of battle encouraging his men  
and promising that Qualchan would be there soon with reinforcements  
Major Granville Haller's soldiers forced the Indians across Toppenish Creek to the north side  
Kamiakin's voice was no longer shouting encouragement and battle instructions

## KAMIAKIN RECEIVE REINFORCEMENTS

In fact, Yakima Chief Qualchan was already riding to the battle scene leading 200 Indian reinforcements from the Selah Valley he met Kamiakin's messenger (at today's Union Gap) Qualchan's march became a race soldiers could see a large dust cloud in the distance as rapidly approaching warriors raised the spirits of the warriors already in combat Qualchan, riding past Kamiakin, led his own forces into battle and warriors' spirits revived fighting erupted anew along Toppenish Creek which continued until nightfall -- October 7, Soldiers were driven back as they retreated up a hill leaving most of their mules and provisions behind Major Haller's troops were now surrounded and deprived of food and water Indians, fearing the food they had captured was poisoned burned it Attacking braves, although successful, suffered from exhaustion and lacked ample firepower as night arrived, the Indians felt confident the battle would end the next day pleased with their success they left the brush at the bank of Toppenish Creek to cross safely back to the other side to sleep

## MAJOR GRANVILLE O. HALLER DECIDES TO RETREAT TO FORT DALLES

It was not until after dark that a messenger could be dispatched to Major Rains at Fort Vancouver informing him of the situation so reinforcements could be sent -- night October 7, 1855 Cut off from grass and water, it was necessary for Major Haller to break out of his present camp Haller's troops moved back down to the Toppenish Creek for water Not finding any Indians, Haller decided to return to Fort Dalles with his wounded by a night march cavalry horses and pack-animals suffering from lack of pasture and water were released to forage only enough animals were kept to carry the wounded and ammunition up to now Haller's losses had been two soldiers killed and thirteen wounded Haller was obliged to spike and bury the mountain howitzer baggage and provisions that could not be transported were burned

## MAJOR GRANVILLE O. HALLER CONDUCTS A RETREAT TO FORT DALLES

Haller's U.S. Fourth Infantry Company B was organized in two divisions Major Haller led the advance group to take care of the wounded and look after the remaining pack animals rear party was under Captain Russell to act as guard to protect the retreat That night was unusually dark during the early hours of Monday October 8, 1855 even the trailing horses and mules left on their own could not be seen Cutmouth John, a Wascopam Indian who assisted Major Haller as a guide, had to get off his horse and feel the ground for the trail Captain Russell's rear guard completely lost the trail when the mistake was discovered a guide of their own was sent to find the proper route Meanwhile, Haller's detachment halted to rest in a small grove of trees on the side of a steep hill there they stopped to prepare their dinner

Haller ordered fires to be lighted in some fir trees as a to signal to Captain Russell's rear guard  
Indians also understood the significance of the signal fires  
about 250 warriors were selected to pursue Major Haller  
fortunately for the army the war party did not expect the soldiers to be in motion  
until after daybreak because a large herd of horses and mules were seen leisurely grazing  
preparations for the next day were slowly undertaken by the warriors

#### MAJOR GRANVILLE HALLER CONTINUES HIS RETREAT

Daylight came to Major Haller's men camped in the trees -- but no rear guard could be seen  
in fact, Captain Russell's rear guard, hurrying on the wrong trail to catch up with Haller's column,  
had advanced a long distance toward Fort Dalles in the dark night  
they were now beyond the reach of the Indians -- ahead of Haller's troops  
Indians swarmed around Haller's camp as firing erupted -- Monday October 8, 1855  
fight resumed for the third day  
Haller's retreat to Fort Dalles continued into the Klickitat Valley  
where the U.S. Fourth Infantry was harassed for ten miles by 250 pursuing warriors  
Indians with superior forces and better horses continually harassed the army

#### LIEUTENANT SLAUGHTER IS STOPPED FROM ASSISTING MAJOR HALLER

Yakima Chief Qualchan had supported Yakima Chief Kamiakin  
in his efforts against Major Haller's U.S. Fourth Infantry  
with Major Haller in retreat, Chief Qualchan led his own band of warriors to Naches Pass  
Teias, Qualchan's uncle, traveled in advance of the main party with thirty scouts -- October 8, 1855  
he discovered a lone man coming through the pass and the Indians quickly surrounded him  
Teias recognized him as the former sheep herder at Fort Nisqually John Edgar  
Edgar was married to Teias' Nisqually-Yakima niece, Betsy, and they had several children  
Betsy's father was a minor Nisqually-Yakima war leader  
John Edgar was a husky, hard-drinking Englishman who seemed to enjoy living life on the edge  
for example, during this campaign some of the men purchased red ribbons to wear on their hats  
it was hoped the Indians would think they were Hudson's Bay men and not shoot them  
Edgar, who had more right to wear such a ribbon than anyone else there, would not hear of it  
after Edgar quit as a shepherd for Puget Sound Agricultural Company  
he became American citizen and established the first claim near the Bald Hills on Yelm Prairie  
Edgar had gone to crossed Naches Pass with the notion  
that he might be able to find his wife's father to persuade him to surrender  
John Edgar told Teias he was coming to warn his wife's relations of the approaching soldiers  
Teias told Edgar of Major Gabriel Haller's defeat and advised him to turn back  
Teias chose to let Edgar ride away -- Private Edgar was, in fact, a scout for Lieutenant Slaughter

#### LIEUTENANT WILLIAM SLAUGHTER MARCHES BACK ACROSS THE CASCADE MOUNTAINS

Private John Edgar raced back to the troops to inform Lieutenant Slaughter of the bad news  
that Major Haller had been defeated in the Klickitat Valley and retreated toward Fort Dalles  
and even worse news that perhaps 2,000 Yakimas were ahead and were aware of his arrival

Slaughter's orders were to enter Yakima Country -- but he knew the situation better than Major Rains if he proceeded he would march into apparent annihilation -- his force was not strong enough if he waited for reinforcements his food would run short and snow would cut off his retreat snowfall would also elevate the level of the Naches River and cut off communications Lieutenant Slaughter prudently fell back through Naches Pass to the west side of the Cascades where he camped on the White River Prairie -- October 8, 1855

#### MAJOR GRANVILLE O. HALLER CONDUCTS A RUNNING SKIRMISH

Haller's U.S. Fourth Infantry Company B soldiers encountered additional Yakima warriors about sixty miles from Fort Dalles -- Monday October 8, 1855 troops became involved in another running skirmish which lasted over twenty-five miles across the Simcoe Mountains during the battle several soldiers were killed and many were wounded, Haller's entire command and his animals were in bad shape as they suffered greatly from thirst and lack of food

Soldiers found a tongue of woods surrounded by open prairie, where the command halted there Major Haller's soldiers cleaned their weapons and prepared for a fight while some their own men served as a small rear guard to hold the Indians at bay All day long Haller's U.S. Fourth Infantry made a stand Indians tried to burn the prairie grass but counter fires set by soldiers defeated them next warriors set the dry fir tree needles lying on the ground on fire -- but this did no harm Toward evening, Haller's rear guard, now strongly reinforced, made a rush in this charge Sergeant Mulholland and a private from Haller's company were killed Indians at the front were driven off -- never to return With the coming of darkness the remaining Indians also withdrew -- October 8 Major Haller continued his retreat traveling through the night

#### MAJOR GRANVILLE O. HALLER CONTINUES HIS RETREAT TO FORT DALLES

Haller and his men reached the Simcoe Mountains before daybreak -- Tuesday October 9, 1855 however, the Indians inflicted some casualties during the retreat through mountains Cut Mouth John, a Wascopam Indian, was sent to Fort Dalles with a request for reinforcements to aid Major Haller As the retreat to Fort Dalles continued Haller's troops once again faced superior Indian forces once again a running fight ensued -- Tuesday morning, October 9, 1855 Major Haller reached a location within twenty-five miles of Fort Dalles

#### REINFORCEMENTS ARRIVE TO ASSIST MAJOR GRANVILLE HALLER

Lieutenant Day led fifty-five men of the U.S. Third Artillery from Fort Dalles he met Major Haller and his retreating U.S. Fourth Infantry Company B -- October 9, 1855 with Haller's men in retreat, Lieutenant Day proceeded to the border of the Yakima Country but this was merely a show of activity on the part of the army

#### MAJOR GRANVILLE O. HALLER ARRIVES AT FORT DALLES

Major Haller continued his retreat to Fort Dalles which was finally reached -- October 9, 1855  
Haller's men suffered a total of five dead and seventeen wounded  
a great deal of government property had been abandoned, destroyed and captured  
he was forced to abandon his a twelve-pound mountain howitzer in the hurried retreat  
natives also captured a herd of cattle from the military  
Chief Kamiakin's warriors had suffered two killed, four wounded and one was captured  
Captain Russell's rear guard, which had taken another trail, arrived at Fort Dalles without incident

#### RESULT OF THE BATTLE OF TOPPENISH CREEK

Major Granville O. Haller called on his commanding officer, Major Gabriel Rains,  
for a thousand soldiers  
reports sent by Major Haller from Fort Dalles made little if any impression  
on Major Rains at Fort Vancouver  
(Battle of Toppenish Creek later also became known as the "First Yakima War" and "Haller's Defeat")

#### MAJOR GABRIEL RAINS REQUESTS CIVILIAN HELP

United States Commander of the Pacific Military District Major Gabriel J. Rains,  
although he was United States Commander of the Pacific Military District,  
had only 350 federal troops under his immediate command  
Major Rains at Fort Vancouver received Major Granville Haller's request  
for reinforcements at Fort Dalles -- October 9, 1855

Major Rains urgently appealed to Acting-Governor Charles Mason for military aid noting: **"...all the disposable force in the district will at once take the field, and I have the honor to make a requisition upon you for two companies of volunteers to take the field the earliest possible moment. The composition of these companies to be as follows: One Captain, one First Lieutenant and one Second Lieutenant, two musicians, four Sergeants, four Corporals and seventy four privates. The greatest exertions should be made to raise and equip these companies at once."**<sup>125</sup>

Major Rains also addressed Oregon Territory Governor George L. Curry  
requesting four companies of volunteers  
four companies of militia warranted the appointment of a Major  
an officer of that rank was authorized by Rains  
Rains also noted arms at Fort Vancouver were available for only two companies  
thus volunteers should arrive armed with rifles or any weapons available  
ammunition was plentiful, however

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY WAS IN A CRITICAL SITUATION

Washington Acting-Governor Charles Mason received a dispatch -- October 9, 1855  
that indicated the Palouse Indians had joined the Yakimas  
and the Walla Walla and Cayuse were likely to do so soon  
Yakimas, Kitsaps, Klickatats and some Nisqually Indians under Chief Leschi had banded together

---

<sup>125</sup> *THE OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE WASHINGTON NATIONAL GUARD VOLUME 2 WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL MILITIA IN THE INDIAN WARS OF 1855-56*, Washington Department of Military Affairs. P. 2.

to form war parties for the purpose of driving the settlers away from the Puget Sound region  
Mason was convinced the Indians were determined to fight a real war  
an active enemy of hostile Indians was in the field  
it was not known, nor could it be determined, how deeply their dissatisfaction ran

#### U.S. ARMY BUILDS A BLOCKHOUSE ON THE TRAIL FROM FORT DALLES TO YAKIMA LAND

Supervision of construction of a blockhouse was undertaken by Lieutenant Day of the Third Artillery  
location he selected was on the trail from Fort Dalles close to a large spring -- October 10, 1855  
two miles from the foothills of the Simcoe Mountains  
(about eight miles west of where the town of Goldendale now stands)  
timber was cut from the yellow pine trees of the Simcoes  
This blockhouse was a two story structure with room to hold about 100 people  
it was surrounded by a stockade made of timbers set in the ground  
with the timbers sharpened on the upper ends  
government horses were retained inside the stockade  
so that Indians could not stampede them  
upper floor of the blockhouse held a mountain howitzer

#### REGULAR U.S. ARMY TROOPS CONSTRUCT ANOTHER BLOCKHOUSE

In addition to Fort Cascades or "Lower Blockhouse" at the Lower Cascades portage (August)  
construction of Fort Rains was begun by Lieutenant Day, U.S. Third Artillery  
on Sheridan's Point along the Washington side of the Columbia River  
2½ miles above Fort Cascades (west of today's Bridge of the Gods)  
to protect the portage road around the Middle Cascades Rapids -- October 1855  
logs for the construction project were obtained from the nearby northern hills

#### APPREHENSIONS ELEVATE IN WESTERN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Native American residents throughout Washington Territory were distraught  
with the demands and limitations of new treaties that had been forced upon them  
by territorial authorities on behalf of the United States government  
Most of the treaties were still unratified by the United States Senate  
but settlers kept streaming into the region  
they claimed and developed vast areas of land as their own  
blatantly disregarding the Indians whose ancestors had inhabited the region  
for generations going back thousands of years

#### YAKIMA CHIEF KAMIAKIAN HAS FRIENDS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE CASCADE MOUNTAINS

Chief Kamiakin was adept at sending many emissaries to incite other tribes  
and threaten them with threats of reprisals to be taken on them  
if they did not cooperate with his attacks on settlers  
Leschi, whose mother was a Yakima Indian, was a willing follower of the Yakima War Chief

#### ROGUE RIVER INDIANS WARS BREAK OUT IN OREGON TERRITORY

Once again the Rogue River Indians became hostile -- October 1855  
they had displayed their prowess previously  
in a brief campaigns [September 12-15, 1854 and August 1855]  
this time they staged their outbreak along the Rogue River  
Settlers constructed military defenses for their protection  
Fort Yamhill was a blockhouse was built by settlers  
but upgraded to a fort by Lieutenant Philip Sheridan who was placed in command  
Much policing of the territory remained to be done  
Rogue River area was full of Indians who had strayed off the reservation  
it was necessary to round them up  
soldiers of the U.S. Fourth Infantry once again appeared and many clashes occurred  
killings were frequent as were reprisals -- both took innocent lives  
these often began when peaceful Indians were mistaken for renegades  
after several skirmishes in which settlers participated, peace was finally restored

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY SETTLERS BECOME EVEN MORE CONCERNED

News of Major Granville Haller's defeat at the Battle of Toppenish Creek  
and the ineffectiveness of Lieutenant William Slaughter's expedition across Naches Pass  
raised a storm of civilian and military reaction -- October 12, 1855  
People living in Seattle and other locations were alarmed enough to begin work on a blockhouse

#### OREGON TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR ORGANIZES A MILITIA

Oregon Governor George L. Curry issued a call for four companies of volunteers from Oregon  
one of the governor's messengers galloped toward southern Oregon  
to seek enlistments among the miners along the California border  
he encountered an agitated messenger bound northward to ask for help from Salem  
as Rogue Indians and their neighbors had broken loose again  
Oregon volunteers reported for militia duty -- October 13, 1855  
they were to be sworn into duty by U.S. Army Major Gabriel Rains  
they were to cooperate with Major Rains and his U.S. Fourth Infantry  
but they were to remember Oregon Governor Curry was their commander-in-chief  
Oregon Territory law militiamen were subject to the governor's orders  
Major Rains objected to this interpretation of the law  
Rains demand to have all militia report directly to him  
this was ignored by the Oregon civil and volunteer authorities  
Oregon militia was composed of 763 men, rank and file -- and continued to increase  
Major Gabriel Rains refused to supply arms to the militia  
he had called for only four companies of volunteers from Oregon Territory  
Governor Curry consulted with Colonel James Nesmith, Oregon Militia commanding officer,

modified orders were sent to Captain A.V. Wilson: **“You will bear distinctly in mind that your command you will not suffer [allow] to be mustered into the service of the United States.”**<sup>126</sup>

#### OREGON MILITIA RANK OF MILITIA OFFICERS ADDED TO THE CONFUSION

U.S. Army Major Gabriel J. Rains commanded the regular army troops in the Pacific Northwest however, Oregon Militia leaders were issues ranks that were higher than Major Rains Militia Colonel James W. Nesmith commanded the Oregon Volunteers William H. Farrar, was named Adjutant (Colonel Nesmith’s assistant) James K. Kelly was a Militia Lieutenant-Colonel (a rank higher than Major); A.N. Armstrong and Mark A. Chinn served as Militia Majors; Robert R. Thompson served as Militia Quartermaster W.H. Fauntleroy, was appointed Assistant Quartermaster (to Robert Thompson) and Shubrick Norrison and John F. Miller were Militia Commissaries (representatives) Oregon volunteers elected A.V. Wilson captain before they reported to Fort Vancouver shaggy-haired, square-shouldered Robert Thompson owned a Donation Land Claim at The Dalles he served as Indian Agent there and secured a federal contract for a freight service operation

#### LIEUTENANT WILLIAM SLAUGHTER MAKES CAMP IN THE WHITE RIVER VALLEY

After a march from Naches Pass, Slaughter reached the White River Valley with his forty men of the U.S. Fourth Infantry Company C -- mid-October 1855 Camp Connell was established on the White River Prairie to intercept any Eastern Washington warriors attempting an invasion thus providing some protection to the settlers along Puget Sound Lieutenant Slaughter’s unexpected reappearance was a concern to the Puget Sound Indians indeed, a potential general uprising dwindled off into sporadic hit-and-run Indian clashes

#### ACTING-GOVERNOR CHARLES MASON INVESTIGATES PIONEERS’ CONCERNS

Settlers living along the White River (Pierce County) were particularly concerned that Yakima Indians might cross Naches Pass join with local Indians in a campaign of terror Acting-Governor Mason had heard concerns from settlers along the White River (Pierce County) he decided to assess the situation there for himself he set out from Olympia with a contingent of soldiers Mason spoke with several Indian leaders in the upper White River region he concluded that it was all a mistake and there was nothing to be alarmed about he continued on to Seattle where he delivered that message to residents White River pioneers filtered back to their claims -- mid-October

#### GENERAL JOHN E. WOOL RESPONDS TO MAJOR HALLER’S FAILED MILITARY EFFORT

General Wool at his Benicia, California headquarters dispatched seventy soldiers to Fort Vancouver

---

<sup>126</sup> *History of Pacific Northwest - Oregon and Washington*. Compiled and Published by the North Pacific History Company, P. 537.

to bolster the military presence in Washington Territory and Oregon Territory  
additional reinforcements were not available as the whole west coast had less than 1200 soldiers  
only about 300 of these were in Washington and Oregon territories  
General Wool also asked the War Department in Washington City for a regiment of soldiers  
to be sent as quickly as possible from the east coast  
meanwhile, sporadic Indian attacks continued in both Washington and Oregon territories

#### ACTING-GOVERNOR CHARLES MASON ISSUES A CALL FOR WASHINGTON VOLUNTEERS

Lack of success by Major Granville Haller during his campaign against the Yakima Indians  
greatly elevated concerns for Washington Territory Acting-Governor Charles H. Mason  
it was obvious that civilian help would be necessary to stop the Indians  
of Eastern and Western Washington from uniting and conducting a general uprising  
Acting-Governor Mason issued a call for two companies of militia volunteers -- October 14, 1855  
Indian Agent Benjamin F. Shaw was authorized to gather recruits in Olympia and Clarke County  
to form two companies of volunteer militia  
one to report to Fort Steilacoom: Company A  
another to report to Fort Vancouver: Company B

#### WEAPONS WERE IN SHORT SUPPLY IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Territorial leaders were not able to arm those volunteers who were ready to serve  
necessary equipment to maintain either an offensive or a defensive war was lacking  
gold-seekers had carried off almost every weapon of any use  
settlers were almost without guns and ammunition  
many settlers had wives and children and were not willing to leave them unarmed

#### ACTING-GOVERNOR CHARLES MASON SECURES ARMS FOR HIS WASHINGTON MILITIA

Acting-Governor Mason requisitioned arms from Fort Steilacoom and Fort Vancouver for militia use  
both posts were almost as poorly supplied as the territorial government  
Mason asked Hudson's Bay Company's Puget Sound Agriculture Company  
for guns and ammunition for use if necessary  
Hudson's Bay Company sent fifty guns and a large supply of ammunition  
this confused the Indians who thought the company would support them

#### ADDITIONAL WEAPONS ARE DELIVERED TO THE *DECATUR*

*Jefferson Davis* hove-to alongside of the *Decatur* in Apple Tree Cove -- October 15, 1855  
*Decatur* delivered a small store of arms to the revenue cutter including a mounted a twelve-pounder  
*Decatur* took on board ninety pounds of cannon powder and eight pounds of priming powder  
which were aboard the *Jefferson Davis*  
*Jefferson Davis* had also transferred aboard an Indian who was being held on grand larceny charges  
after transferring the arms, powder and prisoner the *Jefferson Davis*'s anchor was raised  
hoisting her fore- and main-sails she departed for Vashon Island to anchor for the night  
before continuing on to Steilacoom to deliver the prisoner to Fort Steilacoom

## ACTING-GOVERNOR CHARLES H. MASON RECEIVES MORE STARTLING NEWS

Leschi and his two wives visited James McAllister and his family near the Nisqually River

Leschi told McAllister he was going to fight rather than give up his land

McAllister and his wife struggled to convince the chief to change his mind

Leschi warned McAllister that he could not be responsible

for what might happen to him, his family, or his property

if McAllister should join the militia company forming in Olympia

McAllister, at his claim on the Nisqually Prairie, penned a note

to bearded and bespectacled Acting-Governor Mason -- October 16, 1855

**“We have information and are satisfied that Leschi, sub-chief and half Clikitat [sic] is and has been doing all he could possibly do to unite the Indians of the country to rise against the whites.”<sup>127</sup>**

## SHIPS CONTINUE THEIR PREPARATIONS AROUND PUGET SOUND

USS *Decatur* sent a small boat with arms to Olympia for use by the territorial militia

before she started a cruise to show the flag around Puget Sound

Revenue Cutter *Jefferson Davis* worked her way south from Vashon Island through the Narrows

and came to anchor off the town of Steilacoom -- October 16, 1855

after dropping anchor a small boat was hoisted over the side to deliver the Indian prisoner

for incarceration and trial at Fort Steilacoom

Captain Maurice Maloney, commanding officer of Fort Steilacoom, visited the *Jefferson Davis*

with requests for supplies for Fort Steilacoom -- October 16, 1855

he needed manila rope for the pack horses

and a sight glass with case for the use of the commanding officer in the field

in the anticipated engagements with the Indians

## ACTING-GOVERNOR MASON RECEIVES A MESSAGE FROM GOVERNOR CURRY

Oregon Territorial Governor Curry communicated with Washington Governor Charles Mason: **“Five companies of the regiment of Oregon mounted volunteers, authorized by my proclamation on the 11th day of October, have gone forward to the Dalles of the Columbia. The remainder will leave the rendezvous in a few days. This regiment will be an effective force of more than eight hundred men, as each company is much stronger in point of numbers than is prescribed by the proclamation. To obviate delay, if not positive failure in the enrollment of a volunteer force to meet the present critical emergency, I have been constrained to preserve a distinct military organization of the volunteer force from this territory. The officer in command of the regiment will be instructed to act in concert with the commanding officer of the United States troops in the field, as also with the officers of the forces raised under your proclamation on the 14th of October, and to co-operate with them in the prosecution of the campaign. I shall repair to the Dalles as soon as the regiment of Oregon mounted volunteers is on the march, and shall be pleased to meet and confer with you then, in the arrangement for persecuting the campaign.”<sup>128</sup>** dated -- -- October 17, 1855

---

<sup>127</sup> J.A. Eckrom, *Remembered Drums* P. 22.

<sup>128</sup> Journal of the House of Representatives of the Territory of Oregon, October 22, 1855, P. 44.

## INDIAN SUPERINTENDENT ISAAC STEVENS WRITES ANOTHER TREATY

Superintendent of Indian Affairs Isaac Stevens held his next Treaty Council at Fort Benton (Montana) at the council ground along the Upper Missouri River near the mouth of the Judith River in Nebraska Territory

Commissioner of Indian Affairs Alfred Cumming in St. Louis

was appointed to participate in the treaty talks along with Isaac Stevens

Cumming failed to appropriate the funds necessary for gifts to be provided the natives and also funds for annuities for their chiefs

Commissioner Cumming journeyed up Missouri River to assist Governor Stevens anyway

Articles of Agreement were signed by Blackfoot tribes living east of the Rocky Mountains who occupied the Upper Missouri and Yellowstone rivers

these included Piegan, Blood, Blackfoot and Gros Ventres bands of people

Blackfoot Treaty of Fort Benton was concluded -- October 17, 1855

Isaac Stevens had great success among the natives of Blackfoot Country:

- he promised annuities of clothing and other goods for twenty years amounting to \$400,000,
- he abolished slavery and war among the Indians,
- he excluded liquor from the reservations,
- Stevens established nine reservations containing over 60,000 acres

Blackfoot people agreed to 5,000 square miles of their land for their reservation

this arrangement was achieved in spite of the delays due to the laggard arrival

of Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cumming's treaty gifts and annuities

in addition, Nez Perce and Flathead Indians who had accompanied Isaac Stevens Eastward

made what proved to be a permanent peace with their old enemies the Blackfoot

(Blackfoot Treaty was ratified by Congress [April 15, 1856])

Seventy Nez Perce warriors led by Chief Spotted Eagle left the council site

to return to their home (in today's Idaho)

## LEADER OF THE FIRST COMPANY OF WASHINGTON TERRITORY MILITIAMEN IS NAMED

Charles H. (Packwood Charlie) Eaton was a sturdy man in his mid-thirties

who was married to Chief Leschi's sister

Acting-Governor Charles Mason named Eaton the leader of a yet-to-be-formed militia company

Captain Eaton was an excellent choice for leader of a militia force:

- he had come to Puget Sound with Michael Simmons and George Bush [184],
- he was thoroughly acquainted with the country and with the Indians,
- he was respected as a leader by his neighbors

## WASHINGTON TERRITORY VOLUNTEER COMPANY OF EATON'S RANGERS IS FORMED

Captain Charles Eaton and his militia volunteers were to watch the mountain passes

and act as a shield for the South Puget Sound settlements

Forty-one volunteers of Washington Territory Volunteers known as Eaton's Rangers

assembled at 3<sup>rd</sup> and Main in Olympia to answer the Call to Arms -- October 19, 1855

they were received with great adoration as they accepted a silk flag

sewn by Mrs. Cox and her daughter

other officers in addition to Captain Charles H. Eaton were elected:

James McAllister, a long-time pioneer of Thurston County [1844] and friend of Leschi was elected First Lieutenant,

Second Lieutenant James Tullis, Third Lieutenant Alonzo M. Poe, First Sergeant John Harold, Second Sergeant Charles E. Weed, Third Sergeant W.W. Miller, Fourth Sergeant S. Phillips, First Corporal S.D. Reinhart, Second Corporal Thomas Bracken, Third Corporal S. Hodgdon, Fourth Corporal James Hughes

Captain Charles Eaton ordered volunteer Lieutenant Andrew Jackson Chambers to go out and requisition horses -- Chambers considered that horse stealing he refused to do more than scout for signs of Indians

Captain Eaton and Lieutenant James McAllister traveled to Fort Steilacoom to acquire available supplies

other Rangers gathered on Yelm Prairie at Captain Eaton's homestead

Eaton's Rangers began construction on a blockhouse on Yelm Prairie to provide for the defense of the settlers during their absence

#### USS *DECATUR* CONTINUES HER TOUR OF PUGET SOUND

*Decatur*, conducting a cruise to display the flag around Puget Sound, was off Steilacoom

*Decatur's* small boat returned from Olympia to the ship -- October 19, 1855

pack saddles and blankets for the military post at Fort Steilacoom were delivered to the ship

#### REVENUE SERVICE PROVIDES ASSISTANCE TO FORT STEILACOOM

Captain Maurice Maloney at Fort Steilacoom once again visited the Revenue Cutter *Jefferson Davis* this time he requested the assistance of an officer to help in the field to serve as a first lieutenant -- Saturday, October 20, 1855

When the request was made Revenue Marine Second Lieutenant James E. Harrison stepped forward to assist

#### COMPANY A FIRST REGIMENT WASHINGTON VOLUNTEERS IS FORMED

Eighty-five volunteers recruited by Indian Agent Benjamin Shaw

Judge Gilmore Hays was elected Captain of Company A

by a vote of 59 to 1 -- his being the only dissenting vote

Hays had earlier led a wagon train to the Northwest

losing his wife and several children to cholera along the way

Captain Hays was sworn into service under Captain Maurice Maloney

other officers included: First Lieutenant Jared S. Hurd and Second Lieutenant William Martin

Company A reported to Captain Maurice Maloney, Commander Fort Steilacoom

there they were mustered into military service with their own horses -- October 20, 1855

#### MILITIA COMPANY A SETS OUT FOR NACHES PASS

Captain Gilmore Hays led his men of Company A out of Fort Steilacoom -- October 21, 1855

on the march to Yakima Country by way of Naches Pass

## U.S. ARMY CAPTAIN MARUICE MALONEY MARCHES TO NACHES PASS

Washington Territory Acting-Governor Mason wrote for assistance  
to Captain Maurice Maloney the commander at Fort Steilacoom  
asking troops be sent east to punish the Yakamas

Captain Maloney left Fort Steilacoom leading 115 members  
of the U.S. Fourth Infantry Company A -- October 21, 1855

Captain Maloney had taken five officers and of all available soldiers at Fort Steilacoom with him  
Accompanying Captain Maloney were

Captain Maloney's Aide-de-camp Pierce County District Colonel Abram Benton Moses,  
Revenue Marine Second Lieutenant Harrison,  
thirty-one packers and pack animals, one howitzer and necessary ammunition

No sooner had the force under Captain Maloney left Fort Steilacoom for Yakima Country  
than the Indians west of the Cascade Mountains demonstrated they were aware  
of the movements of the Yakima Indians and were in close communication

## PROTECTING FORT STEILACOOM FALLS TO CAPTAIN WILLIAM PEASE

Lieutenant John Nugen was left with only ten men at Fort Steilacoom

seeing the situation at the post, Captain William Pease of the Revenue Cutter *Jefferson Davis*  
directed ten of his sailors be given Perry carbines with ammunition and cutlasses

to temporarily garrison Fort Steilacoom while the Fourth Infantry was involved in the field

Captain Pease gave the fort's quartermaster seventy-five pistol rounds  
and 300 musket ball rounds for the fort's use -- October 21, 1855

remainder of the *Jefferson Davis*'s crewman were kept at their regular chores

cleaning the ship, or sewing awnings for the cockpit, making chaffing gear for the rigging  
and keeping up on various other maintenance duties on the ship

## LESCHI MEETS WITH ACTING-GOVERNOR CHARLES MASON

Nisqually Indian leader Leschi strode into Charles Mason's Olympia office -- October 22, 1855  
their talk in Chinook Jargon was frank -- Leschi told Mason that war might come

Mason tried to persuade Leschi to come and camp in town until things cooled down  
as Mason understood the conversation Leschi agreed to this proposal

Leschi left -- but did not return

## CHIEF LESCHI MOVES HIS PEOPLE OFF THEIR RESERVATION

Nisqually Indians joined by other Indian people moved to the vicinity of Connell's Prairie

Indian forces were located in a vast natural fortification suited for defensive warfare

where grass was available for their animals and salmon were plentiful for food

this area offered opportunities to strike at an enemy in any direction

or change their position at will to confuse and annoy an enemy

while safely escaping to a new position if the requirements of battle required it

here a very small Indian force might easily hold their ground and inflict punishment

two miles away to the northwest the White River roared through a deep canyon

which became a formidable barrier to cross in the face of an enemy

Leschi could easily place his men on the opposite bank from the soldiers  
Puyallup River lay between Leschi's forces and the pioneer settlements  
except for the few homestead along the river itself  
Fort Steilacoom was twenty miles to the west  
while Seattle lay northwesterly thirty miles away  
(almost all of the battles west of the Cascade Mountains were fought  
within five miles of this location)

#### COMPANY B OF THE WASHINGTON VOLUNTEERS IS FORMED

Indian Agent Benjamin F. Shaw recruited his second Washington Territory volunteer militia company  
this time in Clarke County, Washington Territory  
retired Oregon Territory Supreme Court Justice William Strong played an active role  
William Strong was unanimously elected captain of Company B  
Company B was accepted into the service of the United States -- October 23, 1855  
they were ordered to report to Major Gabriel Rains, U.S. Fourth Infantry at Fort Vancouver  
Company B hoped to be sent to escort Governor Isaac Stevens through hostile Indians country  
on his return back to Olympia from the Blackfoot Council treaty writing

#### MAJOR GABRIEL RAINS PREPARES TO MARCH ON THE YAKIMA INDIANS

Major Rains wanted to move quickly against the Yakamas before winter set in  
he prepared to advance on Yakima Chief Kamiakin who had encamped (at today's Union Gap)  
with about 300 warriors  
Major Rains organized a force of 370 soldiers made up of companies from the U.S. Fourth Infantry,  
U.S. Third Artillery and a detachment of twenty Dragoons under Lieutenant Philip H. Sheridan  
Major Rains was joined by about 400 militiamen  
Oregon Territory George Law Curry had mobilized a cavalry regiment of militiamen  
led by Oregon Militia Colonel James Nesmith  
two companies of Washington volunteers also had been mustered into federal service  
Militia Captain William Strong led the militiamen of Clarke County's Company B  
Militia Captain George B. Goudy led seventy infantrymen of Company C out of Olympia  
civilian packers completed the contingent of civilians attached to the military

#### CAPTAIN CHARLES EATON'S RANGERS RECEIVE THEIR ORDERS

Eaton's Rangers completed constructing a blockhouse on Yelm Prairie  
to provide for the defense of the settlers in their absence  
Captain Eaton received orders -- October 24, 1855

Indian difficulties were expected in the Yakima Valley

Eaton was to divide his militia company into three platoons **“to patrol the whole country  
between Snoqualmie Pass and the Southern Pass of the Cascades south of Mount Rainier, or Lewis  
River Pass, looking into each of these passes and intercepting any Indian that may be traveling the  
mountains from the seat of war.”**<sup>129</sup>

---

<sup>129</sup> J.A. Eckrom, *Remembered Drums*, P.23.

they were specifically instructed to notify all Indians along their line of march  
to move west to the shores of Puget Sound

willingness or refusal of the natives would determine whether they were friendly or hostile  
hopefully communication between the Indians on either side of the Cascades would be stopped  
Leschi was to be returned to Olympia

but no one expected much trouble from the Nisqually Indians who had always been peaceful  
Lieutenant James McAllister had told his wife before he left that he could drive  
the whole Nisqually nation into captivity with his cane -- not that that would be necessary

#### ONE PLATOON OF EATON'S RANGERS GOES IN SEARCH OF LESCHI

Nineteen men forming one of Captain Charles Eaton's platoons took to the field in search of Leschi  
however, they seemed uncertain if they were to arrest him

or form an honor guard to escort him to Olympia for his own protection

James Wiley editor of the *Olympia Pioneer and Democrat* rode along to report on the adventure  
Eaton's platoon of Rangers reached Leschi's Muck Creek farm  
about ten miles southeast of Fort Steilacoom

they found a plow abandoned mid-furrow in a wheat field -- just before noon October 24, 1855  
evidently Leschi and his wife Mary had departed in great haste  
many head of horses and cattle milled about

Eaton's men helped themselves to fifteen head to take with them

Captain Charles Eaton and his Puget Sound Rangers made camp in Pierce County -- night October 24  
about twelve miles east of Fort Steilacoom

#### MAJOR GABRIEL RAINS MARCHES OUT OF FORT VANCOUVER

Commander of the Pacific Military District Major Gabriel J. Rains led 370 soldiers  
out of his Fort Vancouver headquarters up the Columbia River to Fort Dalles -- October 25, 1855  
this force was much stronger than Major Haller's eighty-four soldiers  
who had followed the same route to Fort Dalles

but the removal of these men left the posts West of the Cascades almost defenseless

Oregon Militia Colonel James Nesmith led a force of well-equipped and well-trained militiamen  
composed of several companies of Oregon Territory volunteers out of Fort Vancouver  
two militia companies from Washington Territory accompanied by civilian freight packers  
were to follow the Columbia River and enter Yakima Country from the Southwest

There was little contact between the military and civilian contingents

Rains and Nesmith cooperated in a spirit of individual loyalty -- each mutually ignoring the other  
however mutual support, if needed, could be anticipated

#### ADDITIONAL CALL TO ARMS TAKES PLACE IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Four additional Washington Territory Volunteer militia companies were formed -- October 27, 1855

Company C, seventy infantrymen out of Olympia was led by Captain George B. Goudy

First Lieutenant was W.B. Affleck, Second Lieutenant J.K. Hurd,

First Sergeant Francis Lindler, Second Sergeant A.J. Baldwin, Third Sergeant F. W. Sealy,

Fourth Sergeant James Roberts, Joseph Walraven and E.W. Austin

Company D, fifty-five men out of Steilacoom led by Captain William H. Wallace  
was constantly in the field

Company E, forty mounted men out of Thurston County furnished their own horses were led by  
Captain Isaac Hays (not be confused with Captain Gilmore Hays of Company A)  
they were in the field for much of the time on enlistment

Company F, sixty-three mounted men from Mound Prairie, Thurston County  
who furnished their own horses were led by Captain B.L. Hennes  
this company was also in active field service

Once the muster rolls were filled they were listed

as the First Regiment of Washington Territory Volunteers  
to serve “for three months unless sooner discharged”

these four companies were to be considered “a reserve home defense force”  
but were liable at any moment to be called into action

unlike Oregon’s militia, these men were to be mustered into the service of the United States  
to avoid the confusion of rank suffered in Oregon, Acting-Governor Mason commissioned  
Major Gabriel Rains as a Brigadier-General in the Washington Territory Volunteers  
thus he would out-rank all Washington militiamen

James Tilton was commissioned as adjutant-general of the volunteer forces

At the same time, various settlements were constructing local blockhouses for their protection  
and made other arrangement to strengthen their defenses

Olympians built a twelve-foot stockade along both sides of 4<sup>th</sup> Street from bay to bay  
a blockhouse was built at the corner of 4<sup>th</sup> and Main (Capital Way)  
with the town’s cannon mounted there

#### EATON’S RANGERS MAKE A RECONNAISSANCE OF THE PUYALLUP RIVER

Captain Charles Eaton’s Rangers continued their search for Leschi  
but the road from Leschi’s Mud Creek farm was difficult and soldiering was a new experience  
as yet no Indians had been seen

Captain Eaton decided it was safe to make camp on Bitting’s Prairie  
along the East bank of the Puyallup River

about a mile east of the Charles Baden (Bitting) house -- October 27, 1855

It was reported a large number of Indians were fishing the Puyallup River away from the settlements

Captain Eaton divided his command into two units to make a reconnaissance of that region  
one squad was placed under the command of Lieutenant James McAllister  
the other squad was led by the captain himself

Eaton began his investigation using the trail along the west side of Puyallup River

crossed the river at a ford almost being forced to swim across, at entered the settlement (Sumner)  
where the Puyallup joins the Stuck (White) River

they entered a large prairie that was completely deserted

and followed up the Puyallup River for three miles crossing and recrossing the river

until meeting Lieutenant McAllister who had thoroughly scoured the other side of the river  
no recent sign of the Indians was discovered

## CAPTAIN EATON AND LIEUTENANT McALLISTER RETURN TO CAMP

Both Captain Eaton and Lieutenant McAllister returned to their Puyallup River campsite on Bitting's Prairie in the afternoon -- late evening October 27, 1855  
for three miserable, hazard-packed days they had unsuccessfully sought Leschi  
Irish-born Michael Connell rode into the camp  
Connell was a bachelor as were most of his neighbors  
he had mustered out of the army at Fort Steilacoom a few years before  
Connell was not a member of the Rangers, but he was protecting the vicinity of his homestead  
he farmed 230 acres that had become known as Connell's Prairie  
Captain Charles Eaton's supplies were exhausted  
Eaton received news Leschi was with a large party of Indians  
between two hundred to five hundred people were fishing the White River  
on Perkins Prairie (near today's Buckley) only three miles from Eaton's camp  
six of Eaton's Rangers were sent to Fort Steilacoom for supplies and pack animals  
led by Quartermaster and Commissary W.W. Miller  
accompanied by two corporals and three privates  
Lieutenant Poe was dispatched to Olympia to raise additional recruits  
Lieutenant Tullis traveled to Grand Mound (Chehalis) to raise additional recruits

## McALLISTER AND CONNELL RIDE OUT TO SPEAK WITH THE INDIANS

Lieutenant James McAllister asked for permission to reconnoiter the military road leading toward the White River -- afternoon October 27, 1855  
permission was granted with the instruction to return by evening  
McAllister was accompanied by civilian volunteer Michael Connell and two friendly Indians  
Clipwalen, a Canadian Indian who had been rescued from slavery as a boy  
and been adopted by the McAllister family  
Stahi, a Nisqually relative of Leschi  
About an hour after Lieutenant McAllister had departed from camp  
Captain Eaton was informed of a dangerous slough that interrupted the route toward the White River  
Eaton and James W. Wiley, editor of *Olympia Pioneer and Democrat*,  
rode out about three-quarters of a mile to make a reconnaissance  
to see how much labor would be necessary to make repairs to the slough  
which ran into the White River  
determining two men could complete the repairs in two hours they started back to camp  
as Eaton and Wiley were riding back to rejoin the Rangers' camp  
they heard a musket shot in the distance followed by another  
then a volley of four or five shots -- then silence  
McAllister's and Connell's fate of had been sealed on Bitting's Prairie  
by hostile Indians led by Quiemuth  
Eaton and Wiley quickened their pace back to Bitting's Prairie camp considerably

## EASTON'S RANGERS PREPARE FOR A FIGHT

In the quiet interlude after the shots had been fired Captain Charles Eaton's Rangers, now reduced in number to eleven, made preparations for the fight they knew was coming they fortified Charles Baden's cabin which was built of thin cedar boards finding this would not provide ample protection Captain Eaton abandoned the house Easton's Rangers moved to an Indian log cabin which fortunately contained a supply of oats, peas, wheat, dried salmon skins and berries they carried a cask of water into the longhouse a log barn which could have provided cover for an attack was pulled down lumber from the barn fortified the cabin Rangers' baggage was transferred from Baden's house brush was cleared from around the cabin to remove hazardous cover to give the Rangers a clear field of fire horses were picketed about two hundred yards northward of the cabin Eaton's Rangers took refuge in the log cabin to defend themselves -- Saturday, October 27 Captain Eaton's volunteers were guided by no plan of attack or any plan of defense

#### EATON'S RANGERS HEAR BAD NEWS

First Indian they saw was Clipwalen who burst out of the woods -- October 27, 1855 he confirmed that Lieutenant James McAllister was dead Stahi had joined the Indians who killed him

#### EATON'S RANGERS FACE A HOSTILE ENEMY

Indians began to appear in the brush across the road from Eaton's makeshift fort -- 4:00 P.M. October 27, 1855 Orders were given to let the Indians shoot first, but twenty-two -year old Andrew Laws had other ideas he watched three Indians step into the open, he fired putting a bullet through the head of the first Indian killed in the battle through the deepening dusk scores of bullets slammed into the longhouse walls

#### EATON'S RANGERS SURVIVE THE NIGHT

Constant gunfire continued until after 2:00 A.M -- Sunday, October 28, 1855 when firing sputtered to a stop only militiaman Private Edward Wallace was slightly wounded as a bullet nipped off part of his ear and entered his head fortunately the bullet's velocity was spent and it did not penetrate his brain Eaton's Rangers believed they had killed seven Indians but no one was sure (Indian testimony later confirmed the number) When the sun rose, the Indians were gone -- but so were the Rangers' horses George McAllister, son of the slain lieutenant, volunteered to ride for help -- morning October 28 after a quick search of the area he found the Indians had taken all of the horses except the one hidden by Eaton in the swamp young McAllister saw no Indians and had no trouble reaching Fort Steilacoom

#### CAPTAIN MAURICE MALONEY REACHES NACHES PASS

Captain Maloney led his U.S. Fourth Infantry Company A across Naches Pass -- October 28, 1855  
he had received orders to attack the hostile Indian tribes in Eastern Washington  
Captain Maloney decided to make camp seven miles beyond the pass on a bank of the Naches River  
and contact his superiors at Fort Vancouver  
he had also become worried about a possible Indian outbreak in the Puget Sound region  
and he knew no military units were available to stop it  
Captain Maloney remained in camp to recruit pack animals and mounts  
he would await developments and further instruction  
Maloney's suspicions were well founded

#### ACTING-GOVERNOR MASON SENDS THE MILITIA TO SUPPORT CAPTAIN MALONEY

Washington Territory Acting-Governor Charles Mason sent two militia units to support Maloney:

- Company E, forty mounted men out of Thurston County led by Captain Isaac Hays
- Company F, sixty-three mounted men from Mound Prairie, Thurston County  
led by Captain B.L. Henness

Captain Maurice Maloney received reports of vast numbers of warriors ahead  
who greatly outnumbered his troops

Captain Maloney also learned that while Captain Isaac Hays  
was on his way with Militia Company E but Captain B.L. Henness' Company F was delayed

#### CAPTAIN CHARLES EATON'S RANGERS RECEIVE SOME HELP

Three riders from Fort Steilacoom arrived in camp en route to Captain Maloney's camp  
they entered the fortified longhouse -- 11:00 A.M. October 28, 1855

Captain Eaton decided to abandon the protection of the log cabin  
his little band of militiamen had maintained their position for one hundred and one hours  
without losing a man after the deaths of Lieutenant James McAllister  
and civilian Michael Connell

Eaton and his Rangers trudged back toward Fort Steilacoom on foot  
it seemed the I Indians had moved to somewhere else

#### WHITE RIVER MASSACRE TAKES PLACE

Indians attacked settlers along the White River ruthlessly butchering men, women and children  
nine in all -- October 28, 1855

Johnny Icilius King told his story of the attack to Ezra Meeker at a later date

(Mrs. Eliza Jane Smail had married John King -- together they had a son: Johnny Icilius King  
Mrs. King was left a widow when her twenty-three-year-old husband  
was killed in a gold mining accident on California's American River [1850]  
after his arrival just a few weeks before

Eliza Jane King married her deceased husband's first cousin, Harvey H. Jones [1851]  
two more children, Eliza Olive Jones and Harvey Percival Jones were born  
Harvey and Eliza Jones decided to go West to start a tree nursery and dairy farm  
with their three children accompanied by Eliza's brother John Smail  
Harvey Jones and most of his neighbors had arrived in the migration of [1853]

Harvey and Eliza Jones took up a claim near William and Elizabeth Brannan's farm  
on the bank of the White River [between today's Auburn and Buckley]  
two years of work by the pioneers had produced productive farms  
Jones could even afford a hired hand, Enos Cooper)

Harvey Jones lay bedridden with pleurisy (a painful inflammation of the lungs)  
his three children, step-son Johnny Icilius King Jones age six,  
Eliza Olive Jones age four and Harvey Percival Jones age two were seated  
around the breakfast table with their mother -- 8:00 a.m. Sunday, October 28, 1855  
as was farm worker Enos Cooper

sounds of Indians were heard just outside the cabin door -- a common occurrence  
Eliza Jones opened the door to face an Indian holding a musket  
she caught sight of a second Indian crouched at the corner of the house  
with his musket pointed at her  
she quickly slammed the door and dropped the crossbar into the slots in the doorjamb  
before she shoved her children to the floor

Eliza Jones found her husband's five-shooter pistol and fired blindly until it was empty  
when the shooting stopped, she led her children into their bedroom  
there she told them to lie on the floor as she covered them with a feather bed  
after she left Johnny King, her oldest child, peaked over the windowsill  
where he saw a dozen warriors attacking the cabin

Harvey Jones got out of his sickbed and was shot  
he died as bullets continue to crash through the window

Enos Cooper, at Mrs. Jones urging, tried to escape  
he lunged through a window and ran for cover -- but did not make it to safety

Eliza Jones went out through the same window  
she was fell wounded only a few feet from the cabin -- shot through the lungs  
after some time the firing stopped and Johnny King took charge of his siblings  
he led his sister and brother south toward a neighboring cabin -- probably William Brannan's  
after only a short walk, Johnny found a rounded depression in the ground  
he left his siblings there covering them with brush  
he warned them to be very quiet until he could return for them  
reaching the Brennan's cabin, Johnny found the door open and windows broken out  
debris was everywhere, but no one could be found  
Johnny returned to his sister and brother

#### CHILDREN'S ORDEAL CONTINUES AT WHITE RIVER

Cautiously Johnny King led his sister and brother back to their home  
only to find their cabin burned to the ground -- late afternoon Sunday, October 28, 1855  
Johnny found his mother dying in the front yard -- later he said, "**I came on my mother,  
prostrated upon the ground, some hundred feet or so Southwest from the remains of our dwelling.**"

**She was yet alive. She told me I must take the children and go to Mr. Thomas's. I did not want to leave her but she told me it was best, that she could not live and that I might save the children.”<sup>130</sup>**

Walking along the trail to the Thomas' cabin the children met an old Indian, Tom Vollochot, whom Johnny recognized and trusted from encounters with him at the school  
“Old Tom” led the children to his home where his wife fed them  
as evening approached the children fell asleep

#### LESCHI CONDEMNED THE INDIAN ATTACKERS

Leschi had planned to cross Naches Pass and join with the Yakima Indians in their effort to drive out the white invaders but he had stopped to join with those willing to fight in Western Washington Territory  
News of the attacks at the homesteads caused Leschi to berate those who participated in the attack on the settlers -- especially defenseless women and children to his mind the war was against the soldiers -- not against the settlers  
Dissention between those for and against the massacres divided the Indian camp

#### NEWS OF THE WHITE RIVER MASSACRE REACHES SEATTLE

When a small group of White River refugees arrived in Seattle -- 10:00 P.M. Sunday, October 28, 1855  
Joe Lake announced his homestead had been attacked that morning  
he had been slightly wounded by a bullet when he stood in his doorway  
he also told of gunfire and hearing screams to the south  
It was obvious several families had not fled earlier with the others

#### CHILDREN REACH SEATTLE

Sometime during the night Old Tom awaked the children  
he told them it was time to go as the moon was bright  
Johnny King and his siblings were loaded into the Indian's canoe and they set out for Seattle  
under a bear skin they rode to the mouth of the Duwamish River  
they were delivered to another Indian, Dave, who took the children to the *Decatur* in Elliott Bay  
where they arrived about 1:00 A.M. -- October 29, 1855

#### NEWS OF THE WHITE RIVER ATTACK REACHES THE PUYALLUP VALLEY

Abraham Salitat, a Puyallup Indian, rode through the Puyallup Valley carrying news of the White River Valley attack -- between midnight and dawn October 29, 1855  
he warned the eighty settlers living there of the uprising  
(within twenty-four hours nearly all of them knew that war had begun)  
(an historical marker near the Puyallup River bridge on Levee Road commemorates Salitat because the Indians did in fact plan to attack Puyallup Valley  
Abraham Salitat was later killed by his people as a traitor)  
Panic followed news of the attack

---

<sup>130</sup> Ezra Meeker, *Pioneer Reminiscences of Puget Sound: The Tragedy of Leschi*, P. 297.

## SEATTLE VOLUNTEERS SET OUT FOR THE WHITE RIVER

Captain Christopher Hewitt led fifty-five militiamen and four Canadian Indians up the White and Green rivers -- early Monday, October 29, 1855 although not officially on the muster rolls as a militia unit, these men were determined to rescue the living and bury the dead

## PUYALLUP SETTLERS STREAM DOWN MILITARY ROAD TO FORT STEILACOOM

Warned by Chief Abraham Salitat settlers gathered what they could of their possessions and prepared to flee to Fort Steilacoom -- October 29, 1855  
All day pioneers endured a terrifying wait on the banks of the Puyallup River as wagons were broken apart and ferried in pieces across the river  
Following reassembly they made a hasty ride down muddy, rutted military road to Fort Steilacoom everyone who set out arrived unharmed  
Fort Steilacoom and the town of Steilacoom did their best to provide shelter as the great mass of refugees gathered  
women and children were put into barracks -- men were assigned to tents  
Fort Steilacoom was too large and its buildings too scattered to build a stockade around the post only shallow trenches, which offered no protection, marked the post's perimeter  
livestock was herded together and a watch was put over the herd  
Some families found shelter two miles away in the town of Steilacoom

**Ezra Meeker noted: "As we approached the Fort, each converging road was lined with loaded wagons carrying all sorts of plunder hastily gathered together. Some had come with but little, not even waiting to bring bedding, while others had been less heedless and brought a great share of their goods. Others it would seem had left nothing behind, even bringing the chicken coop, cats, dogs, pigs, and all, and many were driving their cattle before them. But what shall we do? was the question. There was no room at the fort."**<sup>131</sup>

## WASHINGTON TERRITORY VOLUNTEERS ARRIVE IN YAKIMA COUNTRY

Two Washington militia companies reached the southwest region of Yakima Country they had been placed under the command of Captain Gabriel Rains and were to work in concert with Colonel James Nesmith and his Oregon Mounted Volunteers  
Militia Captain William Strong arrived with the mounted militiamen of Company B  
Militia Captain George B. Goudy arrived with his seventy infantrymen of Company C  
civilian mule skinnners completed the Washington Volunteer command -- October 29, 1855

## OREGON VOLUNTEERS ARRIVE AT FORT DALLES

Colonel James Nesmith's of the Oregon Mounted Volunteers arrived in the region of The Dalles -- October 29, 1855  
Camp was established across the Columbia River from Major Gabriel Rains who was at Fort Dalles there Colonel Nesmith waited for his supplies to arrive from Fort Vancouver  
Nesmith also waited for Captain Nathan Olney, Oregon Sub-Indian Agent,

---

<sup>131</sup> Meeker, Ezra. Ventures and adventures of Ezra Meeker...., P. 238

to arrive to report on the location and intention of the Walla Walla Indians

#### MAJOR GABRIEL RAINS REFUSES TO SUPPLY THE OREGON VOLUNTEERS

Major Rains declared he had no authority to furnish supplies to Nesmith's volunteers from the stores at Fort Vancouver unless the volunteers were first mustered into military service as regular soldiers

Colonel Nesmith maintained Oregon Governor Curry's position that the Oregon volunteers would continue to act as an independent unit under the command of the Oregon governor

Major Gabriel Rains agreed to accept the services of five Oregon companies this was all that had been requested by the Oregon governor

Rains declined to furnish arms, ammunition or equipment for the additional Oregon companies those militiamen who were not accepted by Major Rains were sent home this left Colonel Nesmith with only 112 Oregon militiamen in his command

#### GOVERNOR ISAAC INGALLS STEVENS RECEIVES DISTRESSING NEWS

Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens left the Fort Benton treaty grounds following the departing seventy Nez Perce Indians who were returning to their own homes Stevens' party consisted of twenty-five men with poor and spent animals carrying only a few arms and little ammunition

however, they believed their return West would be through a territory of friendly Indians

When Washington Territory Governor Stevens was thirty-five miles west of Fort Benton (Montana)

when courier W. H. Pearson rode into Stevens' camp -- evening of October 29, 1855

after a ride of more than 500 miles if the route had been strait -- which it was not he was so spent he had to be helped from the saddle

his message was disastrous: tribes were up in arms from California to Canada

he panted out an exaggerated account using as many of the few details as he knew

it was believed the Cayuses, Walla Wallas and Coeur d'Alenes were disposed to hostilities

but he was not aware of the uprising faced by the settlers along the White River

Stevens' treaties which were to make him famous had failed

messenger also added an urgent recommendation from military officials in Washington Territory

that Stevens not try to reach his office by riding west through hostile territory

but that he retreat instead down the Missouri River to St. Louis

and journey home by way of Panama

Stevens refused the advice although his small, poorly armed escort

was entirely unprepared for hostility

Stevens halted his progress toward home from Fort Benton

he dispatched Washington Territorial Secretary C.A. Doty back to forts Campbell and Benton

to procure fresh animals, arms and ammunition

every effort was afforded to make haste

Stevens then hurried ahead of the supply train which had accompanied him

#### FORT NISQUALLY LEARNS OF THE FIGHT ON BITTING'S PRAIRIE

Indians carried garbled news of the murders of Lieutenant James McAllister civilian Michael Connell

to Fort Nisqually -- October 30, 1855

Puget Sound Agriculture Company men quickly began preparations and fortified the gate of their post

#### MAJOR GABRIEL RAINS TAKES TO THE FIELD IN YAKIMA COUNTRY

Major Rains wanted to move quickly against the Yakamas before winter set in without waiting for support from Militia Colonel James Nesmith,

Major Rains began his march out of Fort Dalles bound for Yakima Country -- October 30, 1855

Rains led a force of 370 soldiers carrying twenty days' worth of provisions

these were composed of companies from the U.S. Fourth Infantry

and twenty heavily armed Third Artillery Company D Dragoons (mounted soldiers)

under the command of Lieutenant Philip H. Sheridan

freshly arrived from battles on the Rogue River

this unit was armed with a howitzer

members of the recently arrived Third Artillery were placed under Major Rains' command

Accompanying Major Rains' Regular soldiers were about 400 militiamen

Oregon Territory militia was under the command of Oregon Militia Colonel James Nesmith

two companies of Washington volunteers and civilian packers completed the combined forces

Militia Captain William Strong led the militiamen of Clarke County's Company B

Militia Captain George B. Goudy led seventy infantrymen of Company C out of Olympia

#### INDIANS OF EASTERN WASHINGTON CANNOT AGREE ON STRATEGY

Yakamas and other Columbia Basin tribes were not of a single mind regarding resistance

chiefs under Yakama Chief Kamiakin argued for patience and cooperation

Walla Walla Chief Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox complained bitterly about the treaties

that had been forced on the Indians by Governor Stevens and encouraged resistance

other tribes, Palouse, Cayuse, Nez Perce, Wenatchee, Spokane and Coeur d'Alene,

chose to stay out of the conflict

Chief Kamiakin learned of the enemy's approach from scouts under Qualchan

this was a much larger force than Kamiakin had anticipated

he had sent about half of his 600 warriors to help defend the Walla Wallas and their country

many individual warriors arrived in Yakama Country to help stop the white invasion

this gave army officers the impression that all of the tribes were resisting

#### COMPANY D OF THE WASHINGTON VOLUNTEERS IS ORGANIZED

Militia Company D was mustered in Steilacoom for three months of service -- October 30, 1855

commanded by Captain William H. Wallace -- a lawyer who dabbled in politics

Wallace was issued a Colt Navy pistol and a cutlass as symbols of his position

Militia Company D was composed of fifty-two officers and men

forty-one from Steilacoom, seven from Port Gamble and three from Dungeness

one militiaman, Private Bell (an Indian), had been born in the Northwest

remainder were from the Eastern U.S., England, Ireland, France and Germany

occupations of these volunteers varied

twenty-four were farmers, others were sailors and carpenters

and miscellaneous employees from a clerk to a hatter to a blacksmith  
(during the three month tour of duty two officers resigned, two died of enemy gunfire  
and one private was found unfit for duty)

#### EATON'S RANGERS ARRIVE AT FORT STEILACOOM

After their two day walk from Charles Baden's cabin on Bitting's Prairie

Captain Charles Eaton's Rangers stumbled into Fort Steilacoom -- October 30, 1855  
they reported the loss of Lieutenant James McAllister and Michael Connell

It was necessary to inform the troops in the field about the White River Massacre

Captain Maurice Maloney was somewhere in the vicinity of Naches Pass  
accompanied by Captain Isaac Hays and his Militia Company E

it also was necessary to inform Major Gabriel Rains at Fort Vancouver of this change in situation  
warning them would be difficult as hostile Indians could be anywhere along the way

#### WILLIAM TIDD VOLUNTEERS TO SERVE AS A MESSENGER

William Tidd a quiet and unassuming Steilacoom carpenter and member of Eaton's Rangers  
had just returned with the Eaton's Rangers from Bitting's Prairie

because he had fastest horses in the territory he volunteered to make the ride to deliver the message

With just two hours rest Tidd and six men rode out of Fort Steilacoom by the light of the moon  
carrying a collection of military dispatches to Olympia -- night October 30, 1855

After delivering the military dispatches from Fort Steilacoom to Olympia

William Tidd continued his ride to Naches Pass carrying dispatches for Captain Maloney

Tidd passed unharmed across Bitting's Prairie where McAllister and Connell had been killed  
before reaching the Naches Pass region to warn Captain Maurice Maloney

#### A NIGHT OF FEAR AT FORT STEILACOOM

U.S. Army Second Lieutenant John Nugen in command of Fort Steilacoom issued a Call to Arms  
to the citizens of Steilacoom to raise a company of forty volunteers -- they immediately responded

Nugen visited the *Jefferson Davis* again asking to be reinforced at the fort -- October 30, 1855

Captain William Pease then detailed First Lieutenant E.O. Murden  
with five armed seaman to help protect the fort

Several men were also detailed to bring seven rockets from the ship up the hill to Fort Steilacoom  
for night signals in case any help was needed immediately from the ship

At sunset that day aboard the *Jefferson Davis* all the cannons were loaded with grape shot and run out  
along with loading all the remaining Perry carbines

in preparation for any hostilities that might ensue during the night

#### CONFIRMING DEATH ALONG THE WHITE RIVER

Captain Christopher Hewitt and his forty-four Seattle volunteers after two days of hard work  
reached the home of W.A. Cox which they found robbed -- Wednesday, October 31, 1855

Cox, along with his wife, had fled the scene with settler Joe Lake

who had been wounded in the attack but not seriously

as they fled they warned the family of Moses Kirkland who also escaped

Captain Hewitt's volunteers continued to the Harvey Jones homestead -- home of the three children Jones' house had been burned to the ground and Harvey Jones' body with it  
body of Eliza Jane Jones was found some thirty yards from the house  
shot through the lower part of the lungs  
her face and jaws were horribly broken and mutilated apparently with the head of an axe  
Enos Cooper, the Jones' hired man, was found about one hundred and fifty yards from the house  
with a bullet in his chest

After burying the bodies Captain Hewitt and his militiamen  
moved on to the William Brannon farm a mile away

William Brannon's body showed signs of a violent struggle  
Indians had used one of their favorite weapons -- a sharpened sawmill file  
Mrs. Brannon and her infant son, about ten months old, were found at the bottom of the well  
she had been stabbed in the back and head and also just below her heart  
before being thrown in head first after her naked baby  
this infant had no noticeable marks of violence but had drowned

Captain Hewitt next went to the George E. King claim (no relation to young Johnny King)  
George King and their two little children lie dead in the ashes of their home  
which had been burned to the ground

Mrs. King was some thirty yards from the house  
she had been shot through the heart and was horribly mutilated  
their four-year-old son, Johnny King (not to be confused with Johnny Icilius King)  
had been taken captive by the Indians

Captain Hewitt learned approximately 150 Indians were prowling in the vicinity of his camp  
he returned hastily to Seattle  
but on the return the body of Simon Cooper was also discovered by the Seattle militiamen

#### CAPTAIN MAURICE MALONEY LEARNS OF THE CONDITIONS AROUND PUGET SOUND

Captain Maloney was still in camp near Naches Pass where William Tidd eventually found him  
Tidd rode into camp and delivered the upsetting news about the recent events  
in the White River Valley -- October 31, 1855

Captain Maloney wrote two dispatches  
one to Acting-Governor Mason informing him of his decision to return to Western Washington  
second dispatch was addressed to Colonel Gabriel Rains then on the march to Yakima Country:  
**"I have concluded that it is my duty to return to Steilacoom"**

#### CAPTAIN MALONEY SENDS HIS DISPATCHES TO OLYMPIA AND FORT STEILACOOM

Captain Maurice Maloney asked for volunteers to serve as express riders to deliver his dispatches  
seemingly tireless William Tidd once again volunteered to carry the dispatches  
along with Thurston County Sheriff John Bradley -- October 31, 1855

Both express riders were accompanied by five escort riders  
Captain Maloney's Aide-de-camp Pierce County District Colonel Abram Benton Moses,  
Thurston County District Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Miles (sometimes reported as Joseph Miller),  
George R. Bright, Dr. Matthew P. Burns and Antonio B. (Tony) Rabbeson

## MILITARY SHIPS PROVIDE PROTECTION AND ARMS

Captain William Pease of the Revenue Cutter *Jefferson Davis* received an urgent request from Washington Territory Adjutant-General James Tilton who reported town of Steilacoom was in need of military ordnance for protection -- Wednesday October 31, 1855  
Captain Pease had two twelve-pound cannons with carriages hoisted overboard along with twenty-five cartridges, twelve rounds of shot, eight stands of grape shot and primers along with twenty-four wads of packing  
Captain Pease also loaned part of his crew to the Fort Steilacoom based units these revenue marines added considerably to the defense of the town of Steilacoom by helping to keep hostile forces at bay  
remaining crew members still carried out their duties aboard the *Jefferson Davis* as the revenue cutter continued to function in the Puget Sound region  
Steamer *Port Townsend* also provided protection as she traveled to Olympia with arms for that town

## CONNELL'S PRAIRIE IS REACHED BY THE EXPRESS RIDERS AND THEIR ESCORT

After leaving Captain Maloney's camp along the Naches River  
Express Riders William Tidd, Sheriff John Bradley and their escort of Colonel Abram Benton Moses, Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Miles George R. Bright, Dr. Matthew P. Burns and Tony Rabbeson began across Connell's Prairie -- afternoon Wednesday October 31, 1855  
Without warning the seven men found themselves in a camp composed of Indians from several villages -- 3:00 P.M.  
these natives were watching for soldiers coming from Fort Steilacoom out of the west no guard was posted to the east as they were not expecting riders from that direction during the brief, anxious and confused meeting  
hotheaded and unpredictable Militia Surgeon Dr. Matthew P. Burns got the idea he would kill Leschi  
somehow he mistook a young Indian for the middle-aged Nisqually chief and wrenched a pistol from the astonished young man's hands  
Burns had to be restrained by his companions to prevent the young Indian's murder  
express riders and Indians then expressed words of friendship  
riders bargained for moccasins from the Indian women  
Colonel Abram Benton Moses asked what they knew about a burned cabin along the trail these Indians denied any responsibility  
William Tidd, who had recently spent a night a terrifying in the nearby fortified cabin with Eaton's Rangers, knew better  
one of the Indians said the people responsible were on the prairie tending their animals for the winter  
(some of the express riders later swore the Indian was Leschi)  
After this encounter Tidd's Express Party started down a narrow dirt road across Connell's Prairie they turned west through a swampy area thick with brush and alder trees  
they rode into the slough Captain Eaton and Joseph Wiley had inspected three days before

this road was barely wide enough for a single wagon track  
with a great deal of fallen timber and thick underbrush on either side  
mud and water were very deep in the swamp for a full three-quarter of a mile

#### WILLIAM TIDD'S EXPRESS PARTY IS AMBUSHED

As Tidd's Express Party struggled through the swampy thicket, Indians put up a volley of musket-fire  
Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Miles (sometime referred to as Joseph Miller)  
was struck in the neck by a bullet that exited through his chest  
he fell into the mud and his companions called for him to grab a stirrup  
one of them led Miles' horse out of the swamp by the bridle  
Miles lost his grip on the stirrup -- he was too weak to move  
he gasped that he was dying, but they should make their escape  
Express party left the dying Joseph Miles -- October 31, 1855  
as the escorts rode away, William Tidd was hit in the head by three buckshot pellets  
but they did not penetrate his skull  
William Tidd and the Express party rode back through the swamp to the slough  
their horses plodded through in single file  
when a burst of musket fire poured out of a tangle of willow and salal

#### COLONEL ABRAM BENTON MOSES IS KILLED

Colonel Moses was struck in the back on the left side  
musket ball exited through his right breast immediately under his heart  
however, Moses managed to stay in the saddle through the slough for a mile-and-a-half  
Colonel Moses fell from his horse and was too weak to get back in the saddle  
his companions carried him 200 yards off the trail  
where they wrapped him in their overcoats and hid him in the brush  
Like Joseph Miles, Abram Moses was left behind -- Wednesday, October 31, 1855  
as the five remaining members of the Express party rode on looking for help

#### WILLIAM TIDD AND HIS EXPRESS RIDERS ENCOUNTER A FIGHT ALONG FENNELLS CREEK

When William Tidd and the remainder of his Express party reached a bluff above Fennell's Creek,  
(south of today's Sumner near Military Road) -- Wednesday, October 31, 1855  
they spotted another ambush  
they dismounted and charged into the brush  
three men on one side and two men on the other  
there was fierce hand-to-hand combat -- four Indians were killed  
remaining Indians fled as erratic Dr. Burns shouting after them waded into the creek  
Tidd and his companions cried out for him to come back  
but he ran on toward an almost certain death -- disappearing into a stand of alder  
there were wild yells, three shots and silence  
William Tidd, John Bradley George R. Bright and Antonio B. (Tony) Rabbeson had lost their horses  
they walked back to where they had left the still-living Colonel Moses  
but there was nothing they could do for him

they stayed hidden until dark and debated what they should do next  
should they try to make their way back to Captain Maurice Maloney's command  
or press on to Fort Steilacoom with the dispatches  
it was decided to continue on to Fort Steilacoom  
they promised Colonel Moses they would return back to him as quickly as possible  
William Tidd, John Bradley George R. Bright and Antonio B. (Tony) Rabbeson  
worked their down a steep bluff to Fennel Creek below (Victor Falls)

#### INDIANS ON CONNELL'S PRAIRIE REMAIN DISCONTENT

There was a general concentration of hostile Indians at Connell's Prairie and the Green River  
following the killing of Lieutenant James McAllister and Michael Connell [October 27],  
the massacre on the White River settlers [October 28],  
and the ambush killing Express Riders Abram Moses and Joseph Miles [October 31]

Three primary bands of Indians maintained hostilities west of the Cascade Mountains  
Nisquallies, Puyallups and White River or Duwamish Indians  
fully one hundred and fifty fighting men had assembled and had to be fed  
in addition to numerous women and children  
fish abounded in all the streams at that season of the year  
if fishing was interrupted at one place the women could find salmon elsewhere  
here the Indians were surrounded by food even up to the impenetrable foothill forests

#### ACTING-GOVERNOR MASON NEEDS ARMS AND AMMUNITION FOR THE MILITIA

Mason dispatched messages to two U.S. captains aboard their respective ships -- November 1, 1855  
Captain William Pease, Commander of the United States Revenue Cutter *Jefferson Davis*  
Commander Guert Gansevoort of the U.S. Navy Sloop-of-War USS *Decatur* then at Seattle  
Mason requested they furnish and forward weapons to Olympia as quickly as possible  
for the arming of a volunteer light infantry with mounted men

Captain Pease replied saying: **"Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th ... relative to the forwarding of arms for the use of the volunteers recently called into the field by your Excellency (sic). Unfortunately this vessel was [only] partially provided with arms on sailing from New York. I send you however as many as I can properly spare, with 350 rounds of musket cartridges and regret that I cannot fully comply with your request."**<sup>132</sup>

in addition to the musket cartridges Captain Pease supplied a considerable number of small arms  
cannons from the *Jefferson Davis* were mounted at the stockade in Olympia  
where they remained until the end of hostilities west of the Cascade Mountains  
Captain Pease also provided the services of twenty well-armed marines  
to be landed anywhere they were needed

*Decatur's* Commander Guert Gansevoort replied he had, using his own credit, purchased all the arms  
which could be procured in the town of Seattle  
Gansevoort also stationed Lieutenant Drake and two twelve-pounders with fixtures complete  
together with a large quantity of ammunition to assist in Seattle's defense

---

<sup>132</sup> Message of the Governor of Washington Territory, Olympia 1857, P. 105.

*Decatur* sailed to Apple Tree Cove (Kingston) to show the flag  
in an effort to raise the morale of the settlers and discourage the fighting spirit of the Indians

#### EXPRESS RIDERS WALK BACK TOWARD FORT STEILACOM

William Tidd, Sheriff John Bradley, George Bright and Tony Rabbeson walked cross-country  
from (Victor Falls) on Fennel Creek to the Puyallup River  
where they arrived about noon November 1, 1855  
fear of Indians had forced them to stay off the roads  
They remained in hiding until long after dark at the edge  
of the Isaac Lemon (sometimes Lemmon) Prairie (south of Sumner and east of Alderton)  
when they finally felt secure enough to continue

#### SITUATION AT FORT STEILACOOM REMAINS TENSE

Second Lieutenant John Nugen, commander at Fort Steilacoom, wrote to Acting-Governor Mason: **“I have nearly all the women and children in the country at the post and will of course protect them. I would respectfully request that all men in this section of the country be called out, as I am firmly of the belief that we are to have a general Indian war in this vicinity. Send me down cartridges at the earliest moment, as it is reported the Indians are to make an attempt at taking our fort tonight.”**<sup>133</sup>  
this report was dated November 1, 1855  
an attack never came

#### CAPTAIN MAURICE MALONEY INVESTIGATES NACHES PASS

Captain Maloney leading the Fourth U.S. Infantry Company A  
accompanied by Captain Gilmore Hays and his Militia Company A  
had spent three days searching the Naches Pass area without making contact with the enemy  
Maloney found caches of Indian provisions, which he destroyed -- November 1, 1855  
several Indian mares and colts were killed as they were of no service to the troops  
some stray Indian cattle were also found and killed which furnished food for the troops  
Captain Maloney received word that Major Gabriel Rains  
had been delayed in his departure from Fort Vancouver  
this left Maloney and his 202 men alone to confront the whole Indian force  
they were compelled to return to their camp along the Naches River

#### HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY PROVIDES ADDITIONAL SUPPORT

Hudson’s Bay Company Governor of Vancouver Island James Douglas sent the steamer *Otter*  
to Olympia to display to the Indians that they could not count on company support  
he also delivered fifty stands of guns -- half of what was available to defend Victoria if necessary  
ten barrels of gunpowder and a large supply of lead

FROM CALIFORNIA GENERAL JOHN ELLIS WOOL ORDERS MORE TROOPS BE SENT NORTH  
Department of the Pacific Commander General John E. Wool at his headquarters in Benicia, California

---

<sup>133</sup> Appendix to the Congressional Globe, Washington and Oregon War Claims -- Mr. Stevens, P. 491.

believed the volunteer militias were both illegal and inefficient

he said the territorial governors threw the militia into the field at the least sign of emergency

especially noted to receive Wool's disdain were those who volunteered and asked to be paid

General Wool maintained that war should only be carried on through defensive action

he was opposed to the territorial authorities punishing the Indians for their past misdeeds

in fact, he was so bitterly prejudiced against territorial official, their volunteers and their people

that the general's sympathies were entirely with the natives

he believed it was his highest duty was to protect natives from the local officials

he had no word of encouragement nor temperament to assist the settlers

After reading Major Gabriel Rains' reports of the Indian outbreak in Eastern Washington

and in King and Pierce Counties, Department of the Pacific Commander General John E. Wool

at his headquarters in Benicia, California ordered troops stationed in California and Oregon

into Washington Territory

additional reinforcements were not available as the whole west coast had less than 1200 men

only about 300 of these were in Washington and Oregon territories

Captain E.O.C. Ord's U.S. Third Artillery Company B was ordered to march out of California

to reinforce Major Rains

Captain Edward Fitzgerald's Company of Third Artillery First Dragoons was ordered

to march from Fort Lane, Oregon northward with all haste to Yakima Country

(Fort Lane in the Rogue River Valley was named in honor of General Joe Lane

first Governor of Oregon Territory [1853])

Captain Erasmus D. Keyes' Third Artillery Company M was ordered from the Presidio, California

to push northward with all haste to the seat of war

at the same time General Wool asked the War Department in Washington City

for an additional regiment of soldiers to be sent as quickly as possible from the east coast

(in response this request the U.S. Ninth Infantry was ordered to California [December 1855])

#### CAPTAIN MAURICE MALONEY AND LIEUTENANT WILLIAM SLAUGHTER UNITE

Due to snow so deep on Naches Pass that forage for his animals was impossible to uncover

Captain Maloney decided to return west of the mountains

with his command to protect the Puget Sound settlements

Captain Maurice Maloney's 162 soldiers of the Fourth U.S. Infantry Company A

along with Captain Gilmore Hays Volunteer Company A's forty militiamen

reached Lieutenant Slaughter's camp of forty-one men of Fourth U.S. Infantry Company C

on Connell's Prairie during the night of November 1, 1855

Captain Maloney had a force of 243 soldiers and militiamen under his command

#### WILLIAM TIDD AND HIS EXPRESS PARTY COMPLETE THEIR WALK TO FORT STEILACOOM

Long after nightfall when they finally felt secure the Express Riders set out from Lemon's Prairie

William Tidd, John Bradley George R. Bright and Tony Rabbeson traveled all night

in a miserably cold rain that chilled them to the bone

as they forded the Puyallup River on one occasion they saw a pair of Indians

but were fearful of risking a shot since the noise would alert other Indians

since the [October 31] ambush they had plodded on without food  
through a mind-numbing array of brush, swamps and streams  
They trudged through the gloom toward Fort Steilacoom  
they stumbled at last into a fortified camp at the house of Thomas and Agnes Tallentire  
on Clover Creek (southeast of Steilacoom) -- about 3:00 A.M. November 2, 1855  
slowly they continued their walk to Fort Steilacoom arriving early in the morning -- November 2

#### VOLUNTEERS ARE DISPATCHED TO RETRIEVE THE BODIES OF MOSES AND MILES

After William Tidd and his escorts reported the incidents at Bitting's Prairie  
an armed party of volunteers was dispatched from Fort Steilacoom  
to bring in their bodies -- November 2, 1855  
when they arrived at Lemon's Prairie they were startled to find Dr. Matthew Burns alive  
at Isaac Lemon's abandoned homestead  
between the east bank of the Puyallup River and the foot of Elhi Hill  
Burns related his story leaving no detail untold as he blustered about (and enhanced) his exploits  
Indians had hunted him through the brush with dogs and torches for over a mile  
until he shot the last of his seven pursuers dead  
his horse had been shot through the kidneys the doctor explained with medical precision  
he had then concealed himself (in fact only his head) in a barley sack  
(days later the doctor's horse wandered into camp unharmed)  
Volunteers returned to Fort Steilacoom bringing an animated Dr. Burns with them

#### OREGON MILITIA SETS OUT FOR FORT WALLA WALLA

Oregon Militia Lieutenant-Colonel James K. Kelly left Fort Dalles  
with 400 men of the First Oregon Volunteers Companies A,B,F,H,I and K  
they headed up the Columbia River for Fort Walla Walla -- November 2, 1855

#### OREGON MILITIA SETS OUT FOR FORT WALLA WALLA

Oregon Militia Lieutenant-Colonel James K. Kelly left Fort Dalles with 350 men  
of the First Oregon Volunteers Companies A,B,F,H,I and K  
they headed up the Columbia River for Fort Walla Walla -- November 2, 1855

#### CAPTAIN MAURICE MALONEY TAKES COMMAND OF TROOPS AROUND PUGET SOUND

Captain Maloney took command of the 243 men of his combined forces -- November 2, 1855  
Maloney led the Fourth Infantry Company A and Captain Isaac Hay's Militia Company E  
across Connell's Prairie  
when they reached Michael Connell's farmhouse and barn they saw a blackened ruin  
nothing stood but the chimney  
Maloney investigated other burned cabins belonging to the White River settlers  
signs indicated that a considerable party of hostiles had broken camp only hours earlier  
Maloney's scouts traced the Indians to the White River Canyon  
Lieutenant William Slaughter's forty-one men of the Fourth Infantry Company C  
moved to the Puyallup River to prevent Indian groups from joining together -- November 2, 1855

Chief Leschi's men were spotted by an advance group of Major Maloney's returning column  
Leschi fell back to the right bank of the White River -- November 2, 1855  
Captain Maloney returned to Camp Connell on Connell's Prairie  
there he remained as patrols were sent out to investigate the region

#### INDIANS ON CONNELL'S PRAIRIE REMAIN DISCONTENT

Following the killing of Lieutenant James McAllister and Michael Connell [October 27],  
the massacre on the White River [October 28],  
and the ambushing of the Express Riders [October 31]  
there was a general concentration of hostile Indians at Connell's Prairie and the Green River  
Three primary bands or families of Indians maintained hostilities west of the Cascade Mountains  
Nisquallies, Puyallups and White River or Duwamish Indians  
fully one hundred and fifty fighting men had assembled and had to be fed  
besides numerous women and children  
fish abounded in all the streams at that season of the year  
if fishing was interrupted at one place the women could find salmon elsewhere  
here the Indians were surrounded by food even up to the impenetrable foothill forests  
however, they faced several organizational difficulties:

- they acknowledged no central authority -- jealous wrangling among petty chiefs continued,
- dissatisfaction arose regarding Leschi's rebuke for the massacre on the White River,
- a shortage of firearms and ammunition which could not be replenished impeded them  
but morale remained high

#### ACTING-GOVERNOR CHARLES MASON'S CALLS FOR ADDITIONAL MILITIAMEN

Acting-Governor Mason's call for militiamen was answered -- November 2, 1855  
600 men agreed to serve in the Washington Territory Volunteers  
each volunteer signed a three month term of enlistment at \$18 per month  
after electing their officers they were to hold themselves in reserve for any emergency  
in all, these forces amounted to a regiment -- but were not organized as such  
settlers were only lightly armed and many chose to leave their weapons with their families  
many militiamen proved to be both valuable and valiant while others were quite useless  
there was no time to sort out which was which before they marched into action

#### ADDITIONAL VOLUNTEER MILITIA COMPANIES ARE FORMED

Additional Washington Territory Volunteers Militia units were formed -- November 2, 1855

- Company G, infantry led by Captain W.A.L. McCorkle  
twenty-two men from Cowlitz County constructed blockhouse defenses;
- Company H, seventy-five infantrymen recruited in Seattle and King County  
was led by Captain Christopher C. Hewitt  
Company H was already in the field along the White River although they had not been added  
to the muster rolls of Washington Territory Volunteer Militia companies;
- Company I, eighty-four infantrymen from Port Townsend led by Captain Isaac N. Ebey  
performed a great deal of active and detached service in the upper Puget Sound region

and Snohomish country;

- Company J, twenty-nine infantrymen from Port Townsend led by Captain A. Plummer were assigned garrison duty at Port Townsend;
- Company K, thirty-six mounted Lewis County militiamen led by Captain John R. Jackson served as scouts;
- Cowlitz Rangers, thirty-nine mounted militiamen from Cowlitz Landing led by Captain Peers served as scouts;
- Nisqually Ferry Guards were led by Sergeant William Packwood they constantly guarded the ferry which was a difficult and dangerous assignment and kept communications open between Olympia and Fort Steilacoom

Once the muster rolls were filled they were listed  
as the First Regiment of Washington Territory Volunteers

#### TERRITORIAL LEADERS MAKE CAMPAIGN PLANS FOR WESTERN WASHINGTON

Best count available estimated the Indian population in the Puget Sound region at about 6,000  
Acting-Governor Mason and Indian Agent Colonel Michael T. Simmons inaugurated a war policy  
which was designed to separate the friendly Indians from the warriors

and to persuade those natives who were uncommitted to the cause of war not to participate  
enemies were declared to be all those Indians on the east side of Puget Sound

who ignored the protection of the territorial government and refused to go to the reservation  
also, those natives who chose to live with the hostile Indians were to be considered enemies

Numerous Indian sub-Agents were appointed to gather all of the Puget Sound Indians

and to keep as many of them out of the hostile camp as possible

about 4,000 Indians were herded onto temporary reservations at Fox Island, Point Monroe,  
Whidbey Island and other places where it was hoped they could be kept beyond the reach  
of other Indians attempting to lure them into war

this policy was successful to a large extent and quelled the number of Indian outbreaks  
nothing else could have averted a general Indian uprising

it was noted: **“The remaining 2,000 who escaped internment remained in their homes, hoping and praying that the storm would pass them by. Some decided to determine which way the wind was blowing before choosing sides. Others didn’t wait to debate; they cast their lot with Leschi and the other war leaders, and gathered in an Indian army that would subsequently grow and diminish in the months ahead.”**<sup>134</sup>

#### PUGET SOUND REGION IS DIVIDED INTO THREE SECTORS

Northern Sector included the settlement of Seattle and continued north to the Canadian border

Sloop-of-war USS *Decatur* under command of Guert Gansevoort  
was assigned to protect the northern flank of Puget Sound

they were to keep the much feared Haida and Kwakiutl Indians from raiding south

Northern Sector included the settlement of Seattle and continued north to the Canadian border

Middle Sector included the settlement Tacoma

---

<sup>134</sup> J.A. Eckrom, *Remembered Drums*, P. 44.

this was under the protection of the U.S. Fourth Infantry at Fort Steilacoom  
and the Revenue Cutter *Jefferson Davis*

Southern Sector included the settlements of Olympia, Cowlitz, Monticello and Vancouver  
and continued south to the Oregon border

Captain Charles Eaton and his forty-one mounted Rangers would take up a position  
on the Nisqually River and await further orders

they were to cut off the Indian approach from the Cascades toward the Nisqually Valley

#### CAPTAIN MALONEY RECONNOITERS THE REGION AROUND CONNELL'S PRAIRIE

Maloney sent Lieutenant William Slaughter's forty-one men of the Fourth Infantry Company C  
to the Puyallup River to prevent Indian groups from joining together -- November 2, 1855

Captain Maloney led the Fourth Infantry Company A and Captain Isaac Hay's Militia Company E  
across Connell's Prairie

when they reached Michael Connell's farmhouse and barn they saw a blackened ruin  
nothing stood but the chimney

Maloney investigated other burned-out cabins belonging to the White River settlers  
signs indicated that a considerable party of hostiles had broken camp only hours earlier  
Maloney's scouts traced the Indians to the White River Canyon

#### LOCATION OF THE INDIANS IS DISCOVERED

An advance party Captain Maurice Maloney's command suddenly came upon Indians  
on Connell's Prairie forcing the Indians to quickly withdraw -- November 2, 1855

Captain Maloney returned to Camp Connell

Captain Maloney's 243 men had taken full possession of the Connell's Prairie without firing a gun

#### LESCHI BECOMES THE LEADER OF THE REBELLING INDIANS

With the return of Captain Maurice Maloney and his troops to Connell's Prairie

conflicts among the chiefs suddenly ceased and many of the young men skulked off into the brush  
all eyes were turned to Leschi

without a formal agreement he immediately became the undisputed commander  
of all of the hostile forces in the vicinity of Puget Sound

Leschi established a camp for his people

to the rear of the Indian camp two miles distant ran the Green River in a deep canyon  
two miles to the northwest of the natives' camp the White River roared through a deep canyon  
where Chief Leschi could conceal his men to ambush any attempted crossing

Indians faced several organizational difficulties

they acknowledged no central authority -- jealous wrangling among petty chiefs continued  
dissatisfaction arose regarding Leschi's rebuke for the massacre on the White River  
a shortage of firearms and ammunition which could not be replenished impeded them

But morale remained high

when the time came Chief Leschi went to the battlefield in person

he asked no one to take any risks which he and his closest followers were not willing to share  
he was a good shot and was always calm in the presence of the enemy

he inspired confidence among his followers by his example

#### LESCHI PICKS HIS WHITE RIVER BATTLEGROUND WELL

White River was a roaring torrent for miles above and below the location of the Indian camp  
at low water this river could be forded in only a very few places  
and not at all when the river was running so high  
ferrying across was impossible

White River Valley is narrow at that location and filled with drift wood on either side the river  
bluffs on either bank of the river were five hundred or six hundred feet above the water level  
and very steep -- in some places almost perpendicular  
fallen timber and dense underbrush provided cover so thick that in most places  
a retreat of thirty feet would completely conceal a warrior from his enemy  
four miles above the battle ground a good crossing of White River  
on the only wagon road in the near vicinity was known to both forces  
Fort Steilacoom was twenty miles to the west with only one wagon road leading to the White River  
Seattle was thirty miles to the northwest with no road leading southeast from the village

#### CAPTAIN MALONEY DISPATCHES LIEUTENANT SLAUGHTER TO THE GREEN RIVER

All of the country between the Cowlitz River and Puget Sound had been deserted  
inhabitants had taken refuge in stockades and blockhouses  
Captain Maloney at Camp Connell was in command of the forces operating in the Puget Sound region  
Captain Maurice Maloney remained at Camp Connell and dispersed his troops -- November 3, 1855  
Lieutenant Slaughter's Fourth Infantry Company C marched to White and Green Rivers  
accompanied by Revenue Service Second Lieutenant James E. Harrison and fifty men  
Militia Captain William H. Wallace's Washington Territory Volunteers Company D  
was stationed on the Puyallup River keeping in communication with Lieutenant Slaughter  
Militia Captain Christopher Hewitt's Washington Territory Volunteers Company H  
proceeded up the White and Green rivers  
and placed himself in communication with Lieutenant Slaughter  
Militia Captain Gilmore Hays' Washington Territory Volunteers Company A  
proceeded to the Nisqually River and Muck Prairie to better protect Olympia

#### LIEUTENANT SLAUGHTER MARCHES TO THE WHITE RIVER

Captain Maurice Maloney sent Lieutenant William Slaughter and his Fourth Infantry Company C  
to cross the White River and engage Chief Leschi's forces -- November 3, 1855  
Militia Captain Gilmore Hays was to lead Washington Territory Volunteer Militia Company A  
along the opposite side of the White River  
Lieutenant Slaughter marched his men all day -- November 3, 1855  
camp was made on the west side of the White River -- no Indians had been seen

#### LIEUTENANT WILLIAM SLAUGHTER PREPARES TO SEARCH FOR THE INDIANS

Lieutenant Slaughter sent out a ten-man squad accompanied by two loggers  
who crossed the three miles to the White River -- November 4, 1855

they reached west bank where Slaughter intended to cross

one of the loggers set about cutting two poplar trees to be used as a makeshift bridge  
Indians either already there or attracted by the sounds of axes began firing from across the river

one of the loggers was hit in the neck by a musket ball and killed

Slaughter was still a half mile away from his advance party

traveling the rough trail as quickly as possible his men arrived on the scene

White River was a roaring torrent

the valley was narrow and filled with driftwood on either side of the river

boulders, sand and numerous sandbars increased the surge of water

## BATTLE AT WHITE RIVER CANYON TAKES PLACE

Chiefs Kanasket, Quiemuth and Powhowtish led a large force of warriors

they were concealed behind brush and rock atop a high bluff

along the east bank above the White River

estimates of the number of warriors the varied from eighty to more than two hundred

First general engagement of the war got under way -- 9:00 A.M. Sunday November 4, 1855

an attempt was made to fell a tree across the river but in the back-and-forth exchange of gunfire

an Indian sharpshooter killed a soldier

both sides fought from behind the cover of enormous tangles of driftwood logs that lined the banks

Slaughter's troops kept up a heavy fire across the river for six hours

soldiers usually took aim at a brush patch where a puff of smoke had been seen

their efforts to dislodge or even discover the sharpshooters failed

Indians soon discovered that if any object was shown above the brush cover

troops on the opposite side of the river would fire at it from various points

they began to push up a hat on a stick until it came into sight and drew fire from the troops

down would go the hat and another Indian was reported killed

this game went on until it became a standing joke

and brought howls of delight from Indians all along the firing line

Behind the Indians a good trail led down the steep hill parallel with the right bank of the river

as noon approached Indians began to withdraw from the firing line and go down the hill

where food was available for them to eat -- several forgot to return to the fight

Captain Maurice Maloney may have been aware of the trail

but he was unable to divide his force to complete a flanking movement of the Indians

Chief Leschi, no doubt, held fears all day of an attack from the rear

It was becoming too dark for the troops to cross the White River -- 3:00 P.M. November 4

Chief Leschi's warriors fell back two miles to their camp on the bank of the Green River

they were jubilant at having successfully prevented the soldiers from crossing the White River

further active operations in the region was impracticable due to the height of the rivers

Lieutenant Slaughter and Militia Captain Hays returned to Camp Connell

Captain Isaac Hays was pleased with his militiamen of Company E

First day's battle resulted in the expenditure of a great deal of ammunition -- but not much blood

Maloney had conducted his first battle while suffering only one soldier killed

two privates were wounded, one soldier and one militiaman

there were near-misses for others

two soldiers came away with bullet holes in their hats,

Corporal William Northcraft of Captain Hay's Company E had part of his boot shot away  
accounts of Indian fatalities ranged from one to thirty (claimed in Slaughter's official report) killed  
a total of thirty Indians had been involved in the fight

(not the two hundred that were suspected)

Puyallup Indian Tye Dick described by the battle as "lots and lots of fun"<sup>135</sup>

#### OREGON MILITIA LIEUTENANT-COLONEL KELLY MEETS WITH PEU-PEU-MOX-MOX

Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly met with Walla Walla Chief Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox

near the confluence of the Touchet and Walla Walla rivers -- November 4, 1855

Walla Walla Indians had allied with the Cayuse, Umatilla and Palouse natives  
this conference did not go well

Kelly suspected treachery on the part of Chief Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox

#### CAPTAIN MAURICE MALONEY SEEKS OUT THE INDIANS

Captain Maloney advanced with 150 men back to the White River -- November 4, 1855

but found no Indians at the river crossing

Chief Leschi had withdrawn to the Green River where his main supply camp was located

To reach Leschi's camp from Connell's Prairie required a march of two miles to the brow of a bluff  
then a descent of 600 feet to the narrow canyon of the White River

before ascending the opposite bluff to the prairie above

next a mile long march was necessary to another bluff 500 feet above the Green River

this whole distance, except for the first mile, required using a very steep, crooked, slippery  
Indian trail that took them into the Green River Valley

#### CAPTAIN MAURICE MALONEY ATTEMPTS TO ENGAGE THE INDIANS

Captain Maloney marched to Chief Leschi's camp at the Green River

but the slowness of the march and the difficulty of the terrain made it late in the day

before the Indians were encountered and an indecisive fight

led to two of Maloney's men being wounded -- Monday morning November 5, 1855

Indian casualties, if any, were unknown

Captain Maurice Maloney marched his men four miles back to the Connell's Prairie camp

in spite of the vast number of difficulties he faced, it was a blunder for Major Maloney to withdraw

as, in fact, the Indian camp was a few hundred yards from where contact was broken off

there the Indians' equipment, women and children and accumulation of food was located

Maloney's withdrawal also provided the Indians with a breathing spell

#### LIEUTENANT SLAUGHTER SEEKS OUT THE INDIANS

Militia Captain William Wallace who was stationed in the Puyallup Valley with twenty-five men

of the Washington Territory Volunteers Company D joined Lieutenant Slaughter

---

<sup>135</sup> Ezra Meeker, *Pioneer Reminiscences of Puget Sound: The Tragedy of Leschi*, P. 314.

