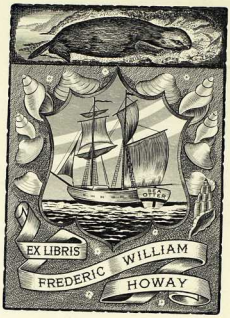

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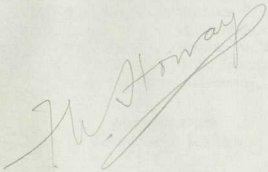

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THE TERCENTENARY OF A GREAT FAILURE

At the very hour of writing, three hundred years ago, namely, at noon on Dec. 24, 1623, a very melancholy little company of men, representing the dissolved English factory of Hirado, wended its way towards the East India Company ship *Bull* and uttered its farewell not merely to the coast of Japan but to all the high hopes which those shores had inspired a brief decade earlier. The acquaintances of these men, Dutch and Japanese—no doubt with varying degrees of sincerity—had endeavored to give the leave-taking some semblance of jollity, in consonance with the season, by presents of many things edible and drinkable. But the hearts of the prospective voyagers could not but be sad, although in ignorance of the full extent of their failure as pioneers in a great and promising venture.

* * * *

The tercentenary of the closing of Hirado to the East India Company will, in all probability, have few to call this failure to the minds of men, yet it seems fitting to draw some charitable attention to the event, if only to suggest the degree to which thereby the fortunes of Pacific history have been deflected and to point a moral as to the momentous consequences which may follow upon one man's mistaken decision.

It is not at present popular to say much of the personal factors which shape the course of human history, but it is surely quite impossible to call attention to this particular incident without also suggesting that the action of Sir John Saris in 1613, for which nothing but his own personal obstinacy may be held responsible, not only decided the events of Dec. 24, 1623, but also the turn which the history of the Pacific was to take for the quarter of a millenium.

To tell our story properly it is necessary to go a little further back than the 17th. Century. The early success of the Portuguese navigators and the subsequent Bull of Pope Alexander VI had given the little Peninsula kingdom a practical monopoly in the trade of the Orient. Then the usual Nemesis of monopoly appeared in greediness and pride. Portugal was receiving sufficient revenue from her Oriental business to provide for the administration of the entire kingdom and at Lisbon, as in the days of Solomon, "gold was nothing accounted of," when in 1580 the union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal and the war with the Netherlands led to the closing of the port of Lisbon against the Dutch. This was not only a mistake; it was a very short-sighted one; for the Dutch pilots who had accompanied the fleets of Portugal to the Orient were well acquainted with the opportunities in that direction and, moreover, quite equal to the task of managing vessels of their own in pursuit of the lure. Pilots of other nationality were also ready to throw in their lot with the sturdy Protestants from the Low Countries who, at the risk of being regarded and treated as pirates, were contesting the claims of the Peninsula to the rulership of the waves.

So it happened that with the first "fleete of sayle" which left Holland in 1598 for the Far East by way of the Americas there sailed as pilot that remarkable Englishman, Will Adams. From the fate which overtook and swallowed up the rest of the fleet one ship, the *Liefde*, with but a scant handful of men, including Adams, was cast up on the shores of Japan just at the time the first Tokugawa Shōgun, Iyeyasu, was commencing his career as the dictator of the Empire. It was only natural that the Portuguese friars should accuse Adams and his fellows to the Shōgun as pirates, but it was just as natural that that shrewd judge of men should at once size up the British pilot as a man to be saved and employed. One likes to think of these two men meeting face to face. On the one hand, the most far-seeing and politic of Japanese statesmen, who had learned the wisdom of tightening the strings of his helmet after the battle and was already conscious of the insecurity which lurked in the relations between the Portuguese and the *daimyōs* of the south. In the person of Adams Iyeyasu looked upon a new type of human instrument. On the other hand, there was the bluff Elizabethan sailor, a man who so easily may have seen the Shakespere who shared with Iyeyasu the year 1616 for his departure hence, a man ready to

use his unusual powers in the service of a leader whom he at once recognized as a master of men. The two of them might have gone far in company had other things been propitious. On my recent visit to Japan I could not help linking together in thought the splendid mausoleum at Nikko sacred to the memory of the great Shōgun and the *Anjin-zuka*, or Pilot's Grave, near Yokusuka, where sleeps the dust of that valiant sailor from the "spacious days" of Queen Elizabeth.

It is not to be forgotten—what is indeed essential to the understanding of our story—that at the opening of the 17th. Century, when the issue of the great battle of Sekigahara had placed all Japan in the hands of the Tokugawa, there was no thought on the part of Iyeyasu of putting a ban upon the foreigner's desire to trade. On the contrary, Will Adams was accepted not so much to be adviser as to be master-ship-builder to the Yedo government. He was rewarded with the rank of *hatamoto* and with the gift of a substantial estate precisely in view of the Shōgun's intention that thereby might be furthered the grandiose designs of trade with China and Manila, and even with Mexico and California. There was certainly no disposition at this time on the part of the Oriental shell-fish to seek security from enemies actual or possible by withdrawal into the fastness of its shell.

The responsibility for the change of policy must be shared by a number—Portuguese, Dutch, and the *daimyos* of the southern island included—but the actual incident which brought about the fateful decision (whether for good or ill we will not surmise) is something for which one man, the Englishman John Saris, must accept the blame.

Many great English captains had set the Papal Interdict at defiance before the end of the 16th Century, but the founding of the London East India Company in the last days of the year 1600, for "the discovery of Cathay and divers other regions, dominions, islands and places unknown" was provoked by nothing more ideal than a rise in the price of pepper, a mistake on the part of the Dutch due to overconfidence in the permanence of their monopoly. Yet, strange to say, it was some time before the London merchants really awoke sufficiently to their opportunity to get busy. One of the first ventures was that under Capt. Waymouth which left in 1602 to go to "the kingdom of Cataya or China" by the Northwest Passage. John Cartwright, a preacher of London, was engaged as chaplain at the extravagant salary of three pounds a

year, of which sum, however, he was to get but half if the expedition did not return by way of China. Even of this magnificent moiety the unfortunate cleric was balked, since the voyage failed, and the failure was attributed to the half-hearted exhortations of the ill-used chaplain. His patrons were even unkind enough to demand back the gown and other apparel in the splendor of which he was to have appeared at the Chinese Court.

Thus it was not till the 11th of June, 1613, that the first English ship appeared in Japanese waters. This pioneer vessel was the *Clove,* under the command of Sir John Saris.

Often in history has English obstinacy proved valuable to the plans and purposes of the race, but on this occasion an Englishman's obstinacy turned out to be the undoing of something more than personal fortune. Saris was, as Brinkley describes him, "self-opinionated, suspicious, and of shallow judgement," and he seems from the first to have underestimated the capacity of Will Adams. He had already received advices as to the Pilot's influence in the Empire, but he wrote of him "he is only fit to be master of a junk." In all this he was, as his contemporaries acknowledged, "quite wrong and unjust." Perhaps we may qualify what was said above to the extent of confessing that circumstances are to some slight extent responsible for Sir John's ill-temper. Adams had written to the captain of the *Clove* to Bantam some months previously, but the letter had miscarried, so that when the ship arrived at Hirado some tedious weeks had to elapse before Adams could be found and brought from Yedo. Once arrived, the English pilot was not slow to impress on Saris the necessity of setting forth as speedily as possible for the capital, especially as he was the bearer of a Royal Letter from King James I to the ruler of Japan. The start was made on August 6, 1613, and on the 8th of September the captain of the *Clove* was admitted to Iyeyasu's presence. The letter was first transliterated into *kana* by Adams, then into the ideographic style by the Japanese scholars, and so passed into the Shōgun's hands.

The point to which our attention should at this juncture be especially directed is the large knowledge the Tokugawa showed of geography and of world affairs, and the intelligence with which he appreciated the opportunity which fortune and the experience of Adams had placed within his grasp. He asked about the Englishman's knowledge (little enough in truth) of Yezo, Saghalien, Kamchatka, and so on, and spoke sympathetically of the difficulties

incident to making the North-west Passage. He then proceeded to draw up a Charter and Agreement which consitute one of the most liberal and remarkable trade documents ever proposed between East and West. Had it been accepted and acted upon by Saris and the Company, much subsequent trouble and display of Occidental belligerency would have been saved. The main provisions of the Agreement, which was signed on Oct. 1, 1613, are as follows:

1. The *Clove* might carry on trade of all kinds without hindrance, while subsequent visits of English ships would be similarly welcomed.

2. Ships might visit any ports in Japan they chose and, in case of storms, put into any harbor.

3. Ground would be given in Yedo for the erection of factories and houses, and, in event of the return of the factors to England, they were permitted to dispose of the buildings in any way they wished.

4. If any Englishman committeed on offence on Japanese soil, he should be punished by the English general "according to the gravity of his offence." (Note here the first recognition of the rights of extra-territoriality in the Far East).

Now Saris has no excuse whatsoever for not understanding the liberality of the concessions thus offered. For four days he stayed with Adams at the latter's house at Uraga, surveyed the harbor, which he found to be excellent, and otherwise looked the gift-horse in the mouth.

But, alas for the future of the Company in Japan, he obstinately clung to his earlier commitments with the Dutch and with the Hirado *daimyō*. The Hirado factors, too, were becoming impatient and incensed with Adams, the sincerity of whose recommendations they doubted since to them he was but "a naturalized Japanner." So relations between the two Englishmen grew more and more strained and unpleasant. The *Clove* eventually sailed from Hirado on her homeward voyage, Dec. 5, 1613, after having started the factory at that place with a capital of some seven thousand pounds. The departure left also in the breast of Will Adams a certain sense of disapointment, not unmingled with a little homesickness.

But of far more fatal moment was the impression left upon the mind of Tokugawa Iyeyasu. It must be remembered that this great statesman was still engaged in consolidating the position of

his clan in regard to the Shōgunate. Determined not to invite the fate which had befallen the family of Yoritomo, he resolved that no weak links in the line of his descendants should break the chain of power he had forged for controlling the destinies of Japan. Partly to ensure this he placed the supreme authority in the hands of his son years before his own death. For the same reason he is believed to have formulated the famous policy embodied in the so-called "Legacy of Iyeyasu." In his path were many formidable obstacles, among which the loyalty of most of the southern daimyos to the house of Toyotomi, whose power the Tokugawa had temporarily crushed, was the most considerable. There was beside the difficult situation brought about by the presence of the Portuguese friars and by their quarrels with competitive propagandists from Spain. Undoubtedly, however, the most menacing danger lurked in the independent spirit of the clans who were destined nearly two and a half centuries later to play so large a part in the dissolution of the Tokugawa dominance. These great and warlike families resented the centralization of authority at Yedo and were ready to use any methods by which its permanence might be destroyed. Moreover, the great strength of these clans lay in the possession of a practical monopoly of trade with the foreigners, as this trade had hitherto been conducted at such places as Nagasaki and Hirado. Foreign trade had brought them wealth, military equipment, and the spirit of independence which the possession of these things engendered.

Therefore, the question which burned like fire in the heart of Iyeyasu during these last years of his life was this. Failing to secure a share of foreign commerce through the presence of English ships in Uraga Bay and their association with his own designs, would it not be the part of wisdom to close the portals of the Empire against the foreigners altogether and so counter-act by one stroke of policy alike the ambitions of the rebel *daimyōs*, the designs of the missionaries and all the intrigue, actual or potential, of Portuguese, Spanish, and all the rest?

That Iyeyasu answered this question in the affirmative and that his successors in the Shōgunate carried his answer into effect is one of the important facts of Oriental history. The decision was a momentous one. Some have regarded it as a wise and statesmanlike policy which saved Japan from the absorption which became the fate of some other lands. Others have esteemed it

foolish and short-sighted. In any event, it determined largely the course history was to take in the Pacific in the centuries to follow. And the ultimate responsibility, as we have seen, rests not after all with Iyeyasu or with his descendants, but with one obstinate English captain who failed to discern, what is so obvious to us all today, that the acceptance of the invitation to establish trade at Yedo was an opportunity at which foresight should have leaped without a second thought. That acceptance would have spelled a long career of English supremacy in the commerce of the Pacific and the avoidance, on the part of Japan, of the policy of segregation which has only in recent times been discontinued.

It remains to be said that the factory of Hirado turned out to be a moribund concern almost from the start. The good words of the Dutch proved to have little sincerity behind them, since the Holland merchants at once lowered their prices to offset the new competition. The goods brought by the English ships proved for the most part unsaleable in Japan; Richard Cocks, the English agent, made about as many mistakes as were possible in the time; and ere long one Wickham wrote that unless the merchants opened up trade with the Moluccas and with China, or engaged in plundering expeditions like the Dutch, "the Japan trade was not worth continuing."

The last suggestion, namely, that a policy of plundering might recoup some of their commercial losses, was even adopted in company with the Dutch at Manila and elsewhere, but the end was now not far off. In 1619 the English factors had gone so far in their *facilis decensus* that they were mobbed in the streets of Hirado by Dutch and Japanese alike, and the sight of English prizes brought by the Dutch into the harbor must have caused the iron to enter deeply into their souls.

At last came, from the Oriental headquarters of the Company in Batavia, the letter to "Mr. Cox and the rest" ordering the dissolution of the factory. That the letter was signed by "Your loving Friends, Richard Fursland, Thos. Brockenden, Aug. Spalding" did not diminish the humiliation of the moment.

So let me conclude as I commenced: At noon on Dec. 24, 1623, just three hundred years ago, the English factors of Hirado sailed away in the *Bull*, and the curtain was rung down upon the story of a great opportunity rendered "frustrate and vagabond" by one man's wilfulness.

The Portuguese hung on in Japan precariously a while longer and were then turned out bag and baggage. The Dutch resigned

themselves to an ignominious accommodation with fortune and clung to their little foothold of a prison at Deshima till the re-opening of the Empire. But, from Dec. 24, 1623, Japan was, with these exceptions, straitly shut up against the commerce of the outside world.

I have wondered whether, from some purgatorial or celestial residence, the two English seamen I have mentioned, Will Adams and John Saris, may not have sometimes looked down upon the scene of their former adventure. If so, I wonder again whether the Pilot could have refrained muttering to the Captain: "I told you so!"

HERBERT H. GOWEN

JOURNALS OF THE INDIAN WAR OF 1855-56

These journals of the Indian war of 1855-56 were kept by two brothers, Robert M. Painter and William C. Painter, privates in Company D of the First Regiment of Oregon Mounted Volunteers. Robert M. Painter died in Oregon City in 1868. In 1864, His brother, William C., moved to Wallula. Three years later he moved to Walla Walla, where he was living at the time of his death in 1900.

A copy of the journal of Robert M. Painter was given to me by Mrs. J. B. Davidson of Ellensburg in August, 1923; and a copy of the Journal of William C. Painter was made by his son, the Reverend Harry M. Painter of Cheney, in November, 1923. Robert Painter of Walla Walla, son of Robert M., says that his father's journal is an exact copy of the record which was kept from day to day. Concerning the original journal of William C. Painter, Harry M. Painter says: "The diary was a few sheets of blue writing paper folded and sewed. It had no cover and was badly worn. Some pages were so rubbed as to be undecipherable. It was written with pencil. I had a hard task to decipher as much as I did with a magnifying glass." (Letter to J. Orin Oliphant, November 7, 1923.)

A comparison of the two journals will disclose several small discrepancies, especially in the matter of distances covered from day to day. It is presumed that each one estimated the distance and that no comparison of notes was ever made.

Muster rolls of the various companies of the regiment may be found in Frances Fuller Victor, *The Early Indian Wars of Oregon Compiled From the Oregon Archives and Other Original Sources,* (Salem, 1894) pp. 522 *et seq.* Officers of the regiment were as follows: James W. Nesmith, colonel; James K. Kelly, lieutenant-colonel; Ambrose N. Strong, senior major; Mark A. Chinn, junior major. Sveral changes were made during the campaign.

In the "muster roll of Captain Thomas R. Cornelius's company 'D' of the first regiment of Oregon mounted volunteers, commanded by Colonel Jawes W. Nesmith, mustered in pursuance of the proclamation of the governor of Oregon territory, to serve in the war against the Yakima and other Indians, from the seven-

teenth day of October, 1855, until discharged," are found the following entries: "No. 55—Robert M. Painter, private, enlisted October 17, 1855, at Portland by Adjutant-General E. M. Barnum. No. 56—William C. Painter, private, enlisted October 17, 1855, at Portland by Adjutant-General E. M. Barnum."

At the outbreak of the war in 1855 Governor Stevens was negotiating a treaty in the country of the Blackfoot Indians. Affairs of Washington Territory had been left in the hands of Acting Governor C. H. Mason, who commissioned Major G. J. Rains, an officer of the regular army, brigadier-general in order that he might outrank the officers of volunteer organizations. Major Rains was in command of the regulars with whom Colonel Nesmith's Oregon volunteers cooperated in the Yakima campaign in November, 1855.

More than usual interest attaches to the campaigns of the Oregon volunteers in southeastern Washington in 1855-56 because of the controversy which developed between Governor Stevens of Washington Territory and General John E. Wool, commander of the Pacific department, over the "righteousness" of the war. General Wool took exception to the proclamation of Governor Curry of Oregon in pursuance of which the volunteer regiment was raised. He characterized the undertaking as "one of the most unwise, unnecessary, and extravagant expeditions ever fitted out in the United States, and for no other reason than to plunder the treasury of the United States, and to make capital for somebody. It could not have been projected for the defense of the inhabitants of Oregon, nor for the protection of Oregonians in Washington Territory, for none resided there. What, then, could have been the object? Nothing but a crusade against the Indians, and a long war to enrich the country." (Letter of General Wool to the *National Intelligencer,* April 2, 1856, in *Cong. Globe,* 1st Ses., 34th Cong., p. 1135.) Joseph Lane, delegate from Oregon to Congress, denounced the accusation of General Wool, and, in an effort to disprove it, introduced into the records of the House of Representatives a letter written by Governor Stevens to General Wool on March 20, 1856. (*Ibid,,* p. 1145.) This letter, in part, is printed in Hazard Stevens, *Life of General Isaac I. Stevens,* Vol. II, pp. 177 *et seq.* Also, see *ibid.,* chapters XXXVI and XXXVII. Governor Stevens commended the Oregon volunteers very highly.

The Oregon volunteers were ordered to act independently of, but to cooperate with, the regulars during the campaign. Hazard

Stevens gives as the reason for this that "both they and Governor Curry were anxious to strike the Indians, and justly feared that if placed under the orders of the regular officers, they would be held back or placed in garrison." (Stevens, *Op. cit.*, p. 160.) Many documents pertaining to this war may be found in, *House and Senate Executive Documents* and in the *Congressional Globe*, 1st Ses., 34th Cong. Extracts from documents are printed in [Elwood Evans], *History of the Pacific Northwest; Oregon and Washington* (Portland, 1889), Vol. 1, chap. LVII.

The journals which follow do not throw any additional light upon the Stevens-Wool controversy, but they give abundant evidence of the hardships borne by the Oregon volunteers on the soil of Washington Territory.

J. ORIN OLIPHANT

JOURNAL OF ROBERT MOORE PAINTER[1]

[October, 1855]

16. Washington County [Oregon] Volunteers, Co. D, left Hillsboro Tuesday, Oct. 16, 1855.

17. Were mustered into service at Portland, crossed the river and encamped.[2]

18. Marched four miles and encamped.

19. Marched to Foster's, eighteen miles, and encamped at the foot of the Cascade mountains.

20. Remained in camp. Purchased thirty bus. oats, and made Foster hull out enough to feed the animals while in the Cascade mountains.

21. Marched thirty miles, and encamped on Sandy.

22. Marched to Summit Prairie, distance thirty miles.

23. Marched thirty-five miles, and encamped on Indian creek, three miles east of Barlow's gate.

24. Marched twenty-one miles, and encamped on Fifteen Mile creek.

---

1 Robert Moore Painter, a son of Philip and Jean (Moore) Painter, was born in St. Genevieve, Missouri, November 30, 1827. He received his education in the schools of his native state. In 1850 he crossed the plains to Oregon and settled near Oregon City. At the outbreak of the Indian War of 1855-56 he enlisted in Company D, 1st Regiment, Oregon Mounted Volunteers, served throughout the war and returned to Oregon City when his company was mustered out of service. On February 28, 1859, he married Ella Zieber, a daughter of John S. and Eliza (Sloan) Zieber, early pioneers of Oregon. Five children were born to them: Robert, Octavia J., Philip, John Z., and Zulette Z. Robert Moore Paniter died at his home in Forest Grove, Oregon, November 3, 1868.

2 October 17, 1855, General Order No. 7, Territory of Oregon, directed C and D companies to proceed immediately to the Dalles. General Order No. 4, issued one day previously, had designated the Dalles as the base of operations for the volunteers and directed the colonel "as far as practicable [to] cooperate with the commanding officer of the United States troops which now are, or may hereafter be, in the field."—*House Ex. Doc. No.* 93, 34th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 4.

25. Marched twelve miles, and encamped on Three Mile creek, three miles east of The Dalles.

29. Marched to The Dalles, and encamped.

30. Crossed the Columbia river, and marched four miles and encamped on a small spring branch.[3]

[November, 1855]

1. Remained in camp.

2. Remained in camp.

3. Marched twenty miles, and encamped on the Klickitat.

4. Remained in camp.

5. Marched twenty-five miles, and encamped, two hours after night, on Canyon creek.

6. Marched twelve miles, and encamped on the above creek.

7. Marched fifteen miles, and encamped on Simcoe creek, in Simcoe valley.

8. The main command marched directly to the main Yakima river, distance fifteen miles, and encamped on the river. Capt. Cornelius and fifty men (ten from each company) started directly up the Simcoe creek, for the purpose of scouring the country. We traveled up this creek eighteen miles; from thence to the base of the mountains, in the direction of the two buttes on the Yakima river. We were attacked by one hundred Indians, about two hours before sundown, five miles west of the buttes. We fought about three hours. We had three men wounded slightly. We saw several Indians fall from their horses, although we did not get any of them. I think there were three Indians killed. We arrived at camp about two hours after night.

9. Marched eight miles and met with the Indians at the two buttes, on the main Yakima river. The Indians showed fight. The volunteers were ordered in the advance guard and to charge the Indians, which they did for about five miles through sage brush. The Indians retreated to the summit of the two buttes, and then made a stand. The officers held a consultation, and finally decided

3 Neither of the Painter diaries mentions the fact that Philip H. Sheridan, at this time a lieutenant, was a member of this expedition. In his *Personal Memoirs*, vol. 1, chap., iv, Sheridan devotes several pages to an account of the Yakima war: "We started from the Dalles October 30, under conditions that were not conducive to success. The season was late for operations; and worse still, the command was not in accord with the commanding officer [Major Rains], because of general belief in his incompetency, and on account of the fictitious rank he assumed."—*Ibid.*, p. 54. There were about 350 regulars under the command of Major Rains, according to the report of Lieut. John Withers, commanding Fort Vancouver, to the Adjutant General of the army, Nov. 12, 1855. Concerning the rank of Major Rains, Lieut. Withers says: "Governor Mason visited him at Camp Yakima, opposite the Dalles, previous to his departure, and, in view of the probable events of the war, conferred upon him the rank of Brigadier General of Washington Territory volunteers."—*House Ex. Doc. No.* 93, 34th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 13.

to camp for the night near the base of the West butte. After pitching our camp, the volunteers turned out promiscuously from all the command and a few regulars, and dislodged those Indians on the summit of the West butte, chasing them into the valley on the north side of the butte.

10. This morning a few Indians showed themselves on the West butte. Co. E was ordered to take a circuitous route, and cross the mountains west of the West butte. The other companies were ordered to charge through the canyon. They made a bold charge, but found but few Indians, whom they routed, and reported having killed three Indians. Co's. C, E and D were sent out to scour the valley. They captured fifteen head of cattle and about 40 head of horses. Saw but few Indians. The Indians have gone towards the Priest rapids. We traveled twelve miles, and encamped two miles below the Catholic mission,[4] on the same creek.

11. A scouting party started to meet the Puget Sound regulars and volunteers.[5] We traveled twenty-two miles, and encamped on the West fork of the Yakima river.

12. We proceeded on our journey eight miles, and encamped on a small creek. We here intersected the emigrant road leading to the sound. It snowed during the night, six inches in depth.