When Wallace arrived Lieutenant Slaughter led a combined force in search of the Indians  
but the Indians were gone from the White River -- Monday morning November 5, 1855  
a fallen tree stretched unsteadily across the river and bobbed into the current as the men crossed  
footing became slippery  
some of the men dropped their weapons into the water  
some fell into the current to emerge dripping wet on the far bank  
Slaughter himself toppled into the river but was rescued by an outstretched arm  
Lieutenant William Slaughter set out from Camp Connell with his Fourth Infantry Company C  
and Wallace's Militia Company D continued across Muckleshoot Prairie -- November 5  
they reached a bluff above the Green River Valley  
as they passed a big hollow cedar stump an attacker burst out, fired his musket  
and disappeared before anyone could react  
militiaman Andy Burge was hit on the knee with a musket ball  
some said the attacker was the feared War Chief Kanasket himself

#### LIEUTENANT SLAUGHTER IS EAGER TO ENGAGE THE INDIANS

Lieutenant Slaughter ordered his troops to set up a defensive position  
sergeants were ordered to establish a perimeter along the flanks closest to the enemy  
militiamen, knowing that presented the greatest danger, responded by ignoring the orders  
Slaughter exerted his authority verbally and the militiamen complied  
Fighting broke out and stretched along a two mile long front  
along both sides of the Green River -- Monday November 5, 1855  
this cold, wet day became the scene of unpleasant memories  
Pierce County Sheriff ran about frantically trying to fire a half-cocked double-barrel shotgun  
an Indian standing on the roof of a longhouse banged a drum to encourage the warriors  
several shots were taken at him before he disappeared -- he was either hit or practical  
Slaughter's troops tramped along narrow Indian trails through dense woods  
rain turning to snow fell in abundance  
during the night they were surrounded by Indians  
soldiers and militiamen were unable to light any fire -- not even a pipe  
as the cover of darkness was their only protection  
all night long they laid collapsed on the sodden ground  
shivering with cold and fear they waited in the dark

#### U.S. ARMY PURSUES OREGON TERRITORY'S COQUILLE INDIANS

Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey was stationed at Benicia, California  
he led 130 men the U.S. Second Infantry First Dragoons Companies A, C and E  
on a punitive expedition to the mouth of the Coquille River  
in response to the (September) murder of five white men by Coquille Indians  
Coquille Indians fired on the soldiers and retreated back up the Coquille River -- November 5, 1855  
Lieutenant-Colonel Casey sent to Port Orford for three boats to pursue the attackers

## LIEUTENANT SLAUGHTER MAKES CONTACT WITH THE HOSTILE INDIANS<sup>136</sup>

Dawn arrived and the men of the Fourth Infantry Company C and Militia Company D  
lit a smoky fire using wet wood -- their rations were almost gone -- Tuesday November 6, 1855  
Indians, although unseen, were just across the White River  
Militiaman Tom Perkins climbed a tall tree and shouted out to the Indians in Chinook Jargon  
asking they why they were fighting  
if they sent three emissaries to talk an agreement could be reached and everyone could go home  
Indians responded to this suggestion with defiance  
they said the troops were cowards who refused to stand and fight  
Indians' fishing and hunting grounds had been stolen and their women abused  
they promised Indian vengeance  
when Perkins sarcastically suggested they could perhaps send three women to do the talking  
he was driven out of the tree by a hail of gunfire  
Lieutenant Slaughter ordered his men to shoot on sight any Indian they encountered

## LIEUTENANT WILLIAM SLAUGHTER PRESSES THE BATTLE<sup>137</sup>

Lieutenant Slaughter moved his command into South Prairie south of Connell's Prairie  
he had no decent maps of the area and there were few recognizable landmarks  
when they reached a river they did not know if it was the Carbon River  
or a rain-swollen South Prairie Creek -- Tuesday November 6, 1855  
Indians opened fire from a thicket of salal on the opposite bank but most of their shots went wide  
troops lined up on a log that had fallen across the swollen river and started across  
on musket ball hit Militia Private John Edgar in the chest and passed through his lung  
before striking Militia Private Addison Parham and inflicting a grisly wound  
Slaughter's troops in two columns of fifty men each bounded forward  
hoping to catch Indians in jaws of a trap  
Slaughter's column took the worst of it as two more privates fell wounded  
Slaughter's men struggled across the torrent but they found no Indians  
during a search of the area Corporal Magek, a regular soldier,  
was wounded in both legs by buckshot  
Lieutenant William Slaughter turned back toward Camp Connell having accomplished little  
his wounded men and John Edgar's body were carried on boards ripped from a deserted cabin

## CAPAIN MAURICE MALONEY AGAIN SEEKS OUT THE INDIANS

After having made the tactical mistake of withdrawing and leaving an enemy immediately ahead  
Captain Maloney compounded his error -- Tuesday November 6, 1855  
he led his expedition of a one hundred men out of camp in a search for hostiles  
he marched six miles to South Prairie going in an almost opposite direction  
away from the Indians' main encampment  
Indians were discovered and Captain Maurice Maloney divided his forces

---

<sup>136</sup> J.A. Eckrom, *Remembered Drums*, P. 52-53.

<sup>137</sup> J.A. Eckrom, *Remembered Drums*, P. 53-54.

Maloney put fifty men in each detachment  
one detachment crossed Finnell's Prairie in an unsuccessful search  
second detachment led by Maloney traveled by a direct trail for six miles across South Prairie  
Indians sharpshooters killed five of Maloney's men  
after firing, the attackers withdrew a little deeper into the brush and could not be seen  
Captain Maloney immediately withdrew without inflicting any damage on the Indians  
Captain Maloney marched his men back to his camp on Connell's Prairie  
he had accomplished nothing and had lost five men in the process  
that night, Chief Kanaskat and his Klickitat warriors surrounded the camp  
they closed in, fired a volley and withdrew into the darkness

#### CAPTAIN MALONEY'S FORCES SUFFER FROM DISCOURAGEMENT

Captain Maurice Maloney, Lieutenant William Slaughter, Militia Captain William H. Wallace  
and Militia Captain Christopher Hewitt had learned it was not fun to fight Indians  
in cold, rainy, wintry weather where every bush could conceal an ambush  
or, at least, a shower of accumulated rain waiting for the arrival of an intruder  
it was impossible to move in any direction without becoming drenched to the skin  
and chilled to the bone

#### CAPTAIN MAURICE MALONEY WITHDRAWS FROM CONNELL'S PRAIRIE

Captain Maloney began his retreat back to Fort Steilacoom -- November 7, 1855  
leading his Fourth Infantry Company A and Lieutenant Slaughter's Company C of regulars  
along with the militiamen of Captain William H. Wallace's Company D  
and Captain Christopher Hewitt's Company H  
warriors had put up a great deal more resistance than anyone had thought possible  
they would not be frightened into submission -- full scale battles would be required  
(Maloney arrived at Fort Steilacoom with his wounded and dead  
including Colonel Abram Benton Moses, Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Miles  
and Lieutenant James McAllister [November 9])  
Lieutenant William Slaughter established Camp Maloney along the north bank of the Puyallup River

#### MAJOR GABRIEL RAINS FIRES ON THE YAKIMA INDIANS

Major Rains led his force of mixed Regular and Militia troops to the Yakima Valley  
to punish the Indians for the defeat of Major Granville O. Haller the month before  
Rains discovered Yakima Chief Kamiakin had a well-placed force of warriors on the crest of a hill  
Rains bombarded the Indians with howitzer fire for several hours -- Wednesday November 7, 1855  
Major Rains ordered Captain Ferdinand Augur to charge the hill  
Augur was able to drive off the Indians and they scattered

#### MAJOR GABRIEL RAINS SKIRMISHES WITH THE YAKIMA INDIANS

Major Rains arrived at the mouth of Toppenish Creek with his 370 soldiers and 400 militiamen  
about fifty Indians under Yakima Chief Kamiakin fired on the leading units of the army  
and fell back across Toppenish Creek

Major Rains ordered Lieutenant Phil Sheridan and his twenty dragoons  
into the shallow but icy and swift current in pursuit -- Thursday November 8, 1885  
as Sheridan crossed, the Indians attacked  
but the soldiers were able to drive them off -- Sheridan lost two men drowned  
Indians at (today's Union Gap) rode to the sound of the guns  
they ran into Oregon Militia Captain T. R. Cornelius' mounted volunteers  
both groups exchanged fired until dark  
two Indians were wounded as was one Oregon militiaman  
Rains pushed his troops up the Yakima River during the afternoon and into the darkness  
on the verge of losing the fight, Major Rains ordered his men into camp for the night  
Kamiakin met with his other chiefs and decided to make his stand at Union Gap

#### PUYALLUP VALLEY VOLUNTEERS RETURN HOME TO INVESTIGATE

Settler John Carson led a seventeen-man expedition back to their homes  
in the Puyallup Valley -- November 8, 1855  
they found their homesteads undamaged and recovered much of what they had left behind  
in their flight to the safety of Fort Steilacoom  
during their adventure they felt compelled inflict damage on the local Indians  
by destroying a canoe and some dried salmon -- they also captured a horse  
(after a week of investigations Carson and his men returned to Fort Steilacoom  
this did a great deal of allay the fears of the settlers -- some even began to move home)

#### MAJOR GABRIEL RAINS CONDUCTS THE BATTLE OF UNION GAP

Major Rains broke camp and marched his mixed troops between the twin buttes  
of Ahtanum Ridge -- Friday November 9, 1855  
Indians rode up and fired on the soldiers then fell back, but Rains kept coming  
when he reached the top of a ridge he unleashed his mountain howitzers  
a few rounds drove the Indians away  
Major Rains continued his march  
Indians had relocated themselves atop a hill in a gap in the mountains  
where they had constructed a breastwork  
warriors beat their war drums while the women sang their war chant  
Major Rains and Captain Ferdinand Auger led two companies of infantrymen in an assault of the hill  
howitzers smashed the Indians' fortifications and scattered the defenders  
Rains ordered a flanking maneuver and the Indians fled  
Oregon volunteers accompanying the Regular Army decided it was now a free-for-all  
militiamen built bonfires to celebrate their great victory  
but Rains ordered them back into camp  
Indians came up and enjoyed the warmth of the fires in the cold weather

#### YAKIMA INDIANS CONDUCT A SUCCESSFUL RETREAT

Outnumbered and outgunned, Kamiakin and his chiefs skillfully evacuated the women and children  
across the icy Columbia River far from their usual sources of food -- November 10, 1855

they also had abandoned their cattle and lost many horses in the Columbia's current  
Wasco Indian scout Cut Mouth John saw a Yakima Indian on a lame horse  
he gave pursuit and killed the man whose only weapon was flint-lock pistol that would not fire  
this was the only Indian death during the fight  
Some Yakama families went into winter camp near Moses Lake  
others moved in with relatives in the Palouse country  
many Indians blamed Kamiakin for their troubles and these feelings spread to the Wenatchee,  
Wanapum, Columbia, Klickitat, Palouse and Wishram Indians  
Kamiakin never returned to the Yakama Country

#### MAJOR GABRIEL RAINS ORDERS A HALT AT ST. JOSEPH'S CATHOLIC MISSION

Major Rains ordered Lieutenant Sheridan's dragoons toward Naches Pass with some mounted militia  
to make contact with a column expected over the mountains from Fort Steilacoom  
both Sheridan and Captain Maurice Maloney's Fort Steilacoom soldiers  
were blocked by a snowstorm -- both groups turned back  
this same storm covered the Indians' tracks  
Major Gabriel Rains withdrew through the Yakima Mountains in deep snow

#### ST. JOSEPH'S MISSION IS BURNED

Major Rains stopped near St. Joseph's mission near Kamiakin's main summer camp  
Rains gave the volunteers permission to harvest vegetables from Father Charles Pandosy's garden,  
but the Oregonians took the priest's herd of pigs as well  
Cut Mouth John pillaged Father Pandosy's home -- much to the disgust of Major Rains  
militiamen discovered a half keg of gunpowder buried in Father Pandosy's garden  
they convinced themselves that Pandosy was in league with the enemy  
so they stole the rest of Pandosy's possessions, tore down his small cabin<sup>138</sup>

St. Joseph's Catholic Mission was burned to the ground

Father Charles Pandosy traveled to Olympia to warn Acting-Governor Charles Mason  
Father Eugene Casimir Chirouse wrote to Father Pascal Ricard who had filed a land claim  
for St. Joseph's Mission in Thurston County [1848]: **"All of the country is on fire. One only  
hears of battles, murders, plundering, burnings ... As yet none of us have been killed, but we do not  
know from day to day ... The bad Indians call us the allies of the Americans, and plan evil projects  
... I have not been able to get any news of our other Fathers. Rumor has it that Father Pandosy has  
been killed. Several people say so! Can it be true? For fifteen days I have not slept. Shall I be able to  
sleep tonight any better? Pray for us"**<sup>139</sup>

Father Chirouse transferred to Olympia

#### INGLORIOUS END OF MAJOR GABRIEL RAINS' CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN WASHINGTON

Major Rains had failed in his mission to suppress the Indians  
Lieutenant Phillip Sheridan noted the mission had been a "wretched failure"

---

<sup>138</sup> David Wilma, *HistoryLink.org* Essay 8124, March 30, 2007.

<sup>139</sup> Margaret Riddle, *HistoryLink.org*, Essay 9033, April 17, 2003.

Captain Edward O. C. Ord of the Third Artillery preferred charges against Major Rains  
Rains countered by accusing Captain Ord of looting Father Pandosy's shoes  
(Ord had gone on the campaign wearing carpet slippers)<sup>140</sup>

Neither matter reached resolution since Department of the Pacific Commander General John E. Wool  
lacked officers of sufficient rank to court martial Major Rains  
General Wool simply ignored the charge against Ord

## SNOHOMISH RIVER BECOMES AN AREA OF CONCERN FOR THE SETTLERS

Fifty men from Port Townsend led by Captain Isaac Ebey  
were mustered into the Washington Territory Volunteers as Company I  
Ebey loaded his men aboard the forty-six foot schooner *A.Y. Trask*  
as sailed to the Snohomish River -- November 10, 1855

it was feared Indians from Eastern Washington Territory would attempt to cross the mountains  
travel down the river and attack the settlers  
to prevent this Ebey's Company I built Fort Ebey was a stockade with four blockhouses  
on Ebey Island in the Snohomish River

*A.Y. Trask* sailed around the mouth of the Snohomish River displaying a pair of cannons  
(little was accomplished as no hostile Indians ventured down the river

*A.Y. Trask's* only action occurred [in mid-February 1856] when she returned to Port Townsend  
during a ceremonial salute a cannon burst blowing several fingers and a piece of scalp  
from an unfortunate sailor)<sup>141</sup>

## WASHINGTON TERRITORY ACTING-GOVERNOR MASON ADDS MORE MILITIA COMPANIES

Acting-Governor Charles Mason expanded the Washington Territory Volunteer Militia  
Adjutant General James Tilton issued General Orders Number 2 -- November 13, 1855

Edward Lander was appointed Aid to the Acting Governor and Commander-in-Chief  
Lander was assigned the rank of Lieutenant Colonel;

Dr. Matthew P. Burns was commissioned as Surgeon of Company B;

Dr. R. M. Bigelow was commissioned as Surgeon of Company D;

Dr. Gallio K. Willard was commissioned as Surgeon of the First Regiment;

A. B. Stuart was commissioned as commissary of subsistence for the post of Olympia

Stuart was to provide rations for all volunteers and rangers at the Olympia post

Adjutant General James Tilton's General Orders Number 2 continued:

- Captain William Strong had marched his militiamen of Company B  
to join General Gabriel Rains who was to become Captain Strong's commanding officer;
- Captain Isaac Hays and Company E was to occupy the country adjacent to Chamber's Prairie  
and will remain ready to carry out marching orders;
- Captain W.A.L. McCorkle's Company G was to guard the mountain passes  
of the Lewis River and intercept all communication between hostiles east of the Cascades;
- Captain Christopher Hewitt and Company H was to establish a post at the forks

---

<sup>140</sup> David Wilma, *HistoryLink.org* Essay 8124, March 30, 2007.

<sup>141</sup> J.A. Eckron, *Remembered Drums*, P. 57.

of the White and Green rivers and communicate with Captain Maurice Maloney who was in command of regular and militia forces at Camp Montgomery;  
•Captain Isaac Ebey with Company I was to establish his position at Port Townsend and furnish a guard at the mouth of the Snohomish River, to prevent any of the enemy from descending the river or having any communication with the friendly Indians inhabiting the shores of Puget Sound

## WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL MILITIA BUILDS MOST OF THE BLOCKHOUSES

In addition to forming militia companies several communities began construction on blockhouses military troops had built several blockhouses at critical locations

Thurston County blockhouses and stockades

Eaton's Blockhouse was built on Charles H. Eaton's Yelm Prairie land by militiamen of Eaton's Rangers to defend local settlers

while Eaton's Rangers were away defending against an Indians uprising [1855] (Eaton's Blockhouse is not to be confused with Fort Eaton on Chamber's Prairie)

Fort Preston was a blockhouse was constructed by Washington Territory Volunteer located at Michael's Fork of the Nisqually River [1855]

Fort Raglan was a blockhouse built by Washington Territory Volunteers on the Joel Myers land claim at Packwood's Ferry, a critical Nisqually River crossing [1855] widow and children of Lieutenant James McAllister lived at the fort during part of the winter [1855-1856]

Fort Miller was a blockhouse on Tenalquot Plain built by Washington Territory Volunteers [1855] located near Olympia it honored pioneer and militiaman William Winlock Miller who was the first mayor of Olympia

Olympia Blockhouses and stockade was composed of two blockhouses built in the center of town by the Washington Territory Volunteers [1856]

after they were abandoned they became the city jail (location of the Olympia Blockhouses and stockade is today Capital Park)

Fort Skookum was composed of two blockhouses, a ten-foot high timber stockade and five houses built by Washington Territory Volunteers on Skookum Bay along south Puget Sound [1856]

Fort Stevens was constructed on Yelm Creek on the Yelm Prairie (near today's Yelm) by Washington Territory Volunteers led by Captain Gilmore Hays [1856]

Fort Stevens named in honor of Washington Territory Isaac Ingalls Stevens it served as a supply depot

King County blockhouses and stockades

Fort Dent was a blockhouse constructed by the Washington Territory Volunteers -- 1855 southeast of the confluence of the Black and Green Rivers

as they merged to form the Duwamish River (Black River no longer exists) at the site there was once a Duwamish Indian tribe winter village

it was named for Captain Frederick T. Dent, commander Company B, U.S. Ninth Infantry

Captain Dent had fought in the Yakima War and would go on to become a brigadier general (this is now a Tukwila City Park and has a marker describing the fort)

Fort Lander and stockade was built by Washington Territory Volunteers

along the Duwamish River [1856] and later moved upriver and placed along the south bank here a walled stockade ninety-eight by fifty-eight foot was constructed it was named for Captain Edward Lander, Washington Territory Volunteers (and was located today's city of SeaTac)

Fort Alden was a blockhouse constructed by members of the Washington Territorial Militia [1856] located on the Snoqualmie River (near the town of present-day Fall City)

Fort Alden was built to deter Indians from crossing from Eastern Washington through Snoqualmie Pass

named for Captain James Alden of the U.S. surveying steamer *Active* this blockhouse was sometime referred to as Fort Alder

Fort Smalley, constructed by Washington Territory Volunteers, was located on the north bank of the Snoqualmie River opposite Fort Alden [1856]

Fort Tilton was located three miles below the Snoqualmie Falls (near today's Fall City) it was constructed by Washington Territory Volunteers [1856]

and was named in honor of Washington Volunteers Adjutant General James Tilton

Fort Tilton completed a triangle of forts that included Fort Alden and Fort Smalley

Fort Tilton, the largest of the three posts, served as a supply depot

it included a blockhouse and enough buildings so that it could serve

as the headquarters and main supply depot of the Northern Battalion

but Fort Tilton was abandoned after serving for only two months

Lewis County blockhouses and stockade

Fort at Cowlitz Landing was established by members of the Washington Territorial Militia

this blockhouse surrounded by a stockade was built on the north bank of the Cowlitz River at the highest point where the river was navigable [1856]

(today the site and a marker are on the north side of the Cowlitz River

near the Interstate-5 highway bridge in the vicinity to Toledo, Washington)

Snohomish County blockhouses and stockade

Fort Ebey was a stockade with four blockhouses, one in each corner,

constructed by Washington Territory Volunteers on Ebey Island in the Snohomish River -- 1855

it was named in honor of Colonel Isaac Ebey

(it is not to be confused with Jacob Ebey's blockhouse on Whidbey Island)

Pierce County blockhouses

Fort McAllister was a blockhouse constructed by Washington Territory Volunteers on South Prairie -- 1855

it was named for Lieutenant James McAllister of Eaton's Rangers who was killed in action

Fort Hicks, was a blockhouse built by Washington Territory Volunteers on the Military Road

about twelve miles east of Fort Steilacoom where Camp Montgomery had been located -- 1855

(near today's Spanaway the exact location of Fort Hicks is unknown today)

Fort Hicks honored Washington militiaman and businessman Urban East Hicks

Fort Hays (also known as Connell Prairie Blockhouse) was a two-story blockhouse

built by members of the Washington Territorial Militia [1856] near the location

where Lieutenant James McAllister and Michael Connell were killed -- 1855

on Connell's Prairie near (near the present town of Bonney Lake)  
this blockhouse was named for Major Gilmore Hays Company A mounted militiamen  
Fort White was a blockhouse constructed at Montgomery's Crossing on the Puyallup River  
by Washington Territory Volunteers [1856] (its exact location is unknown today)  
this blockhouse was named in honor of Captain J. A. White  
Fort Pike was a blockhouse constructed by the Washington Territory Volunteers  
at the White River Crossing to protect the route [1856]  
(this blockhouse may also have been known as Fort Posey)

#### Jefferson County blockhouses

Fort Townsend was a blockhouse built by Washington Territory Volunteers [1856]  
it was located at the entrance to Puget Sound on the west side of Townsend Bay  
(this site is now a State Park with a marker indicating its history)

Fort Mason was a rough log hut built by militiamen [1857]  
(today it is within Fort Worden State Park)

#### Clark County blockhouse

Fort Riggs was a blockhouse constructed by Washington Territory Volunteers [1856]  
built a blockhouse in Clarke County along the north bank of the Columbia River  
on land belonging to Colonel Reuben Riggs

#### Kitsap County blockhouse

Fort Kitsap was a blockhouse constructed by the Washington Territory Volunteers  
at Port Madison on Bainbridge Island -- 1855  
it was named for friendly Suquamish Indian Chief Kitsap

#### Skagit County blockhouse

Blockhouse Lone Tree Point was constructed and manned by Washington Territory Volunteers  
three and a half miles northwest of La Conner [1856]

### GENERAL JOHN E. WOOL TRAVELS NORTH FROM BENICIA, CALIFORNIA

Department of the Pacific Commander General John E. Wool left his Benicia, California headquarters

he took the steamboat *California* to Fort Vancouver

to bolster the military presence in Washington and Oregon territories -- November 1855  
with him were Major E.D. Townsend, Major Cross, Major Lee, Captain Cram,  
Captain Keyes, Captain Reynolds and Captain W.E. Dall

with two thousand stand of arms were also aboard the *California*

Captain Erasmus Keyes thus described the crossing of the of the Columbia River: **"We arrived off the mouth of the Columbia river in the afternoon, and although a fierce wind had covered the whole bar from shore to shore and for several miles up and down with a white foam, it was decided to cross at once. There happened to be a pilot on board; and he and the captain stood together on the bridge. The head of steam was increased to secure steerage...; and we moved up against a strong ebb tide at a fine rate of speed till we reached about midway of the passage, when a flue collapsed, drove all the burning coals from under one of the boilers and set fire to the ship, which immediately lost headway so much that she ceased for a moment to obey her rudder. The pilot lost courage, exclaimed, 'she's a goner!' and started down the bridge. Captain Dall instantly resumed command, and called out to the firemen to feed the remaining fires with lard and tallow. After a few seconds the ship began to move**

forward; and, at the end of an hour, we were anchored off Astoria. When the steamer lost headway, the lead showed a draught of water almost exactly corresponding with that of the vessel; but fortunately she did not ground. If she had struck, not a soul on board could by any possibility have been saved. Some of the soldiers, as they saw the pilot quitting his post, came to me in terror and asked what they should do. I replied, 'Take hold of that hose and let us put out that fire in the hold.' I carried the end of the hose down the steps as far as I could breathe. The men pumped; and in a short time the flames were extinguished. General Wool was perfectly calm, as were the other officers; but it is certain that none of us ever escaped a greater danger than on that occasion; and such was the opinion of the eight or ten shipmates who were among the passengers. Captain Dall's intrepidity was the admiration of every man on board the ship.'<sup>142</sup>

#### GENERAL JOHN E. WOOL TAKES COMMAND OF THE TERRITORIAL MILITARY

When Department of the Pacific Commander General John E. Wool arrived at Fort Vancouver he assumed control of the United States side in the conflict -- November 17, 1855

Seventy-two year old General Wool was widely considered pompous and arrogant

he had been criticized by some for blaming much of the Indians conflicts on the territorial officers after assessing the situation in Washington Territory he decided that Major Gabriel Rains' approach of chasing bands of Yakama Indians around the territory would lead to an inevitable defeat

General Wool planned to wage a static war by using the territorial militia

to fortify the major settlements while better trained and equipped U.S. Army regulars moved to occupy traditional Indian hunting and fishing grounds

he believed the starving Yakama would be forced to surrender

General Wool changed the orders given by Captain Gabriel Rains to Captain William Strong and his med Company B who hoped to be sent to escort Governor Isaac Stevens back to Olympia

General Wool refused to furnish Governor Isaac Stevens, a United States Indian Commissioner, an escort or guard to insure his safety through hostile Indian country -- November 16, 1855

he believed Stevens should have done as he was told and come home via Panama

in fact, it seemed Stevens' disagreement over the general's role in the Battle of Buena seemed to have increased since their meeting in San Francisco ([all 1854])

General Wool's grudge against Governor Stevens, and vice versa had heated up

#### GENERAL WOOL DISBANDS TWO OREGON MILITIA COMPANIES

At Fort Vancouver, the military commander-in-chief of the Pacific Division

learned Oregon Governor Curry, who knew the general's feelings about volunteers, had disobeyed United States regulations

Curry had refused to put his home-mustered militia under Army command

although the militias of Washington had been mustered into the United States service

General Wool was infuriated with Oregon Territory Governor Curry -- November 17, 1855

despite urgent protests General Wool ordered Oregon companies A and B disbanded

even though their term of enlistment had not yet expired

Wool had ignored the civil authority of the Oregon Territory governor

---

<sup>142</sup> Evans, Elwood, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington, Vol. I.*, P. 546.

in a most insulting, humiliating and degrading manner  
Oregon Governor Curry, in turn, declined General Wool's order to disband his militia  
all of this power play was conducted by letter since the principals refused to meet in person

#### GENERAL JOHN WOOL CHANGES THE STRATEGY OF THE WAR

He divided Washington Territory into two Military Districts -- November 17, 1855

First (Columbia) District was Eastern Washington

Second (Puget Sound) District was Western Washington

General Wool ordered the soldiers from Fort Dalles to Fort Vancouver except for a small garrison

he censured Major Gabriel Rains for calling upon volunteers to provide assistance

and also for entering Yakima Country to make war against the Indians

he accused the territorial authorities of sinister and deceitful motives

he pressed charges of murder in Rogue River Country against the Oregon Mounted Volunteers

he was more accepting of the militia in Washington Territory

he did not accuse them of murdering Indians

#### TROOP STRENGTH ESTIMATED IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

In a report made by Lieutenant Withers, U.S. Fourth Infantry -- November 17, 1855

he indicated there were 702 Regular soldiers and 280 mounted and infantry militiamen

this estimate did not include volunteer companies accepted by Acting-Governor Mason

for local defense in Washington Territory such as defenders at local blockhouses

or militia units formed temporarily

Lieutenant Winthers numbered the military forces in Eastern Washington as follows:

Major Rains in command of 480 U.S. Fourth Infantry soldiers including twenty dragoons

Lieutenant Winthers numbered the military forces in Western Washington as follows:

Fort Steilacoom held 370 soldiers and Washington Territory Volunteers:

- Captain Erasmus Keyes commanded fifty-four regulars of the Third Artillery Company M
- Captain Gilmore Hays led eighty-four volunteers Mounted, Company A from Puget Sound
- Captain William Wallace led fifty-five mounted Puget Sound volunteers of Company D

#### MAJOR GABRIEL RAINS REACHES THE MIDDLE CASCADES OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Major Rains' command began construction a block house -- Fort Rains

on the site of their camp -- November 17, 1855

(this was used as a supply point by Captain Dent while he was in charge of the work

constructing a wagon road between Fort Rains and The Dalles)

#### GENERAL WOOL ORDERED MAJOR RAINS' COMMAND BE MASSED AT THE DALLES

Major Gabriel Rains received orders from General John E. Wool to return to Fort Dalles

and to wait there for the general's plan of operation for Eastern Washington

Major Rains and his command, after completing construction of Fort Rains,

returned to The Dalles -- November 18, 1855

there for three weeks the U.S. Fourth Infantry and Volunteers drilled and gathered arms

## HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ASSISTS THE WASHINGTON TERRITORY SETTLERS

Governor of Vancouver Island James Douglas sent the steamer *Otter* to Olympia to display to the Indians that they could not expect the sympathy of the Hudson's Bay Company he also delivered fifty stands of guns -- half of what was available to defend Victoria if necessary ten barrels of gunpowder and a large supply of lead -- November 19, 1855  
Douglas also sent \$7,000 of his own money (which the territorial government later repaid) this support ended the Indians' hopes that the British might side with them to drive the pioneers out of the country

## OREGON MILITIA COLONEL JAMES NESMITH ESTABLISHES FORT HENRIETTA

Oregon Militia Colonel Nesmith's expedition reached the Umatilla River -- November 19, 1855 there he found an urgent message from Mounted Volunteer Major Mark A. Chinn asking for an additional two companies to serve as reinforcements

Nesmith constructed a fortification near Wells' Springs which he described in his report: **"We have an abundance of water and timber, and enough grass for stock. We have picketed in with large split timber one hundred feet square of ground, and erected two bastions, of round logs, on two of the angles; and for the rails found here made two corrals for the horses and cattle. This, as a defense, is good against any body of Indians."**<sup>143</sup>

Colonel James Nesmith established his camp at Fort Henrietta (near today's Echo, Oregon)  
IT WAS named in honor of Major Granville Haller's wife

## MAJOR MARK A. CHINN RECEIVES ADDITIONAL MILITIAMEN

Militia Colonel James Nesmith responded by sending three companies of Oregon Mounted Volunteers Captain Wilson's Company A, Captain Munson's Company I, Captain Cornoyer's Company K numbering 170 men along with accompanying artillery  
this strengthened Major Mark Chinn enough to enable him to move forward to Fort Walla Walla, and, if necessary, to dislodge the Walla Walla Indians from the fort

## LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SILAS CASEY AGAIN PURSUES OREGON'S COQUILLE INDIANS

After acquiring three boats to conduct a pursuit of the Indians up the Coquille River Casey and his U.S. Second Infantry First Dragoons Companies A, C and E soldiers camped at the junction of the north and south forks of the river  
Casey sent parties up the branches to locate the Indians  
after traveling eight miles upstream Lieutenant George Stoneman found the Indian camp (near present-day Myrtle Point, Oregon)  
Silas Casey took his entire command of 130 men up the Coquille River -- November 22, 1855 half a mile before reaching the camp, they split up to approach the hideout from two sides  
Coquilles spotted a small detachment that remained in the boat and opened fire  
Lieutenant Thomas Wright immediately attacked them from the shore  
Lieutenant Stoneman opened fire from the opposite shore

---

<sup>143</sup> Herbert O. Lang, editor, *History of the Willamette Valley, Being a Description of the Valley and its Resources...*, P. 411.

Coquilles were caught in the crossfire and fled after a short fight  
Casey decided they had learned a lesson and returned to the mouth of the river

#### GENERAL JOHN E. WOOL TOURS THE REGION

General John E. W Wool marched a detachment from Fort Vancouver  
to the land of the Klamath Indians and back

he declared this was more for the protection of Indians than for the pioneers

Wool went so far as to report this statement to the Secretary of War Jefferson Davis

who up to now had refused to send needed reinforcements General Wool had requested

#### LIEUTENANT WILLIAM SLAUGHTER INVESTIGATES THE PUYALLUP VALLEY

Lieutenant William Slaughter leading Fourth U.S. Infantry Company C established Camp Maloney  
along the north bank of the Puyallup River (where two parallel bridges now cross the river)

he was accompanied by Revenue Marine Second Lieutenant James E. Harrison

who had been brevetted a First Lieutenant in Slaughter's command

Militia companies were to join with Lieutenant Slaughter at Camp Maloney

Captain William H. Wallace and his forty-five men of Pierce County Volunteer Company D

left Camp Montgomery on Spanaway Lake to advance to the Puyallup River

keeping communications open to Fort Steilacoom and Camp Montgomery

Captain Christopher Hewitt, commanding seventy-five volunteers of Company H from Seattle,  
was to march up the valley between the White and Green rivers

and cooperate with Lieutenant Slaughter and his U.S. Fourth Infantry Company C

#### CAPTAIN ERASMUS KEYES TAKES COMMAND OF PUGET SOUND DISTRICT

Captain Erasmus Darwin Keyes recently arrived from San Francisco on the steamer *California*  
was ordered by General John E. Wool -- November 24, 1855

to lead the fifty-four men of the U.S. Third Artillery Company M to Fort Steilacoom

Captain Erasmus Keyes was to take command of the post

Company M added to the 168 regulars of the Fourth Infantry under Captain Maurice Maloney  
to provide an effective force of 222 soldiers at Fort Steilacoom

As the commander of Fort Steilacoom, Captain Keyes describes the situation: "... [I was] **to proceed on another transport to Steilacoom, and assume command of the Puget Sound district. I arrived there on the 24th day of November, 1855, and found a condition of wild alarm. Many families had been massacred; and the surviving settlers were all collected in the small towns. There were only two skeleton companies of regular infantry and a few companies of volunteers in the district; and they were widely scattered. Lieutenant Slaughter, with one company, guarded a stockade at the mouth of the Puyallup [Fort Maloney] and I arranged an interview with him with the aid of a friendly Indian. I went out twenty miles from Fort Steilacoom and conversed with him across the river, which was so deep and rapid that my volunteer messenger, after delivering my note to Slaughter, lost his horse in returning, but saved himself**"<sup>144</sup>

---

<sup>144</sup> Erasmus Darwin Keyes, Brevet Brigadier-General, *Fifty Years' Observation of Men and Events*. P. 257.

## ROUNDUP OF FRIENDLY PUGET SOUND INDIANS BEGINS

It was decided to collect non-hostile Indians in camps on the islands of Puget Sound as part of the war strategy orchestrated by Acting-Governor Charles Mason and Indian Agent Michael T. Simmons most Puyallup and non-hostile Nisqually, between 400 and 500 persons of all ages, were removed to Fox Island -- November 24, 1855  
Indians who refused to go were considered enemies

## CAPTAIN ERASMUS KEYES REINFORCES LIEUTENANT WILLIAM SLAUGHTER

Second Lieutenant John Nugen was left at Fort Steilacoom he served as acting-commander of the post in charge of a handful of soldiers left behind who were too sick to carry out their duties  
Captain Erasmus Keyes arrived at Camp Maloney with twenty-five of the Third Artillery Company M as Lieutenant William Slaughter prepared for another assault on the Indians -- November 25, 1855  
Keys had taught at West Point and William Slaughter was a student of his  
Erasmus Keyes urged his former pupil to be cautious  
Lieutenant Slaughter moved onto Bitting's Prairie just east of the Puyallup River being out in the dripping forest where an enemy could hide twenty feet away was bad enough but now a dense fog enveloped the area  
several expeditions were sent out to locate hostile Indian -- but without success  
Steilacoom storekeeper Sam McCaw took sixteen men on a scouting excursion north (toward today's Sumner) where he found burned-out ruins of some of the homes and the looted ruins of others -- but no Indians

## GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS CONTINUES HIS TREK HOME

Isaac Stevens' party and his Indian escort trudged through three feet of snow as they crossed the Bitterroot Mountains at Lookout Pass riding past the dead horse of Coeur d'Alene Indians who had cleared the route before they reached the Coeur d'Alene Mission -- November 25, 1855  
In spite of the weather the Washington Territory governor advanced into Spokane Country scouts were sent ahead to inform the Spokane Indians and their allies of the arrival of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs and to prepare for council talks with the United States government representative

## TROOPS CONVERGE ON BITTING'S PRAIRIE

Lieutenant Slaughter set out from Camp Maloney traveling along the Puyallup River in search of Indians believed to be following chiefs Leschi, Quiemuth, Nelson and Kitsap (the Younger) into war -- November 25, 1855  
fresh tracks of Indians were discovered leading both up and down the banks of the Puyallup River however, no Indians were seen  
Lieutenant Samuel McCaw leading sixteen men of Militia Captain William Wallace's Company D was sent to the Stuck settlement (today's Sumner)  
(Stuck River is the lower end of the White River)

at the Stuck settlement they found the houses of William Kincaid, Abram Woolery and Jonathan Warren McCarty burned to the ground but their grain remained untouched except for some taken from the barn of Abial Morrison those houses that were not burned were strongly built of square timbers and could easily be defended home belonging to Robert S. Moore, a lieutenant in Volunteer Company D, was found broken open and everything taken there were no other signs of Indians either during the march or at the Stuck River In the meantime, Captain Christopher Hewitt, commanding Volunteer Company H worked his way up the Green and White river Valley from Seattle Lieutenant Slaughter's combined regular and militia troops without seeing any Indians made camp on Bitting's Prairie one mile east of the Puyallup River -- evening November 25, 1855 wet, rainy weather gave signs of fog rolling in during the night this increased the chances of an Indian raid

#### LIEUTENANT SLAUGHTER'S BITTING'S PRAIRIE CAMP IS RAIDED

As night became cooler a heavy fog rolled in -- November 25, 1855 seeing an easy mark Indians conducted a night raid Chief Kitsap (The Younger), Nelson of the Green River and Niscope Indians, Kanascut of the Klickitats, Quiemuth and Klowowit of the Nisqually people crawled toward Slaughter's camp under the cover of fog Private David Hall of Lieutenant S. McCaw Samuel McCaw's Company D squad stood guard duty enveloped in the dense fog his attention was attracted by the snorting of a pack animal picketed thirty yards from the camp nothing could be seen in the fog and dark -- 10:30 P.M. Sunday night November 25 but he immediately ran to camp and shouted that Indians were stealing the animals Several militiamen rushed to where the animals had been picketed Kitsap's raiders made off with thirty-two of Slaughter's horses and eight mules Twenty Regulars of Lieutenant Slaughter under Sergeant Tootwiler, and Byrd, of Captain Wallace's volunteers stumbled through the fog and murky darkness firing blindly, they believed they had managed to hit an Indian -- but no evidence was found they kept up the pursuit firing at intervals as they searched for about a mile to the house of Isaac Lemon (or Lemmons) at Lemon's homestead this detail found unmistakable evidence that a large body of Indians were in the vicinity (two miles south of Sumner and east of Alderton) hastily the guards retraced their steps back to Camp Maloney During the remainder of the night the Indians' conversations could be distinctly understood one woman's voice was repeatedly heard urging the warriors on in the most fervent manner number of Indians around the camp was later put at three hundred commanded by hostile chiefs Kitsap The Younger and Kanascut who led the Klickitats Quiemuth and Klowowit

#### LIEUTEANT SLAUGHTER RECIEVES REINFORCEMENTS AT CAMP MORRISON

Captain Erasmus Keyes as the commanding officer of the Puget Sound campaign  
deployed his forces to support Lieutenant Slaughter -- November 26, 1855  
he ordered Captain Charles Eaton and his forty-one mounted men of Eaton's Rangers  
to march to the support of Lieutenant William Slaughter  
Captain B.L. Henness was left in the neighborhood of the Nisqually River  
with the twenty-five militiamen of Company F

Slaughter's command was also augmented when Lieutenant Chauncey McKeever,  
from Captain Keyes' fifty-four men of the U.S. Third Artillery Company M arrived  
he reached Slaughter's camp with a detachment of twenty-five men -- 2:00 p.m. November 26  
these reinforcements allowed Slaughter to add new men to each of his units

Lieutenant William Slaughter divided his forces to search for hostile Indians  
he delegated Militia Captain William Wallace and his Company D  
to make sorties from Abial Morrison's homestead on the Stuck River

No engagements took place as the Indians kept out of the way during the daytime  
which was easy to do in the heavy forests of the Puyallup Valley  
also, the weather was cold, rainy and disagreeable for field work

#### INDIANS ONCE AGAIN FIRE AT THE SOLDIERS' CAMP

Once again Indians harassed Lieutenant William Slaughter's men -- night November 26, 1855  
in addition to shouts and threats  
occasionally Indians would crawl out of the woods which surrounded the little plain  
under cover of fog and fire into the camp wounding several soldiers  
during the night guards continually returned fire aimlessly at the Indians -- to no avail

#### ANOTHER VOLUNTEER IS KILLED

Captain William H. Wallace's Company D was camped at Abial Morrison's home on the Stuck River  
twenty-eight year old Private Elijah G. Price, a recent volunteer, went down to the creek  
about three hundred yards from camp to wash after cooking breakfast  
when he began his return walk bringing water from the spring to camp  
he was shot in the back with a musket ball -- Monday morning November 28, 1855  
other militiamen arrived at the scene in time to kill at least one Indian  
rumor said the bullet was fired by Chief Leschi  
from this incident forward any time there was an incident created by the Indians  
it was attributed to Leschi

#### OREGON MILITIA'S FORT HENRIETTA RECEIVES REINFORCEMENTS

Oregon Militia Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly was sent by Oregon Militia Colonel James Nesmith  
to Fort Henrietta where Kelly was to assume overall command  
of the Oregon Mounted Volunteers in Walla Walla Country -- November 29, 1855  
Kelly brought with him six companies, about 170 volunteers, and Indian Agent Nathan Olney:  
•Captain Wilson Company A,  
•Captain Humason Company B,

- Captain Charles Bennett Company F,
- Captain Layton Company H,
- Captain Munson Company I,
- Captain Narcisse E. Cornoyer Company K

Captain Charles Bennett arrived from Fort Dalles with additional soldiers  
total number of forces amounted to about three hundred and fifty men

#### WEATHER FOR THE MONTH OF NOVEMBER 1855 IS DISMAL

As the daily weather record for Fort Nisqually noted the dismal weather  
added to the growing despair in the region:

- eleven days were reported as gloomy,
- ten days of rain,
- five days of drizzle,
- two cloudy days,
- only two days were counted as pleasant during the month of November

#### LIEUTENANT WILLIAM SLAUGHTER RETURNS TO CAMP MORRISON

After an unsuccessful effort to find the Indians in the Puyallup Valley

Lieutenant Slaughter led his regular and militia force from Abial Morrison's homestead  
on the Stuck River back to Camp Maloney on the Puyallup River -- December 1, 1855

Militia Lieutenant R.S. More had remained at Camp Maloney  
with a portion of Wallace's Company D

Slaughter gave his men three days rest

#### WALLA WALLA COUNTRY IN EASTERN WASHINGTON IS A POWDER KEG

Nathan Olney, Oregon Sub-Indian Agent at The Dalles, made a visit to Walla Walla Country

Olney found obvious signs of preparations for a general outbreak by the Indians  
settlers were advised to prepare for a sudden departure

#### GENERAL WOOL'S CAMPAIGN PLAN IS UNDERMINED

General John E. Wool's campaign against the Yakima Indians had been a dismal failure  
settlers in Washington Territory and Oregon Territory on both sides of the Cascades

had little confidence in the military's ability to resolve the conflict with the Indians

Oregon Territory Governor George Law Curry decided to launch a preemptive attack against  
the Walla Walla, Palouse, Umatilla and Cayuse of eastern Oregon and Washington territories  
who had, up to that point, remained cautiously neutral in the conflict with the Yakimas

Curry believed it was only a matter of time before the eastern tribes

entered the war being carried out by the Rogue River Indians of Oregon Territory  
and Yakima Indians in Washington Territory

he thought a largely unprovoked attack would gain a strategic advantage

#### TENSION RISES IN EASTERN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

In an effort to surprise the Indians camped at the Walla Walla River

Oregon Militia Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly led most of his volunteers, about 350 men, out of Fort Henrietta on the Umatilla River -- after sunset December 2, 1855  
to undertake a perilous night time march in wet, snowy weather  
Militia Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly left Fort Henrietta  
in the charge of Lieutenant Sword and twenty-five men of Oregon Militia Company I  
Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly crossed into the Walla Walla Valley  
finding no Indians in their vicinity Kelly camped along the Walla Walla River  
several miles upstream from Fort Walla Walla

#### FORT WALLA WALLA IS BURNED TO THE GROUND

Walla Walla Indians learned the Oregon militia was again approaching the interior from Fort Henrietta this posed a serious problem to the Indian defenders of Fort Walla Walla  
(located at today's Wallula, Washington)  
Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox abandoned Fort Walla Walla -- early morning December 3, 1855  
he burned the fort before returning to the Walla Walla River with 1,000 hostile natives

#### ISAAC STEVENS HOLDS THE SPOKANE COUNCIL OF NORTHERN TRIBES

Superintendent of Indians Affairs Isaac Stevens had reached Spokane Council grounds there talks were to be held with the local Indians -- December 2, 1855  
Snow was falling when the Spokane Council treaty talks were begun  
at Antoine Plante's Ferry across the Spokane River -- December 3, 1855  
all of the Spokane nation was represented with the exception of the Lower Spokanes  
also in attendance were portions of the Coeur d' Alene, Okanogan and Columbia tribes  
Yakima Indian outbreak made securing the neutrality of these Indians a priority for Isaac Stevens  
William Peon acted as interpreter along with others present who understood the Salish language  
Indians in attendance at the Spokane Council were uncertain whether to be for peace or war  
rumors that circulated at the talks were extremely alarming:  
•troops had fought a battle with the Yakimas and had driven them across the Columbia River,  
•Walla Wallas, Cayuses and Umatillas were up in arms,  
•several bands of Nez Perce had joined the hostiles  
to complicate the discussions Governor Stevens and his party faced other troubling realities  
several tribes had threatened to attack the governor's party and kill Isaac Stevens  
they were waiting on the route to Olympia and they were all carrying weapons  
they could block the road ahead that had to be traveled  
Superintendent of Indian Affairs Isaac Stevens stated that he was a friend to be counted on  
he want to wait until the Lower Spokane Indians arrived before the formally addressed the council  
When the Lower Spokane Indians arrived -- afternoon December 3  
Stevens attempted to clear up rumors they had heard about Indian land being taken  
he said that as a friend he would protect the Indians and their land  
he emphasized his desire that they should not join in the war  
and that he did not believe they were ready yet to discuss a land cession agreement  
he said he had understood that Kamiakin and Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox  
were content with the land assigned to them

he professed not to know what caused the war, but asserted that it was certainly not his fault

#### OREGON MILITIAMEN REACH FORT WALLA WALLA IN EASTERN WASHINGTON

Oregon Militia Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly and several Oregon militiamen left their camp on the Walla Walla River to investigate Fort Walla Walla -- afternoon December 3, 1855  
They discovered the post had been abandoned by the Indians after the partially destroyed adobe building had been plundered, all of the furniture destroyed and the ammunition stolen  
James Sinclair, the former proprietor of the fort, invited the volunteers to spend the night  
strong gusts of wind whistling through the walls made for an uneasy sleep

#### IN WESTERN WASHINGTON LIEUTENANT SLAUGHTER RECEIVES REINFORCEMENTS

At Camp Maloney Lieutenant William Slaughter was joined by Militia Captain Isaac Hays and the forty mounted men of Company E out of Thurston County -- December 3, 1855  
they carried instructions to rendezvous with Captain Christopher C. Hewitt's Company H at the junction of the White and Green Rivers (the present day site of Auburn)

#### LIEUTENANT WILLIAM SLAUGHTER MARCHES TO BRANNAN'S PRAIRIE

Lieutenant Slaughter left Lieutenant R.S. More of Captain Wallace's Company D with forty men to protect Camp Maloney at the mouth of the Stuck River -- December 4, 1855  
Slaughter set out from Camp Maloney bound for Brannan's Prairie to join Militia Captain Christopher Hewitt's Company H  
camped between the Green and White rivers -- December 4, 1855  
eight miles of swamps and thickets lay between Slaughter and Hewitt  
Lieutenant William Slaughter led sixty-five Fourth Infantry Company C soldiers with two day's rations he took with him five of Wallace's Militia Company D members

#### OREGON MOUNTED VOLUNTEERS SEND OUT PATROLS

Oregon Militia Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly remained at Fort Walla Walla December 4, 1855  
Kelly ordered Oregon Militia Major Mark A. Chinn to take 150 men and the baggage train to the mouth of the Touchet River  
Kelly, with two hundred men without baggage or provisions, marched about twelve miles up the Walla Walla River to find the missing the Walla Walla Indians  
scouts had reported they were camped beside the river's bank

#### WALLA WALLA INDIANS ARE LOCATED IN EASTERN WASHINGTON

Walla Walla Indians were spotted across the Columbia River -- morning December 4, 1855  
Oregon Militia Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly and several militiamen confronted the Indians but they were too far away for effective fire  
Kelly's party then returned to Fort Walla Walla (today's Wallula, Washington)  
Later in the day marauding Indians approached the fort  
some volunteers gave chase in a northeasterly direction  
but the faster Indian horses easily out-distanced the inferior horses of their pursuers  
Kelly decided he would follow in the same direction when morning came

## SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS CONCLUDES THE SPOKANE TREATY COUNCIL

Spokane and Colville Indians were bitterly hostile in their attitude -- December 4, 1855

they denounced the war in Washington Territory and wanted it stopped

general belief among the natives was that Walla Walla Chief Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox

would carry out his oft-repeated threat against the governor and his party

that Stevens would never reach The Dalles alive

these Indians had not as yet joined the hostiles but they also would not promise Stevens neutrality

they explained that if the renegade Indians at war were driven into their country,

many of the Spokanes would join them

Spokane Garry expressed his belief that the Northern tribes including his people

would join the war if troops moved north of the Snake River

several other chiefs said the settlers were in the wrong in dealing with the natives

even so, most of the Spokane and Colville chiefs spoke for peace

at the end of the Council Garry said: **“All these things that we have been speaking of had better be tied together as they are, like a bundle of sticks, because you are in a hurry. There is no time to talk of them. But afterwards you can come back, when you find time, and see us.”**<sup>145</sup>

## LIEUTENANT WILLIAM SLAUGHTER ESTABLISHES HIS CAMP ON BRANNAN'S PRAIRIE

Militia Captain Christopher Hewitt and his Company H out of Seattle were camped

between the Green and White rivers

Hewitt had instructions to rendezvous with Lieutenant William Slaughter

Lieutenant Slaughter reached William Brannan's Prairie -- December 4, 1855

when Hewitt arrived in Slaughter's camp he urged the lieutenant to move his command

to Hewitt's fortified camp two or three miles further up the White River

Slaughter declined because his men were too tired to continue the march

in the jointly occupied camp fires were lit to provide light and to dry the men's soggy clothes

## WESTERN WASHINGTON INDIANS PREPARE FOR AN ATTACK AT BRANNAN'S PRAIRIE

Indians had amassed enough strength at Brannan's Prairie in eastern Pierce County

to carry out an attack on the regular and volunteer troops

With this added strength they positioned themselves along the north Bank of the White River

and concealed themselves

## LIEUTENANT WILLIAM SLAUGHTER KILLED

Lieutenant Slaughter, Captain Hewitt, Revenue Marine Lieutenant James Harrison

and Dr. Taylor of the navy walked to an old, abandoned root house

to plan their strategy -- 7:00 P.M. Tuesday December 4, 1855

they planned to travel up the White and Green rivers until they found the main Indian camp

Militia Captain William Wallace and Company D was slated to occupy the Puyallup Valley

Militia Captain Isaac Hays' Company E would hold Muck Prairie and the Nisqually River

---

<sup>145</sup> George Washington Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 230.

other small forces including detachments from the navy  
would garrison various strong points and protect towns and river crossings  
Troops had roaring fires going to dry themselves and their sodden clothing  
wet from the cold incessant December rain that fell on them since the battle at South Prairie  
as the men dried off, their forms were silhouetted in the fires' glare  
Exiting the meeting Lieutenant William Slaughter stepped into the doorway  
without warning hostile Indians under Chief Kanasket guided by the firelight  
fired a musket volley at the cabin sending a bullet straight through the heart of Slaughter  
twenty-seven year old Lieutenant William Slaughter fell dead  
without uttering a sound -- 7:00 P.M. Tuesday December 4, 1855

#### SCENE AT BRANNAN'S PRAIRIE IS CHOATIC

With the demise of Lieutenant William Slaughter troopers immediately fell into defensive positions  
shots rang out in the darkness -- December 4, 1855  
Revenue Marine officer Lieutenant James E. Harrison, United States Revenue Service,  
took charge of sixty-five men the U.S. Fourth Infantry Company C  
this was probably the first time a Revenue Cutter sailor led an Army combat unit  
in the field against a hostile force  
soldiers and militiamen fired out into the darkness and at the muzzle flashes of the Indians' guns  
Skirmish lasted for three hours until ten o'clock that night  
Corporal Barry, U.S. Fourth Infantry Company C, was killed  
as was Company D volunteer Corporal Julian Clarendon  
six other men were severely wounded -- one mortally  
Private Cullum, an artilleryman of Captain Erasmus Keyes' U.S. Third Artillery Company M  
died of his wounds a day or two later  
Revenue Marine Lieutenant James E. Harrison suffered a wound  
it was noted in the local newspapers that brevetted First Lieutenant Harrison  
behaved with great gallantry while in hostile action on the Green River  
he was commended for his efforts  
Militia Christopher Hewitt was missing a lock of his hair clipped by a bullet passing his temple

#### TRIBUTE TO LIEUTENANT WILLIAM SLAUGHTER

His former teacher and friend Captain (later Brigadier-General) Erasmus D. Keyes noted:

**“His death was certainly one of the saddest events of that war. ...He was stationed at Fort Vancouver a short time, and in 1853 was ordered to Fort Steilacoom. As an officer, he was brave to a fault. As an Indian campaigner, he had been remarkably successful. No man had more endeared himself to his command. None had a more happy (sic) faculty of inspiring men with enthusiasm. Small in frame and delicate in person, his powers of endurance were wonderful. He had led almost all the expeditions to check the Indians during his stay in the country, and had been actively in the field from the commencement of hostilities till he met his untimely death. Brilliant he was as a soldier; and, as the citizen, he had rendered himself equally dear to the people of the territory in which he had been assigned to duty. In the walks of social life, who that enjoyed his friendship or acquaintance can ever forget him?**

**“My heart is sick when I reflect that so brave an officer and so gallant a gentleman should be slain by the wretched savages.”<sup>146</sup>**

Slaughter's body was taken down the Green River to Seattle and was sent to his family in Steilacoom  
Territorial Legislative Assembly which was in session at the time of his death  
passed resolutions expressing the feeling of the territory regarding the irreparable loss  
they adjourned for the day in honor of his memory  
newspapers published laudatory articles

#### MILITIA CAPTAIN HEWITT WITHDRAWS HIS MEN FROM BRANNAN'S PRAIRIE

Christopher Hewitt withdrew his men of Militia Company H taking his dead and wounded with him  
they marched through the dark to his fortified camp up the White River -- December 4, 1855  
Militiamen in Hewitt's secure camp had heard the gunfire  
they marched out to meet the Militia captain and his men  
they could hear the shouts of jubilant Indians as they entered the abandoned camp  
together they continued in the direction of Seattle

#### DECISION IS MADE TO WITHDRAW THE TROOPS FROM THE PUYALLUP VALLEY

Deep snow in the Cascade Mountain passes indicated that communications  
between the Indians east and west of the Cascades were cut off -- at least temporarily  
Obvious success of the Puget Sound Indians' most recent attack  
and the overall unfavorable fighting conditions in the country at that season of the year  
indicated a temporary withdrawal of the United States troops from the field was necessary  
Indians west of the Cascades had apparently ceased their attacks  
thus there seemed nothing to do but to wait patiently (until the coming spring)  
when General John E. Wool promised to put enough troops into the field  
to bring the war to a speedy end

Captain Erasmus D. Keyes summoned Militia Captain William Wallace  
and instructed him to remove his Militia Company D then camped on the Puyallup River  
Lieutenant Slaughter's men of the U.S. Fourth Infantry Company C returned to Fort Steilacoom  
Captain Erasmus Keyes then in command at Fort Steilacoom notified Acting-Governor Charles Mason  
that it was necessary to withdraw his troops from the field as many of the men were sick  
and the pack animals were worn down  
this announcement put an end to active operations against the Indians of Puget Sound  
troops were garrisoned at Fort Steilacoom and such points as provided protection to the settlers  
volunteers remained at places where they might be of assistance in an attack by the Indians  
No further action west of the Cascade Mountains took place for over two months

#### REVENUE CUTTER *JEFFERSON DAVIS* IS ASKED TO PROVIDE MORE SUPPORT

Territorial volunteers along Puget Sound had a habit of requesting supplies of arms and powder  
from the Revenue Cutter *Jefferson Davis*

---

<sup>146</sup> Keyes, Erasmus Darwin, Brevet Brigadier-General, *Fifty Years' Observation of Men and Events: Civil and Military*. Reprint 2007, P. 548.

having already provided all that could be spared, Captain William Pease could not give any more without endangering the security of his ship

#### OREGON MILITIA LIEUTENANT-COLONEL KELLY NEGOTIATES WITH PEU-PEU-MOX-MOX

When Oregon militia Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly and his men entered the Touchet Canyon, they were approached by a group of Indian warriors from the main Walla Walla camp located several miles farther up the Touchet River

beyond a narrow canyon along the river -- December 5, 1855

various accounts place their number in a range of fifty to as many as 150

Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox and other warriors separated themselves from the main body of natives they rode toward the soldiers carrying a white flag of truce

Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox asked to speak with Indian Agent Nathan Olney

James Kelly, Olney and several others, including interpreter John McBean, rode out to meet the chief

Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox began by asking why the troops were in his country

he stated that he did not want to fight and that his people did not wish to fight

he said that on the following day he would come and have a talk and make a treaty of peace

James Kelly accused the chief of participating in the destruction and looting of Fort Walla Walla,

Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox responded with regret and offered to replace or pay for stolen items

Oregon Militia Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly demanded more than promises

he insisted the Walla Wallas give up their weapons, feed the militiamen

and supply them with fresh horses

Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox agreed -- he probably felt he had no choice

he asked to be allowed to return to the main camp to arrange for compliance with the demands

this gave Kelly the impression the chief was buying time to move his village

and prepare for battle

Kelly, not trusting the chief, declared his militia would attack the camp

if the chief attempted to return to it

Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox was given a choice to leave under the flag of truce

with the knowledge the troops would immediately attack his village

or stay with his six companions as hostages

until his followers could surrender their arms and ammunition

Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox said that on the following day he would accompany the militia to his village

he would assemble his people and make them deliver all of their arms and ammunition;

they would restore the property which had been taken from Fort Walla Walla,

or pay the full value of that which could not be restored;

he would furnish fresh horses to remount the militiamen

he would provide cattle to supply them with provisions,

to enable Kelly's volunteers to wage war against other hostile tribes

Kelly believed these promises and refrained from carrying out the attack on the Indian village

as he thought Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox was in under his control

and that on the next day the chief's promises would be fulfilled

Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox chose to stay with the hostages and the seven Indians were placed under guard

## STEVENS CONCLUDES THE SPOKANE COUNCIL OF NORTHERN TRIBES

After a stormy three-day council, Governor Stevens won over the Indians' who promised to continue to be the firm friends of the Whites confidence -- December 5, 1855  
Indian Superintendent Stevens adjourned the Spokane Council with great expectations of friendship but he was not able to strike a treaty with the represented tribes  
Coeur d' Alene, Colville, Columbia and Spokane people were left without any treaty  
(Stevens did not return to negotiate a treaty as he had promised  
rather reservations were created out of aboriginal territory for all three tribes  
through executive orders in the [1870s]  
after American settlers had claimed much of the territory for themselves)

## GOVERNOR STEVENS ORGANIZES UNITS FOR HIS PROTECTION

Possibility of a running fight with several thousand hostiles was entirely real  
in addition to the Nez Perce escort, eighteen frightened miners had gathered for mutual protection not far from where Stevens had his conference at Antoine Plante's Ferry  
other miners came from Colville  
led by Hudson's Bay Company Chief Trader Angus McDonald  
Spokane Indians warned there were plans afoot for Yakimas and Walla Wallas to waylay the party  
Governor Stevens distrusted the Nez Perce accompanying him  
primarily because of Chief Looking Glass  
Stevens had overheard a conversation between Looking Glass and a Spokane chief  
relating a plan to overpower the governor when they reached Nez Perce Country

William Craig was an educated mountain man  
he had been appointed Indian Agent for the Nez Perce Indians [1848]  
he had a donation land claim among the Nez Perce  
(his land had been donated by the Indians -- not the United States government)  
he had received letters informing him the Walla Walla Valley was blocked by hostile Indians  
Nez Perce declared it was impossible to get through

Craig relayed this information to the governor

Isaac Stevens formed three militia companies to provide an escort and protection for his party  
twenty-five miners under command of Captain Benjamin Franklin Yantis  
were organized into a militia unit and were called the "Spokane Invincibles"  
they purchased some rifles from the Indians to add to their effectiveness  
twenty-five mounted members of the Governor's own party commanded by Captain C.P. Higgins  
also were organized into a militia unit known as the "Stevens Guards"  
Aaron Webster served as First Lieutenant  
W.H. Toppan was made Quartermaster  
thirty-nine Nez Perce Indians also agreed to escort the governor to the camp of the Oregon militia  
Spotted Eagle agreed to serve as captain  
in addition to the warriors, thirty additional Indians acted as horse guards  
as each warrior took three fine horses with him

New militia units were duly mustered into territorial service and supplied with good horses  
although the effort was deadly serious, it was in reality a sham

against hundreds, perhaps thousands, of embittered warriors

Stevens' Spokane Invincibles and Stevens Guards could muster scarcely fifty rifles  
thirty-nine Nez Perce defenders were, perhaps, not even dependable

William Craig was sent ahead to Lapwai Mission to assemble the Nez Perce there for a council  
if the tribe was friendly they could help carve a way through enemy territory to The Dalles  
if not, perhaps boldness would neutralize them as it had the Coeur d'Alenes and the Spokanes

#### PEU-PEU-MOX-MOX CONTACTS HIS VILLAGE

Walla Walla Chief asked for permission to send a warrior to his camp  
to make arrangements to comply with the peace terms -- evening December 5, 1855  
he invited the soldiers to go to the Walla Walla camp promising to supply them with beef  
Militia Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly relented and the Indian messenger departed  
when he failed to return the soldiers grew even more suspicions  
That night the Walla Wallas removed all of their property and deserted the village

#### OREGON MILITIA LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BECOMES INCREASINGLY CONCERNED

Militia Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly's volunteers moved forward shadowed by eighty or so warriors  
as the canyon narrowed, the soldiers grew increasingly fearful of an ambush  
Kelly's intuition led him to order a retreat to a wider, more defensible position  
he sent a messenger downstream to Major Mark A. Chinn's camp requesting reinforcements

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY GOVERNOR STEVENS QUICKENS HIS PACE TOWARD OLYMPIA

Washington Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens adjusted his travel plan -- December 6, 1855  
he stripped equipment and supplies carried by the supply train to a minimum  
each pack was reduced to two blankets, ten pounds of personal baggage and ten days rations  
Stevens, having reinforced his party with the Spokane Invincibles, Stevens Guards  
and thirty Nez Perce warriors under Spotted Eagle prepared to follow William Craig  
on a fast dash to Lapwai Mission in Nez Perce Country

#### INDIAN CAMP ON THE WALLA WALLA RIVER IS DESERTED

Oregon Militia Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly once again ordered his volunteers  
toward the Walla Walla Indian camp  
when the militia reached it, they found it was deserted -- Thursday morning December 6, 1855  
Kelly believed that Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox was acting with duplicity  
he expected to trap the Oregon Mounted Volunteers in the deep ravine where his camp was situated  
and make his escape  
Mounted warriors in large numbers watched from the distant hills  
a flag of truce was sent out to them but the Indians refused to parley  
Finding that he could neither close with the Indian fighters nor enforce the terms of his demands,  
Militia Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly remained at the deserted village until about 1:00 in the afternoon  
he then turned his command around and headed back to the mouth of the Touchet River  
where Major Mark A. Chinn's detachment waited  
At Major Chinn's camp, one of the seven Indian hostages attempted to escape but was dragged back

Kelly scolded Chief Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox

accusing him of going back on his promise to accompany the militia to his village  
in an effort to prevent an attack on the Indian camp before it could be abandoned

Kelly threatened that if any other attempts at escape were made, he would order them all shot  
now the Indians truly were hostages against their will

#### OREGON MILITIA LIEUTENANT-COLONEL KELLY PLANS FOR A LONG CAMPAIGN

Militia Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly planned to take his command from the camp on the Touchet River  
up the Walla Walla Valley to Waiilatpu to where Marcus Whitman's mission once stood

Kelly was determined to make a more permanent camp there and hold out for the winter  
he didn't believe he would face a battle,

he thought that the Indians on their faster ponies would simply out-distance his men

James Kelly's planned route would lead him eastward ten miles to a crossing of Dry Creek  
(near today's Lowden, Washington) -- December 6, 1855

beyond the creek lay beautiful farm land

settled primarily by French-Canadian former employees of Hudson's Bay Company  
and their Native American wives

this cluster of French-Canadian homesteads was called Frenchtown or, simply, French Farms  
wood fencing and occasional cabins marked the grassy landscape

most of the inhabitants, however, had fled in the face of the rising tensions

between the settlers and the Indians who had once befriended them

now a number of French-Canadians rode with the Oregon Volunteers

Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly and his Oregon Militiamen made camp for the night at Frenchtown

#### OREGON MILITIA LIEUTENANT-COLONEL KELLY COMPLETES HIS PREPARATIONS

Oregon Mounted Volunteers in camp at Frenchtown awoke to find mounted Indian warriors  
on the hills east of the Touchet River -- December 7, 1855

they were mostly Walla Wallas but also included Cayuses, Umatillas, De Chutes, Palouses,  
and possibly elements of other tribes

It was reported some of the Indians shouted at the troops across the Touchet River

they demanded the release of Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox

and threatened to attack any person who crossed the river

Without hesitation Oregon Militia Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly

led Captain A. V. Wilson's ninety-seven men of Militia Company A

across the Touchet River in an effort to reach the remains of Dr. Marcus Whitman's Mission  
once across the river Company A formed on the plain

they were quickly joined by Colonel James Nesmith's three Oregon militia companies:

Militia Captain Charles Bennett's eighty-one men of Company F,

Militia Captain Davis Layton's seventy-four men of Company H,

Militia Captain Cornoyer's thirty militiamen of Company K

Captain Humason's sixty-five member Militia Company B was occupied

driving a herd of cattle near the foot of the hills that extended along the river

a few of the militiamen rode in front while others were on the flanks

most of the company followed brought up the rear  
Indians fired on Company B but this had no effect  
other accounts indicate that a soldier was the first to shoot  
Company B united with the other Oregon militia units

#### FRENCHTOWN BATTLE BEGINS

After preparations were completed, all of Oregon Militia Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly command  
surged forward in an eager chase of the Indians in view -- Friday morning December 7, 1855  
except for Captain A.V. Wilson's Company A and Captain Charles Bennett's Company F  
who were ordered to return to camp with the baggage and cattle herd  
and to guard the Indians being held hostage  
a ten mile moving battle had began  
as the number of hostiles continued to increase the Indians closed in and commenced firing  
Indians were proficient at shooting from horseback  
they fought individually instead of in organized groups  
During the ensuing running battle Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly's Oregon Mounted Volunteers  
progressed only with great difficulty  
most of the volunteers had to dismount, fire and resume the pursuit  
they became disorganized as their faster mounts outdistanced other slower horses  
even so, several warriors were killed in the chase

#### FRENCHTOWN BATTLE REACHES DRY CREEK

Running fight reached Dry Creek (near the present-day town of Lowden)  
where brush and trees extended from the hills on the left side of the river  
this gave the Indians the type of cover they liked best -- Friday December 7, 1855  
surrounding hills were covered with Indian horsemen  
bands of warriors danced around poles from which dangled scalps  
soldiers were momentarily stopped by Indians firing down on them from a high knoll  
and by fires set in the tall grass  
Running battle was finally decided by a cavalry charge  
high knoll was flanked and the militia pushed forward as the Indians retreated

#### BLOODY COMBAT AT FRENCHTOWN REACHES THE LA ROCQUE FARM

Beyond Dry Creek the valley narrowed  
Indians reached a French-Canadian farm recently abandoned by the La Rocque family  
at this point the volunteers had come about twelve miles from their start at the Touchet River  
both the men and their horses were exhausted -- Friday December 7, 1855  
Indians made a stand at the La Rocque farm as the warrior's established a firing line  
their left flank rested on the north bank of the Walla Walla River  
where trees and underbrush provided cover  
their right flank was protected by a high range of rolling hills to the north  
in between was a level gap of sagebrush and sandy knolls where the La Rocque farm was located  
there the Indians awaited the approach of the Oregon Mounted Volunteers

Militiamen on the fastest horses, about forty or fifty men, arrived first  
as they charged the front Indians poured a murderous crossfire  
from the brush and willows along the river  
and from the sagebrush and sandy knolls along the plain  
killing a lieutenant and wounding a captain and three enlisted men  
Captain A. V. Wilson of Company A, back in camp, was sent a dispatch to come forward  
Company A came up at a gallop and dismounted at a slough  
they pushed on through the brush with fixed bayonets  
Captain Charles Bennett arrived at the battlefield with Company F and joined the bayonet charge  
in the course of half an hour these volunteers drove the Indians for two miles  
however, the effort to move the natives to a new position  
resulted in the loss of Captain Bennett and a private both being killed  
once again in the face of withering gunfire the Oregon Mounted Volunteers fell back  
What followed was later described by Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly  
as the crucial moment of the entire four-day battle  
he ordered his men to cross a fence on the farm near La Rocque's cabin  
and attack the Indians in the brush  
volunteers prevailed in the assault and took possession of the cabin  
but Lieutenant Burrows of Captain Layton of Company H was killed  
Captain Munson of Company I was wounded  
as were Sergeant-Major Isaac Miller and G.W. Smith of Company B

#### FIGHT SHIFTS TO THE TELLIER HOMESTEAD

Warriors took possession of a neighboring farmhouse belonging to the Tellier family  
once again fences barred the soldiers' path -- Friday December 7, 1855  
Captain Charles H. Bennett of Oregon Mounted Volunteers Company F  
was in command of the assault on the Tellier's home  
Captain Bennett and Private Kelso of Company A were killed in the attack  
Indians held their ground in the Tellier farmhouse  
until Captain A. V. Wilson in the midst of the fighting  
set up an old howitzer that he had hauled from Fort Walla Walla  
it had no carriage for support, but Kelly ordered his men to set it up on a mound of sand  
this cannon was fired successfully three times but with little effect  
on the fourth try it burst apart severely injuring Captain Wilson  
Indians gave way as a result of the assault  
Tellier house and fence were seized and held by the volunteers  
wounded volunteers and the bodies of the militiamen were recovered

#### U.S. NAVY SLOOP-OF-WAR *DECATUR* ARRIVES ON PUGET SOUND

USS *Decatur* was named in honor of Commodore Stephen Decatur  
one of the United States Navy's great heroes and its leader for two decades  
*Decatur* under Commander Guert Gansevoort was sailing to Seattle  
when she ran aground on rocks at Restoration Point, Bainbridge Island -- December 7, 1855

fortunately she righted herself

*Decatur* remained in the Pacific Northwest to deter Indian outbreaks

#### FRENCHTOWN BATTLE CONTINUES

While the advance militiamen were engaged with the Indians at the Tellier house those who remained in the rear at La Rocque's small cabin established a field hospital surgeons attended the wounded there and some the dead were brought in La Rocque's cabin also served as the quarters to hold Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox and the other hostages there guards worried the prisoners might escape during the heat of battle an effort was made to tie the captives as a precaution this indignity was strongly and loudly resisted by the captives

#### INDIAN HOSTAGES ARE MOVED TO THE TELLIER FARMHOUSE

Captives were moved from La Rocque's small cabin to Tellier's farmhouse Oregon Militia Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly, feeling that every man might be needed, ordered the Indians to be bound -- he also ordered them shot if they resisted Chief Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox, tied to a stake and surrounded by soldiers, constantly shouted battle instructions to his attacking warriors he also signaled weak positions in the militia's defenses There are several versions of what happened next -- late Friday afternoon December 7, 1855 most agree one of the Indians attempted an escape known by various names: Klickitat Jim, Champoeg Jim and Wolfskin, this man produced a hidden knife and slashed at Sergeant-Major Isaac Miller the attacker was quickly beaten with a rifle and left unconscious Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox tried to take a rifle from Private Sam Warfield who drew the weapon back knocking the chief to the ground with a blow to the head hard enough to bend the rifle barrel suddenly other soldiers opened fire on the group of bound Indian hostages killing them all except for a young Nez Perce boy, Billy, who begged for protection and was spared Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox's eighteen-inch-long white hair braided with beads and eagle feathers was taken and his body was mutilated -- his ears were removed and his skin flayed other Indian victims also were scalped this was inexcusable and even horrified some of the Oregon Mounted Volunteers With the death of their chief, the natives withdrew as more Indian reinforcements continued to arrive

#### BREAK IN THE FRENCHTOWN FIGHT

Tellier's farm was abandoned that night Oregon militiamen slowly fell back unmolested to the field hospital at the La Rocque farm where protective barricades had been thrown up Throughout the night Indians delivered harassing gunfire at the volunteers' camp fires -- December 7

#### SECOND DAY OF FIGHTING AT FRENCHTOWN

Indians delivered heavy fire -- Saturday morning December 8, 1855

Militia Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly found his Oregon Volunteers facing six hundred warriors  
Lieutenant Pillow with Company A and Lieutenant Hannah with Company H  
were ordered to take and hold the brush skirting the river and the sagebrush on the plain  
Lieutenant Fellows with Company F

was directed to take and keep possession of the point at the foot on the hill  
Lieutenant Jeffries with Company B, Lieutenant Hand with Company I,  
and Captain Cornoyer with Company K were posted at three points on the hills  
each with orders to maintain their position and attack the enemy in the hills

Once again the militiamen advanced eastward from the La Rocque farm toward the Tellier farm  
as the soldiers advanced they built rifle pits and constructed other forms of cover

Private Flemming was mortally injured in the effort  
Indians, although they fought with skill and bravery,  
were driven from their position at the Tellier farm

Militia Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly was determined to act on the defensive and hold his position  
which was the same as it had been the day before

pattern of attack and withdrawal continued through the day, but with diminished intensity  
supplies, especially ammunition, were running short for both sides

James Kelly sent a messenger to Fort Henrietta requesting immediate supplies and reinforcements  
to be provided by Oregon Militia Companies D and E

however, these requisitions and reinforcements were not expected to arrive until the next day  
Oregon Mounted Volunteers again withdrew back to the La Rocque farm toward evening  
darkness, as usual, closed the combat

with the hostiles withdrawing from the field and the militia too exhausted to pursue  
bad weather that night forced the militia companies on the hill to withdraw from their position  
Company B abandoned the rifle pits they had just dug for their protection

### THIRD DAY OF FIGHTING AT FRENCHTOWN

Warriors did not make their appearance until about ten o'clock Sunday morning December 9, 1855  
and then with somewhat diminished numbers

An attack was made during the day on companies A and H in the brush skirting the river  
and on Company B which had returned to their previous position on the hill

both positions were defended with great gallantry by the militia companies  
Indians faced considerable losses in the struggle

Companies F, I, and K also did honor to themselves in repelling all approaches to their positions  
in the fight many men in Company F were severely wounded as was one man in Company I  
Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly's Oregon Mounted Volunteers continued to hold their positions

### FEAR CONTINUES UNABAITED AT FRENCHTOWN

Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly, unaware of events at Fort Vancouver, was very aware of his position  
he noted -- early Monday morning, December 10, 1855

that Indians now occupied the rifle pits his militiamen had constructed only two days before  
when Lieutenant McAuliffe of Company B saw the Indian's new position  
he gallantly observed that his company had dug those holes

and that after breakfast they would take them back again  
in less than half an hour the warriors were driven from the rifle pits  
Natives fled to the nearby hill which they had occupied the day before  
this position was at once attacked by Captain Cornoyer with Company K,  
and a portion of Captain Munson's Company I, a mounted unit,  
charged the enemy on his right flank  
at the same time Lieutenant McAuliffe with Company B dismounted and rushed up the hill  
in the face of a heavy fire the Indians were scattered in all directions  
Oregon Mounted Volunteers were near the breaking point  
when smoke signals announced the approach of the relief column -- December 10  
Captain Tom Cornelius leading Companies D and E arrived from Fort Henrietta toward evening  
Once organized Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly charged the warriors with his entire command  
disheartened Walla Walla Indians withdrew across the Snake River

#### TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS MEETS WITH THE NEZ PERCE INDIANS

Governor's Party had traveled across Nez Perce Country through very wet sleet  
on his way to Lapwai Mission and William Craig's homestead in Nez Perce Country  
When he arrived at William Craig's homestead -- December 1855  
he found 2,000 Nez Perce Indians camped near Lapwai Mission  
including 800 warriors led by Chief Lawyer -- most were friendly  
While meeting with the Nez Perce, Stevens learned the news  
of Oregon Militia Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly's victory  
at the battle at Frenchtown in the Walla Walla Valley  
in fact, U.S. Army troops and a sprinkling of volunteers under bumbling Major Gabriel Rains  
had invaded Yakima Country in a fruitless campaign  
Indians easily slid out of the Major's inept traps, but at least they were occupied  
Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox and his warriors had fared less well  
at the hands of Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly  
Chief Lawyer expressed support for Governor Stevens and the other chiefs agreed  
Nez Perce Chief Looking Glass, whatever his intentions, was outmaneuvered

#### OREGON MILITIAMEN PURSUE THE FLEEING INDIANS

Walla Walla Indians vanished fleeing north with their families  
to temporary safety beyond the Snake River -- Tuesday December 11, 1855  
Oregon Militia Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly with all the available troops  
followed in pursuit along the Nez Perce Trail  
about twelve miles from Frenchtown, at Mill Creek,  
troops passed through the Walla Walla Indian village  
they counted 196 fires that had been deserted the night before  
much of the natives' provisions were scattered along the way  
indicating that they had fled in great haste to the north  
Estimates noted that during the four day battle some 600 to 1,200 Indian fighters were involved  
(in fact, the smaller number probably is closer to the truth)

## TERRITORY GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS' EXPEDITION CONTINUES THE JOURNEY WEST

After leaving the Nez Perce encampment near William Craig's homestead Governor Steven's party was protected by twenty-five miners of the Spokane Invincibles, twenty-five soldiers of the Stevens' Guards and thirty Nez Perce Warriors under Spotted Eagle temperature plunged to twenty-seven degrees below zero and horses froze to death during the night Unmolested, Stevens crossed from the Craig homestead to Fort Walla Walla -- December 11, 1855 to the party's relief and mystification they did not encounter a single Indian along the way Oregon Militia Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly knew the reason why but was in no position to communicate the information to the governor

## OREGON MOUNTED VOLUNTEERS GIVE UP THE CHASE

Oregon Militiamen continued their chase until they reached the Touchet River Oregon Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly decided the effort was in vain it was too dark to follow the track of the Indian horses many of the militia's horses were completely broken down as were the militiamen on foot After rounding up about one hundred head of cattle which the Indians left scattered along the trail in their flight camp was made -- Tuesday evening December 11, 1855

## OREGON VOLUNTEERS HOLD UNDISPUTED POSSESSION SOUTH OF THE SNAKE RIVER

Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly sent Captain Cornoyer with Company K to Fort Dalles Captain N. Olney, Sub-Indian Agent, accompanied them for the day and returned to camp at Fort Bennett near the old Waiilatpu Mission -- evening December 12 Captain Olney reported that Captain Cornoyer would return the next day Olney had learned from friendly Indians that Palouses, Walla Wallas, Umatillas, Cayuses, and Stock Whitley Chief of the Des Chutes had all been engaged in the battle of Frenchtown Olney also was informed that after the battle, the Palouses, Walla Wallas and Umatillas had gone partly to the Grande Ronde Valley and partly to the country of the Nez Perces, and that Stock Whitley, disgusted with the manner in which the Cayuses fought in the battle, had abandoned them and gone to Yakima Country to join with Chief Kamiakin Oregon Volunteers had undisputed possession of the country south of the Snake River they remained in the field at Fort Bennett during the winter

## EFFORT TO LOCATE OREGON TERRITORY CAPITOL CONTINUES

Oregon legislature had convened in Corvallis [December 3, 1855] they quickly introduced legislation to move the capital back to Salem this proposal passed -- December 15, 1855 Three days later the Oregon legislature re-convened in Salem [December 18] where government buildings were under construction

## STEAMSHIP *ACTIVE* ARRIVES AT THE TOWN OF STEILACOOM

U.S. surveying steamer *Active*, under Commander James Alden had been in the Strait of Juan de Fuca surveying the strait and establishing lighthouses [since 1853]  
when forest fires disrupted their work the ship was moved to Steilacoom  
with a large supply of arms, ammunition and stores -- December 17, 1855  
Since a large number of northern Indians in the Puget Sound vicinity  
had recently committed considerable havoc and caused substantial alarm  
*Active's* arrival was most opportune  
She was stationed at the town of Steilacoom and cooperated with the land forces  
as a transport for troops and supplies

#### REVENUE MARINE SECOND LIEUTENANT JAMES E. HARRISON RETURNED TO SEATTLE

Naval Second Lieutenant had been brevetted as an Army First Lieutenant  
he led the fifty-one men of U.S. Fourth Infantry, Company C into battle  
Since the death of *Lieutenant* William Slaughter, Company C had remained at Brannan's Prairie  
providing protection against the potential uprising  
After receiving new orders Company C and Lieutenant Harrison reached Seattle  
where they spent the night -- December 18, 1855

#### U.S. FOURTH INFANTRY, COMPANY C, LEAVES SEATTLE

Captain William Pease of the *Jefferson Davis* received notice -- morning of December 19, 1855  
that soldiers in Seattle were needed by the commander of Fort Steilacoom as soon as possible  
Revenue Marine Second Lieutenant James Harrison returned back to his ship  
after completing his infantry duty in the Cascade Mountain foothills of the White River Valley  
Company C immediately embarked from Seattle on the Revenue Cutter *Jefferson Davis*  
she being the only conveyance available for the return of soldiers to their fort

#### U.S. FOURTH INFANTRY, COMPANY C, RETURNS TO FORT STEILACOOM

Two days out of Seattle the *Jefferson Davis* to arrive at the Tacoma Narrows -- December 21, 1855  
where they had to anchor due to a heavy ebb tide and little wind  
Finally the wind swung around from the north, providing the Revenue Cutter  
an opportunity to run down to the fort to disembark the troops  
after two hours sailing they finally arrived off the town of Steilacoom  
Company C returned to the fort

#### OREGON MILITIA CHANGES OFFICERS

Terms of enlistment for the Oregon Volunteers' Officers were coming to an end  
restoration of peace in the Yakima and Walla Walla valleys  
provided an opportunity for new elections -- December 21, 1855  
Lieutenant-Colonel James W. Nesmith resigned his commission with the Oregon Volunteers  
to take a seat in the Oregon Territorial Legislature  
Thomas R. Cornelius, Captain of Company D, was elected colonel of the regiment in his place  
Narcisse E. Cornoyer, Captain of the company of scouts, (K) succeeded Major Mark A. Chinn  
Antoine River accepted the command of Company K

During the winter, a new battalion of recruits formed in the Willamette Valley  
Colonel Thomas Cornelius' command was strengthened [early in March, 1856]  
these troops took the places of volunteers who were discharged  
as their terms of enlistment had expired

#### NAVY LOST THE USS *DECATUR*

U.S. Navy Sloop-of-War was on a cruise to show the Indians the American flag  
Commander Guert Gansevoort ran the *Decatur* aground on an uncharted reef near Bainbridge Island  
she limped back to Seattle, but she was out of action for several months  
(Commander Sterett was replaced by Commander Guert Gansevoort)

#### BEN SNIPES REBOUNDS FROM BEING DEAD BROKE

After the financial failure of his Yreka Flats, California butcher shop [1854]  
Ben Snipes now dead broke next tried his luck at a Scott River, California mining camp  
where he opened a livery business [1854] which he operated very successfully until [fall 1855]  
Hearing that his brother, George R. Snipes had traveled west Ben headed back to Oregon  
where he found George at The Dalles -- late 1855

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS ARRIVES AT FORT BENNETT

Fort Bennett was a blockhouse two miles east of the Whitmans' Waiilatpu Mission  
this was reached after safely crossing Eastern Washington from Lapwai Mission  
While at Fort Bennett Governor Stevens received word General Wool,  
Commander of the Department of the Pacific, had appeared at Fort Vancouver  
and had taken charge of the effort to pacify the natives  
Indian Agent B.F. Shaw reported directly to the governor at Fort Bennett  
relating General Wool's refusal to allow an escort party to be sent to Stevens for his protection  
For the time being the governor swallowed his resentment  
Stevens spoke to more than 400 troops at the Oregon Volunteers post  
he thanked them for their victory at Frenchtown and for keeping the Military Road open

#### TERRITORY GOVERNOR STEVENS DEVELOPS A PLAN FOR A WINTER CAMPAIGN

Isaac Stevens wasted no time in taking command of the Washington Territory Volunteer Militia  
William Craig was commissioned a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Washington Volunteer Militia  
Indian Agent Benjamin F. Shaw was placed in command of the Military District  
embracing Walla Walla Indian Country  
he was ordered to organize the settlers for their own defense  
Washington Territorial Secretary C.A. Doty was placed in command of the Walla Walla Battalion  
composed of the Spokane Invincibles and the Stevens Guards  
Doty was instructed to lead the Walla Walla Battalion to Fort Dalles  
where they were to be mustered out of service  
thirty Nez Perce warriors under Spotted Eagle were ordered home

#### ISAAC STEVENS ARRIVES AT FORT DALLES

Sixty miles a day of hard riding beside the Columbia River brought them to Fort Dalles  
Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens planned a grandiose scheme for a winter campaign  
it was based in no small part on the construction of a fleet of barges  
to overcome the Columbia River's difficult supply route problems  
Stevens dispatched a detailed outline of the scheme to General John E. Wool at Fort Vancouver  
but almost immediately an unprecedented cold wave turned the Columbia River to ice  
from the Cascade Mountains to the mouth of the Willamette River

#### GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS BEGINS HIS FINAL LEG TO OLYMPIA

Realizing his proposed winter operation would have to wait for better weather,  
Stevens decided to go at once to the Washington Territorial capital -- December 31, 1855  
Governor began the cold ride across the Cascade Mountains for Olympia  
with three of his men, two Nez Perce Indians and a prisoner  
on his way to Olympia he intended to call on General Wool at Fort Vancouver  
Horses were replaced with boats where the Columbia River descended to the Pacific Ocean  
it was a harrowing ride down the storm-whipped Columbia to Fort Vancouver

#### DECEMBER WEATHER IS SEVERE IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Wet autumn gave way to one of the coldest winters on local record  
temperatures in Eastern Washington fell to 27° below zero  
any kind of winter campaign against the Indians was impossible  
War in the Puget Sound District settled into a siege within a siege  
Indians were kept from their fishing grounds and lodges  
settlers were kept from their farms and families  
Soldiers gave up the chase for the winter and withdrew to garrisons  
Eastern Washington Regular Army distrusted the Volunteers  
by the end of 1855 the militia had won but one small victory  
only the Walla Walla Indians had been defeated and their great chief killed at Frenchtown  
Warriors, cold and hungry, holed up in the hills away from their villages and families  
they heard through the grapevine of Indian women married to white settlers  
that the war was unpopular with the "Bostons" (Indian named for Americans)  
Indians argued among themselves as older men counseled waiting  
while young men said they had gone to war -- not into hiding

#### INDIAN DEMOGRAPHICS AROUND PUGET SOUND ARE COMPILED

Washington Territory officials conducted a count of available warriors -- early in 1856:

- Nisqually and Downriver Puyallup Indians consisted of sixty-five warriors  
led by brothers Leschi and Quiemuth;
- Klickitat and Upper Green and White River Indians placed in the field  
consisted of fifty-five warriors led by Kanasket;
- Duwamish and Downriver Green and White River Indians counted thirty-five warriors  
led by Nelson and Kitsap (the Younger);
- Upriver Puyallup village could offer twenty warriors

led by Sluggia (the nephew of Leschi) and Koquilton  
Perhaps 6,000 Indians lived in the Puget Sound region  
of these, maybe 4,000 were women and children  
thus the number of Indian males available for war could hardly exceed 2,000  
(there is considerable doubt the number of Indians who fought ever exceeded 300  
these few Indians lacked any real chain of command)

#### PUGET SOUND SETTLERS ARE DISCOURAGED BY THE LACK OF MILITARY SUCCESS

Hostile Indians shared the region from the Green River to within a few miles of Fort Steilacoom  
in the southern part of the region the settlers lived in towns and blockhouses -- early 1856  
Military operations were suspended because of the weather and the condition of the country  
incessant rains swelled the streams making them almost impassable  
roads were so muddy troop movements were interrupted or stopped entirely  
both regular soldiers and militia members had been withdrawn from the outlying regions  
they remained in and around the towns and prepared defenses  
only occasionally did they repel a hostile demonstration  
since there had been no fighting and some of the settlers began to return to their homes  
to collect food from their gardens

Newspapers debate the defense of the Indian uprising

Olympia's *Pioneer & Democrat* staunchly supported Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens  
Steilacoom's *Puget Sound Courier* maintained its Whig political party stance  
and attacked Governor Stevens and the war

#### CHIEF LESCHI GOES TO FOX ISLAND TO RECRUIT FOLLOWERS

Most of the Indians in the Puget Sound region remained, if not friendly, at least outwardly neutral  
almost all of the Puyallup Indians and those Nisqually Indians who were not hostile  
had been removed to Fox Island -- where between 400 and 500 natives of all ages were kept  
Indian Sub-agent John Swan was assigned to distribute government food  
and supervise the native encampment

Nisqually Chief Leschi left his main camp on the White River

he led a flotilla of canoes carrying thirty-eight warriors including Kanasket to Fox Island  
they traveled down the Puyallup River -- afternoon January 5, 1856  
as they traveled across the Puyallup Valley Leschi encountered some settlers  
these contacts were made without incident

Leschi continued down the Puyallup River reaching Commencement Bay

he and his followers traveled down The Narrows on their way to Fox Island

Chief Leschi and his warriors beached their canoes

in front of Sub-Indian Agent John Swan's homestead on the north shore of Fox Island

Swan was perhaps the only man that Leschi trusted to attempt peace negotiations

Swan recognized Leschi who wanted to talk

Leschi said he had not gone to war but had been driven into war

he denied responsibility for White River slayings

Chief Leschi attempted to persuade the friendly Indians on Fox Island to join with the hostiles

he recruited fifteen Indians to his cause -- most of them women

(later his bold visit and call for war drew an admiring editorial

in the weekly Whig *Puget Sound Courier* at Steilacoom which also took several pot shots at Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens at every opportunity)

During Leschi's visit one of the non-hostile Puyallup Indians slipped away and paddled to Steilacoom

he reported hostile natives were on Fox Island and Sub-agent John Swan was their prisoner

Continuing Indian resistance would be almost impossible with Leschi and Kanasket killed or captured

Captain Erasmus Keyes, commander of Fort Steilacoom convinced Hudson's Bay Company to provide him the use of its steamer *Beaver*

#### U.S. ARMY CAPTAIN ERASMUS KEYES SETS OUT FOR FOX ISLAND

Steamboat *Beaver* traveled from the Hudson's Bay Company Fort Nisqually

she arrived at Steilacoom at first light -- January 6, 1856

however, the small battery of cannons usually aboard the *Beaver* had been left behind to protect Fort Nisqually

Captain Erasmus Keyes dispatched thirty men of the Fourth Infantry from Fort Steilacoom under Captain Maurice Maloney to attempt to rescue Sub-Indian Agent John Swan