13. Col. Nesmith concluded to return to the mission. We arrived at camp two hours after night. We killed two cows and calves while out, and captured fifteen head of horses.

14. Remained in camp.

15. Remained in camp. Snow going off.

16. The command started for The Dalles, traveled ten miles and encamped in Simcoe valley, on Simcoe creek. Held a council of war; decided to return to The Dalles forthwith.

17. Marched six miles, and encamped on the above creek where Major Haller was defeated by the Indians. The volunteers drove in four head of cattle and twenty-five head of horses. I went all over the battle field.

18. Marched twelve miles, and encamped in pine grove on a small stream. Capt. Wilson,[6] of Co. A, met us here with supplies for the command. The express also arrived from the Governor.

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4 Sheridan, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1., p. 61, speaks of this mission as Father Pandoza's Mission. General Wool, in a letter to the *National Intelligencer*, April 2, 1856, calls it the Atanhum Mission.—*Cong. Globe*, 1st Session, 34th Congress, p. 1135.

5 Colonel James W. Nesmith and Lieutenant Sheridan were in command of this detachment. The reenforcement expected was a column of troops of the Fourth Infantry, commanded by Captain Maurice Maloney.—Sheridan, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

6 Alfred V. Wilson.

The officers held a council of war, to determine whether to return by Fort Walla Walla or march directly to The Dalles. They determined to return directly to The Dalles.

19. We marched for The Dalles; crossed the Simcoe mountain, which is covered with snow three feet in depth; have some difficulty in crossing; encamp in the Klickitat valley, on a branch of same; have good grass; traveled twenty miles.

20. Remained in camp. Jos. Meek and others leave for the valley.

21. We moved three miles, and encamped on a small branch of the Klickitat.

22. Remained in camp.

23. Remained in camp.

24. Marched for The Dalles, crossed the mountains, and encamped on a branch, eight miles east of The Dalles.[7]

25. We crossed the Columbia river, and arrived at The Dalles. We are ordered to march to Fort Walla Walla.[8]

26. We remained in camp, three miles from The Dalles, on Three Mile Creek.

27. Remained in camp. Several of the boys have obtained discharges, and are leaving for home.[9]

28. We marched for Walla Walla, and encamped on Ten Mile creek.

29. Remained in camp, waiting for supplies.

30. Marched twelve miles, and encamped after night. A very disagreeable day.

[December, 1855]

1. Marched thirty-five miles, and encamped on John Day's river. But little wood.

2. We marched up the river three miles, and thence east up Rock creek three miles, and encamped. Good grass and plenty of wood.

3. Marched twenty-five miles, and encamped on Willow creek. Wood scarce, and grass short. Very bad water.

4. Marched twenty miles, and encamped at the Well spring.

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7 Failure of this expedition ascribed by Sheridan almost entirely to incompetency of Major Rains.—Sheridan, *op cit.*, pp. 68-69.

8 Sent to reenforce Major Mark A. Chinn.

9 About 125 were discharged by Colonel Nesmith on account of sickness and lack of supplies.—Elwood Evans in *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington*, (Portland, 1889), Vol. I, p. 558.

5. Marched twenty-five miles and arrived at Umatilla, at Fort Henrietta.[10]

6. Remained in camp until evening. Capt. Cornelius, with a part of Co's D and E, started out on a scout. We marched to Wm. McKey's claim, and encamped.

7. We marched up to the base of the Blue mountains. We captured one hundred and thirty head of cattle and fifty head of horses and encamped for the night at Wm. McKey's place.

8. We returned to the fort with the cattle and horses. We saw no Indians during our absence.

9. Received an express from Col. Kelly's command, informing us of having fought the Indians two days and were still fighting; that a number had been killed of both parties. They wanted immediate assistance. Capt. Cornelius starts to their relief this evening.[11] We marched for Whitman's station. We traveled forty-one miles, and encamped on Wild Horse creek, about two hours before day.

10. Marched twenty-five miles to Fort Bennett,[12] the scene of action. We arrived at sunset, and found the volunteers still engaged with the Indians. They had two men wounded to-day. They report having killed a number of Indians. We were kindly received. The boys wanted us to camp in the fort, for fear of the Indians firing on us after night. We thanked them for their advice, and informed them that we never camped in forts. We, consequently, camped outside.

11. We marched in pursuit of the Indians with the main

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10 Fort Henrietta was erected by Major Mark A. Chinn and named in honor of the wife of Major Haller. It "was a stockade 100 feet square, built of large split timbers, with two bastions of round logs, and outside a stock corral enclosed with rails found on the ground."—Victor, *op. cit.*, p. 440.

11 It was during this engagement that Pen-Peu-Mox-Mox, head chief of the Walla Wallas, was killed while trying to escape from his guard. Neither of the Palmer brothers was present at his death, so there is no mention of it in either of the journals. General Wool later declared that the killing of the Walla Walla chief was "barbarous," and a controversy raged for some time. "The second or third day of the engagement the volunteers barbarously killed Pin-Pin-Mox-Mox and his companions. They took from the chiefs' head some twenty scalps, cut off his ears and hands, and sent them as trophies to their friends in Oregon."—Letter of General Wool to *National Intelligencer*, April 2, 1856, in *Cong. Globe*, 1st Session, 34th Congress, p. 1135. Regarding the death of the chief Colonel Kelly wrote to Governor Curry of Oregon as follows: "I regretted the necessity of putting these men to death, as I was in hopes that they could be made useful in prosecuting the war against the other hostile tribes; but I am well satisfied that the guard was fully justified in taking away their lives in their efforts to escape."—Quoted in Victor, *op. cit.*, p. 445. Governor Stevens, writing to General Wool under date of March 20, 1856, said: "Pee-Pee-Mox-Mox was slain fairly. I have investigated that matter on the ground, having not only the testimony of the officers of the Oregon volunteers and the eye-witnesses of his death, but the testimony of the friendly Indians, both Cayuse and Nez Perses. He was not entrapped by a flag of truce. I, of course, reprobate the indignities subsequently committed upon his person."—*Cong. Globe*, 1st Session, 34th Congress, p. 1145. An official record contains the following account of the mutilation of the body of the Walla Walla chief: "D.r Shaw brought down, as a trophy, old Pu-Pu-mux-mux's ears, and Mr. Story brought down a portion of his scalp to Thomas Stevens, which was sent him by his son John, who cut it off."—Extract from *Weekly Times*, in *House Ex. Doc. No.* 93, 34th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 108.

body of volunteers, Co's D and E among the rest. We saw some Indians on the hill, who fled before we got in gunshot. After traveling twelve miles we came to the Indians' ranches, which had been recently vacated; the firebrands were still burning, and hi-yu Indian ictas scattered in all directions. We followed the Indian trail, which leads to the Nez Perce country. After marching three miles, we came in sight of a large band of stock driven by some Indians. We were here met by an Indian with an express from some French families, who had a fortified camp on Touchet. The Col. ordered a halt. That gave the Indians time to get out of sight with their stock. We encamped at 8 o'clock P.M., on Coppei, having marched eighteen miles.

12. We marched eight miles to Brooks and Bumford's claim on Touchet. The Col. ordered us to return to Fort Bennett, and drive all the stock. We encamped where we did the night before.

13. We marched for the fort. We captured a large number of stock, and arrived at camp at sunset.

14. We remained in camp. The day was passed in raising caches of corn, potatoes and squashes.

15. Marched six miles up the Walla Walla river above Whitman's station, and encamped. Good wood and grass.

16. Remained in camp.

17. Remained in camp. Killed some fresh pork.

18. Remained in camp. The wounded and sick left for The Dalles.[13]

19. Remained in camp. Col. Kelly leaves for the valley.[14] --We held an eletcion for colonel. Capt. Cornelius was the fortunate man.

20. Remained in camp.[15]

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13 There were eighteen wounded.—*House Ex. Doc. No.* 93, 34th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 108.

14 Colonel Nesmith was compelled to quit his command on account of sickness in his family.—Statement of Joseph Lane on floor of House of Representatives, *Cong. Globe*, 1st Session, 34th Congress, p. 777. "About the middle of December Nesmith resigned the command of the regiment, and Thomas R. Cornelius was elected in his place. The place of Captain Bennett was filled by A. M. Fellows, and several minor changes were made. Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly returned to the Wallamet valley to take his seat in the council of the legislature about the same time, and was received with a perfect ovation by the people."—Victor, *op. cit.*, p. 448. The muster roll shows, however, that Colonel Nesmith was discharged on December 4, 1855.—*Ibid.*, p. 522.

15 The omission of Governor Stevens's arrival at this time seems peculiar. An inquiry addressed to the Reverend Harry M. Painter of Cheney, nephew of Robert M. Painter, brought the following reply: "The only explanation that I can give of the omission of Governor Stevens's visit is that he supposed all such matters, together with the election of Cornelius to succeed Nesmith, etc., would be matters of public interest and would be recorded. I have heard my father tell of the governor's visit."—Letter of Harry M. Painter to J. Orin Oliphant, October 20, 1923. In this connection Robert Painter of Walla Walla, son of Robert M. Painter, offers the following suggestion: "In regard to Mr. Oliphant's reference to a reported visit of Governor Stevens to the camp of the Oregon Volunteers in December, 1855, not being mentioned in my father's diary of the Indian War of 1855-56, it is quite probable that he was on one of the numerous scouting expeditions at the time of such visit. The diary is just as he wrote it day by day during the war. My mother said he intended to rewrite it more fully, but neglected to do so."—Letter to Harry M. Painter, October 30, 1923.

21. Remained in camp. It rained and snowed late in the evening.

22. Remained in camp. Snow fell four inches in depth. It is now clear, but cold.[16]

23. Remained in camp. Still very cold.

24. Remained in camp. Still cold.

25. Remained in camp. Clear and cold.

26. Co's D and E moved camp two miles east, on a tributary of the Walla Walla. Cold and snowing—some warmer.

27. Remained in camp. The weather a little warmer—still snowing.

28. Remained in camp. Cold and clear.

29. Remained in camp. Cold and clear.

30. Remained in camp. Cold and clear.

31. Remained in camp. By order of Major Chinn some of Co's D and E drove in three hundred head of horses. The Indians went to Chinn, whereupon he revoked his order and gave the horses up to the Indians without the shadow of proof that they were their individual stock, which we had reasons to believe they were not.

[January, 1856]

1. Remained in camp. Still cold and snowing.

2. Remained in camp. Still snowing.

3. Remained in camp. The weather has moderated. The wind is from the south. Snow melting.

4. Remained in camp. Snow thawing.

5. Remained in camp. The snow has thawed off in parts of the valley.

6. Moved camp twelve miles east, on Mill creek. Weather pleasant. The whole command encamp at this camp, known as as Camp Mill creek. We have beef straight.

7. Remained in camp. Cold and cloudy—snowing a little.

8. Remain in camp. Still snowing.

9. Remain in camp. Still cloudy.

10. Remain in camp. Cool and cloudy. Our horses are mere skeletons. Some few have died. There is not one in the command fit for service.

16 "Several of the boys who had no shoes took rawhide and sewed it up in shape something like a moccasin. This beat bare feet to wade through the snow with. But the boys seemed to be content. Our tents were small and thin; our blankets were smaller and thinner. I had two of these long, narrow, thin blankets, one blue and one green, that were not long enough to reach from my nose down to my feet, and a saddle blanket; this constituted my bed."—Quoting from "one who was there."—Victor, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

11. Remain in camp. The weather has moderated. It is still cloudy.

12. Remain in camp. The weather warm and clear.

13. Remain in camp. Weather cloudy and frosty.

14. Remain in camp. Still cool and cloudy.

15. Remain in camp. The weather warmer, though cloudy. Beef straight. Clothes worn out.

16. Remain in camp. Warm and cloudy.

17. Remain in camp. Warm and cloudy.

18. Remain in camp. Cloudy and snowing.

19. Remain in camp. Weather cloudy. We received supplies of flour and sugar and coffee. Boys in good spirits.

20. Remain in camp. Weather cloudy.

21. At camp. Weather cool and cloudy.

22. Remain in camp. The snow is falling fast.

23. Remain in camp. Snow fell to the depth of four inches last night. Capt. Hembree,[17] of Co. E, and Lieut. Mires, of Co. D, returned from a scout, report having seen Indians on the north side of Snake river, in a large body. They captured two hundred and forty head of horses and some few cattle. They brought the horses in camp.

24. Remain in camp. The boys amused themselves to-day by lassoing wild horses.

25. Remained in camp. Weather cold and cloudy—snow still on the ground. The ball is still going on. The boys are lassoing and riding the captured horses. How they spike! It is fun for them, but it would not be for me.

26. Remain in camp. Cloudy and snowing.

27. Remain in camp. Cold and cloudy.

28. Remain in camp. Cold and cloudy.

29. Remain in camp. Still cold and cloudy.

30. Remain in camp. Cold and snowing.

31. Remain in camp. Cold nad snowing.

[February, 1856]

1. In camp. Cloudy.

2. In camp. Cloudy and cold.

3. In camp. Snowing fast; quite cold.

4. In camp. Cloudy.

5. In camp. Snowing fast.

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17 A. J. Hembree was captain of Company E, and William H. H. Myers was second lieutenant.

6. In camp. Clear weather.

7. To-day moved camp two miles up Mill creek, and named it Camp Cornelius in honor of our colonel.

8. In camp. Weather cold and cloudy.

9. In camp. Weather moderated. Snow going off the hills.

10. In camp. The weather clear.

11. In camp. Clear weather. Provisions scarce.

12. In camp. Weather clear and warmer.

13. In camp. Weather clear.

14. In camp. Weather clear.

15. In camp. Weather clear and warm. The pack train has just arrived, bringing fresh supplies of provisions.

16. In camp. Weather cool and cloudy.

17. In camp. Weather cool and cloudy. Col. Cornelius captured four Indians as prisoners of war. They are in camp, under guard, to await their trial.

18. In camp. Court-martial in session for the purpose of trying those Indians, who gave themselves up as prisoners of war.

19. In camp. Weather cloudy and cool.

20. In camp. Weather cloudy.

21. In camp. Weather pleasant and warm.

22. In camp. Weather pleasant. The colors were hoisted in honor of Washington's birthday. We fired a salute.

23. In camp. Weather pleasant.

24. In camp. Weather pleasant. One of the Indians was found guilty of a small crime, and they sentenced him to receive thirty-three lashes on his bare back. The sentence was excuted.

25. In camp. Hubbard's train of ten wagons arrived from The Dalles, with provisions and clothing.

26. In camp. It snowed last night to the depth of six inches.

27. In camp. The weather has moderated. Snow is going off.

28. In camp. Snow going off. Weather clear and warmer.

29. In camp. Four companies arrived at headquarters today, A, B, C and D, of the new recruits.

[March, 1856]

1. In camp. Weather pleasant.

2. In camp.

3. In camp. Weather clear.

4. In camp. Weather clear and pleasant.

5. In camp. Capt. Hembree arrived with recruits.

6. In camp. R. Caldwell arrived with recruits for Co. D.[18]

7. In camp. One of those Indians was sentenced to be hanged by the neck until dead. The sentence was executed at 9 o'clock A.M., in the presence of the whole command.

8. In camp. Weather pleasant.

9. We march for Snake river. Lieut. Pillow,[19] of Co. A, No. 1, is ordered to Fort Walla Walla, to take charge of that post until further orders. We marched fifteen miles, and encamped on the Touchet.

10. Remained in camp to get some cattle.

11. We marched down the Touchet fifteen miles, and encamped where the trail leaves for Snake river.

12. We marched to Snake river, twenty miles. We saw thirty Indians on north bank. In two hours after we arrived there we crossed and routed the Indians, killed four and captured a number of pack animals.

13. In camp, north bank of Snake river. We went out on a scout down Snake river to the mouth, and then up the Columbia eight miles. We saw several Indians across the Columbia river. The boys killed four Indians. They returned to camp late in the night.

14. We marched up Snake river six miles, and encamped.

15. We marched up Snake river sixteen miles, and encamped on the river. Grass scarce.

16. Marched fifteen miles up Snake river, through heavy sand.

17. We here left the river and struck across to the Palouse, twelve miles, and encamped.

18. We remained in camp one mile above the first Palouse falls. Six miles above the mouth the fall is one hundred feet perpendicular.

19. In camp. Great disaffection in camp. We have had to subsist on horseflesh. Col. sent an express to Fort Walla Walla for provisions.

20. In camp. It is raining. Horse meat straight. Co's. A, D

18 A recruiting battalion of five companies had been raised in accordance with a proclamation of Governor Curry on January 16, 1856. The proclamation is published in Victor, *op. cit.*, pp. 454-55.

19 Charles B. Pillow, second lieutenant of Company A.

and H, of the new recruits, speak of leaving camp for the fort.[20] Col. Cornelius paraded the regiment and informed them that he did not intend marching farther unless the supplies came, which would certainly arrive in twenty-four hours.[21] Major Curl got up and stated that he would march his command back forthwith. Lieutenant-Colonel followed, and made a speech showing the men the bad consequence of deserting in that manner. He was followed by Col. Sheil, who made a brief and appropriate speech. The boys became somewhat better satisfied.

21. Horse straight to subsist on. Late this evening the provisions arrived in camp. The boys pitched into it like hungry wolves. We have rations for eight days.

22. We remained in camp.

23. We marched for the Priest rapids, on the Columbia, traveled nine miles and encamped at a spring of good water. Grass good.

24. Marched down a canyon which seems to have once been the bed of some river. We traveled eighteen miles, and encamped at a salaratus lake. Grass short, and no wood.

25. March through sand and sage during the whole day. A number of animals gave out. Several men afoot. We traveled twenty miles, and encamped at a small salaratus spring in between the high, rocky hills. No grass or wood. Have to drink water off three dead horses; very scarce at that.

26. We marched twenty-six miles. Traveled in the first part of the day a north-west course fourteen miles, turned from thence south west, crossing a high hill two miles across, and thence west through a sand plain for about ten miles, when we camped on the Columbia, about fifteen miles below Priest rapids.

27. Remained in camp. Sent a scout up to Priest rapids. Saw some Indians on the opposite side.

28. Marched tweve miles down the Columbia river, and encamped, without grass or wood.

29. Marched down the Columbia river fourteen miles, and encamped on the bank.

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20 "The new recruits, says a voracious chronicler, on being fed with Cayuse beef, acquired all the bucking qualities of that animal, and refused to march before the provisions provided by the commissary-general came up, which they did about the twenty-third, when the army resumed its march."—Victor, *op. cit.*, p. 456.

21 The record of the journey across the Snake river, and in fact all of the events recorded by Robert M. Painter for March and April follow very closely the official reports contained in [Evans], *History of the Pacific Northwest, Oregon and Washington*, Vol. I, chapter LII.

30. Marched down ten miles on the Columbia, and encamped. We here met Capt. Cason,[22] of Co. E, new recruits, who swam some cattle across Snake river and brought them to our relief. They were very kindly received, as we had to eat horse meat since the 18th.

31. Crossed the Columbia below the mouth of the Yakima, and encamped. Grass good.

[April, 1856]

1. Moved camp three miles down the Columbia. Grass good.

2. Remained in camp. Capt. Hembree found some cattle in the mountains, twenty miles from camp. They were wild, and they could not drive them. They killed one and packed it in.

3. In camp. Six hundred pounds of flour arrived from Fort Walla Walla.

4. Marched down the Columbia river twelve miles, and encamped on the west bank opposite to Fort Walla Walla.

5. Remained in camp. The pack train arrived from below.

6. Marched thirty miles, and encamped on the Yakima river.

7. Marched eight miles up the Yakima river, and encamped. Grass good.

8. Marched up the Yakima river twenty miles, and encamped. The last part of the road was very sandy. Poor grass.

9. Marched ten miles, and encamped on Canyon creek.

10. In camp. Capt. Hembree, of Co. E, and Capt. Wilber, of Co. D, and Capt. Wilson, of Co. A, and lieutenant and six men started out on a scout about one hour by sun. While they were in sight, and ascending the hill, they were surrounded by a party of one hundred and fifty Indians and fired on. The small party returned the fire, and retreated for the camp, except Capt. Hembree, who was killed, scalped and stripped of all his clothes. The Indians immediately showed themselves, three hundred in number, on the hills on both sides of our camp. Our boys charged them and made them get, killing two Indians. At 3 P.M. the Indians showed themselves on the north side of the canyon. Major Cornoyer,[24] with seventy-two men, went out and ran them some three

22 William A. Cason, enlisted at Oregon City on February 25, 1856.

23 Hiram Wilbur, at the beginning of the campaign, was first lieutenant of Company D.

24 At the beginning of the campaign Narcipe A. Connoyer was captain of Company K. It will be observed that Mr. Painter writes the name "Cornoyer," which is also given in *House Ex. Doc.* No. 93, 34th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 123. It always appears as "Connoyer" in the Victor book.

miles to the summit of a hill, where they constructed forts out of stone. The boys dismounted and ran up the hill, firing on the Indians, who gave way. The boys killed two on the summit of the hill, and run the rest some distance. It was after night when we returned to camp. Capt. Hembree's body is in camp.

11. Marched twelve miles up the canyon, and encamped. Grass good.

12. We saw some Indians on the north side, on the summit of the hills. The Col. ordered the advance guard to scale the hills. They report that the Indians ran off to the north. We marched twenty miles, and encamped on the Klickitat creek. The advance guard met two Indians in the canyon, and killed them. They captured three horses and packs.

13. Marched down Klickitat six miles, and encamped. The pack train went on to The Dalles for provisions. This is a beautiful, small valley; very rich land; pine timber. Halo muckamuck. The pack train arrives late in the evening with provisions. The boys dive into it like hungry wolves into a dead carcass.

15. In camp. Good grass and wood.

16. Remain in camp.

17. March nineteen miles, and encamp within six miles of The Dalles.

18. In camp. Grass good. Wood scarce.

19. In camp.

20. In camp. I went down to the mouth of Klickitat on a scout. Saw no fresh signs of Indians.

21. In camp. The boys are all anxious to return home.

22. In camp. Some are fearful they will not get a discharge.

23. In camp. Provisions are plentiful.

24. In camp.

25. In camp. Gen'l M. M. McCarver[25] visited our camp and informed the boys that they would be disbanded. The boys are in fine spirits, and very much elated at their prospects of getting home.

26. In camp. Weather clear. Gen'l M. M. McCarver addressed the volunteers, informing us how he was grieved to think we had to subsist on horse flesh, but he was not in fault. He

25 Commissary General of Oregon. See General Order No. 2, Oregon Territory.—*House Ex. Doc. No.* 93, 34th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 3. "Morton Matthew McCarver, Frontier City Builder," is the subject of a study by Professor Edmond S. Meany in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1909, pp. 173-179.

purchased supplies, but he was not the one to transport them. He could not tell where the fault was, but he was determined to ferret it out, so that the guilty would be compelled to suffer.

27. In camp. Weather clear.

28. In camp. Weather clear. This morning, at 7 o'clock, the Indians charged on the horse guard, and ran the whole band of horses off—five hundred head. The volunteers pursued them on foot, but did not succeed in retaking the horses, so we are all left afoot.

29. In camp. Weather clear.

30. We marched down to the Columbia river, and encamped on the north bank of the river opposite The Dalles.

[May, 1856]

1. We got on board the *Wasco,* and start for home. We traveled five miles, and encamped for the night. The wind was so high that it was dangerous to run. Saw signal fires on both sides of the river. This is where the Indians cross back and forth to the Yakima country.

2. We started early in the morning and arrived at the Cascades about 3 o'clock. We got our baggage transported to the lower landing, and encamped at an old cabin.

3. We started early in the morning on board the *Fashion,* bound for Portland. We arrived there at 3 o'clock P.M., and camped on the east side of the Willamette.

4. Remained in camp.

5. We were mustered out of service at 11 A.M., and all started for our homes. I got aboard the ——— and arrived at Oregon City at 5 P.M.

JOURNAL OF WILLIAM CHARLES PAINTER

[October, 1855]

25th. (Thursday). Lay in camp today. Capt. went to The Dalles—returned the same day. Our grub wake-si ya-halo pleasant.

26th. Marched within three miles of the Dalles and encamped. The weather pleasant.

27th. Lay in camp today. The weather hazy and cool. Here we got some provisions and some of the boys a little whiskey too.

28th. (Sunday) Lay in camp today. The weather was dark and cool. Two men sick in camp.

29th. Lay in camp today. Weather cloudy—some rain. We received orders today to cross the river (Columbia) into the Yakima Country.

30th. Marched to the Dalles and couldn't cross today.

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26 William Charles Painter was born in St. Genevieve, Missouri, in April, 1830. His father had moved to Missouri from Pennsylvania. In 1850 the Painter family started across the plains for Oregon. Robert Moore, father of Mrs. Painter, had crossed 10 years before.

On the journey across the plains the father and two brothers of W. C. Painter died of cholera, on the Little Blue River, in what is now Kansas. The train was brought through by Robert M. Painter and W. C. Painter, aged 23 and 20 years, respectively. Owing to the death of oxen, several wagons loaded with machinery were abandoned on the plains. When the family reached Oregon they did not have enough machinery to set up their saw mill. Mrs. Painter took up a donation claim on the Tualatin river.

W. C. Painter attended for some time the Tualatin Academy, now Pacific University. When the Indian wars broke out in 1855 he and his brother enlisted in company D of the Oregon Mounted Volunteers. Most of the men of this company had attended Tualatin Academy, and a company flag made by "Grandma" Brown and the girls of the academy. Each girl was allowed to put a few stitches in the flag so that it would be an all-school affair. The flag is still in the possession of the Painter family.

In 1864, W. C. Painter moved to Walluls, and in that year he married Caroline Mitchell, whose father had crossed the plains with his family in 1847. While living in Walluls, and afterward in Walla Walla, Mr. Painter served as deputy colector of internal revenue under Hazard Stevens. In 1867 he moved to Walla Walla. He served as receiver of the government land office, and for eight years he was auditor of Walla Walla county.

When the Bannock Indians went on the warpath in 1878 Mr. Painter, at the earnest solicitation of Governor Ferry, left his sick bed to serve as captain of a company of Walla Walla volunteers that had been raised to patrol the Columbia river on a steamer in order that the Bannocks might be prevented from crossing into the Yakima country. He had been elected captain because the volunteers refused to serve under a regular army officer.

Major Kress of Fort Vancouver had put a few regulars on the steamer *Spokane*. He took on the volunteer company at Wallula. The Indians were discovered as they were attempting to cross the Columbia at Long (Biaiock) island. The vanguard had reached the island and fired on the steamer. The volunteers landed and, after a hot skirmish, defeated and almost exterminated the band. A few Indians escaped in canoes and rejoined the main body in Oregon. After patrolling the river for a few days, the volunteers returned home.

Soon after the volunteers returned to Walla Walla frantic appeals for help came from Pendleton and other Oregon towns. Indians were firing down from the hills into Pendleton. The Pendleton volunteers had been ambushed and shot to pieces. Captain Painter raised another company in Walla Walla at his own expense and marched to the relief of Pendleton. Governor Ferry, with the consent of the governor of Oregon, commissioned Captain Painter a lieutenant-colonel in order that he might outrank all volunteer officers and take charge of any independent companies he met. The volunteer company was thrown across the line of march of the Indians, and their advance was checked so that General Howard was enabled to overtake them. Colonel Painter received a letter of commendation from General Howard, and from Governor Ferry he received a sword for his sevices.

As this volunteer company was composed of Washington men who served in Oregon, neither state gave compensation. At the close of the campaign several Indian ponies were rounded up and sold, and in this manner a part of the expense of the undertaking was paid. Colonel Painter paid the rest.

W. C. Painter died in Walla Walla in 1900. Material for this sketch was furnished by the Reverend Harry M. Painter. A comprehensive biographical sketch of W. C. Painter is also contained in W. D. Lyman, *An Illustrated History of Walla Walla County*, (W. H. Lever, 1901), pp. 328-331.

Camped in town. Five of our men were discharged (one man shot in town.)

31st. (Wednesday) We crossed the river today into Washington Territory and our enemies' country (the north side of the Columbia). Encamped four miles out from the river.

[November, 1855]

1st. (Thursday) We lay in camp today. The weather rather cold and windy. All in fine spirits and anxious to meet the redskins.

2nd. (Friday) We lay in camp today. The weather pleasant. In the evening we had a regimental parade for the purpose of giving general orders, the mode of marching, guarding, etc. Three more men of our company were discharged on account of sickness.

3rd. We took up the line of march this morning for the Yakima Valley. All in good spirits. Travelled 16 miles and encamped for the night on the Klickitat. Regulars one day in advance. This is the right wing of the first regiment, comprising Companies C, D, E, F, & G. of Oregon Mounted Volunteers. Several caches of salmon and berries, belonging to the Indians, raised by the regulars.[27]

4th. Lay in camp today. Weather clear. Capt. Hembree arrived from the Dalles with clothing.

5th. (Monday) Took up the line of march—travelled 30 miles, through the mountains mostly—and through a horrible canyon and encamped for the night. The day was cloudy and some rain. The regulars camped near by. Expected to have a battle today but halo Indian.

6th. Marched 10 miles—camped for the night. Pleasant ?

7th. (Wednesday.) We took the line of march. Travelled down Canyon Creek, thence over the mountains 16 miles. Camped in the Simcoe Valley. Saw some Indians. Expected an attack. Drove in a band of horses. Captured one cow and calf and three or four horses. Weather fair; very dusty.[28]

8th. (Thursday.) Marched 14 miles, mostly through sage and sand. Camped on the Yakima river. Sent out a scout in the morning of 70 men in command of Capt. Tom Cornelius; had a fight, several Indians killed, three men wounded.

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27 Mention is made of these caches by Sheridan, *op. cit.*, p. 54. "Major Rains discovered several large *caches* of provisions, and one of powder and arms, near the Mission. The Catholic priest has left the Mission—whether by compulsion of the Indians, or not, is yet unknown."—Letter of Lieut. Withers to the Adjutant General, *House Ex. Doc. No.* 93, 34th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 15.

28 Sheridan gives an amusing account of a detachment of regulars and a detachment of volunteers mistaking each other for Indians on account of the dust.—Sheridan, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

9th. Marched 10 miles; expected a great battle. Saw some Indians. 300 camped at the mouth of the Canyon, had a fight. Some Indians scalped.

10th. (Saturday) Marched through the canon. Sent out a scout. Returned in the evening with 40 head of horses & 14 head of cattle and two scalps.

11th. 300 men left this morning to meet the volunteers of W. T. (Washington Territory) at the Nachees pass.[29] Travelled 18 miles and camped on the Yakima. Snowed all day. Wind cold and from the north.

12th. Snowing. Travelled 8 miles and camped. Captured some beef, 4 head. Snowing fast—horses.

13th. (Tuesday) Cold and snowing. Didn't see or find the volunteers. Returned to our old camp at the mission. Snow 8 or 10 inches deep. Very cold. One man sick. Lieut. Smith of Company D reached camp at night.

14th. Fair but cold. Lay in camp. Went to the mission and burned it.[30] Got turnips and cabbages.

15th. We took up our line of march for the Dalles. Sunshine but cold. 2 sick men, Smith and P—. Carried them on litters.

16th. (Friday) Marched to the Haller battleground. Encamped for the night. Found two cows and calves. Killed them for beef. Weather fine.

17th. We took up our line of march and travelled through the snow 12 miles and encamped in the mountains in the snow. Capt. Wilson arrived with provisions from the Dalles. The weather changeable. The regulars buried two of the men that were killed in battle.

18th. [Illegible. Ms. badly worn.]

19th. [Illegible. Ms. badly worn.]

20th. [Illegible. Ms. badly worn.]

21st. (Wednesday) Fair but cold. We had our arms inspected.

22nd. Fair but cold.

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29 According to an official record, quoted in [Evans], *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington*, Vol. I, p. 554, there were 168 men sent on this expedition.

30 While digging for potatoes in the mission garden some one discovered a half-keg of powder which had been buried. According to Sheridan this powder "had been buried in the garden by the good father to prevent the hostile Indians from getting it to use against the whites."—Sheridan, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64. The volunteers were so infuriated on discovering the powder, which they thought was evidence that the hostile Indians were being supplied from this source, that they destroyed the mission. In a letter to the Assistant Adjutant General of the army, dated at Fort Vancouver, Dec. 13, 1855, General Wool expressed his regret at the destruction of the Yakima mission by the volunteers. *House Ex. Doc. No.* 93, 34th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 15.

[December, 1855]

* * * * * *

9th. Left Fort Henrietta on the 9th and travelled all night. Arrived at Fort Bennett on the evening of the 10th in the heat of battle.

11th. Left fort in pursuit of the Indians, for Touchet, on 12th, turned back on 13th of Dec., lay in camp.

16th. Moved camp to Camp Curry. Very cold.

17th. Cold and Snowing.

19th. (Wednesday) Lay in camp. The weather was dark, cold and windy. This day we held an election for Colonel. The candidates were Cornelius and Laton[31] (?). Cornelius was elected by 60 majority.

20th. Cold. Gov. Stevens arrived from Blackfoot Country with 50 whites and 100 Nez Perces warriors with him. He made a speech to the boys. Had a regimental parade and fired salutes.[32]

21st. [Illegible. Ms. worn.]

22nd. [Illegible. Ms. worn.] Coldest day that I have ever seen in Oregon. 11 degrees below zero.

23rd. [Ms. illegible.]

24th. (Monday) Lay in camp. Weather clear but very cold. 27 degrees below zero at midnight.[33] Killed some pork for Christmas.

25th. Christmas day cold but clear. Gov. Stevens moved 6 miles up river. All in good health. Muck-a-muck scarce. hi-yu grumbling.

26th. Companies D and E moved camp 2 miles on a branch of Mill creek. Very cold and cloudy. Snowed at night.

27th. (Thursday) Lay in camp. Very cold and cloudy. No salt. Provisions scarce. Horses poor. Some wanting to go home.

28th. Lay in camp. Cold but clear. Caught some horses. Express from Fort Henrietta.

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31 Davis Layton was captain of Company H. He was probably the rival of Cornelius for the colonelcy.

32 Governor Stevens was accompanied by 50 white men: "Stevens Guards and Spokane Invincibles," and 69 Nez Perce volunteers.—Victor, *op. cit.*, pp. 451-52. Hazard Stevens, who was with his father on this expedition, writes as follows: "The valley was reached on the 20th. Major Chinn, commanding the volunteers, and other officers rode out to meet the governor, and, on reaching the volunteer camp, the troops, four hundred in number, paraded, and fired a volley in salute as the picturesque column marched past, the fifty sturdy, travel-stained whites in advance, followed by the hundred proud and flaunting braves, curveting their horses and uttering their war whoops. The volunteers then formed in hollow square, and the governor addressed them in a brief speech, complimenting them on their energy in pushing forward at that inclement season."—Hazard Stevens, *Life of General Isaac I. Stevens*, Vol. II, pp. 147-48. Governor Stevens, reporting to the War Department on Feb. 19, 1856, gave the number of Nez Perce warriors as 69. *Senate Ex. Doc. No.* 66, 34th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 6.

33 Hazard Stevens also gives temperature as 27 below zero.—*Op. cit.*, p. 150.

29th. Lay in camp. Clear but cold. Raised some caches of potatoes. Got some salt. Got some flour—half rations.

30th. (Sunday) Lay in camp. Fair but cold. The day was spent in sporting with wild horses and gambling.

31st. Lay in camp. Cold and cloudy. Snowed some. Drove in 400 horses. Had to let them go again. No flour in camp—nothing but beef.[34]

[January, 1856]

1st. (Tuesday) Lay in camp. Snowing. No provisions in camp but beef. Stevens started for the Dalles—Nez Perces home.

2nd. Lay in camp. Snowing. Express arrived from the Dalles with 3000 lbs. of flour.

3rd. Lay in camp. Cloudy but warmer. Some of the boys come from Henrietta.

4th. Lay in camp. Snow melting—rained some. Lieut. Myers and —— started for Henrietta.

5th. Lay in camp. Snow all gone, quite warm. 5 Indians seen. Farrar came up and camped.

6th. Moved camp today. 10 miles up Mill creek. Very pleasant.

7th. Lay in camp. Snowed at night. Party went to hunt stock, ——the Frenchman's camp.

8th. Lay in camp. Cloudy & rainy Co. B left for Henrietta. C. and G. to the Dalles. K to guard the French.[35]

9th. (Wed.) Lay in camp. Dark and raining. Boys scouting hills.

10th. Morning dark and cloudy. Boys went to hunt beef. Found none. Myers returned from the fort—halo grub. Capt. Hembree went on a scout to the Touchet.

11th. Lay in camp. Dark and foggy. Got 30 head of cattle from the Indian camp. D and E boys come from the fort.

12th. Lay in camp. The weather fine.

34 "The men had all they could do to keep the fires going and avoid freezing, and many of the horses in the volunteer camp were frozen to death. Although the ground was covered with snow, the animals found grass enough projecting above it, or by pawing it off, to avoid starvation. Herds of cattle, abandoned by the Indians in their flight, grazed within sight of camp, and were driven in and slaughtered as needed, and great flocks of prairie chickens roosted in the trees about camp, so there was no lack of food."—Hazard Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

35 Several Frenchmen were enlisted in Company K.

FREDERICK HOMER BALCH.

The subject of this sketch began life in the little town of Lebanon, Oregon, December 1861.

His mother, Harriet Snider, was a native of Indiana. Left an orphan at an early age she was taken into the home of Dr. and Mrs. Robert Crawford of Decatur County, Indiana, where she received the same loving care as their own children.

In 1848, Mr. and Mrs. Henry, the parents of Mrs. Crawford, took into their home an orphan girl, whose name was Mary Stephenson. She was the same age as Harriet and the girls soon became devoted friends.

In 1852, Dr. Crawford and family and Mr. and Mrs. Henry planned to cross the plains to Oregon. The guardian of Mary Stephenson forbade her going, much to the distress of all concerned, and especially of Mary, who knew no other home. When the day arrived for their departure, the latter part of March, 1852, Mary accompanied them to Madison, Indiana, where the families were to take passage on the steamer for St. Joe. Mary could not reconcile herself to the parting and begged Mr. and Mrs. Henry to take her with them, regardless of what her guardian might do. It was hard to resist her entreaties and they finally consented, and secured her necessary outfit at St. Joe. Mary's work on the way across was to do the cooking for Mr. and Mrs. Henry and drive the loose stock belonging to them. The work of Harriet Snider was driving the loose stock for Dr. Crawford, and thus the two girls were thrown together on their six months' journey across the plains. Their work required constant vigilance but was not especially hard after they became accustomed to the saddle, yet the dust was at times, almost unbearable.

Dr. Crawford was elected captain of the train, which became known as the jolliest crowd on the plains. The cause of such overflowing happiness is explained by the fact that there were about fifty young men, twenty-five young women, several pairs of "newly weds" on their honeymoon trip, a number of ministers with their families, and a large sprinkling of college graduates; and all from the same section of country in Indiana. Reverend Worth conducted a Bible class each evening, songs and games were indulged in, and lectures and readings were frequent. They had no trouble from Indians, but there were twenty-two deaths

from cholera. In June, Dr. Crawford's oldest son, Thomas, was dangerously sick with the disease; the family "laid by" and he recovered. The journey was ended in September, when Dr. Crawford and Mr. Henry located near Brownsville, in Linn County, Oregon.

The first act of Mary Stephenson was to write to her guardian, who, up to the time her letter was received, did not know that she had left Indiana. Young people quickly adapt themselves to new surroundings, and in 1853, Harriet Snider became the bride of young Mr. Gallagher, a pioneer of 1847, Mary Stephenson acting as bridesmaid. In November of the same year, Miss Stephenson married Z. F. Moody[1], a merchant of Brownsville. Mrs. Gallagher's happiness was short lived, for in less than two years she was left a widow, with a tiny daughter to claim her care and love. She later married Benson Helm, son of a well-known pioneer. Mr. and Mrs. Helm made their home at Lebanon and here a son was born to them and was given the name of William Benson Helm. Happiness once more brightened the path of the young mother when death again entered the home and snatched the husband from her side leaving her alone with the two children, Allie and Willie, to care for.

Sorrow left its indelible traces upon her, for she was often referred to at that time as "the women that never smiled." To support her children she took in boarders. Her foster brother, Thomas Crawford[2], came to Lebanon to attend school and to relieve her of the heavy work. With his help she solved the problem of supporting her children.

About this time, Milton Wright, her mother's kinsman, was sent as a missionary to Oregon. He had charge of the school started at Sublimity by the United Brethren Church and also of evangelistic work in Marion County. He visited her at Lebanon and did much to comfort her in her trouble and interest her in religious work. Milton Wright returned to the East in the fall of 1858, but the cousins continued to correspond and her interest in religious matters lasted throughout her life.

James A. Balch was born in Sullivan County, Indiana. He graduated at Wabash College and studied law but never applied for admission to the bar. He came to Oregon in 1851 and took up the work of teaching but did not confine himself solely to that

1 Z. F. Moody was governor of Oregon from September 13, 1882, to January 1, 1887.
2 Thomas Henry Crawford was among the earliest graduates of Willamette University. For many years he was a popular and well known educator of Oregon. He died in 1916.

occupation. In 1857, he was located in Silverton, Oregon, proprietor of a "Picture Gallery," where he made daguerreotypes, some of which are still in existence. While at Silverton he boarded with Mrs. P. L. Price who spoke of him as "a great lover of music and a melancholy man." From Silverton he moved his gallery to Brownsville which is near Lebanon. At the latter place he met, wooed and won Mrs. Helm and thus became the stepfather to Allie Gallagher and William Helm.

In the early part of December, 1861, a great flood covered the Willamette Valley, causing much destruction of property. On December 14, as the flood waters were receding, Frederick Homer arrived at the home of his parents, in Lebanon. A long and severe winter followed the flood and much suffering was experienced by the settlers.

With the early days of spring, the unrest and dissensions of the Civil War divided the sparsely settled country into factions. In 1864, James A. Balch enlisted in Company F of the 8th Regiment of the Oregon Volunteers, which was stationed on the frontier. The family remained at Lebanon, the children, Allie and Willie, attending school. Mr. Balch was discharged from service in 1866 and returned to his home.

Mrs. Balch was a constant sufferer from asthma, and a drier climate was thought best, so in 1871 the family moved to a farm near Goldendale in Washington. There were then four children, Gertrude being the baby. To the older children this trip was a delightful experience; down the beautiful Willamette and up the Columbia river, with its waterfalls hung like white ribbons from the mountain side. They were filled with amazement at the sight of the basalt columns of Cape Horn; St. Peter's Dome with its soft and varied colors of green and brown won their admiration, while Castle Rock seemed to them a veritable Giant's Castle. The six mile ride at the Cascades was their first railroad traveling. Then they seemed to have entered a larger world, where everything was on a grander scale, the mountains were higher, the skies more blue and farther away, the horses and cattle grazing on the mountain slopes seemed mere tiny specks in the distance, yet plainly outlined through the transparent atmosphere. To Fred, at least, the journey was a continuous panorama of beautiful scenes which became indelibly fixed upon his growing mind.

The work at the farm may have been laborious but it was healthful and invigorating and was entered into with zeal by the young people. There was a herd of black and white cattle, a large

barn where they were housed and fed, there were horseback rides looking after the cattle, there was planting time and the harvest when the great barn was filled for winter feeding, yet there was one time which was seldom infringed upon, the hours devoted to study. Mr. Balch was an excellent teacher and in lieu of school the children were taught by him at home.

In June, 1873, Herbert joined the family group at the farm near Goldendale and soon became the playmate and constant companion of his sister Gertrude. Allie developed a talent for music and received instruction on the guitar; she later married her music teacher and became Mrs. Richard Condon. William Benson Helm, the elder son, found work elsewhere, married, and founded a home of his own.

Mrs. Balch's health had become much improved, and in 1876 the family moved to a farm in Multnomah County, Oregon, about six miles east of Portland. Fred entered the public school at Mt. Tabor in September, 1876. This was the only school he ever attended. He fitted into the seventh grade work with pupils of his own age. In appearance he was taller than his classmates, slightly stooped, with hands and feet too large for his body. No one would have called him handsome, yet his eyes were clear and steady and sparkled when talking on a subject in which he was interested. He had a lively sense of humor and enjoyed a joke, whether the joke was on himself or on the other party. He was gentlemanly in manners, talked easily, using language free from slang or grammatical errors. To the principal, in their daily walks over Mt. Tabor, to and from school, he spoke freely of his hopes and ambitions for the future, for he was firmly convinced that his life work was to be a writer. His father was working on an invention which Fred fondly hoped would solve their financial difficulties and enable him to have all the books he wanted. He always carried a book in his pocket, and utilized every moment. The book was not about school work nor an amusing story, but the work of some standard author. At the time he was in school, he had read Milton's *Paradise Lost,* Scott's *Lady of the Lake,* some of Shakespeare's plays, some of Macaulay's writings and poems by Longfellow, Bryant, Burns and Moore. He frequently asked advice from the principal about profitable books for him to read and one time inquired what I thought of the merits of David Copperfield, and where it could be obtained.

In his diary written about this time, we read these lines: "To make Oregon as famous as Scott made Scotland; to make the

Cascades as widely known as the Highlands; to make the splendid scenery of the Willamette a back ground for romance full of passion and grandeur, grow more and more into the one cherished ambition of my life."

Much as he loved reading he did not neglect his school work, but he did neglect to take part in the play on the school ground; his schoolmates would call, "Come on Fred, we need you to make the game." He would slip the book in his pocket and go reluctantly to help them out, coming back to his reading at the first opportunity.

He stood high, both in deportment and scholarship in the principal's room where all his study was done and all his recitations except mental arithmetic and grammar were given. As assistant in the school those classes recited to me. In mental arithmetic Fred was perfect, in grammar it was very different. We were using Clark's text book and many diagrams were required; he understood how the work was to be done but considered it a waste of time, and neglected it. I talked with him to find out the trouble, and inquired, "Do you like grammer?" His answer was, "I despise it." I tried to make the study interesting but the weeks slipped by and I saw no improvement in his work. One day when I was trying to impress upon the class the importance of some point, I saw Fred very busy reading from a history, I stopped abruptly and said, "Fred, why do you cheat yourself?" He looked up in confusion, but made no reply. I repeated, "You are cheating yourself and no one else when you take time from the recitation to study something else, why do you do it?" His answer was, "I have no use for grammar." I continued, "You may think so now, but when you are older you will know better, and regret your wasted time, especially if you should ever write for publication." There was a change in the expression on his face, and I was sure that at last I had touched a responsive chord. He closed the book, laid it on the desk in front of him and gave attention to the work in hand, and never again was there any cause for reproof.

He enjoyed the work of committing his thoughts to paper, and unsolicited, handed short articles of prose or poetry of his own composition to the principal for his criticism or approval. He wrote too rapidly to pay any attention to his penmanship, which sometimes became a scrawl. School closed in March, 1877,

and a few months later the family moved back to Eastern Washington where the interesting young student passed from our knowledge, to study the semi-barbarous Indian in his native wilds.

Nine years later when we were living on a farm in Hood River Valley, we passed a pine tree, on which a notice was posted. It read, "Rev. F. H. Balch will lecture in the Hood River School House on the Geology of Eastern Oregon." It did not occur to us that the Rev. F. H. Balch was anyone we knew, and we did not attend the lecture.

The next day a neighbor called, and said, "You missed a great treat in not hearing the lecture. Mr. Balch told us about the geological specimens found by Professor Condon in Eastern Oregon and gave us a lot of information on the geology of this country. He is a good speaker, tall, fine looking, and about forty years old, is a Congregational minister and I think a graduate of some eastern college."

The next day I saw a man approaching the house, there was something familiar in his appearance, but when I met him at the door I failed to recognize anyone I knew, and directed him to Mr. Coon at work in the garden. They returned in a few minutes; but instead of an introduction Mr. Coon said, "So you refuse to recognize your old pupil?" I was puzzled and turned towards the visitor, who said, "I can't understand how you can forget anyone as homely as I am." There was a twinkle in his eyes which I recognized as belonging to the boy, Fred Balch, and thus we renewed the acquaintance of former years, and I learned that Fred, now a minister of the Congregational Church, was in Hood River to organize a church, and if successful to move to Hood River as the pastor.