#### CONFRONTATION AT FOX ISLAND IS AVOIDED

Captain Maurice Maloney and his thirty soldiers steamed out of Steilacoom

in the Hudson's Bay Company borrowed paddle wheeler -- morning January 6, 1856

Nisqually Chief Leschi was still on the island when Maloney and his soldiers arrived

*Beaver* had no cannons to cover the landing of Captain Maloney's soldiers

almost immediately the troops realized they had forgotten to bring any landing craft

one small life boat which was available would hold five men bunched together

While Captain Maloney tried to figure out a way to rescue Sub-Indians Agent John Swan

Swan, who was in charge of the reservation Indians, walked out to the beach

he got in a dugout canoe, paddled to the *Beaver* and boarded

he said no violence had taken place and he was not a hostage

in fact, Chief Leschi promised no trouble unless Maloney started it

Leschi and his well-armed party lined the beach

Swan then returned to the island as he had promised the Indians

Under the circumstances it was impracticable for Captain Maloney to attempt anything

Captain Maurice Maloney, in disgust, took the *Beaver* back to Steilacoom

as he arrived he saw the coastal survey ship USS *Active*

under the command of Naval Lieutenant James Alden

tied up at the Steilacoom dock -- *Beaver* was returned to Fort Nisqually

#### CAPTAIN ERASMUS KEYES DEVELOPS A PLAN TO CONFRONT CHIEF LESCHI

Keyes decided to incorporate the *Active* in his plans to capture or kill Chief Leschi -- January 6, 1856

however Lieutenant James Alden explained the mudflats around the mouth of the Puyallup River

were too shallow for his ship and the *Active's* boats were too small to be effective

Captain Keyes sent an express rider was sent to Seattle where the *Decatur* was located

with a request to Commander Guert Gansevoort that his ship and a few sturdy boats be provided  
Commander Gansevoort declined the request as he was unwilling to risk his ship and men

#### CHIEF LESCHI RETURNS TO HIS WHITE RIVER CAMP

After the Hudson's Bay Company *Beaver* had departed

Chief Leschi remained on Fox Island for about thirty hours

before Captain Keyes could plot another scheme Chief Leschi and his warriors were gone  
Leschi and their followers met several groups of settlers as they returned to their White River camp

three Puyallup Valley men were in a boat delivering a load of potatoes to Fort Steilacoom

Leschi's warriors turned them around and unloaded enough potatoes for a meal

before releasing the three men to complete their delivery

Charles H. Gohrich and a small crew of men were crossing Tacoma's Commencement Bay

when they were stopped by Leschi and several of his warriors

more potatoes were taken along with tobacco and matches

during the confrontation Kanasket, who was standing on the shore, shouted for the Indians

to kill them all -- women in the canoes pleaded to spare the men's lives

when the debate ended Gohrich and his crew were released

Chief Leschi continued toward the White River camp

#### BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN WOOL RECEIVES AN URGENT MESSAGE FROM CALIFORNIA

While at Fort Vancouver, Department of the Pacific Commander General John E. Wool

received an urgent message -- January 11, 1856

California and Southern Oregon disturbances demanded his immediate return to San Francisco

General Wool must have been aware that Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens

was on his way to Olympia from Nebraska Territory

but General Wool immediately began making preparations to leave Washington Territory

#### BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN E. WOOL LEAVES WASHINGTON TERRITORY

One week after receiving the dispatch from California

General Wool left Fort Vancouver and sailed for home -- evening January 18, 1856

As he traveled down the Columbia River from Fort Vancouver

Wool encountered Colonel George Wright and the ten companies of the U.S. Ninth Infantry  
coming up the river

#### U.S. NINTH INFANTRY ARRIVES IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Colonel George Wright, squat, fat and amiable, arrived on the Pacific Coast

by way of Panama -- January 1856

U.S. Ninth Infantry was composed of thirty-four officers and 696 regular troops

Companies A, B, C, E, F, G, I and K were under Colonel Wright

Companies D and H were under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey

Arrival of the Ninth Infantry raised the total strength of the regular soldiers in Washington Territory  
to about 2,000

## GENERAL JOHN E. WOOL ISSUES ORDERS TO THE U.S. NINTH INFANTRY

Vastness of Washington Territory required the regiment to be decentralized

Department of the Pacific Commander General John E. Wool

had previously divided the campaign theater into two military districts:

First Military District (Columbia River) was in Eastern Washington

Second Military District (Puget Sound) was in Western Washington

Colonel George Wright was assigned command of the First District

Colonel Wright had at his disposal eight companies of the U.S. Ninth Infantry

one company of the U.S. Fourth Infantry under Major Gabriel Rains

and of twenty Dragoons of the U.S. Third Artillery under Lieutenant Philip H. Sheridan

Colonel Wright was to establish a military presence at Fort Vancouver

before traveling up the Columbia River to establish his headquarters at Fort Dalles

Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey was assigned command of the Second Military District (Puget Sound)

he was ordered to lead the U.S. Ninth Infantry Companies D and H , about 200 men,

to Fort Steilacoom where he would replace Captain Erasmus D. Keyes

as commanding officer of the fort

and assume command of the Second Military District

Brigadier-General John E. Wool continued on his way to California -- night, January 18, 1856

## U.S. NINTH INFANTRY ARRIVES AT FORT VANCOUVER

Colonel George Wright divided his command as per his orders from General John E. Wool

he made preparations to take command of the First Military District of Washington Territory

when he arrived at Fort Dalles he was to construct a new post

to serve as headquarters for military operations in the First Military District

as weather conditions permitted,

Colonel Wright was to establish a second post in the vicinity of Fort Walla Walla

near where the Military Road crossed the Columbia River

before continuing to Fort Steilacoom

a third military post, Fort Simcoe, was to be located between that intersection and Fort Dalles

on the Yakima River to keep the natives from fishing the Selah Fishery

distance from Fort Dalles to the Selah Fishery was one hundred miles

Colonel Wright was restrained from making war by General John E. Wool's orders

General Wool's goal was occupation of the First Military District -- not war with the natives

Wool's orders were absolutely clear regarding the use of Oregon mounted volunteers

they were not to be used against the Indians

nothing in Colonel Wright's orders indicated an attack on the natives would be tolerated

## U.S. SOLDIERS OF THE WEST FACE DISMAL CONDITIONS

Soldiers in the U.S. Army had a reputation for drinking, violence and laziness

one of the units of the Army, the Seventy Calvary, posted thirty-seven deserters in one week

their dismal living conditions and poor prospects for advancement were ignored by the public

Weapons used by the soldiers were inadequate -- rifles jammed after the second or third firing

many soldiers threw away the rifle and used their hand guns

but the barrels of the hand guns overheated after five rounds  
soldiers were told to allow the barrel to cool off between shots  
or, if in battle, they were to cool down the weapon by blowing down the gun-barrel

#### HAIDA INDIANS ATTACK WHIDBEY ISLAND

Haida Indians from Canada's Haida Gwaii (Queen Charlotte Islands) have a long history  
of raiding the coastline using swift war canoes carrying up to fifty warriors  
who would suddenly attack an Indian village, settlement or farm  
looting, burning, murdering and taking captives

Haida Indians attacked Whidbey Island once again -- 5:00 A.M. January 19, 1856  
they took clothing and stripped the tiny Revenue Cutter *Rival* of sails, oars, compass  
and everything else that was portable  
as Jacob Ebey's yard filled with Indians, two large war canoes approached the beach  
to collect the warriors

Revenue Cutter *Rival* set out after the departing Indians  
after a race of twelve or fifteen miles the Indians came to a stop  
in the deep water between Smith Island and Whidbey Island  
a lengthy standoff resulted in the Indians agreeing to give back the property taken from the *Rival*  
but they denied taking anything else  
during and after the conversation some of the settlers criticized Ebey for not firing on the canoes  
Haidas returned to Canada richer for their efforts  
but in the end the start of another grim bloody war had been averted

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS RETURNS HOME

When Governor Isaac Stevens reached Fort Vancouver he once again considered himself  
insulted by General John E. Wool who had failed to await his return  
Governor Stevens continued on to  
all the time reflecting on the previous bad blood between the governor and the general  
Isaac Ingalls Stevens arrived in Olympia from his treaty-writing efforts east of the Rocky Mountains  
after an absence of nine months -- January 19, 1856  
cannons boomed thirty-eight times as the governor reappeared in Olympia  
until that moment there had been a great deal of anxiety regarding his safety  
Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens was given a hero's welcome  
a torchlight parade was held in his honor

#### GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS TAKES COMMAND OF THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT

Terms of enlistment were about to expire for the volunteers of the Washington Territory Militia  
who had been called into service by Acting-Governor Charles Mason  
Time had arrived either for Washington Territory settlers to protect themselves  
or abandon the field and trust entirely in General John E. Wool  
who manifestly displayed in every report made to the War Department  
not much interest in punishing the Indians and securing the peace  
but rather sought to bolster his libelous and slanderous charges

against the civil government and people of Washington and Oregon territories  
Stevens threw himself energetically into defensive measures taking what precautions he could:

- he organized a militia, built military roads and constructed numerous blockhouses;
- he enforced the removal of all friendly Indians to Fox Island on the West side of Puget Sound;
- he even secured the support of the United States Navy

which stationed the sloop-of-war *Decatur* in Elliott Bay

Territorial legislators demonstrated their support for Governor Steven's leadership

by implementing a bounty for \$20 for the severed head of a warrior and \$80 for the head of a chief

#### GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS AMONG TERRITORIAL LEADERS ARE DIFFICULT

Grave difficulties had occurred between General Wool, Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Division, and territorial governors Isaac Ingalls Stevens (Washington) and George Law Curry (Oregon)

Oregon's militia had never been mustered into the United States service

but Washington's volunteers had been -- by Acting-Governor Charles H. Mason

General Wool, had, in a most insulting, humiliating and degrading manner

ignored the civil authorities of both Oregon and Washington territories

because of temper, harmful intent, envy, or all of these combined,

Wool had refused to furnish an escort or guard through the hostile Indian country

to insure the safety of Governor Stevens although he was a U.S. Commissioner

Two volunteer companies on the Columbia River had been disbanded by General Wool

Captain Strong's Company B

Captain Newell's company of scouts

#### GOVERNOR STEVENS ADDRESSES THE TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE

By unanimous request of the Washington Territorial Legislature which was then convening

Governor Stevens addressed both houses in joint session -- January 21, 1856

he identified for them the cause, propose and goal of the conflict,

he reviewed the Indian policy then in place,

he quickly and briefly noted the events of the Indian War to date

he told a cheering crowd in the legislative hall that **“the war shall be prosecuted until the last hostile Indian is exterminated”**<sup>147</sup>

Governor Stevens wanted a war waged by citizens independent of the United States Army

he proclaimed volunteers called out by Acting-Governor Mason

who had cooperated with the U.S. Military had been treated with bad faith by General Wool

some of those troops had even been disbanded in violation of civil policy

Governor Stevens wanted his own fighting force answerable only to him

#### PUGET SOUND SETTLERS FACE A GREAT DEAL OF ANXIETY

There were a large number of Canadian Indians around Puget Sound which caused continual alarm

they constantly stole horses and cattle and drove them off to their camps and pastures

robberies and continuing acts of vandalism and devastation in the remote defenseless settlements

---

<sup>147</sup> J.A. Eckrom, *Remembered Drums*, P. 85.

kept isolated settlers in a state of high alert  
Local hostile natives also were becoming bolder

#### ISAAC STEVENS ORDERS PUGET SOUND INDIANS AGAIN BE PLACED ON RESERVATIONS

Governor Stevens decided that Indians would once again be placed on temporary reservations  
to separate friendly natives from hostile warriors

Seattle sawmill owner Henry Yesler and others in the community objected  
because the plan interfered with the cheap labor provided by the natives  
most of the local Indians, including Chief Seattle, went to the Port Madison reservation  
under the supervision of Doc Maynard -- but other Indians had misgivings

Several of the Indians in the Seattle area decided to travel to Lake Washington rather than comply  
there fish could be caught all year and wapato (a potato-like plants)  
was plentiful around the edge of the lake

Chief Leschi, Kanasket and Kitsap (the Younger) arrived on the eastern shore of Lake Washington  
leading a number of their followers and a large group of Yakima and Klickitat Indians  
from Eastern Washington

#### CHIEF LESCHI SEEKS WARRIORS FROM THE YAKIMA INDIANS

Chief Leschi sent a messenger to Yakima Chief Owhi in the Kittitas Valley east of the Cascades  
asking for help in carrying out an attack

Leschi was held in high esteem by the Yakimas and his request was granted

Chief Qualchan set out with a hundred warriors

snow was so deep that when Qualchan neared the site of (today's Easton, Washington)  
on Snoqualmie Pass that he sent the horses back and the warriors on continued using snowshoes  
after a trek of four days they reached Chief Leschi's camp on Lake Washington

#### MONEY IS SCARCE IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Economic Depression had existed in the Pacific Northwest for several years

thus the Washington Territory Legislature issued script to cover war expenses  
territorial government offered \$20 for a severed Indian head -- \$80 for the head of a Chief  
technically worthless -- merchants began to balk at the use of script in place of cash  
(by war's end -- \$1.6 million in script had been issued  
and the credit of Washington Territory was all but destroyed)

#### GOVERNOR STEVENS WRITES REPORTS OF HIS OWN TO THE WAR DEPARTMENT

Stevens transmitted a series of reports to Secretary of War Jefferson Davis -- January 1856  
he charged General John E. Wool with incompetence and criminal neglect of duty  
and asked for the immediate removal of the general

#### TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR STEVENS WRITES A BATTLE PLAN OF HIS OWN

U.S. Third Artillery Company M commander Captain Erasmus D. Keyes  
and Commander of the Puget Sound District suggested a summer campaign to Governor Stevens  
when the roads would be serviceable and more light would be available

Stevens was aware of how difficult it was for soldiers and militiamen to see Indians waiting in ambush even in the sparse vegetation of the winter -- summer would make the effort impossible besides the economy of Washington Territory was in shambles and the route to improvement was for farmers to tend their crops and for loggers to return to work in (late spring) at the latest Militia First Lieutenant Jared S. Hurd of Captain Gilmore Hays' Company A suggested that communications could be kept open with a string of forts, ferry crossings and improved roads these could be prepared to allow well-guarded wagon trains to supply soldiers in the field Governor Stevens jumped at the idea

#### GOVERNOR STEVENS ISSUES A CALL FOR WASHINGTON VOLUNTEER REGIMENTS

Stevens recognized war existed against the hostile bands of Indians west of the Cascade Mountains defined as those who refused to move to the reservations at this time and those who refused to be separated from or acted in concert with the hostiles Governor issued a proclamation calling for six companies of militiamen -- January 23, 1856 he noted that over the last three months Indians had killed families, destroyed property and caused land claimed to be abandoned farming activities has largely stopped -- want, if not starvation, was near at hand terms of Washington Territory Volunteer Militia called out by Acting-Governor Charles Mason [1855] were about to expire -- thus a rapid and eventful campaign was necessary This was to be a war against those who refused to be wards or dependents of the territory government and who refused to live in peace with the settlers Governor Isaac Stevens organized the "Second Volunteer Militia Regiment" in three battalions:

- Northern Battalion was led by Militia Major J. J. H. Van Bokkelin,
- Central Battalion was under Militia Major Gilmore Hays,
- Southern Battalion was commanded by Militia Major H. J. G. Maxon

#### COASTAL SURVEY SHIP USS *ACTIVE* IS MOVED TO SEATTLE

USS *Active* under the command of Naval Lieutenant James Alden was sent from Steilacoom to borrow a heavy boat and howitzer from the USS *Decatur* in Seattle *Decatur's* skipper, Commander Guert Gansevoort, was tough, competent and short-tempered he personally did not like Lieutenant James Alden Gansevoort announced he would not loan the Washington Territory militia anything *Active* left Seattle without a launch or a howitzer

#### TREATY IS SIGNED WITH THE CHEHALIS AND GRAYS HARBOR INDIANS

Governor Isaac Stevens acting as Superintendent of Indian Affairs signed Indian Agent Michael Simmons' [July 1, 1855] treaty with the Hoh, Quileute and Quinault at his office in Olympia -- January 25, 1856 thus it became known as the Treaty of Olympia Other Southwest Washington natives present at the Chehalis River Treaty Council (February and July) were not parties to any treaty (and still do not have treaty rights) ironically, the issues Stevens refused to negotiate at the [1855] Chehalis River Treaty Council

which caused the Cowlitz, Chinook, Chehalis and Shoalwater Bay Indians  
not to sign the Chehalis River Treaty were conceded in the Treaty of Olympia  
or by later Executive Orders

#### MILITIA CAPTAIN CHRISTOPHER HEWITT'S VOLUNTEERS RETURN TO SEATTLE

Captain Hewitt's militia Company H had garrisoned in the two-story blockhouse of Fort Duwamish  
located six miles up the Black River from Seattle  
since the death of Lieutenant William Slaughter [December 4, 1855]  
when friendly local Indians informed Hewitt that hostile Indians had been seen in the area  
Hewitt traveled up the Black River and destroyed a fleet of canoes  
Three month term of enlistment for Hewitt's Company H was about to expire  
Hewitt's militiamen returned to Seattle and disbanded -- January 25, 1856  
Residents of Seattle felt secure with the arrival of the militiamen and their weapons  
and the *Decatur* lay at anchor (at the foot of today's Yesler Way)  
her sixteen cannons were more than a match for Indian aggression  
also, *Decatur* had a large contingent of marines ready to fight on shore when needed

#### SEATTLE SETTLERS ARE WARY

In the region around Seattle, the danger was acute  
friendly Indians gave the settlers warning of the approach of hostile natives  
from chiefs Leschi' and Nelson's bands together with the Duwamish Indians  
who were arriving in the vicinity of Seattle by way of Lake Washington  
tradition credited Angelina, daughter of Chief Seattle, but others were rival claimants  
marines from the Sloop-of-War *Decatur* had remained on shore in Seattle (the night before)  
they returned to their ship for breakfast  
Sawmill owner Henry Yesler learned that warriors were gathering at the edge of the village  
he rowed out to the *Decatur* and reported to Commander Guert Gansevoort  
that chiefs Leschi and Koquilton and 100 warriors  
were massing at the edge of town -- 8:00 A.M. Saturday January 26, 1856  
*Decatur's* marines returned back to shore taking a howitzer with them  
Since the terms of enlistment for Captain Hewitt's Seattle Militia Company H had expired  
another company was quickly raised for the defense of Seattle  
Edward Lander, Chief Justice of the territory, was elected captain in Hewitt's place

#### BATTLE OF SEATTLE BEGINS

Indians attacked the village of Seattle -- 8:30 A.M. January 26, 1856  
in various versions of events it was noted that militiamen, settlers or marines  
discharged the first volley of rifle fire  
Indians responded with a volley of musket fire and burned outlying houses  
Two local blockhouses had been built using timbers from Henry Yesler's mill  
some inhabitants raced to the small blockhouse on Main Street  
while most sought the safety of Fort Decatur on Cherry Street

most of the residents were surprised by the attacking Indians<sup>148</sup>

Louisa Denny was baking biscuits when she heard the shots

she filled her apron with biscuits, picked up her two-year-old daughter

and raced for the nearest blockhouse

after setting out for a blockhouse young Cornelius Hanford returned to the family cabin

to politely close the door

he was chased across the yard by an Indian who leaped out from behind a log

Hillory Butler could not find his pants so he sprinted to safety

wearing his wife's red flannel petticoat

Mrs. Catherine Blaine, the wife of local minister David Blaine, was carried to the blockhouse

in a rocking chair with her infant child in her arms

## FIGHTING IN SEATTLE CONTINUES

Indians' battle lines stretched in a ragged arc for two miles around the village

most of the attackers were massed along the ridge on the far side of a swamp

near the southeast edge of Seattle -- January 26, 1856

both sides blazed away at each other but the distance made musket fire inaccurate

Indians often fought with stunning courage and sometimes with brilliance

cannon fire from the *Decatur* and guns from the shore kept the Indians at bay

both sides attempted to sneak up on each other -- neither side gained an advantage

young Milton Holgate attempted to charge the Indians' position

he was killed by a bullet between the eyes

one of the witnesses to this gruesome scene was little Johnny King from the White River

Robert Wilson stepped onto the boardinghouse porch

belonging to Mary "Mother Damnable" Conklin to watch the fight and was shot in the head

## IN SEATTLE BOTH SETTLERS AND INDIANS TAKE A BREAK

Indians fell back and dined on some of the cattle they had acquired during the morning's fight

during this lull most of the women and children were escorted to the *Decatur*

or the lumber bark *Brontes* which happened to be in the harbor -- afternoon January 26, 1856

*Decatur* fired cannon shells loaded with delayed action fuses

at grove of trees where enemy were purported to be

shells lay quietly on the ground and then exploded

this unnerved the Indians who said they "Mox Pooed" -- exploded twice

When the Indians returned and fighting resumed, warriors returned fire in reply to cannon volleys

firing continued incessantly all day

*Decatur* fired a shell which struck a house in the outskirts of the town

Indians reported five of their people killed

thanks in part to the presence of a company of energetic marines fighting lasted until nightfall

artillery fire from the *Decatur* and howitzers on shore proved to be too much for the natives

---

<sup>148</sup> J.A. Eckrom, *Remembered Drums*, P. 90.

## FIGHTING IN SEATTLE STOPS WITH NIGHTFALL

When the Indians departed from Seattle they left trees and homes riddled with bullets  
in the deepening darkness, the Indians retired to swampy grove of willow trees  
near the western shore of Lake Washington (now called Leschi Park)  
an estimated ten Indians had been killed  
settlers lost two men killed: Milton Holgate and Robert Wilson  
Indians sent word they would return with sufficient forces to take Seattle in the morning  
this threat was not taken lightly  
both blockhouses were reinforced against the impending attack -- which never came  
Battle of Seattle was over -- January 26, 1856

## BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN E. WOOL LEARNS OF GOVERNOR STEVENS' BATTLE PLAN

Department of the Pacific Commander General John E. Wool in California  
learned of Governor Stevens' assessment of the Indian situation and declaration of war  
General Wool responded from California to the overexcited plans for a winter campaign: **"You should have recollected that I have neither the resources of a Territory nor the treasury of the United States at my command. Still...I think I shall be able to bring the war to a close in a few months, provided the extermination of the Indians, which I do not approve of, is not determined on, and private war prevented, and the volunteers withdrawn from the Walla Walla country..."**<sup>149</sup>

what General Wool meant was the recent arrival at Fort Vancouver of the U.S. Ninth Infantry  
under Colonel George Wright and Lieutenant Colonel Silas Casey at Fort Steilacoom  
would be quite sufficient to handle matters as they should be handled  
Department of the Pacific Commander General John E. Wool had issued a new directive  
he began to recognize the situation in Washington Territory demanded military action  
Wool, however, insisted the army could handle the problem alone  
and the territorial militia should be disbanded

## U.S. NINTH INFANTRY REINFORCES FORT STEILACOOM

Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey with Companies D and H, 200 soldiers, of the Ninth Infantry  
arrived at Fort Steilacoom aboard the steamer *Republic* -- January 29, 1856  
Lieutenant-Colonel Casey took take command of the post and the Puget Sound District  
from Fourth Infantry Captain Erasmus Keyes  
soldiers at Fort Steilacoom were increased to four companies of infantry and one of artillery  
however, Fort Vancouver was severely limited in personal  
only one company of twenty U.S. Third Artillery Dragoons remained  
under the command of Lieutenant Philip Sheridan  
Lieutenant-Colonel Casey was in complete sympathy with the civil territorial government  
Casey's first undertaking was to establish a blockhouse at Muckleshoot Prairie  
Captain P.N. Guthrie led Company H of the Ninth Infantry to Muckleshoot Prairie  
where a blockhouse was constructed for use as his central position  
Captain Guthrie kept communications open between that location and Fort Steilacoom

---

<sup>149</sup> W. Storrs Lee. *Washington State*. P. 273.

using the blockhouse and ferry at the crossing of the Puyallup River  
Captain George E. Pickett's Ninth Infantry Company D remained stationed at Fort Steilacoom

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY SECRETARY MASON TRAVELS TO WASHINGTON CITY

Indians grew increasingly bold in their attacks on remote and defenseless villages and settlers  
anxieties of the settlers demanded greater support be provided by the federal government  
Washington Territory Secretary Charles H. Mason departed on the steamship *Republic*  
bound for Washington City -- January 30, 1856

Mason carried dispatches regarding the condition of the territory and the pioneers' fears  
Acting-Secretary Isaac W. Smith filled in for Mason

#### IT SEEMS THE ENTIRE PACIFIC NORTHWEST IS AT WAR

Palouse and Walla Walla Indians had been beaten at the [December 1855] Frenchtown Battle  
but the Klickitats and Yakimas remained undefeated

Cowlitz Indians had been confronted by soldiers who killed their chief, Umtux  
and a battle seemed certain until a French-Canadian settler walked into the Indians' lines  
and persuaded them to retreat the safety of the reservation  
settlers nearby commemorated the event by taking the name Battleground, Washington Territory  
Rumors spread that Klickitat Indians were attempting to generate an alliance  
with the Haida, Kwakiutl and other Canadian tribes  
it was clear the Haidas had little support for either side  
but they would gladly attack wherever the prospects of successfully gaining plunder  
presented itself

#### MATERIALS OF ALL KINDS BEGAN FLOWING INTO WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Jefferson and Island County Quartermaster Captain Reuben S. Robinson was authorized  
to immediately raise 100 barrels of pork, 4,000 pounds of sugar, 2,000 pounds of coffee  
and 1,000 pounds of candles<sup>150</sup>

Quartermaster Robinson purchased \$81,592.61 worth of supplies  
to transport these goods he chartered thirteen small sloops and schooners  
and many canoes paddled by friendly Indians

Money was scarce and the territorial legislature covered the expenses by issuing script  
over \$1,600,000 in script was distributed before the war ended  
credit of Washington Territory was all but destroyed  
technically the paper was worthless and merchants began to balk at accepting it

Chief Leschi could do nothing to stop the flood of goods, supplies and ammunition  
flowing into Washington Territory  
food and ammunition for the Indians was running low but they continued their resistance  
with no ships, no artillery, no combat organization and no plan

#### LARGE QUANTITIES OF GOLD ARE DISCOVERED IN NEW CALEDONIA

---

<sup>150</sup> J.A. Eckrom, *Remembered Drums*, P. 109.

American miners began appearing on British soil

several prospectors turned up bits of gold along the Columbia and Okanogan rivers

north of the international border

other news of prospectors who worked the gravel bars finding gold

on the Fraser and Thompson rivers attracted some attention

Colville gold seekers spread into New Caledonia (British Columbia) spreading rumors of gold in the vicinity of Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Kamloops

## GOLD FEVER WAS SURFACING IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

(Gold strikes on the Thompson, Fraser, Colville and Columbia rivers [1855])

had touched off searches in other locations

gold had been discovered in the Okanogan Valley and along the Fraser River [1855]

A.B. Stewart had added Colville as a stop for his Stuart's Express [1855])

Stuart's Express added stops at St. Helens, Rainier, Monticello, Cowlitz Landing, Steilacoom, Seattle, Port Townsend and Vancouver Island -- 1856

Governor Isaac Stevens suspected the British Hudson's Bay Company officials

were encouraging Indian attacks east of the mountains in order to keep Americans out of the region so they would gain control of the gold discoveries along the upper Columbia River

## GOVERNOR STEVENS' REPLIES TO GENERAL WOOL'S ASSESSMENT

Department of the Pacific Commander General John E. Wool's demeaning letter to the governor and his failure to remain at Fort Vancouver when Stevens arrived incited the Isaac Stevens

Governor Stevens did not agree with General Wool's assessment

a West Point graduate and combat veteran himself, Stevens felt he was able to judge the situation

he wrote a furious 2500 word reply to the general in which he charged the officer **“with imbecility, inefficiency, untruthfulness, and wanton neglect of duty, especially in failing to let Stevens be rescued by [the] volunteers.”**<sup>151</sup>

Any hope of coordinating the combat effort now ended

## GOVERNOR STEVENS AND GENERAL WOOL WAGE SEPARATE WAR CAMPAIGNS

Separately Stevens and wool developed campaign tactics against the Indians and against each other

General Wool, Department of the Pacific Commander, was impatient with the civil government he blamed the Territorial Government for much of the Indian problem:

- Indians should have been moved to “Indian Territory” by Governor Stevens,

- Stevens had allowed settlers on the Indians' land before the treaties were ratified

Wool believed the Indians would have behaved better if they had been left alone

General John E. Wool also blamed the settlers for the Indian problem:

- he believed large numbers of emigrants coming west could take care of themselves,

- he openly disapproved of all armed demonstrations by settlers to defend their lives and property,

- he despised volunteer troops and was opposed to all local militia organizations,

- he charged the settlers were stirring up trouble to get money

---

<sup>151</sup> W. Storrs Lee. *Washington State*. P. 274.

Washington's territorial economy had been depressed since [1854-1855]

General Wool stated: **"...as long as Governors of the Territories exercise powers, as I believe, unknown to the President, and individuals raise volunteers and make wars on the Indians whenever they please, and Congress pay the expense, so long will we have war in Washington and Oregon Territories."**<sup>152</sup>

#### CHIEF LESCHI IS BECOMING A LEGEND IN THE PUGET SOUND REGION

There were other feared warriors on the west side of the Cascades: Qualchan, Kanasket, Wahoolet and Kitsap (the Younger) but Leschi personified the fear that gripped the Puget Sound and western Columbia River settlers

Sometimes Leschi was seen at more than one place at the same time  
he was seen by a farmer milking a cow on the Muck Creek Prairie  
who watched Leschi and eleven warriors outlined in the setting sun  
three small boys watched him gallop across Chamber's Prairie with his horsemen  
rumors added to rumors until he became almost omnipresent

Leschi, Kitsap (the Younger) and fifteen warriors arrived at the Muck Creek farm  
of retired Hudson's Bay Company shepherd John McLeod-- February 4, 1856

McLeod listened to the Nisqually chief as he berated Territorial Governor Stevens  
Leschi accused him of lying and fraud and deception in dealing with the Indians  
then changing his tone, Leschi said, **"I would like to have two pieces of paper taken, on one to be written the wrongs done by the Indians and on the other the wrongs the whites have inflicted on them. Let these two papers be sent to the Great Chief and let him decide."**<sup>153</sup>

#### CHIEF PATKANIM JOINS FORCES WITH THE MILITIA

Patkanim, the small, intelligent and devious Chief of the Snohomish and Snoqualmie Indians, had visited San Francisco where he had seen the city jammed with gold seekers  
when he returned home he was convinced there were too many white people to defeat  
as early as [November 1855] he had offered to the territorial government  
to put a hundred men in the field and to arrest any hostile Indian warriors  
who entered land under his control

Patkanim with fifty-five warriors of his Snohomish and Snoqualmie people took to the field  
against Chief Leschi and renegades of the White, Green and Puyallup rivers -- February 4, 1856

At about the same time, Chelan and Cowlitz Indians serving as volunteers  
joined forces with the Washington Territory Volunteers Militia

#### OREGON PORTAGE RAILROAD RE-OPENS FOR BUSINESS

Colonel Joseph S. Ruckel and Harrison Olmstead completed their portage road around The Cascades  
along the Oregon side of the Columbia River

Colonel Joseph Ruckel and Harrison Olmstead's portage road was less than six miles in length  
it ran from (today's Bonneville to the Cascades Locks)

---

<sup>152</sup> Executive Documents Printed by the Order of The Senate of the United States, First and Second sessions, Thirty-fourth Congress, 1855-56. P. 60.

it climbed at a very steep grade to an elevation of four hundred twenty-five feet passing over the top of Tooth Rock and descending at an equally steep slope Packer W.R. Kilborn oversaw arrangements for the transportation of freight along the portage in addition Colonel Joseph S. Ruckel and Harrison Olmstead offered steamboat service on the lower Columbia using the steamboat *Fashion*

and the middle section of the river with the steamer *Wasco*

Ruckel and Olmstead called their operation the “Oregon Transportation Line”

an advertisement appeared in the *Portland Weekly Oregonian* on February 9, 1856

#### “PORTLAND, CASCADES and DALLES

**The undersigned having made arrangements for the transportation of Freight over the Portage at the Cascades on the Oregon aide, and having the necessary teams, boats, etc., will receive and transport with the utmost dispatch all Freights, Goods, Wares and Merchandise by the steamers Fashion and Wasco and other companies. The road is now in complete order. My teams will always be in readiness. Good warehouses have been erected and my personal attention given to business.**

**W.R. Kilborn,**

**February 9th, 1856. Lower Cascades, Oregon Side”**

#### COMPETING PORTAGES EXIST ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Cascade Railway located along north bank of the Columbia Gorge was operated by David F. Bradford he was the Upper Cascades and Lower Cascades leading merchant and sawmill owner along with his brother Putnam F. Bradford

their Cascade Railway was made up of six miles of rails traversed by mule-drawn flatcar

Bradford's Cascade Railway was unable to do any business during times of high water during floods Ruckel and Olmstead's Oregon Transportation Line became very busy

Oregon Transportation Line could not handle all the freight piling up

Oregon Portage Railroad was located on South bank at the Cascades

operated by Colonel Joseph S. Ruckel and Harrison Olmstead

assisted by Portland's principal banker William S. Ladd

Sharp competition between the Cascade Railway and the Oregon Portage Railroad arose on the two sides of the Columbia River

In their present condition the portages were inadequate to the task of moving the available cargo quantities of freight were discharged from the steamers and stacked for portage

sometime the whole length of the portages were lined end to end with freight

portage owners on both sides of the Columbia River reaped large profits

#### PORTAGE ROUTE AROUND CELILO FALLS IS IMPROVED

Early immigrants using the Oregon Trail had opened a difficult route around Celilo Falls [fall 1843] pioneers in increasing numbers crossed on the Oregon Trail

but Celilo Falls continued to be a major impediment to travel

not only immigrants and local traffic were blocked, but discoveries of gold increased demand

freight wagons with heavy loads were needed to carry supplies and equipment to the miners

---

<sup>153</sup> J.A. Eckrom, *Remembered Drums*, P.114.

improvements at the portage were necessary  
Minor improvements were undertaken and this route became The Dalles-Celilo Portage Road -- 1856  
its upper end at Celilo Falls was, for a time, located at Deschutes Landing  
at the mouth of the Deschutes River

The Dalles-Celilo Portage Road wound for fifteen miles from Deschutes Landing  
through basalt barriers and sand hills then passed awe-inspiring scenes in a series of rapids, falls  
and swirling currents that cascaded through a narrow channel  
before it arrived at the village of The Dalles

#### FORT STEILACOOM IS HEADQUARTERS FOR THE SECOND MILITARY DISTRICT

Soldiers were systematically sent from Fort Steilacoom  
to patrol the region the Puget Sound region -- beginning February 13, 1856  
King, Pierce and Thurston counties were actively protected from Fort Steilacoom

#### PATKANIM ATTEMPTS TO FIND CHIEF LESCHI

Friendly Snohomish and Snoqualmie Chief Patkanim joined the fight on the side of the settlers  
Snohomish and Snoqualmie chief decided he would attempt to collect the posted reward  
for severed Indian heads

Patkanim led his Snohomish and Snoqualmie tribesmen, now auxiliary militiamen,  
against Chief Leschi and the other hostile warriors in the Puget Sound region  
he set out from Holmes Harbor on Whidbey Island with fifty-five warriors  
Indian Agent Michael T. Simmons and several pioneers  
accompanied the warriors through Tolt River Country  
Simmons had been the chief author of the plan to create temporary reservations  
to separate hostile from friendly Indians thus interring thousands of friendly Indians  
From the Tolt River Patkanim's warriors turned south toward Snoqualmie Falls

#### CHIEF LESCHI IS ANXIOUS FOR PEACE

Chief Leschi wanted peace but he also wanted a guarantee his people would not be punished  
and they would receive a new reservation

he was concerned that if the Indians laid down their weapons the settlers would kill them  
Nisqually Chief Leschi once again wanted John Swan to serve as negotiator

Swan's term as sub-Indian Agent on Fox Island had expired  
but Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey, Fort Steilacoom's commanding officer,  
agreed to let Swan take on the role -- February 15, 1856

John Swan traveled to Leschi's war camp in the deep woods of the upper White River  
he was the first white to see the encampment

Swan wrote a description in Steilacoom's Puget Sound Courier newspaper: **"From Mr. Swan we learn that the main camp of the hostile forces is in a large swamp near Green River (sic), where they have their women and children. The swamp is near the base of the mountains, difficult to reach and almost impenetrable, and all its approaches are watched by spies. A trail leads from the swamp into the mountains, on which they would doubtless try to retreat in case of attack.**

**“The number of warriors present was about one hundred and fifty, and these, with the small number of spies out, undoubtedly comprise all the force in arms. Leschi is anxious for peace, but he wishes a guarantee that his people shall receive no punishment, and that a new reservation shall be set aside for their use. He fears that if his people lay down their arms, private citizens may take their lives for what they have done in war.**

**“Mr. Swan stopped at the camp two nights and one day and as far as he could observe, provisions and ammunition were getting scarce and the Indians were quarreling among themselves. Leschi mentioned as a base act of ingratitude that some of his Duwamish friends had visited him, and on returning had stolen and taken away his horses.”<sup>154</sup>**

John Swan’s efforts to negotiate a peace with Governor Stevens, however sincere, ended in failure  
Chief Leschi was losing the balance of power

#### PATKANIM ATTACKS AN INDIAN VILLAGE

Patkanim with fifty-five Indian warriors scouted the base of the Snoqualmie Pass through the Cascades about five miles from Snoqualmie Falls they learned of an Indian camp located just below the falls  
Indian Agent Michael Simmons and the settlers who had accompanied Patkanim were directed by the Snoqualmie and Snohomish Chief to go and camp on Wapato Prairie  
Patkanim then surrounded and captured the whole Snoqualmie Falls Indian camp without firing a shot  
five women, six children and seven men were taken hostage -- February 15, 1856  
this was not a difficult feat since all but three Klickitat men were Patkanim’s own people  
Patkanim took two of the Klickitat captives to a nearby clearing and hanged them  
then beheaded them for the reward  
third Klickitat was ordered to lead Patkanim to Chief Leschi’s camp or die  
he turned informer and agreed to guide Patkanim’s warriors  
Patkanim was rewarded with \$20 each for the heads of hostiles  
(when business was slow, Patkanim sometimes killed his slaves  
to maintain his reputation as a fierce warrior and to enhance his income)

#### PATKANIM’S CAPTIVE PROVIDES A GREAT DEAL OF INFORMATION

Patkanim’s hostage Klickitat informant said that during the (previous fall and winter [1855])  
Klickitats east of the mountains had engaged in making war on the settlers  
warriors who had taken part in the war at different times and places  
numbered between five and six hundred  
this informer also noted there were currently only thirty armed Indians in the vicinity of Seattle,  
these hostiles were divided into four camps on the shores of Lake Washington  
other warriors were strategically placed near each other on the eastern side of the Green River  
just above where it was crossed by military road -- this road was closely guarded at the crossing  
Patkanim’s informer also said that as early as practical (in the spring)  
a large number of the Yakimas and Klickitats would cross the mountains and renew hostilities

#### CONFRONTATION TAKES PLACE BETWEEN CHIEFS PATKANIM AND LESCHI

---

<sup>154</sup> J.A. Eckrom, *Remembered Drums*, P. 115-116.

Shortly after Sub-Indian Agent John Swan's departure from Chief Leschi's camp  
Patkanim's Snoqualmie and Snohomish warriors guided by the captive Klickitat Indian  
reached Leschi's White River war camp -- night of February 17, 1856  
they found they were facing a well-fortified camp

Leschi had constructed a log house beside a driftwood long jam  
where a small stream emptied into the White River

Patkanim had planned on a late night attack using surprise and darkness to his advantage  
but the barking of dogs and Leschi's guards sounded a warning

Both chiefs were within shouting distance of each other

Steilacoom's Puget Sound Courier newspaper reported: **"Leschi's voice boomed out of the darkness calling, 'I have understood that you were coming to attack me, and I am prepared for you. I think I will have your head before tomorrow noon.' Patkanim shouted back, 'I don't know, but I think that before that time I will have your head.'"**<sup>155</sup>

Following the threats a night of anxiety was spent by Indians inside and outside the White River camp

#### PATKANIM ATTACKS LESCHI'S WHITE RIVER CAMP

Snoqualmie and Snohomish warriors crept close to Leschi's log house

Patkanim's warriors raked the building with musket fire -- dawn, February 18, 1856  
fighting was bitter -- after ten continuous hours of desperate fighting

Patkanim dislodged Leschi's people from their fortified log building

Under fire Leschi's band retreated across the cold White River to the Green River  
here Leschi's people suffered most of their casualties

Chief Leschi had suffered this first defeat and the worst casualties of the war  
eight men were killed, one being a chief, plus women and children

Patkanim continued the fight until he was out of ammunition

he then withdrew his warriors and returned home to wait for supplies  
in the fight Patkanim was wounded and five of his men were killed

only two heads were secured as trophies of the battle by Patkanim's braves

Patkanim pocketed most of the reward money for the heads

#### MICHAEL SIMMONS LEARNS OF THE GREEN RIVER FIGHT

Indian Agent Michael Simmons at his Wapato Prairie camp

was the first settler to learn of Chief Leschi's defeat when a runner arrived

it was reported that Leschi had lost nine warriors plus women and children  
and that Chief Patkanim had been wounded -- February 20, 1856

#### SECOND REGIMENT OF THE WASHINGTON VOLUNTEERS ORGANIZES

With the terms of enlistment coming to an end for the militia called out by Acting-Governor Mason  
Governor Stevens issue a call for another (The Second) Regiment of militiamen

to function as a unit independent of the soldiers of General John E. Wool

Stevens refused to allow them to be mustered into the service of the United States

---

<sup>155</sup> J.A. Eckrom, *Remembered Drums*, P. 119.

while General Wool was in command of the U.S. Army Pacific Department  
Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens selected the Commissioned Officers for the Second Regiment:

- James Tilton, Adjutant-General,
- William W. Miller, Quartermaster and Commissary-General,
- James K. Hurd, Assistant-Quartermaster and Commissary-General,
- Christopher H. Armstrong, Regimental Quartermaster in field:
  - Charles E. Weed, Assistant-Quartermaster, stationed at Olympia,
  - Warren Gove, Assistant-Quartermaster, stationed at Steilacoom,
  - M. B. Millard, Assistant-Quartermaster, stationed at Portland,
  - R.S. Robinson, Quartermaster, Port Townsend,
  - M. R. Hathaway, Assistant-Quartermaster, stationed at Fort Vancouver,
  - A. H. Robie, Assistant-Quartermaster, stationed at The Dalles

## SECOND REGIMENT OF THE WASHINGTON VOLUNTEERS MILITIA UNITS ARE ORGANIZED

Central Battalion was placed under the command of now Major Gilmore Hays) -- February 21, 1856

- Pioneer Company composed of forty infantrymen under Captain Joseph White and fourteen mounted riflemen led by Captain Urban E. Hicks,
- Company B with fifty-two Olympia men was led by Captain A.B. Rabbeson,
- Company C, sixty-seven Thurston County mounted men who furnished their own horses was led by Captain B.F. Hennes,
- Company D with forty-four mounted men led by Captain J.H. Achilles their horses were furnished in part by the territorial government,
- Company E composed of twenty-one infantrymen was placed under Captain Riley,
- Company F forty Sawamish (Mason) County men was commanded by Captain Calvin W. Swindal these militiamen immediately established their post at Camp Montgomery

Northern Battalion under Major J. J. H. Van Bokkelin was organized

- Company G, fifty-five infantrymen from Jefferson County was led by Captain Daniel Smalley,
- Company H, composed of forty-two infantrymen from Whatcom County: Captain R.V. Peabody,
- Company I, thirty-five Island County infantrymen commanded by Captain Samuel D. Howe

Southern Battalion under Major H. J. G. Maxon was organized:

- Company J composed of forty Oregon mounted riflemen led by Captain Bluford Miller,
- Company K, made up of 101 mounted rifle men led by Captain F. M. P. Goff,
- Company L, ninety-one Lewis County infantrymen led by Captain Edward D. Warbass,
- Company M led by Captain H. M. Chase
  - this company was composed of ten white men
  - and forty-three Nez Perce Indians who furnished their own horses,
- Company N consisted of seventy-four Oregon mounted riflemen led by Captain John A. Richards
  - part of this company was commanded by Captain Chase Williams,
- Clark County Rangers led by Captain William Kelley
  - was composed of eighty-one mounted riflemen owning their own horses

Three additional companies were formed:

- Walla Walla Company composed of twenty-nine riflemen led by Captain Sidney S. Ford
  - this unit served east of the Cascade Mountains,

- Train Guard consisted of forty-seven infantrymen led by Captain Oliver Shead,
- Nisqually Ferry Guards made up of nine infantrymen led by Sergeant Packwood

#### FEARS OF A GENERAL UPRISING INCREASE

Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens feared an attack  
by Indians living the New Caledonia (British Columbia)

Washington Territorial Militia Major J. J. H. Van Bokkelin's Northern Battalion  
provided Pioneer Company Captain Joseph White and his engineers who busily went to work  
they completed a corral, barracks, ferry landing and fortifications  
they worked on projects to build nine blockhouses and buildings  
and they repaired and built forty miles of road

In the meantime stockades, blockhouses and forts were quickly constructed

volunteers built thirty-four structures;

other citizens had built twenty-two defense works;

regular troops built fourteen more

during the building of a blockhouse at the White River Crossing

Indians attacked -- but after much maneuvering the warriors were defeated

Leschi was reported to be leading these attacks of violence and cruelty against settlers

(Roads and trails were completed through the Puget Sound region

entire cost had been defrayed by the auction of animals captured from the Indians)

#### GOVERNOR STEVENS RECRUITS INDIANS TO FIGHT FOR THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT

Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens gathered friendly Indians in Olympia  
to provide assistance for the Washington Territory Volunteer Militia

Chehalis and Cowlitz Indian volunteers from the southern portion of Washington Territory  
were organized into an auxiliary militia company of Indian scouts

sixteen Chehalis Indians were placed under Indian Agent Sidney S. Ford's command

eight Cowlitz natives were led by French-Canadian Pierre Charles

a small group of Squaxins under Indian Agent Wesley Gosnell proved to be remarkable scouts

Reports arrived from Port Madison on Bainbridge Island that 150 Duwamish and Squamish Indians  
were ready to join the conflict on the side of the whites

they had various firearms to be used in the event of an invasion by British Columbia native raiders

Even some Canadian Indians joined in the settlers' cause

eight Haidas from Haida Gwaii (the Queen Charlotte Islands) enlisted as scouts

they distinguished themselves as exceptionally brave and reliable fighters

Mrs. Stevens and the ladies of Olympia made special red and blue caps

to distinguish the friendly from hostile Indians

By late February 1856 Leschi faced as many Indians as he himself had

in addition to the troops and settlers who also participated

#### OREGON MASSACRE INTENSIFIES FEAR IN THAT TERRITORY

(Rogue River Indians under Chief Joe (Apserkahar) terrorized the settlers of southern Oregon Territory  
throughout the winter

these Indians had, in turn, been harassed by members of the Oregon Volunteer Militia  
both sides were relentless in their attacks)  
more than sixty homes lay in ruins and thirty-one Oregon Territory inhabitants were dead  
bloodshed continued at a high pitch as Rogue River Indians surveyed the region for victims  
Bloodiest event of the Rogue River War was known as the Gold Beach Massacre -- February 22, 1856  
Umpquas and Coquilles massacred twenty-five or thirty settlers in the village of Gold Beach  
including local Indian Agent Benjamin Wright  
renegade Indian Enos removed and ate Wright's heart to gain his courage  
One hundred thirty Gold Beach survivors fled to the local blockhouses  
where they were besieged for thirty-five days  
they watched in wretched suspense as rescue ships failed in repeated efforts  
to effect landings through the heavy surf  
finally soldiers from Fort Humbolt, California put down the rebellion  
Enos and his followers fled inland to continue their atrocities  
Oddly the southern Oregon Territory Indian wars although some the most ferocious in pioneer records  
have been largely forgotten because they were a series of little wars rather than a unified campaign  
southern Oregon coastal and Cascade mountain ranges merge in a jumble of forested peaks,  
deep canyons and isolated grassy valleys  
as a result skirmishes that raged through them were as detached as they were brutal  
also, violence and hostility followed by vengeful retaliation was demonstrated by both sides  
Indians fought settlers, settlers fought Indians; settlers exposed the brutality of other settlers,  
and Indians exposed the brutality of other Indians  
none could claim the moral high ground

#### DUWAMISH INDIANS ARE NOT AMONG THE FRIENDLY NATIVES

It was believed by the settlers that the Duwamish people remained allied with Chief Leschi's cause  
about thirty Duwamish Indians paddled in three canoes up the Duwamish River  
carrying food and guns toward Leschi's camp  
they were attacked by a party of volunteers of the Washington Mounted Rifles  
under Militia Lieutenant Silas Curtis  
two Duwamish were killed and at least one canoe was destroyed -- February 23, 1856

#### STEAMSHIPS ASSIST IN PROTECTING PUGET SOUND WATERS

Several United States military ships provided great help in quieting the Indians on Puget Sound  
U.S. Navy Sloop-of-War USS *Decatur* under Commander Guert Gansevoort  
was stationed on Puget Sound  
U.S. surveying steamer *Active* under Commander James Alden  
operated in the headwaters of Puget Sound where her presence reassured the settlers  
U.S. Revenue Cutter *Jefferson Davis* found herself being employed  
as a troop transport and as a platform for gunfire missions  
These ships were joined by Hudson's Bay Company steamers *Beaver* and *Otter*

#### USS MASSACHUSETTS OPERATES IN PUGET SOUND WATERS FOR MORE THAN A YEAR

*Massachusetts* under the command of Naval Lieutenant Richard W. Meade carried military supplies for use in Washington Territory including guns and ammunition for Seattle and the Straits of Juan de Fuca she operated in Puget Sound waters visiting ports in Washington Territory and the British Crown Colony of Vancouver Island  
*Massachusetts* arrived at the village of Seattle -- February 24, 1856

#### BATTLE WITH CANADIAN HAIDA INDIANS

Governor Isaac Stevens ordered all foreign Indians out of Washington Territory one large band of Haida Indians were employed as laborers by the Port Gamble Mill Company which was located at Teckalet at Port Gamble they were ordered to return to their native country -- but they refused Stevens called on the U.S. Navy steamer USS *Massachusetts* then at Seattle to carry out the orders Haida Indians defied the orders and the United States Navy Naval Lieutenant Richard W. Meade of *Massachusetts* sent howitzers ashore to drive the natives away cannon fire forced the Port Gamble Haidas to seek shelter in the woods -- February 24, 1856 Port Gamble Haidas were then attacked by marines from the *Massachusetts* led by Raphael Semmes twenty-seven Indians were killed and twenty-one others wounded -- one chief was killed Indians' camp was destroyed as were their canoes and provisions Haidas were returned by ship to Victoria and instructed to find their own way home (but they would be heard from again)

#### INDIAN ATTACKS MOVE SOUTHWARD

William S. Northcraft of Thurston County was employed by of the quartermasters of the militia forces he was killed about twelve miles from Olympia on his way to Fort Stevens on Yelm Prairie -- Sunday, February 24, 1856 Up to this time, the Indians had confined their operations to the country northward of Steilacoom, between the Puyallup and Snoqualmie rivers, embracing the Green and White river country, and the vicinity of Seattle now they transferred their effort to the Nisqually region where the Indians were commanded by Quiemuth and Stahi

#### U.S. NINTH INFANTRY MARCHES TO THE PUYALLUP VALLEY

Captain Erasmus Keyes served as second-in-command of the Puget Sound District since the arrival Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey Captain Keyes led two companies, 246 regular soldiers, of the U.S. Ninth Infantry from Fort Steilacoom -- February 25, 1856 on their way to the Puyallup Valley they discovered signs the Indians were suffering buried Indian caches of potatoes and other food were found and uncovered carcasses of skinny Indian horses that had been butchered for food were discovered twenty Indian warriors with their wives turned themselves over to the soldiers

## INDIAN AUXILLERY MILITIA MEMBERS SCOUT THE NISQUALLY RIVER VALLEY

Indian Agent Wesley Gosnell started for the Nisqually bottomlands  
with fifteen friendly Indians from the Squaxin reservation to serve as scouts  
wearing their blue caps with red trim -- February 26, 1856

## PUYALLUP VALLEY SERVES AS A STAGING AREA

Captain Erasmus Keyes's Ninth Infantry's 246 soldiers were camped in the Puyallup Valley  
Captain Keyes was joined by members of the U.S. Fourth Infantry under Captain Maurice Maloney  
who had arrived to build a two-story blockhouse located on the North bank of the Puyallup River  
it was intended to protect the John Carson ferry crossing  
Mrs. Emma L. Carson (wife of John Carson) taught school in Fort Maloney  
(this blockhouse washed away in an [1867] flood)

## MILITIA MAJOR GILMORE HAYS PATROLS MUCKLESHOOT PRAIRIE

Two companies of Major Gilmore Hays' Central Battalion  
was ordered to Muckleshoot Prairie -- February 27, 1856

Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens specifically noted in his orders to Major Hays: **“this is not intended either directly or indirectly to place you under the orders of Colonel Casey, nor to make your operations subordinate to his.”**<sup>156</sup>

blockhouses and depots were built two by Major Hay's volunteer companies

## LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SILAS CASEY TAKES TO THE FIELD

Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey arrived in the Puyallup Valley from Fort Steilacoom  
he brought a pair of mountain howitzers with him -- -- morning February 28, 1856  
Lieutenant-Colonel Casey took command of all of the forces at the Puyallup blockhouse  
Captain Erasmus Keyes's Ninth Infantry soldiers  
Captain Maurice Maloney's Fourth Infantry  
and two companies of militiamen

Casey moved his men from the Puyallup River blockhouse  
he made camp near the ruins of Isaac Lemon's homestead on Lemon's Prairie -- February 28, 1856  
Casey's men pitched their tents in a small clearing half a mile east of the Puyallup River  
between their camp and the river stood a thin fringe of bushes and trees  
on the other side was steep heavily wooded Elhi Hill  
a small stream rolled down the hill and flowed under a log bridge along the road that led uphill  
to where Chief Leschi and his Indians were thought to be located  
Captain Erasmus Keyes, the second-in-command of the Puget Sound District  
since the arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey, was the officer of the day  
responsible for the safety of the camp  
Keyes walked to the edge of the camp and posted a sentry near the fringe of trees by the river  
he posted a double sentry in three groups along the hillside at vital locations

---

<sup>156</sup> Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington*, Vol. I, P. 578.

## LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SILAS CASEY'S MEN COMES UNDER ATTACK

Cooking fires were lit in the soldiers' Lemon Prairie camp -- 5:00 A.M. Friday February 29, 1856

Captain Erasmus Keyes later reported on the incident that took place that morning

Private Charles Kehl, U.S. Ninth Infantry Company D, went to his assigned Elhi Hill sentry post **“with his two companions, went to the post assigned them. In the morning, soon after five o'clock, Kehl was standing sentinel under the tree. It was before daybreak. But the cooks had already lighted their fires; and the watchful soldier saw a gleam of light reflected from the barrel of a rifle a hundred yards up the trail beyond the bend. Then in a few minutes he saw five Indians in single file creeping stealthily down the hill. The one in front was waving his right hand backward to caution the men who followed him. Kehl stood motionless till the leader came nearly abreast of him. Then with deliberate aim he fired; and the great Chief Kanaskat [the leading spirit of the hostile natives] fell. At the report of his shot, I ran out to the bridge, where I heard Sergeant Newton, forty yards beyond, cry out, ‘We’ve got an Indian!’ he and another man were dragging him along by the heels. The savage had received a shot through the spine, which paralyzed his legs; but the strength of his arms and voice was not affected. He made motions as if to draw a knife. I ordered two soldiers to hold him; and it required all their strength to do so. As they dragged him across the bridge, I followed; and he continued to call out in a language I did not understand. Some one came up who recognized the wounded Indian, and exclaimed, ‘Kanaskat.’ ‘Nawitka’ said he, with tremendous energy, his voice rising to a scream, ‘Kanaskat, tyee, mamelouse nica! Nica Mamelouse Bostons!’ (Yes, Kanaskat, chief, kill me! I kill Bostons!) He added, ‘My heart’s wicked towards the Whites, and always will be; and you had better kill me!’ Then he began to call out in his native language, not a word of which could any of us understand. I ordered two soldiers to stop his mouth; but they were unable to do so. He appeared to be calling for his comrades. Two other shots were fired from the pickets on the hill; when Corporal O’Shaughnessy, who was standing by, placed the muzzle of his rifle close to the chieftain’s temple, blew a hole through his head, and scattered his brains about.”**<sup>157</sup>

Lieutenant-Colonel Casey broke camp -- he led his soldiers into the White River Valley

## GOVERNOR STEVENS APPEALS TO JAMES DOUGLAS, GOVERNOR OF VANCOUVER ISLAND

Governor Isaac Stevens requested additional aid from Vancouver Island Governor James Douglas in a letter dated February 29, 1856

**“I have appointed R.S. Robinson my commissary and quartermaster for the volunteer operations on the lower part of the Sound; and I have to request that you will furnish him what whatever he may call for. We need powder, lead, sugar, coffee, pork, clothing, candles, soap, etc. I have no question that an appropriation will be made this session of Congress to defray these expenses; and Captain Robinson will issue the necessary certificates for such articles as you may furnish.”**<sup>158</sup>

## MILITARY CONSTRUCTION ALONG THE PUYALLUP RIVER

Militia Major Gilmore Hays' Central Battalion continues their construction efforts -- February 29, 1859 in addition to blockhouses and depots the two volunteer companies built on Muckleshoot Prairie

---

<sup>157</sup> Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington...*, Vol. I, P. 591.

three blockhouses were ordered to be constructed on the way to Muckleshoot Prairie  
two at Porter's Prairie to be garrisoned by ten men  
another blockhouse was to be constructed at Camp Connell

#### LIEUTENANT AUGUST VAENTINE KAUTZ ENCOUNTERS HOSTILE INDIANS

Twenty-eight year old German immigrant Lieutenant August Kautz, a West Point graduate, was leading fifteen soldiers of the U.S. Fourth Infantry up the Stuck River Valley with orders to meet Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey at the crossing of the White River -- Saturday morning March 1, 1856 when they reached their destination Lieutenant Kautz looked in vain for Lieutenant-Colonel Casey however, Kautz saw Indians maneuvering toward the south bank of the White River Lieutenant Kautz crossed to the north side of the White River and moved toward a mass of driftwood and dead timber collected beside the river Warriors began firing from both sides of the river Kautz sent two messengers, a soldier and an Indian, to find Lieutenant-Colonel Casey

#### KAUTZ COMMUNCIATES WITH LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SILAS CASEY

Lieutenant-Colonel Casey, then on Lemon's Prairie, received the note sent by Lieutenant August Kautz -- about noon Saturday March 1, 1856 he learned that Kautz and his soldiers were at the crossing of the White River two miles above Muckleshoot Prairie they were cut off from camp by a large body of Indians Captain Erasmus Keyes and fifty-four men of the Ninth Infantry drew the job of setting out on a forced march in an attempt to rescue Lieutenant Kautz and his men

#### STUCK RIVER VALLEY BATTLE TAKES PLACE

After setting out from Lemon's Prairie to reinforce Lieutenant August Kautz Captain Keyes described the events of that day-- 1:00 P.M. Saturday March 1, 1856

**"I took the Indian boy, who was only fifteen years old, as a guide. We pushed forward with all possible speed a distance of eight or nine miles; but instead of leading me to the ford, the young rascal conducted me to a point half a mile below, where the contracted torrent was absolutely impassable. I called the boy to me and told him to show me the crossing, or I would shoot him on the spot. He replied 'Nica cumtux' (I know) and led the way through the woods to a place where the river spread out to three times its width below. I ordered the soldiers to fasten their cartridge boxes about their shoulders; and then we dashed in and passed over without accident, although the water, which was icy cold, came up to the armpits of the small men, and ran like a millrace. Between the water's edge and the bluff on the opposite side of the river was a grass-covered slope about two hundred yards wide. The bluff on the bank was not high; and it was so thickly covered with trees and brush that not an enemy could be seen."**<sup>159</sup>

Lieutenant Kautz and Captain Keyes linked their commands

---

<sup>158</sup> Executive Documents Printed by Order of the House of Representatives, Second Session of the Thirty-fifth Congress, 1858-1859.

soldiers lined up for the head-on charge over a 200 yard stretch of gently sloping grass

which ended at a low bluff covered with trees and brush where the Indians could not be seen

Captain Keyes continued: **“I deployed my men as skirmishers; and Kautz, who had left the wood-pile, did the same; and I ordered the whole to charge. The Indians fired a volley enough to kill every one of us; but they aimed too high, and only one man was struck; and that was Lieutenant Kautz. A rifle ball passed through his leg; but I was not aware that he had been wounded until the battle was over. After one discharge, the Indians ran; and we pursued them through the woods half a mile, at double-quick time, to the base of a steep hill, on the brow of which they made a stand, and, with derisive epithets, dared us to come on. The slope of the hill for a distance of two hundred yards was bare; and at the top were many large standing and fallen trees, which afforded cover to the enemy and gave him a great advantage.**

**“Lieutenant David B. McKibbin of Guthrie’s company, Ninth Infantry, was in line with the front rank; and, when half way up the hill, the savages arose with a whoop and opened fire. Several soldiers fell; but McKibbin’s gallantry encouraged the others, and not one flinched. I was at that moment just coming up the slope of the hill; and we all pressed forward, and in a short time our victory was complete. Our number engaged was one hundred; and we lost two killed and eight wounded. The smallness of the loss was probably due to the bravery of the men, who rushed upon the Indians, disconcerting them; and fifty of their shots went over our heads for every one that took effect.’ Closing his official report, Captain Keyes remarked: ‘We have now the good fortune of having completely routed the Indians. Our next difficulty will be to find them.’”<sup>160</sup>**

soldiers successfully defeated the Indians and returned to Fort Steilacoom

This was the last action in force by the United States military against the hostile Indians west of the Cascade Mountains -- now the burden of fighting was handed to the militia  
Governor Isaac Stevens was determined to use them to the fullest

#### SMALL BANDS OF HOSTILE INDIANS CONTINUE TO TERRORIZE THE SETTLERS

William White was returning from church with two of his friends -- Sunday March 2, 1856  
he was leading a horse across Chamber’s Prairie a little in advance  
when he was shot and instantly killed by a small band of hostile Indians  
his horse took fright at the attack and ran away drawing the Indians with it  
thus saving of the lives of the two women

who were accompanying this prominent resident of Thurston County

Small bands of Indians actively attacked Pierce County settlers near Steilacoom  
cabins were burned, cattle was driven off and settlers killed

marauders seem to always chose the right time for their operations and easily eluded pursuit

Chief Leschi was said to be the instigator

#### GENERAL JOHN E. WOOL RETURNS TO THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Correspondence between the Governor Isaac Stevens and Colonel George Wright at Fort Vancouver regarding plans for an upcoming campaign and the cooperation (or lack of it)

---

<sup>159</sup> General E.D. Keyes, *Fifty years’ Observation of Men and Events*, P 258.

<sup>160</sup> General E.D. Keyes, *Fifty years’ Observation of Men and Events*, P 258.

of the volunteers with the military command in the field had been ongoing  
these reports had been passed on to General John E. Wool for his consideration  
General Wool once again departed from San Francisco to inspect the Pacific Northwest -- early March  
traveling by steamer he stopped at Fort Humboldt to set the Rogue River military forces in motion  
he selected Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Robert C. Buchanan of the Fourth Infantry  
to direct the Oregon campaign

Buchanan was remembered by a subordinate as being “...**particularly elated at his own importance and his fitness for the duties assigned him.**”<sup>161</sup>

General Wool continued to the Columbia River  
bringing his animosity toward the settlers in general and Governor Stevens in particular with him

#### ADDITIONAL DEFENSIVE POSITIONS ARE CONSTRUCTED BY SOLDIERS AND MILITIAMEN

Fort Slaughter was built on the Muckleshoot Prairie near the junction of White and Green rivers  
under direction of Captain Erasmus Darwin Keyes, U.S. Third Artillery

Fort Hays was constructed on Connell's Prairie by Washington Territorial Volunteers  
(near the present-day town of Bonney Lake) -- March 1856  
this two-blockhouse fort was named in honor of Major Gilmore Hayes  
of the Washington Territorial Volunteers

Fort Alden, a temporary blockhouse at Snoqualmie, was erected by Washington Territorial Volunteers  
at a location approximately 600 feet west of (present-day downtown Meadowbrook)  
it was named to honor Captain James Alden, Washington Territorial Volunteers -- March 1856  
this fort was also known as Fort Alder

Fort Lander blockhouse and stockade was constructed on the Duwamish River -- 1856  
(this is the name for the last twelve miles of the Green River before it empties into Puget Sound)  
by the Washington Territorial Volunteers (in today's City of SeaTac)  
this post was named in honor of Territorial Supreme Court Chief Justice and post commander  
Captain Edward Lander, Washington Territorial Volunteers

Fort at Lone Tree Point in La Conner was erected by the Washington Territorial Volunteers -- 1856  
this blockhouse was located about three and a half miles northwest of La Conner

Fort Pike was a blockhouse built at the White River Crossing -- 1856  
by the Washington Territorial Volunteers to protect the route  
this fort may also be known as Fort Posey

Fort Riggs was a blockhouse built by the Washington Territorial Volunteers  
on Colonel Reuben Riggs property on the north bank of the Columbia River, Clark County -- 1856

Fort Skookum on Skookum Bay included two blockhouses, a ten-foot high timber stockade,  
and five houses built by the Washington Territorial Volunteers -- 1856

Fort Stevens, a blockhouse and supply depot on the Yelm Prairie  
was constructed by the Central Battalion by Washington Territorial Volunteers -- 1856  
it was named for Territorial Governor Isaac I. Stevens

Fort Tilton was built three miles below the Snoqualmie Falls (near today's Fall City)  
by the Washington Territorial Volunteers -- 1856

---

<sup>161</sup> Lieutenant George Crook, Autobiography. P. 9

it was named for Major James Tilton, Adjutant General, Washington Territorial Volunteers  
it was in operation just two months as a supply depot and then was abandoned  
Fort White was a blockhouse built by Major Gilmore Hays, Washington Territorial Volunteers  
at Montgomery's Crossing of the Puyallup River -- 1856  
it was named in honor of Captain Joseph A. White, Washington Territorial Volunteers  
Olympia Blockhouse was, in fact, two blockhouses built by the Washington Territorial Volunteers  
in the center of town -- 1856  
(when they were abandoned they became the city jail -- today the site is Capital Park)  
Fort Henderson was a blockhouse constructed by the Washington Territorial Volunteers -- 1856  
on the Snoqualmie River at Patterson Creek  
it was also known as Fort Patterson

#### SOLDIERS AND MILITIAMEN FIND CHIEF LESCHI'S WAR CAMP

White River region was investigated by a large force of soldiers and militiamen  
they discovered an imposing Indian fortification on the edge of a large swamp -- March 6, 1856  
although this was a formidable position the Indians had chosen to abandon the place  
as the troops approached  
this could only have been Leschi's main camp that had been visited by John Swan  
and had been attacked by Snohomish Chief Patkanim  
soldiers burned most of the timbers before they continued on

#### INDIANS RAID JOCELYN, WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Jocelyn, Washington Territory at the mouth of the White Salmon River was attacked  
by a band of Klickitat Indians who drove off a large number of animals -- March 6, 1856  
When news of the harassment was received by Colonel George Wright  
Lieutenant-Colonel Edward J. Steptoe with two companies of the Ninth Infantry  
was dispatched from Fort Vancouver to White Salmon  
Additional troops were sent the next two days -- March 7 and 8  
to operate east of Fort Vancouver in support of Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe

#### RETIRED HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY EMPLOYEES COME UNDER SUSPICION

Several former Hudson's Bay Company employees who were married to Indian women  
they lived with their families along Muck Creek in the Nisqually River Valley  
they claimed to be neutral in the racial conflict  
however, their farms seemed strangely immune from Indian attack  
while surrounding cabins were burned and their neighbors were killed  
it was suspected the Muck Creek farmers were providing information and support to the insurgents  
Washington Territory Governor Stevens sent Acting-Secretary Isaac W. Smith to Muck Creek  
with instructions to order James Wren, Lyon Smith and John McLeod, Henry Smith  
and John McPhail and others to leave their claims and move to Olympia, Fort Nisqually  
or Steilacoom  
Governor Stevens' order came in the springtime when crop seeding was to take place  
also, leaving their farms and animals exposed their property to weather and thieves

After their removal the Muck Creek farmers wrote to the governor asking permission to return to their homes -- their requests were ignored James Wren, Lyon Smith and John McLeod visited their homes anyway

#### LEGAL CHARGES ARE FILED AGAINST THREE MUCK CREEK FARMERS

Washington Territory Governor Stevens ordered Secretary of Acting-Secretary Isaac W. Smith to take twenty men and arrest three of the former Hudson's Bay Company former employees who had returned to their homes on Muck Creek -- March 9, 1856

James Wren, Lyon Smith and John McLeod were taken into custody and charged with "giving aid and comfort to the Indians with whom the United States were at war"

For weeks Muck Creek farmers James Wren, Lyon Smith and John McLeod remained in custody in the Fort Steilacoom brig under the guard of Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey

Governor Stevens noted that: **"Even if the evidence should fail to convict one or more of them, the peace of the country requires that those not convicted be kept in close confinement till the end of the war."**<sup>162</sup>

Governor Isaac Stevens' highhanded arrest of the three retired Hudson's Bay Company employees living along Muck Creek was seriously questioned by several leading settlers

#### BRITISH COLUMBIA GOVERNOR JAMES DOUGLAS REFUSES TO SEND MORE SUPPLIES

Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens had sent several requests to Victoria Governor James Douglas asking for more support in the territory's Indian campaign After an exchange of several notes concerning the manner of payment

Governor Douglas replied -- March 9, 1856

**"I took the earliest opportunity of communicating with Mr. Robinson (Jefferson and Island County Quartermaster Captain Reuben S. Robinson) in respect to the wants of his department, with the view of using my influence in procuring them from the Hudson Bay Company and other merchants doing business at this place.**

**"No unwillingness was evinced by any of the parties consulted about furnishing supplies to the extent of their means, but they object to receiving payment in (territorial) scrip, which was the only security proffered to them by Mr. Robinson.**

**Captain (Samuel) Swartwout (sic), having arrived on this day...agrees...with me as to...suggesting to you the propriety of drawing bills of exchange on the (United States) Secretary of the Treasury in payment of such supplies as you absolutely require from this place, which would enable you to make purchases on the most favorable terms; on the other hand, none of the parties are disposed to advance goods on the security of the territorial scrip."**<sup>163</sup>

#### ANOTHER FIGHT TAKES PLACE ON CONNELL'S PRAIRIE

Indians waited tensely on Connell's Prairie where the northern edge the prairie dropped sharply toward the White River far below near where the [October 1855] White Massacre had taken place here a single wagon road crossed the prairie leading from Camp Montgomery

---

<sup>162</sup> Herbert Hunt and Floyd C. Kaylor, *Washington West of the Cascade*, P. 54.

to a juncture with the White River

here a two-story blockhouse, a corral and barracks were under construction

also a ferry landing and a fortification to protect it were taking shape on the White River  
Militia Captain Joseph White's Pioneer Company engineers moved across Connell's Prairie  
to continue the building projects -- 8:00 A.M. Monday March 10, 1856

White's men had built nine blockhouses and opened or repaired forty miles of road  
Militia Lieutenant Urban Hicks and a three-man scouting party

rode ahead of Captain White and his men

they moved cautiously forward across the prairie until they reached a bluff and steep hills

leading down to the river -- there Hicks came upon signs that Indians had passed ahead of him  
Lieutenant Hicks turned to shout what he had discovered

when a sudden blast of gunfire erupted from the woods ahead of him

Indians had given away the ambush they had prepared because Lieutenant Urban

had stopped just short of the trap and had turned to warn the militiamen following him  
because muskets were notoriously inaccurate the Indians were, as usual, ineffective

three of the soldiers were wounded but the potential massacre of the troops had been avoided

Militia Major Gabriel Hays reported the result of the action as follows: **“At about eight o'clock this morning, Captain White, with his company, was ordered to the White river to build a blockhouse and ferry, supported by Captain Swindal and ten privates. He had not proceeded more than half a mile from camp when he was attacked by a large Indian force, supposed to be at least one hundred and fifty warriors and a large number of (Indian women). I immediately ordered Captain Hennes to his support with twenty men. Captain Hennes moved with great rapidity, a tremendous volley of guns announcing his arrival. I became satisfied that an additional force was necessary, and dispatched Lieutenant Martin of Company B, with fifteen additional men. The Indians by this time were seen extending their flank to the left with great rapidity. I then ordered Lieutenant Van Ogle, Company B, with fifteen men, to check their flank movement but, before he could gain a position, they had so extended their line as to make it necessary to send another party of twelve men under command of Captain Rabbeson, who succeeded in checking them. The fight by this time extended the whole length of our line; and one continuous volley could be heard from the Indian guns on the hill and those of our men in the bottom. This firing continued some two hours. I saw the advantage which the Indians had in position, and determined to charge them. I ordered Captain Swindal to charge them from his position, which was central, and Captain Rabbeson to make a simultaneous move against their extreme left; while Captain Hennes and Captain White were ordered to hold the position which they occupied.**

**“This order was promptly obeyed, and the charge made in the most gallant style by Captain Swindal against their center, and Captain Rabbeson against their left, through a deep slough, driving the enemy from their position and pursuing them some distance in their flight. Captain Rabbeson returned to camp; while Captain Swindal occupied a high ridge in the rear of the main body of the Indians. I ordered Captain Rabbeson to join Captains Hennes and White, and direct Captain Hennes to charge the Indians if he deemed it advisable. The Indians in front of Captains White and**

---

<sup>163</sup> Executive Documents Printed by Order of the House of Representatives, Second Session of the Thirty-fifth Congress, 1858-1859.

**Heness were in strong position behind logs and trees, and upon an elevation. It was deemed too dangerous to charge them in front. Captain Rabbeson was ordered to join Captain Swindal, make a flank movement to the right, and charge the enemy in their rear. This order was gallantly obeyed. Simultaneously with this movement, Captains Henness and White charged them in front. The Indians were routed, and were pursued for a mile or more along a trail covered with blood. It is believed that not less than twenty-five or thirty were killed, and as many wounded. They had been seen carrying off their wounded and dead from the time the fight commenced until it terminated. Withes and ropes were found on the ground they occupied, which had been used in dragging off their dead into the bush. Hats, blankets and shirts were picked up with bullet holes, in them, stained with blood. They were forced to give up their drum, which they abandoned in their retreat. But two Indians were found dead on the field, one of whom was recognized as Chehalis John. The other was placed under a log, and has not yet been examined. The Indians had together their whole force. They picked their own ground. They brought on the attack without being seen by our troops. I regard the victory of this day as complete, - a grand triumph. They exceeded us in numbers nearly if not quite two to one; and we whipped and drove them before us. We had four men wounded, all of whom will soon get well.”<sup>164</sup>**

Connell’s Prairie Battleground was quiet by 3:00 P.M.

this proved to be the last battle West of Cascade Mountains with the Indians amassed in force thereafter, Indians on the West side worked in small bands -- guerrilla style

#### POOR MILITARY PLANNING COMPLICATES MATTERS IN EASTERN WASHINGTON

Both Major General John Ellis Wool and Colonel George Wright neglected the vital mountain crossing at The Cascades where the Columbia River crashed through the mountain range although it had long served as the only trade link up and down the river

In fact, there was no striking evidence of brilliant leadership on the part of any of the regular soldiers such as George B. McClellan, Philip Sheridan or Ulysses S. Grant (all of whom served admirably during the Civil War)

#### GEORGE WRIGHT LEAVES FORT VANCOUVER FOR EASTERN WASHINGTON

Colonel George Wright, fifty-five year old veteran of the Seminole Indian and Mexican wars, was ordered by General John E. Wool to travel up the Columbia River to take charge of the upcoming Indian campaign and to rebuild Fort Walla Walla General Wool had made a strong effort to impress on Colonel Wright that this war was perpetrated by the bad faith of the settlers

Wright was to govern himself accordingly

Colonel George Wright led Ninth Infantry Companies A, E, F and I into the interior -- March 1856 he and his U.S. soldiers stopped at Fort Cascades -- March 11, 1856

#### CHIEF LESCHI LEADS HIS PEOPLE ACROSS NACHES PASS

After losing the fight was Militia Captain Joseph White’s Pioneer Company Chief Leschi led his people more than forty miles in two days

---

<sup>164</sup> Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington*, Volume I. P. 578-579.

Chief Leschi camped high in the foothills of Naches Pass  
As the Indians descended the east side of the Cascades  
they were forced to ford the Naches River several times in bitter cold -- March 12, 1856  
some Indians died and were buried in the deep snow  
after two more days of terrible suffering the Indians reached open country  
where food was found in the form of roots -- March 14

#### ATTACK AT WHITE RIVER IN THE PUGET SOUND MILITARY DISTRICT

Small scatterings of Indians roamed the country west of the Cascade Mountains  
while they worked on the White River blockhouse Captain Joseph White's Pioneer Company C  
was attacked by a dozen or so Indians -- March 14, 1856

Militia Captain B.F. Henness' Thurston County mounted men of Company C  
were on guard at the time -- one of Henness' men was severely wounded

After this attack Indians who continued the fight were hunted down and killed  
there was little danger to the killers and stories of atrocities were plentiful

some of Major Gilmore Hay's Central Battalion militiamen traveled up the Carbon River  
they came to a small collection of Indian grass huts

several dozen natives there were shot down

three more were captured and brought to the militiamen's camp on the Puyallup River  
papers found on one of them were thought to indicate the Indian had taken part  
in the White River massacre

militiaman Joseph Brannon, a private in Henness' company began shouting for revenge  
his brother William had been killed at White River and he wanted vengeance

there was not much argument and three Indians were lined up and shot

on the march toward the Nisqually River Calvin Swindall's Sawamish County volunteers  
walked to the top of a rise and discovered an Indian longhouse

occupied by twenty-five or thirty Indian -- they killed four and drove off the rest  
during a search of the longhouse papers were found that were said be proof  
the Indians that had been killed were hostiles

Urban Hicks took his men on a march from South Prairie to the foothills of Mount Rainier  
traveling fast they carried only a gun, twenty-one rounds of ammunition,

two day's ration and a blanket each

they found a campfire at the top of a ridge but saw no evidence of Indians in the vicinity  
a young Indian guide spotted an almost invisible broken limb

a search resulted in another broken branch being found and then yet another  
these signs were followed for a mile or more

to a dense grove of cedar trees stripped of their bark where a wide trail

led to a large ranch built on a slight rise close to a stream

one shot was fired from the cedar grove near the house but did not harm

Indians came out of a gap in the trees and were shot down -- men, women and children  
all were killed except or a man and woman

who managed to avoid all of the shots fired at them and escaped

articles belonging to the families killed in the White River massacre were found

## LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SILAS CASEY PERSUES WESTERN WASHINGTON INDIANS

Neither the attack on Captain Joseph White's Volunteer Pioneer Company C  
nor lack of support for the military from Governor Isaac Stevens  
discouraged Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey

Lieutenant-Colonel Casey continued to implement his plan of operation

parties were sent to search out the Indians' hunting the places of concealment

that had been used by small bands -- which was all that remained of the Puget Sound hostiles

Casey sent several expeditions to confront the Indians -- Tuesday March 18, 1856

one party marched to the Stuck Prairie

there they attacked an Indian village and captured several natives

another party went in pursuit of another hostile band on Boise Creek (today's Enumclaw)

yet another detachment proceeded against the Indians camped on Lake Duwamish

Captain Gansevoort, of the U.S. sloop-of-war *Decatur*, had been requested by Colonel Casey  
to co-operate in this attack -- but he declined

Lieutenant-Colonel Casey's efforts resulted in these bands of Indians voluntarily coming in,  
giving themselves up and consenting to be placed peacefully on the reserve

## COLONEL WRIGHT MOVES HIS NINTH INFANTRY THROUGH THE COLUMBIA GORGE

Colonel George Wright remained at Fort Cascades, Lower Cascades, while his huge supply of baggage  
was transported along the Washington side of the Columbia River

around the Columbia Gorge's Middle Cascades to the village of Upper Cascades

Lieutenant Lyman Bissell was placed in command of a group of soldiers at Fort Rains blockhouse  
located at the lower end of the portage around the Middle Cascades

Wright moved the main body of troops around the Middle Cascades to the village of Upper Cascades  
where he waited for his immense amount of supplies and military baggage

more than a week would be needed to carry his baggage and equipment around The Cascades

When Colonel Wright and Ninth Infantry Companies A, E, F and I arrived at Upper Cascades

Lieutenant Lyman Bissell and his soldiers were withdrawn from the Fort Rains Blockhouse  
only nine men under Sergeant Matthew Kelly were left at Fort Rains -- March 20, 1856

Kelly was left with a howitzer which had been mounted and a supply of ammunition

Sergeant Kelly's orders were to guard the government property waiting there

and to keep open the line of communication between forts Dalles and Vancouver

## COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT CONTINUES ON TOWARD THE DALLES

Colonel Wright's Ninth Infantry Companies A, E, F and I departed Upper Cascades  
on their way to Fort Dalles

as Colonel Wright withdrew, Chief Kamiakin massed his Yakima and Klickitat warriors  
to move toward the Columbia Gorge

Wright made camp at Five Mile Creek with no suspicion of the danger behind him -- March 20, 1856

## COLONEL WRIGHT REACHES FORT DALLES

Two hundred men of U.S. Ninth Infantry companies A, E, F and I arrived at their new assignment

Lieutenant-Colonel Edward J. Steptoe had been stationed at Fort Dalles

Colonel Steptoe was a West Point graduate and veteran of the Seminole and Mexican wars  
he had been in Washington Territory for two years  
after being offered, and refusing, the governorship of Utah Territory

#### CONSTRUCTION OF FORT DALLES -- FIRST MILITARY DISTRICT: EASTERN WASHINGTON

Construction of a new Fort Dalles was directed by Assistant-Quartermaster Captain Thomas Jordan  
new fort buildings formed an octagon surrounding a grassy parade ground  
timber was cut nearby and sawed in the fort's sawmill on Mill Creek  
doors, windows, mantelpieces and bookcases for the fort were hand-planed  
much of the woodwork was native alder painted to look like oak  
sandstone quarried at a nearby bluff was used for foundations and chimneys  
Arrival of Colonel George Wright and his Ninth Infantry began Fort Dalles' busiest era  
this post became not only headquarters for the U.S. Ninth Infantry  
but was the principal base of operations against Indian disturbances  
for General John E. Wool's First Military District -- Eastern Washington Territory  
Fort Dalles was the main military post for all the goods and supplies  
destined for the yet to be constructed forts Simcoe and Walla Walla

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT DISPERSES HIS MEN

In keeping with his orders to rebuild Fort Walla Walla Colonel Wright ordered Colonel Steptoe  
to march to Walla Walla Country leading detachments of Company E, First Dragoons  
and Company L Third Artillery -- March 23, 1856  
this was an attempt to overawe the natives in that region  
Also in keeping with his orders, Colonel Wright led the two hundred men  
of U.S. Ninth Infantry companies A, E, F and I eastward into Spokane Country  
away from the portage at The Columbia Gorge -- March 23, 1856

#### STEAMER *MARY* ARRIVES AT THE VILLAGE OF UPPER CASCADES

Captain Dan Baughman on the *Mary* arrived from The Dalles to take on cargo at Upper Cascades  
on the Washington side of the Columbia River -- evening of March 23, 1856  
he tied up the steamer near the sawmill and put out the fires in the boiler  
he granted shore leave to his crew -- loading of cargo was to begin in the morning

#### YAKIMA CHIEF KAMIAKIN PLANS HIS ATTACK

As Colonel George Wright and Colonel Edward J. Steptoe moved eastward from Fort Dalles,  
that is away from the Columbia Gorge, Chief Kamiakin was advised of their progress  
Kamiakin had developed a plan to capture the villages at each end of The Cascade portage  
and the blockhouse in between as well  
he would conduct a simultaneous massacre at the three locations  
Fort Cascades and the village of Lower Cascades, Upper Cascades village  
and Fort Rains Blockhouse at the Middle Cascades  
he also planned to capture the steamboats in operation above and below the portage

as a final stroke, he planned to attack Fort Vancouver

## CHIEF KAMIAKIN APPROACHES THE INDIAN VILLAGE BELOW LOWER CASCADES

Just upriver from Fort Cascades and the village of Lower Cascades

Cascade Indians numbering about fifty had their homes

they depended on fishing for their livelihood supplemented by occasional employment

as boat-hands in the transportation of merchandise and travelers

Chief Kamiakin with his Yakima and Klickitat warriors paid a visit to the Cascades Indian village

Kamiakin intimidated the little camp of local Cascade Indians village -- March 25, 1845

he forced them to cooperate in the impending raid against both Upper and Lower Cascades

(although they may have participated only reluctantly

they alone suffered the penalties for the outbreak)

Sergeant Robert Williams, stationed at Fort Rains, noted the incident at the village **“I discovered that the Indians were preparing for mischief on the day previous to the attack, while carrying a message from [George] Griswold, who lived at the Middle Cascades, to Mr. Hamilton, who lived on a farm a little below the landing at the Lower Cascades. In passing each way by the Indian camp, as I had to do in going to and from carrying the message, my attention was particularly attracted at seeing Indians standing together in council, and dressed in warlike costumes, while some few were playing at a game outside. Their actions fully confirmed my belief that they were planning mischief. The movements of some of them in particular, going in a half-circle through the timber, thus to flank me, awakened a very strong suspicion that they were trying to catch me to kill me. So, I hurried back to the blockhouse with my utmost speed, and then told Sergeant Kelly and my comrades my suspicions. But, by reason of our belief in the strength of our position, we did not dread any danger from Indians, or even think any more about it.”**<sup>165</sup>

Settlers had no fears that the local Indians would become hostile

because even if they became upset they were so few and so dependent, they remained of no concern

## SECOND YAKIMA WAR BEGINS

Men at the villages of Upper Cascades and Lower Cascades began their morning's work

loading and unloading freight at the wharves, firing the boilers at the sawmills

and working along the Cascade Railway route protected by Fort Rains Blockhouse

workmen labored on two bridges of the Cascade Railway

most of them were on the bridge nearest the Isaac H. Bush house

little steamers *Mary* and *Wasco* were tied to their moorings

without the fires yet having been lighted in their boilers -- Wednesday March 26, 1856

Chief Kamiakin made a flanking movement toward Fort Vancouver to divert attention from his quest

Fort Cascades on Hamilton Island was burned to the ground

while no permanent military buildings existed at the time the soldiers' tents were destroyed

along with military supplies

then Kamiakin's forces, in three parties, made a simultaneous attack

on the settlements at Upper Cascades, Lower Cascades and the Middle Cascades' Fort Rains

---

<sup>165</sup> Janine M. Bork, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington*, Volume I, P. 602

## VILLAGE OF UPPER CASCADES IS ATTACKED

Chief Kamiakin himself led thirty Yakima, twenty Klickitat, and eight Cascade Indians  
Cascade Indians on the Oregon side of the river were under treaty with the Territorial Government  
it was supposed they would remain law-abiding  
however, these Indians began crossing over in canoes  
no doubt they furnished information to the attacking warriors  
Chief Kamiakin ambushed Upper Cascades village -- about 8:30 A.M. Wednesday March 26, 1856  
during the first blaze of gunfire one of the carpenters on the tramway, Jacob Roush,  
was hit by gunfire -- he lived six days before he died  
several working with Roush were wounded as they fled through a shower of bullets  
to the store belonging to David and Putnam Bradford  
three other workers went in the other direction to the blockhouse, a mile and a half distant  
they overtook the railcars in the vicinity of the salmon house  
cut the mules loose and rode downhill to safety  
they were not fired on until they reached the area of the spring  
but from then on they ran to the blockhouse in a gauntlet of bullets and arrows  
Isaac H. Bush and his family ran to the Bradfords' store leaving his own house vacant  
George Watkins, a carpenter, and three men, whose names were unknown,  
were in the woods near the store when they were shot down at their work  
George Watkins lived for four days before he died  
at the sawmill B.W. Brown, his wife and brother-in-law Jacob White were killed  
as was a man named Calderwood  
all four were scalped and their naked bodies were thrown into Mill Creek  
the sawmill was set afire  
Norman Palmer driving a team of horses at the mill was killed  
Jimmy Watkins was driving a team of oxen to the mill when he fled into hiding  
Henry Hagar, the brother of Mrs. Jimmy Watkins, was shot in the Watkins' house  
Mrs. Watkins fled to the Bradford's store with her family  
Kyle, a German boy, was killed while riding on horseback along the tramway route  
At the Middle Cascades where the Cascade Railway linked the two villages  
George Griswold, who was in charge of the portage road, was killed  
two or three soldiers, cutting wood nearby, were surprised and killed where they were working  
When the first alarm was raised an Indian known as Simpson started for Fort Vancouver  
at the same time settler W.R. Kilborn was on the Oregon Side of the Lower Cascades  
he rigged up an old barge and piloted all of the whites in the vicinity to safety in Portland

## VILLAGERS AT UPPER CASCADES REALIZE THEIR DANGER

After realizing their dire straits, Upper Cascades settlers ran for the Bradford brothers' log store  
there was grand confusion in the store and casualties mounted in the attack  
James Sinclair, formerly in charge of Fort Walla Walla (Wallula, Washington) opened the door  
to the Bradford and Company log store to look for survivors running for protection  
he was shot in the head and killed

Some others were wounded, but most of the forty Upper Cascades settlers were unharmed  
men, women and children reached the safety of the company store where they prepared for a siege  
last refugee to come in was a woman whose flight was the focus of rifle fire  
they found guns which were already loaded behind the counter  
fortunately, about an hour before, a shipment of nine government muskets had been delivered  
with cartridge boxes and ammunition  
Mr. Smith the cook was trapped in the second story of the Bradford store  
at the risk of his life he escaped to the lower floor using the outside stairway  
rather than risk the climb to enter the upstairs for safety, settlers removed the stovepipe  
they enlarged the hole with axes and a group of men crawled up  
upper part of the building was now secure

#### STEAMBOATS AT UPPER CASCADES ARE NOT CAPTURED

At the time of the attack, the steamer *Wasco* was on the Oregon side of the river  
Captain Isaac McFarland realized what was happening and got all the people near at hand on board  
*Wasco* got away escaping upstream toward The Dalles -- morning March 26, 1856  
Steamboat *Mary* lay near the sawmill on Mill Creek on the Washington side with fires out in the boiler  
as the attack began a wounded Metis named Bourbon ran toward the boat shouting a warning  
crewmen Jim Thompson, John Woodard and Jim Herman  
were walking toward the *Mary* from the Bradford store when they were fired on  
Herman asked if anyone had any a gun and learned none of them did  
he ran to the Inman house looking for a weapon  
as the other two crew members sprinted through a cross-fire and reached the *Mary*  
Captain Dan Baughman and Jim Thompson jumped ashore to haul in the lines holding the boat  
when the Indians' firing became too heavy they ran for the safety of the woods past Inman's house  
James Lindsay, the boat's fireman, also made a run for the Inman house  
he was shot through the shoulder  
*Mary* was now under full attack and onrushing Indians reached *Mary's* gangplank  
Engineer Buckminster fired his revolver killing a warrior  
Steward's Assistant John Chance climbed on the hurricane deck  
he killed another Indian with an old dragoon pistol -- but was himself shot through the leg  
*Mary's* cook, Dick Turpin, found the only really effective weapon on board -- a rifle  
in a frenzy, he leaped onto a flatboat tied beside the steamer  
after he fired a shot, he jumped into the river taking the weapon with him as he drowned  
in all, two of the crew had been wounded and another had drowned  
Although poorly armed, the crewmen managed to hold off the attackers until the boilers could be fired  
*Mary* got up steam and crewmen hacked away the mooring lines  
Hardin Chenoweth ran up to the pilothouse and backed the steamer out into the Columbia River  
laying flat on the floor he turned the wheel as he was directed from the lower deck  
obviously the pilothouse was a target for the Indians  
*Mary* headed upstream toward The Dalles under a shower of bullets  
burning Roger Atwell's fence-rails for wood  
crewmen blew the steamboat's whistle to assure the people left on shore they were going for aid

Bourbon, the Metis who had given the alarm, died on the way to The Dalles  
Several survivors of the initial attack were picked up by the steamer as she proceeded up the Columbia  
Jesse Kempton was shot while driving an ox-team from the mill  
he managed to climb aboard the steamer  
Jim Herman had left the safety of the Inman house  
he reached the riverbank where he was picked up by the *Mary*  
Inman's family, Henry Sheppard and Mr. Vanderpool had all escaped the initial attack  
used skiffs to cross the Columbia River they boarded the *Mary* they were taken to The Dalles

#### NOT ALL OF THE SURVIVORS REACHED THE SAFETY OF BRADFORDS' STORE

Jimmy Watkins, Mr. Finlay and Mr. Bailey had been at work on a new warehouse on Bradford Island  
by this time the Indians had crossed the Columbia River in canoes to Bradford Island  
all three settlers swam to the protection of Upper Cascades village -- Wednesday March 26, 1856  
Mr. Finlay appeared near the river where the exposed land sloped upward toward the store  
occupants of the store saw him and told him to lie down behind a large rock -- which he did  
Finlay yelled that he could not get to the store as the bank above was covered with Indians  
Jimmy Watkins and Mr. Bailey could be seen running toward the place where Finlay was safely hiding  
Indians were after them in full pursuit  
Mr. Bailey was shot through the arm and leg but he continued on  
plunging into the river he swam to the front of the store and safely came in -- wounded but alive  
Mr. Finlay made a dash for the store and arrived unharmed which was miraculous  
as a shower of bullets sprayed around him  
Jimmy Watkins was the last to make the dash for safety behind the large rock  
survivors in the store called to him to lie down behind the rock but before he could  
he was shot in the wrist -- the musket ball traveled up his arm and exited above his elbow  
he dropped behind a rock just as the pursuing Indians came upon him  
but a hail of gunfire from the store forced the attackers to back away  
poor Jimmy Watkins was left where he lay mortally wounded  
Survivors in the store watched as the Watkins' house was burned  
Indians first took out everything they wanted: blankets, clothes, guns, etc.