At the earliest opportunity, after this first conversation, he said to me: "I have something to say to you, something that I have wanted to say for years and feared I should never have the chance. I want to apologize, to ask your forgiveness for the trouble I made you in school." I did not know what he referred to, and said, "I do not understand." "Surely," he exclaimed, "You remember my impudence in the grammar class, when I told you I had no use for grammar!" I recalled the incident and said, "Yes, I remember, but I never thought that you meant to be impudent." "But I was impudent," he said, "and should have been punished." I replied, "If that is the way you feel, I think you have had your punishment already." "Yes," he said, "I have been punished; every time I had to go to my school books for infor-

mation I thought of you and your words, and wondered how young people could be so foolish as to waste their time as I did."

In this incident he revealed a conscience so exacting that the man was impelled to make amends for the mistakes of the boy; he also disclosed courage and humility, traits characteristic of true greatness.

Before speaking of his work in Hood River we must review the nine preceding years which he passed in Klickitat County. For three years the family made their home in Goldendale, which, about that time, became the county seat. Mr. Balch was elected to the office of County Judge and served one term. There is no record of any work done by Fred during these years, but, as he put in his spare time near Mt. Tabor, in plowing and working for his neighbors, so he doubtless found similar work in Goldendale; and he probably found many books in the town that he could borrow, and thus add to his store of knowledge. He was a lover of Nature and must have enjoyed the view of Mt. Adams, as seen from this point. There were also many Indians here whose queer customs, superstitious beliefs and degraded living conditions gave him material for much thought. In the summer of 1880 Gertrude entered the school at Goldendale. She was then nearly eleven years old and this was her first school. That fall they moved to a farm near Lyle, and she entered the school there, and in a contest in spelling, given about a week later, spelled down the entire school, including some young men twenty-one years of age. The school room was crowded with visitors, the County Superintendent from Goldendale being among those who witnessed her triumph.

Not far from the Balch farm, Mr. Jesse Snider, (Mrs. Balch's brother) had located with his family, Mrs. Richard Condon, with her husband and children was also living in this neighborhood, so that this move was in the nature of a home gathering.

The land selected for the new farm was on a gentle slope overlooking the Columbia river, with an altitude of about seven hundred feet above sea level. Memaloose Island with its bleaching bones and ghastly relics lay in midstream before them. From the south shore line of the Columbia river, the hills rose, tier on tier, in a westward climb to the summit of the Cascade range, where Mt. Hood towered above all. It was an inspiring view, especially when the varying shades of light, at sunrise or sunset, gave color to the scene, and painted a picture beyond the power of man to imitate.

The house built for the new home was near the road, quite unpretentious but marked from afar by two poplar trees near the gate. In this home Fred began writing on his book, Wallulah.

Joining the farm on the west was a tract of land owned and occupied by Indians, descendants of a common ancestor, a mighty chief. Of this ancestor they never tired of talking, rehearsing deeds of valor, legends and myths. With the degradation of Indian life before him at every turn, with their latent possibilities undeveloped, it is easy to understand the appeal made to his mind as he wrote his book, weaving romance, war and religion into the story. This work was done by snatches in the day time, but he worked long hours at night, infringing upon his sleep. At last it was finished and he showed it to his friends, who gave it unstinted praise for its literary merit, but there were some, among them his mother, who dissented to the atheistic doctrines inculcated.

The extensive reading of the author had brought to him many phases of different religions, and now that his ideas were questioned, he began a thorough investigation. He read more books; studied the question from every angle; talked with laymen and ministers, read the Bible and prayed and became convinced that he was wrong.

Like St. Paul, he turned about to right the wrong he had committed; the book Wallulah was burned; he made public confession of his conversion to Christianity at a church service held in the neighborhood school house. He became an earnest lay worker, giving his time and best efforts unstintingly; he also united with the Congregational Church which was organized about that time.

There was no building for church services in the community. Rev. Whitcomb donated an acre of his land for a church site. The Congregational Missionary Association contributed a fund and took charge of the work, while those of the neighborhood, who desired, helped with donations of lumber, labor, etc. In this latter class F. H. Balch was active and efficient.

When the building was completed, there was no minister to fill the pulpit, but being solicited he accepted the work, believing it to be his duty, he also occasionally filled the pulpit at White Salmon. He had felt the call to preach and was preparing himself by study for the work, for there was no opportunity for him to attend a school of theology, neither did he have the leisure to

devote his daylight hours to the necessary study. His father's health had gradually failed and the farm work and responsibility of supporting the family came upon the son, added to this the farm crops failed, then in 1882 he secured work in Oregon on the railroad then under construction. Crossing the Columbia river in a small boat every morning, he worked ten hours a day, returning he spent his evenings in study. Thus he prepared himself for his work, and in due time was ordained a minister. Also, troubles weighed upon him, a dear friend passed away, and he was called upon to conduct the funeral service, there was no one to take his place and he bravely went through the ordeal, only saying, "It was the hardest thing I ever did." Then his father, away on a business trip, came back sick; the money he had collected was missing, and his mind a blank. He lived a number of years, but never recovered. His oldest sister, Mrs. Condon, became ill, she suffered nearly two years and then passed away on September 25, 1885, leaving her husband and two small children, the youngest child, Edna, was taken by Mrs. Balch, and cared for.

In the spring of 1886 Mr. Balch came to Hood River, as has already been stated. A Congregational Church was organized there, and the family moved to their new surroundings. The church services were held in the Barrett school house, on Sunday and on week days Gertrude, Herbert and Edna were pupils in the day school, where T. R. Coon, (formerly of Mt. Tabor) was teacher.

In 1887, a building capable of seating two hundred people was erected for the church, a pulpit built by "Father Hodge", who was over ninety years of age was presented to Mr. Balch and placed in the building. The growth of the church was encouraging from the first. Mr. Balch never read his sermons, neither did he make any attempt at fine speaking. His language was plain, simple and easily understood. His voice seldom rose above a conversational tone, but he always had a message to deliver and made it clear and convincing. His sincere earnestness won the confidence of his audience and made him many friends.

As soon as he had become settled in his work in Hood River, he began writing a book, which was usually spoken of as, "Cecil Gray, the missionary," but later known as, "The Bridge of the Gods." When it was finished he looked among his friends for a censor, Mrs. Barrett was chosen by him and accepted the task, and to her he dedicated his book. She was a woman of mature

years, and well versed in literature. Together they went through the book, making minor changes at her suggestion. He copied his manuscript by hand (for typewriters were not then in general use) and sent it to a publisher. It came back promptly, it went forth the second time, and returned. How many times this was repeated I do not know, I only know that the author despaired of its publication and was surprised when it was taken up by McClurg & Co., of Chicago. The first edition appeared in October, 1890; since then twenty-five editions have been issued and the end is not yet. "The Bridge of the Gods" has been used in many of the High Schools as a reference book, being remarkable for its purity of style. In 1911 it was dramatized by Mabel Ferris, and was shown in many of the leading cities of the United States.

Interest and attendance in the church showed a steady growth during the entire pastorate of Mr. Balch. In June, 1887, Milton Wright,[3] then known as "Bishop" Wright, visited Mrs. Balch and family at Hood River. He had never met any of the Balch children, and was much pleased with the work of Frederick Homer. In the late summer of 1889, the many friends of Mr. Balch learned with regret, that he had been granted a leave of absence of two years, to enable him to attend the Pacific Theological Seminary at Oakland, California. In reply to the many protests, he said, "I am sure it is for the best, the people of Hood River have been very kind to me, and made allowance for me because I was young. I will be twenty-eight on my next birthday, and now that I have the opportunity I must make the most of it. It only requires two years, and if you still want me here, I can come and serve you better than I could if I did not go." A few days later he said good-bye and another minister came to fill his place.

In the summer of 1890 he came back for a short vacation; was in good health and very cheerful, and said, "I will soon be back to stay."

In April, 1891, he returned, unexpectedly. He was sick, though able to walk about. A few days later, he and his mother went on a visit to relatives near their old home at Lyle. A sudden change for the worse came and mother and son went to Portland where he entered the Good Samaritan Hospital. Many friends called to see him, among them the Crawfords of Brownsville, who sought to bring comfort and cheer to the afflicted ones. He died June 3, 1891.

3 Later in life Bishop Wright was known as the "Father of the aviators, Orville and Wilbur Wright."

Rev T. L. Eliot in speaking of him said, "He was in his last hours, as always, grateful for the tenderness of his friends and full of love for all mankind." His body was buried by the side of his sister, in the Lyle cemetery, not far from his former home, and near the Pine Hill Church where he had first wrought in the ministry.

His mother never returned to Hood River, being seized with a serious illness soon after the funeral. She passed away and was laid to rest beside the son within a month from the date of his death.

At the time of his death he left one book, practically complete, and five others, outlined and partly filled in, also a number of poems, none of which have been published.

The congregation organized by Mr. Balch in Hood River Valley dwindled away, "like sheep without a shepherd," and in 1894 was disbanded, the remnant uniting with the Riverside Church in the town, the building was sold to another denomination and the pulpit presented to the Union Church of Odell.

The church at Pine Hill found no leader to carry on the work and was sold to the school district for a school house.

Years passed and the author slept in an unmarked grave. On September 24, 1908, friends from Goldendale, White Salmon and Hood River, with former neighbors living in the vicinity, and pupils from the Pine Hill School, joined withThe Dalles Historical Association in memorial exercises for Frederic Homer Balch. A granite stone in its natural state had been procured and set on a concrete base by the neighbors, a stone cutter had chiseled this inscription:

BALCH

1861 · 1891

Bridge of the Gods

Exercises were held at the school house with Mrs. Elizabeth Lord, president of The Dalles Historical Association, in charge. Reminiscences were given by friends. Mrs. Donnell, who crossed the plains in Dr. Crawford's party spoke of the lovable character of Harriett Snider. Mrs. Z. F. Moody, unable to be present, sent a message. Mrs. Jewett, of White Salmon, told of the hardships endured by the young minister in early days. The school children contributed their share, in songs and readings. "What the Zither

Said," a poem written by Mr. Balch, was read by Miss Campbell; a few lines of which are given below:

O strong the words the zither said,
But weak the human heart!
Ah, me! I hunger for my dead
With pain beyond the zither's art;

The zither sings a song divine,
Of purpose grand and high;
I see a grave beneath the pine
The river flowing by.

I see the reach of weary years,
Of burdens bitter to be borne;
Of deathless memories stained with tears
O Zither, can I cease to mourn?

Lucile Armstrong read "The Hills of Lyle," written by T. R. Coon, former teacher of Mr. Balch, two stanzas of which I quote:

Here Balch's spirit bowed in prayer
Mid nature's charms and heaven's smile,
And sang of Genevieve the fair,
No more with him in life to share
Earth's joys among the hills of Lyle.

And here the mound of earth is shown
And granite rock to mark awhile
The poet's ashes neath the stone,
He bore the cross but not the crown
Among the sacred hills of Lyle.

After a few words of appreciation of the work of Mr. Balch from Rev. Gilmore of Hood River, the name of "Balch School" was conferred upon the building as a memorial of the work done there by him.

Adjourning to the cemetery, Rev. J. L. Hershner gave a short talk and offered prayer. Mrs. J. W .Ingalls thanked the assemblage for their kind appreciation of her brother's efforts, while the school children covered the grave with flowers.

DELIA M. COON

IDAHO PIONEER OF 1864*

It is not my intention to tell you any blood curdling stories that happened, or are said to have happened in the days of Idaho's history. Too much has already been written that in a way has stained the early reputation of the state.

The country was new, wild and promising. Those conditions could not help but attract some of that part of humanity who delight in recklessness, chance and crime, and occasionally tragic events happened that have furnished material for the stories associated with the early days of Idaho but the rank and file of the people have always been such as had the highest regard for law and order and whose ideal was to see the state the magnificent commonwealth she is today.

Our party came into Idaho 59 years ago last September, by the old '49 emigrant road, somewhere near where the town of Soda Springs is today.

The day we crossed over from Wyoming was bleak and windy, the country desolate and drear and Idaho did not suggest to me the seat of comfort as its outlines on the map might suggest. The Fort Hall Reservation had been opened a few months before but was not proving popular with the Indians as they were not at this time accustomed to any of the restrictions of civilization.

The only Indian scare we had after entering the Territory was on Big Camas Prairie and we prepared for an attack which did not come. Breast works and defenses were thrown up that were still standing a few years ago.

The first part of Idaho that we saw, like that we had been passing over since leaving the Rockies, was barren and monotonous—sage brush, alkali dust, all sorts of creeping things and millions of crickets. These crickets were very unlike the old hearth stone cricket. They were much larger, the general size being nearly as large as a half grown mouse, with legs fully an

*The writer of this article is spoken of as a perfectly wonderful old lady. In her eighty-second year she is living in Moscow, Idaho, where the University atmosphere keeps her mind alert. She comes from pioneer stock, whose generations witnessed the progress of the frontier from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Her maternal grandfather, Jacob Johnson, crossed the mountains from Virginia to Kentucky with Daniel Boone and settled on Mound Farm, near Mount Sterling. The old log house still stands. Her father, George Washington Call, settled first at Greencastle, Indiana, and then moved to Chillicothe, Missouri. In the meantime his daughter, Frances A. Call, had been attending school at the older home in Mount Sterling, Kentucky. In 1864 she was a member of the emigrant train as told in these reminiscences. A year after arriving in Idaho she became the bride of James Davis Agnew, who had come to the Coast in 1850. These facts were obtained from Mrs. Agnew's daughter, Mrs. R. Hodgins, of Moscow, Idaho.—EDITOR.

inch and a half long. The Indians were said to be fond of eating them. If so, food was certainly plentiful. When the tents were pitched at night it was necessary to drive out these intruders before the beds could be spread. When morning came it would reveal them on every article. We learned to not fear them and for many days ate and slept with them.

The party numbering about 250 people with 150 wagons arrived at the top of the bluff overlooking Boise Valley, seven miles from the City late in September, 1864. Spontaneous shouts of joy went up from every throat as we looked down upon the first signs of civilization we had seen since leaving the little towns on the Kansas border and prayers of thankfulness were breathed that the long six months journey with its many dangers and privations was over at last, and into my mind came a vision of Moses, from Nebo's lonely mountain looking down into the promised land.

The picture was most beautiful and peaceful. The river flowed on and on until it lost itself in the distance. Here and there were little farm cabins with small fields of grain harvested and in the shock and gardens of vegetables and melons. We could hear the crowing of the fowls and the barking of the dogs, all reminding us of the homes we had left miles beyond the Rockies.

We crossed the river on rafts and proceeded toward Boise. As we passed down the valley the farmers loaded our wagons with farm produce. One thing that we saw at this time was a Bannock Indian village. Little Pappooses were wallowing in the dust outside the tepees. Older children clad in paint and feathers were at play. It was the first time that we had an opportunity of seeing Indians without experiencing fear.

Five miles from Boise we passed the celebrated hot springs that now supply the water for the magnificent Natatorium and give Boise the unique privilege of heating her homes with natural hot water.

The first house or cabin was built in 1863 and Boise boasted of but one street when we arrived. The permanent population did not number more than 300 people, but as it was a shipping point for all the surrounding mines, it was a very lively and rushing little town, with people coming and going constantly.

The business interests consisted mostly of the liquor traffic. It seemed to me that over the front entrance of every other building one could read the word saloon. The eating houses and restaurants came next in number and even these usually had a bar near the door.

There were feed stables with corrals at the back, blacksmith shops, few dry goods stores, two drug stores and one hotel called "The Stage House" on account of its having been a stage station in 1862 and 63. "The Overland," that famous hostelry, was just being built. There was also a saw mill and a flour mill.

The Statesman Printing Co. was publishing a tri-weekly paper of four pages, that was 18 inches long and 12 inches wide. This was the first paper published in Idaho. Doctors of fine skill and ability were there. Also as brilliant legal talent as you would find anywhere in the world.

Evidently the people's thoughts were not yet on spiritual things for there were no churches and no ministers. The next year the Baptists erected a little church at the lower end of Main Street. A year later the Episcopalians held their first services in a little adobe cabin on the corner of 8th and Idaho. I was one of the four ladies who made up the congregation. The next year the Methodists came and other denominations followed.

In 1862, the post had been moved from Old Fort Boise, farther down the river, and placed one mile north of town. There was a Catholic church there presided over by a jovial, roly poly, little priest. This church was afterwards burned.

The first houses were built mostly of adobe, logs or boards, the doors of which opened on the street with the proverbial latch string hanging down. Dry goods boxes were at a premium as most of the furniture, in the way of cupboards, dressers and wardrobes, were made of them.

The nearest railroad was at Atcheson, Kansas, and all goods had to be freighted in from there, or from The Dalles, Oregon. This was done by pack trains of mules, or in freight wagons. We had four daily mails coming from different directions. That from the east came in on the long to be remembered Overland Concord Coach. This coach carried from 8 to 10 passengers and had a front and a back boot. It was an interesting sight to see this equipage rolling into town, the driver in his seat over the front boot holding the reins of six spirited horses, while a Wells Fargo man with a revolver on each hip and a shot gun in his arms, rode by the side of the driver. All the wealth was carried in and out of the country in this way. It was not an unusual occurence for highwaymen to hold up a coach and relieve the passengers of their money and valuables as well as seizing the express box. I remember that at one time the highwaymen got a prize of over a hundred thousand dollars worth of gold from this box.

The people of our train were the first emigrants to arrive from the east, those people that were there having come from California and Oregon, or if from the east had sailed around the horn and would have been insulted had you called them emigrants. Nevertheless some of the wealthiest and most influential citizens Idaho has ever known have been of and are descendants of the emigrants.

We landed with little money and most of our stock had died enroute. Many of our people were living in dugouts in the foothills. The winter of '64, which was the hardest that Boise has ever known was coming on. Food, clothing and fuel were selling at prices that would seem fabulous now, for instance, flour was selling at a dollar per pound and eggs at $6.00 a dozen. Things looked very doleful indeed for the emigrants. Word was sent out into the mining districts of their need and plight and when help came it was a bountiful help for it numbered thousands of dollars for distribution.

The quartz mines were located at Silver City, Rocky Bar and Atlanta. The placer mines were in Boise Basin, the metropolis of which was Idaho City. I spent the year of '65 in this place, then a full fledged mining camp of two years growth and have seen as many as ten thousand people on its streets, at the end of the week, when the miners would come in, with their bags of gold dust and nuggets to buy supplies. The people and the town showed all the characteristics of the race for gold. One not only met graduates from the best colleges, but title men of Europe, handling the pick and shovel. Many of the houses gave the appearance of being up on stilts, ten or twelve feet high, while under and all around them, the earth was being dissolved and worn away by hydraulic mining.

The town had been destroyed by fire in 1864 and, in less than 24 hours, business was resumed, in tents, shacks, and street-stands. No restrictions seemed to be placed on one's privilege to make money; consequently, the forms and methods of business were very varied. The street-peddler, with his tray, or bags, of merchandise, was a common sight on the streets. Hotels, restaurants, as well as gambling dens and dancing halls, were open day and night, and were patronized by almost every nationality in the world. Two theater companies did a paying business. One of these companies had as leading lady a well-known actress by the name of Julia Dean Hains, who proved to be as general a favorite in the West as she had been in the East. A little later than the

time of which I write Brigham Young induced her to go to Salt Lake City to play in his new theater which he named Julia Dean in her honor. The other theater attraction was the famous Sue Robinson Company. This lady, Sue Robinson Getsler, was an actress of unusual ability and a woman of noble and beautiful character. From San Francisco to Victoria, British Columbia, her name called forth expressions of admiration, and there are few pioneers to whom it does not bring memories of many happy hours of entertainment.

Lack of conventionalities was everywhere evident, and one could see vice and wickedness if they wished to find them; but truth and morality were there, also, and a good woman's honor would have been defended, even to death's door. No call for assistance for the sick or needy ever failed to receive a generous response. Gold-dust, nuggets and greenbacks were the medium of exchange; and nothing less than twenty-five cents was given in the way of change. Greenbacks were far below par, being worth only twenty-five cents on the dollar. One eccentric gentleman, whom I knew, and who also had more rum in his stomach than brains in his head, used over fifty dollars' worth of these greenbacks as wads for his gun.

I feel that this paper would not be complete without a word about the cowboy, a character that only in exceptional cases was a desperado, although always fun-loving with a dash of wildness in it. More than once we have been awakened at night by the rush of horses' feet, the shouts of men and the firing of pistols, only to find out when our fear and trembling had subsided, that it was only some cowboys having a little fun at the expense of the sleeping town. No harm ever resulted from these escapades. In his fantastic make-up of high heel boots, spurs with large rowels, chaperoes, sombrero, and gaily colored bandanas, he was a familiar feature of the streets of Boise.

These days of freedom and romance have passed and gone, as have most of the dear people of '64, and over the land of sagebrush and bunch grass reign civilization and prosperity. I join with you in asking God's protection for our well-beloved Idaho, and you join with me in asking His blessings for the emigrants of '64, for they blazed the trail for you and those to come.

MRS. JAMES D. AGNEW.

REMINISCENCES OF DELIA B. SHEFFIELD

The following reminiscences of Delia B. Sheffield were furnished by her daughter, Caroline Hathaway Cook, for many years connected with the Spokane Public Library. Of these reminiscences Mrs. Cook has written:

"During my many years of library work and a special review of the history of the Northwest, I have been able to form a rather correct conception of the pulse of the reading public, and I feel it not only a privilege but a duty to bequeath to others interested in this great empire a few facts and incidents bearing on its pioneer life.

"My father, Sergeant D. G. Sheffield, with his bride, was a member of the memorable and heroic body of pioneers which constituted so large a factor in the civilizing forces of the Pacific Coast and, for a year, he was in constant touch with Captain U. S. Grant, and other young army officers who became national figures during the Civil War.

"Knowing my love of history and my familiarity with those times and my later acquaintance with some of the fellow workers of her young womanhood, my mother confided to my keeping the following recital of her hazardous trip and experiences to be presented to the chroniclers of history and lovers of justice, realizing that there is no justice so tempered with mercy as that of the pioneer.

"I am not only pleased to add these facts to the history of the Pacific but glad to pay tribute to the great men then forming the nucleus of a settlement which has grown and spread into the greatest and most majestic portion of America, and it is with supreme pride that I point to the fact that General Grant was 'The Noblest Roman of Them All,' and that he was not only loved in those early days, but a feeling akin to veneration clung to his memory far into my own life and time."

To these reminiscences I have added a few notes in confirmation and explanation of various points.

WILLIAM S. LEWIS.

REMINISCENCES OF DELIA B. SHEFFIELD

Fifty years ago a journey of three thousand miles was not to be taken with the ease and comfort that such a trip would be today, in Pullman sleepers, dining cars, and with electric lights, steam heat and all the other inventions of the age; but at sixteen, dangers are neither weighed, nor feared, and journeys to places or countries, ever so remote, are merely youth's opportunity for gratifying its eager desire for knowledge and novelty. So when, a bride of sixteen, I was confronted with the choice of enduring my husband's absence for a year, or a journey to Fort Vancouver, then in Oregon Territory, I was "wild to go" as girls say. My husband, Sergeant D. G. Sheffield, wished me to remain in the east, until his return at the end of a year, but a year of separation seemed an eternity to me then, and besides I wanted to see the wonderful West, of which we had heard so much.

We had been married in 1851, and my husband, a member of Company H, 4th U. S. Infantry, had to serve until 1853 to complete his term of enlistment. His company was stationed at Plattsburg, New York, and in 1852, when the 4th Infantry received orders to go to Fort Vancouver, Oregon Territory, and relieve the troops stationed there, we traveled by boat from Plattsburg to Governors Island, in New York bay, where, on July 5, 1852,[1] eight companies of the 4th Infantry, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Benjamin Bonneville, embarked on the steamship *Ohio,* for Aspinwall on the Isthmus of Panama.

How little did we realize what awaited us on this journey! Had we known a tithe of the perils of the trip and that nearly one-half of the brave fellows, who took ship with us, with such pleasant anticipations and high hopes, would not live to reach their journey's end, we would have shrunk in horror for the embarkation.

On the contrary, we started in high spirits, anticipating a pleasant journey, novel scenes and experiences, a year's sojourn in a new and interesting country, having a delightful climate, of which we had heard much, and a safe return at the end of that time, but alas!

1 "In the month of April the regiment assembled at Governor's Island, New York Harbor, and on the 5th of July eight companies sailed for Aspinwall."—*Personal Memoirs U. S. Grant,* (New York, Chas. L. Webster & Co., 1885), Vol. I, p. 194.

"L' Homme proposes,
Et Dieu dispose."

There were about seven hundred passengers[2] aboard the ship, including the families of the officers and men. We were much crowded and some of the women had to occupy what were called the 2nd cabins. This crowding was due to the fact that when the war department decided to send the 4th Infantry on the *Ohio* the owners of the ship had already booked a number of passengers, many of whom were anxious to reach that Mecca of the gold-seekers, California, as soon as possible, and refused to give up their tickets.[3]

The weather was delightful during the voyage from New York to Aspinwall, which we reached on July 13th, 1852. On the voyage out we were very pleasantly entertained each evening by the concerts given by the 4th Infantry band. We also had dancing and card playing and during the day we engaged in fishing; watched the whales that followed the ship, and speculated as to the date of our arrival on the Isthmus and the adventures that awaited us on the journey's end, in the new country to which we were bound.

During an eight days trip, in the month of July, on a crowded vessel, voyaging from a temperate to a torrid zone, cramped for room and exercise, any little trifling incident was of great interest and amusement to us all.

Lieut.-Colonel Bonneville, the Commandant of the 4th Infantry, was in the habit of pacing the deck, cane in hand, during the greater part of the day. He was a small man and wore a large, white, beaver stiff hat, which the men would never tire of joking him about. As he walked around the deck you would hear a voice call, "Where did you get that hat?" The Colonel would plant his cane firmly in front of him and look around in great displeasure to find the culprit, not seeing him, he would again resume his march, when from some other quarter would again come the cry, "Where did you get that hat?"

In spite of all their joking, the Colonel wore his white hat on the entire trip to Vancouver, and did not discard it after his arrival.

Col. Bonneville, although a most gallant and experienced officer, was of a somewhat arbitrary and testy temper, and the

2 "We numbered a little over seven hundred persons, including the families of officers and soldiers."—*Grant's Memoirs*, I, p. 104.
3 *Grant's Memoirs*, I, p. 194.

few little unpleasantnesses resulting from his crustiness, were always smoothed over by the quartermaster of the regiment, their captain, and later General and President Ulysses S. Grant.

I recall vividly the occasion on which I first met Captain Grant. One day as I was sitting on the deck, watching some of the men engaged in fishing, I noticed an officer walking back and forth, with his head bent, as if in deep thought. Presently he came and stood by me and said,

"Have you noticed the number of whales following us this morning? Look at that big one spouting."

"Yes," I said, "I have been watching it for some time."

"Are you Lieut. Scott of Captain Wallen's company?" I asked him.

"No," he replied, "I am Captain Grant. Is this your first trip on the ocean?"

I told him I had crossed the Atlantic twice, with my father, when I was a child.

"It seems to me you are very young to have traveled so far. Are you going to Oregon with your parents?"

"No," I said, "I am going with my husband."

"What, are you married!" he exclaimed, "why, you ought to be under your mother's care, sleeping in your trundle-bed."

Captain Grant was then, as in later years an incessant smoker and very taciturn, thoughtful and serious, though affable in manner, and during every day and the early part of each night, of the voyage, I would see him pacing the deck and smoking, silent and solitary.

When we reached Aspinwall on the 13th of July, it was the middle of the rainy season and on most of the streets there was a foot or more of water, and planks raised on stakes took the place of pavements. The weather alternated between brief and heavy showers and bursts of tropical sunshine, and the climate was at that time the worst I had ever known. Fortunately our stay there was a brief one, and very soon after landing, the officers' families and a few of the officers took the train for the Chagres river, as the railroad was then built only to where it now crosses the Chagres. From that point we were carried up the river to Gorgona in boats poled by natives, of whom it might be said as of Gunga Din, that

> The uniform 'e wore,
> Was nothin' much before
> An' rather less than 'alf o' that be'ind."

As the Chagres river has a strong and swift current this mode of traveling was necessarily slow, and it took us all of the rest of the day to reach the night anchorage for the boats. The native boatmen then left us to spend the night most uncomfortably in the boats, which were tied to the bank, while they went up to a little village, on the high bank above us and judging from the noises, they caroused all night in the village while we sat in shivering terror in the boats, kept awake by their shouting and fearing an attack from the drunken barbarians.

At last the long night came to an end, and at sunrise the boatmen returned and we resumed our journey. Shortly after we started the hindmost boat tried to pass the leading one, and this caused a wrangle between the crews of the boats, which greatly frightened the women and children of the party. The natives drew their knives and some of them had sprung into the water and were making for each other, when the officers who were in our party, drew their swords and ordered the natives to put up their knives and return to the boats, which they did reluctantly. When peace had been restored, we continued our journey and about 9 A.M. we reached Gorgona, from which place we were to journey to Panama on mules.

We stayed in Gorgona over night; the contractor, who was to supply mules at this place had not arrived with them. We were sadly in need of rest, having had no sleep during the previous night, and were worn out from fatigue and lack of food. There was a rather large and very comfortable hotel at Gorgona, whose Scotch proprietor furnished us with good meals and comfortable beds.

Captain Grant, as quartermaster took charge[4] of our transportation, and in his quiet unassuming manner seemed to provide for everyone and we all had the highest praise for him.

The next morning, while we were waiting for the mules which were to carry us to Panama, we saw a native climbing a ladder to the roof of a church that stood opposite the hotel. He carried a good sized rock in his hand; in amazement we watched him and to our astonishment he began pounding the bell with the rock. It was a signal for the mules to be brought, and the order was given for us to get ready for our ride. Many of the ladies were unaccustomed to riding and as all were compelled to ride astride and many of the mules were fractious, it was amusing to watch the start.

4 For Grant's account see *Grant's Memoirs*, I. pp. 195-198.

One of the ladies, a Mrs. Keeley, was the first to mount and as she weighed a little more than 200 pounds, it was a matter of some difficulty for her to get properly settled aboard the mule. She sat up with the cool assurance of an old cavalryman, but, when the mule kicked up his heels, and tearing away from the native who held him, dashed down the train at a gallop, poor Mrs. Keeley seized the mule around the neck and screamed for help at the top of her voice. However, the native soon caught the mule and led him carefully thereafter. There was much joking at the horsemanship, or rather the lack of it, on the part of the ladies, but as each native led two mules, we reached Panama without any serious mishap after a tedious and dusty ride over a rough trail, which in places was only wide enough for a single mule to travel; over rocks and mountains, almost impassable, and all expecting at times to be thrown over the mule's head.

About the middle of the afternoon we came to a spring of beautifully clear water, which looked very tempting after such a dusty ride, but we were warned not to drink any of it because of the unwholesomeness of the water. Here we overtook Captain Wallin's seven year old son, Harry, who had been carried this far on the shoulders of a native. Poor Harry had become frightened at the strange looks and language of the native, and the wicked looking knives they carried, and when we overtook him, he was crying and trying to make his bearer understand that he wanted to wait until our own party arrived. My husband took Harry on his mule and carried him into Panama.

About three o'clock we met Captain Grant and a band of natives, who had guided a party over in the early morning. The Captain warned us against drinking any of the water from springs along the trail as he said it would cause fever. He told us the natives were going to help transport the soldiers and their families to Gorgona, and for us to wait there until he could make arrangements for transportation.

The department had arranged with the steamship company for the transporting of the troops across the isthmus, but on our arrival, we found the agent had not complied with his instructions and there were not mules enough to take the baggage and supplies over.

About dusk, "when shadows are beginning to lengthen," we came to a small native village and as we entered it a tall native came out of one of the huts, and seizing the bridle of my mule

started to lead it towards his hut. I screamed in fright, and my husband, who was not far behind me came running up and drove away the native. The tall native and several of the villagers followed us some little distance, jabbering away in their barbarous tongue, and thereafter I kept close to my husband, fearing another atempt by a native to steal either me or my mule.

When we arrived at Panama, about 9 o'clock at night, we rode to the hotel, where there was great excitement over the non-appearance of Captain Wallin's four year old daughter, Nannie, who had left Gorgona in charge of two natives, who carried her in a hammock, and did not reach Panama until 7 o'clock the next morning. Not any of us slept that night, poor Mrs. Wallin had hysterics and, despite the words of comfort we tried to give her, we never expected to see little Nannie again. The natives had reached their home village, about the time darkness fell, and had stopped overnight at their homes and finished their journey in the morning.

Panama, in 1852, was a town of small size, consisting almost entirely of one-storied adobe houses, roofed with thatch. It was enclosed by a low stone wall, with one large wide gate, through which all had to pass, on entering or leaving the town. The streets were dirty, the houses old and dilapidated. There were two somewhat pretentious, but unfinished hotels and several stores. The population consisted mostly of mestizos or "greasers" as the Americans called them and a few whites, mostly Spaniards and Americans. We women saw but little of the town and wished to see less, because it was so dirty and disagreeable. The only attractive things to be seen in the town were the ripe fresh and delicious fruits that were for sale, of which we bought quantities.

In the afternoon of the day of our arrival we went aboard barges and were towed out to the steamer *Golden Gate,* lying at anchor about two miles from the city, aboard of which we were to await the arrival of the rest of the regiment. We were there a week before Captain Grant arrived with the last of the companies.

The entire party had a hard and weary trip across the Isthmus. If these lines meet the eyes of any who traveled with us, on that memorable trip of 1852, they will remember the kindness and self-sacrifice of the officers in helping the tired women and children, who had to walk across the Isthmus, some of them carrying their babies.

Captain McClellan,[5] and several other officers overtook a small party of women sitting by the roadside, with bleeding feet and almost prostrated by the heat. The officers dismounted and helped the women on their mules and sent a native with them into Panama. This was only one instance of their many acts of kindness.

In the meantime, the dreaded Asiatic cholera had broken out among the men of the regiment, while they were crossing the Isthmus, and many died on the way from Aspinwall to Panama.

Quartermaster Grant had improvised a hospital out of an old hulk of a boat, anchored about a mile from us, where the more virulent cases were taken, while the milder ones were transferred to hospital tents on Flamingo Island, in the bay of Panama. The ravages of the disease were dreadful and the horror of it remains with me to this day. Strong and healthy would be attacked by it and would die in a few hours.

We did not know who would be the next victim, and it grew to be a common sight to see strong men, walking along the deck, be taken with cramps and die in a short time. One remarkable feature of this outbreak of cholera was that all the victims, with the exception of five or six, were men. Not any of the children were attacked. The surgeon said that the immunity of the women and children was owing to the fact that they did not use liquor.

Captain Grant, as quartermaster, and the surgeons did everything in their power to check the spread of the disease, and to alleviate the sufferings of the stricken ones. Too much praise cannot be given them for their tireless energy and great presence of mind during this outbreak of cholera. It was not an easy task to control almost seven hundred men during a siege of cholera, for they grew nervous and panic-stricken and Captain Grant had not only the sick ones to contend with but also the well.[6]

In spite of all their efforts more then one hundred and fifty deaths occurred.[7] It resulted in the death of both Mr. and Mrs.

5 Capt. George B. McClellan, with Isaac I. Stevens on the U. S. Railway survey, and later of Civil War fame.

6 The experience of these troops led to the following report by O. Cross, Major and QM. on August 31, 1852, to the QM General at Washington: "In sending troops from the North to this place I suggest that they should hereafter come around the Horn. They reach here in clipper ships from New York in a very reasonable time, seldom taking over one hundred twenty days, and sometimes less, and arrive in good health. Recent experience has shown that, unless in a case of emergency, the Isthmus is a very trying route, causing much sickness, and a great loss in public property, besides doubling the expense, compared with the other route. The 4th Infantry, which recently arrived show the impracticability, as their loss has been great, while those who have arrived are broken down by disease, the seeds of which were engendered in the Isthmus."—*House Ex. Doc. No.* 1, (Serial No. 674), p. 89.

7 "About one-seventh of those who left New York Harbor with the 4th Infantry on the 5th of July, now lie buried on the Isthmus of Panama, or on Flamingo Island in Panama Bay."—*Grant's Memoirs*, I, p. 108.

Lynch, and their three little children, thus orphaned, were taken in charge by the United States consul at Panama, and by him sent to relatives in the United States.

After the disease had abated, we were transferred to Flamingo Island, while the ship was thoroughly fumigated. After a sad farewell to our sick ones, who were to be left on the island, we continued our journey and reached San Francisco the first of September.

San Francisco, in 1852, was a very lively little place. Our ship tied up at the "Long Wharf" which was built out a great distance on the beach to deep water. We were there for several hours, but very few of the soldiers were allowed to leave the steamer for fear that they would desert,[8] in order to go to the gold fields, where we were told, fortunes were being made every day. The intense gold excitement in 1852 was at its height.

We reached Benecia,[9] then an army post, in the late afternoon, and went into garrison life for a few weeks. Here we were rejoined by the convalescents from Flamingo Island. It was a sad reunion, for we knew that the missing ones would never again answer the roll-call.

On September 18th, 1852, the regiment was ordered to Fort Vancouver, Oregon Territory. We took passage on the *Columbia*, and after a very rough voyage, during which we enocuntered heavy gales, which caused almost everyone to be seasick, we landed at Vancouver on September 20th. What a welcome sight our destination was. How glad we were, after our dreadful ex-

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8 Discipline at frontier posts, especially during the "gold rush" was very lax. The following appears in the report of Major Allen to the quartermaster general, June 30, 1851: "I found two companies of the 2nd Infantry stationed at this point * * *. One-half of the men belonging to these companies had already deserted, and the remainder had ceased to be soldiers excepting in name. They refused to work unless paid the mining value of their labor. * * * Discipline was so lax that the C.O. declined issuing arms to them."—*House Ex. Doc. No.* 1, (Serial No. 611), p. 303.

9 The Third, or Pacific Division of the U. S. Army, was under the command of Colonel and Brevet Brigadier General Ethan A. Hitchcock, with headquarters at San Francisco, and embraced departments No. 10 (California), and No. 11 (Oregon). Department No. 11 comprised the following posts:

Fort Oxford, Port Oxford, Oregon; 1st Dragoons, 62 men; 1st Lt. W. H. Stanton.

Oregon trail post, site not yet determined; 4th Infantry, 2 companies, 132 men; Captain and Brevet Colonel R. C. Buchanan.

Columbia Barracks, Vancouver, Oregon; 4th Infantry, 4 companies, 292 men; Lt. Colonel B. L. E. Bonneville.

Dalles of the Columbia; 4th Infantry, 1 company, 69 men; Capt. and Brevet Major B. Alford.

Steilacoom, Puget Sound; 1st Artillery, 2 companies, 100 men; Capt. and Brevet Major S. J. Hathaway.

Enroute via Cape Horn; 4th Infantry, 2 companies, 175 men.

Total strength 11th or Oregon Department, 830 men.—Report of the Adjutant General, U.S.A., Nov. 15, 1852, *House Ex. Doc. No.* 1, (Serial No. 674), p. 62.

Supplies for the 11th or Oregon Department came from the Division Depot near Benecia, Calif., and were shipped as required, the average freight to the Oregon ports being $30 per ton by sailing vessels.—*Ibid.*, p. 91.

Columbia Barracks at Vancouver became the depot for the quartermaster and commissary for the Oregon posts, furnishing everything in the shape of stores, transportaiton and funds to the whole department.—*House Ex. Doc. No.* 1, (Serial No. 611), p. 328.

perience with the cholera at Panama, and our almost equally dreadful experience of seasickness, to find ourselves safely and peramnently once more on terra firma.

Vancouver[10] was then a very small hamlet, consisting mostly of the buildings of the Hudson Bay Company's trading post and the barracks and other buildings of the United States military post. There were besides these buildings about a dozen small log cabins, belonging to the Indian and half-breed employees of the Hudson Bay Company.

The Hudson Bay Company's post consisted of a large stockade about three hundred yards square, built of halves of fir logs set firmly in the ground and standing about twenty feet high. There were heavy puncheon gates at each end of the enclosure and these were closed and locked at night. Inside the inclosure were the factor's store and office, magazine, workshops and log houses for the resident white employees. In the northwest corner stood a three storied log tower pierced with loopholes for riflemen, and portholes for cannon. The largest and finest of the houses inside the stockade was that of Dr. John McLoughlin, the factor of the Hudson Bay Company. In the center was an open court, here the trappers and Indians brought their furs and pelts to sell or exchange them for goods and supplies from the Company's stores.

From these headquarters companies of trappers, mostly Canadians and Indians, were sent in all directions to hunt. They traveled as far north as the Russian possessions and to the California borders on the South. Oftentimes they were gone for several years, returning with their furs to barter at the fort.

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 necessaries of life were costly; eggs cost a dollar and a half a dozen, potatoes nine dollars a sack, and flour twenty-four

10 Reporting to the Quartermaster General, June 22, 1853, Capt. Rufus Ingalls, assistant quartermaster at Vancouver, describes and furnishes drawings of the garrison buildings, the quartermaster department, and the Hudson Bay Company improvements at Vancouver.—*House Ex. Doc. No.* 1, (Serial No. 611), p. 328.

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. The easy chair that Captain Wallin made out of a barrel and upholstered with calico and stuffed with moss, was the envy and admiration of the whole garrison.

The long rainy winter of 1852-53[11] came to an end at last, and everybody who could, began preparing gardens. We hungered for vegetables and watched eagerly their growth.

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[12] 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 own 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 and the remainder were sold at a low price. [13] Every farmer, tempted by the high prices of the previous year, had planted a large acreage and the supply was ten times greater than the demand, potatoes glutted the market, and sold for a song.

Early in the spring of 1853, Captain Grant came to my husband and myself and asked that we take the house in which he, Captain Brent, Lieutenant Phil Sheridan,[14] Captain George B. McClellan and Mr. Eastman, Captain Grant's clerk, had been keeping bachelor's hall all winter, and let them all board with us. My husband told him that he thought I was too young and inexperienced to undertake the responsibilities of so large a household.

11 During this winter Oregon Territory was divided, all north of the Columbia River being taken from Oregon to make Washington Territory.

12 In *Grant's Memoirs*, I, p. 203, Grant relates how he bought a pair of horses, broke the ground and put in this crop.

13 In *Grant's Memoirs*, I, p. 203, Grant states that the only potatoes sold were to his own mess.

14 This date is an error. Sheridan, a brevet 2nd Lt. in the 1st U. S. Infantry, was stationed in Texas until Nov. '54, when he received promotion to 2nd Lt. in the 4th Inf., and was ordered to join his regiment at Ft. Reading, Cal. He embarked from New York for the Pacific Coast, July, 1855, and joined his command at Benecia Barracks above San Francisco. He did not reach the Columbia River district until Oct. 9th, 1855. In October of that year the Yakimas broke out and Sheridan was engaged in the fighting in the Yakima Valley, at the Dalles, the Cascades, etc. He was in Oregon, in command of the post at Yam Hill until Sept. 1, 1861, when he left to join his new command as Captain of the 13th U. S. Infantry. Mrs. Sheffield was evidently confused as to the date of Lieut. Sheridan's arrival at Vancouver.—*Personal Memoirs of P. H. Sheridan*, I. pp. 35, 125.

"Oh!" said Captain Grant, "that can be easily managed. I will detail one of the soldiers who is a good cook, to do the cooking, and besides I have an excellent cook-book and am a pretty good cook myself, and I am sure that we shall manage very well."

The Captain was very fond of beef a-la-mode, and he took great pains in instructing the cook how to prepare it. We had always relied on the half-breed wives of the Hudson Bay Company employees for our butter, but one day Captain Grant asked me if I could make some butter, as he was hungry for some sweet home-made butter. So I saved the cream and churned it, and, thinking to please the Captain, I put sugar into it instead of salt, as he wanted some *sweet* butter. At dinner, that evening, I displayed it with great pride. I noticed a smile appearing on their faces, and finally Captain Grant said, "Mrs. Sheffield, is this some of our home-made butter?"

"Yes, Captain, how do you like it?"

"Well, it is the sweetest butter that I ever tasted," he remarked, with a twinkle in his eye.

He was very fond of wild game, and whenever we had any, he would put it in a bucket and let it hang in the well for three or four days, before it was cooked. I remember one day a farmer brought to the house a large swan that he had killed and which he wanted to present to Captain Grant, but he would not let any of us look at it, until the Captain came in. Captain was delighted with it, and it also went into the well, and hung there for several days. He said he wanted to cook it himself, and donning a big apron and rolling up his sleeves, he took possession of the kitchen and baked it to perfection.

Occasionally we would have parties, the dining room would be cleared for dancing, and to the music of the Fourth Infantry band, we would dance until the wee small hours of the morning. Our guests would come from far and near. General Adair's three daughters, would come from Astoria, and Governor Abernathy's daughter would come from Oregon City; among the young ladies who came from Portland, was Miss Hamilton, who was considered one of the belles of that town. Captain Grant would never take any part in the dancing, but would come in and look on for awhile, then go upstairs to his room and remain there all evening smoking. He felt keenly the separation from his wife and family. Oftentimes, while reading letters from his wife, his eyes would fill with tears, he would look up with a start

and say, "Mrs. Sheffield, I have the dearest little wife in the world, and I want to resign from the army and live with my family." He would then walk back and forth, on the porch, thinking and smoking, for hours at a time, or he would order his horse and ride for a half day in the woods or along the Columbia river. Often, of a winter's night, when we were seated around the fire, he would tell me of his wife and children and how he missed them. I never saw him angry, but when occasion demanded it, he was very firm. His manners, dress and style of living were simpler than those of any other officer in the garrison. In manner he was unassuming and approachable, and his language was always plain and straight forward.

On one occasion we were having some private theatricals, in our little theatre at the post, when a drunken man, the purser on the *Eagle*, a small boat running between Vancouver and Portland, was disturbing the audience, Captain Grant walked to where he was sitting, and taking him firmly by the collar, marched him out of the hall. He had a true soldier's love of order.

After the potatoe failure, Captain Grant grew restless and wanted to engage in some enterprise from which he could make a little money, so he and Captain Wallin had my husband act as agent for them, and buy up all the chickens within twenty miles of Vancouver. They chartered a small vessel and shipped them to San Francisco. Nearly all the chickens died on the voyage, and they lost the money they put into the enterprise.

I often accompanied Mr. Sheffield when his duties took him into the country, and I had an opportunity to see how the pioneer farmers lived. We, of the garrison thought our life was hard and lonesome in spite of all our little social gatherings, but as we rode through the forests, we would come to a little clearing in the woods, and see the most cheerless little log cabin miles away from all settlers, the beginning of a home. What heroism it takes for families to leave comfortable homes, travel for weeks across the plains, for the sake of settling in a new country.

In September, Captain Grant was ordered to report at Humboldt, California.[15] It was a more desirable station, but he wanted to resign and go into the lumber business. We bade him goodbye, knowing we were losing an agreeable companion and a true friend.

15 "The death of Colonel Bliss of the Adjutant General's department, which occurred July 5th, 1853, promoted me to a captaincy of a company then stationed at Humboldt Bay, California. The news reached me in September of the same year and very soon I started to join my new command."—*Grant's Memoirs*, I, p. 207.

He gave me his famous cook-book, his feather pillows and a number of other small articles.

During his one year at Vancouver he had not made an enemy and he was kind and considerate to all.

He gained the friendship and good-will of his men by a constant and watchful care of their interests.

During all the early years of my life there, not one word did I ever hear against his character; he was one of nature's noblemen.

Not until 1868, when General Grant was a candidate for the Presidency, did we hear the baseless and malicious story of the Indian daughter.[16] I know it to be absolutely false, for this Indian girl was born a few months after our arrival at Vancouver.

Soon after Mr. Sheffield's term of enlistment expired, and the time we had eagerly looked forward to had come when we could return to our eastern home, the free life and the glowing possibilities and hopes of the future had aroused in us the desire to remain and the few friends we had we were warmly attached to, and so we lived through all the early pioneer days of Oregon Territory. We saw the Hudson Bay Company's supremacy decline and finally disappear from Vancouver.

We lived for months at one time in hourly fear of the Indians, who were committing depredations all around us.

Daily, emigrants arrived, bringing with them the few necessities, tired and sick after their long journey across the plains.

All were welcomed in those days and hands and hearts were ready to assist them.

We watched with interest the building up of Vancouver, Portland and the surrounding towns, and the farms that grew up along the Columbia and Williamette rivers.