#### INDIANS UNSUCCESSFULLY ATTACKING THE *MARY* JOIN THE ASSAULT ON THE STORE

Attackers of Upper Cascades village now turned their attention in force toward the Bradfords' store  
Indians were kept at a distance by the nine rifles which had been left at the store that morning  
Warriors appeared on the riverbank a short distance behind the store -- Wednesday March 26, 1856  
because the land sloped down toward the building, the Indians who there could be seen and shot at  
warriors tried throwing large rocks at the store but the distance was too great to be effective  
what did hit the building generally rolled off the roof  
however, some of the biggest rocks thoroughly shook the structure  
hardest hit was the kitchen roof which was peppered with rocks  
attackers next tried unsuccessfully to burn down the store  
by throwing flaming firebrands of pitchwood onto the roof  
men on the upper floor used cupfulls of brine from a pork barrel to douse the flames

they shoved the fire balls off the roof with long sticks  
and cut out the burning patches with an axe and a saw

#### ATTACK IS MADE ON THE MIDDLE CASCADES FORT RAINS BLOCKHOUSE

Simultaneous to the attack on the Upper Cascades, the Middle Cascades were also attacked

Sergeant Matthew Kelly and five of his nine men were garrisoned there -- March 26, 1856

Sergeant Robert Williams, Fourth Infantry Company H, was stationed at Fort Rains blockhouse

William later wrote an account of the events there: **“When the attack began, nearly all of the detachment were scattered around the vicinity. There were but three of us in close proximity to the blockhouse, - Sheridan, McManus the cook, and myself. We all heard the shooting; but, even after what I saw the day previous, I nor the other two had not the least suspicion that we were attacked by Indians. My first feeling was that of indignation at such foolish conduct, thinking all the while that somebody was firing off their revolvers. But the cook quickly found out that it was no play, by seeing the door of the cookhouse riddled with bullets. He immediately gave the alarm by crying, ‘Indians.’ McManus and myself were standing close together near the blockhouse; but, on the instant of the alarm, we cast our eyes towards the hills and timber which loosely surrounded us in front; and then we beheld, to our horror, the painted and half-naked savages, exultantly firing. McManus, who stood by my side, was shot in the groin. He died shortly after, in the army hospital at Vancouver, from the effects of the wound.**

**“My wounded comrade and myself lost no time in getting inside of the blockhouse. I then quickly got on my accoutrements and gun, and immediately commenced the defense. The incessant firing and racket of the Indians gave unmistakable warning of deadly danger to those of my comrades who were strolling around. They all got to the blockhouse in safety, excepting Lawrence Rooney, who was captured upon the hill while cutting wood. The two or three unfortunate families who were living close by the blockhouse ran to it for safety; but several were severely wounded in running the gauntlet. We had with us seven wounded and three killed. Among the latter was [George] Griswold, who might have escaped his death but for his over-confidence in the friendliness of the Indians towards him. The German boy, [Jake] Kyle...was killed while riding on horseback down the road on the hill in front of us. The Indian that shot him stood by the side of a tree close by the road, his gun almost reaching to the poor boy, who fell instantly upon being shot.**

**“Tom McDowell and Jehu Switzler, and another man to me before unknown, were on their way from the Upper to the Lower Cascades; but before they had proceeded far they discovered hostile Indians. Being themselves unarmed, they made a desperate effort to reach the blockhouse which they did in safety. They proved to our small force a valuable acquisition. The three gallantly aided us during the defense. After they had got in, the door was made secure by a bolt; and then a strong chain was drawn tightly across. That being completed, we gave our savage enemies a treat of canister shot, fourteen rounds in all, from our six-pounder gun [howitzer], after which they precipitately retired. But we still, while in reach, presented them with a few shells. They retired back of the hills, out of range of our guns, to torture and put to a horrible death our unfortunate comrade whom they had captured. We could not see them at it, but we heard his piercing screams. After they had accomplished that last inhuman and diabolical cruelty, the main portion left and went to the lower landing.**

**“On the morning of the attack, Sergeant Kelly sent one of the men, Frederick Bernaur, to the Upper Cascades for a canteen of whisky. Unfortunately, the Indians had commenced their attack on the blockhouse before he returned, preventing him from getting back to us. They shot him through both legs, He managed, however, to get to the bank of the river, and there hid from sight. He fainted several times from loss of blood; but the whiskey he had in his canteen supported his strength. When night came, he left his hiding-place and got in safety to the blockhouse.”<sup>166</sup>**

(U.S. Fourth Infantry Company H defended Fort Rains for three days  
two soldiers and several settlers were killed)

#### LOWER CASCADES, THE SECOND PORTAGE VILLAGE, IS ATTACKED

People living in the Lower Cascades village received three warnings:

- cannon fire heard from the Fort Rains Blockhouse;
- a friendly Indian ran down from the blockhouse shouting a warning when the attack began;
- three carpenters on the portage tramway cut loose the mules and rode the car shouting the news of the attack all the way to the settlement

Warnings were given in time for settlers below the landing to set out in a schooner and several bateaux they escaped down the Columbia River with only one wounded

they paddled their crafts to Fort Vancouver and safety

also there was ample time to launch the steamboats *Belle of Oregon City* and *Fashion*

both boats were loaded with women and children and started for Fort Vancouver

When Indians attacked toward nightfall March 26, 1856

considerable government freight was stacked at the landing

but the men lacked enough ammunition to defend the supplies

Lawrence W. Coe wrote an account of events in a letter to Putnam Bradford then in Massachusetts

**“[George] Johnson was about to get a boat’s crew of Indians [to work for him], when Indian Jack came running to him, saying the Yakimas had attacked the blockhouse. He did not believe it, although he heard the cannon. He went up to the Indian village on the sandbar to get his crew, and saw some of the Cascade Indians, who said they thought the Yakimas had come; and George now hearing the muskets, ran for home. E.W. Baughman was with him. Bill Murphy had left the blockhouse early for the Indian camp, and had nearly returned before he saw the Indians or was shot at. He returned, two others with him, and ran for George Johnson’s, with about thirty Indians in chase. After reaching Johnson’s, Murphy continued on and gave Hamilton and all below warning; and the families embarked in small boats for Vancouver. The men would have barricaded in the wharf-boat, but for want of ammunition. There was considerable government freight in the wharf-boat. They stayed about the wharf-boat and schooner nearly all day, and until the Indians commenced firing upon them from the zinc-house on the bank. They then shoved out. Tommy Price was shot through the leg in getting the boats into the stream.”<sup>167</sup>**

Due to the timely warnings, no white person was killed at the Lower Cascades village

however, the Indians completely captured the village, torched every house there

and destroyed a vast amount of government supplies

---

<sup>166</sup> Janine M. Bork, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington*, Volume I, P. 602.

<sup>167</sup> Janine M. Bork, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington*, Volume I. P. 603.

straggling settlers from the Lower Cascades made their way downstream to Fort Vancouver, a distant thirty-six miles, which they reached that night

#### NEWS OF THE ATTACK ON LOWER CASCADES REACHES FORT VANCOUVER

*Belle of Oregon City* arrived at Fort Vancouver carrying women and children from the lower portage village -- night, March 26, 1856

Fort Vancouver was suffering from a critical personnel shortage

Philip H. Sheridan had arrived in Oregon Territory as a Second Lieutenant in the Third Artillery he had been promoted to First Lieutenant after his arrival at Fort Vancouver

Lieutenant Sheridan believed a piece of artillery would be valuable to him -- but none was available as it happened, the steamer *California* from San Francisco was lying at the Vancouver dock unloading military supplies

ship's Captain Dall supplied Sheridan with the steamer's small iron cannon mounted on a wooden platform which he used in firing salutes at different ports on the arrival and departure of his vessel

Lieutenant Sheridan searched the arsenal for a supply of solid shot that would fit the small cannon

#### BRADFORDS' STORE AT UPPER CASCADES REMAINS UNDER SEIGE

Upper village remained under siege all through the night -- March 26-27, 1856

as the inhabitants of Upper Cascades watched Indians burned several houses in the village they also torched the sawmill and lumberyard owned by the Bradford brothers and the Bradford Island warehouse under construction

every building in the upper portage on the Washington side was burned except the store several times Indians succeeded in setting fire to the store each time it was extinguished by the inhabitants

forty survivors huddled in the store and successfully kept the warriors at bay eighteen men and four women handled the guns all of the others were either incapacitated or children

Drinking water was running low in the Bradford store

two bottles of whiskey and several bottles of ale that were discovered in the store were not sufficient to meet their needs

Spokane Indian boy who had been traveling with James Sinclair volunteered to go to the river he stripped himself naked and using the loading slide from the store to reach the wharf made the trip to the Columbia and was back in virtually no time -- early morning March 27 later that morning he made several more trips swiftly enough to avoid being killed he brought back enough water for the stranded settlers to fill four barrels

#### LIEUTENANT SHERIDAN AND HIS TROOPS TRAVEL UP THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Ceremonial cannon for the *California* was loaded on the steamboat *Belle of Oregon City* along with forty U.S. Third Artillery dragoons led by Lieutenant Phil Sheridan

these solders represented the only troops which could be spared from Fort Vancouver

*Belle of Oregon City* steamed up the Columbia River -- two A.M. Thursday, March 27, 1856

*Fashion* also recently arrived at Fort Vancouver was loaded with volunteers

for the journey up the Columbia River

In the initial attack on Lower Cascades village, George Johnson and several others had escaped by boat including the wounded Tommy Price

floating down the Columbia River they met the steamer *Belle of Oregon City* carrying Sheridan Johnson and those with him boarded the steamer and volunteered to serve under Sheridan

#### LIEUTENANT PHIL SHERIDAN REACHES THE LOWER CASCADES VILLAGE

*Belle of Oregon City* tied off at George Johnson's homestead on the north bank of the Columbia River

Sheridan landed his forty Third Artillery Dragoons and the ceremonial cannon

they found the village burned -- early in the morning March 27, 1856

*Belle of Oregon City* was dispatched back to Fort Vancouver bring up any volunteer assistance that in the meantime might have gathered there

From the landing spot the only approach to Lower Cascades village was along a narrow neck of land

Lieutenant Sheridan reported: **"The Columbia river was very high at the time; and the water had backed up into the slough about the foot of the Lower Cascades to such a degree that it left me only a narrow neck of firm ground to advance over towards the point occupied by the Indians. On this neck of land the hostiles had taken position, as I soon learned by frequent shots, loud shouting and much blustering; then, by the most exasperating yells and indecent exhibitions, they dared me to the contest.**

**"After getting well in hand everything connected with my little command, I advanced with five or six men to the edge of a growth of underbrush to make a reconnaissance. We stole along under cover of this underbrush until we reached the open ground leading over the causeway or narrowneck before mentioned, when the enemy opened fire and killed a soldier near my side by a shot, which, just grazing the bridge of my nose, struck him in the neck, opening an artery and breaking the spinal cord. He died instantly. The Indians at once made a rush for the body; but my men in the rear, coming quickly to the rescue, drove them back; and Captain Dall's gun being now brought into play many solid shot were thrown into the jungle where they lay concealed with the effect of considerably moderating their impetuosity. Further skirmishing at long range took place at intervals during the day, with but little gain or loss, however, to either side; for both parties held positions which could not be assailed in flank; and only the extreme of rashness in either could prompt a front attack. My left was protected by backwater driven into the slough by the high stage of the river; and my right rested secure on the main stream. Between us was the narrow neck of land, to cross which would be certain death. The position of the Indians was almost the counterpart of ours."**<sup>168</sup>

#### LIEUTENANT PHIL SHERIDAN DEVELOPS A PLAN

Sheridan believed a frontal attack on the Indian position was suicidal -- so he developed a daring plan

his plan was hazardous but the small group holding the Fort Rains Blockhouse

would soon starve or fall a prey to the Indians

as a diversion he fired a few shots from the cannon -- early in the morning March 27, 1856

Before setting out Sheridan climbed a mountain to see what was occupying the Indians' attention

---

<sup>168</sup> Janine M. Bork, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington*, Volume I. P. 605.

he saw they were running horse races with great excitement  
Sheridan with his twenty men crossed the Columbia River to the Oregon side  
in a Hudson's Bay bateau he had brought with him on the *Belle of Oregon City*  
this crossing was completed with surprising ease -- about 9:00 A.M. March 27, 1856  
Lieutenant Sheridan's examination of the river bank showed that it would be impossible  
to get the bateau up the rapids along the Oregon side  
success could only be assured by crossing the channel to Bradford's Island just below the rapids  
there was a probability that by walking along the shore of the island they could pull the bateau  
through the rocks and swift water until the head of the rapids was reached  
from that point to the blockhouse was smooth water  
Sheridan with ten of his men crossed the narrow Columbia River channel to Bradford's Island  
his remaining men began the walk upriver to where Fort Rains blockhouse was located  
on the Washington side of the river  
Sheridan and his men landed on Bradford's Island at a point where after flowing around the island  
the south channel of the river rejoined the main stream  
using a rope attached to the bow they began to drag the bateau up the rapids  
work was slow until they found a party of Indian women on the island  
where they had been safely left during the attack  
these women were pressed into service pulling on the tow rope  
At the top of the rapids Sheridan's bateau with ten men aboard  
as quickly paddled across the Columbia River to where his other ten men had worked their way  
along the river parallel to Sheridan's route to a place opposite the blockhouse  
now reunited, the men crossed to the north side of the Columbia River in two waves  
to prepare an attack on the Indians harassing the blockhouse

#### SEIGE AT THE FORT RAINS BLOCKHOUSE CONTINUES -- SECOND DAY

Second day of the siege saw the Middle Cascades inhabitants running low on water  
close by there happened to be a saloon owned by one of the Palmer brothers  
who had escaped immediately after the Indians made their attack  
William Houser suggested that somebody should be allowed to go to the saloon  
to get whatever might be found that would alleviate hunger and thirst  
Sergeant Kelly allowed Houser and Sergeant Robert Williams to make an attempt

Sergeant Williams reported his exploits, **"The door being locked, my comrade had to break it open with an axe. We procured within one dozen bottles of English porter, one decanter of brandy, the same of whisky and wine, and a small box full of oyster crackers. We failed to get water; but the articles mentioned satisfied every requirement except surgical aid until we would get relief, which we knew was close at hand by hearing the report of gallant Phil Sheridan's guns firing upon the enemy at the Lower Cascades. After that signal of relief, we all relaxed the ceaseless vigilance we had all the time kept, for the purpose of allowing a portion of our guards to take a little rest and sleep."**<sup>169</sup>

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT LEARNS OF THE ATTACKS AT THE CASCADES VILLAGES

---

<sup>169</sup> Janine M. Bork, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington*, Volume I, P. 603.

Eastern Washington campaign commander was leading the Ninth Infantry First Dragoons and the Third artillery to Spokane Country when the steamer *Wasco* arrived at The Dalles carrying news of the attack at Upper Cascades -- March 27, 1856  
later that day the steamer *Mary* also arrived at The Dalles bearing her passengers' story of terror  
Colonel Wright was camped five miles away from Fort Dalles when he learned of the Indian attack on the Columbia River portage villages  
he immediately turned his column back to Fort Dalles  
he also sent a messenger to Lieutenant-Colonel Edward J. Steptoe on his way to Walla Walla ordering him to the scene of conflict at The Columbia Gorge  
Wright returned to The Dalles with his U.S. Ninth Infantry and Third Artillery troops where he arrived -- 11:00 P.M. march 27

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL EDWARD J. STEPTOE'S ORDERS ARE CHANGED

Steptoe was sent with two companies of the Ninth Infantry, a detachment of dragoons, and a howitzer to relieve the Fort Rains Blockhouse at Middle Cascades and disperse the Indians -- March 27, 1856  
because his troops were busily marching in the opposite direction toward Fort Walla Walla precious time was lost before Steptoe's support could be provided

#### MILITARY CONFUSION REIGNS AT THE FORT RAINS BLOCKHOUSE

Lieutenant-Colonel Edward J. Steptoe reached the vicinity of Fort Rains Blockhouse -- March 27, 1856  
he began an attack on the warriors besieging the blockhouse at the Middle Cascades  
Lieutenant Phil Sheridan was organizing his Dragoons across the Columbia River on the Oregon side to begin a surprise attack on the same blockhouse -- March 27, 1856  
Just as Lieutenant Sheridan was about to attack, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward J. Steptoe's bugler blew charge thus warning the Indians of the impending attack -- all of the Indians escaped

#### COLONEL WRIGHT DASHES DOWN THE COLUMBIA RIVER TO UPPER CASCADES VILLAGE

Colonel George Wright set out from Fort Dalles taking the steamboats *Mary* and *Wasco* downstream  
both steamboats were loaded with the main body of the U.S. Ninth Infantry -- 250 men  
to relieve the Upper Cascades Village -- Thursday March 27, 1856  
both steamboats were towing flatboats loaded with dragoon horses  
Darkness overtook them and they made camp for the night

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT ARRIVES AT THE UPPER CASCADES VILLAGE

Forty settlers had been besieged overnight in the Bradford store  
both *Mary* and *Wasco*, bristling with soldiers, appeared at Upper Cascades wharf above the store  
both boats' whistles announced their arrivals -- 6:00 A.M. March 28, 1856  
Indians besieging David and Putnam Bradford's store quietly withdrew into the mountains  
leaving their more unfortunate brothers, the local Cascade Indians, to answer for the misdeeds  
Colonel George Wright's soldiers from Fort Dalles had conducted a successful rescue  
of the whites besieged in the Bradford store and the Upper Cascades village

## MILITARY LEADERS FOCUS THEIR ATTENTION ON THE LOWER CASCADES VILLAGE

Lieutenant-Colonel Edward J. Steptoe met with Lieutenant Phil Sheridan to plan their advance on the Indians attacking the Lower Cascades village  
Sheridan explained that when Steptoe's troops began their attack on the warriors at Lower Cascades some of the Indians would, without a doubt, cross over to Bradford's Island while the main body of hostiles would escape into the mountains  
Steptoe concurred with Lieutenant's analysis  
Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe ordered Lieutenant Alexander Piper to join Sheridan's detachment with a mountain howitzer  
Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe sent Lieutenant Phil Sheridan to Bradford's Island with his forty dragoons and the howitzer to capture any natives who arrived there  
Lieutenants Sheridan and Piper landed on Bradford's Island with the first boatload of soldiers after unloading the howitzer they fired two or three shots to let the Indians know they had artillery  
In the meantime, Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe's whole command arrived on Bradford's Island all of the men were deployed as skirmishers except for a small detachment to operate the howitzer near the lower end of the island they met, as anticipated, the entire body of Cascade Indians local men, women and children whose homes were in the vicinity of the Cascades villages these Indians were badly frightened and demoralized since the Yakimas abandoned them to flee to the mountains when Colonel Steptoe's troops advanced

## JIMMY WATKINS IS THE LAST CASUALTY OF THE SECOND YAKIMA WAR

Teamster Jim Watkins had remained in hiding behind a large rock since he had fled in the initial attack while he waited for rescue -- March 28, 1856  
he had stripped to his underclothes when he swam across the Columbia River two days before as the weather was very cold, he fainted several time due to exposure  
when he fainted he would roll down the steep bank into the river  
ice-cold water would revive him  
he would crawl back under Indian fire to his retreat behind the safety of the rock  
Meantime his wife and children were in the Bradford brothers' store  
in full view of his circumstances they moaned pitifully at his terrible situation  
(Jimmy Watkins died from exhaustion two days after he was rescued [March 30])

## CASCADE INDIANS LIVING BESIDE THE COLUMBIA GORGE ARE CAPTURED

Thirteen Cascade Indians said they had had nothing to do with the attack on the villages they put all of the blame on the Yakimas and Klickitats -- March 28, 1856  
Lieutenant Phil Sheridan did not believe them  
to test the truth of their statement he formed all of them in line with their muskets in hand approaching the first man on the right Sheridan accused him of engaging in the massacre but this accusation was met by a vigorous denial  
Sheridan put his forefinger into the muzzle of the Indian's weapon unmistakable signs of its having been recently discharged were found  
his finger was black with the stains of burnt powder  
holding the evidence up to the Indian, the Indian had nothing more to say

further examination proved that all the muskets were recently fired  
all of the warriors' weapons were taken from them  
Lieutenant Phil Sheridan left a small force to look after the women and children and the very old men  
he took the Cascade Indian warriors across the Columbia River to the Lower Cascades village  
there the thirteen Indian men were placed under the charge of a strong guard

#### INDIAN PRISONERS ARE TRIED BY A MILITARY COMMISSION

Thirteen natives captured at the Lower Cascades by Lieutenant Phil Sheridan  
were brought to Colonel George Wright at the Upper Cascades village  
charged with treason they faced a military commission  
these Indians were prisoners of war or captives -- not citizens of the United States  
they could not properly be charged with treason  
Based on their freshly fired rifles and their own statements Colonel Wright's military commission  
found nine of the Cascade Indians, including Chief Chenoweth, guilty -- March 28, 1856  
each condemned man was stood on a barrel with a rope tied to a tree placed around his neck  
then the barrel was kicked out from under him  
Chief Chenoweth gave a war whoop and shouted, "**I am not afraid to die!**"  
as he slowly strangled he was mercifully killed with a bullet  
four remaining prisoners were taken to Fort Vancouver

#### PUGET SOUND NATIVE AMERICANS MAKE THEIR LAST EFFORTS TO CONTINUE THE WAR

Many skirmishes took place along the shores of Puget Sound with a loss of life on both sides  
small bands of Indians roamed the countryside in an attempt to continue to harass the settlers  
but their actions were more vandalism and theft than battle  
Indians killed a cow and stole fifteen horses from James Longmire's farm  
near Yelm Prairie -- March 28, 1856  
Militia Major H. J. G. Maxon with fifty militiamen members of the Southern Battalion responded  
Major Maxon's volunteers looked for the perpetrators in an effort to capture and punish them

#### CASCADES MASSACRE COMES TO AN END

Siege of Upper Cascades and Lower Cascades villages and Fort Rains Blockhouse were over  
as the Indians had fled the scene -- late evening March 28, 1856  
In the incident which became known as the Second Yakima War (or Cascades Massacre)  
fourteen settlers, one Metis and five soldiers had been killed

#### WHITES COMMITTED OTHER ATROCITIES

While Lieutenant Phil Sheridan was in the area Chief Spencer and his family disappeared  
Spencer was a friendly Chinook Indian who served as a guide for Colonel George Wright  
a search found the chief's wife and six children strangled  
their bodies had been placed in a clump of bushes beside the trail  
Sheridan called this a dastardly and revolting crime

#### CHIEF LESCHI LEADS HIS BAND TO CHIEF KAMIAKIN'S CAMP

Nisqually Chief Leschi, in his escape from Puget Sound, reached Kamiakin's friendly camp  
Chief Kamiakin provided them with some butchered horses -- March 30, 1856  
Kamiakin was willing to let Leschi and his people remain with the Yakima people  
but only if they agreed to become his slaves  
the alternative was to risk returning to Puget Sound and the probability of a violent death  
Colonel George Wright promised that if the Indians surrendered he would protect them  
Leschi and his people agreed to turn themselves in

#### MAJOR H.J.G. MAXON CONTINUES THE SEARCH OF THE THIEVES

Militia Major H.J.G. Maxon and his Southern Battalion of militiamen discovered the trail  
of the small band of vandals who had stolen a cow and fifteen horses from James Longmire  
Guided by captured Indians for the band of raiders they arrived at a place  
known to the natives as Olalla (perhaps Lake Kapowsin)  
there the militiamen made camp -- end of March 1856  
Mason's men moved on to a small lake (perhaps Clear Lake) the next day  
they turned south along the east bank of the Ohop Creek in pursuit of the marauders  
occasionally a straggler who could not keep up with the fleeing band was found and shot  
passing Ohop Lake the militiamen pressed on to the Mashel River

#### MAJOR MAXON'S MILITIAMEN ATTACK AN INDIAN VILLAGE

After the attack on the Indians camped at Ohop Creek Militia Major H.J.G. Maxon  
and his Southern Battalion of militiamen crept along the steep trail leading from Mashel Prairie  
downhill to the village where Chief Leschi had been born  
Maxon's men discovered an even larger group of several families in a fishing camp  
these families were on a hill above Mashel River at the confluence of the Mashel  
and the Nisqually rivers  
Maxon ordered his militia to charge the defenseless Nisqually families  
Indians ran down the hill, swam across the Nisqually River  
soldiers shot at them from the top of the hill across the river  
some of the young Indians got away by climbing the hill on the other side of the river  
but seventeen or more Indians were killed and many more wounded  
most of the people were women and children -- a witness counted only two men  
there were survivors  
U.S. Fourth Infantry Lieutenant August Kautz found about thirty starving and frightened people  
huddling in the brush when he passed by the fishing camp days later  
To discourage the Indians from returning to their village  
Militia Captain Bluford Miller's Southern Battalion Company J built a blockhouse  
at the confluence of the Mashel and Nisqually rivers

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY FARMERS RECEIVE LEGAL REPRESENTATION

Militia Captain William H. Wallace and Frank Clark were retained by James Wren, Lyon Smith  
and John McLeod as their legal counsel -- Captain Wallace resigned his militia commission  
Both attorneys traveled to Whidbey Island to the sickbed of Justice Francis Chenoweth

to apply for a writ of *habeas corpus* -- April 2, 1856

(an order to bring the defendants to court and determine if they were being legally held)

Justice Chenoweth presided over Washington Territory's Third Judicial District

Pierce County, where the three defendants lived, was in the Third Judicial District

Justice Francis Chenoweth granted the writ of *habeas corpus*

#### GOVERNOR STEVENS PLACES PIERCE COUNTY UNDER MARTIAL LAW

In the mind of Governor Stevens, Justice Francis A. Chenoweth's illness

raised serious doubts regarding his ability to hold court

Governor Stevens took this opportunity to write a proclamation declaring martial law

in the Third Judicial District -- April 3, 1856

by declaring the civil government was incapable of maintaining law and order

Stevens, in effect, imposed military rule under his command on Pierce County

with the civil courts unable to function, the three Muck Creek defendants

would have to be tried in a military court at a court martial

Governor Isaac Steven's Declaration of Martial Law would remain in effect in Pierce County

until the (first Monday in May) when Washington Territory law

declared the Third Judicial District was to open

(Second Judicial District court [Thurston County and south] opened the second Monday)

#### MARTIAL LAW IN PIERCE COUNTY IS NOT APPROPRIATE

Different scouting parties reporting on Indian activities to the territorial militia headquarters

clearly indicated the Indians had dissolved into small bands and were avoiding the troops

many, such as Chief Leschi, had escaped across the Cascade Mountains

Assuming the Muck Creek farmers were actually "aiding and comforting the enemy"

there was still no real cause to declare the civil courts unable to function

and impose martial law with its military court on the people of Pierce County

#### GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS ORDERS THE THREE MUCK CREEK FARMERS HELD IN JAIL

Governor Stevens knew his proclamation of martial law and the arrest of civilians was unpopular,

he asked Ninth Infantry Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey, the commander at Fort Steilacoom,

not to deliver the prisoners to the civil court when he received the writ of *habeas corpus*

Casey immediately asked Stevens to remove the prisoners from Fort Steilacoom

Casey expressed doubt that the governor's proclamation of martial law

would absolve him of the need to deliver prisoners demanded by a writ of *habeas corpus*

Stevens responded to Casey's request by publishing a proclamation of martial law in Pierce County

bearing the date April 3, 1856

#### MILITARY SITUATION IS MODIFIED

In written correspondence from Eastern Washington Territory Colonel George Wright

advised Governor Stevens: **"The temporary success the enemy met with at the Cascades has not given him confidence. My sudden return and total dispersion of all the Indians at that point, with a loss of twelve or fifteen of their warriors, with all of their baggage and animals, will have convinced**

them that they are safe only in their mountain retreat. We must keep an eye on the *friendly* Indians. I am well satisfied that they knew full well at the Cascades that an attack was to be made, and that many of them joined the hostile party. However, I have given them a lesson which they will long remember. Ten of those Indians, including their chief, have been hanged by a sentence of a military commission. The residue, some forty men, and seventy or eighty women and children, have been placed on an island without any means of leaving it, and under the observation of troops. As soon as our lines of communication are well secured and quiet and confidence established in the settlements, I shall be prepared to advance into the country of the Yakimas. A strong post must be established in the heart of that country. It will not do to march through an Indian country simply. We should make them understand that we are going to make a permanent settlement with them, break up their fisheries, and harass them constantly, in order that they shall have no time for laying in a supply of food. By this course I think they may be brought to terms, - perhaps not until next winter. It is only a question of time. It must be accomplished in the end.”<sup>170</sup>

Lieutenant Phil Sheridan, U.S. Fourth Infantry, supervised construction and was placed in command of Fort Yamhill -- April to (July) 1856  
(he remained at the post off and on until the outbreak of the Civil War [1861])

#### MAJOR GILMORE HAYS RESIGNS HIS COMMISSION IN THE WASHINGTON MILITIA

Militia Major Gilmore Hays resigned his commission as the commander of the Central Battalion of the Washington Territory Militia -- April 10, 1856  
Six days later Benjamin Franklin Shaw was elected Lieutenant-Colonel in the militia as the replacement for Major Hays [April 16, 1856]

#### VENGEANCE CONTINUES TO BE TAKEN ON SUSPECTED INDIANS

Settler James Brannon killed an Indian he believed was involved in the killing of his brother William who had died during the White River Massacre [October 1855]  
James came upon a group of Indians returning from Eastern Washington Territory  
one of the party was wearing William Brannon's clothes -- the Indian was killed -- April 1856  
James Brannon dedicated himself to seeking revenge on any Indians he thought had been involved but then began killing any unarmed Indian he saw  
only the pleadings of his fiancé and the threat of prosecution stopped him

#### UPPER CASCADES BLOCKHOUSE (FORT LUGENBEEL) IS CONSTRUCTED

Fort Lugenbeel, named for Captain (Brevet-Major) Pinckney Lugenbeel who constructed the post while stationed at Lower Cascades' Fort Cascades on Hamilton Island -- April 1856  
Fort Lugenbeel was located at the beginning of The Cascades (eastern end) at Upper Cascades along the north bank of the Columbia River on a hill across from Little Ashes Lake  
it was the last of the three posts established for protection of the portage around the falls on the Columbia River -- Fort Cascades (burned to the ground),  
Fort Rains Blockhouse and Fort Lugenbeel Blockhouse

---

<sup>170</sup> Janine M. Bork, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington*, Volume I. P. 661.

## MULE AND CAMEL PACK TRAINS ARE USED TO CARRY GOODS INLAND

Mule trains were the oldest means of transportation on the continent  
trains consisted of thirty to sixty animals -- two muleskinners to every fifteen mules  
one man rode the "bell mare" in the lead while the packer walked  
best packers took excellent care of their mules  
they kept their animals' blankets clean to protect their backs  
they watched for shifting of the load during travel  
a mentally or physically slow man was a misfit on a pack train

Camels were first introduced into the Southwest as pack animals by the U.S. Army  
at the instigation of Secretary of War Jefferson Davis

camels could carry twice as much as a mule and could find their own forage  
they could survive for days without water

however, this army experiment failed

camels were not a success as they proved to be difficult to use  
their feet were too tender for the rocky ground

it was necessary to equip them with rawhide or canvas boots  
unsuited for the terrain, they suffered from unusual accidents

mules and horses used together became unmanageable

these animals stampeded when they smelled the strange beasts

civilian packers used camels for a short time on trails leading to various mines

American Camel Company imported two-humped Bactrian camels

from Manchuria via San Francisco for use in Nevada mining regions

Oddly, camels were tried as pack animals without success in the Pacific Northwest --1856

## UPPER AND LOWER CASCADES VILLAGES RECOVER FROM THE INDIAN ATTACK

David and Putnam Bradford replaced their burned sawmill

houses of their employees and other settlers that had been destroyed were rebuilt  
and they repaired their mule-drawn portage railway

Bradfords bought the wrecked *Gazelle* at Oregon City and repaired her -- April 1856

rebuilt boat was named the *Senorita* -- she was used on the Portland to the Cascades Rapids run  
with their improved boats the Cascade Railway was able to transfer their freight in less time

than their competition across the Columbia River

## BLACK PIONEER GEORGE WASHINGTON BUYS A FARM

George Washington was unsure of his legal status in Washington Territory

he decided to purchase land rather than file a homestead claim -- 1856

George's white foster parents James and Anna Cochran had lived on their homestead claim

along the Skookumchuck River for four years (having acquired the land from George [in 1852])

George Washington bought back his twelve acres and the Cochran's other property for \$3,200

he paid them this high price to show his gratitude for what they had done for him

and because he wanted to help them as they neared retirement age

this was the beginning of gathering considerable land holdings acquired by George Washington

because of his honesty and hard work, he was respected by whites and Native Americans alike

(George's farm did consistently well through the years  
he traveled to Olympia twice a year to negotiate a good price for his grain  
he prospered as he continued to acquire additional land)

#### GENERAL JOHN E. WOOL REDISTRIBUTES HIS SOLDIERS IN THE FIRST MILITARY DISTRICT

From his Benicia, California Department of the Pacific headquarters

Commander General John E. Wool personally supervised military affairs  
in Eastern Washington Territory -- April 1856

General Wool retained Colonel George Wright as commander of the First Military District

General Wool ordered Colonel Wright to establish two new military posts  
one in Walla Walla Country and another in Yakima country

Wool wanted the posts to be built simultaneously but Wright chose not to divide his forces

Wright elected to move into Yakima Country

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT MARCHES HIS FORCES FROM FORT DALLES

After his victory at Upper Cascades village Wright's Ninth Infantry had remained at Fort Dalles  
in answer to General John E. Wool's orders to build two forts,

Colonel Wright moved an expedition of five companies of the U.S. Ninth Infantry  
out of Fort Dalles north across the Columbia River -- April 28, 1856

Colonel Wright advanced toward Yakima Country instead of going to Walla Walla Country

Wright was determined to force the natives to comply with Governor Stevens' treaties

(Wright's actions later caused General Wool to accuse him of being overly influenced  
by Washington Territory Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens)

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT INVADES YAKIMA COUNTRY

Colonel Wright found a large body of Kamiakin's warriors three miles from the Naches River  
they were prepared to resist any further advance by Wright's soldiers

Colonel Wright sent for Major Granville O. Haller's company garrisoned at Fort Dalles

when Haller and his troops arrived, Wright offered Kamiakin terms of peace

on the condition that the Indians would return to their homes and not molest the settlers  
they must agree to obey the Indian Agents appointed for their protection

Wright told Kamiakin that if he declined this offer a "war to the death" would be conducted

#### YAKIMA INDIANS EXPRESS MIXED FEELINGS

Chief Kamiakin wanted to fight Colonel Wright

but most of the Yakima chiefs wanted to wait until adequate supplies had been gathered  
for the winter

Kamiakin realized the futility of his position and advised his people to accept the peace offer  
he feared his warriors would be harassed if not killed

women and children would be captured and made slaves by the conquerors

acceptance of the peace terms would end the danger

Kamiakin announced he would go to the Blackfoot Country where they were no white men

Chief Kamiakin rode away into the Palouse Country with several hundred warriors

## CHIEF KAMIAKIN UNITES WITH OTHER TRIBES

When Chief Kamiakin reached Palouse Indian Country the several hundred Yakima warriors with him swelled the forces of Palouse Indians  
many young warriors were restless and recruited like-thinking members of neighboring tribes  
Palouse Indians were renowned as herdsmen and Chief Tilcoax was the best known of all  
his skill had resulted in a herd of about 800 horses  
because of his great wealth and willingness to vandalize the Palouses' enemies  
he had been elevated to the position of chief and shared equal authority with Kamiakin

## KAMIAKIN REMAINS A CLEVER LEADER

Yakima Chief Kamiakin, always astute, accepted Palouse Chief Tilcoax as his equal  
Tilcoax continued his adventures in harassing enemies -- especially the garrison at Fort Wall Walla  
sooner or later enough stock would be pilfered to provoke resentment  
an expedition would be sent against the marauders to recover the property and punish the Indians  
Kamiakin's [1855] victory over Major Granville O. Haller would be repeated  
During this time Chief Kamiakin had made sinister preparations  
Palouse Indians were already hostile  
Spokane and Coeur d'Alene natives had been insidiously and industriously coached  
their intolerance inflamed against the approach of soldiers into their country

## TERMS OF PEACE ARE OFFERED AGAIN BY COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT

Kamiakin's brother, Owhi called on Colonel George Wright  
who renewed his offer of peace with the Indians of Eastern Washington Territory  
together they determined the day when the Indians should come into camp and conclude peace  
but as Owhi left, Colonel Wright an afterthought induced the colonel to say to Owhi; **"Tell your people they must bring with them all the horses and mules stolen from the Whites."**<sup>171</sup>  
Owhi remarked that Indian people considered captured property as much like personal property  
as if they had purchased it with money  
if Colonel Wright held to his position the Indians would not attend a peace conference  
(if fact, they did not attend but dispersed, leaving the colonel without an enemy to fight)

## OREGON'S ROGUE RIVER ARE SOUGHT OUT BY THE U.S. MILITARY

Lieutenant-Colonel Robert C. Buchanan U.S. Fourth Infantry commander at Fort Humboldt, California  
marched his entire command up Oregon Territory's Rogue River to the mouth of the Illinois River  
when the weather moderated -- early May 1856  
from here he sent Indian emissaries to invite the hostile Rogue River people to talk with him

## CHIEF JUSTICE EDWARD LANDER PRESIDES IN PIERCE COUNTY

Third Judicial District Court with Justice Francis A. Chenoweth presiding was scheduled to open  
however, Justice Chenoweth was confined to his sickbed and could not attend court

---

<sup>171</sup> Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington, Vol. I.*, P. 357.

he requested Chief Justice Edward Lander hold court in his place

Chief Justice Lander's U.S. Second District court was not due to open until [May 12]

Chief Justice Lander resigned his commission as Washington volunteer militia captain of Company A then assigned to the Duwamish River -- May 3, 1856

#### CHIEF JUSTICE EDWARD LANDER OPENS COURT IN PIERCE COUNTY

Chief Justice Edward Lander opened the U.S. Third District Court in Steilacoom -- May 5, 1856

Chief Justice Lander had no alternative -- he had the duty to hold court as required by territorial law in spite of Governor Isaac Steven's declaration of martial law in Pierce County

Justice Lander's desire to cooperate with the territorial civil authorities induced the chief justice to suspend court for the day to enable the governor to withdraw his proclamation of martial law

Governor Stevens, with the support of the militia volunteers behind him, declined to do so

#### CHIEF JUSTICE LANDER MAKES PREPARATIONS TO OPEN COURT AGAIN

Chief Justice Edward Lander anticipated the governor would be extremely antagonistic when court was convened in Steilacoom

Lander took two measures to protect his right to hold court in Pierce County -- May 6, 1856

he very wisely ordered the Pierce County Sheriff to summon every male citizen

sixteen years old or more in the county to attend court [May7]

and serve as bailiffs to protect the dignity of the court

he also called on U.S. Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey, commander at Fort Steilacoom,

for aid should it be required

When Governor's Steven learned of these measures he replied with instructions

to Washington Territory Militia Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin F. Shaw

that "martial law must be enforced"<sup>172</sup>

#### CHIEF JUSTICE EDWARD LANDER AGAIN HOLDS COURT IN PIERCE COUNTY

When conferences with the governor and militia officers failed to end the power struggle

Chief Justice Lander again opened U.S District Court at Steilacoom, Pierce County -- May 7, 1856

as instructed the Pierce County sheriff had deputized fifty citizens to serve as bailiffs in court

Chief Justice Lander was to hear the case of the three Hudson's Bay Company Muck Creek farmers

who were being held prisoner: James Wren, Lyon Smith and John McLeod

Chief Justice Lander demonstrated the civil courts could function in Pierce County

martial law was not legal

After court had been in session for a few minutes Militia Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Shaw

marched into the courtroom with about twenty armed militiamen to arrest Chief Justice Lander

they faced fifty armed deputies serving as bailiffs who had already decided that if Colonel Shaw

gave an order to clear the courtroom they immediately would attempt to shoot him

Chief Justice Lander realized that if he resisted arrest the result would be bloodshed

Lander submitted to being arrested along with District Court Clerk John M. Chapman

together with the records of the court they were escorted to Olympia

---

<sup>172</sup> Herbert Hunt and Floyd C. Kaylor, *Washington West of the Cascade*, P. 164.

#### CHIEF JUSTICE EDWARD LANDER REMAINS UNDER ARREST IN THURSTON COUNTY

Chief Justice Lander and District Court Clerk John M. Chapman continued to be held under arrest  
Lander was told that he would be freed if he stopped issuing orders  
contrary to the decree of martial law -- the chief justice flatly refused  
Governor Isaac Stevens announced that his martial law decree applied only to Pierce County  
since he was in Thurston County Chief Justice Edward Lander was informed  
he was no longer a prisoner -- May 9, 1856  
Court Clerk John M. Chapman was notified that he, too, was at liberty -- May 10

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY INDIAN WAR IS DECLARED TO BE AT AN END

U.S. Ninth Infantry Colonel George Wright, Commander of Eastern Washington First Military District  
and Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey, Commander Second Military District issued a joint declaration  
that the Indian war had ended in Eastern and Western Washington Territory -- May 11, 1856  
Admirers and opponents of Governor Stevens gathered at a meeting in Olympia  
to celebrate the announcement

#### CHIEF JUSTICE EDWARD LANDER OPENS COURT IN OLYMPIA, THURSTON COUNTY

As required by Washington Territory law the Second Judicial District court convened  
in Olympia, Thurston County on the second Monday of May -- May 12, 1856  
Chief Justice Edward Lander received former Hudson's Bay Company employees James Wren,  
Lyon Smith and John McLeod in the justices' chambers to take up the writ of *habeas corpus*  
that demanded the defendants be allowed to appear in court  
Chief Justice Lander honored the writ -- in fact, legally the writ could not be denied  
Lander set a trial date for of [May 20] for the defendants to appear in court  
further, Chief Justice Lander imposed a fine of \$50 plus court costs  
on Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens for contempt of court for the arrest of the chief justice

#### GOVERNOR STEVENS DECLARES MARTIAL LAW IN THURSTON COUNTY

In an effort to stop the proceedings in Chief Justice Edward Lander's courtroom  
Governor Stevens declared martial law in Thurston County -- morning May 13, 1856  
because **“the writ of *habeas corpus* was issued to prevent the trial (in military court) of the  
persons seized, which trial (in civil court) had been ordered to take place on the 20th of May.”**<sup>173</sup>  
Governor Stevens summonsed Captain Bluford Miller and the militiamen of Company J  
to report from Camp Montgomery to Olympia  
Captain Bluford Miller placed his militiamen front of the courthouse where they manned a cannon  
they claimed to be on duty at the governor's office  
which was located immediately opposite the courthouse door  
Three Muck Creek defendants, James Wren, Lyon Smith and John McLeod, were taken under guard  
from Fort Steilacoom to militia headquarters Camp Montgomery in Pierce County  
transfer of the prisoners from a U.S. military brig to the territorial militia jail

---

<sup>173</sup> Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington, Vol. I*, P. 582.

defied the Chief Justice Lander's writ of *habeas corpus* and his contempt of court order  
Stevens appealed to the President of the United States to support his declaration of Martial Law  
and the warrant for the arrest of the Chief Justice of Washington Territory  
as being necessary because of the demands of the Indian war

#### A FINAL SEARCH FOR HOSTILE INDIANS IS CONDUCTED WESTERN WASHINGTON

Major Robert S. Garnett, U.S. Ninth Infantry First Cavalry, led three companies of soldiers  
on a search between the Green and Cedar rivers looking for renegade natives -- May 13, 1856  
bands of Indians in any considerable number could not be found  
it could be seen that the marauders of Puget Sound had become fugitives  
organized hostilities on their part had ceased  
no Indian enemy was in the field west of the Cascade Mountains

#### STEVENS AND LANDER ESCALATE THEIR POSITIONS

Chief Justice Edward Lander again opened court in Thurston County -- May 14, 1856  
he issued a *writ of attachment* demanding that Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens  
appear before Chief Justice Lander in his chambers the next day  
U.S. Marshal George W. Corliss served Chief Justice Edward Lander's writ of *habeas corpus*  
at Camp Montgomery located in Pierce County demanding the return of the prisoners  
to Thurston County for trial -- evening May 14, 1856

#### CHIEF JUSTICE EDWARD LANDER OPENS COURT IN OLYMPIA

In defiance of Governor Isaac Steven's martial law declaration in Thurston County  
Chief Justice Edward Lander opened court in Olympia -- May 15, 1856  
Chief Justice Lander sent a posse under U.S. Marshall George W. Corliss  
to arrest Washington Territory Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens for contempt of court  
U.S. Marshall attempted to serve Justice Lander's *writ of attachment* on Governor Stevens  
but a company of mounted militiamen rode into Olympia to protect the governor  
Corliss lacked the nerve to arrest the Governor -- he was ejected from the governor's office  
U.S. Marshall George W. Corliss returned to Chief Justice Lander's courtroom to report on events

#### CHIEF JUSTICE LANDER IS ARRESTED

Governor Stevens issued a new order for the arrest of Chief Justice Edward Lander -- May 15, 1856  
Chief Justice Lander adjourned court and took refuge in the law off of Elwood Evans  
who for many years had been a prominent attorney in Washington Territory  
Captain Bluford Miller kicked in the door to Elwood Evans's office  
Chief Justice Edward Lander was arrested for being Absent Without Leave  
from the Thurston County Militia Company A then in Georgetown (Seattle) -- May 15, 1856  
Lander was taken to Camp Montgomery where he spent the rest of the Martial Law period  
there he shared the prison with the Muck Creek farmers he was attempting to try in court  
however, Court Clerk John Chapman was not held in custody

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT ENTERS YAKIMA COUNTRY

General John E. Wool in California ordered Colonel George Wright in Eastern Washington Territory to move directly against the Yakimas in a hope to force them into submission  
Colonel Wright led an expedition of Ninth Infantry Companies B, F, G, I and K from Fort Dalles they crossed the Columbia River and entered Yakima Country

Wright's forces were unopposed as they approached the Naches River  
(this expedition remained in the field until [August])

Colonel Wright made camp on the south side of the Naches River -- May 18, 1856  
he was joined by Lieutenant Phil Sheridan of the U.S. Fourth Infantry  
who led a 500-man force not including the pack trains

Naches River was so high it was impossible for Wright's command to cross  
on the opposite side of the river about 200 Yakima Indians under chiefs Owhi and Moses  
had gathered to ask for peace

Yakimas convinced Colonel Wright that they really meant no harm -- an uneasy truce prevailed

#### FORT NACHES IS CONSTRUCTED BY THE U.S. NINTH INFANTRY

Colonel George Wright constructed a temporary fort to serve as his headquarters in Yakima County  
this was an oval-shaped structure built of many gabions (wicker baskets filled with rocks and sand)  
Colonel Wright named his post Fort Na-Chess (Naches) while locals called the "Basket Fort"

Fort Naches was opened nine miles above mouth of the Naches River -- May 1856

Colonel Wright and his men waited until the spring flooding ceased  
so they could safely cross the river and march north to undertake a major campaign  
against the Indians of Eastern Washington Territory

#### COURT MARTIAL OF THE THREE MUCK CREEK FARMERS BEGINS

With the arrest of the civil authorities, Governor Stevens opened a military court martial to try the three Muck Creek defendants James Wren, John McLeod and Lyon Smith at Camp Montgomery -- May 20, 1856  
militiamen Victor Monroe served as judge advocate and Quincy A. Brooks as recorder  
Attorneys William H. Wallace and Frank Clark who represented James Wren, Lyon Smith and John McLeod filed a protest in which they alleged the militia was not organized according to either territorial or federal law -- therefore it had no legal authority in the case they also noted the charge against the three defendants

**"giving aid and comfort to the Indians with whom the United States were at war"**  
was a charge of treason and therefore was a civil, not a military, case

Because he was in doubt regarding what to do next Judge Advocate Victor Monroe recessed the court martial and appealed to the governor for further instructions

#### ADDITIONAL TROOPS ARE ADDED TO COLONEL WRIGHT'S STRENGTH

Major Robert Garnett was ordered to take two companies of the U.S. Ninth Infantry -- May 21, 1856 to Colonel George Wright at Fort Naches where preparations for a major campaign against the Yakima Indians east of the Cascade Mountains was being planned

Robert Selden Garnett graduated from West Point [Class of 1841]

he became assistant instructor in infantry tactics at the academy [1843-1844]

while in Washington territory, Major Garnett was one of the most popular and esteemed army officers on duty in the Indian war

(he served with conspicuous gallantry in the Oregon-Washington 1856 Indian war both east and west of the Cascade Mountains)

Colonel George Wright now had about two thousand troops and teamsters under his command at Fort Naches

#### U.S. MILITARY MEETS WITH OREGON TERRITORY'S ROGUE RIVER INDIANS

Lieutenant-Colonel Robert C. Buchanan commander of the U.S. Fourth Infantry in Oregon Territory called for Oregon Territory's Rogue River chiefs Old George and Limpy to appear before him both chiefs seemed ready to give up -- May 21, 1856

but at the meeting Chief Old John vowed never to leave his homeland

Buchanan's conference ended with Old George and Limpy promising to bring in their people to Big Meadows on the north bank of the Rogue River in three days

#### VENGEANCE ON WASHINGTON TERRITORY INDIANS COULD TAKE THE FORM OF SPORT

Long after the fighting had ended an Indian named Sayshilloh, known as Bob to the whites, who had been interred on Fox Island was now employed as a woodcutter for Fort Nisqually Sayshilloh had cut and stacked a cord and a half of wood when three militiamen passed by on their way from Packwood's ferry on the Nisqually River to Camp Montgomery -- May 21, 1856 they asked Sayshilloh for directions and continued on their way

but one of the militiamen returned and shot him in the back

witnesses saw the killer as he fled and Sayshilloh was able to describe his clothing before he died (where Sayshilloh was killed became known as Bob' Hollow in today's Dupont, Washington)

Armed with the description of the killer Fort Nisqually Chief Factor William Tolmie,

Edward Huggins and four Indian witnesses rode to Camp Montgomery to return the killer to justice officers at Camp Montgomery assembled the men so an identification could be made militiamen tried to intimidate the witnesses with threats

but the suspected young militiaman was identified

Captain Urban E. Hicks of Pioneer Company, the young militiaman's commanding officer, promised the volunteer he would do what he could to protect him

this amounted to doing little to interfere when the militiamen took up their weapons

and made ominous threats of killing the Indian witnesses -- three of whom were women this talk quickly expanded to include William Tolmie and his employees

only by presenting a united front and riding away were they allowed them to escape they could hear the militiamen cheering the comrade they had defended

This was the first time any effort had been made to seek justice for killing an Indian since the start of the war

#### COUNCIL OF MILITIA LEADERS IS HELD AT CAMP MONTGOMERY IN PIERCE COUNTY

Washington Territory Militia Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin F. Shaw called for a council of Southern and Central Battalion officers

to be held at Camp Montgomery in Western Washington -- May 22, 1856

this council unanimously decided that an expedition east of the Cascade Mountains was necessary they gave the following reasons: **“The mounted volunteers having crossed the mountains, the necessity of protecting the settlements west of the mountains, especially the Puget Sound country, devolved upon the United States infantry commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Casey. Should the volunteers remain west of the mountains, they assumed that Lieutenant-Colonel Casey would be obliged to go east of the mountains and join Colonel Wright; and that, while infantry were best adapted to the service west of the Cascades, the mounted volunteers could operate to advantage in the regions east. The Yakimas were the leading element of the hostile party. Their main strength must be broken before pursuing individuals or small parties. They asserted that, if Colonel Wright did whip the hostiles with infantry, he could not follow them after a fight. If the volunteers remained west of the mountains, they were powerless to check any enemy over one hundred and fifty miles off. The volunteers must make a fight before going out of service. Sufficient troops would still remain west of the mountains to protect the settlements. It was necessary that depots of provisions should be established in the Yakima country before the winter. The Indians west of the mountains had been repeatedly defeated; whilst those east of the Cascades had never been checked.”**<sup>174</sup>

In fact, hostile chiefs Leschi, Quiemuth, Nelson and Kitsap (the Younger) plus the leaders who had committed the massacres on Puget Sound were in Eastern Washington they were not about to be ignored by the militiamen

#### JUSTICE FRANCIS CHENOWETH PREPARES TO OPEN COURT IN STEILACOOM

Washington Territory Supreme Court Justice Francis Chenoweth arose from his sickbed he traveled from Whidbey Island to Steilacoom by canoe

Justice Francis Chenoweth prepared to open his Pierce County court in Steilacoom -- May 23, 1853 he instructed the Pierce County Sheriff to increase the number of his deputies

Justice Chenoweth wrote a letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey commander of Fort Steilacoom asking a sufficient number of soldiers be provided to preserve the peace and prevent bloodshed

Lieutenant-Colonel Casey replied: **“it appears to me that nothing can justify an executive in suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* but an overruling necessity, and in my opinion that necessity did not exist in this case.”**<sup>175</sup>

#### GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS TAKES FURTHER STEPS TO IMPOSE MARTIAL LAW

Governor Stevens ordered Militia Lieutenant Silas B. Curtis to lead a company of militiamen to enforce the governor’s martial law order and close Justice Francis Chenoweth’s court if necessary Lieutenant Curtis was authorized to arrest Justice Chenoweth

Militia Lieutenant Silas B. Curtis marched thirty-six militiamen to Steilacoom -- May 24, 1856 at the courthouse he found fifty armed and determined citizens prepared to defend the judge

It was announced Justice Chenoweth would open his court -- 1:00 P.M. May 24

Curtis, a law-abiding school teacher in civilian life, did not wish to pursue trouble

---

<sup>174</sup> Janine M. Bork, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington*, Volume I, P. 584.

<sup>175</sup> Herbert Hunt and Floyd C. Kaylor, *Washington West of the Cascade*, P. 165.

he immediately sent a messenger to Governor Stevens stating he would “**make no forcible attempt to arrest the judge until I receive further orders from...some higher authority. I will try to prevent a collision till I hear from you.**”<sup>176</sup>

Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey arrived from Fort Steilacoom and talked with Lieutenant Curtis  
Curtis withdrew his men and returned to Camp Montgomery

#### JUSTICE FRANCIS CHENOWETH OPENS COURT IN STEILACOOM

Justice Chenoweth opened his Steilacoom court in Pierce County -- May 24, 1856

he granted two writs of *habeas corpus*

one ordered Washington Territory Militia Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Franklin Shaw  
to produce the person of Chief Justice Edward Lander

and abide by the decision of the court regarding the right to retain him in custody;  
other order demanded the three Muck Creek prisoners be brought from Camp Montgomery  
to Steilacoom for trial

#### JUSTICE FRANCIS CHENOWETH’S ORDERS ARE IGNORED

Washington Territory Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Franklin Shaw failed to comply  
with Justice Chenoweth’s writs of *habeas corpus* demanding Chief Justice Edward Lander  
and the three Muck Creek defendants, James Wren, Lyon Smith and John McLeod  
be brought to court in Steilacoom

Justice Chenoweth ordered Marshal George Corliss to arrest Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw -- May 25, 1856  
Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw appeared in Justice Chenoweth’s Steilacoom courtroom

Justice Francis Chenoweth gave a lengthy legal opinion  
in which the actions of Governor Stevens were freely admonished and censured  
as Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin F. Shaw was led away to incarceration without bail

#### TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR ISSAC STEVENS REVOKES HIS MARTIAL LAW ORDERS

Governor Stevens issued a proclamation ending martial law in both pierce and Thurston counties  
this proclamation was published and posted -- May 26, 1856

Governor Stevens wrote a request to Justice Francis Chenoweth

to delay the trial of Washington Territory Militia Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin F. Shaw  
Stevens’ reason for seeking the delay was that Colonel Shaw was to lead an expedition  
into Yakima Country which was about the start

Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw’s trial would have to be delayed until the (November) term  
of Justice Chenoweth’s Pierce County District court

#### FIGHT WITH THE OREGON ROGUE RIVER INDIANS

Three columns of soldiers under Major Robert C. Buchanan, U.S. Fourth Infantry,  
had been chasing the southern Oregon tribes for months

Buchanan conducted a major battle at the mouth of the Rogue River [March 20-26]  
arrangements were made with the Indians to conduct peace talks

---

<sup>176</sup> Herbert Hunt and Floyd C. Kaylor, *Washington West of the Cascade*, P. 165.

Chief Old John preferred a fight to the death to life on a reservation  
he prepared to attack a company for fifty soldiers under Captain Andrew J. Smith  
at the big bend of the Rogue River -- May 27, 1856  
Old John used all of his abundant skills in organizing his four hundred braves during the battle  
troops were taunted by the warriors to attempt to occupy a small hill  
where there was no shelter, water or chance to retreat  
officers had not noticed another higher wooded hill nearby  
within Indian rifle range, but out of the range of army muskets  
Captain Smith's blazing howitzer kept the Indians at a distance  
by nightfall a virtual stalemate existed

#### ROGUE RIVER WAR IN OREGON TERRITORY COMES TO AN END

Battle with the Rogue River Indians near the big bend in the river began anew -- May 28, 1856  
Captain Andrew J. Smith fifth soldiers faced disaster and Chief Old John made preparations  
Suddenly Captain Christopher C. Auger's U.S. Fourth Infantry companies appeared  
Captain Smith's charged the Rogue River Indians while Captain Auger struck them from behind  
within fifteen minutes the battle was over -- surviving Indians fled into the mountains  
captains Smith and Auger lost eleven men with twenty more wounded  
(Chiefs George and Limpy surrendered their bands [May 29]  
Old John gave up the fight when he was deserted by his people [in June]  
he was sent to Fort Alcatraz, California -- the Rogue River War was over)

#### COURT MARTIAL OF TWO OF THE MUCK CREEK DEFENDANTS RECONVENES

Governor Isaac Stevens sent further instructions to continue the court martial  
to Militia Judge Advocate Victor Monroe and Recorder Quincy A. Brooks  
When the court martial of former Hudson's Bay Company retirees James Wren, John McLeod  
and Lyon Smith convened, the decision that the court lacked jurisdiction in the case was reversed  
Judge Advocate Victor Monroe asked the three accused men to plead -- all plead "Not Guilty"  
Judge Advocate Monroe then read a paper in which the court announced "**...that the further  
prosecution of the charges against the accused involved the absence of many valuable officers from  
the command of the troops, and was therefore seriously interfering with military operations; and, as  
martial law had been abrogated, that no further proceedings be had against the accused by the court,  
but that they be turned over to the civil authorities.**"<sup>177</sup>  
Both defendants were released from custody

#### GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS WRITES TO JUSTICE FRANCIS CHENOWETH

Seeing that Justice Chenoweth was determined to conduct court  
Governor Stevens wrote a letter asking the Justice to resolve the matter  
regarding Washington Territory Militia Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Franklin Shaw  
by imposing a fine or accepting bail so the militia officer could return to duty

---

<sup>177</sup> Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington...*, Vol. I, P. 581.

Chenoweth noted: **“This letter was so different from the haughty and dictatorial language that had been held up to that time that I determined to do what I could to comply with the request.”**<sup>178</sup>

Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw agreed to turn his prisoners over to the court  
he also agreed to appear in court himself when court convened during the next (November) term  
and to comply with the orders the justice might then give him  
Benjamin F. Shaw was discharged by the court

#### ARREST WARRANTS ARE SWORN OUT FOR THE THREE MUCK CREEK FARMERS

On new orders from Governor Isaac Stevens, Captain Walter W. De Lacy,  
a member of the military commission at Fort Steilacoom, swore out an arrest warrant  
for Muck Creek farmers James Wren and John McLeod and Lyon Smith  
to answer the charge of **“giving aid and comfort to the Indians [treason], with whom the United States were at war”** -- May 29, 1856

All three Muck Creek defendants were brought before Justice of the Peace James M. Bachelder  
who had filed an official complaint against the defendants  
Justice of the Peace Bachelder questioned the three defendants  
when the examination ended acting United States District Attorney Victor Monroe  
dropped the charge against defendant Lyon Smith  
but the other two defendants were sent to Camp Montgomery under guard for trial

#### TWO MUCK CREEK DEFANDENTS ONCE AGAIN FACE A COURT HEARING

James Wren and John McLeod appeared before Justice of the Peace James Bachelder -- May 31, 1856  
During the hearing many witnesses were called  
one of the most important was Chief Leschi who had visited the defendants [February 1856]  
to try to persuade them to arrange peace talks with the territorial authorities  
During the hearing the prosecution failed to show that either of the accused  
had given aid or comfort to the enemy  
when the proceedings ended [June 5] the result was a dismissal of all charges

#### RESULTS OF THE MARTIAL LAW CONTROVERSY IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Regrettably, the close of the matter demonstrated the violence and injustice done in the territory  
all three Muck Creek defendants were branded as traitors and were driven from their homes  
perhaps even worse were the outrages perpetrated against the constitution and United States law  
displayed in the humiliation of the civilian judiciary by the territorial governor

#### MARTIAL LAW CONTROVERSY COMES TO AN IGNOBLE END

Territorial Chief Justice Edward Lander had imposed a token \$50 fine plus court costs  
on Washington Territory Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens for imposing martial law  
as issuing a warrant for the arrest of the chief justice of Washington Territory  
Governor Isaac Stevens responded by issuing a pardon for Isaac Stevens:

---

<sup>178</sup> Herbert Hunt and Floyd C. Kaylor, *Washington West of the Cascade*, P. 167.

To all persons to whom these presents shall come Greeting, Know ye!

That whereas on the Tenth day of July A. D. 1856. In a case pending before the Honorable Edward Lander Chief Justice of Washington Territory and presiding Judge of the Second Judicial District of said Territory at Chambers at the county of Thurston in said Territory for an alleged contempt of court wherein The United States is plaintiff and Isaac 1. Stevens defendant the said Edward Lander as judge as aforesaid adjudged the said defendant to be guilty of a contempt and imposed a fine upon him of the sum of Fifty dollars together with the costs of the attachment.

That I Isaac 1. Stevens Governor of the said Territory by virtue of the authority vested in me as Governor as aforesaid in order that the President of the United States may be fully advised in the premises and his pleasure known thereon, do hereby, respite the said Isaac 1. Stevens defendant from execution of said judgment and all proceedings for the enforcement and collection of said fine and costs until the decision of the President of the United States can be made known thereon.

In testimony whereof I Isaac 1. Stevens as Governor of the Territory of Washington on this Tenth day of July A. D. 1856 at Olympia in said Territory have set my sign manual and have caused the seal of said Territory to be affixed.

Isaac 1. Stevens

Gov. Ter. Wash.

By order of the Governor

Isaac M. Smith

Acting Sec.Y Wash. Terr.<sup>179</sup>

Governor Isaac Stevens had appealed to the President of the United States to support his actions

Stevens received a prompt response from Secretary of State William L. Marcy:

**Sir: I have laid before the President all the documents and papers which you have transmitted to this department in explanation of your course in declaring martial law in some parts of the Territory of Washington. After full consideration of them, he has not been able to find, in the case you have presented, a justification for that extreme measure.... It is quite certain that nothing but direful necessity, involving the probable overthrow of the civil government, could be alleged as any sort of excuse for superseding that government temporarily and substituting in its place an arbitrary military rule. The recognition of such an inherent power in any functionary, whatever be his grade or position, would be extremely dangerous to civil and political liberty.**

While the President does not bringing into question the motives by which you were actuated, he is induced, by an imperative sense of duty, to express his distinct disapproval of your conduct....

(Martial law) can never be excusable where the object...was to act against the existing government of the country, or to supersede its functionaries in the discharge of their proper duties. The latter seems to have been the principal ground you had for proclaiming martial law. Your conduct in that respect does not, therefore, meet with the favorable regard of the President.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

W.L. MARCY [September 12, 1856]<sup>180</sup>

---

<sup>179</sup> [journals.lib.washington.edu/index.php/WHQ/article](http://journals.lib.washington.edu/index.php/WHQ/article)

<sup>180</sup> The Executive Documents, Printed by Order of the Senate of the United States, Third Session, Thirty-fourth Congress, 1856-'57, P. 56.

Governor Stevens attempted to defend his actions in a speech to the territorial legislature: **“There is no such thing in my humble judgment as neutrality in an Indian war, and whoever can remain on his claim unmolested is an ally of the enemy, and must be dealt with as such.”**<sup>181</sup>

territorial legislators in a joint resolution decided the governor **“in any attempt to interfere with our courts of justice, or to try citizens before a military tribunal, acted in direct violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that any such attempt to exercise unconstitutional power, tends to the subversion of our institutions, and calls at our hand for the strongest condemnation.”**<sup>182</sup>

Friends of the governor paid the fifty dollar fine and court costs before things could escalate again

## CONTROVERSY REGARDING LOCATION OF THE OREGON CAPITAL CONTINUES

(Oregon Territory legislature convened in Corvallis, Oregon [December 3, 1855]

legislation was quickly introduced to move the capital back to Salem

however, the old Salem statehouse burned down [December 29, 1855]

this reopened the debate on where to locate the capital)

Oregon legislators decided to ask to voters to decide the location

an election was held to select the top two contenders to serve as the capital city -- June 1856

Eugene City and Corvallis received the most votes

however, ballots from four counties were thrown out because they allegedly arrived late  
new official result of the vote was Eugene City 2,319, Salem 2,049, Corvallis 1,998,  
and Portland 1,154

since an absolute majority was required to establish a capital city winner

a runoff election was to be held between the official winners: Eugene City and Salem

## BEN SNIPES' DEVELOPS A LOVE FOR THE CATTLEMAN'S LIFE

At the village of The Dalles Ben Snipes met John Jefferies who owned a ranch and a few cattle -- 1856

Snipes secured a job with the cattleman

while working on the Jefferies ranch Ben discovered he loved the cowboy life

he had found his calling

News of the big gold strike at Fort Kamloops, New Caledonia reached The Dalles --1856

John Jefferies proposed a cattle drive to the Canadian goldfields -- Ben agreed

Ben's proven reliability had won over Jefferies who invested in the young man

together they purchased a local herd of ninety-seven head on credit carrying a high interest rate  
terms of the partnership favored Jefferies

Ben would do all of the work as well as yield one-half of the earnings

but Snipes now had his initial herd

With the help of a young Chinook Indian, Ben located 160 acres of grazing land

at the mouth of the Klickitat River -- there he began a ranch -- 1856

Snipes was a young man with extra hustle

with the help of his new Indian friend the herd purchased with John Jefferies' money

---

<sup>181</sup> Herbert Hunt and Floyd C. Kaylor, *Washington West of the Cascade*, P. 167.

thrived and multiplied and fattened

#### PLANS DEVELOPED BY WASHINGTON TERRITORY MILITIA LEADERS ARE PROPOSED

Leaders of the Washington Territory Volunteer Militia had met at Camp Montgomery to develop a battle plan to conquer the Indians of Eastern Washington Territory in a effort to implement the agreed upon plan U.S. Army Colonel George Wright was contacted with an offer to provide Washington Territory militiamen to fight the Indians Colonel Wright responded that he had an ample force of regular soldiers to operate in Yakima militia assistance was not necessary or even wanted

#### COLONEL WRIGHT REACHES AN AGREEMENT WITH A BAND OF YAKIMA INDIANS

Yakima Indians began preparing for battle as summer approached army reinforcements from Fort Dalles and the Puget Sound District were moved to Fort Naches on the south side of the Naches River Colonel George Wright attempted to hold a council with several chiefs as troops began arriving, chiefs Owhi and Teias came to Fort Naches they made contact with Colonel Wright who was camped on the south side of the Naches River Indian leaders attended the council with Colonel Wright -- June 11, 1856 in attendance were Yakima chiefs Owhi and Teias and Puget Sound war leaders Leschi, Kitsap (the Younger) and Nelson -- Kamiakin was not in attendance chiefs Owhi and Teias stated that although they were angry about the treaties they would fight no more within five days they would bring in all their people and stolen goods

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY MILITIAMEN IMPLEMENT THEIR PLAN

In spite of the announcement by U.S. Army Colonel George Wright that militiamen were not wanted Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens put the Camp Montgomery plan into action Militia Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin F. Shaw marched from Camp Montgomery leading the Northern Battalion of the Washington Territory Militia -- June 12, 1856 Militia Major H. J. G. Maxon at The Dalles was to prepare the Southern Battalion of Washington Territory Militia to confront the Indians in Walla Walla Indian Country Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin F. Shaw marched from Camp Montgomery -- June 12, 1856 he led a force of four companies that numbered 175 militia officers and men General staff was composed of Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin F. Shaw, Commanding Henry Gallagher, Sergeant Major, Captain Walter Washington De Lacy, Topographer and Adjutant, Captain C. Hughes Armstrong, Quartermaster he was in charge of eighty-two pack animals, twenty-seven packers six of the pack animals were loaded with ammunition thirty days' worth of supplies and twenty-three beef cattle,

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT GOES IN SEARCH OF THE INDIANS

Colonel Wright had heard nothing from Yakima chiefs Owhi or Teias for a week

Wright learned the Indians were busy fishing to catch an adequate supply of salmon for their needs before leaving the area

Colonel George Wright set out from Fort Naches and crossed the Naches River

with eight companies of the U.S. Ninth Infantry, 450 men to confront the Yakimas -- June 17, 1856 while the remainder of his forces occupied Fort Naches

After making contact with Yakima chiefs Owhi and Teias, Wright again received assurances that once the salmon runs were over the Indians would comply with Colonel Wright's orders

To ensure their compliance, Wright took Chief Teias and his family as hostages

many men, women, children and their livestock followed Wright back to Fort Naches some stolen animals were returned to the Army

Wright was pleased that his orders to the natives were obeyed

#### COLONEL WRIGHT MOVES HIS FORCES

Governor Isaac Stevens, himself, arrived at The Dalles -- June 18, 1856

he notified Colonel George Wright at his camp on the Naches River

that Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin F. Shaw was currently marching from Camp Montgomery over the Naches Pass with 175 militiamen -- in spite of Colonel's Wright's objections

further: **"It is supposed he will camp on the Wenass (sic) to-night. His orders are to cooperate with you (Colonel Wright) in removing the seat of war from the mountains to the interior, and for reasons effecting (sic) the close of the war on the Sound obvious to all persons. He will then push to the Walla Walla valley, crossing the Columbia at Fort Walla Walla. The Walla Walla valley must be occupied immediately to prevent the extension of the war in the interior. Kamiakin has, since your arrival on the Nahchess (sic), made every exertion to induce the tribes thus far friendly to join the war. He has flattered the Spokanes where he was on the 25th of May, and has endeavored to browbeat the Nez Perces. The Spokanes have answered in the negative; and the Nez Perces will, I am satisfied, continue friendly. I am ready, as the superintendent of Indian affairs, to take charge of any Indians that may be reported by yourself as having changed their condition from hostility to peace. I am ready to agree to any arrangement which may be for the good of the Indian. I presume your views and my own do not differ as to the terms which should be allowed the Indians, viz., unconditional submission, and the rendering up of murderers and instigators of the war for punishment. I will, however, respectfully put you on your guard in reference to Leschi, Nelson, Kitsap and Quiemuth from the Sound, and to suggest that no arrangement be made which shall save their necks from execution."**<sup>183</sup>

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT FAILS TO FIND ANY INDIANS

Colonel Wright's command had traveled 300 miles into the wild country of the Kittitas Valley which was previously unexplored by whites

Colonel Wright camped in the Kittitas Valley -- June 20, 1856

no Indians had been seen or heard of by his command

---

<sup>183</sup> Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington*, Volume I. P. 612.

he wrote to Department of the Pacific Commander General John E. Wool: **“I do not despair of ultimately reducing these Indians to sue for peace. I believe they really desire it; and I must find out what outside influence is operating to keep them from coming in.”**<sup>184</sup>

#### WASHINGTON MILITIA REACHES YAKIMA COUNTRY

Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin F. Shaw crossed the Cascade Mountains over Naches Pass  
camp was made on the Wenas River (a tributary of the Yakima River) -- June 20, 1856  
after Colonel Wright's command had set out in pursuit of Yakima chiefs Owhi and Teias  
Shaw sent out scouting parties who encountered no hostile Indians  
but did find Colonel Wright's camp with eight companies of regulars on the upper Yakima River

#### WASHINGTON MILITIA SOUTHERN BATTALION MARCHES OUT OF THE DALLES

Militia Major H. J. G. Maxon led one hundred and fifty-six men  
of the Southern Battalion of Washington Territory Militia  
to confront the Indians in Walla Walla Indian Country -- June 22, 1856  
a train of forty-five wagons and thirty-five pack animals accompanied  
under the charge of A.H. Robie, quartermaster and commissary  
Company K under Captain R.C. Goff, Company K under Captain R.S. Williams  
were organized on the Columbia River

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BENJAMIN SHAW CROSSES YAKIMA COUNTRY

Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw's expedition moved down the Wenas River to a location near its mouth  
then over the Naches River and Ahtanum Creek to the big bend of the Yakima River  
they continued directly across Yakima Country to the Columbia River  
arriving at the mouth of the Umatilla River some twenty-five miles below Fort Walla Walla  
Shaw had two reasons for the crossing Yakima Country without delay:

- both Colonels George Wright and Silas Casey, U.S. Army, had informed him  
that they had ample forces for the protection of the Yakima region  
and the settlements west of the mountains;
- everything indicated, at that time, that the regulars in the field  
disparaged assistance from the volunteers believing their presence was entirely unnecessary

#### SHAW'S MILITIA ENCOUNTERS INDIANS ON THE YAKIMA RIVER

Two canoes manned by four Indians were observed by Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw and his militiamen  
these Indians were ordered by Shaw to come in but they refused -- June 30, 1856  
they were fired on but at a distance of five hundred yards  
Indians abandoned one canoe which a volunteer swam out and brought back  
All four Indians made their escape unhurt

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY MILITIAMEN ORGANIZES TO ATTACK HOSTILE INDIANS

Washington Territorial Governor Stevens sent out from Fort Steilacoom

---

<sup>184</sup> Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington*, Volume I. P. 586.

four companies of Washington volunteers and a pack train  
under Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin Franklin Shaw over Naches Pass  
two companies of Washington Territory militiamen, Company K under captains R.C. Goff  
and Company N under R.S. Williams were on the march from Fort Dalles to the Columbia  
with a train of forty-five wagons and thirty-five pack animals  
commanded by Quartermaster A.H. Robie  
both columns united at Mill Creek in Walla Walla Country -- July 9, 1856  
they were joined there by sixty Nez Perce auxiliary militiamen under Chief Spotted Eagle

#### BATTLE OF THE GRANDE RONDE IN OREGON

Washington Militia Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin F. Shaw marched against the hostile Cayuse Indians  
in the Grande Ronde Valley of eastern Oregon  
militiamen made little distinction between hostile, neutral and friendly tribes  
a peaceful camp of largely unarmed Indians was attacked and decimated  
more than fifty Cayuse Indians, mostly elderly men, women and children, were killed  
foodstuffs and 120 lodges were burned and their horses were killed  
(near today's Elgin, Oregon) -- July 10, 1856  
this attack inflamed non-hostile tribes when they became aware of the atrocity  
Next Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw administered a strong defeat to the Cayuse  
he captured nearly all of the Indians' provisions, ammunition and over 200 horses  
these Indians, too, now seemed ready to come to terms

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BENJAMIN SHAW PURSUES THE INDIANS

Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw and his militiamen established a headquarters -- July 12, 1856  
before again setting out in pursuit of the Indians  
As the Washington Militia battalion reached the Grand Ronde River a large cloud of dust  
that indicated a large force of Indians was seen -- July 17  
Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw formed his battalion into columns  
Captain Bluford Miller commanded Company J was in advance  
supported by Major H. J. G. Maxon's command, Captain Benjamin L. Hennessy's Company C,  
and Lieutenant Japha S. Powell's Company D  
in the rear was the pack train defended by the guard of the day  
lieutenants Waite and Williams and their detachments

#### BATTLE OF GRANDE RONDE RIVER ENDS IN DEFEAT FOR THE INDIANS

Washington Militia Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Shaw gave the order to charge  
Indians gave way toward the river bank where brush served as cover for the hostiles  
the Indians' pack train escaped down the river as the soldiers advanced  
Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw reformed his militiamen and charged down the river on the pack train  
part of the Indians joined their pack train and were soon overtaken  
other Indians attempted to fight but the effort was in vain as they fell to deadly fire  
road was strewn in every direction with packs, horses and troops  
that were abandoned by the militiamen as they continued their attack on the natives

Captain Miller was order to move to the left where he cut off the Indians' escape  
five Indians were killed on the spot

Major Maxon moved to the right but he was unable to cross the Grande Ronde River  
Henness and Powells companied continued their attack at the center of the body of Indians  
Indians gather as if to made a stand and then fled

Indian women were overtaken in the pursuit -- those who were recognized were unharmed  
Indians crossed to the opposite side of the Burnt River and sharpshooters pinned the militia down  
Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw arrived at the river and led the charge across  
several Indians were overtaken and slain  
after a five mile chase Shaw called off the charge

Shaw's militiamen turned back to their pack train which had camped in a bend in a creek  
near where it entered the Grande Ronde River  
Indians' defeat at the Grand Ronde crushed the fighting spirit out of the coalition of tribes  
and the Indians dispersed  
Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin F. Shaw returned to his camp on the Walla Walla River

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR STEVENS SEEKS ANOTHER COUNCIL

Stevens learned of Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Shaw's victory in the Grand Ronde Valley  
possession of the Walla Walla Valley was the key to success over the interior Indians  
to Governor Stevens the situation appeared ripe for another council  
six month terms of Lieutenant Colonel Shaw's volunteers was about the end  
so the timing was critical to assure adequate protection  
Stevens decided to go to Walla Walla Country himself and hold another council with the tribes  
he sent messages to Shaw to summons all neutral tribes in the interior to meet  
at the Walla Walla Council site (middle of September)  
all the hostile bands were to be invited to attend also  
with the condition that they come unarmed, provide assurances of safe conduct,  
and agree to end the war and submit to the government

#### INDIANS OF WESTERN WASHINGTON TERRITORY WERE IN DIRE STRAITS

Western Washington Indians had suffered hardships unknown to the settlers  
they had been brought to ruin  
friendless, driven from their homes, destitute and hopeless  
they found themselves at the mercy of the government they had battled  
Governor Stevens held a conference with the Indians  
at the temporary Fox Island reservation -- July 1856  
he asked the Indians what they wanted and listened calmly to their reply  
they stated they needed larger reservations with room and soil for farming and grazing  
he was willing to do July 1856 what he had been unwilling to do [December 1854]  
he agreed to their requests

#### LAST OF THE WASHINGTON COASTAL INDIANS ARE BROUGHT TO RUIN

Coastal Indians were homeless, destitute, hopeless and at the mercy of the government

Governor Stevens had won  
Tribes assembled at Fox Island reported to Governor Stevens -- July 20, 1856  
that they needed larger reservations including room and soil for farming and grazing  
Governor Stevens agreed  
Militia volunteers were disbanded -- Indian outbreaks moved East of the mountains

#### OREGON COASTAL INDIANS ARE ALSO DEFEATED

After the defeated Indians were concentrated onto the local agency  
Lieutenant Philip Sheridan, U.S. Fourth Infantry was ordered to construct Fort Hoskins  
about twelve miles northwest of Corvallis -- July 26, 1856 to [May, 1857]  
Lieutenant Sheridan was placed in command of the post

#### NEW FORT WALLA WALLA IS CONSTRUCTED AS A TEMPORARY MILITARY BASE

Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe, U.S. Ninth Infantry, constructed a complex of log buildings  
and stockade located at today's Mill Creek  
seven miles east of (what is today downtown Walla Walla) -- July 1856  
this area provided adequate timber and water for the soldiers and grass for the horses  
(no trace of this complex survived)

#### FORT SIMCOE IS CONSTRUCTED ON YAKIMA INDIAN LAND

Bearing in mind Department of the Pacific Commander General John E. Wool's orders  
to construct a fort on Yakima land and on Walla Walla land  
Colonel George Wright, U.S. Ninth Infantry, selected the location of the Yakima fort  
at a meeting place well known by Indians as "Mool-Mool" (bubbling water)  
west of (today's White Swan, Washington) in the foothills of the Cascade Mountains  
Colonel Wright built a Military Road from Fort Dalles sixty-five miles to Fort Simcoe  
dressed lumber and fixtures from Fort Dalles were sent by wagon train and pack mules  
for construction of both Fort Simcoe and Fort Walla Walla  
much of the woodwork was native alder painted to look like oak  
sandstone was used for the foundations and chimneys  
Major Robert Garnett and a battalion U.S. Ninth Infantry soldiers  
built Fort Simcoe and garrisoned the post as a base of operations against the Indians  
and to protect settlers in the Kittitas Valley -- August 8, 1856  
Fort Simcoe opened in the Simcoe Valley between Simcoe and Toppenish creeks -- August 8, 1856  
under the command of Major Robert S. Garnett  
it became the advanced post of the U.S. Fourth Infantry and Ninth Infantry  
Fort Naches on Naches Pass was abandoned

#### GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS DECIDES TO HOLD A SECOND WALLA WALLA COUNCIL

With the defeat of the Cayuse Indians by Militia Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin F. Shaw  
Governor Stevens decided the time was right to bring the Eastern Washington Territory Indians  
together for a second treaty council  
Governor Stevens left Olympia to travel to the interior of Washington Territory -- August 11, 1856

Stevens stopped at Fort Vancouver and met with Colonel George Wright who had returned to the fort the day before leaving Major Robert Garnet in command of military construction in Eastern Washington. Stevens requested a military escort but Colonel Wright informed the governor that the governor would have to take to journey to Fort Dalles unescorted. Colonel Wright would, however, order Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe and four companies of Ninth Infantry soldiers to go to the council and relieve the volunteers. Governor Stevens and his party set out for Fort Dalles and arrived without incident.

#### STEVENS DEPARTS FROM THE DALLES FOR THE WALLA WALLA TREATY COUNCIL SITE

Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens and his party had remained The Dalles after traveling up the Columbia River from Fort Vancouver. Preparations for a council with the Indians of Walla Walla Country were completed at The Dalles. Stevens set out for the site of the first great Walla Walla Council -- August 19, 1856, hoping that this second effort would bring about the triumph he craved. With him was an escort of four companies of U.S. Ninth Infantry soldiers under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe, accompanied by a large mule train of goods and gifts for the Indians.

#### EASTERN WASHINGTON IS CLOSED BY ORDER OF GENERAL WOOL

Department of the Pacific Commander General John E. Wool at his Benicia, California headquarters had long believed incompetent territorial officials in Washington and Oregon wanted to force the Indians onto reservations to provide land for greedy settlers. While Governor Stevens was away in Eastern Washington to address new talks with the natives, General John Wool ordered Colonel Wright to close Eastern Washington to white settlers and to order the volunteer militia out of the region under threat of arrest -- August 20, 1856. Major Granville O. Haller and Captain James E. Archer were stationed in the Kittitas Valley where their companies served as a permanent threat to the Indian families in that region if they became hostile. General Wool charged Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe with keeping the settlers out of the Walla Walla Valley -- even those who already resided there but, for some reason employees of established Hudson's Bay Company posts and gold miners were exempt so long as the prospectors did not molest the Indians. Wool further ordered colonels Wright and Steptoe to protect the natives by abandoning location of the fort under construction was to be abandoned and a new Fort Walla Walla built. When General Wool's orders were put into place, the threat of armed conflict east of the Cascade Mountains cooled [until the spring of 1858]. In his reports to the War Department General Wool alleged Washington Territory Governor Steven called the Second Walla Walla Council merely to inflame hostilities and start another war.

#### REPUBLICAN PARTY IS ORGANIZED IN OREGON TERRITORY

Friends of the Republican Party cause met in Albany, Oregon Territory -- August 20, 1856 to inaugurate a Republican organization in the territory.

almost all of those present had attended the [1855] convention to stop the spread of slavery held in Albany, Oregon  
nomination by the national Republican Party of John C. Fremont for president and William L. Dayton for the vice-presidency were enthusiastically affirmed as was the national party platform  
delegates of this Albany meeting organized a committee to correspond with territorial Republicans with the intention of holding a Territorial Republican Convention  
before they adjourned their declared **“We fling our banner to the breeze, inscribed --‘Free Speech, Free Labor, a Free Press, a Free State and Fremont’”**<sup>185</sup>

#### OREGON NEWSPAPERS RESPOND TO THE NEW REPUBLICAN PARTY

Attitude of the three Oregon Territory newspapers toward the new Republican Party was significant  
strongly Democratic newspaper *Statesman* editor Asahel Bush stated that  
past opposition to the Democratic Party was always the same, **“whether fighting under the banner of Law and Order, No Party, People’s Party, Whig, Temperance or Know Nothing; that the next front to be presented by this mongrel opposition was to be ‘Black Republican--Disunion’...the true face of these fanatics.”**<sup>186</sup>

Asahel Bush with his vitriolic editorials provided more heat than light to the argument  
violent Whig editor Thomas J. Dryer of the *Oregonian* found himself in an embarrassing position during the 1856 presidential campaign because the Whig Party accepted the American Party nomination of Millard Fillmore and Andrew J. Donelson  
but did not accept the American Party’s political platform of issues  
Dryer was forced to be content with attacking the Democratic nominees  
James Buchanan for president and John C. Breckinridge for vice-president  
but Dryer had no nominee of his own to support  
strongly anti-Democrat editor William Lysander Adams of the *Argus*  
took a decidedly anti-slavery position and reported on anti-slavery meetings and events  
he hesitantly supported the national Republican organization  
but loudly declared that territorial Republicans demanded a free Territory  
and a Pacific railroad<sup>187</sup>

Washington Territory newspapers remained focused primarily on the Indian wars  
and their personal and political support or opposition to Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens

#### GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS’ CONTINUES TO THE WALLA WALLA TREATY COUNCIL SITE

Governor Stevens. Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe and four companies of Ninth Infantry soldiers entered Walla Walla Country where they link-up  
with Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Franklin Shaw’s militia -- August 23, 1856  
Governor Stevens established his camp for the Second Walla Walla Council  
(within present-day Walla Walla) in an attempt to attain peace and end the Yakima War

---

<sup>185</sup> Walter Carleton, *The Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Volume 12, P. 130.

<sup>186</sup> Oregon *Statesman*, September 19, 1856.

<sup>187</sup> *Argus*, November 1, 1856.