Washington Territory, when she took on the honors of Statehood, through all the changing scenes of fifty years, what changes we have seen! The east and west have been joined together, by our transcontinental roads, and the region once known by "way out west" where bears and Indians predominated, has now all the forms of civilization that the eastern cities possess.

16 It has occurred to me that a confusion in identity of names may have aided the circulation of this slander. Richard Grant, the Hudson's Bay Company trader at Fort Hall, through which most of the early Oregon emmigration passed, was known as "Captain" Grant to the emmigrants who dubbed everyone in a position of authority in those days "captain." Richard Grant was married to a woman of Indian blood, and had children of Indian blood. He was often at Fort Vancouver.

DOCUMENTS

[*Continued from Volume XIV, Page 306*]

[March, 1852]

[Ms. Page 50]

Wednesday 10th. Fine Frosty Cold air. Sales[1] & Smullas (a recently engaged Indian) ploughing a patch of land Swamp Park, for Potatoes. Chaulifoux[2] glazing window Sashes. Barnes[3] cleaning out Stores. Mr. Tawai[4] and part of gang opening drains in Swamp. McPhail[5] with remainder of gang picking potatoes. Oxen hauling firewood. plain wagon in with 50 Bush Potatoes.

Friday 12th.[6] Cloudy. Wind S. E. Indian gang opening a new main-drain across swamp. Cowie[7] & Gohome[8] setting a new pair of oars for canoe. After dinner Mr. Huggins[9] started with the large canoe full of potatoes for a Mr. Lowe[10] at Duamish River[11] who agreed to give a dollar a bushel for them delivered there.

Saturday 13th. A little snow on the ground this morning and showers of snow during the day. A pretty brisk trade with persons bound for Q. C. I.[12] in the Schooner Franklin.[13]

Sunday 14th. Showers of snow. Indians report that Mr. Huggin's canoe having grounded during the night at Tukumalie[14] neat the narrows, he had to have it repaired before proceeding on his journey. Pretty gloomy weather yesterday and today. [Ms. Page 51]

Monday 15th. a keen frost during night. Ploughmen unable to work till the afternoon. Chaulifoux, Cowie and several employed at Squally[15] bottom in making a county road. They will not be home till tomorrow evening. A good deal of trade today with the gold hunters but for small amounts.

Tuesday 16th. No change in the Weather. The "Franklin" Expedition to Queen Charlotte's Island knocked on the head.

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1 A servant. 2 A servant. 3 A servant.
4 A servant. 5 A servant.
6 The entry for *Thursday 10th* was not made.
7 A servant. 8 A servant.
9 Edward Huggins, clerk, keeper of the Nisqually Journal.
10 John N. Low who, with C.C. Terry, had a general store at what is now known as Alki Point, within the limits of the city of Seattle, but called by them "New York."
11 Now spelled "Duwamish."
12 Queen Charlotte Island.
13 The schooner *Franklin*, Captain Pinckham. See this *Quarterly*, Volume XIV, page 303, note 41.
14 Identity not ascertained. The Narrows are between Steilacoom and Tacoma.
15 Nisqually bottom, at the mouth of the Nisqually river.

Wednesday 17th. A Hard frost during night. two Carts at work carting Wheat from C Ross Farm. The wheat is payment of an old bill of J. Ross's contracting. Chaulifoux repairing an Ox Wagon. Cowie & Gohome at Ox rack. McPhail & gang ditching and draining in Swamp. Oxen employed carting dung from Sheep parks to garden. The "G. W. Kendall" has arrived at the landing. Had some little trouble to day with four Soquamish[16] Indians who drew their Knives & attempted to Stab me in the trade Shop without my giving them any provocation whatsoever. gave chase to them but they contrived to get away. Dr. Tolmie[17] wrote and acquainted Mr. Starling[18] the Indian Agent with the whole affair. Adam Beinston[19] in from the plains, his term of service having expired he has taken a claim on the Puyallop River.[20] [Ms. Page 51a]

Thursday 18th. Showers of Snow. Chaulifoux Stocking a plough for A. Beinston. Barnes cleaning out Stores. Young making Candles. Gang variously employed. Montgomery in from the plains with a pair of Wild Oxen for the yoke. Oxen hauling firewood. Sales with Horse & Cart bringing Wheat from C. Ross's. Mr. Ross's[21] leg is progressing favorably, he is now enabled to walk with the assistance of Crutches.

Friday 19th. damp Foggy Weather. Chaulifoux fixing a plough for A. Beinston. Cowie & Gohome making Oars pr Canoe. Gang clearing in Swamp. Oxen & Horse Cart out after Beef 5 killed. Indians endeavoring to tame Wild Oxen. Cows beginning to Calf. Tapou returned from Vancouver bringing a Mail. McPhail on the Sic list. Barnes with three Indians delving in garden. Cross one of the laborer's at Mr. Dean's[22] has been drunk for the last two or three days & has behaved very unruly. The Am Brig "Leonorsa"[23] is reported to be in the Sound. Captain Gove[24] of the Kendall up endeavoring to make a bargain for Potatoes offers 80 cents pr Bushel.

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16 The Suquamish. A Salish division on the west side of Puget Sound. They claimed the land from Appletree cove in the north to Gig harbor in the south. Seattle, who gave his name to the city, was chief of this tribe and the Duwamish in 1852.—*Handbook of American Indians.*

17 William Fraser Tolmie, superintendent of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, and chief trader of the Hudson's Bay Company. He had charge of Fort Nisqually.

18 Edmund A. Starling.

19 A servant.

20 Now spelled "Puyallup."

21 Mr. Ross, clerk, in charge of the posts on the Nisqually Plains. His residence is at Tlithlow, near Steilacoom.

22 Thomas Dean, foreman of operations on the Nisqually Plains. He resides at Tlithlow.

23 Leonesa.

24 Captain A. B. Gove.

Saturday 20th. Fine Sunny Weather. Hands employed as yesterday. Dr. Tolmie rode out to Tlithlow.[25] Captn. Gove has given an order for 1000 Bushels Potatoes. [Ms. Page 52]

Sunday 21st. Dull Gloomy Weather. Sales dispatched to Victoria with a packet.

Monday 22nd. Signs of rain. Chaulifoux repairing Wagon. Cowie making oars pr Canoe. Barnes & gang of Indians delving in Garden. A gang of Women in charge of Tawai sent to Muck[26] to pick potatoes. Two ploughs at work preparing land for potatoes. Oxen hauling rails to build a new Cow park. Two loads of Potatoes in from the plains. Dr. Tolmie off to Olympia on Custom House business.

Tuesday 23rd. Fine pleasant Weather & very Warm. Chaulifoux & Cowie as yesterday. Two loads of Potatoes in from Tlithlow. Fort Wagon brought a load of potatoes from Muck.

Wednesday 24th. Fine a strong wind blowing all day from the S. East. Chaulifoux cutting Wood pr a new Wagon. Barnes with three Indians delving in garden. One Horse & Cart at work transporting fodder from Barn to Stable, plain Wagon in with a load of potatoes. Fort Wagon fetched a load of feeding Potatoes from Muck, sent McPhail to Muck to see what potatoes are there. Two ploughs preparing potatoe land. Sowed some garden seeds. Blue Partridges seen. Frogs have been croaking for the last 8 or 10 days. [Ms. Page 52a]

Thursday 25th. Showery. Chaulifoux & Tapou[27] making ox Bow. Cowie making oars. Gang clearing in Swamp. ploughs at work in Swamp plain. Wagon in with a load of potatoes. Fort Cart & Wagon fetched a load from Muck.

Friday 26th. Showery. Cold strong winds from N. East. Chaulifoux mend[ing] a Wagon for an American. Cowie preparing Wood for a new Cart. Gang jobbing about Fort. Oxen & Horse Cart fetched a load of Potatoes from Muck. plain[28] Wagon in with a load. ploughs at Work in Swamp. Tapou out all day with

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25 A company station near Steilacoom, originally settled by the Red River (Canada) immigrants in 1841. After their departure in 1842 the place was taken over by the Company and shortly after a Mr. Heath, from England, settled thereon. From this circumstance it is mentioned in the *Journal* as "Heath's." After his death Mr. Walter Ross was sent there to reside and to take charge of all operations on the Plains. It is frequently mentioned as "Ross's," "Walter's," and "Ross Ville." A journal kept there has been preserved.

26 A company station near the present town of Roy, Pierce County.

27 A servant.

28 The wagon used on the "plains."

Charles Ross getting drunk. The "Exact" which started in November last from the Columbia for Q. Charlottes Island has arrived in the Sound after a cruise of 4 Months round the Island, they bring favorable reports of the gold there, intend returning as soon as they get provisioned.

Saturday 26th. [*27th.*] Fine pleasant Weather. Montgomery[29] drove in all the wild Horses to Inventory. Hands employed as before. Early this Morning Dr. Tolmie returned from Newmarket.[30] Afternoon rode out to Steilacoom.

Sunday 27th. [*28th.*] Fine Clear Weather. took an Inventory of the Horses. Tapou drunk again. Three men discharged latterly from the U.S.A. Steilacoom having taken claims on the Compnys. lands. [Ms. Page 53]

Monday 29th. Fine a Slight Frost in the F. Noon. Myself, McPhail & gang of Indians down putting Potatoes on board the Franklin. Chaulifoux making a cart. Cowie, Tapou & gang of Indians commenced cutting a new road for Cattle driving it is to lead to the beach through the wood in a direct line from American Plain.[31] Oxen carting firewood &c. Commd. planting Potatoes 9 Bushels in to day. Sargt. Hall up settling accounts.

Tuesday 30th. Fine. Work the same as yesterday. The Californians here endeavored to make a bargain for Sheep. An Express[32] arrived from Victoria. An American vessel will be here shortly for a Cargo of Cattle pr Vancouvers Island.

Wednesday 31st. Fine. Chaulifoux finished Horse Cart. Cowie & gang at new Cattle road. Oxen hauling sticks out of road course. Tawai & gang of Women planting potatoes. Two Indians breaking in Wild Oxen. A load of Potatoes in from Tlithlow. Dr. Tolmie road out to Tlithlow. Mr. McNeil[33] late Clerk at Cowelitz Farm,[34] arrived this afternoon, he is for Victoria. Linklater[35] & Glasgow[36] in from Tenalquot.[37]

[*To be continued.*]

29 A servant

30 A former name of Tumwater, above Olympia.

31 A plain just north of the Fort so called because the American missionary Richmond settled thereon in 1839. Another plain near Tlithlow was called Canadian Plain, being settled by the Red River (Canada) immigrants in 1841. American Plain was called Mission Plain by Wilkes in 1841.

32 Regular express and mail service was maintained by the company between Nisqually and Victoria, and Nisqually and Vancouver on the Columbia.

33 Captain William Henry McNeill. He was once in charge of the steamer *Beaver*, but after 1844 entered the land service of the company and in 1856 became chief factor. McNeill Island, opposite Fort Nisqually, is named for him.

34 A company station on the Cowlitz river.

35 A servant.

36 Thomas W. Glasgow, an American settler of 1847.

37 A company station on a prairie of the same name, now in Thurston County.

BOOK REVIEWS

Alaska, A History of its Administration, Exploitation, and Industrial Development During Its First Half Century Under the Rule of the United States. By JEANETTE PADDOCK NICHOLS. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1923. Pp. 456. $6.00 net.)

During the past ten years many writers on Alaska have planned a complete political history of this field. In fact, the reviewer once had such a work in mind. However, one by one, these writers have given up the attempt, as too great an undertaking, and have confined their efforts to those fields of Alaska which present less difficulties.

The field of Alaskan politics is far more difficult than the casual student realizes before entering it. So far as ascertained, there exists not one respectable monograph on the entire field, if, indeed, there exists one which is not respectable. Much of the material is difficult of access, and when to be had, is almost wholly of ex parte nature. Hardly any two persons agree on anything; and inconsistency abounds everywhere. Dr. Nichols then in attempting to write a political history has had to assume the multifold roles of collector, compiler, evaluator and author. It is not the be presupposed that she would excel in all in the same work. The remarkable thing is that she has excelled in any.

In the first two roles Dr. Nichols has displayed rare ability as a collector and compiler of new material; and this ability is not to be met with everywhere. From this standpoint alone the work has high merit and will always find a place in the library of the Alaska scholar.

As to how well she has succeeded in evaluating and fact-grouping, that only time can disclose, for no person who has not gone over the same ground can very well set himself up as critic; at least, not over the entire field. Some day students of history will enter the Alaska political field and their researches will alone determine the merit of this work.

It is the opinion of the reviewer, from his ten years' experience in the general field of Alaska history, that the work has been done as well as any scholar in the United States, working with the same difficulties, pioneering as it were, could do it. Any defects in the work must be attributed to an attempt on the part of

the author to do too much, rather than to any lack of ability. It is the feeling of the reviewer that Dr. Nichols has attempted too much.

The first two chapters—those dealing with Alaska before the passage of the Organic act—appear to be weakest; each succeeding chapter is better, and the last chapters are best of all. In the first two chapters Dr. Nichols appears to have fallen into the prevailing error of the day—an error perpetuated by Bancroft, that Alaska was not an integral part of the United States and subject to any laws other than customs acts. The title of her second chapter is "Merely a Geographical Subdivision" and on page 40 in reciting a number of disabilities under which Alaskans labored, she includes these words "no murderer could be tried." On page 80 she gives the impression that Alaska was not even Indian country. This does not appear to be true.

One of the first things Seward did after the purchase was to enquire of the attorney general the political status of Alaska. The attorney general replied that according to article 3 of the treaty Alaska became an integral part of the United States, subject to such general and special laws of the United States as were then in force. He stated that this qeustion had arisen when California came into the possession of the United States and that the supreme court (16 Howard's R, 164, 199) had acted upon it, and were Alaska's case to be brought before the same court the same opinion would be handed down.

Alaska became, on June 20th, the date of the proclamation, an integral part of the United States; was subject to the general Indian act of 1834 (4 U. S. Stat., 729) being Indian or unorganized country; was subject to the general revenue and customs acts of the United States; and to the general laws of the United States affecting crimes, passed April 30, 1790, and subsequent dates (Revised Statutes 5339-5357.) Congress at this early date had been called upon to legislate for the high seas, arsenals, reservations, and portions of the domain without the jurisdiction of any state or territory; hence the act of 1790. Under this the great felonies, murder, attempt to commit murder or manslaughter, manslaughter, rape, maiming, bigamy, larceny, receiving stolen goods, and many lesser crimes are punishable. A number of cases arising under these acts were tried in the Oregon courts, the most notorious being U. S. vs. John Williams (2 Fed. Rep., 61.) Though strangely overlooked, these documents are available and

they prove that Alaska was not without the facilities for law and order from the very day it became a possession of the United States.

VICTOR J. FARRAR

Books on the Pacific Northwest for Small Libraries. By ELEANOR RUTH ROCKWOOD. (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1923. Pp. 55. 75 cents.)

As indicated by the title, this list of books on the Pacific Northwest has been prepared for the small library. It contains some 225 entries of the most useful and accessible books. Its chief value lies in the careful selection that has been made from the large number of titles in this field. It gives moreover useful annotations to all items and furnishes trade information, including an estimate of prices on the out-of-print books. Although intended primarily for the small library, it will be serviceable to all libraries and will prove to be of very great usefulness to private collectors of Pacific Northwest Americana.

The work is arranged by subject under some twenty main heads. A table of contents and an author index is furnished. It is well printed and may serve as a model for future publications of its kind. The Pacific Northwest Library Association is responsible for the publication of this admirable book list, but chief credit is due to the compiler whose bibliographic judgment is based on many years of successful work as reference librarian in the Library Association of Portland.

CHARLES W. SMITH

Nordwest Amerikanische Indianerkunst. By LEONHARD ADAM. (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, A. G. Orbis Pictus, Band 17. Pp. 44 plus 48 plates.)

Much theory has been propounded on the subject of primitive art but until there are more books like Leonhard Adam's "Indianerkunst" dealing with a specific type of art, correct generalizations are impossible. The author has described the art style of the North Pacific Coast tribes through studying the specimens at the Berlin Museum and through the use of Boas' and Swanton's accounts of the Kwakiutl and Haida. Considering that the author has had no actual contact with the people, he has caught the spirit of the work very well. The illustrations are very excellent and done with the same care that has distinguished other volumes of this series and made them so valuable as records of art.

ERNA GUNTHER

Mirrors of Seattle. By C. T. CONOVER. (Seattle: Lowman & Hanford Co., 1923. Pp. 277. $3.50)

Charles Tallmadge Conover was a successful newspaper man before he and his colleague Samuel Leroy Crawford formed the well known firm of Crawford & Conover and took their places among Seattle's prominent business men Through all the years he retained the reporter's abilities of keen observation and analysis. In his book he has gathered a wealth of familiar and illuminating stories about the men and women who have built Seattle and who have helped to build the Pacific Northwest. Throughout the pages the spirit of cheerfulness is simply fascinating. The *Mirrors of Seattle* will certainly live in the literature of the Northwest.

Judge George Donworth writes a delightful and sympathetic introduction to the book. Many a reader will agree with his statement: "One regret must arise from Mr. Conover's writing of his book, the regret that no reference is made to his own many contributions to the life and progress of Seattle during a period of nearly forty years of its active growth. He might have said, with truth and with classic precedent, that he himself was a large part of many of the important events to which he alludes."

EDMOND S. MEANY

From Coast to Coast. By GEORGE D. BROWN. (Simsbury, Conn.: Brown, 1923. Pp. 180. $1.50.)

This work claims to give the complete story of "the only man to drive a single horse across the continent, starting at Catalina Island, California, and finishing at Coney Island, New York." It is written in journal form, giving a day by day account of an actual drive from Coast to Coast extending from May 1, 1917 to January 14, 1918.

The Columbia Highway Booklet. By M. C. GEORGE. (Portland, Oregon: Press of James, Kerns and Abbott Company, 1923. Pp. 72.)

This is an attractive guide to the Columbia Highway from Portland to The Dalles. The compiler is an old pioneer living at Portland but owning a fruit ranch at The Dalles. He has made hundreds of trips along the scenes described and knows well whereof he speaks. The booklet is attractively illustrated with

maps and views and the descriptive matter is well written and contains many allusions to the early history of the Columbia Valley.

The Clays and Shales of Washington, Their Technology and Uses. By HEWITT WILSON, edited by MILNOR ROBERTS. (Seattle: University of Washington, 1923. Pp. 224. $1.00.)

The Chemical Utilization of Wood in Washington. By HENRY KREITZER BENSON, THOMAS GORDON THOMPSON and GEORGE SAMUEL WILSON. (Seattle: University of Washington, 1923. Pp. 160. Seventy-five cents.)

Electric Heating of Residences. By EDGAR ALLAN LOEW. (Seattle: University of Washington, 1923. Pp. 48. Fifty cents.)

These three publications comprise Bulletins 18, 19, and 20 in the "Engineering Experiment Station Series." The first one is prepared under cooperative agreement between the University of Washington and the United States Bureau of Mines. Mr. Wilson is Assistant Professor of Ceramics and Mr. Roberts is Dean of the College of Mines. Mr. Benson and Mr. Thompson are Professors in the Department of Chemistry and the third author of the second named bulletin is a Professor in the Department of Mechanical Engineering. Mr. Loew is Professor of Electrical Engineering. His present paper on the "Electric Heating of Residences" is Part II., the first portion having appeared in 1921 as Bulletin 15.

The Story of the Totem Pole, or Indian Legends. By WILLIAM SHELTON. (Tulalip, Wash.: The Author, 1923. Pp. 80. $1.00.)

The author is a Snohomish Indian who has served the Government for many years at the Tulalip Indian School. He is one of the few men on Puget Sound who has carved huge totem poles. One of his masterpieces stands in the streets of Everett and another greets each visitor to the Tulalip Indian School. In his little book he shows the sixteen parts of the great pole at Everett and then tells the sixteen stories or legends. He is selling his books personally and there is little doubt that they will be highly prized in a few years as they become scarce and people ask about the meaning of the Indian's carving.

The Mountaineer. Edited by CRISSIE CAMERON. (Seattle: The Mountaineers, Incorporated, 1923. Pp. 104. Seventy-five cents.)

Mazama. Edited by ROBERT W. OSBORN. (Portland: The Mazamas, 1923. Pp. 99. $1.00.)

The annual publications of the two principal mountaineering clubs of the Pacific Northwest have made their appearance and are receiving the customary welcome by those who love the natural beauties of this favored region. Each book is handsomely printed and profusely illustrated.

The Mountaineers made their summer outing in the Mount Garibaldi Park, British Columbia, and, as a consequence, much space in their book is devoted to the unusual mountain phenomena of that section. In addition to those articles there are such contributions as "High Spots on a World's Cruise," by Rodney L. Glisan; "Summer Birds of Our Higher Altitudes," by J. Hooper Bowles; and "Mountaineers Outings," by L. A. Nelson.

The Mazamas devoted their thirtieth annual outing, 1923, to their loved Mount Hood. By far the greater part of their book is devoted to that mountain. The writers point with a contagious pride to many charms unearthed as surprises by those who had visited and studied the great mountain in all its moods for thirty years.

Librarians will wisely save these books as valuable items in the growing literature about the Pacific Northwest.

National Park Service, Report of the Director for 1923. By STEPHEN T. MATHER, Director. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923. Pp. 198.)

The report by O. A. Tomlinson, Superintendent of the Mount Rainier National Park, covers pages 137 to 142. The summary of attendance shows a total of 28,878 cars and 123,708 people for the season of 1923. Director Mather, on pages 61 to 63, mentions a number of needed improvements for this park and expresses the hope of securing the funds necessary to make them.

Shoshone Folklore. By SARAH EMILIA OLDEN. (Milwaukee, Wis.: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1923. Pp. 101.)

Indian Legends of Vancouver Island. By ALFRED CARMICHAEL. (Toronto: The Musson Book Company Limited, 1923. Pp. 97. $1.50.)

These books do not pretend to be technically scientific in the sense of using specialized alphabets to record difficult Indian words. They are popular books and will appeal to many readers who seek information in usable form about the Shoshones and the Indians of Vancouver Island.

In the Shoshone book readers will find on pages 14 to 18 the story of Sacajawea and her help to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. In the Vancouver Island book there are seventeen Indian legends told in simple language. This book has for illustrations twelve drawings by J. Semeyn. The other book has reproduced twelve pertinent photographs.

Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana. Edited by J. U. SANDERS and ELIZABETH MCDONALD. (Helena: Montana Historical Society, 1923. Pp. 372.)

While at work on the compilation of the book, Mr. Sanders was removed by death on April 17, 1923, and Miss McDonald completed it with solemn but sincere enthusiasm. The volume deals mostly with Indians, the two chief papers being "History of the Sioux" and "Custer's Last Battle." The latter has a preface dated June, 1921, and signed by Elizabeth B. Custer. The paper itself is by General Edward S. Godfrey and is reprinted from the *Century Magazine* for January, 1892.

Little Journeys to Alaska and Canada. By EDITH KINGMAN KERN and MARIAN M. GEORGE. (Chicago: A. Flanagan Company, 1923. Pp. 80 + 94.)

Reprinted from a series of school books in a series now called "Library of Travel." The two stories, one by each author, are paged separately though bound together. Each story is well illustrated and the last page contains the music and words of a Canadian Boat Song.

The Food Administration of Iowa. By IVAN L. POLLOCK. (Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1923. Two volumes. Pp. 235 + 239.)

These handsome and substantial volumes comprise a portion

of Iowa's "Chronicles of the World War," edited by Prof. Benjamin F. Shambaugh. Though in two volumes, to preserve the size in the series, the record is continuous, the second volume beginning with Chapter VII. of the narrative. Each volume, however, carries its own index.

Woodrow Wilson's Case for the League of Nations. Compiled with his approval by HAMILTON FOLEY. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1923. Pp. 271. $1.75.)

As the title infers, this compilation gives President Wilson's whole case. It includes the explanation he gave to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate at a conference in the White House in August, 1919, and also the explanation he gave to the people in some thirty-seven public addresses. There is appended such documents as "The Covenant of the League of Nations."

The Republics of Latin America, Their History, Governments and Economic Conditions. By HERMAN G. JAMES and PERCY A. MARTIN. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1923. Pp. 533. $3.50.)