Preparations were begun in anticipation of the Second Walla Walla Council  
everyone was aware the tribes were angry about the slaughter of women and children  
by Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw's Washington militiamen

Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe, who had been assigned the task of constructing Fort Walla Walla,  
established his own camp with four companies of U.S. Ninth Infantry soldiers  
eight miles away from the council site and Governor Stevens' camp

Steptoe refused to station any of his men at the governor's camp

Shortly after the camps had been established a large band of Cayuse, Des Chutes and Umatilla Indians  
captured part of the governor's pack train a few miles from his camp

this raid compelled Governor Stevens to rely on Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe for food  
which was provided despite standing orders from Colonel George Wright  
not to help the governor in any way

#### FORT BELLINGHAM IS CONSTRUCTED IN WHATCOM COUNTY

Indian hostilities in Western Washington Territory had badly frightened northern settlers  
they appealed to the federal government for protection

Governor Stevens also feared an attack by New Caledonia Indians -- [1855]-1856  
these concerns resulted in construction of Fort Bellingham

Captain George E. Pickett, U.S. Ninth Infantry Company D, arrived in Bellingham -- August 26, 1856

Captain Pickett constructed Fort Bellingham on Bellingham Bay  
as a replacement for the temporary blockhouse constructed earlier  
even at that, it was considered a temporary post to protect the Whatcom mining district

#### AN EFFORT WAS BEGUN TO LINK FORT BELLINGHAM WITH FORT STEILACOOM

Construction was begun on a Military Road beginning at Fort Steilacoom  
in Pierce County this road followed the Byrd's Mill Road to Puyallup and turned north  
it entered King County and generally followed the route of (today's Old Military Road)  
and passed through Seattle -- where it ended

#### INDIANS WERE NOT COMPLETELY COOPERATIVE AT THE WALLA WALLA COUNCIL

Nez Perce Indians were the first Native Americans  
to arrive at the Second Walla Walla Council -- August 30, 1856

They were followed by a large band of Cayuse, Des Chutes and Umatilla Indians  
who camped near the Nez Perce without calling on the Governor

Spokane Indians refused to attend the council at all

Catholic Father A. Revilla of the Coeur d'Alene Mission brought news to Governor Stevens  
that Kamiakin, Skloom, Owhi and Qualchan of the Yakimas  
and Looking Glass of Nez Perce also would not attend

#### SECOND WALLA WALLA TREATY COUNCIL OPENS

Tribes of Eastern Washington Territory were angry about the slaughter of women and children  
by the Militia Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Shaw's Washington Territory Volunteer Militiamen  
Governor Stevens hosted a second Walla Walla Treaty Council in an attempt to end to the Yakima War

and to extinguish the Indians' title to their lands -- September 8, 1856

he demanded **“unconditional submission and surrender of the murderers” to “justice and mercy as decided by the authorities”**<sup>188</sup> from those Indians who participated in the Yakima War

Governor Stevens badly miscalculated the impact of the volunteers' victory in the Grande Ronde rather than cowering the tribes most expressed rage and were convinced they should fight

even factions among the Nez Perce, until then peaceful and even allied with the whites,

began to doubt the wisdom of cooperation

most chiefs who were in attendance at the council did not speak

they seemed to be waiting for something to happen

many were known to be carrying firearms

there were constant rumors that Yakima Chief Kamiakin was not far away

Indians held council by themselves

#### SECOND WALLA WALLA TREATY COUNCIL CONTINUES WITHOUT SUCCESS

U.S. Lieutenant-Colonel Edward J. Steptoe arrived at the Council site with a Company of dragoons

he set up camp eight miles away from Stevens -- September 13, 1856

with the arrival of Steptoe's troops all of the volunteers went home

except for Captain F.P.M. Goff's company of Washington Militiamen

#### GOVERNOR STEVEN'S SECOND WALLA WALLA COUNCIL DOES NOT GO WELL

After three days of no progress in the council Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe suggested Governor Stevens

move closer to the army camp -- this invitation was accepted by the governor

who moved his camp six miles to be closer

One hundred Yakama Indians under chiefs Kamiakin, Owhi and Qualchan appeared

they camped right across Mill Creek from Stevens

Stevens met privately with several Yakama chiefs who wanted peace

including Owhi and Quil-ten-e-nock

but he refused to recognize any representative of the Yakamas

except Kamiakin who remained for war -- Kamiakin refused to meet

#### WALLA WALLA COUNCIL CONTINUES

Fear of an attack by hostile natives was increased -- September 16, 1856

Nez Perce allies beat their war drums all night and kept guard around Stevens' camp

Nothing could be accomplished in meeting with the Indians

natives were uncooperative except for about half of the Nez Perce

Yakimas remained isolated as they camped a quarter mile away -- September 16 and 17

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL EDWARD STEPTOE CALLS FOR A COUNCIL OF CHIEFS

Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe invited the chiefs to a formal conference -- September 18, 1856

Steptoe appeared to be more sympathetic toward the Indians' cause

---

<sup>188</sup> Kent D. Richards, *Isaac I. Stevens: Young Man in a Hurry*, P. 302.

he informed the chiefs: **“My mission is pacific. I have come not to fight you, but to live among you. Come into my camp when you please.”**<sup>189</sup>

Indians believed they would get better treatment from the Army than from the governor  
those who attended the meeting with Steptoe were told the bloody shirt of war would be washed  
past differences would be forgotten and the treaties need not be kept  
Governor Stevens realized that the talks with him were going nowhere

#### GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS ENDS THE SECOND WALLA WALLA TREATY COUNCIL

Stevens, dismayed, left the Walla Walla Treaty Council site for The Dalles -- September 19, 1856

he led a party of sixty-nine militiamen, fifty packers and fifty Nez Perce under Chief Lawyer  
Hostile Indians set fire to the grass near Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe's camp

three miles from Steptoe's camp members of the Nez Perce, Yakama, Palouse, Walla Walla

and Umatilla Indians under Qualchan and Quil-ten-e-nock attacked Stevens' column

although a total of 450 Indians were in the vicinity only a small number of young warriors

from several tribes including a hundred or more disgruntled Nez Perce

led by Qualchan took part

Stevens ordered Lawyer's men to withdraw out of fear they would be shot by his men by mistake  
they rode off to watch the ensuing fight

Stevens was ready for the attack and moved his men under fire five miles to be near water

Stevens dispatched a rider to inform Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe that he was under attack

Steptoe was not ready to join with the Governor in fighting the Indians

he stated the Indians had burned the grass around his camp impeding preparations for battle

he suggested Stevens return and give the army the use of his wagons

so both parties could move together to the Umatilla River

however, Steptoe did send his dragoons and a howitzer to the aid of the governor

Stevens sent word to Chief Lawyer's Nez Perce that their women and children,

who were camped about a mile away, would be killed unless they returned and gave assistance

Fight continued into the night -- Indians were twice scattered by charging troops

Governor Stevens accepted Steptoe's invitation to rejoin the soldiers

after a skillful withdrawal, Stevens managed to reach Colonel Steptoe camped eight miles away  
before daylight broke

Stevens had lost one man killed and two wounded -- Indians counted perhaps thirteen casualties

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL EDWARD STEPTOE LEADS AN ATTACK ON THE INDIANS

Throughout the night Qualchan's warriors taunted the soldiers in their camp

Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe led an attack by his soldiers and the militia

soon after sunrise -- September 20, 1856

Indians were dispersed by howitzer fire and a charge by the Ninth Infantry

After the battle was over Steptoe emerged from the fray accepting the necessity of a strong militia

these Indians were not friendly

volunteers were better fighters than he had been led to believe

---

<sup>189</sup> George Washington Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 240.

he said as much in a brisk letter to Colonel Wright that was forwarded to General John E. Wool  
Governor Isaac Stevens suggested a blockhouse be constructed  
with one company garrisoned there to man the post and protect most of the supplies  
Steptoe gave the order  
Leaving behind most of his supplies Governor Stevens proceed by light march to The Dalles  
accompanied by a combination of Stevens' force, Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe's men  
and fifty friendly Nez Perce

#### CONSTRUCTION BEGINS ON ANOTHER FORT WALLA WALLA

On the basis of new orders issued by Department of the Pacific Commander General John E. Wool  
from his headquarters in Benicia, California Old Fort Walla Walla was abandoned  
(it had been located seven miles east of today's Walla Walla)  
Colonel George Wright and one company of U.S Ninth Infantry  
was joined by Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe and his command of U.S Ninth Infantry  
together they marched about twenty-eight miles from Mill Creek where they built a new post  
(located at 1<sup>st</sup> and Main in present-day Walla Walla)  
this was the third post to use the name Fort Walla Walla  
soldiers used Old Fort Walla Walla (located seven miles east of today's downtown)  
as their headquarters while the new post was built  
New Fort Walla Walla construction was begun -- September 23, 1856  
Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe was placed in command of new Fort Walla Walla  
which became the U.S. Ninth Infantry headquarters for the upcoming campaign  
this post included barracks, officers' quarters, and stables  
in addition to the Ninth Infantry, portions of the Fourth Infantry and First Dragoons  
(it served as the home of the famous "Buffalo Soldiers" [1902-1904])

#### STEPTOEVILLE GROWS UP AROUND FORT WALLA WALLA

Steptoeville became an excellent distribution center  
this town supplied nearly the whole of Eastern Washington Territory  
products from the settlement were shipped to The Dalles  
where they were sent up the John Day River Valley  
Umatilla River carried Steptoeville goods to the Powder River, Owyhee River, Boise Basin  
and few other places in Eastern Oregon and Southern Idaho  
Steptoeville sent its pack trains not only to most of these settlements, but to Colville,  
and camps on the Kootenai, Salmon, Clearwater, Prickly Pear and upper Missouri rivers  
trails radiated out from the town in all directions  
during packing season, long lines of horses and mules were always coming and going  
In winter, feeding yards in the valley were filled with poor, worn creatures  
whose scarred backs and ugly girth marks showed the class to which they belonged  
Packers were an important social element in Steptoeville and Wallula  
sometime grand dances were held attended by the entire community  
many of the new comers were enterprising young men who proved themselves in business  
(Name of Steptoeville was changed to Walla Walla [November 7, 1859])

## TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS DEPARTS WALLA WALLA COUNTRY

Governor's Steven's entourage arrived at Fort Dalles -- October 2, 1856  
after a brief stay Stevens continued his return journey to Olympia  
Stevens' effort to bring the Indians of the Eastern portion of Washington Territory under control  
had embarrassingly ended in abject failure

## FAILURE OF THE SECOND WALLA WALLA COUNCIL INCREASES ILL WILL

U.S. Army officers, especially, Department of the Pacific Commander General John E. Wool,  
blamed Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens for the Indian debacle  
in turn, Governor Stevens blamed the U.S. Army,  
especially Department of the Pacific Commander General John E. Wool  
Once Governor Stevens returned to Olympia, Colonel George Wright and other Army officers  
calmed the worried Indians who had learned to trust the soldiers more than Stevens' militia  
Army officers enforced General John E. Wool's order excluding whites east of the Cascades  
from their new military posts at Fort Dalles, Fort Walla Walla and Fort Simcoe -- fighting ended

## GOVERNOR STEVENS PROTESTS THE CLOSING OF EASTERN WASHINGTON

Department of the Pacific Commander General John E. Wool General Wool's actions  
enraged Governor Isaac Stevens who needed little motivation to despise General Wool  
Stevens proclaimed the army policy to close Eastern Washington  
was disrespectful of civil government and unique in history  
General Wool had usurped the powers of the governor  
Stevens demanded General Wool be brought to account by military authorities  
in a letter to the Secretary of the Interior and in his message to the territorial legislature  
Governor Stevens protested General Wool's exclusion order  
Stevens declared Wool had overreached his authority -- his actions were "clearly illegal"  
Stevens claimed the Army refused to protect settlers  
he charged Colonel George Wright with failure to provide adequate military protection  
for the governor while he was en route to the Second Walla Walla Council  
during that gathering, on the return to Fort Dalles and the trip back to Olympia  
General Wool, in turn, accused Governor Stevens of stirring up Indian trouble  
to allow the settlers to carry out a land grab and to improve the territorial economy

## CHIEF LESCHI IS DESTITUTE

Nisqually Chief Leschi had fled for safety to the Yakima Reservation  
Colonel George Wright, as commander of military forces east of the Cascades,  
offered his protection to the Nisqually leader  
General John E. Wool refused to surrender the chief to Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens  
federal troops had little interest in finding Leschi  
they believed he had fought by the rules of warfare  
Chief Leschi appeared at Fort Nisqually -- October 1856  
destitute, he tried to buy ammunition to hunt game

he offered to cut off his right hand to prove his desire for peace

#### ROGUE RIVER FIGHTING CONTINUES IN OREGON TERRITORY

Small Oregon settlements were attacked by roving bands of renegade Indians  
sometimes every farmer in a neighborhood was killed  
Lieutenant-Colonel Robert C. Buchanan led a strong force of Fourth Infantry soldiers  
out of California's Fort Humboldt  
in addition fifteen companies of Oregon Mounted Volunteers  
under Oregon Militia General John K. Lamerick also were in the field -- fall 1856  
Indians were harried nearly to the point of surrender -- however, they were able to hold out  
because they had secret trails all over the region  
and they were armed with better rifles than were the volunteers

#### NATIONAL POLITICS HAS AN IMPACT ON THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Slavery was the overwhelming issue in the United States -- 1856  
Democrats strongly supported slavery and sought to expand the institution across America  
including into the territories under control of the federal government  
Democrats nominated James Buchanan for the presidency  
and John C. Breckinridge for the vice-presidency  
American Party (or Know Nothings) chose to ignore the issue of slavery  
instead they focused their attention on anti-immigration and anti-Catholic policies  
American Party nominated former Whig President Millard Fillmore for President  
and Andrew J. Donelson as the Vice-President  
newly formed Republican Party was strongly against the expansion of slavery  
but not slavery itself where it then existed  
Republican Party nominated explorer John C. Fremont as its first presidential candidate  
William L. Dayton was nominated as the Vice-President  
Democratic Party faced opposition from the Republican Party for the first time  
response in Oregon Territory was lively debate -- less so in Washington Territory

#### ANOTHER RUNOFF ELECTION IS HELD TO DETERMINE THE OREGON TERRITORY CAPITAL

Eugene City and Salem faced off in yet another election to locate the Oregon capital -- October 1856  
manipulations that were part of the first runoff election [June 1856] discouraged voters  
very few citizens even bothered to vote  
results were overwhelmingly in favor of Eugene City, 2,559 to 444 votes for Salem  
Corvallis received 318 write-in votes  
Salem Clique voided the election on the grounds that the ballot measure  
contained "confusing wording" which may have mislead some voters  
Salem continued as the territorial capital city until another election could be held [1864]

#### BLACK PIONEER GEORGE WASHINGTON BUYS HIS PARENT'S FARM

George Washington was unsure of his legal status in Washington Territory  
he decided to purchase his foster parents James and Anna Cochran's land

rather than file a homestead claim -- 1856

Washington Territory did not bar African American ownership of land  
when the Cochran's claim was proved up by four years residence

Cochrans deeded the property to George who paid them \$2,000 for the claim  
(George Washington's farm did consistently well through the years  
he traveled to Olympia twice a year to negotiate a good price for his grain  
as he prospered he continued to purchase additional land

Washington purchased an additional 640 acres from his parents for \$3,200 a few years later  
this was the beginning of considerable land holdings acquired by George Washington  
he continued to prosper and acquire additional land  
because of his honesty and hard work he was respected by settlers and Native Americans alike)

#### FORT TOWNSEND IS CONSTRUCTED BY THE UNITED STATES ARMY

Fort Townsend was established by Major Granville O. Haller, U.S. Fourth Infantry -- October 26, 1856  
at the entrance to Puget Sound some three miles up Port Townsend Bay on west side

Major Haller located the buildings for the garrison near Port Townsend  
where the only running water or suitable pasture for grazing government animals  
could be found

this post was to protect settlers from potential attack by New Caledonia (British Columbia) Indians  
During construction soldiers cut out wooden laths to construct walls

friendly Indians brought all of the clam shells needed for lime to make mortar  
which was applied this to the walls  
prisoners cut wood for fires to burn the clam shells to make lime  
as construction on Fort Townsend progressed the soldiers added to local tensions  
by relaying the most extravagant tales of the riches of the Kamloops gold strikes  
and the high wages paid to hired miners  
this naturally excited the enlisted men to seek their fortunes  
in the goldfields along the upper Columbia River

#### ARMY DESERTIONS CAUSE MORALE PROBLEMS AT FORT TOWNSEND

Squads of soldiers deserted Fort Townsend and crossed the Strait of Juan de Fuca  
to flee in search of Kamloops gold

These desertions caused safety and morale problems at Fort Townsend  
until a boatman from Victoria offered to bring as many laborers as needed to build Fort Townsend  
laborers would demand only a dollar a day and food  
skilled workers like blacksmiths worked for a dollar and a half a day and rations

Major Granville O. Haller authorized the boatman to hire a blacksmith and five or six men  
when these Victoria men were delivered the soldiers were astonished  
that laborers would work so cheaply with gold so near

but they soon learned of the difficulties involved in traveling to the "New El Dorado"  
and of the many dangers miners faced  
seeing that these workers preferred the small wages at Fort Townsend to high risk in the goldfields  
desertions ceased and a very comfortable post for officers and men was completed

## FORT TOWNSEND SENDS PATROLS TO THE NORTH

This garrison frequently had to make excursions on Puget Sound in pursuit of Northern Indians  
on one occasion the Smith Island lighthouse keeper was attacked and besieged  
another time the deputy tax collector on San Juan Island was fired upon  
in his own house while sleeping in his bed

When these attacks were reported, a detail of men was dispatched in chartered vessels  
to provide relief to the government officials

Major Haller, on one occasion, while scouting aboard the Revenue Cutter *Jefferson Davis*  
discovered a large body of Northern Indians in Elliott Bay paddling toward Seattle  
when the cutter fired a cannon the canoes paddled for the shore

Haidas arrived on shore and awaited Haller's arrival in the cutter's gig

one of the Haidas accompanied Haller to Seattle where he was met by local Indians in war paint  
upon discovering their unwelcome reception

and learning that settlers would no longer employ Northern natives

this Haida warrior returned to his people for the trip back to Northern Vancouver Island

## NATIONAL ELECTION RESULTS IN JAMES BUCHANAN BECOMING PRESIDENT

Republican Party put its first national ticket before the American people -- November 4, 1856

Republicans offered, for the first time, a potential threat to the Democratic political machine

Election of Democrat James Buchanan to the presidency signaled the potential expansion of slavery  
into the territories of the United States

Response in Oregon Territory and Washington Territory differed remarkably

Oregon Territory leaders strongly opposed statehood primarily because of their anti-Negro policy

Oregon's anti-Negro policy was now threatened by the expansion of slavery into the territory

if Oregon became a state the discriminatory territorial laws were to be thrown out

if Oregon became a state it would be potentially opened to blacks -- slave, free or both

Washington Territory's response was less almost nonexistent

because Negroes had been accepted in the territory

Oregon Territory's political leaders sought to stop the expansion of slavery or blacks into the territory  
one sure way to avoid the expansion was to become a state

Oregon political leaders put a proposal to become a state before the voters

this proposal lost by 249 votes -- November 4, 1856

even after disappointing election results, political leaders continued their push

for statehood in Oregon

## SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE VENTURE WEST

Sisters of Providence had a mandate and desire was to care for the poor and the sick,  
to educate children, and to bring the light of Christ into the lives of all they met

Bishop Ignace Bourget of Montreal, Canada dedicated a new mission

was to be established in Washington Territory -- November 1856

Sister Joseph had served as the assistant to the Sisters of Providence Superior General Mother Caron

Bishop Bourget bestowed a new name on the mission's young superior

Sister Joseph became Mother Joseph of the Sacred Heart  
Mother Joseph was assigned to open a mission in Washington Territory  
she would be accompanied by four nuns of the Sisters of Providence Order

#### CHIEF LESCHI IS BETRAYED

Governor Stevens offered a fifty blanket reward for information leading to the capture of Chief Leschi  
whether Leschi was betrayed by his nephew Sluggia -- November 13, 1856

because the Nisqually chief refused to allow his nephew to kill women and children during war  
or because Sluggia was jealous of the attentions of Leschi's young wife Mary  
is a matter still under debate

in any case, Chief Leschi was captured, bound and gagged by Sluggia  
at his Upper Nisqually River fishing camp

an Olympia newspaper reported: **“Leschi with very few followers, had for some time been secludedly encamped on the upper Nisqually, and on Thursday [November 13, 1856] per arrangement, two Indians Sluggy [sic] and E-li-kuk-ah, having ascertained his whereabouts, visited the camp. After remaining a short time, they decoyed him off some distance, to the place where they had secured their horses, when they suddenly pounced upon, bound him and placed him on one of the horses, carried him that night a captive to Steilacoom, where he was delivered over to S.S. Ford Jr., who for some time previous had been in charge the making of arrangements to bring about his apprehension, Next day, the 14<sup>th</sup>, Mr. Ford arrived here [Olympia] with the prisoner and surrendered him to Governor Stevens.”**<sup>190</sup>

#### CHIEF LESCHI IS TAKEN TO FORT STEILACOOM FOR TRIAL

Sluggia collected the fifty blanket reward -- November 14, 1856

Governor Stevens considered him a criminal

he charged Leschi with the murder of militiaman Abram Benton Moses  
who was killed in the White River ambush over a year before [1855]

U.S. military considered Leschi a prisoner of war

following Leschi's capture Colonel George Wright wrote to Governor Stevens: **“The assurances I gave to all the chiefs who submitted, including Leschi, were full and complete, so far as the military authorities were concerned, as to their personal safety ... Under all the circumstances of the case, I sincerely hope that Leschi will not be made to suffer death. I most earnestly pray that the pardoning power may be interposed, and Leschi saved from the gallows.”**

Colonel Wright's position may have won him a measure of respect from the Indians

#### TRIAL OF CHIEF LESCHI IS HELD AT STEILACOOM

Regular session of the Washington Territory U.S. District Court in Steilacoom

had just concluded when Justice Francis Chenoweth was asked to reconvene to hear Leschi's case  
Washington Territory Justice Chenoweth conducted Leschi's trial -- November 16, 1856

Leschi was charged with the [1855] murder of Colonel Abram Benton Moses

---

<sup>190</sup> Cecelia Svinth Carpenter, *Tears of Internment: The Indian History of Fox Island and the Puget Sound Indian War*, 1996.

who had been killed at Bitting's Prairie while escorting the William Tidd Express Party  
Nisqually chief was defended by William Wallace, Captain of Militia Company D  
and Henry R. Crosbie who held the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the territorial militia  
Leschi pled not guilty -- he argued the killing of Moses was an act of war -- not murder  
Leschi's trial lasted one day -- November 16, 1856

eighteen witnesses were called at a cost to the territory of \$38.85

government's case centered on the testimony of Governor Stevens' friend Antonio Rabbeson  
who had been a member of the Express Party

Rabbeson swore he had seen Leschi and twenty other Indians

fire the fatal shots at Abram Benton Moses and Joseph Miles

Justice Chenoweth sent the jury off to deliberate -- 7:00 P.M.

central question facing the jury was: **"did a state of war exist at time of the killing"**

if so, Leschi was prisoner of war and could not be guilty of murder

if not, Leschi could be guilty of murder if the charge was proven beyond a reasonable doubt  
on the first ballot the jury voted eight to four for conviction

as noted by jurist Ezra Meeker: **"The balloting went on and on eight to four, eight to four  
with pallor on the cheeks of more than one juror for it was well known that the feeling on the outside  
was for vengeance. From ballots the jurors passed to words and hot words at that -- almost to the  
point of intimidation."**<sup>191</sup>

jury returned to the courtroom and asked to be discharged as they could not reach a verdict

Justice Chenoweth sent them back to the jury room to try again

on the second ballot, two more voted guilty -- ten to two: Meeker and William Kincaid held out

William Kincaid, the founder of Sumner, was known as "Father Kincaid"

a widower who had crossed the plains with his seven children

he sat in the jury room with his head bowed in prayer

he refused to speak except to respond to the poll of the jurors

finally he said, **"I never will vote to condemn that man."**<sup>192</sup>

Justice Chenoweth was forced to declare a mistrial and dismiss the jury

(a new trial was scheduled for [March 1857])

## QUIEMUTH TURNS HIMSELF IN

Chief Leschi's brother, Quiemuth, may not have understood the subtleties of American courts

he may well have believed Leschi had been acquitted and would be set free

at any rate, Quiemuth appeared at home of an old French-Canadian settler near the Nisqually River

he announced he was ready to stand trial -- November 17, 1856

he requested the settler contact James Longmire, a friend of Territorial Governor Stevens,  
to arrange his surrender

---

<sup>191</sup> Hemphill, Major General John A. and Robert C. Cumbow. *West Pointers and Early Washington: The Contributions of U.S. Military Academy Graduates to the Development of the Washington Territory, from the Oregon Trail to the Civil War, 1834-1862*. Seattle: The West Point Society of Puget Sound, Inc., 1992. As reported in the Washington Historical Society *Washington Stories*.

<sup>192</sup> Ezra Meeker. *Pioneer Reminiscences of Puget Sound: The Tragedy of Leschi*. P. 420.

## QUIEMUTH IS TAKEN INTO CUSTODY

Quiemuth was escorted by James Longmire and others through the rainy night  
to the governor's office in Olympia where they arrived -- 3 A.M. November 18, 1856  
Governor Stevens was awakened

In the governor's office Quiemuth was given food and a pipe of tobacco  
Stevens told Quiemuth he was to be taken to Fort Steilacoom where he would be held prisoner  
Stevens offered a bed to Quiemuth and James Longmire but they declined  
as they were muddy from their trip  
instead Quiemuth and Longmire laid down with blankets  
in a small room adjoining the governor's office

Governor Stevens, leaving the lights burning in his office, returned to his quarters  
a guard was placed outside the door to the governor's office

Exhausted, Longmire and Quiemuth soon fell asleep on the floor  
one on either side of the fireplace with Longmire nearest to the door

Sometime during the night word of the arrival of Quiemuth got out

James Longmire awoke with a start in the darkened room -- somewhere a gun had been fired  
Longmire leapt up to hear people running -- lights in the room had been blown out  
in the firelight he saw Quiemuth rise from the floor shouting in Chinook  
that he had been shot  
in the confusion Quiemuth and others ran toward the door  
where a killer stabbed Quiemuth in the heart with a slim knife

At this moment Governor Stevens rushed into his office -- eventually calm was restored

James Longmire was unable to identify the attacker(s)

(Joseph Bunting, Lieutenant James McAllister's son-in-law, was arrested for the murder of Quiemuth  
records indicated insufficient evidence existed to hold him

Quiemuth's killer was never officially identified)

(Quiemuth Peak, the highest point in Thurston County, located in the extreme southeast corner  
near Alder Lake was renamed in honor of the Nisqually chief [1993])

## BATTLE OF PORT GAMBLE TAKES PLACE

Seven Haida Indian sea-going canoes carried approximately 300 warriors into Puget Sound  
they paddled to Steilacoom where they threatened the town -- November 19, 1856  
settlers summoned help from U.S. Army Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey at Fort Steilacoom  
Casey determined that it was a naval matter

he notified U.S. Navy Commander Samuel Swartout of the steam sloop USS *Massachusetts*

In the meantime, the Haida warriors moved on to harass local Indians

before arriving at the sawmill at Port Gamble (then the community of Teekalet)

when the Indians were sighted superintendent of the mill Josiah Keller sounded the mill whistle  
mill employees and their families fled to a two-story wooden blockhouse  
with all their guns and ammunition -- waiting for an attack that never came

USS *Massachusetts* steamed to Port Gamble -- November 20-21, 1856

when the warriors refused to hand over those among them who had attacked the local natives,  
USS *Massachusetts* landed a shore party

as the battle ensued twenty-six Haidas including their chief and one sailor were killed

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY LEGISLATURE MEETS IN OLYMPIA

Washington Territorial House of Representatives and Council went into session -- December 1, 1856  
much of the time was consumed in routine matters such as granting licenses to operate ferries  
and toll roads, authorizing construction of roads and approving corporations  
a substantial amount of time in each session was devoted to hearing petitions for divorces  
Governor's message to the legislature was a review of the events and difficulties of the Indian Wars  
Washington Territorial Legislature attacked the exclusionary policy of General Wool  
in resolutions it described the order to close Eastern Washington as a "high-handed outrage"  
legislators censured Governor Stevens for proclaiming martial law  
they asked Congress to separate his offices of Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs  
(which was later done)  
at the same time, they enacted all of the measures Governor Stevens recommended  
for the good of the Territory

#### GOVERNOR STEVENS MEETS WITH SEVERE CRITICISM

Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens had several groups of opponents to face:

- those who objected to his use of martial law,
- his political enemies, the old Whigs and new Republicans,
- U.S. Senate and U.S. House of Representatives both censured Stevens

Several powerful territorial citizens including Territorial Justice Edward Lander and Ezra Meeker  
begged President Franklin Pierce to remove Stevens as territorial governor  
in Washington City and Washington Territory rumors abounded  
that the governor would be removed from office  
President Pierce informed Governor Stevens of his displeasure but refused to remove him

#### SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Mother Joseph accompanied by four Sisters of Providence she stepped off a steamer  
and onto the banks of the Columbia River at Fort Vancouver -- December 8, 1856  
Mother Joseph possessed a keen mind and a complex personality  
she was a woman of astonishing compassion and vision  
she struggled for perfection while accepting the challenges of an imperfect world  
she led a group of four Sisters of Providence from Montreal to the Washington Territory  
Mother Joseph would need to call upon all of her gifts and skills and her deep faith  
arrival of Mother Joseph and four nuns had been eagerly anticipated  
yet no preparations had been made to house them  
an attic room in the bishop's home became the first "convent" in the territory for the sisters  
When she arrived in Washington Territory Mother Joseph discovered a strange, new world  
there were no hospitals, few schools and little in the way of charitable services  
for those suffering the misfortunes of life on the frontier  
within a few weeks of their arrival in Vancouver, the five Sisters of Providence welcomed  
three-year old Emilie Lake into their home; followed by the infant James Wilks

and then a steady stream of orphans arrived  
Mother Joseph was determined to fill the unmet needs with the tools she possessed  
her enormous gift for creating and building and a deep faith in Divine Providence  
she and her companions faced daunting challenges  
including primitive living conditions, treacherous travel and scarce financial resources  
even conversing with their new neighbors was difficult  
French-speaking Mother Joseph had to rely on the translation abilities  
of the two bilingual sisters in her group  
until she learned enough English to communicate  
But the pioneer nuns quickly demonstrated their tenacity, determination and adaptability  
taking their cue from the interests of the people of Vancouver,  
the sisters opened a boarding school (later known as Providence Academy)  
Mother Joseph led her four sisters in constructing a rough sixteen-foot by twenty-four-foot  
lumber building in Vancouver, Washington, Territory  
this became known as the “Little Gray Home of Catholic Education in the Northwest”  
(Mother Joseph spent the next forty-six years serving the Vancouver area)

#### BILL TO CREATE OREGON STATE IS INTRODUCED IN CONGRESS

Although Congress had passed no enabling act authorizing a state government for Oregon  
Democrats in the Oregon Territorial Legislature had submitted proposals to voters year after year  
calling for a state constitutional convention  
anti-Democrat voters just as regularly rejected the proposal in the next general election  
Oregon Territory legislature once again passed a bill  
authorizing a constitutional convention -- this one passed December 12, 1856  
voters would have an opportunity to vote on creating a constitutional convention in an election  
to be held [June 1, 1857]

#### METHODIST ACADEMY IS BUILT AT STEILACOOM

(Methodist Rev. John F. DeVore had arrived in Steilacoom as a Methodist circuit rider [August 1853]  
he brought a beautiful rosewood Chickering piano with  
Steilacoom was an untamed village at the time of his arrival  
**“Sunday, if observed at all, was looked upon as a day for the ingathering of all the  
disreputable clans who spent their time in drinking bad liquor, gambling, fighting and in other ways  
giving free reign to degenerate impulses.”**<sup>193</sup>

Rev. DeVore later noted he preached his first sermon in his new church in Steilacoom  
with a pistol in one hand and Bible in the other)

Rev. John F. DeVore founded the Puget Sound Wesleyan Institute -- December 23, 1856

DeVore was referred to as the “John Wesley (founder of the Methodist Church) of the Northwest”

#### GOLD IS DISCOVERED IN THE FRASER RIVER CANYON OF NEW CALEDONIA

Miners drifted northward from the Colville gold fields -- 1856-1857

---

<sup>193</sup> Hebert Hunt and Floyd C. Kaylor, *Washington West of the Cascades*, P.106.

prospector James Huston wandered across the Canadian border  
he entered New Caledonia (British Columbia)  
where he discovered gold in (ironically named) Tranquille Creek in the Fraser Valley  
several other prospectors turned up bits of gold  
along the Columbia and Okanogan rivers north of the border  
other news of prospectors who worked the gravel bars of the Fraser and Thompson rivers  
attracted some attention

When the miners ran out of provisions they had to return to Washington Territory or go to Victoria  
they brought out news of their rich finds -- a stampede was on its way to the gold fields  
Further gold discoveries made on the Fraser River added to the stampede  
Colville gold seekers spread into Canada and a new gold rush was begun

#### BRITISH GOVERNOR JAMES DOUGLAS BECOMES CONCERNED ABOUT PROSPECTORS

Vancouver Island Royal Governor James Douglas purchased a poke of gold  
prospected by Secwepemc Indians near Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Kamloops, New Caledonia  
reports arriving from the mainland regarding deaths and injuries encountered in attempting to reach  
Canadian goldfields concerned Royal Governor of Vancouver Island James Douglas  
especially because of the sheer number of prospectors arriving daily  
Visionary Royal Governor James Douglas knew that if news of the gold discoveries leaked out  
Hudson's Bay Company would lose its monopolistic control of the territory forever  
Douglas wanted to pass local laws strict enough to keep out foreigners -- especially Americans  
during the settlement of the Oregon Country he had seen what they could do to a region  
Douglas tried to control the impact of the gold by buying all of the dust produced  
but he could not control the spread of rumors --1856  
The Black Scot began wrote to England asking for authority to forbid the gold seekers  
from coming into the trading territory of the Hudson's Bay Company  
but as the Royal Governor of Vancouver Island  
his authority did not then extend to the mainland of New Caledonia  
where there were only Indians villages and a few tiny scattered trading settlements

#### GENEAL JOHN E. WOOL AFFIRMS VICTORY IN WASHINGTON AND OREGON TERRITORIES

Commander of the Department of the Pacific wrote to the War Department -- January 3, 1857  
**“For the information of the lieutenant-general commanding the army, and the Secretary of War, I have the honor to report that peace and quiet pervades throughout the Department of the Pacific, and I have no doubt will thus continue as long as the Indians are treated with ordinary justice. Efforts, for reasons heretofore again and again presented by me, no doubt will be made to disturb the quietude of the department, which I think will not succeed. The disposition of the troops is such as not only to prevent it, but to give protection to the white settlements, and to restrain the Indians should they exhibit indications to renew the war, which, from the information which I have received, I do not in the least apprehend. From the Indians east of The Dalles and the Cascade Range of mountains, no danger is anticipated. They will not interfere with the Whites, if the latter will only let them alone and not plunder them of their horses, cattle and women. If the money appropriated by Congress to preserve peace with the Indians could be properly applied and expended, I am confident**

**there would be no future war with the Indians in the Pacific Department, unless unnecessarily and improperly provoked by the Whites, who have hitherto unjustly been the cause of all the Indian wars in California and Oregon, including the crusade of Governors Curry and Stevens against the Walla Walla tribe, etc., during the winter and summer of 1856.”<sup>194</sup>**

General Wool is helped in his efforts to maintain peace by a severe winter  
snowstorms opened the years and very harsh weather continued for weeks -- early January 1857

#### DREAMS OF A TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILWAY MOTIVATE A FEW AMERICANS

Dry goods merchant and China trader Asa Whitney was one of the first backers  
of an American Transcontinental Railway

for almost thirty years he had envisioned a plan for a northern railroad route  
his vision and efforts awakened considerable enthusiasm

although detractors viewed the plan as a swindle to the taxpayers

Whitney made a preliminary survey from Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin (west of today's Madison)  
as far west as the Rocky Mountains

Maine woolen merchant and land speculator Josiah Perham took up the cause

he believed he had a divine mission to bring about the building of the transcontinental road  
he projected a route from Maine to Puget Sound

to be known as the “People's Pacific Railway” -- 1857

Perham obtained a charter from the Maine legislature

but his scheme for the People's Pacific Railway was stalled in Congress

disputes between sections of the nation to secure a right-of-way doomed the idea  
worn out, his money gone, Whitney eked out a living on his dairy farm in the nation's capital

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY PASSES A RAIL ACT OF ITS OWN

Washington Territorial Legislature passed a railroad proposal -- January 28, 1857

**“An act to incorporate the Northern Pacific Rail Company”**

Northern Pacific Rail Company was chartered for four years

Washington's Charter placed Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens at the head of fifty-eight investors  
composed of Washington citizens

also Oregon, California, Minnesota, Illinois, Iowa, Maine and New York

investors were named on the list

#### STEPS ARE TAKEN TO CLARIFY THE U.S.-CANADA BORDER

Oregon Treaty [1846] had attempted to establish the international boundary

49° north latitude was agreed upon as the official border through the Rocky Mountains

however the exact location of the boundary line was not known

United States Department of State authorized creation of the Northwest Boundary Commission  
to actually survey and map the U.S.-Canada international boundary -- February 1857

Archibald Campbell was named as the head of the Northwest Boundary Commission

Campbell was a thirty-three-year-old West Point graduate, civil engineer

---

<sup>194</sup> Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington*, Volume I., P. 623.

and chief clerk of the War Department had assisted on other survey projects  
he hired surveyors, astronomers, geologists, naturalists, and artists for the survey team  
his principal assistant was Lieutenant John G. Parke, a U.S. Topographical Engineer  
he was assigned the duties of chief astronomer and surveyor for the international boundary  
Parke was the only active military officer assigned to the task  
Nearly two hundred men were recruited and deployed in the field but very few were scientists  
both supplies and men were increasingly expensive  
because of the [1856] discovery of gold along the Fraser River  
Dr. Joseph S. Harris doubled as surgeon and naturalist  
George Gibbs served as native interpreter and geologist

## CHANGE IS COMING TO CANADA

Canada consisted only of the provinces of Quebec and Ontario  
strong opposition to monopolies of all kinds had developed in England (during the 1950s)  
Canadian government wanted to annex the Red River colony and the plains of Saskatchewan  
both were within Hudson's Bay Company's original enormous grant of Rupert's Land  
as the entire area draining into Hudson Bay was known  
Hudson's Bay Company's license came due --1857  
during the Charter review an anti-monopoly trend in Great Britain  
presented merciless attacks on Hudson's Bay Company  
when the English Parliament committee overseeing the charter  
finally made its report on the company license  
it was obvious that the company's once ironclad monopoly was about to be softened

## HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY IS FACED WITH SELLING ITS LAND IN THE UNITED STATES

By the end of the Indian wars Hudson's Bay Company had lost to raiding white neighbors  
more than 6,058 cattle and approximately the same number of sheep below the international border  
When company managers grew outraged, they were ordered to swallow their wrath  
for fear an inflammatory clash would impede the sale of company holdings to the United States  
Negotiations to sell Hudson's Bay Company properties were difficult at best  
land claimed by the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound Agricultural companies south of the border  
at Vancouver, Nisqually, Cowlitz, and the smaller forts of Walla Walla, Boise and Hall  
amounted to about twenty-three thousand acres -- of these three thousand were cultivated  
improvements were extensive -- especially at Vancouver, Washington Territory  
estimates of the worth of those buildings, lands and common grazing rights varied wildly  
Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens suggested \$300,000  
Hudson's Bay Company angered by raids on their livestock along Puget Sound  
and by the destruction of Fort Walla Walla (at Wallula) by Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox's Indians  
and by being forced to abandon forts Boise and Hall  
countered with a staggering demand for \$3,800,000  
(this brash price was later reduced to \$650,000 [1858]  
but before Congress got around to making good on purchase agreements  
the Civil War began and all negotiations came to a halt)

## OREGON POLITICS WAS STRONGLY DEMOCRATIC AND ANTI-NEGRO

Majority of Oregonians were Democrats from the South -- but not from the slave-holding class

Oregon Democrats split into two groups:

- “soft Democrats” who were pro-slavery
  - they were aligned with the National Democratic Party
  - they supported U.S. Senator Stephen Douglas from Illinois
  - and the idea of Popular Sovereignty
  - they believed Congress had the power and obligation to defend slavery
- “hard Democrats” who were Salem Clique led the anti-slavery Democrat faction
  - their primary concern was citizens’ rights to determine their own institutions
  - main issue for them was not slavery -- they were anti-negro rather than anti-slavery

## OREGON POLITICS CHANGES UNDER THE NEW REPUBLICAN PARTY

Republicans in Oregon Territory, as across the nation, replaced the old Whig Political Party

they announced their political goals:

- opposition to the expansion of slavery into the territories,
- approval of construction of a railroad to the Pacific Northwest,
- but they most strongly supported their Party’s demand for Oregon’s admission to the Union as a free state

Oregon Territory Republicans called for a party convention at Albany -- February 1857

to organize their party and unify under their banner “**Free State Republican Party of Oregon**”

Public opinion had suddenly changed -- now both political parties wanted statehood for Oregon

Democrats demanded a slave state or that blacks, free or slave, not be allowed to live in Oregon

Republicans demanded a free state

## EFFORT IS UNDERTAKEN TO PROVIDE STATEHOOD FOR OREGON TERRITORY

Territorial Delegate to Congress Democrat Joe Lane introduced a Bill into Congress

authorizing the people of Oregon Territory to frame a proposed state constitution -- 1857

Problems arose as Congress was distraught over the issue of slavery in “Bloody Kansas” Territory

where “Popular Sovereignty” (people vote) would decide the slavery question

people on both sides of the slavery issue moved in to influence the slavery decision

and many of these people had fought in running battles [“Bloody Kansas”1854]

there was great concern that acts of violence could be repeated in Oregon

Oregon Territory’s proposed statehood passed the United States House of Representatives

where Joe Lane served as a non-voting member

however, the Bill did not pass the United States Senate

## DAVID THOMPSON PASSES ON

North West Company explorer and fur trapper life’s was exemplary

he was always a religious man who practiced daily devotions

he was an intellectual who had been nurtured in the wilderness

he was compelled to bring order to the unknown

David Thompson ranks as one of the great geographers in history  
he personally covered 80,000 miles by foot, horseback, dogsled and canoe  
and took almost constant astronomical observations of his location  
he defined a fifth of the North American continent compiling seventy-seven volumes of journals  
featuring the vast area's geography, biology and ethnography of the Native Americans  
Thompson's accomplishments were beyond legend:

- he carried out several fortunes in furs,
- he opened Athabasca Pass,
- he was the first to travel the Columbia River from source to mouth,
- he developed extremely accurate maps of the Rocky Mountain region

new interest in his explorations of the Columbia River arose  
during the Oregon boundary dispute -- but waned just as quickly

Sadly, David Thompson had proven to be an unsuccessful businessman  
his last thirty years of life were spent as a forgotten man living in poverty  
ill health and failing eyesight plagued his last years

half-blind, he eked out a poor living as a private surveyor  
these issues prevented him from completing the memoirs  
of his extraordinary western travels

he spent his final few years in Longueuil, Quebec (opposite Montreal)  
a retirement town for Nor'Westers (North West Company employees)  
composed mostly of Highland Scots

Canada's greatest geographer died in virtual obscurity at age eighty-six -- February 10, 1857  
completely ignored by the great fur companies which had relished the use of his talent and energy  
there is no likeness of David Thompson that remains today and our only description of him  
was provided by doctor and geologist John Jeremiah Bigsby who met him  
at a North West Company dinner [1820]: **"He was plainly dressed, quiet and observant.**

**His figure was short and compact, and his black hair was worn short all around, and cut square, as if  
by one stroke of the shears, just above the eyebrows. His complexion was of a gardener's ruddy  
brown, while the expression (sic) of deeply furrowed features was friendly and intelligent, but his cut-  
short nose gave him an odd look."**<sup>195</sup>

#### CONGRESSIONAL PROPOSAL TO LINK THE FAR WEST TO THE UNITED STATES PASSES

Annual funding of the Post Office appropriation Bill passed Congress -- March 3, 1857  
this time funds were provided for stagecoach and postal service  
which began to address the needs of the people in the Far West

#### CHANGES TAKE PLACE IN WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT

Governor Isaac Stevens had been navigating a rough patch for his administration:

- territorial legislature passed a resolution censuring him  
for his actions during the martial law episode;
- he had been admonished by the President of the United States,

---

<sup>195</sup> Elle Andra-Warner, *David Thompson: A Life of Adventure and Discovery*, P. 133.

- he had been chastised by the Secretary of State;
- he had been censured by the United States Senate and House of Representatives,
- members of the Territorial Council and House of Representatives had reproached the governor for declaring martial law and asked Congress to separate his offices of Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs

President James Buchanan, a northern Democrat with Southern sympathies, had replaced Democrat President Franklin Pierce -- March 4, 1857  
it was rumored Isaac Stevens would lose his appointment as governor

#### ISAAC STEVENS IS NOMINATED FOR TERRITORIAL DELEGATE TO CONGRESS

Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens was under attack by his political enemies  
Territorial Justice Edward Lander had spent time in jail for opposing Governor Stevens  
Ezra Meeker had been dismissed by locals as being on the side of the Indians  
those who had pressured President Franklin Pierce to remove Governor Stevens from office had no influence with the newly elected President James Buchanan  
Governor Stevens still enjoyed strong support from his admirers  
they nominated the besieged governor for the position of Territorial Delegate to Congress  
Democrats of the Olympia Clique who threw their full support behind this proposal

#### CHIEF LESCHI FACES A SECOND TRIAL FOR MURDER

After Leschi's first trial resulted in a mistrial due to a hung jury  
Washington Territory Judicial Districts had been realigned by the legislature  
Chief Leschi's second trial was held in Olympia -- March 18, 1857  
this was Governor Isaac Stevens' town and anti-Indian sentiment ran high  
Washington Territory Chief Justice Edward Lander appointed the court officers  
prosecuting Attorney was B. F. Kendall  
lead defense attorney Frank Clark had been the prosecutor during the first trial  
he also was Chairman of the Pierce County Democratic Committee  
and a fervent admirer of Governor Stevens  
defense attorney William H. Wallace, who had defended Leschi during the first trial, assisted  
Prosecution's chief witness was again, Antonio B. Rabbeson, offered a very detailed narration  
of all events that were recorded in the indictment  
he claimed to have seen Leschi at both the Indian Camp  
and at the ambush of Colonel Abram Benton Moses  
however, regarding many of the other details he gave conflicting testimony

Defense witnesses were called:

- Territorial Secretary Charles Mason gave testimony he knew the prisoner in the [fall of 1855];
- Andrew J. Bradley told the court that he knew Leschi well  
then gave conflicting testimony regarding the events during the murder;
- B. J. Simmons was called to the witness stand and gave second-hand testimony regarding events;
- Fort Nisqually Factor William F. Tolmie testified that he has known the prisoner [since 1843]  
he confirmed he had sold clothes to Leschi that were described as being worn by the killer;
- sub-Indian Agent John Swan testified about events on Fox Island [January 1856];

- Israel H. Wright, a juror at the first trial of Leschi, was asked if Antonio Rabbeson had described Leschi at that trial  
Wright confirmed that Leschi had been described;
- Michael T. Simmons, John Walker, Mr. Porter, A. C. Lowell, George W. Corliss, Andrew Byrd and W. D. Van Buriem were all recorded as having heard Rabbeson’s testimony in the first trial  
all appear to agree that they heard Leschi described;

Leschi's second trial lasted just one day

Chief Justice Edward Lander instructed the jury that in their deliberations they were not to consider an “act of war” as an argument for the defense

Lander further ruled that **“all those present (at the murder site) became principals”**<sup>196</sup>  
this opened the death penalty for consideration

Olympia jury found Chief Leschi **“guilty as charged in the indictment, and that he suffer death”**<sup>197</sup>

Chief Leschi was sentenced to hang [June 10, 1857]

#### DEFENSE ATTORNEYS APPEAL CHIEF LESCHI’S SENTENCE OF DEATH

An Appeal of the death sentence to the Washington Territory Supreme Court was filed by Defense Attorney Frank Clark and William H. Wallace  
their motion to set aside the verdict was based on several factors:

- verdict of the jury was contrary to law;
- verdict of the jury was contrary to the evidence in the case;
- newly-discovered evidence which could not have been discovered and produced by the defense at the trial had just been filed;
- court erred in failing to instruct the jury that they could find the prisoner guilty of an offense less than that of murder in the first degree;
- court erred in giving instructions to the jury after the defense had concluded its case

#### DEPARTMENT OF THE PACIFIC COMMANDER GENERAL JOHN E. WOOL IS REPLACED

Congress had received a continuous uproar of protests from the legislatures of Oregon and Washington regarding General John E. Wool’s actions and attitude toward the territorial government and militia  
rumors of General Wool’s impending departure had circulated for several months

Yet another petition from the Oregon legislature to remove General Wool was delivered to Congress  
legislators charged the army was not protecting settlers because the officers were incapable  
they declared General Wool was too easy on the Indians

Seventy-three year old General John E. Wool was recalled to Washington City -- March 20, 1857  
he left his California headquarters to take command of the Military Department of the East

#### GENERAL NEWMAN S. CLARKE REPLACES GENERAL JOHN E. WOOL

General John E. Wool had been so at variance with the civil authorities on the Pacific coast that he was removed as Commander of the Department of the Pacific  
this command given to General Newman S. Clarke

---

<sup>196</sup> Hebert Hunt and Floyd C. Kaylor, *Washington West of the Cascades*, P. 172.

<sup>197</sup> Hebert Hunt and Floyd C. Kaylor, *Washington West of the Cascades*, P. 172.

General Clarke took over General Wool's headquarters in Benicia, California  
he had distinguished himself in the war of 1812 and in Florida  
he served through the Mexican War where he commanded a brigade  
and was present at nearly all the battles in Mexico  
he was brevetted a Brigadier General and was sent to U.S. Army headquarters  
in Benicia, California where he served as the Commander of the Department of the Pacific

General William Shelby Harney was placed in command of the Department of Oregon  
General Clarke recommended Governor Stevens' treaties be ratified to end the existing difficulties  
he believed the land laws in existence permitted the occupation of the land  
in Oregon and Washington territories regardless of the rights of the Indians  
friendly Indian relations could not be developed until the government purchased the natives' land  
even at that moment settlers assumed the right to take the land and develop the country

#### NEW COMMANDER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE PACIFIC MAKES NO CHANGES

General Clarke contented himself by enforcing the closing of Eastern Washington Territory  
and keeping his troops in garrisoned in their various forts  
under these circumstances at least there was no war -- but neither was there any advance in peace  
General Clarke's appointment as Commander of the Department of the Pacific  
brought no comfort to Isaac Ingalls Stevens as Clarke rescinded none of Wool's orders

#### DR. WILLIAM KEIL ESTABLISHES A SECOND COLONY -- THIS TIME IN OREGON TERRITORY

After spending two years living a lifestyle of "Christian Communism" in the Willapa Bay region  
(near today's Raymond, Washington)  
Dr. Keil with twenty-five colonists established a second settlement of his Bethelite followers  
on banks of Mill Creek twenty-eight miles south of Portland -- March 20, 1857  
Aurora, Oregon was named in honor of one of his daughters  
like Willapa Bay, this was an experiment in Christian communal living  
where all property was owned in common

#### BEN SNIPES DRIVES A HERD OF CATTLE TO CANADA

Ben Snipes had raised a beef herd of cattle of his own on his ranch  
located at the mouth of the Klickitat River  
there he sorted his herd of beef with the help of his Indian cowboy  
together they set out to drive 102 head of beef to Canada -- spring 1857  
Driving north with the herd Ben Snipes looked down into the Yakima River Valley  
he found himself gazing into what appeared to him to be a cattleman's paradise  
he wondered if anyone could ever conceive of there being enough cattle and horses  
to eat all of the grass on the wide expanse of hills and plains which lay before him  
this country seemed to be waiting for him to exploit it

#### FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DOES NOT ADEQUATELY FUND INDIAN SCHOOLS

Federal government funding for a school for Puget Sound Indians had been part  
of the [1855] Point Elliott Treaty written by Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens

but when money for a school was not provided the Catholic Church began their own school

**“Almost every treaty contained provisions for education, usually in the form of promising a teacher for the children of the tribes. Few people understood what this educational service would be when the treaties were negotiated, and when they did find out what the government had in mind many Indians resisted the program. In the first place, there was never any great amount of money available for schooling, and so on several of the reservations various churches operated mission schools with the approval of the government and some financial assistance from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The mixture of church and state was regarded as proper for those frontier conditions, but it resulted quite often in the banishment of Indian religious ceremonies as part of the education program. This practice only increased the antagonism of the older Indian people toward the white man’s religion and education.”<sup>198</sup>**

#### FATHER EUGENE CASIMIR CHIROUSE LEAVES OLYMPIA AND MOVES TO TULALIP

Father Chirouse had been serving the people of Olympia as their Catholic priest

he was assigned by the Catholic Church to oversee the Puget Sound Indians

Father Chirouse moved to the Tulalip Reservation -- 1857

there he established St. Anne’s Mission Church and day school

six Indian boys and five Indian girls attended the Catholic school

this was the first “contract school” for Native American children in Washington Territory

federal government provided annual funds to maintain the buildings

while the Catholic Church furnished books, clothing, housing and medical care

Father Chirouse was assisted by Father Paul Durieu

together they ministered throughout (what is now Snohomish, Island, Skagit, Whatcom and San Juan counties)

To assure that full cultural assimilation was acquired by the Indian children

St. Anne’s Day School, teachers and staff demanded Indian children give up “the old ways”

native ceremonies and customs were prohibited

being an Indian was cause for discipline

Father Chirouse mastered the Salish dialects

he created an English to Salish and Salish to English dictionary

he translated the scriptures, authored a grammar book and a catechism into Salish

however speaking Salish, even among the students themselves, was forbidden

Fathers Eugene Casimir Chirouse and Paul Durieu faced difficulties because the Tulalip Indians refused to give up hunting, fishing and gathering and take up farming

#### FATHER CASIMIR CHIROUSE OPENS A SCHOOL ON THE LUMMI RESERVATION

Father Chirouse was dedicated to providing an education and civilizing influence for Indian children

**“Bureau of Indian Affairs supervised the Lummis and provided schooling for [Lummi Indian children] through a contract with Father Chirouse, a Catholic missionary who established a school on**

---

<sup>198</sup> Vine Deloria, Jr., *Indians of the Pacific Northwest From the Coming of the White Man to the Present Day*, P. 65.

**the nearby Tulalip reservation: for a period of twenty-one years, this school was the only one available to the children of the Lummi tribe.”<sup>199</sup>**

#### MOUNT ST. HELENS ERUPTS

Some Indians of the Pacific Northwest called Mount St. Helens “Louwala-Clough” or “smoking mountain”

This volcanic peak’s modern name, Mount St. Helens, was given to it

by British Royal Navy seafarer and explorer Captain George Vancouver [1792]

who named it in honor of a fellow countryman, Alleyne Fitzherbert

who held the title Baron St. Helens and was at the time the British Ambassador to Spain

Local Indians and early settlers in then sparsely populated Washington Territory

witnessed an occasional violent outburst from the fairly young volcano (40,000 years old)

Mount St. Helens was particularly restless in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century

when it was intermittently active for at least a twenty-six-year span [from 1831 to 1857]

reported damage was minimal as the area was virtually uninterrupted wilderness

Steilacoom newspaper, the *Republican*, report Mt. St. Helens had erupted -- April 17, 1857

#### U.S. POST OFFICE CALLS FOR BIDS TO LINK CALIFORNIA WITH THE UNITED STATES

Through the (1840s) and (1850s) there was a desire for better communication

between the United States in the east and Pacific coast to the west

there were several proposals for transcontinental railroads connecting the two coasts

but a more immediate overland mail route to the west was need

Congress authorized the Postmaster General to contract for mail service from Missouri to California

U.S. Post Office Department advertised for bids for overland mail service --April 20, 1857

bidders were to propose routes from the Mississippi River westward

Post Office Department received nine bids

Postmaster General Walter Folger Brown was from Tennessee and favored a southern route,

because it could remain in operation during the (winter)

this became known as the “Oxbow Route”

John W. Butterfield and his associates William B. Dinsmore, William G. Fargo and others

created a proposal for a southern (or Oxbow Route) route with two starting points:

Memphis Tennessee and St. Louis, Missouri

both of these routes merged at Little Rock, Arkansas

from Little Rock the route traveled across the Rio Grande River, along a new road

being constructed under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior

to Fort Yuma, California and then to San Francisco

this route had the advantage of being snow free in (winter)

but the route was plagued by a scarcity of watering places and hostile Indians

#### AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE CAUSES OF THE INDIAN WARS IS UNDERTAKEN

---

<sup>199</sup> Vine Deloria, Jr., *Indians of the Pacific Northwest From the Coming of the White Man to the Present Day*, P. 100.

U.S. Treasury Department Special Agent J. Ross Browne arrived in Washington Territory -- May 1857

he conducted an investigation of the Indian Wars

his report exonerated the settlers from charges

they had started the Indian wars to gain access to the public treasury

he also dismissed the charge that making treaties provoked the uprisings

J. Ross Browne found the Donation Land Law had been an important source of trouble

Browne and James W. Nesmith, commander of the Oregon Volunteers, agreed

territorial government officials had not distinguished

between land the federal government held in trust as Indian reservations

and land that Indians had relinquished title to the federal government

pioneers had simply taken all of the land whether it was available for settlement or not

#### OREGON VOTERS RATIFY THE CALL FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Oregonians voted 7,209 to 1,616 in favor of a state Constitutional Convention -- June 1, 1857

sixty delegates were elected to attend the convention (to be held in August)

however, Congress had not passed enabling legislation to allow for the creation of a new state

thus invalidating the election

#### BEN SNIPES' CATTLE DRIVE TO CANADA CONTINUES

Snipes and his Indian friend drove Snipes' herd of 102 animals through dangerous ice-filled rivers and over mosquito-infested terrain which drove the cattle crazy

Snipes' herd crossed Okanogan Lake Country into Kamloops and Thompson River Country

Ben only lost a few head during the 800 miles of hardship they traveled

In the mining camps food was scarce -- especially beef -- Snipes' herd filled the hungry void

Ben sold his cattle at the flat rate of \$125 a head earning him more than \$12,000

half of the gold he received was his, the other belonged to his financial backer, John Jefferies  
young Ben Snipes had earned a fortune for his efforts

#### USS MASSACHUSETTS LEAVES THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

USS *Massachusetts* had served the Puget Sound region well during the [1856] Indian uprising

she had visit Victoria, New Caledonia (British Columbia) and shown the flag

to settlers and Indians alike

she had provided men and weapons to protect the settlers and their property

USS *Massachusetts* departed from Puget Sound bound for Mare Island, California

when she arrived there she was decommissioned -- June 17, 1857

#### CAMP SEMIAHMOO IS USED BY THE AMERICAN BOUNDARY SURVEY TEAM

Members of the British Commission to survey the international boundary were not present

when the Americans' Northwest Boundary Commission survey party led by Archibald Campbell

arrived in Victoria -- June 22, 1857

Archibald Campbell discussed the survey with British Captain James Prevost, of the *H.M.S. Satellite*

in a very general way

Campbell decided not to wait longer before beginning their task

United States Northwest Boundary Commission selected Camp Semiahmoo as their base of operation  
Camp Semiahmoo had previously been established across Semiahmoo Bay at White Rock  
at the mouth of the Campbell River

British Royal Engineers had been at Semiahmoo Bay but not to survey the boundary  
they had constructed some buildings there

American survey party took over Camp Semiahmoo which was on Canadian soil

Archibald Campbell thought this was an unimportant matter as it was only a temporary position  
this site, just north of the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel, contained a fresh water supply,  
and the Campbell River channel provided water access over the tide flats  
this base was used while the boundary was cleared of vegetation, surveyed and marked  
from Semiahmoo Bay to Sumas Flats

American Boundary Commission members camped among the remains of the earlier British camp  
on a little strip of open land near the mouth of the little Campbell River

close to one of the winter camps of the Semiahmoo natives  
local contractors constructed about a mile and three-quarters of good road  
along the shore of Semiahmoo Bay between the boundary and Camp Semiahmoo  
this became the basis of Beach Road to give access to the international boundary

#### AMERICAN PREPARATIONS TO SURVEY THE U.S.-CANADA BOUNDARY ARE COMPLETED

Route of the boundary line had to be hacked through the dense forest along 49° north latitude

Archibald Campbell and chief surveyor Lieutenant John G. Parke with their crew

prepared to start work at the extreme western point of the mainland portion of the 49th parallel  
on top of the cliff on Zero Avenue, Point Roberts, where the land drops sharply to the water  
there he erected an obelisk and returned to Camp Semiahmoo

Campbell's survey effort began (giving the Americans a year's head start over the British)  
as a result the Americans and British would work independently

each would make their own surveys working from a different camp

in this way they could, and did, confer, but neither would get in the way of the other

Lieutenant Parke intended to march over the Cascade Mountains and across the Continental Divide  
to the junction of Montana, Alberta and New Caledonia (British Columbia) boundaries

his line would meet another party surveying West from Lake of the Woods, Minnesota

#### AMERICAN EFFORT TO SURVEY THE INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY BEGINS

Lieutenant John G. Parke and his men left Camp Semiahmoo to begin their eastward trek -- June 1857

as a means of accomplishing this task it was determined to send a party ahead

to blaze a rough trail through dense vegetation and forests, and over streams and mountains

astronomers and surveyors would follow

astronomers would set up stations from which to make astronomical observations

while the surveyors were to trace the boundary line with a chain and compass survey

various materials such as rough iron posts, stone cairns, and wood posts set in earthen mounds

were used as markers to indicate the exact boundary line

a forty-foot-wide swath of cleared vegetation across the land would be a clear demarcation

(They had surveyed only ninety miles --1857)

endless effort was necessary to hack through the forests which seemed to make the task impossible  
they reached only as far as the upper Skagit River valley  
they were now entering the rugged Cascade Mountains)

#### U.S. POST OFFICE CONTRACTS TO DELIVER THE MAIL ACROSS THE CONTINENT

Butterfield Overland Stage Company won a six year contract for \$600,000 per year  
to deliver the mail twice weekly -- July 2, 1857

this was the first non-military attempt to establish regular east-west communications

it was the largest land-mail contract awarded in the U.S. to that time

Memphis Tennessee and St. Louis, Missouri were linked with San Francisco, California  
across the continent 2,700 miles away

#### FRASER CANYON GOLD ATTRACTS PROSPECTORS FROM WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Indians living in the Similkameen River region of New Caledonia (British Columbia)

sold 800 ounces of gold to various Hudson's Bay forts and prospectors

Similkameen River became the favored gold-seeking area overshadowing Fort Kamloops

Okanogan City became a flourishing mining camp with a population of nearly 3,000 gold-hungry men  
(after just three month, rumors of new gold finds to the North nearly emptied Okanogan City)

Many other villages besides Okanogan City experienced temporary growth

no less than 4,000 gold seeking prospectors had reached the distant New Caledonia hinterland  
shack towns of Barkerville and Cariboo sprang up

Vancouver's (B.C.) growth was stimulated by river traffic racing to the goldfields -- summer 1857

#### RUMORS OF GOLD DRAW AMERICANS TO THE FRASER RIVER GOLD FIELDS

Exciting talk of gold strikes raced around Oregon and Washington territories

and more gold seekers streamed across the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel into the New Caledonia mainland  
prospectors crowded into the Fort Colville region -- July 1857

Fort Colville increased in importance with the Fraser River gold rush

supplies bound for Fort Colville were shipped from Victoria, New Caledonia

Fort Colville became headquarters for the Hudson's Bay Company business

in the Inland Empire including the Okanogan, Kootenai and Flathead regions

Yale, New Caledonia in the Fraser River Canyon

was reputed to be the largest city west of Chicago and north of San Francisco

it also earned epithets such as **“the wickedest little settlement in British Columbia (sic)”**

and **“a veritable Sodom and Gomorrah”** of vice, violence and lawlessness

(Royal B.C. Museum and Archives)

#### BOOM IN STEAMBOAT SHIPPING TAKES PLACE

Removal of the threat of the Indians Wars saw a well-organized steamer service established

on the Cowlitz River and along the Columbia River between Portland and The Dalles -- 1857

Lower Columbia River routes included those from Portland to Astoria

and from Portland to the Lower Cascades where a choice was made between:

•Bradford brothers' Cascade Railway from the Lower Cascades village

along the Washington side of the Columbia River to the Upper Cascades village

- Ruckel and Olmstead's Oregon Portage Railway traveled the south side of the Columbia River from the lower landing to the upper landing

Mid-river routes between the rapids of the Cascades to Celilo Falls

ran between The Upper Cascades village and upper landing to The Dalles

using either the Cascade Railway Upper Cascades facilities

or the Oregon Portage Railway upper platform

Engines on the steamer Bradford brother's *Senorita* were too small to meet the steamer's needs

they were removed and placed in the new steamboat *Hassalo* (sometimes spelled Hassaloe)

which operated above the Cascades Rapids on the Middle Columbia River Route

#### ISAAC STEVENS IS ELECTED TERRITORIAL DELEGATE TO CONGRESS

Former Territorial Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens was elected Territorial Delegate to Congress

by a landslide vote of 986 to 549 (64%) -- July 13, 1857

Isaac Stevens was a pro-slavery Democrat who gave his loyalty to the Union

he worked diligently for the best interests of the territory

but in his first term as Territorial Delegate

Stevens was unable to secure passage of a bill for payment of the Indian War debt

in fact, none of the measures urged by him at this session were successful

Former Territorial Delegate to Democrat Congress J. Patton Anderson

was offered the appointment as the replacement for Governor Isaac Stevens but he declined

Anderson moved with his family to Florida where he managed the plantation of his wife's aunt

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY RECEIVES A NEW GOVERNOR

Fayette McMullin was appointed Washington Territorial Governor by President James Buchanan

(McMullen, a Democrat, will serve the territory for a two year term [1857-1859])

After the departure of former-Governor Isaac Stevens and awaiting the arrival of the new governor,

Territorial Secretary Charles H. Mason became Territorial Acting-Governor for the fourth time

this time he served for one month -- August (and September) 1857

President James Buchanan appointed James W. Nesmith as Superintendent of Indian Affairs

for both Washington and Oregon territories

Nesmith recommended Isaac Stevens' [1855] treaties be ratified by Congress without delay

#### BEN SNIPES RETURNS TOWARD THE YAKIMA VALLEY

Ben Snipes had found a market for beef by driving his cattle to the hungry miners in New Caledonia

on his return to The Dalles, Oregon Territory he crossed the "Horse Heaven Hills" Country

Ben Snipes is credited with naming the region

When he reached The Dalles, Ben Snipes paid off the debt to John Jefferies and ended their partnership

during his cattle drive to Canada he had discovered in the Yakima Valley

open rangeland to graze an almost limitless number of cattle

Ben Snipes had the glorious feeling that he was now alone in the cattle business

counting his remaining gold dust Ben Snipes decided that he had enough wealth for another drive

and enough money to move into the beautiful Yakima Valley to exploit it to his benefit

With uncommon financial nerve Ben invested in cattle to winter over in the Yakima Valley he took on two partners: John Golden and William Parrot (whose daughter he later married) using the money earned from the previous cattle drive and the sale of his Klickitat River claim Ben purchased the first cattle to be grazed in the Yakima Valley by whites

#### ATTACKS ARE UNDERTAKEN BY HAIDA INDIANS

(Band of Haida Indians from the Haida Gwaii (Queen Charlotte Islands) north of Vancouver Island had been employed by the Port Gamble Mill Company located at Teckalet, Washington Territory before they were chased off by the steamer USS *Massachusetts* [February 24, 1856]) these Haidas returned from north of Vancouver Island to conduct a raid on Whidbey Island in retaliation for the loss of twenty-seven of their warriors and a chief in the incident Haida code required they take the head of a white chief for loss of the Haida chief at Teckalet Colonel Isaac N. Ebey had always lived at peace with the Indians on Whidbey Island he, as the U.S. collector of customs, was the most prominent settler in that region he had been a colonel of the volunteer militia during the [1856] Indian war Haida Indians captured two sailing schooners and murdered the passengers and crews Haida warriors visited Whidbey Island and called Colonel Ebey to his door there they killed him and took his head to Haida Gwaii in retaliation -- August 11, 1857 U.S. Marshal George W. Corliss and his wife and children were visiting Whidbey Island they escaped the Indian attack but were murdered by the northern Indians at a later date (after a two-year hunt, Colonel Isaac N. Ebey's head was returned through the effort of Hudson Bay Company Chief Trader Charles Dodd Washington legislature officially thanked Dodd for recovering Ebey's head)

#### EBEY BLOCKHOUSE IS CONSTRUCTED ON WHIDBEY ISLAND

Whidbey Island settlers built four blockhouses with each at a corner of a stockade on Captain Isaac N. Ebey's claim -- 1857 (This surviving blockhouse has been restored and is part of the U.S. National Park Service Ebey Landing National Historic Reserve)

#### OREGON STATE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION TAKES PLACE

Acting on the Oregon Territory's Legislature's [December 12, 1856] vote to call for a Constitutional Convention sixty Constitutional Delegates were chosen from Oregon counties thirty-four of the delegates were farmers eighteen were lawyers -- including the three justices of the Oregon Territory court two of the delegates were newspaper editors, five were miners, one was a civil engineer these delegates divided into various committees: military, judicial, legislative and elections several people served the committees at different times as the chairperson Oregon Constitutional Convention was begun in Salem the third Monday of August -- August 17, 1857 officers were elected:

Matthew Deady, Oregon's distinguished pioneer attorney, served as president of the convention  
Chester N. Terry, Oregon Territorial Librarian, was elected secretary  
primary goals of the Convention included the creation of Oregon State  
and convincing the federal government to assume the debts generated by the Indian Wars  
Indiana State Constitution [1851] was used as a model for the Oregon Constitution  
proposed Oregon State Constitution's eighteen Articles were written  
by the Committee headed by Matthew Deady

this body deliberated for nearly a month as the issues for debate revolved around:

- writing liquor laws,
- identifying the boundaries of the new state,
  - a proposal was introduced to keep those boundaries which already existed  
with the exception the Walla Walla Valley which was to be added to Oregon,
- voting rights were also debated:
  - as in the Indiana Constitution it was proposed  
voting would be denied to "negro, Chinaman or mulatto" inhabitants  
women's suffrage was discussed but dismissed  
women were denied the right to vote
- questions regarding race relations were central and remained unresolved  
as in the nation as a whole, the issue of slavery was critical  
slavery was discussed but was not allowed to disrupt the proceedings,

Oregon Constitutional Convention delegates finally decided that the two most significant issues  
should be left to the voters in an election:

- should slavery be legal in the state of Oregon,
- should Free Negroes be allowed in the state of Oregon

Proposed Oregon State Constitution was conservative in the tradition of agricultural states  
it overburdened the few poorly-paid state officials with many varying duties

## DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN PASSES ON

(After retiring from the Hudson's Bay Company [1846]

Dr. McLoughlin moved his family south to Oregon City in the Willamette Valley  
he continued to live in his house and remained a prominent citizen of the Oregon Territory  
Oregon Country became part of the United States as Oregon Territory [1848]  
in his retirement McLoughlin sold food and farming tools to settlers at his Oregon City store  
McLoughlin was awarded the Order of St. Gregory by the Catholic Church  
this Knighthood was bestowed on him by Pope Gregory XVI  
Politically powerful opponents of Dr. John McLoughlin  
led by Oregon Territorial Delegate to Congress Samuel R. Thurston  
succeeded in inserting a clause into the [1850] Oregon Donation Land Law  
that forced him to forfeit his land claim in Oregon City  
although it was never enforced, it embittered the elderly Dr. McLoughlin  
McLoughlin served as mayor of Oregon City winning 44 of 66 votes [1851]  
Dr. John McLoughlin had lost his fortune fighting to keep his land claims in Oregon City  
he had become a lonely old man almost without a country

in this land to which he had devoted more than twenty years of his life)

Death came to the former Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor -- September 3, 1857

before the dispute and legal actions regarding his Oregon City land claims could be resolved

he was buried in the churchyard of St. John's Catholic Church in Oregon City

Dr. McLoughlin's honesty, leadership, foresight and prominence earned him an impressive legacy:

- State of Oregon released his forfeited property to his heirs [1862];
- Oregon Legislative Assembly [1905] renamed the 9,495 foot Mount Pitt in southern Oregon calling it Mount McLoughlin

United States Board of Geographic Names recognized that change [1912];

- Oregon Historical Society President Frederick V. Holman gave the following eulogy

at the dedication of the McLoughlin Institute at Oregon City: **"I shall merely mention that**

**conspirators against Dr. McLoughlin took for themselves parts of his land claim and, by means of malicious misstatements, caused Congress unjustly to deprive him of all the rest of his land claim, and thus humbled and humiliated and impoverished the grand, the noble, the generous Father of Oregon."**

**"I shall merely mention that his kind and humane treatment of these immigrants and others, by lying tongues, was made to appear as inspired by base and unworthy motives and to be to the great prejudice and damage of those he had so greatly assisted."**<sup>200</sup>

- McLoughlin's house in Oregon City was dedicated as a permanent memorial [1909]  
(today it is a museum -- part of the Fort Vancouver National Historic Site)
- state of Oregon donated a bronze statue of Dr. John McLoughlin  
to the U.S. Capitol's National Statuary Hall Collection in Washington D. C. [1953]  
(the other statue representing an Oregonian is that of Rev. Jason Lee)
- title "Father of Oregon" was officially bestowed on him by the Oregon Legislative Assembly  
on the centennial of his death [1957]
- other Oregon features named after McLoughlin include:
  - John McLoughlin Bridge
  - McLoughlin Boulevard, a major north-south link between Oregon City and Portland;
  - McLoughlin Elementary School in Oregon City;
  - McLoughlin Middle School in Milwaukie;
  - Camp McLoughlin, a Boy Scouts of America camp in southern Oregon

#### EFFORT TO BUILD THE WHATCOM TRAIL IS UNDERTAKEN

Plans had been in place [since January 1857] to cut a road from the settlement of Whatcom to the crossing on the Nooksack River just south of the international border at [today's Everson, Washington]

work on the Whatcom Trail was begun -- September 1857

Whatcom Trail route followed an old Indian trail called the Nook-sack Road  
it was named for the then-chief of the Nooksack people on Bellingham Bay  
armed with saws and axes men worked (through the winter months)

---

<sup>200</sup> Address of Frederick V. Holman, , *at the Dedication of the McLoughlin Institute at Oregon City*, October 6, 1907, *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Volume VIII March 1907-December 1907, P. 310.

Whatcom Trail wound through thick forests and around knolls  
it dipped and rose through wetlands and over creeks  
logs served as bridges and were laid down for corduroy road surfaces in swampy areas  
but the trail ended at the Nooksack River

#### BUTTERFIELD OVERLAND STAGE COMPANY BEGINS OPERATION

Butterfield Overland Stage Company held the transcontinental U.S. Mail contract for six years  
stage coaches departed from St. Louis and San Francisco for the first time -- September 15, 1857  
stage from San Francisco arrived in St. Louis twenty-three days and four hours later  
with the mail and six passengers  
scheduled time for the trip between the two points was twenty-five days  
(Butterfield Overland Stage Company made two trips a week for two-and-a-half years  
each Monday and Thursday morning the stagecoach would leave Tipton, Missouri  
and San Francisco, California on their trip across the continent  
they carried passengers, freight and up to 12,000 letters  
western fare one-way from Memphis or St. Louis to the Golden Gate was \$200  
most stage coaches arrived at their final destination twenty-two days later  
Butterfield Overland Stage Company had more than 800 people in its employ  
139 relay stations were maintained to accommodate 1,800 head of stock  
and to provide food and overnight accommodations for passengers and freight  
250 Concord Stagecoaches were in service at one time

#### OREGON EXPRESS COMPANIES EXPAND TO LINK OREGON WITH CALIFORNIA

Stimulated by the need to expand United States mail service and the prospect of carrying gold  
A.B. Stuart's Stuart and Company Express added express stops at Champoeg, Salem, Albany  
and Corvallis to its Oregon to California route -- 1857  
Tracy and Company Express was the biggest competitor for Stuart and Company in the Northwest  
E.W. Tracy, proprietor, offered regular service to Fort Vancouver, Cascades, The Dalles,  
Walla Walla, Colville, Oregon City, Salem, Albany, Corvallis, Dayton, Butteville, Champoeg,  
and Eugene City thus tying Washington Territory with California and the United States  
A third company, Levingson and Company's Express, served such places as  
Butteville, Fairfield, Independence, Thurston, Dayton, Eugene City, and Lafayette  
bringing express service to additional settlements in Oregon Territory

#### TWO WASHINGTON EXPRESS COMPANIES BEGIN TO PROVIDE SERVICE

Several Oregon express companies had their head offices in Portland  
but three Washington companies maintained their headquarters in Olympia:  
•Webber and Slater's Express  
•Johnson's Express  
•Smith's Express carried local packages between Olympia and Alki Point on Puget Sound

#### OREGON PORTAGE RAILWAY UNDERGOES MORE IMPROVEMENTS

Colonel Joseph S. Ruckel and Harrison Olmstead negotiated deals with adjacent property owners

John Tanner and John Chipman

Tanner sold the right-of-way across his land for use as a through railway  
and an accompanying wagon road

Chipman entered into a lease for the use of his land -- September 1857

from the landing place of the steamer *Wasco* across their land to its most western point  
for a term of fifty years at \$50.00 per year

Oregon Portage Railway became the Oregon Transportation Line

ownership of the Oregon Transportation Line remained in Ruckel and Olmstead hands

this assured they maintained full control of the portage route on the Oregon side of the Columbia

Ruckel and Olmstead next wasted no time in capitalizing their Oregon Transportation Line

using their Oregon Portage Railway route along the south side of the Columbia River

combined with their steamboats *Fashion* and *Wasco* as a source of revenue

major improvements were made on the portage railway

Portland civil engineer John Brazee directed the grading of the road

he extended the route between the lower and upper landing using a great deal of bridging

After improvements the Oregon Transportation Line operated in a manner

similar to the Bradfords' Cascade Railway on the Washington side of the Columbia River

#### NEW TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR ARRIVES IN WASHINGTON

Governor Fayette McMullan was a Democrat appointed by President James Buchanan

he had been a Virginia state senator and served as a Virginia congressman

he was a staunch Southern Democrat with friends in high places

who saw to it that their political positions received all of the momentum possible

he was twice a delegate to the Democratic National Convention [1852 and 1856]

however, his lack of political weight reflected the remoteness of Washington Territory

in distance, influence and concern in the view of eastern political leaders

Territorial Governor McMullan arrived in the territory -- September 1857

his main reason for coming to Washington seemed to be to acquire a divorce

at the time divorces were granted only by an act of state and territorial legislatures

enabling legislation was quickly introduced and passed in the territorial legislature

Governor Fayette McMullan's divorce was granted

#### OREGON STATE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION COMES TO AN END

After thirty-one days convention delegates voted on a proposed

Oregon State constitution -- September 18, 185

results demonstrated the political split within the sixty delegates:

- those for the proposed constitution -- thirty-five,
- those opposed -- ten,
- those absent and not voting -- fifteen

Although no enabling legislation had been passed by Congress

this proposed State Constitution was to be submitted to the voters

at a special election scheduled for [November 9, 1857]

also to be elected were county officials, members of the new state legislature, a new congressman

and officials for the new state of Oregon  
new State Senators were then to elect two National Senators to send to Congress  
of course, these plans were based on the assumption that Congress  
would already have ratified Oregon's proposed constitution

## PROGRESS AT BELLINGHAM BAY

Early beginnings of settlement along the shore of Bellingham Bay had been positive:

- village of Whatcom centered around a sawmill on Whatcom Creek [December 1852],
- village of Bellingham began above the location of the Sehome Coal Mine [January 1853],
- village of Fairhaven sprung up around the claim of John Thomas on Padden Creek  
he and his hired man, Dan Harris, began building a cabin [January 1853],
- Whatcom County was created by the Washington Territory legislature [March 9, 1854]  
this was quite a large county (consisting of today's Whatcom, Island and Skagit counties),
- village of Sehome started because of Pattle's Coal Mine at that location [June 1854]

Since [1854] progress had been slow along the shore of Bellingham Bay

schooner *H.C. Page* made a few unscheduled trips from Bellingham Bay to south Puget Sound

William R. "Blanket Bill" Jarman provided irregular mail service to the community

in a canoe manned by nine Indian paddlers

"Blanket Bill" was a man of tall tales who made many (unsubstantiated) claims to adventure

such as his nickname which he reported he received when Hudson's Bay Company

paid a ransom of fifty-two blankets for his release

from captivity by Nootka Sound Indians [sometime about 1846]

or it may have come his habit of wearing Hudson's Bay Company blankets

sewn by his Indian wife Mary

Plans had been in place [since January 1857] to cut a road from the settlement of Whatcom

to the crossing on the Nooksack River just south of the international border

at [today's Everson, Washington]

work on the Whatcom Trail was begun -- September 1857

Whatcom Trail route followed an old Indian trail called the Nook-sack Road

it was named for the then-chief of the Nooksack people on Bellingham Bay

armed with saws and axes men worked (through the winter months)

Whatcom Trail wound through thick forests and around knolls

it dipped and rose through wetlands and over creeks

logs served as bridges and were laid down for corduroy road surfaces in swampy areas

but the trail ended at the Nooksack River

## OREGON TRANSPORTATION LINE

Cascade Railway's Daniel F. Bradford and his brother Putnam became alarmed

by the improvements they saw made by Colonel Joseph S. Ruckel and Harrison Olmstead

to the rival Oregon Transportation Line across the Columbia River

Bradford brothers made overtures for a combination of their two companies -- November 1857

rival companies conducted a truce

steamer *Mountain Buck* took the place of the *Senorita*

*Senorita* was withdrawn below the Cascades  
steamboat *Wasco* was laid off  
Profits from the use of the Bradfords' Cascade Railway were to be equally divided  
Colonel Joseph S. Ruckel and Harrison Olmstead Oregon portage was closed  
(this arrangement lasted less than a year when the Oregon Transportation Line was again opened)

## PROPOSED OREGON STATE CONSTITUTION IS SUBMITTED TO THE VOTERS

An election was held on the proposed state constitution submitted by the constitutional convention  
although Congress had not authorized the creation of Oregon State  
in the question of ratification of the state constitution 10,410 votes were cast -- November 9, 1857  
for the constitution -- 7,195  
against the constitution -- 3,215  
voters approved the document which was to serve as a state constitution  
whenever statehood arrived

In addition to approving a proposed state constitution voters also elected a full slate of officers  
officials for the new state of Oregon were elected:

Territorial Governor John Whiteaker was elected "state governor"

Territorial Secretary of State Lucien Heath

and Treasurer J.D. Boon were each elected to "state" office

Lafayette Grover had taken a leading role in the rogue state convention's deliberations

he had served as chairman of the Committee on the Bill of Rights

as well as other significant committees during the rogue state convention

he was elected as the first "State Representative to Congress"

however since the state of Oregon did not exist their positions were in title only  
county officials and members of the new state legislature were elected

none of whom who could take office until statehood arrived

results of the election of state officers yielded a mixed victory

for the "hard" anti-slavery Democrat Salem Clique

however, some legislative seats went to the "soft" or pro-slavery National Democrats

Regarding the questions of slavery in Oregon 10,412 votes were cast

slavery was rejected in the new state: 2,645 to 7,727

Free Negroes were disallowed in the state: 8,640 to 1,081

these election results clearly demonstrated a strong Southern element in the territory

especially in Lane and Jackson counties

but it also demonstrated the overwhelming strength of the Democratic Party

Oregon voters had used Popular Sovereignty to decide the issue of slavery locally

without authority from Congress

After the passage of the Oregon Constitution by the voters a delegation was sent to Washington City  
to press for statehood

Now the final decision rested with the Congress of the United States

Oregon waited on Congress to accept the constitution and approve admission

## OREGON AND WASHINGTON DELEGATES TO CONGRESS TEAM UP

Although both Washington and Oregon Territorial Delegates had been territorial governors at home now Isaac Stevens and Joe Lane were non-voting Delegates to Congress they joined forces and together campaigned persistently to guide an Oregon statehood bill Due to the ongoing divisive sectional debates over slavery in the country and because of clouded congressional thinking as the nation approached the American Civil War United States Senate did not pass legislation to admit Oregon into the Union

#### ISAAC STEVENS' REPORT ON ROUTES ACROSS AMERICA RESURFACES

Then-Governor Stevens had submitted his multi-volume report *Pacific Railroad Survey* [1853-1855] to the War Department where it languished for two years Stevens, now the newly elected nonvoting representative from Washington Territory arrived in Washington City where he resurrected the report -- fall 1857 he lobbied successfully to have the War Department endorse a wagon route Congress was to fund it and U.S. Army Captain John Mullan was to lead the construction project

#### NEW DUNGENESS LIGHTHOUSE IS BUILT

New Dungeness Spit (located near today's Sequim) is so low in the water that sailors are virtually upon it before realizing it is there sailors also faced the danger of frequent fogs in the area first warning signal to be installed was a bell New Dungeness light was displayed for the first time -- December 14, 1857 it was the first to be lit in the Strait of Juan de Fuca and Puget Sound regions originally it was one hundred feet tall (it is now nine feet shorter)

#### NEW EVIDENCE RELATING TO CHIEF LESCHI'S TRIAL SURFACES

During Leschi's appeal, Puget Sound Agricultural Company Superintendent Dr. William Tolmie, Lieutenant August Kautz U.S. Fourth Infantry who was married to Leschi's niece and Express Rider William Tidd surveyed the prairie where Abram Benton Moses was killed they constructed a map showing precisely why Leschi could not have been seen at both the Indian encampment and a mile down the road at the ambush site within the time allotted as Antonio Rabbeson testified

#### TERRITORIAL SUPREME COURT REFUSES TO HEAR THE APPEAL OF CHIEF LESCHI

Territorial Supreme Court refused to hear the new evidence since the map was completed after Leschi was convicted in the second trial, justices limited their rulings only to the actions of the lower court Territorial Justice O.B. McFadden, the only member of the Territorial Supreme Court who had not previously tried Leschi and found him guilty, wrote: **"The case comes before us on a writ of error to the Second Judicial District. The prisoner has occupied a position of influence, as one of a band of Indians, who, in connection with other tribes, sacrificed the lives of so many of our citizens, in the war so cruelly waged against our people on the waters of Puget Sound.**

**“It speaks volumes for our people that, notwithstanding the spirit of indignation and revenge, so natural to the human heart, incited by the ruthless massacre of their families, that at the trial of the accused deliberate impartiality has been manifested at every stage of the proceedings.”<sup>201</sup>**

Territorial Supreme Court sustained the jury’s verdict that Leschi was guilty  
but granted a stay of execution until a sentencing hearing could be held

#### CHIEF LESCHI IS RE-SENTENCED TO HANG

Prisoner was brought before Chief Justice Edward Lander in Olympia -- December 18, 1857

Leschi was asked if he had anything to say before sentence was passed

Leschi spoke to the court: **“I do not see that there is any use of saying anything. My attorney had said all he could for me. I do not know anything about your laws. I have supposed that the killing of armed men in war time was not murder; if it was, the soldiers who killed Indians are guilty of murder too. The Indians did not keep in order like the soldiers and therefore could not fight in bodies like them, but had to resort to ambush and seek the cover of trees, logs, and everything that would hide them from bullets. This was their mode of fighting and they knew no other.**

**“I went to war because I believed that the Indians had been wronged by the white men, and did everything in my power to beat the Boston soldiers, but for lack of numbers, supplies, and ammunition I have failed.**

**“I deny that I had any part in the killing... . As God sees me, this is the truth.”<sup>202</sup>**

Chief Justice Lander sentenced Leschi to hang and set the execution date as [January 22, 1858]

At any time Governor Isaac Stevens could have pardoned Leschi but he chose not to

even though a recent change in the location of the Nisqually reservation as Leschi had demanded  
essentially vindicated the chief

unfortunately, local politics complicated the situation

Department of the Pacific Commander General John E. Wool was holding  
former Governor Stevens and his volunteers accountable for the Indian war  
Stevens used Leschi as his scapegoat

#### ADDITIONAL GOLD DISCOVERIES GENERATE A RACE TO THE GOLD FIELDS

Okanogan City became a flourishing mining camp with a population of nearly 3,000

(after a three month rumors of new gold finds to the North nearly emptied Okanogan City)

Many other villages besides Okanogan City experienced temporary growth

no less than 4,000 gold-hungry prospectors had reached the distant New Caledonia hinterland  
shack towns of Barkerville and Cariboo sprang up

Vancouver’s (B.C.) growth was stimulated by river traffic into the gold fields --1857

#### LOCAL INDIANS SUFFER AT THE HANDS OF MINERS SEARCHING FOR GOLD

As the miners rapidly increased in numbers they drove the Nlaka’pamux natives

living the Fraser Canyon living upriver of Yale from the gold producing areas

because they were taking gold from their land -- late 1857

---

<sup>201</sup> Leschi v. Washington Territory, 1 Wash. Terr. 13 (December 1857)

<sup>202</sup> Charles Wilkinson, *Messages From Frank’s Landing: A Story of Salmon, Treaties, and the Indian Way*, P. 15-18.

Colonel George Wright led three companies of U.S. Ninth Infantry stationed at Fort Dalles

Colonel Wright had anticipated the Interior Indians would remain friendly

he was wrong as repeated clashes with Colville miners occurred

Royal Governor of Vancouver Island James Douglas wrote letters to the British Colonial Office

he expressed his concerns that gold seekers would try attack the Nlaka'pamux natives

Douglas urged the British government to take steps to establish its presence and authority

in the Fraser River Canyon

#### INDIAN AGGRESSION CONTINUES IN EASTERN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Exciting talk of gold strikes raced around Oregon and Washington territories

and more miners crowded into the Colville region

Colonel George Wright, U.S. Ninth Infantry, had anticipated the Interior Indians would remain friendly

he was wrong as repeated clashes with Colville miners occurred

Finally a group of prospectors petitioned for troops to provide them protection -- late 1857

Wright decided that Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe, in charge of the new Fort Walla Walla,

would march north as a show of force and to offer some sage advice

to the threatening natives [spring 1858]

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY OFFICIALS BLAME THE BRITISH FOR THE ATTACKS

Washington Territory officials suspected British Hudson's Bay Company agents

were encouraging Indian attacks east of the Cascade Mountains

in order to keep Americans out of the region so Britain would gain control

of the gold discoveries along the upper Columbia River in New Caledonia

Finally a group of Colville prospectors petitioned the administration of Washington Territory

for troops to provide them protection -- late 1857

#### ROYAL GOVERNOR OF VANCOUVER ISLAND JAMES DOUGLAS IS VERY CONCERNED

Royal Governor James Douglas, the Black Scot and former Fort Vancouver Chief Factor,

feared the invading Americans would settle the region belonging to Hudson's Bay Company

United States could eventually annex Vancouver Island and New Caledonia

just as they had Oregon Territory and Washington Territory

Governor Douglas also worried that the invaders would not respect British laws and institutions

and he would have no military means to uphold either

mining regulations and policing were needed

Because stopping the gold stampede was impossible, Royal Governor Douglas tried to regulate it

to keep some sort of check on the invading miners Vancouver Island Royal Governor

James Douglas boldly exceeded his authority again

he issued proclamations stating that all mineral deposits on the mainland

belonged to the Crown and could be mined only under license -- January 1858

U.S. miners wanting to ascend the Fraser River would have to register at Victoria and pay a fee

these licenses for the privilege of digging gold on British soil

cost twenty-one shillings (about \$5.00) per month

and were obtainable only at Victoria -- a sleepy little English village of about 500 people

moreover, any watercraft operating in British waters, even a canoe,  
would have to be licensed at a rate of six to twelve dollars per month  
such restrictions were not enough to discourage gold seekers  
although vigorous protests and evasions were undertaken

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE MEETS IN REGULAR SESSION

Regular session of the Washington Territory legislature opened -- January 19, 1858  
members adopted a joint resolution vindicating Isaac Stevens' actions as Governor  
particularly regarding his decision to impose martial law  
Congress was asked to ratify Stevens' [1855-1856] treaties with the Indians  
former Department of the Pacific Commander General John E. Wool  
was roundly censured for his attitude toward the civil authorities  
and his failure to use the volunteer militia members to protect the settlers  
Former Territorial Governor now Washington Territorial Delegate to Congress Isaac Ingalls Stevens  
had recommended a university be located in Washington Territory [1854]  
several communities vied for the school because of the prestige and the income it represented  
territorial legislature initially chartered two universities, one in Seattle and one on Cowlitz Prairie  
but later repealed its decision in favor of a single university in Lewis County  
provided locally donated land could be found -- 1858 (this law was repealed two years later)

#### SCHEME TO STOP THE EXECUTION OF CHIEF LESCHI SURFACES

On the day before Chief Leschi was to hang, prominent local attorney Frank Clark  
developed an elaborate plan to save the chief  
Pierce County Sheriff George Williams and his deputy C. McDaniel  
refused to hang Chief Leschi  
an Indian appeared before Justice of the Peace James M. Bachelder  
in Steilacoom -- January 21, 1858  
he complained that Pierce County Sheriff George Williams and his deputy C. McDaniel,  
who were to conduct the hanging, were selling liquor to the Indians  
Justice of the Peace Bachelder issued a warrant for the arrest of Sheriff Williams  
acting U.S. Marshall approached the sheriff with an arrest warrant  
rather than carry out the execution Sheriff Williams allowed himself to be arrested  
by sympathetic members of the United States Army

#### EXECUTION DAY CAME AND WENT

Pierce County Sheriff George Williams from his jail cell refused to turn Chief Leschi's death warrant  
over to anyone else  
Before the day was out, mass public meetings were held in Olympia and around the region  
deploring the delay of the execution  
citizens passed resolutions protesting Pierce County Sheriff George Williams' treachery  
Day of execution passed with no hanging -- January 27, 1858

#### SPOKANE COUNTY CREATED BY AN ACT OF THE TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE

Washington Territory' Legislature passed a law to organize Spokane County -- January 29, 1858  
however the county government remained unstructured [until 1860]  
(Spokane County will cease to exist when it was annexed  
into Stevens County [January 19, 1864] and was re-created on [October 30, 1879])

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL LEGISLATORS TAKE UP THE CHIEF LESCHI SITUATION

Still in regular session legislators rushed through a bill calling the Territorial Supreme Court  
into session to resolve the legal issues surrounding Chief Leschi's execution -- February 3, 1858

#### TERRITORIAL SUPREME COURT MEETS TO DISCUSS CHIEF LESCHI

Final motions from the defense to delay or dismiss the execution were rejected  
by the Washington Territory Supreme Court Justices Francis Chenoweth  
and O.B. McFadden -- February 4, 1858  
death by hanging was again imposed on Chief Leschi (for the third time)  
new execution date of [February 19, 1858] was set by Justice Chenoweth  
because of the arrest of Pierce County Sheriff George Williams  
Thurston County Sheriff Isaac Hays was to carry out the execution  
Washington Territorial Governor Fayette McMullen refused to grant clemency  
Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey, the commander at Fort Steilacoom, believed Chief Leschi  
was a military combatant acting under the rules of war -- not a murderer  
Casey refused to allow the execution to take place on the military reservation

#### NISQUALLY CHIEF LESCHI IS EXECUTED

Gallows was located about a mile east of Fort Steilacoom  
a platform six feet in the air was constructed with a trapdoor cut in the floor  
a noose was hung from beams set across two six-by-six timbers twenty feet high  
Thurston County Sheriff Isaac Hays who was to carry out the execution left the territory  
Thurston County Deputy Sheriff William Mitchell was assigned to carry out the execution  
Charles Grainger of Olympia served as hangman  
Chief Leschi had been held in public view in the rundown guardhouse at Fort Steilacoom  
where he was chained hand and foot  
Leschi was escorted to the gallows by French-Canadian Catholic missionary Father Louis Rossi  
and a dozen deputies -- February 19, 1858

Ezra Meeker later noted, **“The editor of Olympia’s *Pioneer and Democrat* [James Wiley], always ready for an adventure, accompanied the Deputy Sheriff as one of the deputies to witness the execution, and wrote some facts and drew on his imagination to make a long newspaper article. The salient points contained in his article are in the brief description of the scene immediately preceding the execution.**

**He wrote: ‘Arriving at the place of execution, we found the gallows erected in a low gulch in the prairie. Here the unhappy man was assisted in dismounting and immediately led to the scaffold. At the foot of the ladder, looking up to the rope which hung suspended, with it sliding noose, he hesitated for a moment; but instantly collecting himself, he ascended with a firm step, as if he desired to show the white men how fearlessly an Indian can meet death. The prisoner evincing (clearly**

displaying) no desire to speak or make a confession, his arms were secured behind him, when, perceiving his life was drawing to a close, he bowed himself to the spectators, and for the space of some ten for fifteen minutes engaged in fervent prayer; and (in the jargon of the country), that he ‘would soon meet his Maker: that he had made his peace with God, and desired to live no longer; that he bore no malice to none save one man [Antonio Rabbeson who testified to Leschi’s guilt], and upon whom he evoked the vengeance of heaven. Having concluded, the rope was adjusted, the cap drawn over his eyes, and at 35 minutes past eleven o’clock the drop fell, and Leschi, the brave in battle, was launched into eternity without having moved a muscle to indicate fear of death (by hanging) so dreadful to an Indian. He made no disclosures whatever and proved ‘as true as the needle to the pole’ to his confederates’.”<sup>203</sup>

Charles Grainger who served as hangman later said, “...I had had charge of Leschi for two weeks before he was taken to Steilacoom. He was cool as could be -- just like he was going to dinner. I used to take his handcuffs off and let him eat. On the scaffold he thanked me for my kindnesses to him. He said that people had lied about him and had given false evidence. I asked him if he wished to say anything further. He said again that he was not guilty; that [Antonio] Rabbeson had lied when he said he saw him in the swamp, and that he would meet him before his God and he would tell him there he lied. H said he was miles away when (Colonel Abram Benton) Moses was killed. He said he would not be the first man that lost his life on false evidence. If he was dying for his people he was willing to die; that Christ died for others.

“After he made his speech he turned and thanked me again for my kindness to him while a prisoner under my care, and said that he had nothing more to say and that he was ready. He died without a struggle.

“It seems to me he talked for fifteen minutes, but spoke very deliberate and slow; but he made very few gestures while speaking and had a dignified way that made a lasting impression on my mind.

“He did not seem to be the least bit excited at all, and no trembling on him at all -- nothing of the kind, and that is more than I could say for myself. In fact, Leschi seemed to be the coolest of any on the scaffold. He was in good flesh and had a firm step and mounted the scaffold without assistance, and as well as I did myself. I felt then I was hanging an innocent man and believe it yet.”

“There was a large crowd to witness the execution, but no women and but few Indians. Not a word was said, and no demonstrations whatever.

“Dan Mounts, who was the agent at the Nisqually reservation, came with a two-horse rig to get the body. The Indians took him down very tenderly and put him in a box and kept the body for three days, but would not bury him in the same box.”<sup>204</sup>

(A monument stands at the execution site located today in a shopping center parking lot off Steilacoom Boulevard near Western State Hospital):

**LESCHI**  
**Chief of the Nisquallies**  
**Martyr to the Vengeance**  
**of the unforgiving white man**

---

<sup>203</sup> Ezra Meeker. *Pioneer Reminiscences of Puget Sound: The Tragedy of Leschi*, P. 452-453.

<sup>204</sup> Ezra Meeker, *Pioneer Reminiscences of Puget Sound: The Tragedy of Leschi*, P. 452-453.

**was Hanged  
300 yards S.E. from here**

Chief Leschi was buried by Indian friends in a secluded spot under some trees

(Leschi was reburied [July 4, 1895] on tribal land

in a ceremony attended by about a thousand people

Ezra Meeker, who had voted to acquit Leschi,

chartered a train to escort white Tacomans to the ceremony

according to Alexandra Harmon in *Indians in the Making*, Meeker thought Leschi

was **“a patriotic martyr to [Governor Isaac] Steven's political ambition  
and ill-conceived policies.”**<sup>205</sup>

Chief Leschi was reburied again in the Puyallup Tribal cemetery [1917]

near the brow of a wooded hill overlooking Puyallup River)

a large tombstone identifies Leschi as **“An Arbitrator Of His People”**

and contains the inscription: **“Judicially murdered, February 19, 1858, owing to  
misunderstanding of Treaty of 1854-55. Serving his people by his death. Sacrificed to a principle. A  
martyr to liberty, honor and the rights of people of his native land. Erected by those he died to  
serve.”**

**“Leschi died manfully, without fear or faltering, had his last words calmly given, but put to  
shame, if they have any feelings, those who have persecuted him and sought his death.”**

(CHIEF LESCHI IS VINDICATED)

(Washington State Senate Honored Chief Leschi with a resolution [March 4, 2004]:

**“... That the Senate recognize the injustice which occurred in 1858 with the trial and  
execution of Chief Leschi and reaffirm the commitment to a legal system under which a fair trial is  
the right of everyone regardless of race or creed; and**

**“BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Senate recognize Chief Leschi as a courageous  
leader whose sacrifice for his people is worthy of honor and respect and that the residents of the  
State of Washington solemnly remember Chief Leschi as a great and noble man; and**

**“BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Senate join with those who hope that the Nisqually  
Tribe is successful in its efforts to right a gross injustice through a vacation of his conviction by the  
Washington Supreme Court ...”** Washington State Senate Resolution 8727

Washington State House of Representatives passed an identical resolution [March 2004])

(CHIEF LESCHI IS EXONERATED)

(A special historical court consisting of seven present and former justices of the State Supreme Court  
convened in Pierce County, Washington [December 10, 2004]

Washington State Supreme Court justice Gerry Alexander announced the decision:

**“We have unanimously concluded ... that on October 31, 1855 ... a state of war existed  
between the federal Territory of Washington and several Indian tribes, including the Nisqually  
Indian Tribe. A.B. (Abram Benton) Moses was a combatant in that war as a member of the  
Territorial Militia, and...his death occurred in this war, and therefore Chief Leschi should not, as a**

---

<sup>205</sup> HistoryLink.org Staff, July 03, 2003, Essay 5480

**matter of law, have been tried for the crime of murder. Therefore, because that is the case, the historical court would exonerate Chief Leschi.”<sup>206</sup>**

this ruling, while having no legal status, was considered a definitive trial in absentia that provided closure for the Nisqually people, who fought for years to clear the name of their legendary chief

Today, a Seattle neighborhood and a Puyallup school bear Chief Leschi’s name)

## SECOND LIBRARY OPENS IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Washington Territory’s first library opened in Olympia [1853]

Steilacoom Library Association opened the second library -- February 1858

this was considered semi-public -- \$5.00 membership fee and 25¢ a month regular dues  
reading room provided

library board scheduled lectures and debates

## LIEUTENANT JOHN MULLAN IS ORDERED TO BUILD A MILITARY ROAD TO THE WEST

Indian wars were responsible for the request for troops and military posts in the Far West

troops could not be transported without military roads

Congress had appropriated \$30,000 for the 624 mile project

that had been requested by Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens [1854]

this road would connect the Columbia River with the Missouri River

Long-delayed road building project was finally entrusted to Second Artillery Lieutenant John Mullan

Lieutenant Mullan was a West Point graduate [Class of 1852]

he had assisted Governor Isaac Stevens in his earlier transcontinental railroad survey effort

Mullan received orders to proceed from Washington City to Fort Dalles, Oregon Territory -- 1858

he was to lead a survey party and prepare preliminary work to build a military road

through the northwest wilderness from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Benton (Montana)

he was ordered to begin operations as soon as he could

Lieutenant John Mullan sailed from the east coast bound for Fort Dalles to organize his expedition

no one even bothered to notify the Indians -- their only source of information was rumor

## INDIANS ATTACK A MORMON SETTLEMENT IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Approximately 250 Bannocks and a handful of Shoshones swept down

on the Mormon settlement at Fort Lemhi some nineteen miles southeast

of (present-day Salmon, Idaho) -- midmorning February 25, 1858

Fort Lemhi raid isolated sixty-nine white settlers over 300 miles from the Salt Lake Valley

thirty-nine men, seventeen women and thirteen children fearfully huddled together

in a log stockade built to house a third that number

In additional scattered attacks Indians killed two missionaries, wounded five others

and seized thirty or more horses and almost all of the colony’s nearly three hundred cattle

attackers met little resistance and suffered no known casualties

These attacks eliminated the possibility of moving Mormon settlement north of the Salt Lake Valley

---

<sup>206</sup> Lisa Blee, *Framing Chief Leschi: Narratives and the Politics of Historical Justice*.

## MILITARY ROAD PROJECT WAS TO LINK THE MIDWEST AND THE FAR WEST CONTINUES

(Since [1853] West Point graduate and U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Lieutenant John Mullan had worked on surveying a road through the Bitterroot Range of the Rocky Mountains when not carrying out other assignments)

Lieutenant Mullan's Military Road would serve three purposes:

- facilitate troop movements to provide military protection for Eastern Washington,
- assist immigrants into the west,
- assist in building the transcontinental railroad if the Northern route was selected

There were three possible routes west of Hell's Gate, Washington Territory (now Montana):

- Lolo Trail over terrain that was, in fact, too difficult;
- route by way of Clark Fork River and Pend d'Oreille Lake  
this route also proved to be impracticable -- floods occurred while it was being explored;  
(however, this route was later chosen for Northern Pacific Railroad)
- third route crossed the St. Regis Valley and St. Ignatius (now Coeur d'Alene) Valley

## YAKIMA CHIEF KAMIAKIN MAINTAINS RELATIONS WITH HIS INDIAN ALLIES

For two years Yakima Indians had lived in exile among the Palouse, Spokane and Coeur d'Alene Indians

Chief Kamiakin wily chieftain and conspirator was the ablest Indian general west of the Rockies he incited the Indians against any United States military attempt to enter their lands

he told his allies the United States government planned to seize their land

as proof Kamiakin said military excursions would be sent to investigate Indians' readiness

## ADDITIONAL GOLD DISCOVERIES ARE MADE ON THE FRASER RIVER

L.T. Hill and five other former California prospectors discovered placer (picking gold off the ground) flakes and nuggets in paying quantity

their find was located on a sandbar in the Fraser River known thereafter as Hill's Bar

about nine miles south (of present-day Yale, British Columbia) -- March 1858

this became the longest-worked gravel bar on the lower Fraser River

When one of Hill's men returned to Puget Sound for supplies the news of the find got out

*Olympia Pioneer and Democrat* wrote the first news article about the discovery -- March 5, 1858

immediately it was supposed the region would prove to be very rich

Kamloops and Colville now had a rival

## FRASER RIVER GOLD STAMPEDE TAKES PLACE

Thanks to the discovery of L.T. Hill and his five prospectors

Washingtonians and Oregonians were among the first to reach the new diggings

gold seekers explored the Fraser River to its confluence with the Thompson River

(in the vicinity of today's Lytton, British Columbia)

hoards of prospectors steadily moved north looking for riches

they searched up the Thompson River to the confluence with the Nicomen River

Mining camps grew in a few months to towns of several thousand people

sometimes they disappeared just as rapidly when richer diggings opened elsewhere  
or water for washing gold dried up

#### JEFFERSON DAVIS CONSIDERS THE TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD

Secretary of State made a report to Congress regarding the transcontinental railroad route -- 1858

he commented: **“With all due respect to my associates, I must say the location of this road will be a political question. It should be a question of engineering, a commercial question, a governmental question -- not a question of partisan advantage or of sectional success in a struggle between parties and sections.”**<sup>207</sup>

In fact, as Davis knew would happen, nobody paid attention to the engineers’ reports  
most especially Southern Democrat Jefferson Davis

#### NEW FORT WALLA WALLA IS COMPLETED

Third post to use the name Fort Walla was completed -- March 18, 1858

this new fort was more extensive than the original two Fort Walla Wallas  
it featured officers’ quarters and troop barracks

Fort Walla Walla grew become a 640-acre military reservation

it held sixty buildings (by the end of the nineteenth century) which included  
commanding officer’s quarters, five sets of duplex officer’s quarters,  
two large barracks for troop, stables, blacksmith's shop, granary and a saw mill  
fifteen of the original structures [built 1857-1906] remain

in addition to the Ninth Infantry, portions of the Fourth Infantry and First Dragoons (cavalry)  
were stationed here as were the famous “Buffalo Soldiers” [1902-1904]

(Despite multiple attempts over the years to close the facility Fort Walla Walla remained active  
until its official abandonment [March 31, 1911]

it had a brief revival during World War I, before being turned over to the Veterans Bureau  
it survives today as the Jonathan Wainwright Memorial VA Medical Center)

#### GOLD HUNTING INCREASES EAST OF THE CASCADE MOUNTAINS

Gold strike sites on the Colville River and Fraser River shared glory with other successes  
rich gold districts also opened throughout the Pacific Northwest:

- New Caledonia (British Columbia) saw gold prospectors rush to the Kootenai River;
- Oregon Territory saw gold rushes on the John Day, Burnt and Powder rivers  
gold mining in Southern Oregon was at its height;
- Washington Territory saw gold rushes to the Owhyhee, Clearwater, Salmon and Boise rivers  
(now in Idaho)

and the Deer Lodge, Beaverhead and Prickly Pear rivers (now in Montana) and other places  
when James and Granville Stuarts’ party of prospectors along with Reece Anderson  
camped on Gold Creek (today’s Benetsee Creek, Montana)  
they found enough gold to make them want to return -- 1858

---

<sup>207</sup> James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 43.

## PROSPECTOR'S EQUIPMENT WAS SIMPLE

Basic tool of the solitary miner was a gold pan -- sometimes supplemented by a rocker or cradle  
dirt and gravel was placed into a pan one shovelful at a time  
pan would then be lowered into the water and gently moved in circles  
large stones in the pan were picked out and thrown aside  
dirt clods were broken up with the miner's fingers  
as the pan moved in circles, muddy water and sand would float out of the pan  
gold, much heavier than anything else, remained in the bottom of the pan  
much faster and more productive than panning was use of a rocker or cradle  
similar to a baby's cradle it could be rocked back and forth using a handle  
dirt and gravel was be placed onto a hopper (box) at the top of the cradle that had holes in it  
underneath the box was a sloping and rounded surface covered in canvas  
called the "slide" or "apron"  
as the cradle was rocked, the finer gold and sand would wash through the holes in the hopper  
and be caught by ridges and canvas on the apron  
larger rocks caught by the hopper would be thrown out  
this process was repeated with each new batch of dirt and gravel  
cradles and rockers were only slightly less portable than a miner's gold pan  
they could be taken apart, packed up and carried to the site of the next possible bonanza

## WAGON FREIGHTING EXPANDS IN THE FAR WEST

Extensive wagon freighting into the Fraser River gold district began  
with the feverish increase in mining activity there -- 1858  
Russell, Major and Waddell Shipping Company was put onto operation  
they developed an elaborate wagon freighting system  
which connected the Great Plains area with western terminals  
Town of Walla Walla (first called Steptoeville) served as a supply center, assembly area,  
starting point, and stopping point for immigrants on the Oregon Trail

## INDICATIONS OF INDIAN TROUBLE INCREASE AROUND FORT COLVILLE

There were rumors of Indian trouble in the vicinity of Fort Colville  
where American gold hunters were searching for riches  
Raiding parties of Palouse Indians drove off the settlers  
and took animals belonging to the army and other Indians to provoke hostilities with the army  
they were designed to bring Lieutenant-Colonel Edward J. Steptoe into Spokane Country  
to be confronted by Yakima Chief Kamiakin and his allies  
Steptoe sent a series of reports from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Vancouver -- beginning April 1858  
he indicated two miners had been killed near the Palouse River  
After the death of the two prospectors, forty people living at Fort Colville petitioned for protection

## FRASER RIVER GOLD SEEKERS ATTEMPT TO FIND AN OVERLAND ROUTE TO RICHES

Reports of gold inspired settlers in the new town of Whatcom on Bellingham Bay  
rushing gold seekers could travel the Whatcom Trail from the settlement of Whatcom

directly to Fort Hope, New Caledonia by way of the Nooksack and Chilliwack rivers  
Captain Henry Roeder led a party of miners over the Whatcom Trail -- early April 1858  
Mortimer Cook joined Roeder in that effort  
Cook was one of the early settlers of Skagit County and the founder of Sedro-Woolley  
(actually just the settlement of Sedro -- Woolley would be founded later)  
Roeder and Cook charged 40¢ a pound for miners' outfits to lead prospectors over the trail  
as far as the Nooksack River -- far from the Canadian goldfields

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL EDWARD STEPTOE RESPONDS TO THE FORT COLVILLE PETITIONS

Steptoe notified Colonel George Wright that a petition was received from forty people at Fort Colville  
an expedition to the north seemed to be advisable -- if not absolutely necessary  
Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe requested orders to investigate the situation at Fort Colville  
Colonel George Wright, U.S. Ninth Infantry, decided that Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe,  
then in charge of the new Fort Walla Walla, would march north as a show of force  
and to offer some sage advice to the threatening natives -- spring 1858

#### WEATHER MAKES ARRIVING AT THE FRASER RIVER GOLD REGION DIFFICULT

Colonel George Wright, U.S. Ninth Infantry, decided that Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe,  
then in charge of the new Fort Walla Walla, would march north as a show of force  
and to offer some sage advice to the threatening natives -- spring 1858

Fraser River went on a wild rampage with a flash flood

snow melt in the mountains changed it into a wild torrent overflowing its banks

many miners had to abandon their canoes, boats and scows

hundreds of others who continued the attempt were thwarted when their craft were smashed  
by a waterfall and a narrow canyon soon named Hell's Gate

Some miners were discouraged by the high waters caused by the spring melt  
they abandoned the river bars and left the country

but between Fort Langley and Fort Yale over 10,000 men continued to pan for gold  
a few of these prospectors pushed along the precipitous Fraser River banks  
beyond Yale and the Fraser River Canyon to Lytton, New Caledonia

#### NEWS OF THE FRASER RIVER GOLD STIKE HITS CALIFORNIA

Vancouver Island Royal Governor James Douglas had been buying up gold  
he decided to ship his newly-purchased gold to California for smelting -- 1858  
(it has been suggested by some historians that Royal Governor Douglas  
deliberately spread the news of the gold find to force the British government  
to enforce its claim to the New Caledonia mainland)

Royal Governor Douglas shipped several hundred thousand dollars worth of gold  
aboard the Hudson's Bay Company ship *Otter* to the San Francisco mint -- 1858

California was suffering from an economic depression

easy pickings in the nine-year-old goldfields of California had played out

prospectors realized they would just be laborers for large companies employing hydraulic mining  
gold mining district was depopulated

many unemployed miners were in San Francisco where the news of gold on the Fraser River spread like wildfire

San Francisco and the California goldfields greeted the news with wild excitement  
hundreds of Californians left at once to seek out Canadian gold

#### CALIFORNIA GOLD SEEKERS SET OUT ON SHIPS BOUND FOR CANADA

Overloaded steamers headed north full of men who were equipped  
with not much more than gold pans and their clothes  
legitimate and illegitimate entrepreneurs of all kinds looking to make a fortune rushed also  
they were seeking to profit not from the mines, but rather from the miners

to the hardened and experienced miners, wrote British subject Alfred Waddington, one **“might add a good stock of gamblers, pickpockets, swindlers and thieves, drunkards, and jail birds, let loose by the governors of California for the benefit of all mankind besides the halt, lame, blind, and mad.”**<sup>208</sup>

No fewer than 7,147 gold seekers left San Francisco in the early rush

#### FRASER RIVER GOLD RUSH IS ON ONCE AGAIN

As the water levels of the Fraser River dropped in the heat of summer,  
prospecting began anew in earnest

Hardy gold seekers who had not given up on the river beat the next rush of prospectors  
thousands more newcomers crossed overland and replaced the recently disenchanted deserters  
most carried all their supplies and tools in packs and hiked along the top of the canyon walls

#### INDEPENDENT STEAMSHIP SHIPPING COMPANIES RESPOND TO GOLD DEMANDS

Portland became the center of Northwest trade

goods were delivered from California producers  
these were transshipped on steamboats up the Columbia River to the interior

Robert R. Thompson, the Indian Agent and Militia Quartermaster during the [1856] Indian War,  
took on a partner, Lawrence W. Coe, and began a freight shipping business at the Dalles  
they put together a fleet of freight barges on the upper Columbia River

*Julia* was the first steamer built in Washington Territory -- 1858

constructed at Port Blakeley for the Oregon Steam Navigation Company  
she was known as a fine, fast sternwheeler

she set the pattern for boats soon to become common on Puget Sound

*Julia Barclay* served for many years on the sound and on the Columbia River

*Carrie Ladd* was built at Oregon City by John C. Ainsworth

for the firm of Abernathy, Clark and Company -- 1858

she was larger and more powerful than any boat operated from Portland to that day

she was an especially elegant steamer for the time

*Eliza Anderson*, soon known as “Old Anderson,” was launched at Portland

for the Columbia River Steam Navigation Company -- 1858

---

<sup>208</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 226.

she carried mail on the Olympia-Victoria run and although slow and underpowered for the time she forged a worthy reputation as she earned her owners an annual mail subsidy of \$36,000 she made weekly trips and was comfortable and dependable if not the fastest boat on the Inland Sea to attract passengers, her owners equipped her with a steam calliope for diversion as newer, faster boats arrived owners reduced rates on the "Old Anderson"

#### VANCOUVER ISLAND ROYAL GOVERNOR JAMES DOUGLAS BECOMES ALARMED

Vancouver Island British Royal Governor James Douglas became increasingly concerned he became alarmed as soon as the first flotilla and ships and small boats arrived within sight of his government offices in Victoria Royal Governor Douglas noted that 10,000 new inhabitants arrived at the goldfields in six weeks soon another 16,000 gold seekers traveled by ship to the Crown Colony of Victoria hundreds of men would attempt to navigate a river they knew nothing about challenging both the swift current and snags that hid just underwater within a month Victoria was transformed into a tent city of some 30,000 multinational hopefuls this was a record for mass movement of mining populations on the North American frontier

#### CALIFORNIA GOLDSEEKERS LEARN OF A SHORT ROUTE TO CANADIAN RICHES

News of the Whatcom Trail route to the Fraser River gold region was loudly touted -- April 1858 Whatcom Trail to the Fraser River promised to be shorter route with the added advantage that it avoided the perils of the Fraser Canyon and evaded the licenses and head tax imposed by Vancouver Island Royal Governor James Douglas United States Revenue Cutter *Jefferson Davis*' entire crew of thirty-two men and three officers deserted to prospect for gold with the exception of Captain William C. Pease Ship loads of veterans of the California gold rush arrived on Bellingham Bay thousands of former gold hungry prospectors camped at Whatcom on the Bellingham Bay most of them were Americans or the mix of nationalities that composed the Forty-Niners Australians, Chinese and hard rock coal miners from England, Wales and central Europe all were looking for an easy way to access the Similkameen Region of the Fraser River Valley using a direct overland trail to the Fraser River goldfields rather than going far out of their way on a long semi-circle route to the northwest to the mouth of the Fraser River Optimistic Whatcom promoters billed their gateway town as "the next San Francisco" merchants were quick to take advantage of the miners' business they noted the fortunes that had been made by provisioners during the California gold rush just a few years before However, the promoters failed to find a pass through the mountains Whatcom Trail now reached beyond the Nooksack River but only as far as Summit Lake (now Chilliwack Lake) -- still far from the goldfields

#### AFRICAN-AMERICANS RUSH TO VICTORIA SEEKING FRASER RIVER GOLD

Side-wheeler *Commodore* steamed north from San Francisco with 250 prospectors -- April 22, 1858

**“On this voyage one group of passengers had mixed reasons for leaving California. Two hundred and fifty African American men, women and children had booked passage that April 22nd, anticipating the economic opportunities the latest Western mining rush had to offer, and leaving behind what they regarded as a state with a troubled racial climate. California’s state legislature seemed to be moving rapidly toward passage of a law restricting Negro immigration. The more congenial racial climate of British Columbia, along with economic opportunities associated with the Fraser River gold rush, swayed opinion in favor of Canada.”<sup>209</sup>**

When she docked at Victoria the population of the village almost doubled -- April 29, 1858

#### WHATCOM TRAIL ENTICES STILL MORE FRASER RIVER GOLD SEEKERS

Governor Douglas’ licenses struck American immigrants as arbitrary and discriminatory

although the law applied to British citizens as well as to American “foreigners”

in the United States minerals found on unclaimed land were free to whoever reached them first

except for Chinese prospectors on whom most mining districts imposed special taxes

Whatcom Trail reached only to Summit Lake (now Chilliwack Lake) -- May 1858

as gold seekers from California flooded onto the beaches of Bellingham Bay

Whatcom town leaders believed that if there was a good overland trail from Whatcom County

to the gold strike no British governor could have impeded the region’s progress

traffic would not wait to stop at Victoria

an easy trail would create a boom town on Bellingham Bay

Jealous Whatcom County on the American side of the border tried to cash in on the excitement

by pointing out that Bellingham Bay was closer to the Fraser River than Victoria

anyone who could read a map could see that an overland route north-northeast from Whatcom

would cut almost 100 miles from their journey

but an actual trail did not exist

Whatcom could provide neither licenses nor adequate transportation

#### BELLINGHAM BAY AREA IS AGAIN FRUSTRATED BY FRASER RIVER GOLD

In a resentful effort to avoid Governor Douglas’ licenses, many stampeders by-passed Victoria

they tried to sneak up the Fraser River in Indian canoes -- several drowned in the effort

In all, four rival towns sprang up around the Bellingham Bay

Old Whatcom, New Whatcom, Fairhaven and Sehome

each vying for settlers, coastal fishing and development of mineral deposits

but the grandest prize of all was the arrival of thousands of prospective prospectors

Town leaders knew more work on the Whatcom Trail was needed

before it would connect to the Fraser River and the goldfields

surveyor and civil engineer Alonzo Marion Poe was hired to make the improvements

with his crew, Poe cut a trail through from Summit Lake to the Fraser River

but the town leaders were frustrated once again

better gold fields had moved east and the new trail stopped short of the Cascade Mountains

## SEATTLE ADDS TO ITS POPULATION

More than 30,000 prospectors arrived at the Fraser River goldfields -- 1858  
in a few months many, successful or not, traveled to Seattle  
to build and operate new businesses such as a foundry, a saloon beside Elliott Bay,  
dance halls and blacksmith shops

## OTHER ATTEMPTS ARE MADE AT BUILDING TRAILS IN NEW CALEDONIA

Routes into the Canadian interior of New Caledonia (British Columbia) were few and difficult  
goldfields were hidden in the remote mountain range  
Okanogan Trail followed the Hudson's Bay Company fur brigade route up the Columbia River  
to its confluence of the Okanogan River then up the Okanogan by way of several lakes  
to Fort Kamloops and the confluence of the North and South Thompson Rivers  
to the goldfields of the Fraser River between (what is now Lytton, British Columbia  
and Yale, British Columbia)  
or by way of Hat Creek and Marble Canyon to the goldfields (around Lillooet, B.C.)  
(Lillooet became a small, scenic community on the Fraser River 150 miles from Vancouver)  
a shorter version of the Okanogan Trail known as the Similkameen Trail  
reached the lower Thompson River and Fraser Canyon goldfields  
by leaving the Okanogan Trail at the confluence of Similkameen and Okanogan rivers  
(at today's Oroville, Washington)  
Skagit Trail followed an impractical route up the Skagit River to its headwaters  
then overland through a valley to the lower Fraser River Canyon arriving near  
Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Hope trading post  
All of these routes were technically illegal, since British Governor James Douglas  
required that entrance to the colony be made through Victoria

## CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW WHATCOM TRAIL IS UNDERTAKEN

Town leaders around Bellingham Bay raised a second stash of money  
to finance yet another effort at building the Whatcom Trail  
Captain W. W. Delacy, a well-known engineer in the Northwest, took the job of creating a new trail  
that would connect with an old Hudson's Bay Company trail  
farther east on the British side of the border which went from Fort Hope, New Caledonia  
to the Thompson River  
this route was optimistically named the Whatcom-Hope Trail  
high waters and floods in the lowlands destroyed the route's effectiveness  
Captain W.W. Delacy's Whatcom-Hope Trail was erased in one day [summer of 1858]

## LIEUTENANT-COLONEL EDWARD J. STEPTOE PREPARES TO MARCH TO FORT COLVILLE

As he hoped Colonel Steptoe was ordered to investigate the death of two Colville miners

---

<sup>209</sup> Rudolph M. Lapp Blacks in Gold Rush California as noted in The Maritime Heritage Project Maritime Nations, Ships, Sea Captains. 1800s, San Francisco, California, 2015.

Step toe left Fort Walla Walla leading the Ninth Cavalry, First Dragoons to Fort Colville -- May 6, 1858

(“dragoons” were later identified as “cavalry” by the U.S. Army)

Believing his expedition was little more than a practice march he took only 152 enlisted men and four company officers

- Captain Oliver Hazard Perry Taylor -- First Dragoons Company C,
- Lieutenant William Gaston -- First Dragoons Company E,
- Lieutenant David McMurtie Gregg -- First Dragoons Company H,
- Captain Charles S. Winder led a detachment of twenty-five men of Company E

who were armed with two twelve-pound mountain howitzers two other commissioned officers accompanied the expedition:

- Assistant Surgeon Dr. John F. Randolph,
  - acting Assistant Quartermaster and Commissary Lieutenant Hugh B. Fleming
- all participants in the expedition appeared to have been mounted in one form or another

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL EDWARD J. STEPTOE WAS SUPPLIED BY A PACK TRAIN

One hundred pack mules had been requisitioned for the expedition as many as thirty civilian packers accompanied the large pack train in addition to horses for the troops, a number of beef cattle were provided for use en route to Fort Colville

Even so, Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe’s preparations were negligent due to the extreme weight of the equipment being transported he was not supplied for a campaign Chief Packer Thomas Beall carried the blame

when Beall found his pack train could not carry all the supplies which had been allocated he cut down the amount of baggage before their departure from Fort Walla Walla several boxes of ammunition were left behind

thus they carried only what was in the cartridge boxes of the soldiers forty rounds per man

Step toe’s weapons were inadequate as their outdated guns had not been replaced some men had revolvers while others had old-fashioned mussel-loading pistols dragoons did not have sabers -- officers and non-commissioned officers carried swords two dragoon companies were armed with muskatoons -- short muskets useless beyond fifty yards these were utterly ineffective against Indians armed with rifles the third dragoon company had Mississippi Yaeger rifles whose shot carried well but the weapon could not be loaded on horseback infantrymen had only ten good carbines among them as their other weapons were musket-loaders

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL EDWARD J. STEPTOE CHANGES HIS ROUTE

During the detachment’s leisurely two hundred mile ride northward to Fort Colville Steptoe decided to march his command to the east through Palouse Indian Country in search of horse thieves and to confer with the Palouse people eventually he would go on to investigate the circumstances at Fort Colville Steptoe moved east on toward the Snake River

#### FATHER JOSEPH JOSET STRIVES TO MAINTAIN PEACE

Father Joseph Joset was a Roman Catholic Jesuit missionary to the Coeur d'Alene Indians  
he correctly detected a great deal of suspicion and anger among the tribes of the region  
and had been trying to restrain the unruly natives  
now he followed events with mounting alarm

Father Joset arrived in the vicinity of the Snake River

after riding all the way from the Sacred Heart Mission on the Coeur d'Alene River  
Lieutenant-Colonel Edward J. Steptoe discussed the situation with the priest

Father Joset tried to warn Steptoe to turn back before he crossed the Snake River  
but the Catholic priest was ignored

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL EDWARD J. STEPTOE CROSSES THE SNAKE RIVER

Friendly Chief Timothy and his Nez Perce tribe had a fleet of canoes on the Snake River  
at a place called the Red Wolf Crossing near the mouth of Alpowa Creek (near today's Clarkston)  
this was the only place where a crossing was possible for the military

Military column was assisted in crossing the river by Chief Timothy and his people -- May 10, 1858

Timothy and three of his warriors decided to accompany the troops to Fort Colville  
After the crossing was completed, several Palouse Indians nearby fled northward  
at the sight of the soldiers

#### CHIEF KAMIAKIN'S DIRE PERDICTION COMES TRUE

Chief Kamiakin had told his allies the United States government planned to seize their land  
when Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe and his force reached Palouse Country,  
Chief Kamiakin's predictions of impending doom were confirmed

Because of Kamiakin's trickery the Northern tribes agreed to massacre any such party  
Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes, as expected, united with the Palouses, Yakimas and Walla Wallas  
to destroy the invaders

#### LIEUTENANT MULLAN PREPARES FOR HIS MILITARY ROAD CONSTRUCTION PROJECT

U.S. Second Artillery Lieutenant John Mullan arrived at Fort Dalles, Oregon Territory -- May 15, 1858

Construction of the military route would be accomplished in portions:

- first 180 miles out of Steptoeville was through either open woods or over rolling prairie  
this portion of the route crossed the Spokane River and then angled northeast;
- next 120 miles lay through densely timbered mountain bottoms;
- next 224 miles traversed open timbered plateaus;
- last 100 miles lay over level or rolling prairie;
- over the whole route only thirty miles of excavation were necessary  
however, many stretches of corduroy road and numerous bridges would be necessary

#### LIEUTENANT JOHN MULLAN BEGINS HIS MILITARY ROAD CONSTRUCTION PROJECT

Lieutenant John Mullan outfitted his road building party with the help of Army Captain Thomas Jordan  
he headed the construction expedition composed of a crew of 100 assigned to road building

accompanied by an addition 100 soldiers of the U.S. Third Artillery in four companies  
Lieutenant Mullan departed Fort Dalles  
improvements to the road that followed the Columbia River were made  
as far as the Deschutes River

#### YAKIMA CHIEF KAMIAKIN'S PREDICTIONS AGAIN PROVES TO BE ACCURATE

Coeur d'Alene and Spokane Indians received infuriating word  
that a Missouri River-to-Columbia River road was to be built through their land  
United States government would indeed seize their land

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL EDWARD J. STEPTOE CONTINUES HIS LEISURELY MARCH

After crossing the Snake River on the way to Fort Colville, Indians could be frequently seen  
Indians drifted unchallenged in and out of Steptoe's lines to talk with the officers and men  
these were spies sending information ahead to Chief Kamiakin  
Their route took them past (today's towns of Moscow, Palouse, Garfield and Farmington)  
Ninth Cavalry First Dragoons column began to move down the main branch of Pine Creek  
(in the direction of the present-day community of Rosalia, Washington)  
many of the Indians were alarmed that an armed column was traveling northward to Fort Colville  
using a route so far east of the normal path  
Lieutenant-Colonel Edward J. Steptoe crossed the Palouse River -- May 15, 1858

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL STEPTOE MAKES CAMP

Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe's command camped along the west side of Pine Creek  
(just outside of the current city limits of Rosalia, Washington) -- night May 15, 1858  
War-painted warriors from the Spokane, Palouse, Coeur d'Alene and Yakama tribes  
as well as smaller groups from other tribes offered the first protest at Pine Creek

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL STEPTOE RESUMES THE MARCH TOWARD FORT COLVILLE

Brushing aside the Indian threats, Colonel Steptoe ordered his men to push up North Pine Creek  
before he turned toward the west and followed a tributary of that stream  
It was reported a force of Indians was assembling ahead -- Sunday morning, May 16, 1858  
600 to 1,200 well-mounted Indians armed with rifles suddenly appeared at Rosalia -- 11:00 a.m.  
some twenty miles south (of the present city of Spokane)  
Steptoe's badly outnumbered troops moved ahead with the Indians on their right flank  
they approached a narrow canyon between two hills referred to as the "Dangerous Defile"  
it was foolhardy to enter there  
Steptoe noted that the crests of the hills were crowded by animated Indians  
in fact, Steptoe's command was trapped in a ravine and surrounded  
Steptoe ordered a halt to the advance and the column turned to the southwest  
they marched about a mile to what was generally referred to as a small lake  
Indians showed their appreciation for this act of caution by shouting taunts and jeers  
Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe's command halted, but for three hours they did not dare to dismount  
Indians had the army surrounded and continually harassed the troops

until sunset approached and the Indians withdrew to the west

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL STEPTOE MAKES CAMP BESIDE A SMALL LAKE

Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe, confronted by a large number of Indians, decided to parley with the native leaders -- May 16, 1858

Indians said they had heard from Kamiakin the army intended to annihilate them they were ready to fight the potential invasion of their land

Steptoe denied he had any hostile intent -- he explained the friendly purpose of his expedition

Indians demanded to know if that was true why had the Colonel entered their land

with an armed force and had brought big guns (two mountain howitzers) with him

Steptoe pled that his intentions were entirely peaceful

but the Indians did not trust armed soldiers

Spokane Indians informed Steptoe that if he proceeded farther north

they would not use their canoes to ferry the column across the Spokane River which lay ahead this was the only way to get to Fort Colville

they also explained that the only reason battle had not started was that it was Sunday

Lieutenant-Colonel Edward J. Steptoe could see that his mission to Fort Colville was now pointless

Steptoe insisted he needed to camp beside the small lake for the night to acquire water

he promised to retrace his steps back to Fort Walla Walla the next morning

Steptoe sent a Nez Perce scout to inform the soldiers at Fort Walla Walla of their situation

#### LIEUTENANT JOHN MULLAN ARRIVED AT FORT WALLA WALLA

Lieutenant Mullan led his road building crew and military escort to Fort Walla Walla

there he heard the report regarding the situation faced by Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe

when Steptoe's Nez Perce messenger arrived at the post -- May 16, 1858

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL STEPTOE BEGINS HIS RETREAT TO FORT WALLA WALLA

Full retreat of Steptoe began as his troops were mustered before dawn -- May 17, 1858

they set out to the east in the direction of Pine Creek

Father Joseph Joset rode to Steptoe's camp, only to find the column had already departed

when he caught up with the soldiers he asked if Steptoe would meet with the chiefs

to try and defuse the situation

Steptoe did not want to halt the pack animals as they were becoming skittish

but he finally agreed to stop to meet with Indian leaders

Father Joset rode out to parlay with the leading chiefs resisting Steptoe's march

when he returned he brought only a few Coeur d'Alenes including Head Chief Vincent

Continuing to ride north, Steptoe, Father Joset and Chief Vincent talked as they pressed on

Steptoe told Chief Vincent he was returning to Fort Walla Walla

because his troops' presence was offensive to the tribes he regarded to be his friends

and because he could not cross the Spokane River during high water

without canoes which were denied him

Chief Vincent apparently accepted Steptoe's intension to peacefully return to the Snake River

This conference was ended by a native messenger who informed Chief Vincent

that Palouse Indians were about to open fire and asked the chief to rejoin his tribesmen  
Step toe told his officers they would have to fight

#### BATTLE OF ROSALIA (TOHOTONIMME) BEGINS

Step toe's Ninth Cavalry, First Dragoons approached Pine Creek through a ravine  
as they crossed the stream Indians fired on the command from the south side  
and from elevated points along their line of march -- Monday May 17, 1858  
(near the junction of today's Palouse Highway [State Route 27]  
and Inland Empire Highway Rosalia, Washington)

Accounts vary as to who fired the first shots in the battle known by several names  
Tohotonimme to the Indians involved, Pine Creek to the soldiers involved and Rosalia to locals  
some point to the Palouse Indians, others suggest the Coeur d'Alenes

regardless of who fired the first shot, the impetus for a fight probably came from warriors  
whom Father Joseph Joset described as "**rash yong (sic) people**"<sup>210</sup>

Gunfire first broke out as Step toe's men were approaching the valley of North Pine Creek  
at the time, the companies of the First Dragoons were strung out in a column,  
with Company H in the lead, Company C in the center with the pack train  
and Company E bringing up the rear

shooting began sporadically but quickly increased

as more and more Indians judged that the war had begun and they joined the fray

At first the soldiers maintained their formation, pressing ahead and not returning fire  
after about twenty minutes, however, some of the soldiers were wounded

firing became general on both sides

Lieutenant David McMurtie Gregg, commanding Company H in the lead was ordered forward  
to take possession of the high ground on a ridge just east of Pine Creek

As the other two companies advanced they became separated from each other by about a thousand feet  
they attempted to keep the Indians at bay through regular sallies (short charges)

however, each time the soldiers advanced the Indians rushed in closely pressing the troops  
hemming them in and attempting to get in front of the Ninth Cavalry

#### CASUALTIES MOUNT FOR COLONEL STEPTOE'S TROOPS AT ROSALIA

Captain Charles S. Winder ordered his detachment of twenty-five Company E men  
to unlimber their two twelve-pound mountain howitzers to support the dragoons  
attempting to reach the base of the ridge -- Monday May 17, 1858

but they were soon repacked the cannons onto packhorses and brought them up the slope

Due to the gaps between the Ninth Cavalry companies

Indian attackers were able to get between Lieutenant Gaston's Company E, in the rear,  
and the rest of the command

discovering this developing predicament Lieutenant David McMurtie Gregg, Company H,  
led his men in a charge down the ridge

without waiting for orders, Lieutenant William Gaston and his dragoons also charged

---

<sup>210</sup> Stephen B. Emerson, H Step toe's Defeat: *Battle of Tohotonimme*, HistoryLink.org Essay 8709, August 8, 2008.

in an effort to dislodge the Indians from the brush and trees  
When companies E and H met a sharp engagement ensued at once  
at each rush the Indians ran away and returned to their sniping techniques  
there were casualties on both sides  
one of Timothy's friendly Nez Perce was killed by a soldier who mistook him for a hostile  
two privates of Lieutenant William Gaston's Company E were wounded  
several prominent Coeur d'Alene headmen lost their lives  
which enraged the Indians who then pressed the fight even harder  
Lieutenant Gaston's men cleared an opening leading to the highlands on the south  
they were followed by the entire force of dragoons  
Soldiers successfully reunited their units on the ridge which they held for about half an hour  
Captain Winder's Company E detachment reached the hill with their howitzers -- 11:00 A.M.  
both howitzers were placed at the northern and the southern points of the outer skirmish line  
they were then unlimbered and brought into action  
cannons were fired more to frighten the Indians than to inflict damage  
here Company E's dragoons withstood two furious charges by the Indians  
afterward they endured continuous sniping  
Indian gunfire and thirst prompted Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe to move on  
crossing Pine Creek his Ninth Cavalry continued southward

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL EDWARD J. STEPTOE RESUMES HIS RETREAT

Steptoe's soldiers tried to maintain an orderly formation as they pushed on -- Monday May 17, 1858  
more than a thousand Indians had been attempting to surround the U.S. Ninth Cavalry  
now from long range Indians opened fire directed at the rear guard  
Indians tended to fight as individuals, loading their rifles and wielding their bows,  
rushing at the column and firing on the run  
Steptoe was acutely aware of the shortage of bullets among his men  
he tried to get them to conserve their ammunition, but to no avail  
in their excitement, the soldiers could not be restrained from firing wildly  
Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe reconstituted his command  
safety of the troops depended on maintaining a compact formation  
Steptoe advanced with First Dragoons Company H  
Lieutenant William Gaston, with a portion of First Dragoons Company E was on the left  
one detachment of First Dragoons Company C led by Lieutenant James Wheeler was on the right  
Captain Oliver Hazard Perry Taylor with the remainder of Company C covered the rear  
along with Sergeant William Williams leading part of Company E  
to the rear came Captain Charles S. Winder detachment of Company E and the howitzers  
guarding the badly frightened pack animals that tried to break away  
adding to the confusion and hampering maneuverability  
Captain Winder's dragoons kept the pack train moving only with great difficulty  
as they cleared the way with frequent howitzer fire  
many of the animals were shot down  
Steptoe's retreat continued in that order through the morning as the warriors pursued them closely

## WARRIORS ATTACK STEPTOE'S NINTH CAVALRY ONCE AGAIN

Indians made an attempt to cut off Lieutenant William Gaston's Company E  
and Captain Oliver Hazard Perry Taylor's Company C -- Monday May 17, 1858  
Captain Taylor and Lieutenant Gaston on the flanks of the column continually led mounted forays  
lack of sabers was keenly felt in this kind of fighting  
Indians scattered, but would rush right back into the vacuum  
when soldiers wheeled back toward the line of march  
Captain Taylor's Company C dragoons reached the hill by a series of short charges  
with the Indians pressing on the flanks and at the rear  
Lieutenant Gaston repeatedly drove back the pursuing Indian force but before he could reach the hill  
a large party of warriors swept in between his men and the Indians who were pursuing him  
Gaston and his men were subjected to a vicious cross fire  
Gaston turned from his pursuers and charged the enemy in front of him  
Step toe's Column had moved about half a mile when Lieutenant William Gaston was killed  
elated at seeing an officer fall, the Indians massed and charged his company of dragons  
when Gaston fell Company E reeled from the battlefield and could not retrieve his body  
they fell back to the pack train in a demoralized condition  
Lieutenant David McMurtie Gregg from his vantage point in the hills  
saw Lieutenant Gaston's predicament  
Lieutenant Gregg's Dragoon Company H rode down the hill and stopped the enemy's charge  
catching the Indians in the angle  
now the warriors were subjected to the same cross fire which had harassed Gaston  
however, in the process part of the pack train was exposed and lost

## LIEUTENANT-COLONEL EDWARD J. STEPTOE ORDERS A HALT

Word was passed to Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe that Lieutenant Gaston had been killed  
Step toe ordered a halt and succeeded in rallying Gaston's Company E  
Fighting continued sharply on the flank -- Monday May 17, 1858  
Captain Oliver Hazard Perry Taylor followed at 1,000 yards with his dragoons of Company C  
Captain Taylor was shot through the neck half an hour after Gaston's death  
Lieutenant James Wheeler took command of Company C  
there was hand-to-hand fighting with clubbed rifles over Taylor as he lay dying  
two men in his company were killed and another severely wounded by an arrow  
Captain Taylor's body was carried to safety within the lines

## HEAD OF THE RETREATING NINTH CAVALRY COLUMN REACHES CACHE CREEK

Step toe's entire command was assembled for the first time since morning -- Monday May 17, 1858  
many Indians were wounded and twelve had been killed  
these included three important Coeur d'Alene chiefs: Vincent, Jacques and Zachariah  
all three had entered the fight reluctantly  
only two soldiers had been killed but several were wounded  
Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe realized the march could not continue much longer

there was little hope the Nez Perce scout sent to Fort Walla Walla the night before could arrive in time as the distance was too great and the situation had become dire skirmishes and battles had all but exhausted the soldiers' supply of ammunition Steptoe looked for a spot he could defend until his ammunition ran out when another attack came in the morning it seemed they must all perish

#### NINTH CAVALRY AND WARRIORS RACE FOR HIGH GROUND

After two miles or more of slow progress under continuous fire -- Monday May 17, 1858  
Steptoe observed the warriors were making for a hill a considerable distance away which would command the line of advance  
Steptoe's retreat became a race for the high ground with maneuvering necessary to keep out of the ravines  
Lieutenant David McMurtie Gregg's First Dragoons H Company raced for the hill and won  
Indians maneuvered around Gregg's position to a still higher hill nearby  
Gregg was obliged to leave a detachment on the first hill and attack the second hill so demoralized had the soldiers become that when Lieutenant Gregg called for volunteers to follow him in a charge only ten responded  
Indians retired while Gregg's Company H had to occupy both hills awaiting the arrival of their Ninth Cavalry companions

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL STEPTOE MOVES TO HIGH GROUND

Edward J. Steptoe ordered the remainder of his men onto the higher of the two hills where the ground fell sharply away on the further side to a Cache Creek -- Monday May 17, 1858  
this was actually a knob at the south end of a ridge  
(top of today's Steptoe Butte (in Steptoe Butte State Park)  
baggage was stacked in bulwarks near the steep decline  
animals were picketed in a circle around the supplies  
one mountain howitzer was placed where it would command the long ridge up the hill  
the other mountain howitzer was placed at the rear  
Colonel Steptoe ordered his men to form a large circular skirmish line along the crest of the hill  
soldiers hugged the ground and hid in the high bunch grass behind their baggage  
some of the men dug shallow trenches  
officers crawled around the circle giving their instructions  
soon after the hill was occupied Captain Oliver Hazard Perry Taylor died  
Indians gradually rode closer and threw their battle line along the Ninth Cavalry's flank  
soldiers formed a smaller circle at the south end of the containment  
where pack animals, supplies and the wounded, dead and dying could be somewhat protected  
Surgeon Dr. John F. Randolph cared for the wounded at a spot out of enemy range of fire  
with grass tied to their heads the Indians crept up the slopes close enough to attack  
twice they stormed Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe's position  
Steptoe threw out a strong picket line and buried the dead not abandoned during the retreat  
last of the ammunition issued -- three rounds per man

## INDIANS ALSO GO INTO CAMP

Nightfall came and the warriors ceased fire -- about 8:00 P.M., Monday May 17, 1858

Indians were camped below the hill in plain sight

campfires appeared along the creek and signal fires along the hills

Lieutenant-Colonel Edward J. Steptoe's little force was surrounded by Indian sentinels  
soldiers were trapped and the Indians knew it

warriors had only to wait for the coming dawn

no one doubted the fight would end with first attack in the morning

victory dances began and Indian sentries drifted away from their posts to join in the fun

Settler A.J. Splawn (later a regional historian) whose information came from Indian sources  
claimed Chief Kamiakin was present in the Indian camp and urged his people not to rest

Indians were sure the troops were at the end of their resources

for the soldiers to remain on the hill meant certain death for them all

only a retreat by night could perhaps offer a chance that some could get away

## PLANS ARE MADE IN LIEUTENANT-COLONEL EDWARD J. STEPTOE'S CAMP

One avenue of escape had been left unguarded

there was a difficult pass off the butte which the Indians believed was unknown to the soldiers  
anyway, it was an impassable route for the soldiers to traverse by night

Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe held a military council to discuss escape -- evening Monday May 17, 1858

it was proposed the nearly impossible pass be attempted

they would bury the howitzers and leave the baggage and pack train behind

Steptoe hesitated partly because it would be necessary to abandon his howitzers

he also felt the chance of escape was very slim at best

in small groups his men might be captured and tortured before being put to death  
after considerable discussion, the officers agreed unanimously to leave the howitzers,

camp supplies, extra animals and even two mortally wounded men behind

they would gather the surviving men on the remaining usable horses

and attempt to make a dash toward the Nez Perce ferry across the Snake River

nearly ninety miles away

when the decision was made, a party of scouts was sent down the hill to the south

they explored both sides of Cache Creek -- no Indians remained in sight

After the scouts reported back the dead were buried

four men, including Captain Oliver Hazard Perry Taylor, two dragoons

and a Native American (presumably a Nez Perce scout)

horses were led over the ground to conceal the place of burial

both howitzers were buried much to Steptoe's regret

gun carriages were taken down to the creek and submerged

except for a meager ration of food and water, all supplies were abandoned

all extra animals were left picketed on the butte

in the hope that the Indians would suspend the chase while the plunder was being distributed

## LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BEGINS HIS RETREAT FROM (TODAY'S STEPTOE BUTTE)

Step toe's Ninth Cavalry faced the desperate decision to escape -- night Monday May 17, 1858  
horses of light color were blanketed  
fifteen wounded men were mounted and lashed to their saddles  
each was placed under the care of a comrade

Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe left the hill (Step toe Butte) between 9:00 and 10:00 P.M., May 17  
leading the first detachment which consisted of Lieutenant James Wheeler's Dragoon Company C  
and Captain Charles S. Winder's detachment of Company E

#### ESCAPE FROM STEPTOE BUTTE CONTINUES

Lieutenant David McMurtie Gregg remained on Steptoe Butte with the dragoons of Company H  
accompanied by wounded Sergeant William Williams leading the remaining portion of Company E  
When Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe left the top of (today's Steptoe Butte)  
leading Wheeler's and Winder's men their departure was so quiet  
that Lieutenant Gregg did not know they had gone

Dr. John F. Randolph notified Gregg after they were well on their way down the valley  
Lieutenant Gregg and Sergeant Williams waited until the outpost guards could be called in  
it was necessary to hunt carefully for these men who were concealed in tall grass  
some were so exhausted they had fallen asleep

When all was quiet in the Indian camp Companies E and H mounted -- 3:00 A.M. May 18, 1858  
they rode single file as silently as possible out through the unguarded pass  
and into the night darkness  
it was a painful and bitter experience for some of the helplessly wounded men

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL STEPTOE'S NINTH CAVALRY COMMAND IS REUNITED

Step toe proceeded slowly until Lieutenant David McMurtie Gregg and Sergeant Williams  
caught up with him -- May 18, 1858  
united, the dash for the Snake River commenced -- most of the distance was covered at a gallop  
Severely wounded men were obliged to abandon their hope of escape  
they were left beside the trail for the scalping knife

Victor C. De Moy was laid beside the trail with his revolver and several rounds  
(later A.J. Splawn was told by Indians that when they came upon him he wounded two  
after De Moy had retired to a safe distance another shot was heard  
Indians dismounted, crept forward and riddled his body with bullets)  
Sergeant William Williams also lay beside the trail as pain overtook his ability to ride  
(John O'Neil, a survivor of the expedition, was told by Indians  
that Williams was discovered by Coeur d'Alene Indians  
he begged them to shoot him but they declined  
instead, an old Indian woman attended him until he died)

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL STEPTOE'S COMMAND REACHES THE SNAKE RIVER

For twenty-four hours Slaughter's command raced over plains and hills  
safety of the Snake River was reached about four miles below Nez Perce Chief Timothy's camp  
Step toe ordered a short halt while observations were taken from the hills

that revealed no sign of pursuit -- May 18, 1858  
Soldiers continued upriver to Chief Timothy's village at the Snake River's Red Wolf Crossing  
camp was made with the friendly Nez Perce -- soon after 10:00 P.M.  
it was impossible to cross the swollen river at night  
Indian women took care of the wounded -- Indian men were posted as guards on the hills  
Pursuing warriors arrived within ten miles of Chief Timothy's village  
where they were informed by their scouts the Nez Perce were guarding the approach  
they turned back

#### NEZ PERCE INDIANS FERRY STEPTOE'S TROOPS ACROSS THE SNAKE RIVER

Chief Timothy set the women of his tribe to work ferrying the exhausted soldiers and their effects  
across the Snake River -- morning May 19, 1858  
this was not completed until near nightfall  
Success of Steptoe's retreat seemed assured after a safe crossing of the Snake River

#### REINFORCEMENTS ARRIVE TO ASSIST LIEUTENANT-COLONEL STEPTOE

When Steptoe's column reached Pataha Creek on their march toward Fort Walla Walla  
his worn-out fugitives went into camp for a time to rest at Pataha Creek -- May 20, 1858  
Captain Frederick T. Dent, U.S. Ninth Infantry rode into Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe camp  
(where the road now leading from Dayton to Pomeroy crosses Pataha Creek)  
Captain Dent had brought supplies and reinforcements  
Steptoe's Nez Perce messenger who had been sent earlier had reported to Fort Walla Walla  
Suddenly a large body of Indians was seen approaching at a gallop  
troops hurriedly prepared for a fight but the Indians were recognized as Nez Perce  
Chief Lawyer came forward and said that when news of Steptoe's defeat reached him  
they had hurried to his rescue  
Lawyer offered the services of his warriors  
he proposed their combined forces march back to the North Country to punish the hostiles  
this offer was appreciated but the troops were in no condition for another campaign  
Chief Lawyer's band moved toward the Snake River  
Lieutenant-Colonel Edward J. Steptoe led his Ninth Cavalry command back to Fort Walla Walla

#### CONFLICTING STORIES OF THE ESCAPE INTO THE NIGHT ARISE

There are several conflicting versions of the escape of Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe's command  
one story contends that Nez Perce Chief Timothy, who had aided the soldiers on other occasions,  
either pointed out or led the dragoons down an unguarded corridor through Indian lines  
(this story became very popular during commemorative activities fifty years after the battle  
and is actually the one referred to on the monument at the Steptoe Butte State Park  
it is almost surely an untrue tale, however  
although Steptoe's force did include some Indian scouts, probably Nez Perce,  
there is no mention anywhere in any of the reports filed by U.S. Army personnel  
of the presence of Chief Timothy during either the battle or the retreat  
furthermore, Palouse fighters had considerable contempt for Timothy and his Nez Perce

they watched the southwestern perimeter of the position on the hill  
it is unlikely that Timothy could have cleared a path through them)  
another version of the escape, expressed by some Coeur d'Alene Indians,  
contends that Chief Vincent and Father Joset arranged for the safe passage of Steptoe's men  
through the Indians hemming them in  
(this story is most certainly not true, receiving no mention in the U.S. Army reports  
furthermore, Father Joset's own written account of his role in the battle  
makes no reference to these events  
Joset was far away by the time Steptoe's men left their redoubt on the hill)  
yet another account, probably the closest to the truth, is the one presented in the U.S. Army reports,  
which describe the final preparations and the departure of the column under cover of darkness  
Steptoe's command escaped unmolested to the Snake River even though Steptoe  
was forced to leave two severely injured soldiers along the route who later died

#### CASUALTIES AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE BATTLE OF ROSALIA (TOHOTONIMME)

Lieutenant-Colonel Edward J. Steptoe's troops had barely escaped disaster  
in the process Steptoe had disclosed the temper of the Northern tribes  
but he had stopped the potential massacre of a second expedition under John Mullan  
preparing to march north and even less prepared than had been Steptoe's Ninth Cavalry  
Casualty tallies for the Battle of Rosalia (Tohotonimme) have been variously reported  
most accounts indicate that out of Steptoe's command a total of seven men were killed  
including two officers, four enlisted men and one Indian scout  
at least six, and perhaps as many as eighteen others were wounded  
one man was missing

Indian deaths as a result of the battle have been reported as at least nine and as many as fifteen  
while it appears that from forty to fifty warriors were wounded  
these numbers favor the soldiers, especially considering that Steptoe's force was outnumbered  
by perhaps as much as ten to one by an enemy that possessed superior weapons  
Steptoe had successfully led a large party of men and horses back through enemy lines  
all the way to Fort Walla Walla without further damage  
but, after all, Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe and the U.S. Army had been defeated  
some referred to the event as "Steptoe's Disaster"

It was a fact that when the battle was over, the Indians were left in control of the field  
having overcome their own differences they had united to defeat a common foe  
who threatened all of their livelihoods  
seeing the troops flee under the cover of night to their faraway base  
greatly boosted the morale of the Native American defenders  
each tribe made its way to their separate homes with a sense of pride and accomplishment  
(unfortunately for the Indians they had set into motion forces that they could scarcely conceive  
forces that, before the year of 1858 was out, would sweep away their way of life forever)

#### U.S. ARMY LEARNS OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL EDWARD STEPTOE'S DEFEAT

When U.S. Ninth Infantry Commander Colonel George Wright learned of Steptoe's losses

he immediately informed Commander of the Department of the Pacific,

Brigadier-General Newman S. Clarke: **“That all the Indians in that section of the country have combined for a general war, there is no shadow of doubt. They are numerous, active, and perfectly acquainted with the topography of the country; hence, a large body of troops will be necessary if, as I presume, it is designed to bring the Indians under subjection, and signally chastise them for this unwarranted attack upon Colonel Steptoe. It is my opinion that one thousand troops should be sent into the country, thus enabling the commander to pursue the enemy in two or three columns.”**<sup>211</sup>

Colonel Wright requested the power to declare Martial Law in Eastern Washington and to restrict the activities of settlers and miners in the region

Lieutenant-Colonel Edward J. Steptoe reported: **“From the best information to be obtained, about half of the Spokanes, Coeur d’Alenes, and probably the Flatheads, nearly all the Palouses, a portion of the Yakimas, and, I think, a small number of Nez Perces, with scattered bands of various petty tribes, have been for some time, and are now hostile.”**<sup>212</sup>

#### SITUATION IN EASTERN WASHINGTON IS VOLATILE

Inspired by the success of the Spokanes and other Indians against Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe, Yakima Indians had begun harassing parties of miners moving up the Columbia River toward the gold fields beyond the international border

Up to now the U.S. Army formerly under the command of General John E. Wool had not pushed any vigorous campaign

neither had his successor General Newman S. Clarke

both officers had hoped the random Indian raiding would cease if the Indians were not provoked but the attack on Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe

showed that the Indians regarded restraint as weakness

decisive action was now necessary

#### COMMANDER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE PACIFIC GROWS CONCERNED

Smarting under the humiliation of Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe’s defeat at the Battle of Rosalia General Newman S. Clarke, Commander of the Pacific Division, was concerned about conditions in the Northern Division of his command

Captain Erasmus Keyes and several companies of the U.S. Third Artillery armed s infantrymen were dispatched by ship from San Francisco to Fort Vancouver

#### GENERAL NEWMAN S. CLARKE REJECTS MARTIAL LAW

Colonel George Wright’s request to declare martial law over Eastern Washington was denied

General Clarke instructed Colonel Wright: **“Your intention to declare martial law, and to forbid Whites to enter the Indian country, as soon as you cross Snake river, has been made known to the commanding general. The absolute necessity to which such an act must appeal for its justification is**

---

<sup>211</sup> *History of Pacific Northwest - Oregon and Washington*. Compiled and Published by the North Pacific History Company. P. 629.

<sup>212</sup> *History of Pacific Northwest Oregon and Washington*, Compiled & Published by the North Pacific History Company, P. 629.

**not apparent; and the general forbids it. The Hudson's Bay Company has the right of entry, guaranteed by treaty; and this must not be denied them on the mere suspicion that some of the employees are ill disposed; and our own citizens, from whom no danger is to be apprehended, must not be injured in their interests.”**<sup>213</sup>

General Clarke decided to visit the Northern Division himself to look into conditions there

#### LIEUTENANT JOHN MULLAN SETS OUT FROM FORT WALLA WALLA

Stopping only briefly, Mullan’s expedition set out from Fort Walla Walla

as he and his men progressed, Mullan sent out smaller parties in different directions

to examine specific sites that could have potential for improving the route of the military road

Gustavus Sohon was sent ahead of the group to study the route to along the St. Regis River

(roughly the route of today’s Interstate 90)

with the Indians actively engaged in fighting the Army, Lieutenant Mullan became leery

he felt obligated to gather the facts regarding the situation ahead

before deciding either to move forward or break up the expedition

while he considered what to do he occupied his men with building bridges

across Five-Mile and Ten-Mile creeks

Lieutenant Mullan’s efforts had barely begun when he received word -- May 30, 1858

of Colonel Steptoe’s defeat in a battle against about a thousand Indians on the Spokane Plains

Steptoe’s battleground (near present-day Rosalia, Washington) lay directly in Mullan’s path

Mullan decided it was impractical to continue his construction efforts

he returned to Fort Dalles and disbanded his expedition and reported to the War Department

#### FRASER RIVER GOLD RUSH WAS ON IN ERNEST

John Donner, a Britisher wrote -- June 4, 1858: **“From California the exodus of miners continues. Some thousands have left by sea, and great numbers are going overland, traveling through Oregon to the new El Dorado.”**<sup>214</sup>

Some of the more adventurous miners managed to surmount the physical obstacles

presented by the Fraser River Canyon

they drifted even farther north where gold was found in abundance

#### UPPER FRASER RIVER REGION IS VERY ACTIVE WITH PROSPECTORS

American poured into New Caledonia by the tens of thousands

Several thousand miners using overland routes through Washington Territory

arrived in the “Upper Fraser” area between Lillooet and Fountain

this migration took place despite an injunction from Governor Douglas

that all access to the goldfields would only be through Victoria

armed miners traveled the Okanogan Trail and its Western branch, the Similkameen Trail

despite resistance by the local natives

Vancouver Island Royal Governor James Douglas attempted to control the Fraser River stampede

---

<sup>213</sup> *History of Pacific Northwest Oregon and Washington*, Compiled & Published by the North Pacific History Company, P. 630.

that would have irrevocably swept New Caledonia (British Columbia) out of Canadian hands into the waiting arms of the United States

#### CONDITIONS IN THE MINING REGION DETERIORATE BECAUSE OF RACIAL PREJUDICE

Gold seekers excluded from the dominant culture of the lower Fraser River such as the Chinese, Chileans, Hawaiians and local Nlaka'pamux Indians traveled the difficult trails to establish diggings in the interior beyond the village of Yale, B.C. which led to a string of small and large gold rushes further and further north (including what would become the largest and most famous, the Cariboo District)

To the gold seekers the Fraser River Canyon region area was inhabited by Nlaka'pamux "savages" who lived far beyond the reach and power of the British government in Victoria

open war almost took place at Hill's Bar when a group of Nlaka'pamux Indians outnumbered a group of miners and threatened to wipe them out -- June 1858

#### VICTORIA BECOMES THE MAIN ENTRY POINT TO REACH FRASER RIVER GOLD

Vancouver Island Royal Governor James Douglas' colony of Victoria continued to reap the gain, and the headaches, provided by the Fraser River gold rush

Douglas' twenty-three shilling a month (five dollars) licenses could only be purchased in Victoria

seaport of Victoria became the unquestioned entry point for the Fraser River diggings

Rush of hardened California miners to the quiet, former fur trading post of Victoria was fearsome

upwards of seven thousand people sailed from San Francisco -- June 1858

by that time nearly three hundred crude lumber buildings had been quickly built on the meadows around Fort Victoria's stockade

price of choice building lots, sixty-two feet by one hundred twenty feet, had soared from five dollars each to more than three thousand dollars

even settlers in the village of Whatcom beside Bellingham Bay who had constructed log cabins and buildings overnight on the Squalicum flats below the bluff north of Whatcom now busied themselves tearing the buildings down and transporting the lumber to Victoria

#### VANCOUVER, WASHINGTON TERRITORY BUILDS ITS FIRST HOSPITAL

Mother Joseph and her four Sisters of Providence worked in Vancouver, Washington Territory since their [1856] arrival

these Catholic missionaries had opened their Providence Academy boarding school

Sisters of Providence responded to the citizens' request for a hospital

Mother Joseph organized the conversion of a small building that she planned to use as a laundry and bakery

women of the town promised to support the care of poor patients

Sisters of Providence opened St. Joseph Hospital in Vancouver -- June 7, 1858

this was the first permanent hospital in the Pacific Northwest

---

<sup>214</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 227.

### CAPTAIN ERASMUS KEYES LEADS THE THIRD ARTILLERY UP THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Captain Erasmus Keyes had only recently arrived at Fort Vancouver after steaming north from San Francisco with two companies of U.S. Third Artillery who were armed as infantrymen he set out from Fort Vancouver on a 177-mile march to Fort Dalles -- June 9, 1858

### ISAAC STEVENS CANNOT GET CONGRESS TO APPROVE HIS TREATIES WITH THE INDIANS

Isaac Ingalls Stevens, re-elected by the voters, was returned to Congress as Washington's Territorial Delegate to Congress

Stevens and Oregon's Joe Lane continued working together as territorial delegates they succeeded in having the Department of Interior allow for payments for the transcontinental railway to be made

Stevens also worked incessantly in Congress to have his treaties ratified he was joined in this effort by Department of the Pacific Commander General Newman S. Clarke

Congress adjourned without ratification of any of Steven's treaties -- June 9, 1858 (news of Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe's defeat reached Washington City later in June)

### ROYAL GOVERNOR JAMES DOUGLAS IMPOSES ORDER IN THE GOLDFIELDS

Better transportation and roads were required

to improve the transport of supplies to the goldfields Royal Governor Douglas provided a charter to the Pacific Mail Steam Ship Company of California to operate six vessels between Victoria and the mouth of the Fraser River -- June 1858

Pacific Mail Company agreed to carry no unlicensed passengers and only goods belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company

in return the ship operators kept all proceeds except for two dollars per passenger which was rebated to the colony -- and to Governor James Douglas' own company

Douglas also permitted two American sternwheelers to supplement Hudson's Bay Company boats on the navigable 100 miles of the Fraser River leading to Yale, New Caledonia

Royal Governor Douglas at the same time imposed still further restraint on the miners to assure compliance with his license demands (and to ensure a comfortable profit for his company)

Douglas stationed a British warship at the mouth of the Fraser River sixteen unauthorized vessels were seized in the month of June alone

### BRITISH COLUMBIA ROYAL GOVERNOR DOUGLAS SETS OUT FOR THE GOLDFIELDS

Vancouver Island Royal Governor James Douglas decided to visit the Fraser River goldfields to investigate the conflict between the Nlaka'pamux natives and the prospectors

On his way to the Fraser River mining district, Royal Governor Douglas stopped at New Fort Langley 2½ miles upstream from the Hudson's Bay Company's post of Fort Langley

to prevent squatting by gold seeking prospectors, Douglas had town sites surveyed and offered for sale at New Fort Langley and Fort Hope

Royal Governor Douglas set out by steamboat for the goldfields of the Fraser River and the village of Yale, British Columbia with a contingent of Royal Marines and a newly-arrived contingent of Royal Engineer

excited news of his upriver journey preceded him

#### ROYAL GOVERNOR JAMES DOUGLAS ARRIVES AT YALE, NEW CALEDONIA

Vancouver Island Royal Governor Douglas was greeted with a formal welcome by units of miners after listening to the events that had disrupted the mining district

Royal Governor Douglas concluded that the main cause conflict in the goldfields was that the Nlaka'pamux Indians were jealous of the large quantities of gold being taken by the miners from their territory

#### ROYAL GOVERNOR JAMES DOUGLAS IMPOSES REGULATIONS ON GOLD PROSPECTORS

Many of the prospectors invading New Caledonia were Americans

Royal Governor James Douglas, the Black Scot and former Fort Vancouver Chief Factor, feared they would settle the area north of the international boundary

Governor Douglas was concerned that the invaders would not respect British laws and institutions he also worried the United States could eventually annex Vancouver Island and New Caledonia just as they had Oregon Territory and Washington Territory

and he would have no military means to uphold either British law or property rights

he noted in a report to the British Colonial Office dated June 15, 1858:

**“I refused to grant them any rights of occupation to the soil and told them distinctly that Her Majesty’s Government ignored their very existence in that part of the country, which was not open for the purpose of settlement, and they were permitted to remain there merely on sufferance, that no abuses would be tolerated, and that the Laws would protect the rights of the Indians no less than those of the white men.”<sup>215</sup>**

Douglas worked ceaselessly to establish law for the diverse population

mining regulations were drawn up and constables were hired

he appointed gold commissioners with police power to supervise all aspects of mining activity

Indians were appointed as magistrates to bring forward natives who broke the law

#### CAPTAIN ERASMUS KEYES LEADS THE U.S. THIRD ARTILLERY INTO FORT DALLES

Captain Keyes arrived at Fort Dalles with two companies of U.S. Third Artillerymen armed as infantry after a march of twelve days -- June 21, 1858

one company was led by Captain Keyes

second company under Keyes’ command was led by Lieutenant James Lyon White

#### ROYAL GOVERNOR JAMES DOUGLAS MAKES IMPROVEMENTS TO THE MINING DISTRICT

Douglas, The Black Scot, also worked to improve ground transportation to the region

Hudson’s Bay Company officer at Fort Alexandria, Alexander C. Anderson was chosen

by Royal Governor James Douglas to try to find a practical overland route to the goldfields

Anderson’s proposed route followed an old Hudson’s Bay Company fur-brigade trail

this route from Fort Langley avoided the virtually impassable Fraser River Canyon

however, Anderson believed that construction would prove to be so difficult

---

<sup>215</sup> Jenni Calder, *Scots in Canada*, P. 108.

that the proposed route could only be justified in the event of an emergency none-the-less, Royal Governor James Douglas was looking for a way to encourage American gold miners to stay within British territory and to follow British law Governor Douglas ordered Alexander C. Anderson's route be constructed to the upper portion of the Fraser Canyon to the vicinity of Lillooet, New Caledonia

#### VANCOUVER ISLAND ROYAL GOVERNOR DOUGLAS FINANCES THE DOUGLAS ROAD

While visiting the village of Yale, British Columbia Royal Governor Douglas announced subscriptions could be paid to hire parties of volunteers directed by Alexander Anderson to construct a new route as a way around the dangers of the old canyon trail Anderson's new route was by way of the Harrison River to the Upper Fraser River by way of the Lakes Route to Yale

at Yale a mule track led to Lytton, New Caledonia this route was to continue on to Lillooet it was hoped this route would also diminish continued fears regarding the local natives Alexander Anderson's route became known as the Douglas Road (or sometimes the Lillooet Trail, or Harrison Trail or Lakes Route) it served as a gold rush-era transportation route from the Pacific coast to the interior After this flurry of activity Royal Governor James Douglas, feeling the situation was well in hand, returned to Victoria on Vancouver Island

his subordinates, of course, followed him -- even those who had no business at all on the island

#### COMMANDER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE PACIFIC ARRIVES AT FORT VANCOUVER

General Newman S. Clarke arrived by steamer from his headquarters in San Francisco to an eleven-gun salute at Fort Vancouver -- June 23, 1858

Clarke found himself embarrassed not only by the inadequacy of his force in the Northern Division but also by the policy left for him by of his predecessor, General John E. Wool

While the Indians in Eastern Washington were still celebrating their victory over Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe,

General Clarke moved his headquarters to Fort Vancouver

he was determined to defeat and punish the hostile natives

Clarke changed the army officers' attitude toward the Indians

previously the military had viewed with detachment the struggles involving the territorial militias now with Steptoe's regular troops defeated, the high command ordered reprisals

Clarke urgently requested Superintendent of Indian Affairs James Nesmith see him at Fort Vancouver regarding an expedition to be organized against the Spokane Indians

#### GENERAL NEWMAN S. CLARKE DEVELOPS A BATTLE PLAN

Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe had been the sole U.S. military presence in Eastern Washington Steptoe's defeat clearly called for an immediate increase in Army personnel

Department of the Pacific Commander General Clarke planned two simultaneous major campaigns one in Yakima Country and the other in the region of the Spokane Indians

Colonel George Wright, Commander of the Ninth Infantry stationed at Fort Dalles,

would command a well-armed military force on a punitive expedition east of Fort Walla Walla

marching against the Northern tribes: Spokanes, Coeur d'Alenes, Palouses and Pend d'Oreilles  
Major Robert S. Garnett at Fort Vancouver would lead the 300 men  
of the U.S. Ninth Infantry Companies C, G and I from Fort Vancouver to Fort Simcoe  
then lead an expedition to punish the Yakima Indians  
by marching across Yakima Indian land from Fort Simcoe to Fort Colville  
Both Colonel Wright and Major Garnett would proceed to exterminate all enemy combatants  
with whom they made contact  
General Clarke expected the hostiles who did not fall into Major Garnett's hands  
would be driven into Spokane Indian Country where Colonel Wright would deal with them  
Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe was to command Fort Walla Walla  
General Clarke's more aggressive approach to pacifying the Indians cleared the air  
of much of the rancor that had set military and civil government policies on such divergent courses

#### GENERAL NEWMAN S. CLARKE DEALS WITH HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

While investigating the situation in Washington Territory,  
General Clarke learned Hudson's Bay Company was busily loading 200 horses in a pack train  
to carry the year's supplies from Fort Colville to Fort Hope  
2,000 pounds of gun powder and a proportionate number of rifle balls were included  
Clarke also ascertained Hudson's Bay Company had a practice  
of trading the Indians gunpowder for animal pelts  
General Clarke was informed eight or ten Coeur d'Alene Indians had arrived at Fort Colville  
with American army horses  
they were also leading a number of mules taken from Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe  
some of these animals the Coeur d'Alenes had sold to Hudson's Bay Company  
General Clarke convinced Vancouver Island and British Columbia Royal Governor Sir James Douglas  
and Hudson's Bay Company Chief Trader James A. Graham to discontinue the trade in ammunition  
and to store supplies destined for Fort Hope in a safe location along the Thompson River

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT BEGINS TO VIGEROUSLY PREPARE HIS MEN FOR BATTLE

Colonel George Wright, commanding the U.S. Ninth Infantry prepared to inflict punishment  
and retribution on the Northern tribes: Spokane, Coeur d'Alene, Palouse and Pend d'Oreille Indians  
Colonel Wright's Infantry and Artillery were organized as a Rifle Brigade  
all of Major Grier's First Dragoons, with the exception of one company  
which manned two mountain howitzers were armed to fight as infantry soldiers,  
were issued new long-range Springfield rifles  
and some new Sharp's breech-loading carbines  
neither of which the Indians knew about  
Third Artillery was provided long-range repeating Model 1855 Yaeger Percussion Rifle-Muskets  
Model 1841 military musket was replaced by the Model 1855 Yaeger Percussion Rifle-Musket  
(also known as the Harper's Ferry Rifle or Mississippi Rifle)  
this ultimate muzzle loading musket was manufactured  
at Springfield, Massachusetts and Harper's Ferry, Virginia  
new rifle-sized musket with a long, thin barrel weighed just under ten pounds

overall length was fifty-six inches

barrel was forty inches long and was rifled with three spiral grooves

it had a sixteen inch wooden stock

this new weapon delivered a self expanding .58-caliber rifle-musket Minie ball

that was loaded into a revolving cylinder fired by a conventional cap lock

with enough power at 1,000 yards to penetrate four inches into a soft pine board  
accuracy and velocity were greatly increased

any warrior on horseback was expected to be hit at 600 yards

this proved to be a decisive factor in out-shooting the Hudson's Bay weapons

being used by the Indians

effectiveness and efficiency of Wright's soldiers matched that of the improved long-range rifles

New uniforms were issued to Colonel Wright's command

old uniform coats and "flowerpot" hats formerly used were left behind

these troops wore the blue-flannel shirts and slouch felt hats

that became the familiar uniform of the Indian fighters and Buffalo soldiers

#### CAPTAIN ERASMUS KEYES ADDS TO HIS COMMAND AT FORT DALLES

Captain Erasmus Keyes led Companies A, B, G, K and M of the U.S. Third Artillery

including a company led by Lieutenant James Lyon White in charge of a howitzer company

armed with two 6-pound mountain howitzers and two 12-pounders

U.S. Second Artillery Lieutenant John Mullan at Fort Dalles offered his services

as an officer in the field to Colonel George Wright

Lieutenant Mullan was assigned to Captain Erasmus Keyes'

U.S. Third Artillery command -- June 24, 1858

#### BRITISH ADMIRALTY BECOMES INTERESTED IN PROTECTING BRITISH COLUMBIA

In answer to the concerns expressed by Vancouver Island Royal Governor James Douglas

London finally sent the peacekeeping forces he requested

including a contingent of Royal Engineers under Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Station

British Rear Admiral Robert Lambert Baynes who arrived aboard HMS

(Her Majesty [Queen Victoria's] Ship) *Ganges* -- June 28, 1858

(Rear-Admiral Robert Lambert Baynes was named the new Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Station

[often referred to as the Pacific Squadron] stationed at Valparaiso, Chile [July 8, 1857]

his flagship was the HMS *Ganges* an 84-gun Royal Navy ship of the line)

British Admiralty instructed Admiral Baynes to make certain a sufficient naval force

was on the northwest coast of North America to uphold British sovereignty

and maintain law and order in the gold mining districts of British Columbia

being invaded by Californian gold seekers

#### FATHER JOSEPH JOSET REPRESENTS THE INDIANS

Catholic priest Father Joseph Joset was aware that many Coeur d'Alene Indians

regretted their attack on Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe

He visited General Newman Clarke and made an appeal for forgiveness of the Coeur d'Alenes

he offered to mediate a peace pact

stressing their penitence and noting they had been deceived by Kamiakin and the Nez Perces  
Coeur d'Alenes agreed to surrender to the army for punishment some members of the tribe  
who fired on the troops in disobedience of the chiefs

General Clarke was willing to receive their surrender; but he instructed Colonel George Wright: **“The delivery of the insubordinate Indians who fired on the troops, and the restoration of the howitzers abandoned by the troops, must be conditions precedent to any accommodation.”**<sup>216</sup>

General Newman S. Clarke authorized the priest and his superior, Father N. Congiato,  
to deliver a proposal to the Indians -- but the terms were very severe:

- troops were to pass through Indian Country whenever he desired to send them;
- a road from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Benton, Montana would be built;
- all property stolen from the government would be returned

Father Joset traveled among the Indians for three weeks -- nothing could be accomplished

Coeur d'Alenes began singing war chants now that Chief Kamiakin was living among them

#### PREPARATIONS FOR COLONEL WRIGHT'S CAMPAIGN ON THE NORTHERN TRIBES BEGINS

Captain Erasmus Keyes as assigned to construct a fort at the Red Wolf Crossing of the Snake River  
near the mouth of Alpowa Creek

Captain Keyes led his five company command of the U.S. Third Artillery  
from Fort Dalles to Fort Walla Walla -- July 3, 1858

including Lieutenant James Lyon White's Third Artillery Company  
armed with two 6-pound mountain howitzers and two 12-pounders

Weather was excessively hot making the journey difficult for the soldiers

#### AN AMERICAN OF BAD REPUTE GOES IN SEARCH OF GOLD

Notorious Edward “Ned” McGowan was a friend of President James Buchanan

McGowan was a bully-boy with a fearful temper

who was once involved in a knife fight while serving in the Pennsylvania legislature

he moved to San Francisco and became associated with that city's firemen

he became a scandalous businessman

who ran a roulette wheel on the second floor of a San Francisco brothel

Ned McGowan became a well-known corrupt politician:

- he became a disgraced police superintendent,
- he became a notorious judge in San Francisco's scandalous Barbary Coast,
- he invented the false-bottomed ballot box that made tampering more easily accomplished

Ned McGowan and his San Francisco firemen became involved with the local Law and Order Party  
they were the sworn enemies of another powerful and even more dangerous gang

San Francisco's Vigilance Committee -- which sought to fight crime through illegal “courts”

on one occasion in San Francisco, Ned he used a corset to compress his ample stomach

disguised himself as a Mexican and escaped from his Vigilante Committee rivals

---

<sup>216</sup> *History of Pacific Northwest Oregon and Washington*, Compiled & Published by the North Pacific History Company, P. 630.

After his exploits in San Francisco, Ned McGowan rushed to the Fraser River goldfields when he and his traveling companions arrived in Victoria, Canada -- July 4, 1858 they fired a 100-gun salute in honor of American independence  
British Royal Governor James Douglas was none too pleased with the stunt this, at a time when the influx of unruly Americans threatened Douglas' autocratic regime it also did not help McGowan's reputation that his bad press had preceded him  
Royal Governor Douglas was determined to keep a close eye on Ned McGowan

#### OLDEST BRICK BUILDING IN WASHINGTON IS CONSTRUCTED

Workers began construction in Bellingham at 1308 E Street -- July 5, 1858  
brick base was twenty inches thick  
it was reinforced by steel rods brought around Cape Horn with the bricks  
wooden beams were cut in the region's first sawmill  
windows could be covered by heavy metal shutters when necessary for protection  
Washington's oldest brick building housed a general merchandise store  
(five years later the building was converted to the Whatcom County Courthouse and City jail  
later still it housed the local newspaper: *Bellingham Bay Mail*)

#### OREGON WAITS IMPATIENTLY FOR STATEHOOD TO BE GRANTED BY CONGRESS

Voters in Oregon Territory had approved a proposed constitutional constitution and elected a slate of state officials ready to take office [November 9, 1857]  
Although the state of Oregon did not exist, a four-day "state" legislative special session was called as required by the yet-to-be Congressionally approved state constitution -- July 6, 1858  
Territorial Delegate Joseph Lane resigned as Oregon Territorial Delegate to Congress  
Oregon "State Senate" elected two national senators to represent the yet-to-be-accepted state

- former Territorial Governor, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, General, and Delegate to Congress  
Joe Lane was elected national senatorial-designate  
he was an ardent pro-slavery Democrat
- Delazon Smith was elected to the second national senatorial-designate position  
had been the Speaker of the Oregon Territory House of Representatives  
and had served as a delegate to the "state" constitutional convention  
he, too, pro-slavery Democrat

it was ironic that both national senator-designees were pro-slavery Democrats  
as it was supposed by everyone that Oregon was to be admitted (sometime in the future)  
as a Free State  
also incongruous was the fact voters had overwhelmingly decided both slaves and free Negroes  
were to be excluded from the state (this restriction was not removed until [1926])  
"Senator" Smith and "Congressman" Lafayette Grover who had been elected [in 1857]  
soon left for Washington City to join with former Territorial Delegate/"Senator" Joseph Lane  
in pushing for state ratification in Congress  
Governor John Whiteaker was "inaugurated" as "governor of Oregon -- July 8, 1858  
thus providing Oregon with two governors:  
Territorial Governor John Whiteaker and "State Governor" John Whiteaker

Since there was no word of Oregon having been made a state the legislature adjourned -- July 9  
(legislators would meet prematurely a second time [September 13 and 14])

#### U.S. SENATE VOTES TO CREATE OREGON STATE

Republicans were gathering strength in the United States Senate  
they were opposed to admitting a Democratic Territory to the Union as a state  
Oregon had elected two pro-slavery Democrats as proposed national senators  
and even more oddly had banished all Negroes from the proposed state  
In the U.S. Senate discussions centered on the number of people residing in Oregon Territory  
and on the clause prohibiting “free Negroes” in the state  
After heated debate, a coalition of moderate Democrats and fifteen Republican Senators  
passed the Oregon Organic Law (Admission Act) to create Oregon State  
by a vote of thirty-five to seventeen

#### OREGON STATEHOOD IS DELAYED IN THE NATIONAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

After passage of enabling legislation to create Oregon State passed in the United States Senate  
the Oregon issue became a political football in the House of Representatives:

- slavery question in Oregon Territory was a heated political issue  
that had not been addressed by the Oregon Constitutional Convention [August 1857]
- popular sovereignty (a vote of the people [white males]) [November 9, 1857]  
only further confused the issue:
  - slavery had been disallowed in the proposed state -- 2,645 to 7,727
  - Free Negroes were also disallowed in the proposed state -- 8,640 to 1,081
- in addition, sectional advantages were clearly sought by both the North and the South  
“Bloody Kansas” [1854 and 1858] where open war preceded a vote  
on slavery and statehood in Kansas was a factor disrupting the Oregon proceedings

#### FIRST ATTEMPT TO DELIVER A STEAMBOAT TO THE UPPER COLUMBIA RIVER

Captain Robert R. Thompson and Lawrence Coe had a monopoly supplying the United States Army  
at Fort Walla Walla with its needs

they thought it would be easier to get Army’s goods upriver on a steamboat rather than overland  
with that in mind they built the 110-foot-long steamer *Venture* at the Attwell Boatyard  
located on today’s “Dry Creek” at the head of the Cascade Rapids

On the day of her trial run *Venture* carried about forty passengers  
she started from Upper Cascades with a very low steam pressure but could not make headway  
she had swung too far into the channel  
every effort was made to reach the bank again, but before the lines could be made fast  
the booming current caught the vessel and swept her over the rapids  
she went down stern first and made the passage beautifully  
until she reached the foot of the Upper Cascades where she hung up on a rock  
in the middle of the river in a rather dangerous position

Captain E.W. Baughman, who was running a small schooner below the Cascades,  
sailed upriver and rescued the passengers

only one life was lost while the *Venture* was making the perilous run  
that of an excited man who jumped overboard  
while the *Venture* was making the perilous run and disappeared in the swirling waters  
Steamboat *Venture* remained hung-up on rocks below the Upper Cascades  
in the middle of the Columbia River

#### NLAKA'PAMUX INDIANS CONTINUE TO HAVE GRIEVANCES AGAINST THE GOLD MINERS

Tension between native groups and miners increased -- July 1858

Nlaka'pamux had many problems with the miners harassing the women, trespassing on their land,  
destroying their property and mistreating them in general including excluding them  
from mining for gold on their own land  
twenty-five miners travelling through the Okanagan Valley to the Fraser Canyon  
stole and destroyed provisions at an Indian camp and then ambushed unarmed natives  
who were returning to camp the next day killing an estimated ten or twelve  
and injuring equally as many  
Nlaka'pamux blamed miners when the 1858 salmon run that provided their principal food supply  
proved to be significantly less than other years

#### FRASER RIVER GOLD RUSHERS FACE DISAPPOINTMENT

Gold had been found on the gravel bars and sand bars of the river below the Fraser River Canyon  
most of the first stampeder reached the lower Fraser Canyon -- mid-summer 1858  
just when warm summer weather melted snow and ice in the mountains  
causing the river levels to rise appreciably and flood the gravel bars and sand bars  
gold deposits now lay in the flooded stream bed covered by the summer river runoff  
thirty thousand miners who swarmed over the remaining few slim acres  
desperately they sought out a few square yards on the sand and gravel bars  
they soon worked the pickings clean  
California prospectors were familiar with spring runoffs, but not this  
there were no riverbanks from which to work  
several gold prospectors working the river were doomed to death in the frenzy of the river

#### ROYAL GOVERNOR JAMES DOUGLAS APPOINTS GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

There were just three government officials in the Fraser River Canyon  
two revenue collectors and a justice of the peace at Hill's Bar  
Yale, New Caledonia had no government official  
it was a lawless town of tents and shacks  
with a population of 5,000 miners, traders and gamblers  
as a result, the miners managed themselves and their own dealings with natives,  
they organized meetings, elected officers on individual bars  
to apply and administer their own rules  
To avoid further conflict in the Fraser River Canyon goldfields Royal Governor James Douglas  
appointed two officials to represent the authority of the crown on the mainland  
although he had no idea of their real characters:

- Captain P.B. Whannell was named magistrate for Yale, New Caledonia
- George Pierre was named justice of the peace for the ramshackle “town” of Hill’s Bar nine miles below Yale

#### HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY LOSES ITS JURISDICTION OVER NEW CALEDONIA

Fraser River Canyon gold rush north of the settlement of Yale, New Caledonia

brought an influx of tens of thousands of people, mostly Americans, into the region -- 1858

Vancouver Island Royal Governor James Douglas had no legal authority over the region

but he attempted to impose order by exceeding his authority

British Queen Victoria decided New Caledonia, Hudson’s Bay Company territory west of the Rockies, was to be replaced with the new Crown Colony she called British Columbia

Hudson’s Bay Company’s control over the region was to be eliminated

including any claim the company held over mineral resources

Administration of British Columbia was designed to be distinct from that of Vancouver Island

British Columbia was to have its own capital city, New Westminster,

located on the north side of the Fraser River had just been surveyed by Royal Engineers

#### SITUATION IN THE MINING DISTRICT GROWS DIRE

Meetings of “miners’ committees” were held

these were a diverse lot of men from all over the world

most of whom had been in the California gold rush

Six hastily assembled “companies” of irregular troops were mustered to respond to the Indian threat

these disorderly combatants came from the goldfields around Yale, British Columbia

Three of these militia units were most significant:

- one was the Austrian Company captained by a John Centras

it was composed of French and German irregular militiamen

who had followed other Californian miners northwards to Yale

when news of the Fraser River gold rush reached San Francisco;

- another regiment was composed of bloody-thirsty prospectors bent on a war of extermination

they elected Captain Graham as their commander and took the name the Whatcom Company

from the Whatcom Trail most had used in open defiance of British colonial administration;

- largest and most influential company formed in the chaotic situation

was the New York Pike Guards led by a Captain H.M. Snyder

Snyder swayed the assembled miners committees to settle for a war of pacification

rather than a war of extermination as was the wish of Captain Graham and others

Snyder proposed that a distinction be made between warlike and friendly Indians

and that messengers should be sent up the Fraser Canyon

ahead of the advancing companies asking for friendly natives to display a white flag

as a sign of peace

#### NEW CALEDONIA BECOMES THE CROWN COLONY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Parliament of the United Kingdom in London passed legislation designating New Caledonia

to be a Crown Colony -- August 2, 1858

this new colony was given the name British Columbia  
although the British Government had created the Crown Colony of British Columbia  
there was little formal government presence in the Fraser River Canyon  
Vancouver Island Royal Governor James Douglas was invited by the British government  
to be the governor of both colonies if he severed all connections with Hudson's Bay  
and Puget Sound Agricultural companies  
accepting the position of governor for both colonies was a difficult decision for The Black Scott  
for thirty-seven years Hudson's Bay Company had been his life  
but he could go no higher in the firm than the position he already held  
his brief exposure to civil authority left him ambitious to make his mark in British colonial service  
moreover, the combined governorships would bring him almost \$25,000 a year  
ten times the average salary paid by the United States to one of their territorial governors  
To further complicate matters Royal Governor James Douglas had his home in Victoria  
he would govern from there  
while the location of the capitol of British Columbia was never in dispute,  
throughout his administration Douglas was accused of betraying British Columbia interests  
either to the Hudson's Bay Company  
or to the rival colony of Victoria on Vancouver Island where his home was located  
(these charges seem unfair  
meticulous, austere and rigidly proud, Royal Governor James Douglas remained  
as impartiality aloof from political pressure as any man in his position could)

#### BRITISH INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY SURVEY TEAM ARRIVES

American Lieutenant John G. Parke, chief surveyor of the international boundary, and his crew  
were joined in their efforts by British Boundary Commissioner Colonel John Summerfield Hawkins  
who commanded the British Royal Engineers party that consisted of about 100 men  
including British soldiers of the Royal Engineers as well as civilian axmen  
Colonel John Summerfield Hawkins established his base camp on a strip of open land  
near the mouth of the little Campbell River  
this site was just north of the forty-ninth parallel (the International Boundary) -- early August  
British troops constructed about a mile and three-quarters of good road  
along the shore of Semiahmoo Bay between the boundary and Camp Semiahmoo  
(this base was later used while the boundary was slashed and marked  
from Semiahmoo Bay to Sumas Flats)  
two British survey ships were also part of survey effort  
HMS *Plumper*, a screw-driven steam sloop under British Captain George Henry Richards  
steam Corvette HMS *Satellite* under British Captain James Prevost  
both captains also served as British Boundary Commissioners

#### BRITISH BOUNDARY COMMISSION FINDS GOLD

Royal Engineer Colonel John Summerfield Hawkins camped on Similkameen River  
near the international boundary  
There one member of the survey party who found gold in the stream

(north of today's Oroville, Washington)

News spread like wildfire, hundreds of miners quickly raced to the region -- summer 1858

#### OREGONIANS ARE STRUCK WITH FRASER RIVER GOLD FEVER

Gold fever continued unabated in Oregon Territory as men rushed to become rich

Dr. Carl Friesach reported from Portland -- August 1858: **"...the whole population [is] in the greatest state of excitement on account of the news of the discovery of gold fields on the Fraser river; it was the only topic of conversation in the whole town."**<sup>217</sup>

#### RACE RELATIONS DETERIORATE IN THE CANADIAN GOLDFIELDS

Kanaka Bar was a claim mined by Kanakas (Hawaiians) near the town of Lytton, British Columbia  
two French miners in the area of Kanaka Bar raped a young Nlaka'pamux woman

Nlaka'pamux Indian retaliation was discovered when the two miners' headless bodies were found  
circling downstream in a large eddy near the boomtown of Yale

alarming the thousands of miners lining the riverbanks between there and Kanaka Bar

Nlaka'pamux's reputation for violence was well-known and the riverbanks north of Yale emptied  
miners by the thousands fled south to the relative safety between Yale and Spuzzum,

a tiny village of less than fifty located approximately thirty miles north of Fort Hope  
(Spuzzum was often referred to as being "beyond Hope")

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR RESIGNS

(Having received his divorce from the territorial legislature

Fayette McMullan married Mary Wood [July 1858]

Thurston County pioneer Isaac Wood's daughter)

Territorial Governor Fayette McMullan, after resigning his governorship of a year -- August 1858  
immediately left the territory and returned with his new bride to his old home in Virginia

he had served as territorial governor during two big events -- and had no part in either of them

Fraser River gold excitement probably had more effect on the humblest citizens than on him  
he knew he was in the Far West only temporarily

defeat of Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe was outside the governor's realm of influence

Charles H. Mason was named Acting Territorial Governor once more (this for a fifth time)

he assumed office [August 1858 to July 1859]

(Fayette McMullan's next elected position was as a member of the House of Representatives  
of the Confederate States of America

later he took up farming and banking and lost a bid for Governor of Virginia

Fayette McMullan died in a train accident [November 8, 1880])

#### DEPARTMENT OF THE PACIFIC COMMANDER GENERAL CLARKE ISSUES ORDERS

General Newman S. Clarke issued new orders -- early August 1858

**"That Colonel Wright proceed to Fort Walla Walla [from Fort Dalles], assume command of the troops, leave Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe a sufficient garrison to secure Walla Walla, and**

---

<sup>217</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 227.

prepare to move with a column of not less than six hundred men, as soon as practicable after the 1st of August. The objects to be obtained are the punishment and submission of the Indians engaged in the late attack on the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe, and the surrender of the Palouse Indians who murdered two miners in April last. These men are known to Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe.”<sup>218</sup>

Major Garnett orders were to: “Leave a sufficient force to garrison Fort Simcoe, and with the remainder take the field to punish the Indians who in June, 1858, attacked a party of miners in the Yakima country; and make such an impression upon and arrangements with those and other tribes, as will secure the lives of the Whites and their property. The tribe by whom the attack was made must deliver the individual offenders, or you must drive the whole to submission by severe punishment. Your rear must be secured from danger by hostages given for their good behavior. If they refuse to comply with this condition, they must be treated as hostiles. All must be driven to feel that, in the future, the demands of the government must meet with obedience. Kamiakin and Qualchen cannot longer be permitted to remain at large in the country. They must be surrendered or driven away. No accommodation must be made with any who will harbor them. Any tribe, the members of which give assistance to either of those troublesome Indians, will be considered as hostiles.”<sup>219</sup>

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT RECIEVES HIS NEW ORDERS

Colonel Wright commanded three companies of U.S. Ninth Infantry stationed at Fort Dalles two years earlier [1856] had marched through Eastern Washington

declaring his friendly intentions to the natives

after Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe’s defeat

Colonel Wright underwent a complete transformation of feelings

Colonel George Wright received his orders from Department of the Pacific Command General Clarke:

- he was hunt out some twenty-five warriors, mostly Palouse Indians, who were known to have participated in killing the Colville miners on Palouse River [April 1858]  
it was thought they had scattered among the Yakimas west of the Columbia River
- he was to capture or kill the warriors who had engineered the [May 1858] attack on Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe's command
- he was to recover the two howitzers abandoned in Steptoe’s dash for safety
- further, Yakima chiefs Kamiakin and Qualchan,  
who were believed to leaders of the present trouble were to be captured or driven away  
no accommodation was to be made with any tribe that sheltered them

Colonel Wright moved his command to Fort Walla Walla

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT ORGANIZES A STRIKING COLUMN AT FORT WALLA WALLA

Colonel Wright arrived at Fort Walla Walla leading three companies of U.S. Ninth Infantry soldiers  
Major William N. Grier at Fort Walla Walla had command

---

<sup>218</sup> *History of Pacific Northwest Oregon and Washington*, Compiled & Published by the North Pacific History Company, P. 629.