The authors make a good working team for the production of such a book. Mr. James is Professor of Government in the University of Texas and Mr. Martin is Professor of History in Stanford University. The publishers' announcement gives a clear idea of the purpose: "This is the first book which brings within the compass of a single volume an account of the history, government, and economic development of the twenty American republics lying south of the United States."

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Recalling Pioneer Days. Publications, Volume 26, 1922.* (Buffalo, the Society. 1923. Pp. 473.)

CLARKE, GRACE JULIAN. *George W. Julian.* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1923. Pp. 456.)

HURLEY, GEORGE O. *Pageantry for Iowa Communities.* (Iowa City: State Historical Society, 1923. Pp. 48.)

KARSTEN, RAFAEL. *Blood Revenge, War, and Victory Feasts Among the Jibaro Indians of Eastern Ecuador.* (Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 79, 1923. Pp. 94.)

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Proceedings, October, 1922 to June, 1923.* (Boston: The Society. 1923. Pp. 513.)

MOTT, FRANK LUTHER. *Literature of Pioneer Life in Iowa.* (Iowa City: State Historical Society, 1923. Pp. 89.)

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Collections, Volumes 1921, 1922, 1923.* (New York: The Society, 1921-1923. Pp. 452, 454, 414.)

H. W. WILSON COMPANY. *A Quarter Century of Cumulative Bibliography, 1898-1923.* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1923. Pp. 44.)

PACIFIC NORTHWEST AMERICANA

A New Record of Prices

At the Anderson Galleries, December 3, 4 and 5, 1923, occurred an important sale of Western Americana. The offerings included books, maps, broadsides, manuscripts and newspaper files, many of the items being of great scarcity. The sale comprised 922 lots on which a total sum of $32,713.30 was realized. The average price per lot exceeds $35.00 each and furnishes scant comfort to buyers of limited means.

As usual at such sales some standard items brought small prices. The following are examples: Brouillet's *Dix ans sur la Cote du Pacifique,* $2.50; Chittenden's *Settler's and Prospector's Guide* (1882), $1.00; Farnham's *History of the Oregon Territory* (1844), $3.00; Kip's *Army Life on the Pacific* (First Edition), $4.00; Riddle's *Early Days in Oregon,* $1.50; De Smet's *New Indian Sketches,* $3.00; Sturgis' *The Oregon Question,* $1.00; Twiss' *The Oregon Territory,* $3.00; and Victor's *Early Indian Wars of Oregon,* $2.50.

The following are samples of the higher prices:

Daily Victoria Gazette, Volume 1, Numbers 10-102 (1858) $840.00

An Act to Charter the City of San Francisco (1850). Pp. 4 ---------- 850.00

McLoughlin, John, *Autograph Letter to Doctor Tolmie.* Pp. 4. Dated 4th July, 1845---------- 375.00

Deseret News (Great Salt Lake), Volumes 2 and 3, 1851-53 ----------2015.00

Dimsdale, *Vigilantes of Montana* (First edition)--------- 160.00

Disturnell, *Emigrant's Guide to New Mexico, California and Oregon* (1849)---------- 270.00

Douglas, James, *Proclamation by His Excellency, James Douglas, Governor of Vancouver Island.* Pp. 8. Dated August 25, 1858---------- 380.00

Portland Times News Letter. An oblong folio broadside relating to the mines in Idaho. Printed in Portland February, 1862---------- 180.00

Mathews, Alfred E. *Pencil Sketches of Montana.* A series of 31 lithographs published by the author in 1868---- 770.00

Nobles, William H. *Speech of the Hon. Wm. H. Nobles together with other documents relative to an Emigrant*

Route to California and Oregon, through Minnesota Territory. (St. Paul, 1854) ---------- 510.00
Newspaper. *Puget Sound Courier* (Olympia). Volumes 1-3, 1872-74 ---------- 367.50
Newspaper. *Daily Courier* (Olympia). Volume 1, 1877 -- 180.00
Newspaper. *Northern Star* (Snohomish), Volumes 1, 2, 1876-77 ---------- 136.00

European Stocks of Americana

The writer has been asked to comment on the European book situation so far as the purchase of Pacific Northwest Americana is concerned. This he will undertake to do, although it should be stated that his efforts of the past summer were directed primarily towards the purchase of complete sets of periodicals and the publications of academies and learned societies.

Obviously, Europe is a poor place to buy American imprints. When found, the price is usually higher than in America. On books published in Europe relating to America, however, one can usually find better stocks and lower prices than in America. The really first class items are becoming scarce even in Europe and are to be had only of the dealers who specialize in Americana. These dealers sell their materials for the most part as soon as found to American patrons on standing orders. A visit to the bookstores of the specialists in American books is most discouraging. Their stocks contain little besides second-rate material which can always be found. The best opportunity to secure bargains is with the large general dealers who do not specialize closely. Here one can often secure standard material in excellent condition and at comparatively low prices.

Additions to the University of Washington Library

It was the writer's privilege during the past summer to purchase several hundred volumes of Americana for the University of Washington Library. The highest prices were encountered with Americana specialists in London, closely followed by dealers in Paris. A considerable amount of excellent material was secured at reasonable prices in Florence, but the lowest prices of all were those of Leipzig. About one hundred volumes were here secured at prices ranging from one dollar down to twelve cents apiece. A considerable number of these were substantial items not listed in the *Checklist*. The following are sample titles:

Bernard Du Haut Cilly, August. *Voyage autour du monde. . . . pendant les annees 1826, 1827, 1828, et 1829.* 2 vols. (Paris: Bertrand, 1834-1835.)

Drage, Theodorus Swaine. *The Great Probability of a Northwest Passage.* (London: Jefferys, 1768.)

This is *Checklist* item number 1934. The value of this particular copy is that it fixes beyond doubt the authorship, which has not been generally known to bibliographers. This copy is a presentation copy bearing the author's complete name in full round hand. Sabin entered the item under the title (Item 28460) with the following note as to authorship, "The author, according to Meusel, was Theodore Swindrage; but is named by Watts, Dragge."

Gianetti, Michelangiolo. *Elogy of Captain James Cook.* Pp. 87. (Florence: Cambiagi, 1785.)

Bilingual, opposite pages in English and Italian. Has also an Italian title page.

Kippis, Andrew. *The Life of Captain James Cook. . . .* 2 vols. (Basil: Tourneisen, 1788.)

Kittlitz, Friederich Heinrich von, Baron. *Denkwürdigkeiten einer Reise nach dem Russischen Amerika. . . .* 2 vols. (Gotha: Perthes, 1858.)

Laperouse, Jean Francoise de Galoup, comte de. *Voyage de La Perouse autour du Monde.* 4 vols. + atlas. (Paris: L'Imprimerie de la Republique, 1797).

A complete set of the rare official edition with atlas. From the Library of Prince August of Prussia, nephew of Frederick the Great. Incomplete set listed in *Checklist,* item 2109.

Laperouse, Jean Francois de Galoup, comte de. *Viaggi di La Perouse intorno al Mondo.* 7 vols. in 3. (Torino: Dalla Stamperia Alliana, 1829.)

Meares, John. *Viaggi d alla China alla Costo Nordovest d'America fatti negli Anni 1788 e 1789.* 4 vols. in 2. (Firenzi: Pagani, 1796.)

Neue Bibliothek der wichtigsten Reisebeschreibungen zur erweiterung der Erd-und Völkerkunde. 65 vols. (Weimar: Verlag des Landes-Industrie, 1815-1835.)

Contains in German text many of the standard works of travel, including some items of Northwest interest.

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Old Account Books

Hon. Richard W. Condon, a native of Washington, is deeply interested in all matters of local history. For many years he has been associated with the Puget Mill Company. While tearing down an old building at Port Gamble he recently came upon a set of account books, letter-books, invoices and documents belonging to an old firm, Wilson & Hurd, engaged in general merchandising at Deschutes (near Olympia) in 1854 and a few years following. Mr. Condon had the papers and books shipped to the University of Washington to be used in history researches.

On May 1, 1855, Governor Isaac I. Stevens was charged with a bill of goods showing that coffee cost twenty cents a pound; syrup, one dollar a gallon; best country cured pork, twenty cents a pound; and beans eight cents a pound. The bill for that purchase was $26.83 in the journal but was erroneously transferred to the ledger at $26.38. A careful study of the papers will undoubtedly reveal much of value as to prices and business methods in the early days on Puget Sound.

Seattle's First Railroad

The Legislative Journal of the Council for 1877, on pages 86-87, has the following record about the railroad completed from Seattle to Renton:

"The following communication was read by the clerk:

Seattle, October 18, 1877

"Hon. Geo. W. Tibbetts—

"Dear Sir: The Seattle and Walla Walla Railroad Company desire me to invite, through you, the Members and Officers of the Legislature to a free ride over said road, from Seattle to Renton, on Monday next, October 22d, at such hour as shall best suit their convenience.

"Very respectfully,

"J. M. Colman,

"President.

"Mr. Hoover moved the invitation be accepted.

"Mr. Hanford moved to amend by appointing a committee of one to notify Mr. Colman what hour would be most suitable.

"The amendment prevailed, and the President appointed Mr. Hanford."

The Mr. Hoover mentioned was Jacob Hoover and the Mr. Hanford is now well known as Judge Cornelius H. Hanford. The President of the Council was Thomas M. Reed.

Seattle Was "New York"

Occasionally there comes to the surface a reminder that the ambitious colonists, who laid at Alki Point the first foundations of Seattle, called their settlement "New York." George H. Himes, the Oregon historical authority, sends the following advertisement from the *Columbian* of September 11, 1852, the first issue of the first newspaper published north of the Columbia River:

NEW YORK MARKOOK HOUSE

Chas. C. Terry & Co., thankful for past favors take this opportunity to inform their numerous friends and customers that they still continue at their well known stand in the town of New York, on Puget's Sound, where they keep constantly on hand and for sale, at the lowest prices, all kinds of merchandize usually required in a new country.

N. B. Vessels furnished with cargoes of Piles, Square Timber, Shingles, &c.

New York, Sept. 1, 1852.

Mrs. Dye's Researches

The recent publication of the Ranald McDonald book by the Eastern Washington State Historical Society (see this *Quarterly*, Volume XIV., pages 235-236) naturally called fresh attention to the researches by Mrs. Eva Emery Dye when she was preparing her well known books—*The Conquest, McLoughlin of Old Oregon*, and *McDonald of Oregon*. She was asked to submit an account of those researches. In expressing gratitude for interest in her work she added: "But that will come later in a book. They are too numerous and too romantic for any brief sketch." The promise she there gives of another book will be received with delight by readers of Northwestern American literature.

Principal Articles in the Washington Historical Quarterly

VOLUME XIII

The Cowlitz Convention: Inception of Washington Territory.....*Edmond S. Meany*
Advertising and the Klondike.....*Jeannette P. Nichols*
The Wreck of the St. Nicholas.....*C. L. Andrews*
Origin of Washington Geographic Names.....*Edmond S. Meany*
The Loss of the "Tonquin".....*F. W. Howay*
The Background of the Purchase of Alaska.....*Victor J. Farrar*
A Daughter of Angus MacDonald.....*Christina Williams*
Crossing the Plains.....*Clarence B. Bagley*
Newspapers of Washington Territory.....*Edmond S. Meany*
Finan McDonald.....*J. A. Meyers*
Early Development of Railroads in the Pacific Northwest.....*C. J. Smith*
Van Ogle's Memory of Pioneer Days.....*Van Ogle*

VOLUME XIV

The Building of the Walla Walla and Columbia River Railroad.....*W. W. Baker*
Spokane, Portland and Seattle Railway.....*L. C. Gilman*
Newspapers of Washington Territory.....*Edmond S. Meany*
Historical Services of Thomas W. Prosch.....*Charles W. Smith*
Origin of Washington Geographic Names.....*Edmond S. Meany*
The Orphan Railroad and the Ram's Horn Right of Way..*C. H. Hanford*
Memories of White Salmon and its Pioneers.....*Albert J. Thompson*
Introduction of Cattle into the Pacific Northwest.....*C. S. Kingston*
Captain John Mullan and the Engineers' Problem.....*Samuel F. Bemis*
The Mullan Road: Its Local History and Significance.....*T. C. Elliott*
Senator Cole and the Purchase of Alaska.....*Victor J. Farrar*
Klickitat County: Indians of and Settlement by Whites....*Delia M. Coon*
Cape Disappointment in History.....*Barbara Coit Elliott*
Hall's Visit to Oregon in 1830.....*Howard M. Ballou*

The Washington Historical Quarterly is published by the Washington University State Historical Society. It is issued quarterly with title page and index in the last number of each volume; it is also indexed in The Magazine Subject Index and the International Index to Periodicals. The current subscription price is $2.00 per year, or $0.75 each for single copies. Back numbers are available as follows:

Volumes I-X, Complete with General Index.....$40.00
(Single numbers, when available, at $1.00 each.)

Volumes XI, XII, XIII, XIV, each..... 3.00
(Single numbers, 75c each.)

For information in regard to subscriptions or exchange, Address

CHARLES W. SMITH, Business Manager,
Washington Historical Quarterly,
University Station, Seattle, Wash.

Announcements

¶ Ten of the libraries participating in the *Pacific Northwest Americana, A Checklist,* reported copies of Balch's *Bridge of the Gods.* That is one of the classics of the Northwest. Mrs. Delia M. Coon, one of the author's pioneer teachers, has paid him a beautiful tribute in the biographical sketch published in this issue.

¶ Doctor Herbert H. Gowen supplies an important article calling attention to the tercentenary of the closing of Japan to the outside world.

¶ Reminiscenses of two pioneer women are given, those of Mrs. James D. Agnew of Idaho and Mrs. Delia B. Sheffield of the Lower Columbia.

¶ Mr. Charles W. Smith has resumed his preparation of the Pacific Northwest Americana department.

¶ Mr. J. Orin Oliphant, of Cheney, has secured copies of two unpublished diaries kept during the Indian War of 1855-1856, which he has edited for this issue.

The Washington Historical Quarterly

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VOL. XV. NO. 2 APRIL, 1924

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UNIVERSITY STATION
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

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THE GRAND COULEE

In the arid section of east-central Washington, in what has long been known as the "Big Bend Country," there are many narrow but steep-walled valleys commonly called coulees. They all extend in a general direction from northeast to southwest and lie approximately parallel, with variable distances between them. All of them indicate by their appearances that they have been carved out by running water, and yet but rarely does one now find a perennial stream occupying a coulee. The streams that eroded these peculiar valleys have vanished, and clearly belong to a day when a great volume of water swept across the plateau, and wherever it was localized along linear lines, the coulees were made.

Grand Coulee is by long odds the widest and longest and deepest of all the coulees of Washington. It has a length of nearly fifty miles, extending from the south wall of the Columbia to the Quincy basin, near Soap Lake. At its northern end, it has a width of about three miles, which narrows to two miles or less in a few places. The floor of the Coulee is sunk below the neighboring plateau level for a maximum distance of 1000 feet, and at only one point is an east and west crossing of the coulee possible. At Coulee City, both the east and west walls of Grand Coulee are low and gently sloping, and with gentle gradients the Sunset Highway has an easy crossing.

The bed rock exposed in the floor and walls of Grand Coulee is all basalt, except for outcrops of granite and gneiss which are found at the northern end, near the Columbia. The basalt occurs in towering cliffs, made up of flat-lying lava flows, the central part of each sheet or bed usually composed of vertical columns standing out like huge palisades. At the foot of the more conspicuous cliffs the great piles of broken rock, or talus, formed since the making of the coulee, give a hint of the long lapse of time since the trench was last occupied by a master stream.

At the north end of Grand Coulee, its floor has an elevation

of about 550 feet above the level of the Columbia. There is a slight rise in the floor for about two miles and then a gradual descent until the old waterfalls, one and one-half miles south of Coulee City, are reached. At this point there is a perpendicular drop of 405 feet with a width along the crest of the falls of over a mile. The ancient falls had the typical horseshoe outlines, indicating that the maximum cutting power was at points of maximum water and swiftest erosion. At the foot of the falls there are characteristic pot holes or depressions made by the sheer force of the falling water in conjunction with the abrasive action of boulders carried about in the great whirlpools.

Below the falls the coulee takes on a truly canyon-like character. How far the ancient waterfall receded is a matter of debate. The question as to where the waterfall actually began must be determined before the amount of recession in miles can be known. The coulee today, below the falls, is occupied by a chain of small lakes, some fresh and some alkali.

It has been determined by Bretz and others that the coulees noted above owe their origin to two or more glaciers of the continental type that swept down from the north and stopped in large irregular lobes about the general latitude of Spokane. The two ice advances best known have been designated as the Spokane and the Wisconsin, the former being the older, and with a considerable time interval between the two. The ice of the Spokane glaciation advanced southward to the northern ends of the coulees, and the latter were produced by the enormous streams that were necessary to carry away the great volume of water produced by the melting ice. The continental glacier remained more or less stationary in position for a sufficient length of time for the coulees to be fashioned much as we now find them. When the ice front finally receded to the northward, the discharge of glacial waters was by way of the Columbia, and the coulees ceased to be active stream channels.

Grand Coulee, according to Bretz, was almost wholly excavated by the waters flowing away from the melting front of the Spokane ice sheet. From a good many miles along the ice margin the drainage aggregated and, uniting in one master stream, carved out Grand Coulee to its present approximate size. The stream at its best was two or three miles wide, and very deep. It had a sufficient gradient to erode the basalt with great rapidity, and accomplish its results in a very brief space of time when measured

by geological standards. When this great mass of water tumbled over the perpendicular wall of 405 feet, near the present site of Coulee City, it made a cataract rarely or never equaled in the earth's history.

When the continental ice mass of the Wisconsin epoch arrived, its maximum outline was somewhat different from that of the Spokane advance. The drainage from the Wisconsin ice seems not to have affected the eastermost coulees, but only those farther west. In Grand Coulee the drainage line was already established, and the amount of cutting far less than in the Spokane glacial epoch. The great waterfall came into existence again, with a consequent recession which has not been definitely determined. When the Wisconsin ice front receded to a position north of the Columbia, all of the glacial waters went down that stream, and once more Grand Coulee became waterless, except for a few small and isolated lakes or ponds along its floor.

Since the making of the series of coulees, by the drainage waters of the continental glaciers, but little has happened to modify them in any way. The dust storms characteristic of the country have made shallow deposits of wind-blown soil over their floors. Occasionally during the spring run-off, following the rapid melting of the snow, small streams may be in existence for a few days. Small lakes of shallow depths characterize most of the coulees, and around these ponds a scant vegetation grows. The surroundings are yet sufficiently untamed by man for the coulees to be the favorite haunts of many species of wild fowl as well as the last rendezvous for the four-footed animals indigenous to the country.

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HENRY LANDES.

GRAND COULEE IN HISTORY

Recent inquiries about Grand Coulee, its nature as a physiographic feature of Washington, and the impression it made upon early explorers, have caused Henry Landes, Dean of the College of Science, University of Washington, and formerly State Geologist, to prepare the foregoing article and the editor to assemble some of the records left by the explorers.

The book entitled *The Fur Hunters of the Far West* by Alexander Ross was published in London in 1855, but the author tells of his observations, while an employe of the Pacific Fur Company (Astoria), the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, from 1811 to 1824. In his work, Volume I., pages 34-35, is found one of the earliest references to Grand Coulee as follows:

"As soon as Mr. McKay was out of danger, I left him and set off with all haste to Fort Spokane, distant about 160 miles south-east from Oakanagan, with 55 of our horses. On our way, both going and coming, we made a short stay at a place called the Grand Coulé, one of the most romantic, picturesque, and marvellously-formed chasms west of the Rocky Mountains. If you glance at the map of Columbia, you will see, some distance above the great Forks, a barren plain extending from the south to the north branch of that magnificent stream; there, in the direction of nearly south and north, lies the Grand Coulé, some 80 or 100 miles in length. No one travelling in these parts ought to resist paying a visit to the wonder of the west. Without, however, being able to account for the cause of its formation, we shall proceed to give a brief description of this wonderful chasm, or channel, as it now is, and perhaps has been since the creation.

"The sides or banks of the Grand Coulé are for the most part formed of basalt rocks, in some places as high as 150 feet, with shelving steps, formed like stairs, to ascend and descend, and not infrequently vaults, or excavated tombs, as if cut through the solid rocks, like the dark and porous catacombs of Keif. The bottom or bed, deep and broad, consists of a conglomerate of sand and clay, hard and smooth where not interrupted by rocks. The whole presents in every respect the appearance of the deep bed of a great river or lake, now dry, scooped out of the level and barren plain. The sight in many places is truly magnificent; while in one place the solemn gloom forbids the wanderer to ad-

vance, in another the prospect is lively and inviting, the ground being thickly studded with ranges of columns, pillars, battlements, turrets, and steps above steps, in every variety of shade and colour. Here and there, endless vistas and subterraneous labyrinths add to the beauty of the scene; and what is still more singular in this arid and sandy region, cold springs are frequent; yet there is never any water in the chasm, unless after recent rains. Thunder and lightning are known to be more frequent here than in other parts and a rumbling in the earth is sometimes heard. According to Indian tradition, it is the abode of evil spirits. In the neighbourhood there is neither hill nor dale, lake nor mountain, creek or rivulet, to give variety to the surrounding aspect. Altogether it is a charming assemblage of picturesque objects for the admirer of nature. It is the wonder of the Oregon."

On Sunday, July 24, 1825, John Work, then Clerk, and later Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, included the following paragraph in his journal:

"The appearance of the country course etc were much the same as yesterday except that we passed through a point of woods, in the morning we passed along the banks of the Columbia at the Lampoile River and before noon crossed the Grand Coolley, some of the mountains to the Northward were topped with snow."

Mr. T. C. Elliott, who edited that part of the Work Journal for this *Quarterly*, Volume III, pages 83 to 115, identified the Lampoile as the San Poil River.

On Monday August 21, 1826, David Douglas, the Scotch botanist, made an extended record of his observations as follows (*Journal, 1823-1827*, pages 208-209):

"Today I overslept myself; started at four o'clock. The country same as yesterday; at eight passed what is called by the voyageurs the Grand Coulee, a most singular channel and at one time must have been the channel of the Columbia. Some places from eight to nine miles broad; parts perfectly level and places with all the appearances of falls of very extraordinary hight and cascades. The perpendicular rocks in the middle, which bear evident vestiges of islands, and those on the sides in many places are 1500 to 1800 feet high. The rock is volcanic and in some places small fragments of vitrified lava are to be seen. As I am situated, I can carry only pieces the size of nuts. The whole chain of this wonderful specimen of Nature is about 200 miles, communicating with the present bed of the Columbia at the Stony Islands, making a

circular curve 1½° further south, and of course longer than the present chain. The same plants peculiar to the rocky shores of the Columbia are to be seen here, and in an intermediate spot near the north side a very large spring is to be seen which forms a small lake. I stayed to refresh the horses, there being a fine thick sward of grass on the banks. The water was very cold, of a bitterish disagreeable taste like sulphur. My horses would not drink it, although they had had no water since last night. At noon continued my route and all along till dusk. The whole country covered with shattered stones, and I would advise those who derive pleasure from macadamized roads to come here, and I pledge myself they will find it done by Nature. Coming to a low gravelly point where there were some small pools of water with its surfaces covered with *Lemna,* or duck weed, and shaded by long grass, one of the horses, eager to obtain water, fell in head foremost. My guide and myself made every effort to extricate it, but were too weak. As I was just putting some powder in the pan of my pistol to put an end to the poor animal's misery, the Indian, having had some skin pulled off his right hand by the cord, through a fit of ill-nature struck the poor creature on the nose a tremendous blow with his foot, on which the horse reared up to defend himself and placed his fore-feet on the bank, which was steep, when the Indian immediately caught him by the bridle and I pricked him in the flank with my pen-knife, and not being accustomed to such treatment, with much exertion he wrested himself from his supposed grave. The water was so bad that it was impossible for me to use it, and as I was more thirsty than hungry I passed the night without anything whatever."

Readers of Dean Landes' most recent geological discussion in the preceding article will find interest in comparing with it the above earlier discussion by a trained and enthusiastic botanist.