<sup>219</sup> *History of Pacific Northwest Oregon and Washington*, Compiled & Published by the North Pacific History Company, P. 631.

of a three-company battalion of Ninth Cavalry, First Dragoons:

- one First Dragoon Company was under Lieutenant Henry B. Davidson,
- another First Dragoon Company was under Lieutenant William D. Pender,
- Captain Charles S. Winder led a detachment of the Ninth Infantry (former First Dragoons)

all three of Major Grier's companies had been badly mauled

during Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe's defeat at the Battle of Rosalia

Captain Frederick T. Dent (Ulysses S. Grant's brother-in-law) led a two company battalion of U.S. Ninth Infantry soldiers

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT NEGOTIATES WITH THE NEZ PERCE INDIANS

Colonel Wright negotiated a treaty with the Nez Perce Indians in an effort to retain their friendship this agreement was signed by the colonel -- August 6, 1858

representing their tribesmen were chiefs Timothy, Three Feathers and Chief Speaking Eagle terms agreed to included:

- each party agreed not to bear arms against the other,
- each party agreed to aid the other in the event of war,
- United States Army would furnish Nez Perce scouts with arms, ammunition provisions, etc. as was necessary,
- United States would pay a fair price for material supplied by the Nez Perce to the army,
- a council would be held to resolve any misunderstandings which might arise

#### THIRTY-THREE NEZ PERCE WARRIORS SERVE THE ARMY AS SCOUTS

Thirty of these Nez Perce volunteers were to serve as infantrymen while three were hired as scouts they were issued new army uniforms -- partly to distinguish them from the enemy

Captain John Mullan of the Second Artillery had interrupted his road-building work he took command of the Nez Perce auxiliary soldiers

Mullan hoped to get in some road surveying between fights

to accomplish that end he took along a small cart for carrying his equipment

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT'S SPOKANE COUNTRY CAMPAIGN GETS UNDER WAY

Captain Erasmus Keyes was under Colonel George Wright's command

was ordered to construct a fort on the Snake River to protect the Red Wolf crossing

Captain Keyes led a detachment of Ninth Cavalry, First Dragoons and five companies of artillerymen armed as infantrymen with two twelve pound howitzers and two six pound guns

out of Fort Walla -- morning August 7, 1858

Second Artillery Lieutenant John Mullan was the engineer officer assigned to build the post

Lieutenant Mullan led thirty-three Nez Perce auxiliary soldiers -- three serving as scouts

#### INDIAN CARRYOUT A DARING RAID ON FORT WALLA WALLA

After Captain Erasmus Keyes departure from Fort Walla Walla,

Indians drove off thirty-six head of oxen belonging to the post -- night of August 7, 1858

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT ATTEMPTS TO CAPTURE THE FORT WALLA WALLA RAIDERS

Colonel Wright dispatched a messenger from Fort Walla Walla  
to inform Captain Erasmus Keyes of the loss to raiding Indians -- August 8, 1858  
Lieutenant Henry B. Davidson and a company of U.S. Ninth Infantry Dragoons  
were sent after the thieves  
Davidson scouted for thirty miles looking for Indians with no luck

#### FRASER RIVER CANYON WAR BEGINS IN CANADA

Fraser River Canyon War took place in the newly-declared Crown Colony of British Columbia  
it was one of the decisive events of the founding of the colony  
and was a major test of Royal Governor James Douglas' control over the goldfields  
Militia war parties left Yale and started up the Fraser River to find the murderers -- August 9, 1858  
they met no resistance as they progressed on their journey north to the village of Spuzzum  
where the companies found 3,000 panicked miners encamped in a small area  
they were worried for their safety but unable to proceed any farther south  
At Spuzzum Captain Snyder's New York Pike Guards and Captain Centras' Austrian company  
crossed to the east side of the Fraser River -- this was one of the only viable crossing locations  
Snyder sent messages forward to Camchin -- the ancient Nlaka'pamux "capital" village  
located at the confluence of the Fraser and Thompson rivers (today's town of Lytton, B.C.)  
to inform the local Indians they were coming to parley for peace -- not to make war  
Captain H.M. Snyder sent Captain Graham and his Whatcom Company up the west side of the river

#### FORT SIMCOE HAS A PORTION OF ITS HERD OF CATTLE RUSTLED

Lieutenant David McMurtie Gregg led a company of Ninth Infantry Dragoons from Fort Simcoe  
in pursuit of the cattle rustlers -- August 9, 1858  
Lieutenant Gregg spotted the Indians swimming many animals across the Snake River  
warriors burned the grass on the high prairie on both sides of the river  
Lieutenant Gregg's force was not strong enough to give chase so he returned to Fort Simcoe

#### FORT TAYLOR IS CONSTRUCTED BY CAPTAIN ERASMUS KEYES

Captain Erasmus Keyes reached the Tucannon River -- August 10, 1858  
leading his combined force of 200 men of the U.S. Third Artillery and Ninth Infantry  
accompanied by Lieutenant John Mullan and his thirty Nez Perce Indians serving as scouts  
Quickly Captain Keyes' men began construction on a temporary post  
located on the south bank of the Snake River at the mouth of the Tucannon River  
(east of Starbuck, Washington in the vicinity Walla Walla)  
it was built to protect the Red Wolf crossing of the Snake River -- August 10, 1858  
Fort Taylor was named in honor of Captain Oliver Hazard Perry Taylor who was killed  
during Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe's Battle of Rosalia

#### CONSTRUCTION OF FORT TAYLOR IS COMPLETED

Colonel George Wright and his command completed construction of a military post of rocks and logs  
along the Snake River at the mouth of the Tucannon River  
to protect a crossing of the Snake River -- August 11, 1858

it was poorly located for conducting war but was easily defensible  
as it was built of basalt rock with hexagonal bastions of alder  
Fort Taylor was garrisoned by Brevet-Major Wyse with one company of the Third Artillery  
two 6-pound mountain howitzers and two 12-pounders were mounted there  
This post was only used for six weeks as a base of operations in the campaign  
against the Spokane, Coeur d'Alene, Palouse and Pend d'Oreille Indians  
(several Indians skirmishes took place over the next several days)

#### CONSTRUCTION BEGINS ON A ROAD FROM FORT TAYLOR TO THE SNAKE RIVER

Captain Erasmus Keyes sent Lieutenant John Mullan to scout a route to the Snake River  
Mullan reported to Keyes that a road would have to be built  
Road construction was begun by Captain Erasmus Keyes -- August 11, 1858  
since Indians had burned the grass on the high prairie on both sides of Snake River  
road builders in Keyes' command exchanged gunfire with Indians who were scouting them

#### MAJOR ROBERT S. GARNETT MARCHES OUT OF FORT SIMCOE TO PUNISH THE YAKIMAS

Major Robert S. Garnett marched 300 men of the U.S. Ninth Infantry Companies C, G and I  
and Lieutenant George Crook's U.S. Fourth Infantry Company D  
marched north from Fort Simcoe -- August 12, 1858  
his orders read: **"You will attack all hostile Indians with vigor; make their punishment severe,  
and persevere until the submission of all is complete."**  
(1858 Annual Report of the Secretary of War P. 364.)

Garnett's expedition against the Yakima Indians was to proceed up the Columbia River  
to the mouth of Okanogan River to seek retribution on the Indians  
who had attacked a party of miners at Colville and killed two  
Major Garnett led three hundred men of U.S. Ninth Infantry Companies C, G and I  
to punish the Indians and restore the shattered prestige of the Army

#### U.S. AND BRITISH BOUNDARY COMMISSIONERS MEET

Both Commissioners met face to face for the first time at Semiahmoo Bay  
to plan strategy and timing of the boundary effort -- August 13, 1858  
Archibald Campbell represented the American survey team  
Captain John Summerfield Hawkins represented the British effort  
This meeting was conducted with elaborate politeness  
when Captain Hawkins arrived he was met by an official salute followed by a banquet  
these formal amenities were reciprocated the next day by the British  
after that they got down to the business of marking the boundary  
in spite of the gracious and respectful nature of the participants, the meetings failed utterly  
Americans and British worked individually on the project  
Although the two international boundary survey teams worked separately  
eventually all of the men of the joint survey part got along very well

it was noted: **“Only once did the British and American parties disagree over the location of the line itself, and later conferences over the drafting table soon satisfied both parties.”**<sup>220</sup>

Lieutenant Parke was the last of the Topographical Engineers to see duty in the American West according to one historian, **“The Topographical Engineers played the part of an advance guard as they collected and assembled an ever-mounting number of facts about the little-known area of the world.... Its officers were a new type of explorer, self-consciously carrying the burden of civilization to the wilderness and the lessons of the wilderness back into civilization.”**<sup>221</sup>

#### NLAKA’PAMUX INDIANS COME UNDER ATTACK

Captain Graham’s Whatcom Company rampaged up the west bank of the Fraser Canyon destroying native food caches and potato fields  
they discovered Nlaka’pamux natives and attacked  
nine Indians were killed, others were wounded and three were taken prisoner  
while the Whatcom Company was returning to Spuzzum, they burned three Indian villages  
one miner reported that a company of miners found several Indian camps  
and **“just killed everything, men, women, and children.”**<sup>222</sup>  
during a nighttime gun-battle the Whatcom Company was wiped out -- August 14, 1958  
this was witnessed by Snyder’s and Centras’ companies camped across the river at the time  
it was not a native attack, but rather a panicked reaction to a rifle falling over  
which caused a melee from which only two or three men survived  
as all the rest died in the dark shooting at each other in a “circular firing squad”

#### CANADIAN INDIANS HOLD A COUNCIL

Indians from all over the upper Thompson River region assembled at Lytton  
to decide on their response to the attacks by the miners militias  
Nlaka’pamux war leaders tried to incite the gathered warriors to wipe out the miners  
Okanagan, Shuswap, Bonaparte, Savona and Kamloops bands promised if war was declared  
they would fight  
but one of the chiefs named Spintlum had good relationship with Royal Governor Douglas  
he made an eloquent speech and convinced many to pursue peace and co-existence

#### AMERICAN MILITIA WAR PARTIES ENCOUNTER THE NATIVE COUNCIL

Captain H.M. Snyder and Captain John Centras reached at Lytton, British Columbia  
they marched their companies into the midst of the war council of twenty-seven chiefs  
had they known thousands of warriors were watching from the surrounding mountainsides  
they might not have been so bold  
honoring the native council custom, the militiamen were given the right to speak  
using translators they told the assembled natives that if the war were to continue  
white men by the thousands would come and occupy the country

---

<sup>220</sup> James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 62.

<sup>221</sup> James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 63.

<sup>222</sup> John M Findlay and Ken S. Coates, editors: *Parallel Destinies: Canadian-American Relations West of the Rockies*, P. 39.

and exterminate all of the natives

Captains Snyder and Centras believed they had persuaded the Indians to make peace  
thus ending the Fraser Canyon War

(many historians believe the decision to make peace had been determined before their arrival)

Snyder concluded six oral and written peace treaties with chiefs representing over 2,000 people  
dealing with co-existence in the Fraser Canyon and the working of the goldfields lining it  
local natives remained active as miners throughout the entire gold rush  
these became known as the Snyder Treaties

#### SNYDER TREATIES END THE FRASER RIVER CANYON WAR

No formal numbers of those killed during the Fraser Canyon War exist on either side  
a great deal of exaggeration has been made by both sides  
estimates of the miners killed range from several dozen to several hundred  
or even into the thousands  
some speculated the native casualties were even more extreme

#### MAJOR ROBERT S. GARNETT MARCHES ACROSS YAKIMA INDIAN COUNTRY

On the third day of his expedition to seek retribution on the Yakima Indians  
Major Garnett and his 300-man U.S. Ninth Infantry force made contact with the Yakimas  
Major Garnett sent Lieutenant Jesse K. Allen with fifteen infantrymen  
to search for a Yakima Indian fishing camp further up the Yakima River

#### LIEUTENANT JESSE K. ALLEN MAKES CONTACT WITH THE YAKIMAS

Fifteen Ninth Infantry men under Lieutenant Jesse K. Allen searched up the Yakima River  
twenty miles north of Umtanum Lake they surrounded an Indian fishing camp  
believed to be harboring some of the suspects who had killed two Colville miners  
Lieutenant Allen launched an early morning surprise attack -- morning August 15, 1858  
soldiers captured the entire band of twenty-one men, fifty women and children  
seventy horses and fifteen head of cattle besides a large quantity of Indian property  
in the uncertain dawn light Lieutenant Allen was killed by a shot from one of his own men  
Several of these Indians (three according to Garnett; five according to A.J. Splawn)  
were believed to have taken part in the attack on the two Colville miners  
these men were tied to trees and summarily shot

#### COLONEL WRIGHT BEGINS HIS PORTION OF THE EASTERN WASHINGTON CAMPAIGN

Colonel George Wright had prepared his command of 800 men for a punitive expedition  
against the Northern tribes: Spokane, Coeur d'Alene, Palouse and Pend d'Oreille Indians  
thirty thousand rations for the men were carried by mule train  
Colonel Wright marched out of Fort Walla Walla to join Captain Erasmus Keyes  
at Fort Taylor -- August 15, 1858  
two pack trains composed of a total of 400 mules were necessary to carry  
thirty thousand rations for the men -- enough to last for thirty-eight days  
ammunition and other supplies

100 packers and other employees managed the supply trains  
in addition to the 400 mules another 400 cavalry mounts were brought -- 800 animals in all  
Colonel George Wright's command was composed of:

- Major William N. Grier led the 190 men of Ninth Cavalry, First Dragoons Companies E, H, I and a detachment of Company C led by Captain Charles S. Winder armed with two twelve-pound mountain howitzers;
- Third Artillery Companies A, B, G, K and M armed as infantrymen, Lieutenant James Lyon White, U.S. Third Artillery, was armed with two 6-pound mountain howitzers and two 12-pounders
- Ninth Infantry Companies B and E  
Captain Frederick Dent led the 380 infantrymen of U.S. Ninth Infantry Company

#### LAST OF COLONEL WRIGHT'S COMMAND ARRIVES AT FORT TAYLOR

Three days were required for the entire column to reach Fort Taylor  
Colonel Wright's arrival at the post -- August 18, 1858  
showed him that Captain Erasmus Keyes and the Ninth Infantry Dragoons had been busy at the fort  
Keyes' men had constructed a road to the Snake River  
and had built a large flatboat the Red Wolf Crossing site

#### MAJOR ROBERT S. GARNETT CONTINUES HIS MARCH ACROSS YAKIMA INDIAN LAND

Major Garnett sent Lieutenant George Crook's U.S. Fourth Infantry Company D  
to a fishing place on the Wenatchee River -- August 18, 1858  
Major Garnett moved his main force up the Columbia River to the mouth of the Okanogan River

#### SEVERE STORMS HAMPER MILITARY OPERATIONS

Captain Erasmus Keyes reported a severe wind storm hit that night -- August 21, 1858  
tents were leveled and tumble weeds tore through Fort Taylor  
soldiers of U.S. Third Artillery Companies A, B, G, K and M were forced to take cover  
High winds were followed by several drenching rain storms -- August 22-[24]  
(this proved to be a blessing as the rain put out the grass fires started by Indians  
it also freshened the grass for forage and made further burning more difficult)

#### LIEUTENANT CROOK'S INFANTRY COMPANY PURSUES INDIANS SUSPECTED OF MURDER

Members of Lieutenant Crook's U.S. Fourth Infantry Company D surprised and captured  
a considerable number of Indians while they were fishing on the Yakima River -- August 22, 1858  
Several suspected Indians and their families managed to flee from Crook's soldiers  
with the aid of Yakima informants five of the alleged murderers of the Colville miners  
were recognized, tied up and shot  
Lieutenant Crook and his men set out in pursuit

#### LIEUTENANT GEORGE CROOK CONTINUES TO PURSUE THE FLEETING INDIAN FISHERMEN

For several days the troops chased the suspected natives  
as they fled the fugitives circled back to the fishing camp where the chase had begun

they found no provisions had been left for them  
since they were two day ahead of their pursuers they set about fishing

#### FLEEING FISHERMEN ARE NEARLY APPREHENDED

When scouts protecting the Yakima River fishing camp reported the approach of the soldiers another race began  
although they had women and children with them they fled  
over the most difficult part of the mountains  
instead of fleeing down the Okanogan River when Major Garnett was waiting for them  
Indians fleeing ahead of Lieutenant Crook's U.S. Fourth Infantry Company D  
made good their escape by felling trees across a narrow chasm  
forming a bridge strong enough for their horses to pass over  
after they everyone had crossed the bridge was destroyed -- August 25, 1858  
they crossed the Columbia River and joined with Owhi, Qualchan and Skloom  
although the troops had arrived before the Indians across the chasm were out of sight  
there were no more trees to fall in the area and it was too far around to pursue

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT COMPLETES PREPARATIONS FOR COMBAT

When weather permitted, Colonel George Wright left Fort Taylor -- August 25, 1858  
Wright ordered his artillery across the Snake River Red Wolf Crossing  
followed by the supplies and finally the infantry in that order  
all day was taken in accomplishing the task  
Wright left behind U.S. Third Artillery Company D  
under the command of Captain (Brevet-Major) Francis Octavus Wyse  
to man Fort Taylor and protect the supplies the large flatboat  
and several small boats that had been transported from Fort Walla Walla  
remainder of his forces composed of 680 army regulars  
(400 infantrymen, 190 dragoons and ninety in the rifle brigade), 100 civilian support personnel  
and 700 horses and mules accompanied him in the direction of Fort Colville  
there were also thirty-three friendly Nez Perces, three as scouts and the thirty prepared to fight,  
and all dressed in army uniforms to distinguish them from the warriors  
Wright proceeded slowly as small scouting parties of Indians showed themselves -- August 25, 1858

#### CAPTAIN ERASMUS KEYES MARCHES OUT OF FORT TAYLOR

Captain Keyes' U.S. Third Artillery Companies A, B, G, K and M and Ninth Infantry Dragoons  
spent the morning of a second day assisting part of the quartermaster's train across the Snake River  
Captain Keyes and his men joined forces with Colonel Wright who now had 800 men and 700 animals  
in his command -- afternoon of August 26, 1858

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT IS UNDER WAY ONCE AGAIN

Colonel Wright's column advanced into hostile territory -- August 27, 1858  
where the trail branched west leading directly to Fort Colville and east to Spokane Falls  
Wright chose the eastern route into Spokane Country

#### MAJOR ROBERT GARNETT'S COMMAND IS REUNITED

Lieutenant Crook abandoned the chase and he led his weary soldiers down the Wenatchee River to its confluence with the Columbia River where they joined Major Robert Garnett Major Garnett's united command began a march following the Columbia River north nearly to the international boundary

Indians suspected of conducting war against miners or settlers were captured and, when the suspicions could somehow be confirmed, executed

#### OREGON TRANSPORTATION LINE MAKES PLANS

Up the Columbia River from the Cascades Celilo Falls was the next obstacle to be overcome

Colonel Joseph S. Ruckel and Harrison Olmstead undertook development of a second railway to run from the Cascades to the Dalles on the Oregon side of the Columbia River

Captain J.O. Van Bergen contracted to clear the necessary land within thirty days -- August 28, 1858

in preparation for laying track for the extended Oregon Portage

construction plans for the portage were drawn by Portland civil engineer John W. Brazee

at the mouth of Eagle Creek a sawmill was constructed

#### ROYAL GOVERNOR JAMES DOUGLAS AGAIN TRAVELS TO THE MAINLAND

After receiving reports about the conflicts in the Fraser Canyon,

Vancouver Island Royal Governor James Douglas and a party of colonial leaders

left the colonial capital of Victoria located on Vancouver Island

to once again visit the mining region -- August 30, 1858

he was accompanied by a force of twenty Royal Marines and fifteen Royal Engineers

Royal Governor Douglas stopped at New Fort Langley

there he declared the Royal Colony of British Columbia in existence

(it would later become a Canadian province)

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT MAKES CONTACT WITH THE INDIANS

News reached Fort Taylor that a great force of hostile Indians was gathering at some lakes

three days away from Fort Taylor

this information was forwarded to Colonel Wright

Colonel Wright reached the East end of Sprague Lake after a march of eighteen miles

Indians were seen for the first time -- August 30, 1858

although their presence previously had been indicated

by burned grass which deprived the Army animals of feed

Indians began to appear in small bands in the hills on the right flank

but they fled at the advance of the dragoons

Gradually the warriors numbers increased as they moved in a parallel line with the troops

until they were bold enough to attack the pickets -- 5:00 P.M. Monday August 30, 1858

Indian firing was brisk

but Colonel Wright called out part of his command and the Indians fled

after a chase of more than four miles the dragoons returned to camp

## COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT CONTINUES HIS MARCH

After spending the night at the East end of Sprague Lake

Colonel Wright broke camp and moved out -- 6:00 A.M. Tuesday August 31, 1858

bands of Indians were even more numerous along the hillsides

but they did not approach the military column

however, shots were exchanged with the three Nez Perce scouts

Indians attempted to set fire to the grass but without much success as it was too green to burn freely

## INDIANS ATTACK COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT'S PACK TRAIN

Colonel Wright was within twenty miles of the Spokane River

warriors approached Wright's position under a thin cover of smoke

they struck Colonel Wright's pack train -- evening August 31, 1858

Captain Keyes' command was traveling about a half mile behind when the outbreak occurred

Keyes, hearing the attack, sent three companies of his artillerymen ahead to support Colonel Wright

armed as infantrymen the new long-range rifles used by Wright's artillerymen

were too much for the Spokanes and their allies

even by setting fire to the grass and creeping up under the cover of smoke

warriors could not get close enough for their inferior weapons to be effective

## COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT MAKE CAMP AT FOUR LAKES

Five days after leaving Fort Taylor, Colonel Wright's command was exhausted

they had marched more than 120 miles across the steep, dry hills of eastern Washington Territory,

through intense heat, suffocating dust, a severe thunderstorm that wrecked some of their gear,

and smoke from grass fires the Indians set trying to stampede the pack train

they were deep in Spokane territory fifteen miles southwest of the (present-day city of Spokane)

Colonel Wright concluded the main force of Indians was not a far distance away

he decided to rest his men for a few days

camp was made at Four Lakes (Silver, Meadow, Clear, and Granite lakes) -- night August 31, 1858

As the troops made camp they noticed horse-mounted warriors gathering on a hill two miles away

between the two forces lay one large lake and three smaller ones

## COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT PREPARES FOR BATTLE

At their Four Lakes camp soldiers began preparing for battle -- sunrise September 1, 1858

at daybreak the four lakes could be seen from the hilltop

dragoons made sure their weary horses had their fill of oats and water

infantrymen and artillerymen armed as infantry completed their preparations

Lieutenant James Lyon White's detachment of U.S. Third Artillery prepared their howitzer

As sunlight seeped over the Selkirk Mountains in the distance

soldiers became aware that the number of braves had grown during the night -- 6:00 A.M.

Spokane, Coeur d'Alene, Palouse and Pend d'Oreille warriors were gathering on a high hill

two miles northeast of Colonel Wright's camp (near today's Cheney, Washington)

Wright assigned Captain James Allen Hardie to guard the Four Lakes camp, supplies and 400 mules

Hardie's guard force consisted of fifty-four men of the Third Artillery Company M  
commanded by First Lieutenant Horatio Gates Gibson  
assisted by Second Lieutenant George Brown Dandy  
Second Lieutenant Lylan Benton Lyon took charge of one howitzer and fifty-four men  
one portion manned one howitzer under the command of Lieutenant Horatio Gates Gibson  
remainder of Company M reported to Second Lieutenant Lylan Benton Lyon

#### ATTACKING INDIANS FELT THEY HAD THE ADVANTAGE

An untold number of Indians appeared to be everywhere -- September 1, 1858

Indians were on the hills, in the ravines, in the woods, near the lakes and on the plain  
one steep hill rising 455 feet above the flat terrain soon became known as Wright's Hill  
Meadow Lake is located at the eastern base of Wright's Hill  
another rise, Riddle Hill, is to the northwest of Wright's Hill  
valley in between Wright's Hill and Riddle Hill holds Granite Lake and Willow Lake  
west of Riddle Hill is Silver Lake

one officer later reported that **"they seemed to cover the country for two miles"**<sup>223</sup>  
they displayed war-paint and their horses were decorated with strings of beads and eagle feathers  
most of them carried old Hudson's Bay Company muskets  
but some were armed only with bows and arrows or spears  
they rode about brandishing their weapons and yelling in defiance  
their attitude was insolent and provocative and they seemed to invite the troops to attack

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT MARCHES FROM HIS CAMP AT FOUR LAKES

After defensive preparations were completed

Colonel Wright marched out of his camp at Four Lakes -- 9:00 A.M. September 1, 1858

Colonel Wright's troops in the anticipated confrontation with the Indians consisted of:

- Major William Nicholson Grier who led 600 men of the Ninth Infantry, First Dragoons  
Companies C, E, H, I and a detachment of Company D  
some were armed with new Sharp's breech-loading carbines
- Captain Erasmus Keyes led the Third Artillery Companies A, B, G, K and M  
armed with long-range repeating Model 1855 Yaeger Percussion Rifle-Muskets
- Captain Frederick T. Dent led the Ninth Infantry Companies B and E
- Lieutenant James Lyon White, Third Artillery was in command of one howitzer  
and the howitzer detachment to operate the weapon
- Captain John Mullan directed thirty Nez Perce auxiliary soldiers and three Nez Perce scouts

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT MARCHES FROM THE SNAKE RIVER

Colonel George Wright led six companies of soldiers and a mountain howitzer -- September 1, 1858  
they marched in two columns toward the north slope of Wright's Hill  
Major William Nicholson Grier led about 100 mounted Ninth Infantry, First Dragoons

---

<sup>223</sup> Lawrence Kip, *War in the Pacific Northwest: The Journal of Lieutenant Lawrence Kip*, P. 55.

in one column  
220 men marched in the second column  
five Companies of U.S. Third Artillery were commanded by Captain Erasmus D. Keyes  
two Companies of U.S. Ninth Infantry led by Captain Frederick T. Dent  
and a mountain howitzer detachment commanded  
by Third Artillery Lieutenant James L. White  
Second Artillery Lieutenant John Mullan led his force of thirty-three Nez Perce Indians  
After traveling about a mile and a half they reached Wright's Hill

#### INDIANS WERE WAITING FOR THE ARRIVAL OF COLONEL WRIGHT'S SOLDIERS

Indians at the base of Wright's Hill seemed determined to hold their position  
to the right of the base of the hill were more Indians in a pine forest  
about five hundred mounted Indians occupied a vast plain to the north  
they were riding back and forth waving their weapons daring the troops to attack them  
they were dressed in their war array -- gaudily painted and decorated  
plumes of feathers fluttered above them  
animal skins and trinkets of all kinds embellished them in the gleaming sunlight  
their horses displayed the most glaring finery -- some were painted in contrasting colors  
white smeared with crimson in fantastic figures  
dark color was streaked with white clay  
beads and gaudy colors hung from their bridles  
plumes of eagle feathers were woven into the horses' tails and manes  
most of the Indians were armed with Hudson's Bay Company muskets  
while others had bows and arrows and long lances

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT DEPLOYS HIS TROOPS IN THE BATTLE OF FOUR LAKES

Colonel Wright ordered Major William N. Grier to advance to the north  
going around the left base of the hill with a company of dragoons -- Wednesday September 1, 1858  
Colonel Wright planned to place the dragoons in position to intercept the Indians  
as they were driven from the hill  
Wright ordered Lieutenant John Mullan and his Nez Pierce troops to move around the hill to the right

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT ADVANCES ON THE WARRIORS

Major William Nicholson Grier's dragoons swept around Wright's Hill and were in position  
waiting for the fleeing warriors to be driven in their direction  
as they waited they were subjected to ineffective long range fire  
Captain Edward Ord led a company of dragoons as they gallantly scrambled up Wright's Hill  
they dismounted with one half of the men holding the reins of the horses  
as the other half armed themselves and formed a skirmish line  
Wright and the remainder of the troops followed the Nez Perce scouts to the right of the hill  
to reach a position where the ascent would be easier  
this maneuver was expected to drive the Indians in the direction of Major Grier's dragoons

## COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT ATTACKS THE WARRIORS IN THE BATTLE OF FOUR LAKES

Colonel George Wright implemented the next phase of his attack -- Wednesday September 1, 1858  
on Colonel Wright's orders Captain Ord's dragoons drove the Indians from the top of Wright's Hill  
and down the north slope to where Major William Nicholson Grier's dragoons waited  
When they reached the base of the hill the Indians raced for the cover of ravines, trees and brush  
where they rallied

## COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT CONTINUES THE ATTACK IN THE BATTLE OF FOUR LAKES

Colonel Wright deployed his men in preparation to attack the Indians at the base of Wright's Hill  
Captain Keyes led two companies of the Third Artillery along the crest of the hill

Lieutenant George Percy Ihrie led Company B

Lieutenant Dunbar Richard Ransome led Company G

Captain Frederick T. Dent's Ninth Infantry battalion was directed to move to the right  
to prepare to attack the pine forest

Lieutenant Hugh Brady Fleming led Company B

Captain Charles S. Winder commanded Company E

Colonel Wright kept in reserve

Brevet Major William Nicholson Grier's Ninth Infantry First Dragoons Companies C and E  
and Captain Erasmus Keyes Third Artillery Company K

this deployment of troops took about five minutes

Colonel Wright gave the order to advance -- Wednesday September 1, 1858

when Captain Keyes Third Artillery Companies B and G reached a point  
about six hundred yards from the waiting Indians

Captain Keyes deployed his dismounted six companies of artillerymen as skirmishers  
after the initial attack they moved steadily down the slope

Captain Frederick T. Dent's Ninth Infantry Companies B and E attacked the pine forest

First Lieutenant Ogden Tyler's Third Artillery Company A with the howitzer

was moved to a lower position where more effective fire could be achieved

Colonel Wright's advance was successful

Indians at the base of the Wright's Hill were driven out onto the plain or into the woods at the right,  
those already in the forest were forced to retreat

## COLONEL WRIGHT CONTINUES HIS ATTACK AT FOUR LAKES

First Lieutenant Ogden Tyler's Third Artillery Company A with their howitzer  
passed by Major William Nicholson Grier's Ninth Infantry First Dragoons

Companies C and E waiting in reserve -- Wednesday September 1, 1858

Lieutenant Henry B. Davidson's Ninth Cavalry, First Dragoons leading their horses

had been following behind Captain Keyes Third Artillery Companies B and G skirmish line  
suddenly Lieutenant Davidson's dragoons mounted and charged

through the gaps between the skirmishers

they struck at the Indians on the plains cutting and slashing with the sabers

many warriors were killed or wounded

revenge was no doubt behind the fury of these dragoons who had served

with Captain Oliver Hazard Perry Taylor and Lieutenant William Gaston  
when they had been killed in the Battle of Rosalia  
attacking dragoons were joined by the skirmishers who had come off the hill  
one continuous skirmish line was formed in front of the pine forest  
Indians were routed out of the wood onto a plain  
Colonel Wright's troops kept advancing as if on parade  
as the slashing saber attack cut down all Indians they could reach  
warriors fell wounded only to be picked up and carried away as was the Indian custom  
Indians deployed their old tactics as they charged, fired and quickly rode away  
this time their flight was met with a hail of minnieballs  
soldiers' longer-range rifles and cannons were taking their toll -- Indians lost heart  
warriors appeared to be becoming panic-stricken as they fled from the field  
but the slashing attack of the dragoons pursued them for more than a mile  
when the dragoons reached Riddle Hill, the attack was halted  
only because the dragoons' horses became winded and needed to be rested  
several shots fired by the howitzer drove the remaining Indians out of sight  
Indians disappeared toward Spokane  
after the soldiers had turned back Nez Perce scouts followed the fleeing natives for ten miles  
their army uniforms did not deter the Nez Perce scouts from taking scalps

#### BATTLE OF FOUR LAKES CONCLUDES

Recall was sounded by the bugler -- 2:00 P.M. Wednesday September 1, 1858

Battle at Four Lakes had lasted less than four hours

not a single military man had been killed or wounded in the fight

one reason for lack of casualties was the use of new long-range Sharp's rifles

while the Indians were armed with Hudson's Bay muskets, bows and arrows and lances

Indians' losses were placed at some eighteen or twenty killed and many wounded

Colonel George Wright's men and horses were fatigued by the long march and their first engagement

but the troops' spirits remained high as Colonel Wright's command rested

at the Four Lakes campsite for three days

Meanwhile the defeated Indians sent messengers to surrounding tribes calling for reinforcements,  
and as they prepared for the next battle

#### CAPTAIN JOHN MULLAN AND HIS NEZ PERCE SCOUTS ARE HONORED

Nez Perce had been used as scouts in the advance and on the right flank in the battle

bravery of Lieutenant John Mullan and his men was specifically mentioned by Colonel Wright

they had charged and driven the enemy out of the brush and timber

they had acted mostly on their own responsibility -- they did not wait for orders

(later, the Nez Perce repulsed an attack on the rear of the column)

Nez Perce celebrated the victory with a war dance far into the night

However, the Nez Perce auxiliary soldiers were soon recognized by the hostile warriors  
who were incensed at the sight of Nez Perce Indians in uniform

## OREGON TRANSPORTATION LINE EXPANDS IN OREGON TERRITORY

Fate of Colonel Joseph S. Ruckel and Harrison Olmstead's south bank railway was not promising  
built primarily on piles and hugging the river's southern shoreline closely,  
this portage line was in need of constant repair

shipping investors began looking to the north bank property for the solution

Ruckel and Olmstead began construction on 4½ miles of track -- September 2, 1858

at the mouth of Eagle Creek a Headquarters Building was built to house the project superintendent  
and to also accommodate employees of the Eagle Creek sawmill and the railroad

other buildings were constructed for the horses and mules

New portage railway was built entirely of wood which was supplied by the sawmill

rails were fir logs were covered with strap iron

these were laid with the two parallel rails five feet apart (5.0 gauge)

space between the rails was covered with planking for the mules and "walking passengers"

train consisted of one small covered passenger car and several small freight cars with four wheels

mules were driven in tandem using as many at one time as necessary for the load

bridges were solidly built -- the Eagle Creek bridge being a framed cantilever affair

bridging and trestle works in large amounts were used because it was easier to furnish lumber  
than to hire labor to make dirt fills

dynamite was not then in use and Tooth Rock was a formidable obstruction

which was overcome by building a trestle around it

## COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT BEGINS A MARCH TOWARD THE SPOKANE RIVER

After three day's rest Colonel Wright moved north from his camp at Four Lakes  
toward the Spokane River -- September 5, 1858

leaving the lakes behind Wright's soldiers stretched out over a plain fringed on the east  
by a strip of pine forest that concealed rocky, ravine-crossed slopes

Colonel Wright's command was in formation with his skirmishers in the lead followed by dragoons  
trail they followed led almost due north then it branched sharply to the west

at the turning point most of the skirmishers changed their direction to the west

but at the intersection the main column followed the trail north rather than the skirmishers  
as both groups advanced the distance between them widened

this turning movement placed all of the skirmishers on the left flank

except Lieutenant Horatio Gates Gibson's Third Artillery Company M

most of the Indians in front of the skirmishers were also on the left flank

while the main column faced the open plain where no Indians could be seen

Colonel Wright's command was almost two miles beyond the turning point

here the main column halted to allow the skirmishers to rejoin them

Lieutenant Gibson's Company M alone protected the right flank

Mounted Yakama and Palouse Indian led by Chief Kamiakin were seen

three miles away on the troop's right flank

they were joined by Coeur d'Alene and Spokane Indians

number of Indians continually increased until far more than 500 were present

they appeared to be attempting to intercept Wright's command

before they could reach a pine forest across the north end of the large prairie  
Indians were seen setting fire to the grass ahead and to the right of the column  
troops crossing the prairie found the wind blew strongly in their faces  
they were nearly blinded by the smoke as well as threatened by the flames  
while the soldiers struggled with these difficulties, the Indians opened fire on them  
Wright closed up his caravan bringing up the pack train but continued his march north  
some of Colonel Wright's soldiers moved into position to defend the pack animals  
from the grass fires and the warriors  
Indians massed on a hill four or five hundred feet high that sloped toward the troops at a 45° angle  
yelling battle cries they forced their horses downhill at a gallop  
and then wheeled and raced up it again  
they conducted themselves as if they were frantic until their poor animals were exhausted  
always hard riders who showed little mercy for their horses,  
they now seemed determined to destroy the animals  
Indians raced to the shelter of three high table rocks and the trees of the pine forest  
hoping to catch the soldiers as they became scattered in the chase

#### BATTLE OF SPOKANE PLAINS DESTROYS THE HOPES OF THE INDIANS

Colonel George Wright's skirmishers joined forces with the main column of Wright's command  
Indians again set fire to the prairie grass  
while they were hidden in billowing smoke, the warriors curled around the soldier's right flank  
Instead of falling back into defensive positions, Colonel Wright deployed his men  
three companies of Captain Erasmus Keyes U.S. Third Artillery were to lead the attack  
Captain Edward Ord's Company K, Lieutenant Ogden Tyler's Company A  
and Lieutenant Horatio Gates Gibson's Company M served as skirmishers  
Colonel George Wright's ordered an attack -- Sunday September 5, 1858  
Captain Ord's Company K was located on the extreme right of the skirmishers  
they charged through the flames and angled toward the pine woods  
warriors who occupied the three high table rocks went on the attack  
as they had in the previous battle, Company K's Yaeger Percussion long-range Rifle-Muskets  
proved to be surprisingly effective  
warriors were driven back into the trees where they sought refuge  
Captain James A. Hardie's Artillery Company G was deployed to the left with two howitzers  
they were supported by Lieutenant William Gaston's Ninth Infantry Company E  
artillery men unleashed particularly effective howitzer barrages into the timber  
one round reportedly blew a limb onto Yakima Chief Kamiakin severely wounding his head  
When the howitzers had done their job, the infantry went on the attack  
by a well-ordered series of charges through the blazing grass followed by howitzer bombardments  
soldiers easily drove the warriors in their front to take cover in the rocky, ravine-crossed slopes  
where a few shells from the howitzers dislodged them and they were again attacked  
this process resulted in driving the Indians from cover to cover, from behind trees and rocks,  
from ravines and depressions in the prairie for a distance of more than four miles  
until they eventually emerged on the Spokane Plain

Once Captain Erasmus Keyes' U.S. Third Artillery had driven the Indians out onto the open plain  
Major William Nicholson Grier's mounted Ninth Infantry, First Dragoons Companies C and I  
passed through Lieutenant Gibson's Company M skirmishers  
Grier's men charged the Indians with pistols and sabers  
they chased the fleeing Indians for fourteen miles  
warriors scattered and fled to the safety of distant trees  
two Indians were killed and three others were wounded by the charge  
in the meantime Captain Frederick T. Dent's U.S. Ninth Infantry Company B on the right flank  
kept the remaining Indians in that vicinity at bay  
Colonel Wright's fight on the Spokane Plains took up much of the day -- Sunday September 5, 1858  
none of the soldiers in Wright's command were killed -- one was slightly wounded

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT ARRIVES AT THE SPOKANE RIVER

Colonel Wright led his men to the Spokane River and up the river valley  
whenever the soldiers found caches of Indian supplies of dried fish, wheat, oats, vegetables,  
camas roots and dried berries they were burned  
all that the Indians could muster in response was sporadic harassing fire against the column's flanks  
Spokane River was a welcome sight as the soldiers had been without water since morning  
when Wright's men arrived at the river -- September 5, 1858  
(at a site within today's Fort George Wright Military Reservation)  
they had traveled twenty-five miles from their Four Lakes camp  
seven miles of this consisted of a marching fight lasting seven hours  
every soldier arrived at the Spokane River with only one slightly wounded  
That night, the soldiers camped on the riverbank below Spokane Falls  
Spokane, Coeur d'Alene, Palouse and Pend d'Oreille Indian losses were unknown  
but two chiefs and two of Chief Spokane Garry's warriors were known to have been killed  
many lesser known natives were killed or wounded  
Indians probably suffered at least thirty casualties

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT REMAINED IN CAMP ALONG THE SPOKANE RIVER

Colonel Wright rested his men and horses all day long -- September 6, 1858  
during the day some Spokane Indian Chief Spokane Garry on the opposite side of Spokane River  
indicated his desire to talk to Colonel Wright  
arrangements were made to parlay the following day at the crossing the of Spokane River  
two miles above Spokane Falls

#### MAJOR ROBERT GARNETT NEARLY REACHES THE CANADIAN BORDER

Major Garnett continued his attacks on Indians suspected of hostile activities on his march  
up the Columbia River nearly to the international boundary  
After reaching the vicinity of Fort Colville, Major Garnett began the journey  
back toward Fort Simcoe back toward Fort Simcoe -- about September 7, 1858  
During his campaign of retribution against the Yakima and other Indians  
Major Garnett had shot ten Yakimas whom he had taken prisoner

two others had been shot while attempting to escape from the soldiers

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT AND CHIEF SPOKANE GARRY MEET

Colonel Wright met Spokane Indian Chief Spokane Garry -- September 7, 1858  
speaking through an interpreter Colonel Wright informed Spokane Garry  
that he was there to make war -- not to talk peace

Spokane Garry was known as a man of peace but he had frequently been overruled by his people  
Spokane Garry declared a lack of sympathy for the war party  
he regretted that his people had fought the soldiers  
he had been unable to control his chiefs and warriors

Colonel Wright then told Spokane Garry, **“I have a large force. You Spokanes, Coeur d’Alenes, Palouses and Pend d’Oreilles may unite; but I can defeat you as badly as before. I did not come into this country to ask you to make peace. I came here to fight. Now, when you are tired of the war, and ask for peace, I will tell you what you must do. You must come to me with your arms (weapons), with your women and children, and everything you have, and lay them at my feet. You must put your faith in me and trust to my mercy. If you do this, I shall then dictate the terms upon which I will grant you peace. If you do not do this, war will be made on you this year and next, and until your nation shall be exterminated.”**<sup>224</sup>

Chief Spokane Garry then left to inform his people of Colonel Wright’s terms

After Spokane Garry’s departure Palouse Chief Polatkin arrived in the army camp with nine warriors  
to argue the harsh terms presented to them

because he had been active in the recent battles, Colonel Wright kept Polatkin as a hostage  
he also was suspected to being involved in the murder of the two Colville miners  
that were to have been investigated by Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe  
(Chief Polatkin was hanged several days later)

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT CONTINUES HIS ADVANCE

Colonel Wright broke camp at sunrise -- September 8, 1858

after marching up the Spokane River a huge dust cloud was seen about nine miles away  
Colonel Wright brought up his pack train and left it guarded by a company of dragoon  
and companies of infantry

Major William N. Grier was ordered to lead three companies of the Ninth Cavalry, First Dragoons  
accompanied by Lieutenant Mullan and his Nez Perce soldiers to investigate  
while Wright followed with the Ninth Infantry

Major Grier discovered that Indians were massed on the Spokane Plains  
these natives were driving their stock to the south for protection

dragoons dismounted and followed the herd of livestock into the hills

after a skirmish (at Liberty Lake) the Indian herdsmen were dispersed with heavy losses

Dragoons returned with 800-900 head of horses but the herd of cattle proved to be too wild to capture  
(it was later discovered the entire horse herd belonged to Palouse Chief Tilcoax)

Colonel Wright reformed his command and made camp

---

<sup>224</sup> Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington*, Vol. I., P. 634.

## COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT REMAINS IN CAMP

Colonel Wright's command busied themselves searching for Indian caches of food stored for the winter these were destroyed as punishment for resisting the Army's advance -- September 9, 1858  
Palouse Chief Tilcoax's horse herd was a problem as were an additional 500 owned by other warriors  
Colonel Wright convened a board of officers to consider options to deal with 1400 horses  
Wright reasoned it was dangerous to take the animals along  
as the Indians would stampede them  
his troops might even lose some of their own animals  
it was decided that killing was the only practical way to dispose of the herd  
Two companies were detailed to shoot the horses -- September 9, 1858  
Colonel Wright's campsite became known as "Horse Slaughter Camp"  
all day long horses were killed one at a time -- but this proved to be too slow

## COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT CONTINES THE KILLING OF HORSES

Each officer selected a horse for his own use and the remainder was corralled -- September 10, 1858  
company after company in succession was marched to the corral  
massed volleys of rifle fire were directed into the corralled herd until their guns fouled  
then the company marched off and was replaced by another company  
until all of the horses were killed  
all the while the Indians were assembled in the distant hills  
where they watched the destruction of their wealth, their way of and their culture  
While Wright's command was disposing of the animals  
messengers delivered a communication from Catholic priest Father Joseph Joset  
he informed Colonel Wright the Indians wanted peace  
he said two Indians came to his Coeur d'Alene Mission with a white flag  
saying they had been sent by Spokane Chief Big Star who wanted to surrender  
but he could not catch the troops because he had lost all of his horses  
Father Joset also noted the Christian Indians were overjoyed by the soldier's victory  
if the hostiles had won they had fully expected to be sacrificed for not fighting with them  
Colonel Wright wrote to Father Joset to gather all of the Indians at his mission for a talk  
Chief Vincent was to represent the Coeur d'Alene people -- most of who were in hiding  
it took a great deal of urging by Chief Vincent and the Catholic priests to bring them in

## RESULTS OF THE SLAUGHTER OF INDIAN HORSES

Colonel George Wright's shooting of the horses was the final blow for the Indians  
(Wright learned from Indians later that the capture of their horses did not discourage the Indians  
as they felt they could recapture the herd later  
but when they learned of the slaughter they knew all was lost)  
mounds of horse bones long remained at Horse Slaughter Camp  
about 100 horses were spared for use by the troopers, but they proved to be too wild  
many pulled their stakes out of the ground and ran away -- the rest were shot

## COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT MARCHES HIS COMMAND TO THE COUR D'ALENE MISSION

Colonel Wright led his Army east bound for the Coeur d'Alene Mission  
some forty miles away -- September 11, 1858  
along the way Wright's soldiers continued to burn Indian lodges and food supplies

## BRITISH COLUMBIA ROYAL GOVERNOR SIR JAMES DOUGLAS TAKES ACTION

Royal Governor James Douglas arrived at Yale in the Fraser River Canyon -- September 13, 1858  
with twenty Royal Marines and fifteen Royal Engineers to take control of what was feared  
to have been a situation that could easily lead to war not only of extermination  
but also of annexation by the Americans

there were many good reasons the mainland colony was known as the "Gold Colony"  
accompanying the Royal Governor on his steamboat journey from Victoria to Yale  
was one Edward "Ned" McGowan, known as "the notorious Ned McGowan"

Governor Douglas' concerns about lawlessness in the Fraser River gold region proved to be warranted  
Royal Governor Douglas was mortified that "miners' committees" had been established  
and the "California system" of claims had been implemented that gave the right to mine  
to the first person to discover the mineral deposit and begin mining it

Douglas was even more mortified to discover that captains Snyder and Centras, without a mandate,  
had engaged in unauthorized attacks on the local Indians while flying the British flag  
and then proceeded to make treaties with the natives who were singularly under the jurisdiction  
of the British Crown and British law

Douglas cautioned them that the new colony of British Columbia had been established  
and the Queen's Law would prevail -- even over the native population

Douglas also admonished Americans in three of the militia companies  
for their part in the Fraser Canyon War

but they were conciliatory and swore to abide by the Queen's laws in the future

Douglas was forced to take action to enforce British authority and sovereignty on the mainland  
he met with both native people and miners to investigate the conflict  
he reprimanded the miners for ignoring British law and authority in the region

but was assured by the miners that they would follow the Queen's law in the future  
he met with the Nlaka'pamux Indians and guaranteed them reserves in the Fraser Canyon  
he prohibited the sale of alcohol to all native people

Douglas also ordered townsites to be drawn up for Yale and Hope  
he appointed a chief of police and five constables

(with his business in the Fraser Canyon complete, Royal Governor James Douglas  
returned to Victoria [September 20, 1858])

## DEPARTMENT OF THE PACIFIC IS REORGANIZED

Military area of responsibility was expanded to include Utah Territory west of the 117<sup>th</sup> Meridian  
which had been taken from the Department of Utah (i.e., Western Nevada [January 14, 1858])

Reorganization continued as the Department of the Pacific was divided into two departments  
each reporting directly to army headquarters in California -- September 13, 1858

•Department of California consisted of the country west of the Rocky Mountains

and south of Oregon including the Rogue River and Umpqua portions of Oregon  
•Department of Oregon consisted of Oregon and Washington Territories  
excluding the Rogue and Umpqua regions  
but including parts of (today's Montana, Idaho and Wyoming)

General Newman S. Clarke was promoted as Commander of the Department of the Pacific

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT AND HIS COMMAND ARRIVE AT COEUR D'ALENE MISSION

Wright and his soldiers arrived at Father Joseph Joret's Coeur d'Alene Mission -- September 13, 1858

this was the easternmost point the expedition traveled

Most of the Coeur d'Alene tribe was gathered but some of the hostiles had fled eastward  
including Yakima Chief Kamiakin and Palouse Chief Tilcoax

Talks were held over the next several days by Colonel George Wright who told the Coeur d'Alenes  
he would talk peace only if they delivered those Indians

who had attacked Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe's commander at Rosalia [May 1858]  
also all of the property and possessions captured from Steptoe or from other white people  
must be returned

further, all white people must be allowed to travel through their country  
without harm in the future,

finally, one chief and four warriors and their families must be given up as hostages  
to assure the good behavior of the Coeur d'Alene people

talks continued for several days

#### OREGON "STATE" GOVERNMENT IS PREMATURE AGAIN

Some members of the "state" legislature who were in opposition to the anti-slavery "hard" Democrats  
tried to hold their own (premature) state legislative session -- September 13-14, 1858

However, lacking support from the Democratic Salem Clique,

this session attracted only ten territorial representatives and two territorial senators

Congress continued to delay action on Oregon's statehood,

this unauthorized session adjourned on the second day

#### COEUR D'ALENE MISSION COUNCIL TALKS RESULT IN PEACE

Colonel George Wright's council at the Coeur d'Alene mission concluded -- September 17, 1858

Coeur d'Alene Indians had no options but to consent to the demands of a temporary agreement  
called the "Treaty of Peace and Friendship" although the terms were harsh  
(permanent treaty would be made the [next spring] if all of the articles  
had been complied with and the Indians' conduct proved satisfactory)

Eighteen chiefs and sub-chiefs representing six of eight bands of Coeur d'Alenes signed the treaty:

- all hostilities would cease;
- one chief and four men with their families would be given up as hostages  
to ensure the future good conduct of the tribe;
- those who had attacked Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe would be surrendered;
- all white men would be permitted to travel unmolested in Coeur d'Alene Country;
- all thieves and murderers not then available must be turned in;

- no Indians hostile to the United States should be permitted to stay in their country;
- United States would remain at peace with the Coeur d'Alenes if the peace terms were observed however, all of the Indian's prisoners and hostages must be returned unharmed within a year (Wright will be criticized by Department of the Pacific Commander General Newman S. Clarke for providing terms which were too lenient)

These treaty terms were also extended to the Nez Perce Nation because they had been allies of the United States

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT'S ARMY LEFT THE COEUR D'ALENE MISSION

Colonel Wright, having conquered the Coeur d'Alene people, began to make preparations for a second council, this one with the Spokane Indians, at Latah Creek

Colonel Wright rode victoriously away from the Coeur d'Alene Mission -- September 18, 1858 at the head of his command of three companies of U.S. Ninth Infantry,

Major William N. Grier's three Company battalion of Ninth Cavalry, First Dragoons, Captain Frederick T. Dent's two Companies of the U.S. Ninth Infantry, Captain Erasmus D. Keyes two Companies of the U.S. Third Artillery U.S. Second Artillery Lieutenant John Mullan with thirty Nez Perce auxiliary soldiers and three scouts

Colonel Wright and his command crossed the Coeur d'Alene and St. Joe rivers

#### PREPARATIONS FOR THE LATAH CREEK COUNCIL ARE UNDER WAY

Father Joseph Joset had been working diligently for the Indian people to achieve peace

Father Joset accompanied by Indians and their chiefs had waited at Latah Creek among the chiefs present were:

Chief Milkapsi of the Coeur d'Alenes

Milkapsi had not been at the Coeur d'Alene Mission and now wanted to sue for peace also Spokane Garry, Poltkin and Big Star of the Spokanes were in attendance even Chief Kamiakin came in the night before the troops arrived but changed his mind and fled at the approach of the soldiers

#### MAJOR ROBERT S. GARNETT RETURNS TO FORT SIMCOE

Chief culprits in the Indian wars, Kamiakin, Owhi, Qualchan, and Skloom, remained at large but it had been reported by badly frightened Yakimas

that the Colville murderers had all fled east of the Columbia River and joined the Spokanes

When news of Colonel George Wright's success was received

Major Robert Garnett marched his Ninth Infantry Companies C, G and I

and Lieutenant George Crook's U.S. Fourth Infantry Company D back to Fort Simcoe where they arrived -- September 20, 1858

#### FRASER RIVER GOLD PLAYS OUT -- THE SEARCH IS ON FOR NEW BONANZAS

Placer gold had given out and the boom that started rapidly six months before, faded just as quickly -- September 1858

sole newspaper which had begun publishing in the community of Whatcom

stopped publication

beaches where hundreds of tents had recently stood were empty of people  
although vast amounts of debris still remained beside Bellingham Bay  
even with these difficulties prospectors extracted more than \$2 million in gold  
in the feverish effort to get quick -- 1858

this Boom brought temporary economic prosperity to Oregon Territory  
Thousands and thousands of the thirty thousand rushing prospectors had departed the goldfields  
but thousands more remained and more thousands joined them from the outside  
they worked their way up the Fraser River and Thompson River hunting gold  
which they believed would be found at the head of the rivers  
One unsuccessful Fraser River prospector, John Bennett of Whatcom,  
had brought with him from California a chest  
which he had filled with flower seeds, grasses, roots and bulbs  
he purchased a piece of land beside Bellingham Bay and began farming  
there he grew many varieties of fruits including "Bennett's pears"  
and "Bennett's champion plums"

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT ARRIVES AT LATAH CREEK

Colonel Wright marched his army eighteen miles across rolling hills studded with pine trees  
he made camp at Smyth's Ford on Latah Creek -- September 22, 1858  
(twenty-five miles south of present-day Spokane)

Hundreds of Indians had already gathered there

in addition to the Spokanes, there were representatives from at least six other tribes,  
all nervous after hearing of Wright's ruthless shooting of Indian horses  
and the burning of Indian lodges and food supplies

Wright promised Spokane Garry that **"if they did as [Wright] demanded, no life should be taken."**<sup>225</sup>

Colonel Wright sent Spokane Garry and Big Star to retrieve Kamiakin  
with instructions to tell him he would not be harmed if he came to the council  
these messengers found the chief after an all night search but could not convince him  
when Spokane Chief Poltkin admitted his guilt in the death of the two Colville two miners  
he was hanged

#### COLONEL WRIGHT SENDS MAJOR GRIER TO THE STEPTOE BATTLEFIELD AT ROSALIA

Colonel George Wright sent three companies of dragoons under Major William N. Grier  
to battlefield at Rosalia where Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe met defeat [May 1858]  
situated about twelve miles southwest of the Latah Creek camp  
to recover both buried howitzers and the remains of the dead -- September 23, 1858

#### COUNCIL WITH THE SPOKANE INDIANS AT LATAH CREEK

Upper and Middle Spokane Indian chiefs and warriors numbering 107 were in attendance  
terms identical to those presented to the Coeur d'Alenes were specified

---

<sup>225</sup> Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington, Vol. I.* P. 634.

Colonel Wright ordered the chiefs to acknowledge their crimes,  
apologize for what they had done, and thank him for his leniency  
Spokanes were humble at the council as the Coeur d'Alenes had been less than a week before  
they expressed thankfulness for the terms of surrender  
treaty was signed by thirty-six chiefs and other Indians including Milkapsi -- September 23, 1858

#### YAKIMA CHIEF OWHI RIDES INTO COLONEL WRIGHT LATAH CREEK CAMP

Yakima Chief Owhi unexpectedly rode into the Latah Council camp -- September 23, 1858  
Owhi was the man who in [1856] had snubbed Wright when the chief promised  
to bring in all of his people and stolen goods in five days' time  
Owhi then fled from the Yakima Valley  
Owhi wanted to talk peace but Colonel Wright placed him in irons  
Owhi told Wright that his son Qualchan was camped nearby  
Qualchan [since 1855] had conducted a guerilla war against settlers, miners and the army  
Colonel George Wright sent two Indian messengers to find Qualchan and give him the message  
that if he did not show himself before Wright within four days his father would be hanged

#### YAKIMA CHIEF QUALCHAN ARRIVES IN COLONEL WRIGHT'S CAMP

Indians sent one of their bravest warriors, Qualchan, to test if Colonel Wright would consider peace  
he rode right into the Army camp carrying a white flag accompanied by his wife  
before it was possible for the messengers to reach him -- morning September 24, 1858  
Captain Erasmus D. Keyes, commanding the U.S. Third Artillery was in front of the Wright's tent  
he called out: **"Colonel, we have a distinguished visitor here!"**<sup>226</sup>  
Colonel Wright came out and talked to the chief who was defiant until Wright told him  
that his father was present in the camp  
Qualchan was surprised when he learned Owhi was being held prisoner  
younger Yakima Chief gazed about helplessly  
guards at once disarmed him and led him away  
Qualchan recovered in the guard's tent -- six men were needed to tie his hands and feet  
Qualchan's record was marred with killings, robberies and attacks on the whites  
within minutes, Colonel Wright ordered his men to hang Qualchan  
they promptly complied looping a rope over a pine bough to carry out the task  
Colonel George reported the event in a single sentence in his journal:

**"Qualchian (sic) came to me at 9 o'clock this morning, and at 9¼ a.m. he was hung."**

Qualchan's wife, Whist-alks, gave her account of what happened: **"We were waiting to progress in making peace with our enemy when two soldiers grabbed my husband about the head and shoulder area and binding his hands with a cord. I slashed at them with my small knife but one of the soldiers kicked it out of my hand. Then a great number of soldiers crowded and overpowered us. I thought that the worst thing they could do was throw us in prison for a few months, but it appeared that they had other plans for my husband. At first I thought it was all just a huge trick, but then I saw the**

---

<sup>226</sup> Lawrence Kip, *Indian War in the Pacific Northwest: The Journal of Lieutenant Lawrence Kip*, P. 102.

**preparations they were making and I felt terrified. They hung him, but I managed to get away. As I left I threw down my medicine staff.”<sup>227</sup>**

Several army officers felt Chief Qualchan had been betrayed into paying the visit when he was being led away to be hanged, he cursed Kamiakin probably because he had been used as bait by the Yakima chief to discover Wright’s intentions

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL EDWARD STEPTOE’S BATTLEFIELD IS REVISITED

Major William N. Grier and three companies of Ninth Cavalry, First Dragoons to revisit the Rosalia Battlefield where he had led the First Dragoons Company C bodies of the four enlisted men and one Indian scout who had been killed in action were buried in the field -- September 24, 1858 bodies of Captain Oliver Hazard Perry and Lieutenant William Gaston were collected (to be taken to Fort Walla Walla, where they were buried with military honors) two howitzers that had been buried on the hill were recovered

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT WAITED AT HIS LATAH CREEK CAMP

Many Palouse Indians came to the Latah Creek camp -- evening September 25, 1858 they were probably unaware of the imprisonment of Owhi and Qualchan’s fate they had been participants in the recent fights but had decided to surrender they said Yakima Chief Kamiakin and Palouse Chief Tilcoax had fled to Canada Colonel Wright talked with the new visitors (he later said he conducted a “thorough investigation” -- which involved asking a few questions) fifteen of those who had participated in the recent fighting with the troops were seized six of the most notorious were hanged by Colonel Wright on the spot by throwing a rope over a tree limb and standing them in Captain Mullan’s cart there were only three ropes prepared, but the colonel did not want to wait for more half of the group had to watch while their comrades were executed (nine other warriors were taken along in irons when Colonel Wright’s command departed) Latah Creek became known as Hangman’s Creek (Hangman Creek is now called Latah Creek by an act of Congress [1899])

#### MAJOR REGRIER RETURNS TO COLONEL WRIGHT’S LATAH CREEK COUNCIL SITE

Major William Grier leading three companies of Ninth Cavalry, First Dragoons returned from their expedition to Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe’s Rosalia Battlefield they rejoined Colonel Wright’s command -- night September 25, 1858 bringing with the bodies of two fallen officers for burial at Fort Walla Walla and two howitzers they had recovered

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT LEAVES LATAH CREEK CAMP

Colonel Wright took up the march from Latah Creek back to Fort Taylor on the Snake River -- September 26, 1858

---

<sup>227</sup> Syd Albright, “Bad Day at Hangman Creek” CDAPress.com (Coeur d’Alene Press), September 22, 2013.

where he planned to rest his men and animals before returning to Fort Walla Walla along the way troopers destroyed many caches of wheat, vegetables and camas belonging to Indians

#### COLONEL WRIGHT ARRANGES FOR PEACE TALKS WITH THE PALOUSE INDIANS

Colonel George Wright's command was traveling toward Fort Taylor on the Snake River when they met with a minor Palouse chief, Slowiarchy, and a group of his followers the Palouse leader said he wanted to talk peace -- September 27, 1858  
he said that his young men had gone to war against his wishes  
Slowiarchy was told to assemble his people for a meeting at the mouth of the Palouse River

#### COLONEL WRIGHT'S COMMAND ARRIVES AT THE PALOUSE RIVER

Palouse River was reached after a three-day march  
from Latah (Hangman's) Creek -- September 29, 1858  
nearly all of the remaining Palouse Indians had been gathered by Chief Slowiarchy  
It was announced talks with the Indians would begin the next day

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT HOLDS A COUNCIL WITH THE PALOUSE INDIANS

Minor Palouse chief Slowiarchy managed to gather about 100 Palouse people -- September 30, 1858  
Colonel Wright was more severe with the Palouses than he had been with any other conquered tribe  
several of the usual terms and conditions were applied:

- he refused to sign a peace treaty with them at that time,  
but advised he would do so the next spring if their conduct proved satisfactory up to then
- all hostilities would cease;
- an usual quota of hostages was demanded to ensure future good conduct from the Palouse  
one chief, four men with their families;
- all white men would be permitted to travel unmolested in Palouse Country;
- he demanded the Palouse Indians who murdered the two Colville miners be surrendered  
as well as all of those guilty of stealing horses and cattle from the whites;
- he demanded that all stolen property be returned

Palouse Indians complied with his demands

after a short consultation among the Indians, one murder suspect came forward  
others who were involved in the killings of the Colville miners could not be found

Six Indians held as captives by Colonel Wright had stolen army cattle at the onset of the campaign  
of the known cattle thieves, two had been hanged previously at the Latah Creek camp  
another had been killed at Four Lakes

Colonel Wright ordered the remaining three culprits, each a Walla Walla or a Yakima native,  
be brought to him

he told the native gathering that if they remained peaceful

he would come back in a year and conclude a peace treaty with them

but if they were hostile to whites he would hang them all -- men, women and children  
and thus exterminate the tribe

to emphasize his message, Wright the three prisoners were lifted onto a wagon placed under a tree  
and were hanged in full view of the Palouse

as their bodies squirmed at the ends of ropes, Colonel Wright continued talking to the group as if nothing was happening  
Wright's barbarous act was shocking -- he would have no more trouble with the Palouse

#### HIGH HOPES COME TO AN END AT BELLINGHAM BAY

With the loss of the Whatcom-Hope Trail it became necessary prospectors to go to Victoria to acquire mining permits required by Royal Governor James Douglas -- end of September 1858 boom at Bellingham Bay's Old Whatcom, New Whatcom, Fairhaven and Sehome vanished many of the miners took their tents and wood shacks with them to Victoria  
Bellingham Bay was deserted

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT ARRIVES AT FORT TAYLOR

Colonel Wright's command reached Fort Taylor at Red Wolf Crossing on the Snake River -- October 2, 1858

Major Francis Octavus Wyse, commander of the post, prepared a feast for the men's ravenous appetites as Lieutenant Erasmus Keys noted: **"The improvised table groaned under the weight of bunch-grass fed beef (the best in the world), prairie chickens and vegetables. The men were also well supplied with the same good cheer. For us, the major had the foresight to have on hand a basket of champagne, which disappeared down our thirsty throats like water in the sand."**<sup>228</sup>

Since Colonel George Wright had ended his campaign Fort Taylor was abandoned garrison protecting the post accompanied Wright to Fort Walla Walla

#### DEATH OF YAKIMA CHIEF OWHI

While Colonel Wright's troops were marching from Fort Taylor toward Fort Walla Walla Owhi, who remained a prisoner, was riding on horseback with his legs bound under the horse  
Lieutenant Michael R. Morgan had charge of the prisoner and was riding alone with him other guards were on foot walking a fallen tree across a stream  
Owhi cut Morgan across the eyes with a whip and dashed away -- October 4, 1858  
Morgan gave chase and put three revolver bullets into the chief  
Owhi was forced into a blind canyon  
Sergeant Edward Ball, a veteran of the Steptoe defeat, rode up  
Morgan ordered Sergeant Ball to shoot the chief  
Morgan placed his pistol against the warrior's head and pulled the trigger

#### COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT MARCHES INTO FORT WALLA WALLA

Colonel Wright led his command into Fort Walla Walla sixty days after leaving -- October 5, 1858 in addition to Wright's three companies of U.S. Ninth Infantry with him were  
Major William N. Grier three-company battalion of Ninth Cavalry, First Dragoons,  
Captain Frederick T. Dent U.S. Ninth Infantry,  
Captain Erasmus D. Keyes company of U.S. Third Artillery  
U.S. Second Artillery Lieutenant John Mullan his Nez Perce auxiliary soldiers

---

<sup>228</sup> Erasmus Darwin Keyes, *Fifty Years' Observation of Men and Events: Civil and Military*, P. 279.

thirty-three native American hostages accompanied the troops  
Bodies of Captain Oliver Hazard Perry and Lieutenant William Gaston,  
both victims of Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Steptoe's fight, were buried

## RESULTS OF COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE NORTHERN TRIBES

Colonel Wright could report that the war was closed, as it now really was  
after three years of fruitless maneuvering and proclaiming of peace when there was no peace,  
soldiers had conducted a vigorous campaign of little more than thirty days' duration  
which had made the hostiles feel the power of the government,  
and compelled them to deliver up the murderers they were keeping in hiding

Wright's only fatalities on the expedition had occurred [August 30] when two artillerymen died  
after eating the roots of what was then identified as "wild parsnips" -- probably water hemlock

Colonel George Wright's expedition had been a success:

- his command marched over 400 miles,
- he had fought two decisive battles,
- he had lost no men in combat,
- he had recovered stolen government property,
- he had hanged eleven Indians accused of murder or theft  
(none had a trial extending beyond a few questions),
- he had completely pacified the Palouse, Spokane and Coeur d'Alene Indians

Few military campaigns in the Nineteenth Century matched that of Colonel George Wright's  
for careful planning, precise execution and callousness

he had severed the native Americans from their land, animals, food, supplies and families  
he had removed the foundations of their spiritual beliefs and way of life  
many more Indians died of starvation that winter, especially the very young and the very old,  
from the destruction of their food supplies

Department of the Pacific Commander General Newman S. Clarke officially commended Wright  
for the "zeal, energy, and skill" with which he led his punitive expedition

(George Wright would later be promoted to the rank of brigadier general in the Union army)

Colonel George Wright had assembled a capable group of fighting men

(during the coming Civil War, seven of the officers in the 1858 expedition became generals:  
Erasmus Keyes, Edward O.C. Ord, David Gregg and Robert O. Tyler for the Union;  
Charles S. Winder, Henry B. Davidson and William D. Pender for the Confederacy)

## COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT CALLS FOR ONE FINAL COUNCIL WITH THE INDIANS

Colonel Wright's thirst for retribution was not quite quenched

he called a council of Walla Walla Indians -- October 9, 1858

he asked that any of the Indians present who had been in the recent battles stand  
thirty-five Indians stood -- four were selected and immediately hanged

## ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE INDIAN WARS ON WASHINGTON TERRITORY

There were at least three positive results for the citizens of Washington Territory:

- local economy had increased with an influx of federal money

for construction of blockhouses, buildings, roads, supplies and for salaries of soldiers, militiamen, packers, scouts, government officials and volunteers;

- removal of the Indian threat to land ownership made way for road and railroad construction
- Eastern Washington had been re-opened to settlers and miners

Palouse, Spokane, and Coeur d'Alene Indians had been completely pacified

However there also were negative results

- essential road building to the East had been temporarily abandoned,
- immigration to the West had been temporarily deflected to Oregon Territory

#### COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF PACIFIC STATION ADMIRAL BAYNES ARRIVES IN CANADA

Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Station Rear Admiral Robert Lambert Baynes

arrived at Esquimalt, New Caledonia aboard his flagship, *Ganges* -- October 17, 1858

he was responsible for ensuring that naval vessels were available for implementing

Royal Governor James Douglas' regulations on mining

with winter approaching, however, the miners were leaving for California

#### WRECK OF THE STEAMER *VENTURE* IS SOLD

110-foot-long steamboat *Venture* remained hung-up on rocks in the middle of the Columbia River below the Upper Cascades

when the river rose the *Venture* was floated off the rocks -- fall 1858

Captain Robert R. Thompson and Lawrence Coe who owned the hulk

hailed her boilers and fittings to the mouth of the Des Chutes River

investors purchased the hull of the *Venture*, repaired her and rechristened her *Umatilla*

she was towed to British Columbia

#### STEAMER *CARRIE LADD* CHANGES COMPETITION IN THE COLUMBIA RIVER GORGE

Sternwheeler steamer *Carrie Ladd* was launched by Captain John C. Ainsworth and Jacob Kamm

she was named in honor of the daughter of early Portland banker William S. Ladd

who arranged financing

she had powerful engines and was probably the best steamboat built in Oregon in the (1850s)

*Carrie Ladd* was fitted up in what was considered to be first-class style for the day

she was launched at Oregon City -- October 1858

On her trial trip up the Columbia River it was discovered Captain J.C. Ainsworth's new steamboat could easily climb the rapids as far as the middle landing

(the upper end of the Bradfords' portage at the Upper Cascades Village)

#### STEAMBOAT *COLONEL WRIGHT* IS LAUNCHED

Captain Robert R. Thompson and Lawrence Coe held contracts with the United States government to supply Fort Walla Walla by transporting military goods on the Columbia River

they carried freight above Celilo Falls to Fort Walla Walla in bateaux at a rate of \$100 per ton

Captain Thomas Jordan, the Army's chief quartermaster, encouraged them to construct a steamboat

Undaunted by the *Venture*'s misadventure, Captain Robert R. Thompson and Lawrence Coe

ordered a new stern wheeler to be built by Robert R. Thompson and Orlando Humason

boilers and fittings formerly belonging to the *Venture* were used  
Captain Robert R. Thompson and Lawrence Coe launched their new steamboat  
at the mouth of the Deschutes River above Celilo Falls -- October 24, 1858  
they named their steamboat the *Colonel Wright* in honor of Colonel (later General) George Wright  
steamer *Colonel Wright* was 110 feet long, with 21-foot beam with 5-foot depth of hold  
during her career she was usually referred to as the *Wright*  
*Colonel Wright* was the first steamboat to operate on the "upper portion" of the Columbia River  
running from above Celilo Falls to Wallula, Washington Territory  
where the Snake River enters the Columbia River

#### TRAVEL DOWN THE COLUMBIA RIVER COULD BE QUITE FAST FOR THAT DAY

Travelers bound from Fort Walla Walla and Steptoeville, the principal settlement in the Inland Empire,  
would take a stage coach to Wallula, Washington Territory located on the Columbia River  
there they would board the steamer *Colonel Wright* and head downriver to Celilo Falls  
after a bumpy ride over the portage route, they would arrive at The Dalles, Oregon Territory  
where an overnight stay would be necessary at one of the hotels  
next morning travelers would board a steamboat on the Middle Columbia for a morning run  
down to the Upper Cascades Village  
here travelers would again disembark usually on the favored north (Washington) side  
they would ride the Bradford brother's Cascade Railway to Lower Cascades Village  
at Lower Cascades Village on the north side of the Columbia River  
or at the lower landing on the south side the traveler could board a steamer  
for the downriver trip to Portland, Oregon Territory  
this journey took about thirty hours between Fort Walla Walla and Portland  
a feat that was considered remarkable at that time

#### BEN SNIPES SUCCESSFULLY WINTERS OVER HIS HERD IN THE YAKIMA VALLEY

In this place where Indians were recoiling from Major Robert Garnett's campaign against them  
Ben Snipes, displayed great judgment and foresight when he hired Indian boys as helpers  
thus allying himself with the natives of the region -- October 1858  
his herd thrived and multiplied and fattened  
Ben Snipes was a cattleman at age twenty-three

#### NEW MILITARY COMMANDER ARRIVES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF OREGON

Department of the Pacific Commander General Newman S. Clarke was responsible for two  
divisions within his department: Department of California and the Department of Oregon  
Brigadier-General William Shelby Harney was placed in charge of the Department of Oregon  
General Harney was a Mexican War Veteran and renown Indian fighter  
he possessed a tempestuous military career  
disobedience of orders and circumventing superiors were common traits of his  
General Harney had traveled via Panama and up the Pacific coast  
he arrived at Fort Vancouver -- October 29, 1858  
by the time he arrived the Indian War was over

## BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM SHELBY HARNEY TAKES ACTION

Harney's first act on reaching his post in Washington Territory was to revoke General Wool's orders and throw open Eastern Washington for settlement -- October 31, 1858

Brigadier-General John E. Wool, now in command of the Department of the East characterized Harney as a man of “**...extreme imbecility and manifest incapacity**”

## EASTERN WASHINGTON TERRITORY REOPENS

During the Indian Wars settlers were banned from the region -- between [1855] and fall 1858 following the wars Commander of the Department of the Pacific General Newman S. Clarke expressly proclaimed the “Upper Country” open to settlement

General John E. Wool's edict against white occupation of Eastern Washington was rescinded although Congress did not ratify the treaties [until spring 1859]

impatient settlers began to immigrate into the Walla Walla Valley almost immediately these pioneers represented the forefront of permanent settlers in the region

Steptoeville (Walla Walla) became the heart of the Inland Empire after Indian Wars represented by (today's eastern Washington, northern Idaho, and western Montana)

population was composed mainly of retired Hudson's Bay Company men most of the American settlers were at Fort Colville

while others were scattered on farms around the Walla Walla Valley however, the country began to develop

rich tracts of land along the banks of streams were taken by farmers and cattlemen occupied the rich and extensive grazing lands

## CATHOLIC PRIEST PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET CONTINUES TO SERVE THE INDIANS

Catholic priest Father Pierre-Jean De Smet was commissioned as a chaplain by Brigadier-General William S. Harney

Father De Smet traveled to Fort Walla Walla to talk with Colonel George Wright

his party was composed of eight Flathead, Coeur d'Alene, Kalispell, Colville and Spokane chiefs famous Yakima Chief Kamiakin was the ninth member

on the way to the army post an Indian Agent aroused the Kamiakin's suspicions

Colonel Wright had declared he would shoot the chief on sight

When the remainder of Father De Smet's delegation reached Fort Walla Walla

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet convinced Colonel Wright to part with the Indian hostages

he had taken during his recent campaign to assure the good behavior of the natives

Father De Smet believed he could do a great deal to maintain the peace

especially for the tribes he had brought into the Catholic faith

## CHAPLAIN PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET VISITS FORT VANCOUVER

Father De Smet's traveling party, with the exception of Chief Kamiakin,

next traveled from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Vancouver

where the priest and his companions visited General William S. Harney

Results of the conference at Fort Vancouver were most beneficial to both sides

Indians spent three weeks sightseeing the coastal region of Washington Territory  
they were properly impressed with the strength and military superiority of the whites  
(After the conclusion of the meetings,  
Father Pierre-Jean De Smet and his traveling companions returned to their homes  
Father De Smet spent the winter visiting northern missions he had not seen in twelve years)

#### CAPTAIN JOHN MULLAN RETURNS TO WASHINGTON CITY

Captain Mullan was concerned that because of the Indian trouble his interrupted road building project  
would again become as low in priority as it had once been  
After fighting hostile Indians, he decided to travel back to the nation's capital to keep the project alive  
his survey work had convinced him more money would be necessary  
he would lobby to increase the funding from the initial \$30,000 to \$100,000  
Mullan set out for Washington City (to spend the winter)

#### OCEAN COMMERCE WITH CALIFORNIA EXPLODES

It is estimated that in the year 1858  
no less than 23,000 miners left California to seek new fortunes in the wilds of Canada  
shipping interests profited from both the passenger service and the shipments of supplies

#### ROYAL GOVERNOR JAMES DOUGLAS IS SWORN IN AS GOVERNOR OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Vancouver Island Royal Governor James Douglas' inauguration ceremony  
as Royal Colony British Columbia's first Royal Governor  
was attended by as many ranking dignitaries as were available -- November 19, 1858  
Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Station British Rear Admiral Robert Lambert Baynes,  
Colonel Richard Moody of the Royal Engineers,  
gigantic Matthew Baille Begbie, the formidable new chief justice of the colony  
in keeping with the season, a rainstorm washed out part of the formalities  
but the Royal Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia were combined

#### BRITISH STEAM FRIGATE HMS *TRIBUNE* JOURNEYS TO THE PACIFIC COAST OF CANADA

British 1,370 ton displacement steam frigate HMS *Tribune* with thirty-one guns  
under the command of Royal Navy Captain Geoffrey Phipps Hornby was serving in China  
where the British government was fighting to establish a colony  
in what became known as the Second Opium War [1856-1860]  
(following the unsuccessful First Opium War [1839-1842])  
Captain Hornby received new orders to steam to the Pacific Coast to deliver troops to impose order  
on the unruly miners invading the Fraser River Canyon  
HMS *Tribune* sailed from Hong Kong for the Pacific Coast of Canada -- November 27, 1858  
aboard was a contingent of 325 sailors and Royal Marines

#### NED MCGOWEN STRAINS INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Ned McGowan remained at the Fraser River goldfields where he exerted his talent for mischief  
McGowan and his San Francisco firemen flourished from a gold mining claim at Hill's Bar

the first and richest gold bearing bar in the Fraser Canyon Gold Rush  
they named their claim "The Boatmen of San Francisco"

tiny village of Hill's Bar was under the influence of Ned McGown and his Law and Order Party  
especially the town's Magistrate George Perrier

Yale, British Columbia was under the control of the notorious San Francisco Vigilante Committee  
which had ruled San Francisco and inflicted immediate execution on suspected criminals  
they were the arch-enemies of the Law and Order Party -- and of Ned McGowan especially  
they did all they could to subvert British civil authority  
they controlled the corrupt Magistrate P.B. Whannell

#### OREGON TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE CONVENES

Regular session of the Territorial legislature opened -- December 6, 1858

Congress continued to delay action on Oregon's statehood -- thus not much was accomplished  
authority to dissolve marriages was vested in the legislature

during this session the legislators granted thirty-one divorces  
before the authority shifted to the courts upon statehood

(Territorial Legislature session adjourned [January 22, 1859])

#### OREGON PORTAGE RAILROAD BECOMES THE OREGON TRANSPORTATION LINE

Colonel Joseph S. Ruckel and Harrison Olmstead began operation of their Oregon Transportation Line  
on the Oregon portage around the Cascades -- winter

they ran steamboats on the lower and middle portions of the Columbia River

connecting with the *Wasco* and *Mountain Buck* at the Middle Columbia River

#### NED MCGOWAN'S WAR BEGINS

An incident that provoked the "war" took place at the 1858 Christmas Dance

some of the American miners took exception to the fact that the Yale Christmas Dance  
was open to people of all races

two men from Hill's Bar assaulted Isaac "Ikey" Dixon -- a witty American black barber  
and well-liked member of the Yale community

Ikey Dixon filed a complaint with Yale's Magistrate Peter Brunton Whannell

Dixon was promptly placed in "protective custody" at Yale

In the meantime, the matter was also being investigated

by Hill's Bar Justice of the Peace George Perrier with the assistance of Ned McGowan  
who was a friend of the two men suspected of assaulting Isaac "Ikey" Dixon

Justice of the Peace Perrier felt in the interest of justice he needed to hear evidence

from the victim before proceeding to deal with the people who had committed the assault

Justice Perrier accordingly sent his constable, Henry Hickson, with an order  
to pick up Dixon and bring him back to Hill's Bar

#### NED MCGOWAN'S WAR CONTINUES

Magistrate Peter Brunton Whannell was convinced by Ned McGowan's Vigilance Committee

to issue a warrant for the arrest of the Hill's Bar man and ordered that it be served in Hill's Bar

Magistrate George Perrier took exception to this

he issued a warrant for the arrest of Isaac Dixon in Yale

Constable Hickson, in serving the warrant on Dixon, interrupted Whannell's court

Whannell promptly arrested and jailed Hickson for contempt of court

when he refused to acknowledge Whannell as his superior

Yale's small jail, already full as a result of a "law and order campaign"

aimed at Ned McGowan and his San Francisco Firemen Law and Order Party cronies

thus the prosecutor, witnesses and constable, everyone but the accused,

were held in the Yale jail

Hill's Bar Magistrate George Perrier issued a warrant to arrest the Yale Magistrate Whannell

for contempt of court for imprisoning his constable Henry Hickson

Ned McGowan, who had been made a special constable by Magistrate Perrier,

led angry Hill's Bar miners as they set out to make the arrest

an American flag flew above the flotilla sent upriver five miles from Hill's Bar

Whannell noted that it seemed as if McGowan was going to make this a national affair

Peter Brunton Whannell was taken to Hill's Bar where the extremely unpopular magistrate

was convicted of contempt of court by Hill's Bar Magistrate Perrier

Whannell was released after the \$50 fine was paid

Magistrate Whannell quickly wrote a note to Royal Governor James Douglas

he played on Douglas' fears of the intentions of the Americans: "**The town and district are in a state bordering on anarchy. My own and the lives of the citizens are in imminent peril ... An effective blow must at once be struck on the operations of these outlaws, else I tremble for the welfare of the colony.**"<sup>229</sup>

Yale's side of the story was related to Royal Governor Douglas in Victoria

through a series of Vigilance Committee messengers who pointed out that Ned McGowan

had launched an attempt to overthrow the British authority in the new colony

and declared the gold fields were part of the United States

given McGowan's unsavory reputation, the combative nature of the incident

which had the two communities up in arms caused significant alarm in Victoria

## ROYAL GOVERNOR DOUGLAS SENDS TROOPS TO THE FRASER RIVER CANYON

British Columbia Royal Governor James Douglas mobilized what few troops he had

he sent a party of Royal Engineers to the gold boomtown of Yale

under recently arrived Colonel Richard Moody who was an able administrator

hand-picked by the Colonial Office in London to transform British Columbia

accompanying the Royal Engineers to Yale was Justice Matthew Baillie Begbie

another group of Marines remained stationed at Fort Langley to resist any possible effort

by U.S. Border Commission troops stationed in nearby Whatcom County

After an arduous, twenty-mile trip by canoe up the Fraser River from Fort Hope to Yale

across half-frozen snow, Justice Begbie convened court in a log-cabin courtroom in Yale

---

<sup>229</sup> Donald J. Hauka, *McGowan's War*, P. 145.

he heard a tangled web of cases and charges resulting from the misconduct  
Ned McGowan, his bad reputation appropriately enhanced, was fined for assault  
both Magistrate George Perrier and Magistrate P.B. Whannell  
were dismissed from their posts

Thus the bloodless rioting which afterward became well known as Ned McGowan's War  
and the supposed American threat to British sovereignty in Canada was averted

#### BELLINGHAM BAY BECOME A COAL SHIPPING PORT

Bellingham Coal Company owned by San Francisco investors and managed by Edmund Fitzhugh  
slowly expanded their Seahome coal mine until the owners decided to invest \$100,000  
to improve the shaft and construct related facilities such as a wharf, coal bunkers  
and a tramway from the mine to the bunker --1859

to provide for dependable transportation of their coal to San Francisco

Bellingham Coal Company purchased three ships: *Amethyst*, *Lookout*, and *Germania*  
coal at the Sehome mine was dug by hand in the shaft and brought to the entrance  
in groups of seven to nine coal cars pulled by mules and horses  
each car could carry one and a half tons

when the mine operated at full capacity the coal trains made nine trips a day to the entrance  
as the mine's shaft went deeper and closer to tide level,

problems developed from seepage and flooding

fire also was a constant worry as the coal being mined had a high sulfur content  
and was highly combustible when wet

when the coal ignited, the shafts were flooded

then subsequently pumped out at a high cost to continue mining

toxic gas collected inside the tunnels and also was a continuing hazard

Bellingham Bay Coal Company's Sehome mine proved to be quite successful

it generated a gross income of \$300,000 for its owners in its first year of operation [1853]

this success attracted competition from Charles Richards, a local merchant,

who formed the Union Coal Company to attempt to re-open mining near William Prattle's  
original efforts [1852] along the Fairhaven shore

Unionville, a small community, formed around Richards' 100-foot vertical shaft

Union's mine operated for two years -- 1859-[1861]

shipping a total of 2,500 tons of coal to San Francisco

Despite these problems, the Bellingham Bay Coal Company's Sehome mine continued to operate  
as many as 100 workers were employed including many immigrants  
from England, Wales and China

#### COLUMBIA RIVER NAVIGATION COMPANY PROVIDES SERVICE ON THE LOWER RIVER

Benjamin Stark operated the Columbia River Steam Navigation Company shipping enterprise

Stark was a businessman who moved to Portland [1850] and took up the practice of law

there he became the owner of a large land claim in downtown Portland

he served in both the territorial legislature (and later in the state House of Representatives  
before he was elected United States Senator from Oregon)

Stark's business partners in the Columbia River Steam Navigation Company included:

- Simeon G. Reed who owned a store in the Sacramento mining region  
he made a few trips to Portland to purchase supplies and merchandise  
he moved to Portland [1853] and opened a mercantile business in Rainier, Oregon  
along the Columbia River downriver from Portland  
after a short time he returned to Portland and became friends with William S. Ladd  
Reed worked as a clerk and then partner in Ladd, Reed, & Company  
William S. Ladd opened the first bank in Portland [April 1859]  
(Ladd also built the first brick building in Portland and later became mayor)
- Richard Williams was part owner of the steamer *Belle of Oregon City* and Oregon attorney  
he became a partner with Simeon Reed in the Columbia River Steam Navigation Company  
(Richard Williams later served as a congressman from Oregon)

Benjamin Stark's Columbia River Navigation Company operated three steamers on the lower river  
*Belle of Oregon City, Senorita, Multnomah*

#### COLUMBIA RIVER GORGE PORTAGE IS SERVED BY TWO COMPETING COMPANIES

Close of the Indian wars saw a well-organized steamer service on the lower Columbia River  
steamboats out of Portland connected with the lower portage land at the Lower Cascades -- 1859  
Sharp competition over control of the Cascade Gorge portages had existed for several years  
brothers Daniel F. and Putnam F. Bradford operated their Cascade Railway portage  
on the Washington side of the Columbia River

Middle Columbia River to The Dalles was served by the Bradford's *Mary*  
steamboat *Hassaloe* was added to this run -- 1858

Colonel Joseph S. Ruckel and Harrison Olmstead competed  
with their Oregon Transportation Line on the south side of the river  
their steamer *Mountain Buck* served the lower Columbia River  
while the *Wasco* carried goods across the Middle Columbia River

#### WALLA WALLA COUNTY GOVERNMENT NOT ABLE TO EFFECTIVELY GOVERN

Walla Walla County had been created out of Skamania County [April 25, 1854]

Walla Walla County was enormous

it encompassed half of today's Washington, all of (Idaho) and about one-fourth of (Montana)  
county seat was located [May 1855] on Lloyd Brook's land claim  
(in today's town of Walla Walla)

Indian battles and treaty-writing activities prevented any actual political organization  
or county infrastructure from being organized

Spokane County was formed out of Walla Walla County [January 29, 1858]

by the Washington Territorial Legislature [1858]-1859 session

when land north and west of the Snake River was carved from Walla Walla County

An actual county government was structured for Walla Walla County

by the Washington Territory Legislature -- January 19, 1859

town of Walla Walla was chosen as the county seat

## WASHINGTON TERRITORY DEBT OWNED ROYAL GOVERNOR DOUGLAS IS IGNORED

For nearly three years the United States government had delayed recognition of the personal debt owed to British Royal Governor James Douglas for arms furnished during the Indian uprisings specifically those requested in an appeal written by Governor Stevens [February 7, 1856] this slight had been encountered because Secretary of War John B. Floyd **“had been under the impression that the debt arose from an ordinary purchase of goods, made on the same terms as other purchases at that time from private parties.”**<sup>230</sup>

British Columbia Royal Governor James Douglas explained the facts of this transaction to Lord Napier, the British Minister at Washington **“They were advanced from my own private funds to aid, not the ordinary military operations of the country, for that I should not have felt bound to do, but to avert the devastating inroads of savages menacing the destruction of the defenseless settlements of the United States. You will see by the impressive and oft-repeated appeals made to me for assistance, and that failing all other aid, and having no government means at my command, I authorized Mr. Commissary Robinson to purchase a limited quantity of stores at my expense, which he did; and I paid the cost from my own private funds, and not in the least in connection with the Hudson’s Bay Company. That was done from an entirely friendly spirit, as governor of her Majesty’s colony of Vancouver Island; and assuredly I should not have laid out money in that way, under any other circumstances, with views of commercial profit.”**<sup>231</sup>

Secretary Floyd, after learning of the actual situation, strenuously recommended repayment of this advance from Governor Douglas -- January 27, 1859

President Buchanan heartily concurred: **“I learn that this transaction had in it nothing whatever of a commercial character, but was, in fact, a loan made by the generosity of the chief magistrate of a neighboring colony, in a time of great distress, for the relief of the territory, and with the guaranty of the national faith as security.”**<sup>232</sup>

Congress made the appropriation as recommended: **“to refund the amount of this claim, with interest, which is clearly demanded by the circumstances of the case.”**<sup>233</sup>

## COOPERATION BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND BRITISH COLUMBIA TERRITORIES

United States Revenue Cutter *Jefferson Davis*, now manned by a full crew of thirty-two men and two officers under Captain William C. Pease after the desertion of her original crew to prospect for gold, departed from Port Townsend to a visit to the British colony of Victoria, British Columbia -- February 6, 1859 she was carrying Lieutenant R.A. Scott, U.S. Army and two soldiers from Fort Townsend to meet with British Columbia Royal Governor James Douglass to determine the intentions of the Haida Indians then joining in the fight with other tribes and settlers in U.S. waters *Jefferson Davis* hove to off the mouth of Victoria Harbor, Vancouver Island -- February 7 she tacked her way up the channel toward the booming provincial capital city and came to anchor south of the city in four fathoms of water Lieutenant Scott and another revenue officer (not identified in the account)

---

<sup>230</sup> Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest Oregon and Washington 1889 Volume I*, P. 576.

<sup>231</sup> Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest Oregon and Washington 1889 Volume I*, P. 576.

<sup>232</sup> Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest Oregon and Washington 1889 Volume I*, P. 576.

disembarked from the *Jefferson Davis* and met with British Governor James Douglas to discuss realistic means of dealing with the Northern Indian raids on various settlements -- February 8 Royal Governor gave U.S. officers a great deal of information and the latitude to do their duty on a map he showed where various Indian villages were located and provided the tribal names he also authorized the Revenue Cutter to go to Esquimalt Harbor to confer with Captain Henry Richards of the British naval ship *Plumper* regarding the enforcement of laws to control the Northern Indians on the Canadian side of the Strait of Juan de Fuca

#### U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TAKES UP OREGON STATEHOOD

After enabling legislation to create Oregon State passed the United States Senate the Oregon issue became a political football in the House of Representatives sectional advantages were clearly sought by both the Northern and the Southern states border war of "Bleeding Kansas" was a factor disrupting the Oregon proceedings slavery question in Oregon Territory also was a heated political issue that was not resolved by the Oregon Constitutional Convention [August 1857] however, by a vote of the people (white males on [November 9, 1857] slavery had been disallowed from the state -- 2,645 to 7,727 Free Negroes were also disallowed from the state -- 8,640 to 1,081 Republican Party was gathering strength in Congress they were opposed to admitting a Democratic Territory like Oregon into the Union as a state

#### VOTE ON THE OREGON ORGANIC LAW IN THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Debate over statehood for Oregon in the national House of Representatives grew very heated Oregon's Organic Law was sponsored by Alexander H. Stephens he was a pro-slavery United States Representative from Georgia (he later became Vice-President of the Confederate States of America) this Bill was opposed by Republican United States Congressman Galusha Grow an anti-slavery supporter of Oregon statehood from Pennsylvania (he later authored the [1862] Homestead Act) Several Republican congressmen held that Democrats in Congress failed to apply to Oregon the same rules from entering the Union that had been applied to Kansas Democrats also knew that two Democrats had been elected national Senators in Oregon (this was a factor not known during the Senate debate) adding to the number of Democrats serving in national Senate did not appeal to the Republicans United States House of Representatives voted -- February 12, 1859 114 favored admission -- (14 Republicans, 49 Northern Democrats and 41 Southern Democrats) 103 opposed -- (73 Republicans, 4 Northern Democrats and 26 Southern Democrats)

#### BRITISH STEAM FRIGATE HMS *TRIBUNE* ARRIVES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

HMS Tribune had steamed from Hong Kong [November 27, 1858] bound for the Pacific coast

---

<sup>233</sup> Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest Oregon and Washington 1889 Volume I*, P. 576.

this trip had been a disaster -- it took thirty-three days just to reach Nagasaki, Japan  
there they spent seventeen days refitting the ship  
another six weeks were required to cross the Pacific Ocean and arrive  
at the British Columbia port of Esquimaut, colony of British Columbia  
Captain Hornby and HMS *Tribune* arrived in Esquimaut Harbor -- February 13, 1859  
when they landed the contingent of Royal Marines  
were assigned to Colonel Richard Moody of the Royal Engineers for peacekeeping purposes  
in the goldfields of the Fraser River Canyon

#### OREGON BECOMES A STATE

Oregon's Organic Law was signed by Democrat President James Buchanan -- February 14, 1859  
Oregon was admitted as the thirty-third state of the Union  
Northern boundary was the Columbia River then along the 46° North latitude line,  
Eastern boundary was the Snake River to 117° North latitude,  
Southern boundary with the state of California was 42° North latitude,  
Western boundary was the Pacific Ocean  
After announcing of the news of Oregon's statehood in the nation's capital  
celebrating began in Washington City as the marine band led a joyous marching crowd  
first to the White House where the president gave a speech  
then to the residence of Vice-President John C. Breckenridge who made a speech  
then on to serenade Oregon Senators-elect Joseph Lane and Delazon Smith

#### CHANGES IN THE WASHINGTON-OREGON BOUNDARY

With Oregon State admitted into the Union the boundaries for Washington Territory were altered  
land between Oregon's eastern boundary and the Rocky Mountains was added to Washington  
Newly-drawn Washington Territory was enlarged to nearly the size of Texas  
it included what is today:  
(all of Idaho)  
(Western one-fourth of Montana)  
(Northwest corner of Wyoming including today's Yellowstone Park)

#### FEDERAL ATTENTION TOWARD OREGON AND WASHINGTON

By mutual agreement of the United States and Great Britain  
a commission was formed to settle the San Juan boundary dispute  
survey of the San Juan archipelago begun

#### COLUMBIA RIVER NAVIGATION COMPANY EXPANDS

Benjamin Stark's Columbia River Navigation Company faced competition from other steamboats  
running on the lower Columbia Route  
sternwheelers *Julia* and *Wasco* were both built at Port Blakely, Washington Territory [1858]  
they were operated by Alexander Ankney and George W. Vaughn,  
sidewheeler *Fashion* (the rebuilt *James P. Flint*) was owned by Captain J.O. Van Bergen,  
sternwheeler *Carrie Ladd* was owned by Captain John C. Ainsworth and Jacob Kamm

Columbia River Navigation Company was so efficient that business rivals proposed combining their companies with his  
however, the difficulty would be to get the owner-operators of the two portage routes around the Cascades of the Columbia River to agree  
Captain John C. Ainsworth, former captain of the (wrecked) *Lot Whitcomb* and owner of the steamer *Carrie Ladd*, after working harder than he ever had before ended up deeper than ever in debt  
he initiated an effort to consolidate the rivals into one company  
he succeeded in achieving a mutual agreement with Daniel F. and Putnam F. Bradford who owned the Cascade Railway portage around the Cascades on the north side of the Columbia River  
Ainsworth brought his steamer, the *Carrie Ladd*, into the Columbia River Navigation Company

#### CONGRESS FINALLY RATIFIES ISAAC INGALLS STEVENS' INDIAN TREATIES

Washington Territorial Delegate to Congress Isaac Stevens achieved an appropriation for fulfilling the Indian treaties  
U.S. Senate confirmed the Indian treaties -- March 8, 1859  
(which four years earlier had been negotiated by then-Territorial Governor Stevens Colonel George Wright, the go-ahead little man, was on hand to watch  
Washington Territory was provided an Indian Superintendent and additional Indian Agents in reality most of the new territory, outside of the Puget Sound region, received little attention from any government officials  
rather they were served under the administration of local Indian Agents  
Cost of Indian War was set at \$6 million  
Congress agreed on a plan to pay this debt

#### MULLAN ROAD RECEIVES ADDITIONAL FUNDING

Washington Territorial Delegate Isaac I. Stevens used his political persuasiveness to secure the establishment of a land office for Washington Territory  
also an appropriation of \$100,000 for the Mullan Road was awarded  
in addition to the \$30,000 previously granted  
along with \$10,000 for other road improvements  
this was Isaac Ingalls Stevens' last political triumph  
John Mullan, now Captain Mullan, was in Washington City where he received new orders from Captain A.A. Humphreys at Topographical Engineer headquarters -- March 15, 1859  
he was to return to the Northwest and commence work on the military road linking Fort Walla Walla with the Missouri River at Fort Benton (Montana)  
Mullan's orders noted: **"In conducting this operation, your attention will first be directed to making those parts of the route where the greatest difficulties and most numerous obstructions exist practicable for the passage of wagons at all seasons of the year."**<sup>234</sup>  
After Captain Mullan's plan and budget were approved by the Topographical Engineers leadership

---

<sup>234</sup> James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 63.

he received his final orders: **“With your assistants and such employees as it may be found advisable to engage here, proceed to Fort Dalles, Oregon via New York, where you will have collected and prepared as soon as practicable the tools, materials, and outfit requisite for the work, and employ mechanics, laborers, and other persons as may be necessary....”**<sup>235</sup>

#### OREGON TRANSPORTATION LINE FACES DISASTER

Colonel Joseph S. Ruckel and Harrison Olmstead’s south side portage link was nearly wiped out newspaper *Portland Advertise* reported several months after the fact [June 14, 1859]

**“Three hundred feet of Ruckel and Olmstead railroad near the upper warehouse, and all of the trestle around the Big Tooth Rock was swept away with a damage of \$10,000. This damage was probably repaired promptly for competition was keen between the rival portages, and Ladd and Tilton was furnishing money for the Transportation Company. The Bradford Portage received its freight near the Garrison [nearly opposite Bonneville] where it was loaded on barges propelled by sails or oars to the west end of their railroad. From that point it was taken on the cars to the steamer waiting at their wharf above.”**

#### FORMATIVE STAGES OF ABERDEEN AND HOQUIAM BEGIN

Grays Harbor is surrounded by a broad, shallow bay that drains five rivers in southwest Washington dense forests of spruce, hemlock, cedar, and Douglas Fir surround the bay

Irish immigrants were often the first and leading settlers in various regions of Washington Territory first settler in the Grays Harbor region was William O’Leary from Cork County Ireland [1848]

he built a split-cedar cabin in the style of the local Indians on Grays Harbor’s southern shore

he planted a vegetable garden and potatoes and was content to gather his own food

he remained fiercely independent and was regarded by his fellow citizens

as an “odd character”

O’Leary left it to others to build farms, businesses, industries and towns

Additional settlers followed

Kerr brothers, James and Henry, took up claims on the Hoquiam River

they established a brick yard at Cosmopolis -- Grays Harbor’s first industry

#### STEAMBOAT *ELIZA ANDERSON* OR “*OLD ANDERSON*” SERVES THE FRASER RIVER

Paddler steamer *Eliza Anderson* was considered slow and underpowered even for the time leading to her nickname of “*Old Anderson*”

she was launched at Portland, Oregon [November 27, 1858]

for the Columbia River Steam Navigation Company

Because of the Fraser River gold rush there was a shortage of vessels to transport prospectors

Royal Governor James Douglas granted American steamboats

passage between Victoria and Fort Langley on the Fraser River

after her trial run on the lower Willamette and Columbia rivers *Eliza Anderson* was sold

to a consortium of American and Canadian stockholders

Captain J.G. Hustler took the paddler steamer “*Old Anderson*” to Victoria

---

<sup>235</sup> James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 56-57.

after an overnight stay in the British town, the *Eliza Anderson* arrived at Fort Langley where set out to deliver gold seekers up the Fraser River to the head of navigation at Yale *Eliza Anderson* had completed two round-trips between Yale and Fort Langley and delivered \$40,000 in gold dust to Victoria by March 30, 1859

#### CAPTAIN GEORGE E. PICKETT ARRIVES IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

George Pickett had enrolled at the United Military Academy at West Point at age seventeen George Pickett was charming and dapper -- but also was the class clown he demonstrated his aversion to intellectual pursuits and hard work by graduating last in his Class [of 1846] (he went on to become a General in the Confederate Army leading Pickett's Charge a dashing and futile infantry assault on Union lines during the Battle of Gettysburg) Captain George Pickett was sent to Washington Territory where he reported to Commander of the Department of Oregon General William Shelby Harney at Fort Vancouver Captain Pickett was sent to Fort Steilacoom where he was meet his new unit the sixty-six soldiers of the U.S. Ninth Infantry Company D From Fort Steilacoom Captain Pickett led his soldiers as they traveled on the mail steamer *Constitution* to Fort Townsend then transferred to the U.S. Revenue Cutter *Jefferson Davis* -- April 6, 1859 to be taken to Bellingham Bay where Pickett oversaw construction of Fort Bellingham Captain George Pickett also built a frame house -- the oldest still standing in Bellingham (which is located at F and Bancroft Streets)

#### OWNERSHIP OF THE ISLANDS OF PUGET SOUND REMAIN IN DISPUTE

United States Boundary Commissioner Archibald Campbell and U.S. Topographical Engineer Lieutenant John G. Parke led nearly two hundred men as they surveyed the international boundary from Point Roberts toward the Rocky Mountains British Boundary Commissioner Colonel John Summerfield Hawkins commanded about 100 British Royal Engineers who did the same work for the British government While the two Boundary Commissions worked closely together, virtually without dispute, at issue remained the islands of Puget Sound below 49° north latitude according to the Convention of 1846 (Oregon Treaty) signed by the United States and Britain the international boundary was to follow "the deepest channel" out to the Strait of Juan de Fuca but there were two main channels: the Strait of Haro and the Strait of Juan de Fuca in between lay the San Juan Islands archipelago

#### LIFE ON SAN JUAN ISLAND WAS QUIET

British the settlement of Belle Vue Farm was located near the eastern side of San Juan Island here British Magistrate for Hudson's Bay Company Charles Griffin resided Griffin, a red-haired Irishman, managed the Hudson Bay Company farm where 4,500 sheep and a handful of pigs were raised eighty acres of fenced gardens, cleared roads and eight cabins made up the farm About eighteen Americans also lived on San Juan Island

one of these, Lyman Cutlar, had a homestead about a mile away from Belle Vue Farm  
he claimed a small plot of land which Hudson Bay Company also claimed  
Cutlar raised potatoes which he sold to Hudson's Bay Company  
Because of the confusing language in the Convention of 1846 (Oregon Treaty) neither the British  
nor the American government recognized the authority of the other  
regarding land claims in the San Juan Islands  
British government leaders tolerated Lyman Cutlar although he was both loud and enthusiastic  
in his condemnations of the British -- even so, all was quiet on the island

#### HAIDA INDIANS ATTACK FROM BRITISH COLUMBIA

New Dungeness Lighthouse (located near today's Sequim, Washington) was attacked and robbed  
by Haida Indians who had come south from Haida Gwaii (Queen Charlotte Islands)  
looking for slaves and to plunder for any spoils that were available to them -- April 1859  
When word of the attack finally reached the Collector of the Customs Morris H Frost  
he dispatched the Revenue Cutter *Jefferson Davis* to pursue and arrest the Indians  
Unfortunately communication around Puget Sound was very slow at best  
*Jefferson Davis* arrived too late to do any good as the Indians were long gone  
while the cutter cruised bays and shorelines looking, with no luck, for any trace of the Indians

#### COLUMBIA RIVER REMAINS IMPOSSIBLE TO NAVIGATE

Columbia River was never freely navigable in its natural state as there were many barriers  
of shallow water and rapids that resembled a staircase  
the first barrier was the Cascades of the Columbia River Gorge  
portages of about five miles on either side of the Columbia led around the series of rapids  
navigable water known as the middle Columbia followed the Cascades  
this open water terminated at The Dalles  
another series of rapids known as Celilo Falls required another portage around the falls  
this portage ended at Celilo, Oregon where the "upper Columbia" began

#### STEAMBOAT *COLONEL WRIGHT* OPENS THE UPPER COLUMBIA RIVER REGION

Captain Robert R. Thompson and Lawrence W. Coe who owned the steamer *Colonel Wright*  
steamer *Wright*, as she was commonly referred to, was commanded by Captain Leonard White  
Captain White had been a veteran of navigation on the upper Willamette River  
when he was first assigned to the *Wright*  
Captain White received a salary of \$500 per month -- a huge amount of money for the time  
and retained the position for several years  
(he later became known as one of the most fearless of all steamboat captains)  
Captain Ephraim W. Baughman served as pilot  
Steamboat *Wright* made her first trip on the upper portion of the Columbia River  
between Celilo Falls and Wallula, Washington Territory -- April 1859  
Captain White hung a square sail on the steamer as a precaution in case of mechanical failure  
at Wallula a stage line (and later a railroad) ran to Walla Walla  
which was then the principal settlement in the Inland Empire

*Wright* was the sole steamboat on the upper portion of the Columbia River  
this, of course, was the key to her money-making potential

#### TRIPS DOWN THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Downriver transport on the Columbia could be quite fast for the day  
traveling from Walla Walla to Portland required a stage ride from the newly-founded town  
to Wallula, the village's port on the Columbia River  
*Colonel Wright* tied up at the Wallula wharf awaiting passengers and cargo  
for the downriver journey to Celilo Falls  
there another jostling, jolting ride over the Celilo Falls portage brought the traveler to The Dalles  
After an overnight stay in a hotel at The Dalles another steamboat would be boarded  
for the mid-river run downstream to the Upper Cascades where again travelers disembarked  
Bradford brothers' Cascade Railway on the north side was preferred  
with its mule-powered rail link to Lower Cascades  
but some boats served only the south side Oregon Transportation Line  
with its own mule-powered rail car  
Final steamboat ride from Lower Cascades to Portland finished the journey  
complete trip from Walla Walla to Portland took about thirty hours  
this was considered to be a remarkably short time  
when it was compared to the same trip a decade sooner

#### BENJAMIN STARK'S COLUMBIA RIVER STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY EXPANDS

So efficient was Stark's company Columbia River Navigation Company  
that a new organization was suggested  
however the difficulty would be to get both owner-operators of the Cascade portage roads to agree  
Captain John C. Ainsworth invested in developing the Columbia Gorge  
he initiated an effort to consolidate the rivals into one company  
he succeeded in achieving a mutual agreement with the Bradford brothers  
Sharp competition arose between the Stark and Bradford interests on one side of the river  
and Ruckel and Olmstead on the other  
Stark's four steamboats from Portland linked with brothers Daniel F. and Putnam F Bradfords'  
Cascade Railway portage between Lower Cascades and Upper Cascades  
on the north side of the Columbia River  
Bradford brothers' steamer *Senorita* was dismantled and the engines placed in the new *Hassaloe*  
Captain W.B. Wells became manager of Benjamin Stark's Columbia River Navigation Company  
he oversaw the operation of the *Belle of Oregon City*, *Multnomah* and the *Carrie Ladd*  
on the lower Columbia  
he also was the agent for the Bradford brothers' steamer *Hassaloe*  
on the mid-Columbia run from Upper Cascades to The Dalles  
Reorganization of Benjamin Stark's Columbia River Navigation Company -- April 1859  
soon became known as the Union Transportation Company

#### STEAMBOAT COLONEL WRIGHT OPENS NEW WATER

Setting out from Wallula, Washington Territory the steamer *Wright* made a scouting trip fifty miles up the Snake River which enters the Columbia to the north of Wallula -- May 1859 when Captain Leonard White took the *Wright* on her first trip up the Snake River she hit a snag near the mouth of the Palouse River and almost sank before Captain White could beach her bailed out and repaired, the *Wright* was able to continue her journey up the Snake River *Wright* was the first steamboat to reach (Lewiston, Idaho) 140 miles upriver from Wallula Steamboat *Colonel Wright* was superb at making money she made three round trips a week throughout the summer she earned as much as \$2,500 a trip in passenger fares alone and another \$100 a ton for freight carrying full loads passengers and cargo both ways she made a fortune for her owners before others could interfere with the trade Captain Robert R. Thompson and Lawrence W. Coe reduced the going shipping rate by \$20 a ton to a new rate of \$80 a ton

#### CAPTAIN JOHN MULLAN RETURNS TO THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Captain Mullan arrived at Fort Dalles from the nation's capital, Washington City -- May 10, 1859 during the next several days he hired the required workers he organized his force and prepared for the rigorous time-consuming road building task ahead

#### OREGON STATE LEGISLATURE FINALLY MEETS OFFICIALLY

Oregon State Governor John Whiteaker called Special Session of Legislature -- May 16 to [June 4], 1859 laws were passed to organize the state government Oregon's state legislature had two chambers: eighteen members of the lower House of Representatives and the nine members in the upper chamber or Council both Representatives and Council members were elected by county (as the population increased more counties were added and corresponding officials elected) Oregon's State Council (Senate) met elect two United States Senators they simply re-elected Joe Lane and Delazon Smith

#### FRASER RIVER BRITISH COLUMBIA GOLD RUSH DISAPPOINTS MANY

Boom of [1858] turned to the Bust of 1859 warm spring weather melted snow and ice causing river levels to rise appreciably gold deposits were covered by the river runoff which caused a long interruptions in mining operations -- spring 1859 (however, even with gold deposits covered by summer high river water a few lucky prospectors managed to produce a million and a half dollars in gold -- 1859 gold seekers pushed deeper into the British Columbia interior opening new fields and creating new problems for Royal Governor James Douglas most difficult of the expansion was developing transportation to the towns at the upper end of the Fraser River's thunderous canyons)

For most, prospecting results were less exciting than those in California had been ten year before  
thousands of American gold-seekers were disgusted by the unexpected floods  
and by what they considered to be Royal Governor James Douglas' cramping restrictions  
soon the less patient of the men became drifters again  
Disappointment led to a great outpouring of Americans leaving the Fraser River goldfields  
as they stormed home to California angry and defeated  
they shouted to the world that they had been duped  
these bitter reports quickly changed the plans of many potential parasites  
who otherwise might have followed the scent of easy money to the new diggings  
to make life there more difficult for everyone  
unsuccessful miners left behind settlers, supply trails and a young colony  
many unfortunate miners soon moved to vast sections of Eastern Washington Territory  
others fled to the San Juan Islands

#### SAN JUAN ISLANDS INCREASE IN POPULATION

Some of the gold miners returning from the Fraser River region settled in the San Juan Islands  
for the most part these men were penniless and the islands offered a welcome refuge  
that provided good fishing, rich farmland and no taxes  
As the foreign population increased, the ownership dispute between the U.S. and Britain resurfaced  
new settlers tipped the population balance in favor of the United States  
miners considered the islands to be American property  
British subjects on the islands felt threatened by the influx

#### DIFFICULT NEIGHBORS RESIDE ON SAN JUAN ISLAND

One of British Magistrate for Hudson's Bay Company Charles Griffin's pigs, a giant black boar,  
developed a propensity for American Lyman Cutlar's potatoes -- May 1859  
twice the pig visited Cutlar's farm on late-night forages to root through his potato patch  
these raids caused serious damage to the meager crop  
and further infuriated the anti-British farmer  
American settler Lyman Cutlar chased the British pig off his farm  
then complained to Hudson Bay Company's resident manager Charles Griffin  
Cutlar told Griffin to keep his "blasted" pig out of his potato patch  
Charles Griffin (it was commonly reported) in turn told Cutlar to put up a fence  
**"It is up to you to keep your potatoes out of my pig."**<sup>236</sup>  
Griffin also noted that Cutlar's farm was on Hudson Bay Company land -- and Cutlar was trespassing  
therefore, Cutlar would not be paid for any damage which the pig might have caused  
American Lyman Cutlar stormed away from the confrontation and back to his farm

#### OLD FORT COLVILLE IS REPLACED WITH A NEW AMERICAN MILITARY POST

U.S War Department ordered old Fort Colville be replaced by a new American military post  
to control the Indians of the area

---

<sup>236</sup> *Chuck Woodbury, Outwestnewspaper.com: Pig War, 2000.*

first called Harney's Depot the new post was located on the left side of Mill Creek  
seven miles above confluence with Colville River  
just northeast of the (present town of Colville)  
Harney's Depot's name was changed to Fort Colville  
(this was the second post by that name but with a different spelling)  
four companies of U.S. Infantry were stationed there -- June 15, 1859  
(this post was closed [1883])

#### ONCE AGAIN THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY PIG GOES FORAGING

Charles Griffin's British Berkshire boar made another night raid  
on American Lyman Cutlar's farm -- June 15, 1859  
digging under Cutlar's fence the pig once again happily rooted  
through the farmer's apparently irresistible potato patch  
When Cutlar saw the damage to his garden, he was incensed that the animal was back on his property  
he raced back into his cabin and grabbed his double barrel shotgun  
he chased the pig out of his garden and into the woods  
where he leveled his weapon on the pig and shot it dead

#### RELATIONSHIPS DETERIORATE ON SAN JUAN ISLAND

American Lyman Cutlar hauled the dead porker back to its Belle Vue Farm home  
Cutlar met with British farm manager Charles Griffin  
Cutlar explained that he felt badly about the whole affair  
and offered to pay ten dollars for the animal  
Griffin refused to take any money for the pig  
and said he would contact the British Columbia authorities to press charges  
Lyman Cutlar immediately left Belle Vue Farm and went back to his small homestead

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY OFFICIALS CONFRONT LYMAN CUTLAR

Governor of Hudson's Bay Company operations west of the Rocky Mountains  
(and Royal Governor James Douglas' son-in-law) Alexander Grant Dallas accompanied by  
Puget Sound Agricultural Company founder Dr. William Tolmie were visiting Belle Vue Farm  
both company officials decided to confront Lyman Cutlar  
regarding the death of the Hudson Bay Company pig  
Reports of what followed conflict  
Alexander Dallas said that he merely argued with Lyman Cutlar who grew increasingly abusive  
Lyman Cutlar said he was ordered to pay for the pig or be arrested and taken to Victoria for trial  
at any rate, Cutlar, dared them to try to arrest him as he stood his ground  
no doubt his shotgun was within their sight and within his easy reach  
Both Hudson's Bay Company officials backed off, retreating back to the steamer *Beaver*  
to acquire more manpower from the *Beaver's* crew  
When they returned to the American's farm, Lyman Cutlar could not be found  
one of Cutlar's friends had convinced him to leave  
out of fear that Cutlar might kill some of the British authorities or crewmen from the ship

## TENSIONS ESCALATE IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

American San Juan Island settler Lyman Cutlar notified Commander of the Department of Oregon General William S. Harney stationed at Fort Vancouver that Hudson's Bay Company's had attempted to arrest him -- Cutlar asked for American military protection Charles Griffin, British Magistrate for Hudson's Bay Company on San Juan Island, reported the killing of his pig to his Hudson's Bay Company bosses at Victoria, British Columbia Hudson's Bay Company leaders sent a message asking for assistance in the matter to the British Columbia Royal Governor James Douglas

## CAPTAIN GEORGE E. PICKETT IS INFORMED OF THE ATTEMPTED ARREST

A few days after the Hudson's Bay Company officials threatened to arrest American Lyman Cutlar Deputy U.S. Customs officer Paul Hubbs paddled his canoe all the way from San Juan Island to Fort Bellingham where he explained the situation to Captain George Pickett, the fort's commander Captain Pickett agreed that the circumstances were antagonistic and needed to be resolved

## DEAD HOG LEADS TO AN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIR

Residents on San Juan Island began to take sides along national lines Deputy U.S. Customs officer Paul Hubbs asked Washington Territory government officials to either resolve the dispute regarding the ownership of the San Juan islands or arrange protection against British harassment for the American islanders British Columbia Royal Governor James Douglas sent a magistrate to San Juan Island to look into the incident and to ensure British interests on the island were not compromised Before civil authorities had a chance to settle the dispute through diplomatic channels an international confrontation with more names that it deserves was set off: "Pig War," "Pig Episode," "Pig and Potato War," "San Juan Boundary Dispute," or the "Northwest Boundary Difficulty" in this international incident the pig was the only casualty

## CONSTRUCTION BEGINS ANEW ON THE MULLAN ROAD

After hesitating for equipment repairs and some further outfitting at Fort Walla Walla Captain John Mullan and his main construction party started out -- July 1, 1859 From Walla Walla his route extended Northeast across the Snake River and northward to Lake Coeur d'Alene during this stretch of road building it was light work for the expedition most of the route was a high rolling prairie such as the Palouse with abundant water and grass for the stock there only a few steams to bridge and wooden markers to set out to point the direction however, some of the route required road grading and repairs to bridges and ferries with about 100 men the Mullan Road progressed at good speed construction work was dangerous as the Captain Mullan noted: **"I regret to report the loss of one of Lieutenant White's men by drowning while crossing the Snake river. He had been above the**

**camp for wood, which he floated down the stream in the form of a raft; being upon which, the current, which is at the rate of five or six miles per hour, carried him so far below that, jumping off it, it was impossible to save him.”<sup>237</sup>**

Captain Mullan continued over the rolling hills to Spokane then East to Lake Coeur d’Alene men pushed forward and soon entered the area of the Coeur d’Alene Lake and St. Joseph River basin

Mullan in his report noted: **“Four miles up the valley we selected a suitable place for crossing by a ferryboat. We immediately set the whip-sawyers in the timber to get out the necessary lumber, and some men to burning tar, and, being provided with the necessary oakam, we built two flat boats, forty-two feet long, twelve feet broad and two feet deep, one for the St. Joseph’s and the other for the Coeur d’Alene.”<sup>238</sup>**

#### NEW GOVERNOR FOR WASHINGTON TERRITORY ARRIVES

Southern Democrat Richard D. Gholson of Kentucky was appointed by President James Buchanan to take the reins of leadership from Acting-Governor Charles H. Mason after almost a year Gholson arrived in Washington Territory -- early July 1859  
Territorial Governor Gholson had studied law and practiced in Kentucky before entering the Mexican War  
he was elected to the Kentucky legislature,  
he was an adamant supporter of Democrat President Buchanan

#### GENERAL WILLIAM SHELBY HARNEY INJECTS HIMSELF INTO THE SAN JUAN SITUATION

Commander of the Department of Oregon General William S. Harney was on an inspection tour of his military posts on Puget Sound -- July 1859  
General Harney boarded the propeller steamship *Massachusetts* at Fort Steilacoom accompanied by Fort Vancouver Commander Major Granville O. Haller  
they visited Fort Townsend which had been constructed before Harney came to the Northwest  
Harney seemed surprised by the showy military quarters  
they then proceeded to Bellingham Bay where night overtook the inspection party  
General Harney became the overnight guest of ex-Judge E.C. Fitzhugh  
while his staff officers, who had been classmates of Fort Bellingham commander Captain Pickett, lodged at Captain Pickett’s little house in Bellingham

#### GENERAL WILLIAM SHELBY HARNEY EXCALATES THE SAN JUAN ISLAND CRISIS

General Harney was known for his foul temper, vulgar tongue and frequent insubordinations  
he also was notably anti-British -- even if it was bad policy to provoke England to war at this time  
What information the general gleaned from his visit with ex-Judge E.C. Fitzhugh  
or what his staff officers learned from Captain George Pickett is not known  
It is known that Pickett had for some time displayed a desire to be stationed on San Juan Island  
even though Secretary of State William L. Marcy had announced that President Franklin Pierce

---

<sup>237</sup> James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 57.

<sup>238</sup> Captain John Mullan, Report on the Military Road from Fort Walla-Walla to Fort Benton, 1863.

had directed the San Juan Islands be treated as neutral territory  
until the American and British boundary commissioners could reach an agreement  
on the proper location of the water boundary separating the United States and Canada

#### GENERAL HARNEY STEAMS OUT OF BELLINGHAM BAY ABOARD THE *MASSACHUSETTS*

General William S. Harney stopped at Semiahmoo Bay, Washington Territory  
to call on the American Boundary Commissioner Archibald Campbell  
regarding the increasing American resentment on San Juan Island  
it was discourteous to British Boundary Commissioner Colonel John Summerfield Hawkins  
for the American military officer to rudely interfere in a local dispute  
General Harney's staff informed William A.G. Young who served as Archibald Campbell's secretary  
of the general's intension to protect American property  
General Harney did not mention the subject to Commissioner Campbell himself during their visit  
neither did Secretary Young who assumed the general's visit was to consult before issuing an order

#### AMERICANS CELEBRATE THE 4<sup>TH</sup> OF JULY ON SAN JUAN ISLAND

Americans on San Juan Island showed off their independence, and their disdain of the British,  
with a noisy celebration at the cabin of deputy customs collector Paul Hubbs -- July 4, 1859  
fourteen men, almost the entire American population of the island,  
gathered up the hill from Belle Vue Farm for a raucous flag-raising ceremony  
after a speech by each of the fourteen men, and undoubtedly at least an equal number of toasts  
the stars and stripes was raised on the newly erected 55-foot flagpole  
(and remained there for several days)

#### GENERAL WILLIAM S. HARNEY VISITS BRITISH COLUMBIA GOVERNOR JAMES DOUGLAS

After his stop at Semiahmoo Bay General Harney set out for Victoria aboard the *Massachusetts*  
to pay a visit to Royal Governor Douglas -- July 8, 1859  
apparently the subject of events on San Juan Island or the boundary dispute did not come up

#### GENERAL WILLIAM SHELBY HARNEY STOPS AT SAN JUAN ISLAND

After his visit with British Columbia Governor James Douglas,  
General William S. Harney steamed out of Victoria bound for Port Townsend -- July 9, 1859  
according to tradition, General Harney saw the American flag  
flying above San Juan Island and stopped to investigate

When General Harney toured San Juan Island American  
deputy customs collector Paul K. Hubbs and others implored him to provide American troops  
to defend their interests -- July 9, 1859

Harney had the settlers, at the general's recommendation, petition for the presence  
of United States troops on San Juan Island to provide protection  
against any Northern Indian marauders who might come ashore  
Haida, Kwakiutl, Tlingit and Bella Bella Indians from Haida Gwaii (Queen Charlotte Islands)  
frequently raided the tribes of the sound in their 50-and 100-man canoes looking for slaves

(in fact, two years before on nearby Whidbey Island Haida warriors had beheaded prominently known Colonel Isaac Ebey [1857])

#### REAL ISSUES BEHIND THE CONCERNS REGARDING SAN JUAN ISLAND

It is a popular misconception that the United States and Great Britain almost went to war over a pig however, the real dispute had more to do with the hazy description

of where the international boundary separating the two countries actually fell

Up to this point, General William S. Harney had enjoyed a brilliant but controversial career he was equally famous for both his bravery and his bullying

(Harney had shown his irrationality years before during the Mexican War by taking it upon himself to invade Mexico without prior authority

he was then court marshaled and reprimanded for “arbitrary and unmilitary conduct”

but released due to support from his political friends in the White House

he attributed the discipline to his “boisterous nature”

it was also noted that his army was defeated by Mormon fighters in Utah

when he tried to attack Salt Lake City (in the mid-1850s)

General Harney thought that since more Americans lived on San Juan Island they should take it over

Harney felt San Juan Island would make a valuable U.S. naval station

(he also believed that later Vancouver Island would be acquired in the spirit of Manifest Destiny)

Harney believed stationing United States troops on San Juan Island would assure American rights

here was a way to force the issue of American sovereignty

and take the San Juan Islands from the British

this was simply his newest effort to cause a confrontation on an international scale

General Harney was probably the worst officer in the U.S. Army to encounter a diplomatic impasse

#### GENERAL WILLIAM SHELBY HARNEY ORDERS SAN JUAN ISLAND OCCUPIED

General William S. Harney chose Captain George Pickett to command the troops to be stationed on San Juan Island

General Harney had fought alongside Captain Pickett in the battle for Mexico City

Harney was impressed with the young soldier’s daring

(later demonstrated in the ill-fated Pickett’s Charge in the [1863] battle of Gettysburg)

Harney ordered Captain George Pickett to move his post from Fort Bellingham to San Juan Island

he led his sixty-six men of U.S. Ninth Infantry Company D to the island -- July 18, 1859

under the pretext of protecting American settlers from attacks by Canadian Indian

this was an excuse to forcibly take San Juan Island from the British

and finalize the American claim to all of the San Juan Islands

Brigadier General William S. Harney’s orders were forwarded through military channels

from the headquarters of the Department of Oregon to Captain Pickett

Pickett had been restless at Fort Bellingham and jumped at the opportunity for active service

#### CAPTAIN GEORGE PICKETT RECEIVES SPECIAL ORDERS

Captain Pickett was also furnished with special orders from General William S. Harney

these were delivered personally to Captain Pickett by “Blanket” Bill Jarman

messenger, mail and express carrier for troops at forts Steilacoom, Bellingham and Townsend  
thus craftily bypassing the more moderate Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey

who had remained stationed at Fort Steilacoom [since 1856]

Harney made it plain to Pickett that protecting American citizens from Indians  
was not his “**more serious and important duty**”<sup>239</sup>

rather he was to protect Americans in their civil rights “**and to resist all attempts at  
interference by British authorities...by intimidation or force**”<sup>240</sup>

#### U.S. LIGHTHOUSE TENDER *SHUBRICK* ANCHORS IN SAN JUAN HARBOR

American side wheel steamer *Shubrick* was the first lighthouse tender on the West Coast  
*Shubrick* was named in honor of Commodore William Bradford Shubrick

President of the Preliminary Board of Lighthouses

she steamed into San Juan Harbor bringing with her

U.S. Boundary Commissioner Archibald Campbell -- July 25, 1859

Commissioner Campbell had received a dispatch a few days earlier advising him  
that Captain George Pickett was going to San Juan Island to head off Indian attacks

this was not an uncommon occurrence as troops camped for a day or two  
waiting for Northern Indians who had been reported en route to arrive

Campbell had come to San Juan to see for himself why British Boundary commissioners  
had been so insistent on keeping the islands during boundary talks  
he had spent a pleasant day hiking along the bay and shooting black-tail deer

#### CAPTAIN GEORGE PICKETT RECEIVES SECRET ORDERS TO OCCUPY SAN JUAN ISLAND

Captain Pickett and the sixty-men of the U.S. Ninth Infantry Company D boarded the *Massachusetts*  
to be transported from Fort Bellingham to San Juan Island

Captain Pickett and his troops reached San Juan Harbor (Griffin Bay)  
in the pre-dawn hours -- July 26, 1859

Pickett sent Sergeant William Smith to inform Deputy U.S. Customs officer Paul Hubbs  
that Company D was scheduled to land on San Juan Island in the morning  
it was hoped Hubbs would help select a campsite

both Pickett and Hubbs had shared a campfire during the [1856] White River campaign  
in Pierce County

only three weeks before Hubbs had rowed to Fort Bellingham to complain to Pickett  
about the treatment San Juan settlers had received from Hudson's Bay Company

#### CAPTAIN GEORGE PICKETT OCCUPIES SAN JUAN ISLAND

Captain Pickett placed his sixty-six men on San Juan Island's southern arm on the top of a hillside  
above San Juan Harbor (today's Griffin Bay) -- the sheltered harbor on the north side  
of the Cattle Point peninsula where the Hudson's Bay Company dock was located  
longboats rowed out from the *Massachusetts* delivering men in blue, lumber, tents and field guns

---

<sup>239</sup> George Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 179.

<sup>240</sup> George Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 179.

Captain Pickett immediately proclaimed the island to be United States property -- July 26, 1859  
although he was allegedly there to protect the settlers from marauding Canadian Indians

#### ROYAL GOVERNOR JAMES DOUGLAS SENDS A MAGISTRATE TO SAN JUAN ISLAND

British Columbia Royal Governor Douglas appointed Major John De Courcy  
to the position magistrate for San Juan Island

Major De Courcy was to serve as the new British peace officer

he was to arrest Lyman Cutlar and evict all eighteen Americans living on San Juan Island

Major De Courcy was a decorated veteran of the Crimean War

fighting rather than diplomacy was his strong suit

Magistrate De Courcy was transported from Victoria twenty miles to San Juan Harbor

aboard the twenty-one-gun steam Corvette HMS *Satellite*

under Captain James Prevost -- July 26, 1859

he was surprised to see the USS *Massachusetts* and American side wheel steamer *Shubrick*

at anchor in San Juan Harbor (Griffin Bay)

more surprising still was the fact that American troops were on San Juan Island

when its ownership was being discussed by American and British boundary commissioners

#### BRITISH MAJOR JOHN DE COURCY CONFRONTS AMERICAN CAPTAIN GEORGE PICKETT

British Army Major John De Courcy stepped ashore on San Juan Island

he went straight to U.S. Army Captain George Pickett's camp and ordered the American officer  
to leave the island or face arrest

Captain Pickett refused to leave and reported that he and his soldiers had been brought to the island  
to provide protection against northern Indians to the Americans living on the island

British Captain De Courcy left Pickett's camp and took the *Satellite* back to Victoria

to report the American invasion to Royal Governor James Douglas

#### BRITISH ROYAL GOVERNOR JAMES DOUGLAS COULD NOT CONTAIN HIMSELF

British Columbia Royal Governor James Douglas was experienced in dealing with Americans

he had been active in the fur trade working for the North West Company [1819-1821]

when that company merged with Hudson's Bay Company [1821] he became their employee

he was assigned to Fort Vancouver [1828] where he rose to the position of Chief Factor

while serving Hudson's Bay Company he watched as the Company's domain diminished

control of the Pacific Ocean and coast from the Arctic Circle to California

and all of Canada from the Pacific Ocean to the Great Lakes was reduced

to isolated plots of land in the Crown Colony of British Columbia

of which he was the governor

Hudson's Bay Company may have lost an empire

but he remained in control of British Columbia

Royal Governor Douglas felt himself far too familiar with American encroachment on British land

Most observers, both British and Americans alike, knew there was a more significant reason

for the American military presence on San Juan Island than harassing Indians

British government maintained an official policy of restraint and non-collision in the San Juan Islands

but Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Station Admiral Robert Lambert Baynes was not in the area he was attending to issues at his headquarters in Valparaiso, Chile  
British Columbia Royal Governor James Douglas favored decisive action  
as Royal Governor Douglas also held the position of ex-officio British vice-admiral

#### ROYAL GOVERNOR JAMES DOUGLAS ATTEMPTS TO REMOVE CAPTAIN PICKETT

Royal Navy Captain Geoffrey Phipps Hornby remained anchored in Esquimalt Harbor  
aboard the 31-gun steam frigate HMS *Tribune*

Governor Douglas in his capacity as ex-officio British vice-admiral issued orders to Captain Hornby to sail the twenty miles to San Juan Island and anchor in San Juan Harbor (today's Griffin Bay) he was to land a contingent of Royal Marines and remove Captain George Pickett and his troops from San Juan Island but he was to avoid a collision with the American forces -- July 27, 1859

#### BRITISH CAPTAIN GEOFFREY PHIPPS HORNBY IMPACTS HISTORY

Captain Geoffrey Phipps Hornby knew that if he landed troops a collision was inevitable furthermore, by the wording of the orders he knew the blame for any resulting bloodshed would fall on his own shoulders

Captain Hornby staked his career on what he thought Admiral Baynes would wish he delayed carrying out Royal Governor Douglas' orders -- July 27, 1859

Captain Hornby's good judgment rather than Pickett's defiance held the British offshore

#### UNITED STATES REVENUE CUTTER *JEFFERSON DAVIS* IS ON ROUTINE PATROL

Revenue Cutter *Jefferson Davis* arrived at San Juan Island -- July 28, 1859

both *Jefferson Davis* and HMS *Tribune* of the Royal Navy  
anchored near each other in San Juan Harbor (Griffin Bay)

Royal Navy Captain Geoffrey Phipps Hornby went ashore to talk with Captain Pickett but the U.S. Army captain was unavailable

#### BRITISH NAVAL OFFICERS IN VICTORIA REMAIN CALM IN THE FACE OF CRISIS

British naval officers advised Royal Governor James Douglas against his course of action as it was contrary to British navy policy -- July 29, 1859

Throughout the remaining days of July (and well into August)

British forces in San Juan Harbor (Griffin Bay) continued to grow

while Captain Hornby offered reassurances to Royal Governor Douglas that the Americans had no intentions for reinforcing their troops or remaining on San Juan Island

#### BRITISH SUBJECTS ON VANCOUVER ISLAND SUPPORT ROYAL GOVERNOR DOUGLAS

Victoria's city newspaper, the *British Colonist*, led a loud outcry against General William S. Harney and his occupation of San Juan Island : **"We learn that a company of U.S. soldiers under command of Capt. Pickett, were expected to land at San Juan Island yesterday, from Semiahmoo, in order to erect barracks and fortifications. They were ordered there by Gen. Harney, when up here a short time ago. We trust our government will call our insatiable neighbor to account for the unwarrantable assumption."** [July 29, 1859]

## LUMMI INDIANS TAKE ADVANTAGE OF AN OPPORTUNITY

Removal of Captain Pickett's Company from Fort Bellingham had a bad effect on the Lummi Indians soon after Pickett had departed for San Juan Island some young Lummi Indians entered the settlement of Whatcom with weapons and war paint they demanded the return of their chief whom they supposed was confined in the jail one Whatcom resident attempted to warn them away by threatening to shoot when they did not take his advice, he shot one of the natives that warrior returned fire and killed the settler -- July 28, 1959

Whatcom's citizens armed themselves and shot down three natives participants in the killing Major Granville O. Haller was patrolling the San Juan Islands aboard the USS *Massachusetts* looking for Northern Indians to remove he was notified of the Whatcom tragedy by boatmen who were sent to find the steamer and invite the Major and his command to hurry to their protection Major Haller landed at Whatcom the same day, and rushed out to the Nooksack Crossing to head off the Indians who had set out to retrieve the bodies of the slain young Indian men

## CRISIS IS AVOIDED IN BELLINGHAM

As the Indian recovery party paddled up the Nooksack toward the crossing -- morning July 29, 1959 the Nooksack's swift current prevented passing by Haller's soldiers if the troops decided to stop them

Indians in the canoe voluntarily came ashore to hold a council young warriors who had entered Whatcom the day before were demanded as hostages to prevent any more fighting -- and to avenge the slain accused Indians were surrendered and a general outbreak was averted

Since boundary survey parties were scattered in small groups along the lengthy international border, Lummi Indians could have easily isolated the surveyors before they even knew of the outbreak field operations identifying the international boundary would had to have been suspended

## CHARLES H. MASON DIES IN OLYMPIA

Only days after turning the territorial government over to Richard D. Gholson Territorial Secretary Charles H. Mason, who had dedicated his short life to Washington Territory, passed away after a brief illness at age twenty-eight -- July 29, 1859

Territorial Secretary and frequently Acting-Governor (five times) had served the people well:

- for six years had held the office of secretary, and for nearly half that time as Acting-Governor,
- he assisted Governor Stevens in negotiating the Medicine Creek and Point-No-Point Treaties he was the secretary for those treaty presentations,
- he had served as governor in time of war and constantly attempted to maintain or achieve peace,
- he transported documents to the nation's capital and secured funding for territorial aid

No one in Washington Territory was held in higher esteem by the whole community than Charles H. Mason who was consistently efficient, prompt, incorruptible and courteous it has been noted by history that his efforts were "marked with energy, decision and wisdom" former Governor and Territorial Delegate to Congress Isaac Ingalls Stevens

gave the eulogy at Charles Mason's funeral service  
Charles H. Mason was buried near the capital with all of the ceremony  
due to a wise and gifted political leader and friend  
He well-deserved the high praise lavished upon him in post-obituary honors  
(Washington legislature legislative changed the name of Sawamish County to Mason County  
in honor of his services to the territory [1864])

#### CAPTAIN GEORGE E. PICKETT MOVES HIS SAN JUAN ISLAND CAMP

After only five days on San Juan Island, Captain George Pickett changed locations  
perhaps he was in quest of level ground  
but more likely it was because British naval cannons looked down his throat  
Captain Pickett and his sixty-six men of U.S. Ninth Infantry Company D  
moved to a more easily defended location over the hill crest to the opposite side of the peninsula  
at a place that became known as Spring Camp -- August 1, 1859  
this move mystified the British who easily could have sailed around the point  
to train their guns on the new location

#### ROYAL GOVERNOR DOUGLAS DECIDES TO PUT BRITISH SOLDIERS ON SAN JUAN ISLAND

British Columbia Royal Governor Douglas faced the fact that American troops had invaded the island  
although British Navy officers and even Douglas' own governmental advisors were opposed  
he decided to place an equal number of British troops on San Juan Island -- August 2, 1859  
Douglas wrote a letter to Captain Geoffrey Phipps Hornby aboard the *Tribune* in San Juan Harbor  
in which he stressed four points to justify landing British soldiers:

- maintain the integrity of the British claim to the islands,
- maintain the national honor and dignity of Great Britain,
- maintain control and influence over the Indians tribes,
- protect British subjects and property,

Hornby was to carry out any action which circumstances may hereafter compel you to take  
attached to this letter was Douglas' formal protest to the U.S. authorities "**which stressed that  
because the islands always had been 'undeviatingly' claimed to be in the Crown of Great Britain, he  
did, 'formally and solemnly protest against the occupation'.**"

this was signed, "**James Douglas of the most honorable Order of the Bath, Governor  
and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Colony of Vancouver Island and its dependencies, Vice  
Admiral of the same etc., etc.**"<sup>241</sup>

#### HMS *PLUMPER* ARRIVES IN SAN JUAN HARBOR (GRIFFIN BAY)

HMS *Plumper*, a screw-driven sloop (actually a converted survey ship),  
steamed into San Juan Harbor (Griffin Bay) from New Westminster -- August 2, 1859  
she was commanded by British Captain George Henry Richards  
*Plumper* carried aboard ten guns, forty-six Royal Marines and fifteen Royal Engineers and sappers  
(military engineers who specialize in fortifications -- especially tunneling under the enemy)

---

<sup>241</sup> Mike Vouri, *The Pig War: Standoff at Griffin Bay*, P. 109-110.

under the command of Colonel Richard Moody

## CONFRONTATION TAKES PLACE AT SAN JUAN HARBOR (GRIFFIN BAY) SAN JUAN ISLAND

Three British war ships, *Tribune*, *Satellite* and *Plumper*, were anchored in San Juan Harbor carrying 755 men with more than sixty-four guns trained on Captain Pickett almost one cannon for every American soldier

U.S. Army Captain Pickett waited on San Juan Island for the British to wipe out his sixty-six men of the Ninth Infantry Company D and confiscate his three brass field pieces

Captain Geoffrey Phipps Hornby had seriously contemplated Royal Governor Douglas' instructions and the implications carrying out those orders could have on his military career

Captain Hornby opted to meet personally with U.S. Army Captain George Pickett an invitation was extended for Pickett to meet aboard the *Tribune*

Captain Pickett declined but extended an invitation for Captain Hornby to visit his island camp Captain Geoffrey Phipps Hornby accompanied by *Satellite's* Captain James Prevost and Captain George Henry Richards of the *Plumper* went ashore on San Juan Island both Prevost and Richards were British Boundary Commissioners

Captain George Pickett received his guests in his Spring Camp tent -- 2:00 P.M. August 3, 1859 Captain Hornby asked Army Captain Pickett on what terms the American occupied the island Pickett responded that he was following the orders of the general commanding the territory he also added (untruthfully) that Brigadier General William S. Harney was acting under orders from the government in Washington City

Captain Hornby argued that since the United States had put a military force on the disputed island British officials had no choice but to do the same

however, local magistrates of either country could call upon the military forces at any time to enforce the law -- and quite probably start a war

Hornby proposed getting rid of the magistrates, suspending the courts and imposing a joint military occupation of San Juan Island only that or Pickett vacating the island could avoid bloodshed

U.S. Army Captain George Pickett did not feel he could disobey his direct orders and vacate the island Hornby told Pickett, **"I have one thousand men on board the ships ready to land tonight."**

Pickett replied, **"If you undertake it I will fight you as long as I have a man."**

**"Very well,"** answered Hornby, **"I will land them at once."**

as the frustrated Hornby prepared to leave Pickett stopped him at the tent flap and said, **"Give me forty-eight hours, until I can hear from my commanding officer or [you] accept the responsibility for the bloodshed that will follow."**<sup>242</sup>

Captain Hornby consented and with Prevost and Richard returned to their ships

## TENSIONS MOUNT FOR THE MILITARY LEADERS AT SAN JUAN ISLAND

U.S. Army Captain George Pickett was uncertain of his position

and well aware of his vulnerability to the three British warships in San Juan Harbor

Pickett spent the evening writing to Commander of the Department of Oregon General Harney

---

<sup>242</sup> Thomas Edward Pickett, *A Soldier of the Civil War*, P. 16-17.

describing the force arrayed against him

Pickett sought further instructions and reinforcements

Captain Geoffrey Phipps Hornby knew that Pickett was not bluffing

anyone who was so vague in his mind about the implications of his actions

would push on without concern

also Pickett was so unsure of himself that it required Hornby to be even more confident

Hornby's course was clear: he must hold the marines aboard ship and await the arrival

of Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Station Rear Admiral Robert Lambert Baynes

who was expected in the very near future

Hornby wrote two letters to Governor Douglas

the first justifying his actions in defiance of the governor's orders

the second an informal and more personal appeal to the governor: **“It seems undesirable to**

**have an open rupture, until they can have heard of and replied to our case at home (London).’ Pickett and Company D had been on San Juan Island for a week. It would be ‘undignified’ to land the marines after the *Massachusetts* sailed off without landing a single soldier from Haller’s company. If the British chose to land, it would have to be with a superior force, which would prompt the Americans to counter. Taking a plunge into political waters--always dangerous for a military man--he stated that (British Prime Minister) Lord Palmerston never had, and never would, enforce the British claim against the U.S. If Washington presses London to give up the land, London would comply. What a ‘mess’ they would all be in if the government had already done so. As far as Hornby knew, Pickett’s modest force was all there was likely to be on San Juan. Surely the British could afford forbearance in the face of a motley collection of expatriate Irishmen led by a posturing Southerner.”**<sup>243</sup>

#### BRITISH NAVAL OFFICERS CONTINUE TO SHOW PATIENCE

Back in Victoria British Columbia Royal Governor James Douglas was furious

Captain Geoffrey Phipps Hornby had ruined his plan for swift retaliation to American insolence

British Naval officers in Victoria were well aware that their commander,

Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Station Rear Admiral Robert Lambert Baynes, was a firm believer in not antagonizing the Americans

they were reluctant to follow orders from Royal Governor Douglas

they backed British Captain Hornby, as Great Britain’s war presently ongoing in China

to establish a colony (the Second Opium War) remained unresolved

London was on highest alert and would not welcome a conflict in this distant part of the Empire

naval officers urged James Douglas to try milder measures but the Governor remained adamant

Douglas had received orders from the home government that he was hold the San Juan Islands

both the British Columbia parliament and the public demanded British forces be landed

now his own captains had denied him the military support to do that -- this was insubordination

#### TERRITORIAL DELEGATE TO CONGRESS ISAAC STEVENS VISITS PICKETT’S SPRING CAMP

Washington Territorial Delegate to Congress and former governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens stopped by

---

<sup>243</sup> Mike Vouri, *The Pig War: Standoff at Griffin Bay*, P. 114.

American Captain George Pickett's Spring Camp -- August 4, 1859

Isaac Stevens was given Captain Pickett's dispatches to be delivered to General William S. Harney taking the Steamer *Julia* to Olympia, the dispatches were forwarded to Fort Vancouver by express messenger

#### CAPTAIN GEORGE PICKETT REQUESTS THE *JEFFERSON DAVIS* PROVIDE SUPPORT

Captain Pickett requested the U.S. Revenue Cutter *Jefferson Davis* remain in San Juan Harbor (Griffin Bay) for the purpose of communicating with the English warships and to show the United States flag-- August 4, 1859  
*Jefferson Davis*' new commander Revenue Marine Lieutenant Amasa L. Hyde dispatched a small boat to Port Townsend to inform the collector of customs there of the situation on San Juan Island while he and his men faced the three British warships in San Juan Harbor (Griffin Bay)

#### ANOTHER AMERICAN SHIP ARRIVES IN SAN JUAN HARBOR

San Juan Harbor was visited by the side-wheeler U.S. Coast Steamer *Active* under the command of Lieutenant-Commander James Alden -- August 4, 1859  
Although an officer of the Coast Survey Alden was very loyal to the U.S. Navy he offered his services to defuse the crisis  
*Active* stopped its survey work for more than a month and remained in the area of San Juan Island delivering messages and military supplies to the island

#### BRITISH ADMIRAL BAYNES ARRIVES AT ESQUIMALT

Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Station Rear Admiral Robert Lambert Baynes had absent from the coast attending to other station duties at his Valparaiso, Chile headquarters and at Callao, Peru between [December 22, 1858] and August 5, 1859  
Fortunately, at this point, Admiral Baynes arrived back at Victoria's port of Esquimalt Harbor aboard his flagship HMS *Ganges* -- August 5, 1859  
*Ganges* was built of teak in Bombay, India  
she was the last British sailing warship commissioned for duty in foreign water at 2,284 tons displacement she showed 84-guns with nearly 800 crew and marines  
(Baynes Sound in British Columbia was named in his honor and the town of Ganges on Saltspring Island and Ganges Harbor offshore are named for his flagship)  
Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Station Rear Admiral Robert Lambert Baynes realized the political importance of maintaining British sovereignty during the British Columbia gold rushes and the San Juan Boundary Dispute  
Admiral Baynes recommended the British Admiralty move its station headquarters from Valparaíso, Chile to Esquimalt, British Columbia

#### BRITISH REAR-ADMIRAL ROBERT LAMBERT BAYNES TAKES COMMAND

Arrival in Victoria of Admiral Baynes did a great deal to calm the situation  
British Columbia Royal Governor James Douglas ordered Admiral Baynes

to invade San Juan Island -- Admiral Robert Lambert Baynes flatly refused matters passed from British Columbia Royal Governor James Douglas into Baynes' hands Commander of British naval forces in the Pacific Admiral Baynes was a clear-sighted man he knew that all of the British Navy's supplies and mail traveled along North American routes Britain's colony would be geographically isolated in the event of a confrontation he pointed out that due to the Gold Rush the population of San Juan Island was overwhelmingly American

and any military clash with the United States might lead to an uprising Admiral Baynes approved of the restraint shown by Captain Hornby

he told Royal Governor Douglas that he would not **“involve two great nations in a war over a squabble about a pig.”**<sup>244</sup>

#### GENERAL WILLIAM SHELBY HARNEY FACES A CHALLENGE LESS PATRIOTIC THAN WAR

While the scene on San Juan Island did not match Harney's vision of ships with guns run out, and marines ready to leap into boats while gallant troops waited on shore for the command to defend themselves from their (bottom of the class) West Point graduate,

the general faced a less heroic challenge at Fort Vancouver General William S. Harney was having trouble with his junior officers

they had questioned his judgment to use soldiers to build his private residence off the post one young officer resigned over the issue

inflammatory letters appeared in the Olympia *Pioneer and Democrat*, *Victoria Colonist* and even the *New York Times*

one anonymous letter stated: **“General Harney, who is here called ‘Goliath’ for two reasons, first, that he is a very large man; and second, that he is all matter and no mind -- ought I think to be court-martialed, and dismissed from the service for his conduct in this case.”**

another officer, who claimed to be stationed at San Juan, proclaimed Harney **“one of the weakest officers and most arrogant humbugs in the army, and not all qualified for his position. He is a laughingstock, wherever he goes; and his administration is a series of blunders and mistakes. He is as callous as a pot-house politician, and insensible, I am afraid, to shame.”**<sup>245</sup>

#### GENERAL WILLIAM S. HARNEY INFORMS HIS SUPERIORS AND ESCALATES THE CRISIS

Commander of the Department of Oregon General Harney issued a letter to the adjutant general in Washington City summarizing San Juan Island the situation -- August 7, 1859

**“A week or ten days before my arrival on the island [San Juan] one of the Americans shot a pig belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, after having been greatly provoked by the person in charge, to whom he had applied to have the pig secured, as it damaged his fields. This request was treated with contempt, and the pig was shot, the American offering twice the value for the animal, which was refused.”**

General William S. Harney advised the War Department that he intended to order Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey from Fort Steilacoom to San Juan Island

---

<sup>244</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 321.

<sup>245</sup> Mike Vouri, *The Pig War: Standoff at Griffin Bay*, P. 124.

with three companies of troops and field guns  
General Harney was pleased with Captain Pickett's report of his meeting with British Captain Hornby  
however, Harney was concerned about Captain George Pickett's assessment  
that his forces were too weak to fight a large British force  
Harney, in a growing blaze of anti-British sentiment, sent word of his approval to Captain Pickett  
while he awaited a response from his superiors

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SILAS CASEY IS ORDERED TO THE SAN JUAN ISLAND

Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey's orders were to reinforce Captain George Pickett  
and take command at San Juan Island

Casey was to leave only one officer and a detachment to protect public property at Fort Steilacoom  
he was to take ammunition and field guns and depart as quickly as possible on public steamers

Casey was authorized to call out civilian "volunteers" to defend San Juan Island  
to demonstrate American intentions to remain on San Juan Island Casey was to remove  
the eight 32-pound naval guns aboard the *Massachusetts* and mount them on the island

Lieutenant-Colonel Casey departed from Steilacoom with 461 American troops  
bound for Port Townsend aboard the mail stern wheel steamer *Julia* -- August 9, 1859  
he had barely cleared the Tacoma Narrows with Lieutenant-Commander James Alden  
aboard the survey steamer *Active* intercepted him

Alden had steamed at full speed to warn Casey if he attempted to land his troops and guns  
HMS *Tribune* anchored in San Juan Harbor would open fire

Alden said this (incorrect) information was provided by Captain George Pickett  
Lieutenant-Colonel Casey, knowing the Royal Navy and Pickett's penchant for drama, continued on  
he anchored that evening at Port Townsend where he encountered U.S. Boundary Commissioner  
Archibald Campbell who was so troubled at the sight of 180 fully equipped infantrymen  
and the knowledge that 100 more troops plus artillery were on the way  
that he accepted Casey's invitation to come along and observe the landing

#### SAN JUAN HARBOR (GRIFFIN BAY) LANDING BY AMERICAN SOLDIERS

Steamer *Julia* approached San Juan Island in a heavy fog -- August 10, 1859  
negotiating Cattle Pass on the southern shore was almost impossible

*Julia's* captain told Casey he thought he was just off a long pebble beach near Pickett's camp  
he suggested Casey land the troops and howitzers on the beach

freight could be unloaded in San Juan Harbor when the fog burned off

because the *Julia* was a sternwheeler she could be beached and planks run ashore

Casey thought this was a splendid idea and ordered it done

American steamers *Active* and *Shubrick* stood by as American soldiers

trudged through heavy sand and rock and up the low bluff

behind which was Pickett's Spring Camp on the level prairie

Pickett's soldiers met their comrades and told them San Juan Harbor was enveloped in fog,  
as were the British warships, about a half a mile offshore

Casey and *Julia* rounded Cattle Point and entered San Juan Harbor just as the fog lifted

*Tribune* was anchored several hundred yards out, broadside to shore, with gun port open

*Julia* dropped anchor and her crew and several soldiers who had remained on board began unloading Casey's stores including ammunition for the howitzers, food, tents and other provisions -- there was no interference by the British

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SILAS CASEY TAKES COMMAND AT SAN JUAN ISLAND

Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey had brought 170 soldiers of the U.S. Fourth Infantry with him to be added to Captain Pickett's sixty-six Ninth Infantrymen -- 136 men in all

As the last of the cargo was being taken from the *Julia* another British warship steamed into the harbor although amicable relations had been enjoyed by the military men of both sides

Pickett imagined the worst -- it appeared to him the new arrival (later identified as *Satellite*) was ready to open fire

marines and sailors from *Tribune* would likely land and assault the American position

Pickett said Casey should order his men to fire the three howitzers brought by Pickett that were placed on the hills east of camp, spike the guns,

order a volley of musket fire by the men of Ninth and Fourth Infantry and flee for the woods

Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey and told Pickett he hoped to avoid bloodshed

in fact, the British HMS *Tribune* had not reacted at all when Casey unloaded his stores because of Captain Geoffrey Phipps Hornby's inaction, Casey asked for a meeting

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SILAS CASEY AND CAPTAIN GEOFFREY PHIPPS HORNBY MEET

Several hours after completing the landing operation, Captain Hornby arrived at Pickett's camp accompanied by Captain James Prevost of the *Satellite*

and Captain George Henry Richards HMS *Plumper*

when asked by Casey from whom he was taking orders, Captain Hornby replied Admiral Baynes if the Americans wished to confront him they would have to go to Esquimalt Harbor

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL CASEY ATTEMPTS TO MEET WITH BRITISH ADMIRAL BAYNES

Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey and Pickett dressed in their formal uniforms with plumes and epaulets they were joined by United States Boundary Commissioner Archibald Campbell and set out aboard the steam sidewheel steamer *Shubrick*

to meet with Admiral Robert Lambert Baynes -- morning August 11, 1859

when Baynes refused to leave the 84-gun *Ganges* to meet Casey aboard a lighthouse tender armed with a single 24-pound gun mounted at the bow, Pickett became a messenger boy

Casey finally gave up and returned to San Juan Island with no meeting

Lieutenant-Colonel Casey was concerned by the implication of the snub he had endured

he sent a report to the Commander of the Department of Oregon General William S. Harney after explaining his independent action in attempting to meet with Admiral Baynes

Casey requested four more companies of men and heavy guns be sent to San Juan Island

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SILAS CASEY TAKES COMMAND ON SAN JUAN ISLAND

Lieutenant-Colonel Casey's request for more men and heavy weapons was approved

General William S. Harney also sent instructions to build a semi-permanent fortification

including entrenchments and gun platforms

After two stormy nights Lieutenant-Colonel Casey decided to move his forces -- August 12, 1859 as he noted in his report: **“We are encamped in rather exposed situation with regard to the wind, being at the entrance of the Straits of Fuca. The weather at times is already quite inclement”**<sup>246</sup>  
Scouting efforts were conducted to find a suitable location

#### COOLER HEADS PREVAIL ON SAN JUAN ISLAND

Americans and British officers continue to make preparations on San Juan Island

Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey was in command of 237 American soldiers and fourteen cannons

British Rear-Admiral Robert Lambert Baynes was in command of five war ships

bristling with 167 guns and 2,140 troops

including Royal Marines, artillerymen, sappers and miners

however, Brigadier General William S. Harney did not realize

that in excess of 1,500 British sailors were not armed to fight on land

this chore was reserved for the 400 Royal Marines and Royal Engineers

scattered throughout Vancouver Island and British Columbia

Neither commander wanted to be held responsible for setting off a war

both commanders issued instructions to their men to defend themselves if attacked

but absolutely do not fire the first shot

although both sides tried to provoke an attack by the other side no shots were fired

American soldiers on land and British sailors aboard ship,

like servicemen (and service women) at any time, were powerless to shape events

sailors in San Juan Harbor (Griffin Bay) could see the campfires of the troops

infantrymen could hear the bells aboard ship tolling the hours

everyone spoke the same language and tobacco, whisky and other sundries were exchanged

no one was motivated to begin an international incident

#### BAYNES MAINTAINS A STEADY HAND ON THE SITUATION ON SAN JUAN ISLAND

As tension mounted, Admiral Baynes became increasingly concerned

regarding Geoffrey Phipps Hornby's state of mind

he had borne the weight of the crisis since his arrival on San Juan Island [July 27]

Hornby was becoming increasingly concerned about the continual unloading of supplies

of lumber for barracks and gun platforms by the American and a rumor that surfaced

stating General Harney himself was coming to the island with 400 more soldiers

Admiral Robert Lambert Baynes sent Captain Hornby a new dispatch dated August 16, 1859

which firmly stated the British position: **“In my memorandum to you for the 13<sup>th</sup> of August I desired you by every means in your power to avoid a collision with the troops of the United States. It is now my positive order that you do not, on any account whatever, take the initiative in commencing hostilities by firing on them or any work they may have thrown up... Should the troops of the United States commit any aggressive act by firing on the *Tribune* or any of Her Majesty's ships or boats, you**

---

<sup>246</sup> Mike Vouri, *The Pig War: Standoff at Griffin Bay*, P. 137.

**are at full liberty to resent the insult by adopting such measures as you think [desirable] informing me of the circumstances as quickly as possible”<sup>247</sup>**

Admiral Baynes remarkable calm in the face of bluster and bluff from American military leaders and British civil government leaders restored calm to San Juan Island

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SILAS CASEY RECEIVES REINFORCEMENTS ON SAN JUAN ISLAND

Fourteen thirty-two pounder heavy cannons from the *Massachusetts* eventually were hauled to the top of the ridge overlooking the Hudson’s Bay Company dock and San Juan Harbor -- August 17, 1859

Reinforcements for Lieutenant-Colonel Casey arrived including four batteries (companies) of the U.S. Third Artillery who disembarked on the Hudson’s Bay Company dock then marched up Charles Griffin’s road and over the ridge to Spring Camp on the prairie accompanied by a rag-tag military band these new arrivals boosted Casey’s forces to fifteen officers and 424 enlisted men plus fifty civilian laborers engaged to build the new camp

#### BRITISH CAPTAIN HORNBY IS DISMAYED BY THE ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS

Captain Geoffrey Phipps Hornby was in great distress by the arrival of almost 200 more troops especially after his assurances to Royal Governor James Douglas and Admiral Baynes that the Americans had no intention of landing more soldiers six heavy guns were now placed on the ridge overlooking the harbor and British ships two other heavy guns and field pieces were placed in position to defend the camp this did not appear to be a forced designed to repel hostile Northern Indians rather, it seemed the Americans were preparing not only to defend themselves but also to threaten the British ships

#### BRITISH WITHDRAW ONE OF THEIR WARSHIPS

British Rear Admiral Robert Lambert Baynes in Esquimalt Harbor attempted to relieve some of the increasing pressure Frigate HMS *Tribune* under the command of Royal Navy Captain Geoffrey Phipps Hornby left San Juan Harbor -- August 19, 1859 however, *Satellite* and *Plumper* remained at their station

#### SAN JUAN ISLAND BECOMES A DANGEROUS SCENE

Canadian rabble-rousers in large numbers were venturing over from Victoria to get in on the adventure taking place on San Juan Island American Deputy Collector of Customs Paul Hubbs refused to allow passengers from Victoria ashore Hubbs then imposed an order that required all ships to clear customs at Port Townsend before landing on San Juan Island in a remarkable display of abuse of his power

---

<sup>247</sup> Mike Vouri, *The Pig War: Standoff at Griffin Bay*, P. 135.

Hubbs quarantined British Army Major John De Courcy's baggage  
when he attempted to disembark on San Juan Island  
De Courcy blustered he would unload his gear under the *Satellite's* guns  
and signaled the ship to send a boat for him  
at this point, U.S. Army Captain George Pickett, at the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Casey,  
came to the support of De Courcy and the British Major was allowed to bring his gear ashore

#### CAMP IS ESTABLISHED BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SILAS CASEY

Pickett's Spring Camp site was endured by Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey's growing number of men  
(now 450) but difficulties with the weather rapidly made conditions intolerable  
After suffering through two particularly stormy nights Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey  
ordered his force to pull up stakes -- August 22, 1859  
his camp was relocated to the north slope of a ridge just north of the Hudson's Bay Company barns  
this was once home to the pig that strayed and started the whole mess two months before  
Large, conical Sibley tents were shipped from Fort Steilacoom to the new site  
to supplement the clapboard buildings Pickett had brought from Fort Bellingham  
that held a hospital, barracks laundry and offices' quarters  
Silas Casey also ordered Corps of Engineers Second Lieutenant Henry Martyn Robert  
(who later to achieve fame for his *Robert's Rules of Order*)  
to begin construction on an earthen redoubt on the ridge of a grassy hill east of Casey's Camp  
which held a commanding view of both San Juan Harbor from the Strait of Juan de Fuca  
Robert used the site's natural features to great advantage  
(he laid out gun platforms and ramparts with a precision still evident today)  
U.S. Third Artillery placed a six-pound Napoleon cannons in the most commanding position  
well sheltered in the rear and one side by the forest  
and the other side holding a commanding position overlooking the water  
British officers and sailors riding at anchor in San Juan Harbor were impressed  
especially since they knew how a fortified camp could alter the situation on San Juan Island  
fortresses, properly placed, not only provide a means of last-resort defense  
but also permit a smaller force to resist a large one until help arrives

#### COLONEL CASEY'S CAMP RECEIVES TERRITORIAL POLITICAL GUESTS

While soldiers dug cannon emplacements and moved armaments, guests arrived to visit  
among them was newly-arrived Washington Territorial Governor Richard D. Gholson  
who stood solemnly with his hat over his heart as nine companies of soldiers  
led by Colonel Silas Casey on horseback passed in review for him  
at the old Camp Spring site on the prairie  
not to be outdone, the British invited the governor to witness gun drills  
and have tea aboard the steam Corvette *Satellite*

#### SITUATION AT SAN JUAN ISLAND THREATENS INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Politicians in both Washington City and London were angry that a diplomatic incident  
had ballooned into an international crisis

neither wanted war, yet neither was willing to give up an island  
sixteen miles long and six and a half wide

national honor was at stake but a war would be crippling on both sides of the Atlantic  
British Columbia Royal Governor James Douglas received some criticism for his stubbornness  
but it was General William S. Harney who drew most of the criticism  
because of his impulsive occupation of San Juan Island

(Harney's behavior was so inexplicable that over the years several theories emerged to account for it:

- some believed General Harney was part of an American plot to neutralize the port of Esquimalt and to annex British Columbia and Alaska into the United States;
- others alleged that Harney had tried to force war with Great Britain out of patriotism to unite all of the conflicting American factions -- and therefore avoid civil war;
- conversely, still others suggested that Harney and Captain George Pickett, both being southerners, had tried to involve the United States government in a disastrous war to weaken the North and leave the crippled nation to the mercy of Southern secessionists
- General-In-Chief of the United States Army Winfield Scott was much more realistic he simply thought Harney was impetuous and unmanageable  
he warned political leaders of the General's **“ignorance, passion and caprice”**  
as he noted in a dispatch to the Adjutant General [dated February 14, 1860])

#### PRESIDENT JAMES BUCHANAN LEARNS OF THE SAN JUAN DISPUTE

United States Government in Washington City first read of the San Juan occupation  
in the newspapers six weeks after the beginning of events -- September 3, 1859  
by mistake General William S. Harney's report had gone to Army Headquarters  
in New York City and not Washington City

President Buchanan was shocked and horrified that the action of an irate farmer  
would end up breaking out into an international incident  
with two powerful nations facing off over a small, remote, unknown island

President James Buchanan must have been alarmed when he read in General Harney's report

it was the general's opinion that: **“...It would be well for the British government to know the American people of this coast will never sanction any claim they may assert to any other island in the Puget Sound than that of Vancouver's, south of the 40<sup>th</sup> parallel, and east of the Canal de Haro; any attempt at possession by them will be followed by a collision.”**

taking a breath, Harney stated in the next paragraph, **“...no one is more desirous than myself for an amicable settlement”** but quickly continued **“that the president could rest assured that Harney would ‘use all the means’ at his command to hold on to the San Juans.”**<sup>248</sup>

Buchanan immediately directed the Acting-Secretary of War W.R. Drinkard

to send an urgent message to Commander of the Department of Oregon General William S. Harney  
stating that the president was **“not prepared to learn that you had ordered military possession to be taken of the Island of San Juan or Bellevue (Farm)”**<sup>249</sup>

---

<sup>248</sup> Mike Vouri, *The Pig War: Standoff at Griffin Bay*, P. 125-126.

<sup>249</sup> *The Northwest Boundary. Discussion of the Water Boundary Question: Geographical Memoir of the Islands in Dispute: History of the Military Occupation of San Juan Island.* Washington Government Printing Office. 1868.

President Buchanan further stated that he did not believe any military action was necessary  
American Secretary of State Lewis Cass assured British Ambassador Lord Lyons  
that General Harney was not acting on the instructions of his government  
as had been stated by Captain George Pickett

Realizing that General Harney may have mismanaged the affair

President Buchanan sent General-In-Chief of the Army Winfield Scott to contain the situation,  
soothe the British and attempt to find a peaceful solution between the two countries  
dealing with British Officers using pageantry and ceremony suited General Scott well  
General Scott was nicknamed the “Grand Old Man of the Army” by his admirers  
and “Old Fuss and Feathers” by those put off by his equal love for discipline and pomp  
General Scott was familiar with Canadian-American border flare-ups  
he had been involved with the [1837] Buffalo-Niagara Falls and [1838] Aroostook, Maine  
incidents and in both cases General Scott was sent by President Martin Van Buren  
to meet with his British counterparts  
his goal was not to negotiate a long-term solution  
that was up to diplomats in Washington and London  
his goal was to restore calm and seek common ground between the antagonists  
Scott’s success in achieving a resolution in both instances  
resulted in his acquiring the nickname “the Great Pacificator”

#### WALLA WALLA BECOMES A RELIGIOUS CENTER FOR EASTERN WASHINGTON

Rev. James H. Wilbur had been sent as a missionary to Oregon Country [1847]  
by the Missionary Society of the Methodist-Episcopal Church

Rev. Wilbur eventually moved to the Willamette Valley

after being appointed presiding Methodist-Episcopal Elder of the Willamette District [1857]

he proved to be a keen businessman -- he saw many opportunities for buying land or lots cheap

he made a large number of land purchases in the Willamette Valley

these rose in value and placed him in easy financial circumstances

much of Rev. Wilbur’s earnings were used to finance his many benevolences

Rev. Wilbur next served as a circuit riding missionary for the Methodist-Episcopal Church

he stopped at the new town of Walla Walla which consisted of about five very narrow houses

he began preaching when some religiously-challenged men of the town

organized a cattle auction within fifty feet of Wilbur’s small gathering

Rev. James H. Wilbur wasted little time organizing a church of seven members in Walla Walla

he arranged the purchase of a block of land and the construction of a small church

at the northeast corner of Fifth and Alder Streets -- October 11, 1859

#### DR. DORSEY SYNG BAKER BECOMES A LEADING BUSINESSMAN

Doctor Dorsey Syng Baker (always known locally as “D.S.”) was a unique business model

licensed as a medical doctor he crossed the Oregon Trail [1848] using a horse and buggy

after arriving in Portland he set out for the California gold fields where he did very well

buying \$1,800 worth of merchandise to sell in Portland at much higher prices

he quickly became financially established

D.S. Baker began a varied career in Portland, the Umpqua Valley and in Eastern Washington at various times he farmed, raised stock and milled flour  
he opened a hardware store in Portland where he prospered in both wealth and reputation  
D.S. Baker was better known for business practices than for his medical practice  
Dr. Baker traveled to Walla Walla to open a second hardware store -- October 1859  
he placed William Stephens (who operated the store for a year) in charge  
D.S Baker returned to his family in Portland

#### GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT ARRIVES ON THE WEST COAST

General-In-Chief of the U.S. Army Lieutenant General Scott, the “Grand Old Man of the Army,” steamed out of New York City where he had maintained his headquarters  
as he preferred New York society to that in Washington City  
General Scott and his party experienced a bracing journey across the Atlantic Ocean and an uneventful crossing of the Isthmus of Panama  
once again on board ship they steamed across the Pacific Ocean and arrived in San Francisco  
General Scott and his party left San Francisco aboard the steamer *Northerner*  
bound for Fort Vancouver -- October 18, 1859  
In addition to General Scott and his party, the *Northerner* also carried  
eleven members of a Catholic teaching Order, the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary, led by Sister Superior Mary Alphonse  
they had traveled from Montreal, Canada by steamboat to New York  
and on to St. Augustine, Florida then again by steamer to the Isthmus of Panama  
before setting, again by steamship, to San Francisco  
they were answering an appeal from Archbishop Francis Blanchet

#### STEAMER *NORTHERNER* DELIVERS HER PASSENGERS TO FORT VANCOUVER

General-in-Chief Winfield Scott and his party along with Sister Superior Mary Alphonse and her eleven Sisters of the Holy Names arrived at Fort Vancouver-- October 20, 1859  
General Scott did not go ashore  
instead he ordered General William S. Harney to call on him aboard ship the next day

#### GENERAL SCOTT MEETS WITH GENERAL HEARNEY

General-in-Chief of the Army met with General Harney in the general’s cabin aboard the *Northerner*  
Scott informed General Harney that he was taking command of the Department of Oregon  
Harney was to accompany the general to Portland -- October 21, 1859  
General Scott and General Harney maintained a strained relationship during their time together due in large part to bad blood remaining between the two men from the Mexican War  
when Scott, who mistrusted Harney’s judgment, relieved him of command  
Harney must have been pained to watch as most, if not all, of his commands regarding San Juan Island were revised or cancelled  
Scott’s review of military correspondence and Harney’s own words convinced Scott to dismiss Harney’s perceptions and opinions about the San Juan situation  
General Harney knew his government was alarmed by his actions and he began to worry

about the potential impact on his military career

#### GENERAL SCOTT MEETS WITH CAPTAIN GEORGE PICKETT AND IS NOT IMPRESSED

General-in-Chief of the Army Winfield Scott met with Captain George Pickett -- October 22, 1859  
about their meeting General Scott wrote to Secretary of War John B. Floyd: **“If this does not lead to a collision of arms it will be due to the forbearance of the British authorities, for I found Harney and Pickett proud of their...‘conquest’ of the island and quite jealous of any interference therewith on the part of higher authority.”** (Executive Documents, Printed by Order of The House of Representatives, During the Second Session of the Thirty-Sixth Congress, 1860-'61. P. 53)

#### GENERAL-IN-CHIEF WINFIELD SCOTT ESTABLISHES HIS ARMY HEADQUARTERS

General Scott was in Port Townsend where he decided to transfer his headquarters  
to the 178-foot long, thirty-two foot beam USS *Massachusetts* -- October 26, 1859  
*Massachusetts* had served as Scott's flagship during the siege of Veracruz in the Mexican War

#### GENERAL-IN-CHIEF WINFIELD SCOTT ESTABLISHES DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

Being a fast ship, the Revenue Cutter *Jefferson Davis* was ordered by General Winfield Scott  
to act as a dispatch vessel -- October 25, 1859  
she was to forward diplomatic messages between General Scott and his U.S. Army officers,  
and British Royal Governor James Douglas and Rear Admiral Robert Lambert Baynes  
she was also to take General Scott's staff officers on diplomatic calls to Victoria  
and to the various British warships stationed in San Juan Harbor

#### NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN ARE BEGUN

Revenue Cutter *Jefferson Davis* took three negotiators appointed by General-in-Chief Winfield Scott  
to San Juan Island for diplomatic conferences with the Royal Navy Officers in San Juan Harbor  
and then on to Victoria for meetings with Royal Governor Douglas and Rear Admiral Baynes  
Revenue Marine lieutenants covered about a hundred miles  
in one of the *Jefferson Davis*' open boats forwarding important dispatches  
between General Scott and his British counterparts in Victoria  
that were essential in the diplomacy utilized to calm the situation

#### UNION TRANSPORTATION COMPANY (UTC) FORMS ON THE WILLAMETTE RIVER

Steamboat *St. Claire* was built by Green C. Davidson and John Davis  
at Ray's Landing (near St. Paul, Oregon) to compete with the steamers *James Clinton* and *Yamhill*  
on the upper Willamette River  
*St. Claire*'s owner operated her a few months before consolidating  
with the Yamhill Steamboat Company -- this new company was capitalized at \$12,000  
*St. Clair* never amounted to much, and her chief claim to distinction was that  
she was the only steamboat to ever successfully go over the Oregon City falls  
this was accomplished [1861] with Captain George W. Taylor in command  
Union Transportation Company was formed by Captain John C. Ainsworth, Jacob Kamm,  
Captain Richard Hoyt, Captain Richard Williams and others interested in river steamers

then in operation on the Willamette River  
they purchased the Yamhill Steamboat Company  
*St. Clair* people received three-twelfths of the stock and the boat was laid up  
Union Transportation Company was more a pool of partners than anything else  
but it secured good results as long as it lasted

#### SISTERS OF THE HOLY NAMES OF JESUS AND MARY OPEN THEIR SCHOOL

Archbishop Francis Norbert Blanchet secured a block of land where the Sisters of the Holy Names opened St. Mary's Academy for girls at Portland -- November 6, 1859  
initial enrollment included Catholic and non-Catholics alike  
this was the first permanent Catholic school in the Pacific Northwest  
(Another school was opened at Salem the following [April 1860]  
soon followed by five additional schools all operated by the Sisters of the Holy Names)

#### GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT DIFFUSES THE EXPLOSIVE ATMOSPHERE

General-in-Chief Winfield Scott aboard the *Massachusetts* stopped in San Juan Harbor  
but he did not leave his flagship  
much to the disappointment of American and British officers and men alike  
chill winds whipped up the bay bringing a bout of seasickness to the general  
who remained in his cabin -- November 7, 1859  
Third Artillery gunners fired a thirteen-gun salute in his honor  
this was the only time the cannons on San Juan Island were fired  
British Captain Prevost of the HMS *Satellite* paid his respects to the general  
General Scott issued an order to all commanders in the region advising them that San Juan Island was still in dispute and that British subjects had equal rights with American citizens  
American would occupy the lower portion of the new camp  
cleared by Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey just north of the Hudson's Bay Company farm  
Captain George Pickett and Ninth Infantry Company D would remain in Spring Camp  
"further back" (indeed out of sight) on ground cleared up by his company  
where they would have comfortable shelter for the winter

#### NEGOTIATIONS ARE SUCCESSFULLY CONCLUDED

General Scott assured Royal Governor James Douglas that no official from Washington Territory would be permitted to interfere with any British subject on San Juan Island  
British subjects violating the law would be referred to the proper British authorities  
To restore sanity in the region, General-in-Chief Winfield Scott proposed a joint military occupation of San Juan Island to British Columbia Royal Governor James Douglas:  
•British soldiers, in a token force of 100 men, would be posted on San Juan Island to exercise jurisdiction and protection over all British subjects;  
•Americans would also post a token force of 100 men to protect and maintain peace among the citizens of the United States on the island  
this was accepted, with a request from Douglas that Captain Lewis Hunt, U.S. Fourth Infantry, be left on the island in place of Captain George Pickett and his Ninth Infantry Company D

British Columbia Royal Governor James Douglas was especially happy to receive the news of Captain Pickett's departure as Pickett's belligerent and combative attitude had matched that of the governor's

"British Camp" was established on the north end of San Juan Island  
it was located along the shoreline to provide for easy access to incoming supply shipments

"American Camp" was created on the south end of the island on a high windswept meadow suitable for artillery barrages against shipping

(Today the British Union Jack still flies above "British Camp"  
it is raised and lowered daily by park rangers making it one of the very few places without diplomatic status where US government employees regularly hoist the flag of another country)

#### AMERICAN TROOPS LEAVE SAN JUAN ISLAND

American troops were removed from San Juan Island -- November 9, 1859

Captain George Pickett was ordered to evacuate San Juan Island by Lieutenant-General Scott

Pickett and his Ninth Infantry company D soldiers were sent back to Fort Bellingham, Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey and the bulk of the U.S. troops departed along with the artillery pieces from the redoubt

U.S. Ninth Infantry Companies A and Fourth Infantry Company H went to Fort Steilacoom, U.S. Fourth Infantry Company I was sent to Fort Townsend, U.S. Third Artillery companies were sent to Fort Vancouver

At Fort Bellingham Captain Lewis C. Hunt begins preparations to return to San Juan Island with his U.S. Fourth Infantry, Company C  
(this was same company that Revenue Marine Lieutenant James E. Harrison had commanded a few years earlier [1855] a Brannan's Prairie in Pierce County)

#### LIEUTENANT GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT LEAVES FOR THE EAST COAST

Once again the "Great Pacificator" had arranged for peace

USS *Massachusetts* steamed to Port Townsend to await the return of the *Northerner* for the return trip to San Francisco

however, the *Northerner* was delayed for a day as she was used to deliver messages and dispatches from General Scott

to Washington Territory Governor Richard D. Gholson in Olympia,  
and British Columbia Royal Governor James Douglas  
and Commander of the Department of Oregon General William S. Harney

General Scott also tried to persuade Commander of the Department of Oregon General Harney to transfer to the Department of the West headquartered in St. Louis  
thus removing him from further dealings with British or its colonial government  
General Harney, anti-British to the end, refused the offer

#### CONDITIONS WERE DIFFICULT FOR CAPTAIN JOHN MULLAN AND HIS ROAD CREW

Mullan's road crew faced extremely unfavorable conditions as winter approached  
Mullan sent what animals he could spare on to the Bitterroot Mountain Valley

those remaining he ordered slaughtered, butchered and frozen  
so the men could eat until the weather warmed

It was hard work cutting trees and building bridges in below-zero temperatures

Captain Mullan included in his report: **“Our work, consequently, from the 16th of August to the 4th of December, 1859, consisted in cutting through this densely timbered section of 100 miles, building small bridges where required, grading in thousands of places [including] . . . an ascent of one and three-fourths miles, to the summit of the Coeur d’Alene Mountains.”**<sup>250</sup>

Winter weather remained frigid and the snow deep

Captain Mullan ordered an ill-equipped camp of rude log huts constructed to house the men  
he gave the name Cantonment [temporary quarters] Jordan to the camp and later wrote: **“It was situated in a dense bed of timber, that furnished both building materiel and fuel, had many fine springs, and was securely sheltered from the winds by friendly rims of mountains.”**<sup>251</sup>

he failed to mention his men suffered from frostbite and the almost forgotten demon of scurvy

#### TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR GHOLSON MEETS WITH LITTLE SUCCESS

Washington Territory Governor Richard D. Gholson tried his best during his short tenure  
(only six months) as governor to bring together the various factions in the territory

In his address to the territorial legislature he pleaded -- December 7, 1859

that each political division within the territory manage its own domestic relationships  
he was pleading for the pro-slavery, anti-slavery, pro-Union, pro-States’ Rights factions  
to subordinate those ideological differences and concentrate on seeking solutions  
to pressing local problems from a local perspective

These pleas was useless as they fell on deaf ears

Washington Territory continued to spend its energy on constant internal squabbles such as:

- the location of the capital city,
- the establishment, organization and location of a territorial university,
- and the sighting of the territorial penitentiary

all of these disputes were predicated on factional positions

#### ELIZA ANDERSON OR “OLD ANDERSON” IS RECOGNIZED BY EVERYONE

Her owners, the Columbia River Steam Navigation Company,

put her on the Olympia to Victoria mail run -- December 1859

intermediate stops were made at Steilacoom, Seattle, Port Townsend and other places  
fares were \$20 per person, freight \$5 to \$10 a ton and cattle at 15¢ a head  
she was considered slow and underpowered even for that time

Old timers had a special place in their heart for the dependable steamboat

it was said “no steamboat ever went slower and made money faster”

they told a story about the steamer and a group of territorial legislators on a junket: **“Steamboats were still a novelty on the inland sea in 1859, but the members of Washington’s territorial legislature**

---

<sup>250</sup> Report on the Construction of Military Road from Fort Walla-Walla to Fort Benton by Captain John Mullan. (18).

<sup>251</sup> Report on the Construction of Military Road from Fort Walla-Walla to Fort Benton by Captain John Mullan. (19).

were progressive men and they took passage on the *Eliza Anderson* to investigate plans for a new territorial university in Seattle.

“They were also observant men so they learned a lot about steamboating on their way down the Sound. By the time they arrived at the new settlement on Elliott Bay they knew that a shrill whistle-blast was a signal that the steamer was about to leave her dock and proceed on her journey. They also learned that the boiler room was a snug place to congregate when the January rains swept in to meet the boat in icy sheets.

“So, their business transacted, the lawmakers spent the night at the Queen City’s pioneer hotel, the Felker House, and when, in the chill, dark pre-dawn hours, they heard a shrill whistle-blast, they leaped groggily from their snug beds. Still half asleep and drowsily cussing the *Anderson’s* uncivilized sailing-schedule, they struggled down the rain-swept planks of Yesler’s Wharf, heading for a glow of furnaces and the warm, friendly hiss of escaping steam. Snug in the boiler room they watched a grimy fireman heave slab-wood into the fireboxes while they congratulated themselves on having beaten the other passengers to this snug sanctuary.

“But after a wait of almost an hour the solons grew impatient. Finally the speaker of the house approached the busy fireman and tapped him on the shoulder.

“‘When,’ he asked politely, ‘do we leave for Olympia?’

“‘Sir,’ the fireman answered with equal courtesy, ‘this sawmill does not run to Olympia’

The unfortunate legislators were only half educated in steamboating, and a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. They had wandered into the boiler room of Henry Yesler’s steam sawmill which remained right where it was for another 30 years.”<sup>252</sup>

#### WHITMAN COLLEGE IS FOUNDED IN WALLA WALLA

Whitman Seminary was founded by Presbyterian missionary and early pioneer Cushing Eells -- 1859  
he named his school in memory of Dr. Marcus and Narcissa Whitman

Washington Territorial Legislature awarded the first educational charter in Washington Territory  
to Whitman Seminary -- December 20, 1859

(Whitman Seminary first held classes [on October 15, 1866])

and because of financial difficulties only sporadically thereafter

trustees of the college changed the institution's name to Whitman College [in 1882]

Washington Territorial Legislature issued a new charter establishing Whitman College  
as a four-year, degree-granting institution [November 28, 1883])

#### BEGINNINGS OF THE OREGON STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY

Union Transportation Company was too loosely organized to remain a profitable organization

Oregon had no law under which a corporation could be arranged

Owners of the Union Transportation Company procured legislation

from the Washington Territorial legislature that allowed incorporating a new company

this became the Oregon Steam Navigation Company -- December 29, 1859

Partners in the venture in addition to Captain John C. Ainsworth were:

- Portland businessman Simeon G. Reed

---

<sup>252</sup> Gordon R. Newell, *Ships of the Inland Sea: the Story of Puget Sound Steamboats*, P. 23-24.

- Jacob Kamm steamboat engineer who built the *Jennie Clark* -- the first stern wheeler in Oregon  
     he also purchased an interest in the *Express* and built the *Carrie Ladd*  
     Kamm was one of the principal owners of the Union Navigation Company  
     but remained an engineer on the *Carrie Ladd* running between Portland and the Cascades
- Robert R. Thompson and Lawrence W. Coe  
     brought the *Colonel Wright* operating on the upper Columbia into the new corporation  
     their boat went into the company and they were paid in shares of stock  
     bulk of the remaining stock went to the Columbia River portage owners:
  - Bradford brothers on the north bank of the Cascade rapids,
  - Olmstead and Ruckel on the south bank
 in return for granting Ainsworth's company exclusive rights to use their railways  
 each portage owner was to receive one-fourth of every freight charge  
 levied on goods moving to The Dalles  
 and each was to retain full control of his own portage company -- this was a mistake  
 Ainsworth quickly discovered that to control the river  
 his company must rule everything on it -- not just the boats  
 although John Ainsworth's financial share was small his ability was recognized  
 he was elected president of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company

#### JOINT OCCUPATION OF SAN JUAN ISLAND BEGINS

U.S. Revenue Cutter *Jefferson Davis* picked up Captain Lewis C. Hunt and Company C  
 at their Fort Bellingham pos and returned them to American Camp  
 on San Juan Island -- December 29, 1859