Another extended and interesting observation was made in 1841. The squadron of the United States Exploring Expedition was anchored at Fort Nisqually, Puget Sound, while exporations were made in radiating directions. One expedition, in command of Lieutenant Robert E. Johnson, crossed the Cascade Range and explored the Yakima and Columbia Valleys as far as Fort Colville. Commander Charles Wilkes of the Expedition gave in the *Narrative* an account of all the excursions. The record of Lieutenant Johnson's important journey is found in Volume IV., pages 416 to 474, and the part dealing with Grand Coulee is given

on pages 436-437. The date of the observations is June 12, 1841, and the record is as follows:

"On the 12th, they reached the Grande Coulée. The common supposition relative to this remarkable geological phenomenon is that it has once been the bed of the Columbia, and this is what would strike every one at its first view; but, on consideration, it is seen that it is much too wide, and that its entrance is nearly choked up by the granite hills that do not leave sufficient space for the river to flow through. The walls of the Coulée consist of basaltic cliffs, similar to those of the Palisades of the Hudson, seven hundred and ninety-eight feet high; and where it was crossed by the party, it was three miles wide; but, a few miles farther to the south, it narrowed to two miles. Its direction was nearly north and south for a distance of at least fifteen miles. In places, the cliffs were broken and appeared as though tributary valleys had been formed in like manner, with perpendicular walls, though but of short extent. In the northern portion of it were several granite knolls resembling islands capped with basalt and called Isles des Pierres. The bottom of the Coulée is a plain having some irregularities, but in places, for two miles together, to appearance it was perfectly level. There are in it three lakes: one on the top of the west border, another after descending, and a third between two of the granite islands. The last of these was the largest, being about a mile long, but is not more than three hundred feet broad; these lakes have no visible outlets. Although the soil abounded in the same saline efflorescence that had been remarked on the high parairie, yet the lakes were found to be fresh, and wild ducks were seen in great numbers. In other spots, the earth was damp and overgrown with a rank grass of the same kind as that growing on the prairie. Next to this the wormwood predominated.

"In the level places the earth was much cracked: incrustations were abundant, which, sparkling brilliantly in the sun, gave the plain somewhat the appearance of being covered with water. Specimens of these were procured, the analysis of which will be found in the Geological Report.

"The granite islands, above spoken of, were found to be seven hundred and fourteen feet high. Mr. Johnson named the southern one the Ram's Horn. Dr. Pickering, who visited the north part, found no regularity of structure. All were satisfied, after leaving the Coulée, that it has been the seat of a lake, in the northern branch of which some convulsion had caused a breach,

through which it had discharged itself into the Columbia. If the Columbia had ever flowed through this channel, it must have worn the rocks, but they exhibit no signs of any such abrasion; and yet it seems remarkable that the Coulée had extended from one point of the river to another and, with the exception of its breadth, forming very much the same kind of trench as the Columbia would leave if it forsook its present channel.

"From the observations subsequently made at the lower end of the Grand Coulée, there is, however, reason to believe that it was at one epriod the bed of the Columbia. The fact of there being large boulders of granite at its lower or south end while there is no rock of similar kind except at its north end would warrant the conclusion that they had been brought from the upper part of it. There were a great number of stones, having the appearance of being water-worn, lying in its bed at the south end as if they had been brought down by the current of a rapid stream.

"The Coulée is too much impregnated with saline matter to permit crops of grain to be raised on it; but it would be admirably adapted for the raising of cattle and sheep, there being abundance of water and plenty of good grass there and for twenty miles on each side of it.

"They left the Grande Coulée by passing up the east cliff or bank at a place where it was accessible for horses and which was much stained with sulphur. Soon afterwards they were overtaken by Mr. Maxwell from Okanogan, which place, although twenty-five miles distant, he had left in the morning."

The marked difference as to the quality of the water in the lakes in the two accounts by Botanist Douglas and Lieutenant Johnson is apparently reconciled by Dean Landes who says some of the lakes are fresh and some are alkali. However, a later explorer denies that Lieutenant Johnson had visited the real Grand Coulee.

Lieutenant Richard Arnold of the Fourth Artillery, United States Army, was a member of the famous Railroad Survey Expedition under Governor Isaac I. Stevens. From Camp Washington, twelve miles south of Spokane House, on October 29, 1853, Governor Stevens sent a letter to Lieutenant Arnold at Colville including these words: "I have only to suggest that in your route to Wallah-Wallah it will be well to examine the Grande Coulée." Later in his report Governor Stevens (Pacific Railroad Reports, Volume I., pages 109-110) says as to the results:

"Lieutenant Arnold says as follows in relation to the Grand Coulée and the vicinity between it and the Columbia:

" 'I again descended to the river by a steep and rocky trail, and marched three miles, encamping near the mouth of the coulée.

" 'The trail leaves the river to the north, and passes nearly south. After an ascent of 243 feet we arrived upon a level which commands a fine view of the coulée; it was about ten miles wide at the north entrance, and gradually widened until it passed out of sight; its walls were about 800 feet high, and one solid mass of rock basalt, cemented together by lava or some more fusible rock. The trail had a gradual fall for about six miles, which gives a fair index of the ground included between the walls.

" 'This coulée was twenty miles in length; its walls then passed out of sight, to the west.

" 'The soil was generally sand, except near the walls, where it was made up of disintegrated rock.

" 'The line of march the succeeding day was very rocky for six miles, when we entered the second coulée in size. This coulée has the general appearance of the former. Travelling through this, we again entered the Hudson's Bay trail, near a high, rocky mound. To remove any doubt that may remain on the minds of others in regard to the Grand Coulée, which is laid down on the maps about ninety miles in length, I will state that I obtained the best guide in the country. He was born in this country, and has travelled the route for the last fifteen years. I questioned him very closely in regard to the route travelled by Lieutenant Johnson in 1841. The coulée through which he travelled is not known as the *Grande Coulée* among the old residents.

" 'After travelling a few miles, I crossed this stream and passed a fine lake about six miles in length and one in width; it was fringed with alder bushes, and filled with wild fowl, duck, geese, and white swan. Along the eastern bank of this lake I again commanded a view of the range along the western bank of the Columbia, as far north as Pisquouse [Wenatchee] river. This view, taken in connexion with the information I have received from my guide, leads me to believe that the country bounded on the east by my line of march, north and west by the Columbia, on the south by a line passing through the mouth of the Pisquouse river, and the southern extremity of the second coulée previously spoken of, is filled with coulées running in every direction, and ranging from one to fifteen miles in length'."

In spite of Lieutenant Arnold's fine work and his brilliant career (at the close of the Civil War he received the brevet ranks of colonel, brigadier-general and major-general in the regular army), he failed to give a definite or accurate description of Grand Coulee. In fact there are so many differences in the descriptions gleaned that one is tempted to believe that the early explorers may have observed some of the other phenomena in the vicinity of Grand Coulee. Through all the differences there is substantial agreement that the coulees are worth studying and deserve to be included among the marvelous manifestations of Nature's work in the Pacific Northwest.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

ATANUM VALLEY FIFTY-FOUR YEARS AGO

Fifty-six years have passed since I first heard the name of "Yakima." I was living then at White Salmon, Washington Territory, in the family of Mr. Elisha S. Tanner. He was engaged in the dairy business upon the farm of E. S. Joslyn, the earliest pioneer of that place, who had settled there in 1853.

I remember that even then the name had a sort of fascination to me. Mr. and Mrs. Joslyn told of their being driven from their home, and the burning of their buildings in 1856 by the Yakima Indians.

The Yakima Indian Reservation was at that time in charge of Rev. James U. Wilbur, as agent. Its boundaries were the Atanum Creek on the north, Yakima River on the east, the summit of the Simcoe Mountains on the south, and the Cascades on the west. It comprised an area much larger than my native state of Connecticut.

It was described as a region of "magnificent distances" and "dry climate where irrigation was a necessity" for success in farming. North of the Atanum the few earliest pioneers had taken claims in that valley; and in the Naches, Cowechee and Wenas valleys; and a few had ventured as far as the present Ellensburg in the Kittitas Valley.

The Dalles was the nearest source of supply; one hundred and twenty-five miles distant, requiring a week to make the round trip, via the old Government Road across the Simcoe Mountains. This trail was passable by wagons only in the summer; or via the "Satas Canyon" trail with pack animals in winter and spring.

There was a little frontier store at "Old Yakima" owned by Sumner and O. D. Barker, brothers, but stocks were limited and prices very high. There was a small sawmill at the western (upper) end of the valley of the Atanum, owned by a man named "Spon," if I remember correctly. It was about fifteen miles from the Yakima, and not far from the historic "St. Joseph's Mission" mentioned by Theodore Winthrop in his fascinating book *Canoe and Saddle.* The Mission was a favorite rendezvous of the more turbulent Catholic Indians, and there Kamiakin was planning the Yakima War about the time of Winthrop's visit.

This article is not written with the object of adding much of

historical value to what is already known. Abler writers than myself have already done that. My sojourn in Yakima was of too short duration, only about eighteen months, in the summers of 1871 and 1873. Yet those were important years for that region; years of rapid settlement, of development and transition, and the laying of firm foundations, upon which to build securely in the years to come. The story of those two years must necessarily be more or less personal in order that the reader may get a conception of the men and women of whom I am writing, and the hardships and trials that they endured.

This is, in a way, a "continued story" of the adventures (of E. S. Tanner and family and myself) after leaving White Salmon in the summer of 1869. The "Memories of White Salmon and Its Pioneers," printed in this *Quarterly* (April, 1923) was the first chapter.

Mr. Tanner's lease of the Joslyn place expired in March, 1869. Mrs. Tanner and the two girls had spent the previous winter at Forest Grove. Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Warner, Mr. Tanner and myself comprised the entire white population of White Salmon that winter. After selling a large number of his share of the cattle, the remaining cows being cared for by Mr. Warren until the time came to drive them to Camas Prairie, in May, Mr. Tanner began looking for a new location. He made one visit to the "Ochoco" Valley in Crook County, but found nothing suitable there. He then wrote to a friend, Myron Eells, "My wings are spread for flight, but I do not know where I am going to alight."

Sometime in May, 1869, we drove the stock to the summer range, at Camas Prairie, and began dairying there. Often we talked of the future of that still unclaimed and beautiful valley, and, for a time, we both considered making it our permanent home. Mr. Tanner felt that it was too isolated in winter for his family. As for myself, I failed to see that then and there I missed the chance of a lifetime. Moreover, "the girl I left behind me" in Connecticut was waiting my return. So in the last days of June I started east. Before I left, Mr. Tanner had decided to stay at White Salmon, on the C. J. Palmer place, during the next winter. He bought a field of oats from Warner and Willets for hay, and we built a log barn, thirty feet square, on the Warner place, to store them. The logs were cut just north of the limits of the present city of White Salmon, and the barn was used for thirty-six years.

It was torn down in 1906, as it stood upon the right of way of the Spokane, Portland and Seattle railroad.

It will be remembered that the steel rails of the Union and Central Pacific Railroads were joined at Promontory Point, Utah, in May, 1869. A transcontinental trip then was quite an experience. Mr. Joslyn went as far as the Cascades with me. I had planned to catch the San Francisco steamer the next day, but the river boat was late, and as we neared Fort Vancouver we saw the San Francisco boat fast disappearing below the mouth of the Willamette River. At that time there was an interval of a week or more between sailing days.

Mails were twelve and fourteen days coming from New York and were brought by stage from Kelton, Utah, to The Dalles, and to Portland from San Francisco.

There were no railroads in Oregon or Washington except the Portage roads at Cascades and Celilo, although Ben Holladay had begun construction of the Oregon and California a year before.

I decided to go by stage to California. The fare was $45, plus cost of meals en route. Leaving Portland at 6 a.m., July 1, (my first experience in travel by stage) we arrived at Eugene the next morning for breakfast. On that day I was introduced to a "Pacific Highway" paved with poles and fence rails, as we jolted along over the Calipooya Mountains.

That evening we were at Roseburg. I rode with the driver as much as possible.

At one station we changed to a "mud wagon" and six horses. The leaders were fiery halfbroken colts. I could not but admire the skill and coolness with which the youthful driver handled the "ribbons" and whip. At Jacksonville, late Saturday evening, I stopped off for a much needed sleep and rest. Sunday was July 4th and every saloon in town was full of hilarious miners celebrating.

I went to the stage office to resume my journey on Sunday night. It was in the historic old "Beekman Bank" of early days; small and plain, but over its counters had passed millions of dollars in gold dust. While waiting, it suddenly flashed upon my memory that when I left Connecticut two years before, a former school teacher of mine had said: "Albert, if you are ever in Jacksonville, Oregon, be sure to ask for a Mr. Hayden (I cannot now recall his initials). He is an uncle of my deceased wife. She was his favorite. Tell him of us." There was but one man in the

office. I asked him if he knew a person of that name. Imagine my surprise when he told me that he was Mr. Hayden himself. The next half-hour was all too short for our talk.

The stage from the north came at 11 p. m. Just before daylight Monday morning we were nearing Ashland. The road was filled with a huge flock of sleeping sheep; it seemed to me there were thousands of them.

Soon after the sun rose, we were slowly climbing the Siskiyous. The vision of Rogue River Valley as I saw it that morning still remains. We had dinner at Yreka and supper at Red Bluffs, and on Tuesday afternoon left the stage at Oroville and went on to Sacramento by train.

One day there for rest, and I was on the cars eastward bound. The cheapest fare was $130 to Omaha. Cars were not crowded. All were common day coaches, attached to fast freight trains which often were side-tracked for hours. We were allowed to ride on top of the freight cars at our own risk, if we wished, which furnished a fine chance to see the scenery. I enjoyed the trip immensely. We spent one night at Omaha, and crossed the Missouri on a ferry. The fare from there to New York was $36.50. We were attached to the mail train here and made better time. I reached the old home in fourteen days from Portland.

Returning now to White Salmon and the Tanner family. They had decided to go to the Atanum Valley, where Mr. Tanner had purchased the claim of a former settler. It was nearly halfway between "Old Yakima" and the upper valley and "Mission." It was bordered by the Atanum Creek and the Reservation on the south. It was still unimproved, save for a double log house, of hewn logs, containing two fire places. It had a thick flat roof of poles, covered with willow brush, rye-grass and dried adobe mud; rough in appearance, but comfortable, warm in winter and cool in summer. Timber for fuel and fencing was scarce. A splendid spring nearby furnished plenty of the purest water. In March, 1870, they left White Salmon. Hood River Charley, an Indian, and his family had been hired to drive the cattle on ahead of the wagons. The route was through "Satas Canyon," mentioned above, a most difficult route. Very few, if any, had taken wagons over that trail. The first night out from The Dalles, they stayed at the ranch of Mr. Snipes, near where Goldendale is now. Mr. Snipes owned many cattle. J. N. Alexander then lived

a mile or two up from the Canyon, and had a fine farm, where he kept bachelor's hall and furnished food and shelter for the winter traveler. Mr. Alexander had been conspicuous in the defense of Bradford's store at the time of the Indian fight at the Cascades in March, 1856. He was also a county commissioner of Klickitat County, and, I think, was also sheriff. When he was past eighty years of age, he lost one hand above the wrist, while driving a mowing machine. I last saw him in 1884 at the county fair at Goldendale.

Mrs. S. P. Vivian of Yakima has kindly furnished me this account of their trip. "It was about one hundred and twenty-five miles from The Dalles to their destination, about fifty miles of which was in the Canyon. Seven persons comprised the party: Mr. and Mrs. Tanner, their son-in-law, C. A. Raymond, his wife and little son Frederick, of about three years, Alice, now Mrs. Vivian, and Malcolm Moody, thirty years of age, afterwards Congressman from Oregon. Nearly sixty head of cattle were in advance, in charge of the Indians. In many places the mountain came abruptly down to the creek and the wagons must be taken down the bed of the stream until a place was found to drive out on one side or the other. Often long ropes were attached to the upper sides of the wagons, then passed once around some tree on the hillside above to prevent overturning; then, by easing away slowly, they gained safer ground, and finally came out into the more open country beyond the summit, where the sun was shining brightly. It had been raining at Mr. Snipe's the night before. On the distant hillside we were glad to see again our little band of cattle, with their faithful Indian keepers. We camped one night near the Toppenish, where we could see twenty miles away across the Reservation, what is now called Union Gap, not far from the spot we were to call our home. . . Only here and there, at rare intervals, could be seen ancient wheel marks, where some government team, probably, had passed that way perhaps ten years before."

It can be seen that it was a large job that Mr. Tanner tackled in Satas Canyon fifty-four years ago this month. Think of it, you tourists, as you roll luxuriously along over the modern highway, and take off your hats to the memory of the pioneers of Yakima.

I wish that I might now go on to relate a story of prosperity and happiness for my friends in their new home, but it cannot be.

Troubles never come singly. Continuing Mrs. Vivian's narrative: "Very soon after our arrival at the new home my father returned to The Dalles with pack-horses and help to get supplies, for the local store carried only a small stock. Exposure to cold and bad weather brought on illness; on his return severe fever set in. Our friends, G. F. Moody and J. B. Condon, came from The Dalles. On their arrival they said to my mother, 'With your consent we wish to start over the Simcoe Mountains in the morning with Mr. Tanner.' This they did, making a comfortable bed for father and a seat for mother inside the spring wagon. The first night they were at Fort Simcoe, where Father Wilbur and the Agency doctor did all they could to make the sufferer more comfortable. At the summit they were met by other friends from The Dalles, who feared that snow might make the crossing difficult, and came to offer their assistance. The second night they were at 'Blockhouse'; and the third were at The Dalles, where Mr. Tanner remained for almost three months. At times his recovery was doubtful, but careful nursing and the skill of Doctor Brooks brought him through, and they returned to the family in Yakima."

I hope I may be excused for here setting down a few things that happened in Connecticut, while these events were transpiring at Yakima.

Six weeks after my arrival home I was married. My relatives thought that surely I would now settle down, but my wife and I had both felt the "Call of the West." I had decided that Oregon was good enough for me. She had an older sister, married, in central Iowa, and one in Indiana. The former urged us to come to Iowa. We decided to do so, and go on to Oregon later. When about to start, word came from Iowa, "We have sold and are moving 200 miles west; better not come till spring." Like the man from Androscoggin, our faces were to the westward, and we went to Indiana; and later to Illinois, eighty miles south from Chicago, where I was promised work, but times were dull, and work proved hard to get. During the holidays I visited relatives of Mr. and Mrs. Tanner, their brothers and sisters, Edward A. Tanner, who was later president of Illinois College. Illness of my uncle in Connecticut caused me to return there in the spring of 1870 and rent the old farm on which my boyhood was spent. There, in the early summer, our little girl was born, and three weeks later my wife was taken from me, and all our plans were shattered.

In April, 1871, having in the meantime heard of the misfortunes of the Tanner family, I left my little girl with my sister and started again for White Salmon and Yakima. I reached White Salmon April 12, and a few days later I hired an Indian guide, who was to furnish two horses and take me to Mr. Tanner's place for seven dollars. Joseph Williams, my old chum and helper on Camas Prairie two years before, was persuaded to go with me and visit them. We left the Satas Canyon about fifteen miles north of Alexander's place, taking the middle trail on the left, which our guide said was *wake siyah* (not so far) and reached Fort Simcoe in two days from White Salmon.

We arrived there with a strong yearning for a square meal, and were referred to Mr. Egbert French, the agency storekeeper. He went to the door of the living room, saying: "Honey! here are three men who want dinner." A half hour passed, and Honey announced that dinner was ready. Honey was a buxom Indian woman, Mr. French's wife; her dinner of ham and eggs, mashed potatoes, hot biscuit and butter and coffee was certainly very good, albeit the tablecloth slightly resembled Joseph's coat, or the map of the United States, as Williams said.

About noon the next day we reached the summit of the range of hills that separate the Simcoe and Atanum Valleys, and paused to view a scene different from any I had ever looked on before. Behind us were the wide spaces of the Simcoe with Mount Adams in the distance; northward was the Atanum with its border of willows and groves of aspens, the dividing line between white man and Indian. The rude cabins of the early settlers showed their claims mostly still unfenced, save for little garden patches here and there. Away to the northeast could be seen the taller timber along the Yakima and Naches and a wide-spreading sagebrush plain, unclaimed and uninhabited except by coyotes and jackrabbits. To one who looks down today upon those valleys the wilderness has changed to a veritable garden of Eden, where apple trees flourish by tens of thousands and cities have sprung up in the wilderness at the magic touch of life-giving water.

My friends had heard of my arrival at White Salmon, and were expecting me. Mr. Tanner had not fully recovered from his severe illness. Spring was at hand with its rush of work. I was glad to be able to relieve his anxiety and lend a helping hand. A

part of the crop had been sown but there were fences to build, and the dairy and stock to tend; irrigating ditches must be watched. Mrs. Tanner had planted a garden but the drying winds threatened its ruin. We succeeded in getting water upon it from the creek, and later it revived and flourished.

Settlers were coming in rapidly. Some had no shelter but their wagons, or a brush camp. Cold rains were quite frequent. One family of small children with a mother in feeble health was brought by Mr. Tanner to share the shelter of his own rather cramped little dwelling.

At first our mail came to Fort Simcoe fourteen miles away, but soon we were allowed a post office at Atanum. Mr. Wm. Bland was the first postmaster. That summer (1871) a weekly service was established between The Dalles and Ellensburg. The first carrier was an Irishman, Murphy by name. Later George White was the post rider.

The location of the county road that summer caused not a little dissension. Hitherto, in handling lumber, the settlers went pretty much where they pleased. The meeting at which it was finally settled was held in a small log house in the upper valley. It had been used for a school at one time, the first one in the valley. It was about fourteen by sixteen feet and contained no stove or furniture, no windows, and no floor. A pyramid-shaped four-foot square box was fastened to four stout posts some four or five feet long. Its apex was fitted into a hole a foot square in the center of the roof. A shallow box on the ground below the opening was filled with earth, upon which, in cold weather, was built a fire of sagebrush roots. The smoke—more or less—escaped through this primitive chimney.

There were many young people and children in the valley, and a Sunday School was started by Mr. Tanner and Mr. Bland before my arrival. It was held in summer in a small grove of aspens near Mr. Tanner's house, and young folks came long distances to attend. There were many good singers and music was a great attraction. The Tanners had brought with them a portable melodeon, which is still in the possession of Mrs. Vivian, the organist of those early days. It was used again by her in May, 1923, upon the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Congregational church at Atanum.

In July, 1871, Mrs. C. A. Raymond, an older daughter of

Mr. Tanner, died after a long illness. She was 26 years old. Father Wilbur conducted the funeral service.

An itinerant minister of the United Brethren church was among the first to hold service in the Yakima country. His name was Salee. One would not have taken him for a preacher from his appearance and dress. He usually wore white duck pants, and an army overcoat of the style of the Civil War; had a powerful voice and an insatiable appetite for tobacco. He could sing and chew, at one and the same time, and expectorate with unerring aim without missing a note—or his mark.

When he was about to leave for Walla Walla, in his farewell he said: "If I have done any one a wrong, or cherished ill-will toward any of you, I would ride all over Yakima county in a minute to ask your pardon." A rather large contract, considering the size of the county.

The first minister of the Methodist Episcopal church to be sent to the Yakima field was a young man, George W. Kennedy (in 1873). Now, after fifty years of arduous service, he is retired and living with his son at Hood River.

One notable incident of 1871 to me was the Indian camp-meeting at Fort Simcoe in July. Some four hundred Indians were present. There was preaching by Father Wilbur in Chinook, by Rev. C. A. Huntington of Olympia in English, and translated into Yakima by an interpreter and again by Timothy, a Nez Perce, in his own tongue, which was interpreted into Yakima. The singing was especially inspiring, for music seems to be a universal language.

Speaking of music recalls to me an amusing incident. An interprising Yankee had passed through the valley with a wagon load of dulcimers, selling one at nearly every home and teaching the purchasers to play the only tune that he knew himself, which was, "There is a Happy Land."

Following in his wake came the Hon. Seleucius Garfielde, campaigning for a seat in Congress as delegate from Washington Territory. When the silver-tongued orator returned to The Dalles, he declared that he "had been accompanied all the way to Ellensburg by a continuous and unbroken repetition of 'There is a Happy Land, Far, far Away'."

The veteran missionary, Rev. Cushing Eells, then living on the Whitman Mission claim near Walla Walla, was an old friend of the Tanners. I had heard much of him in my boyhood, for

he had taught school and singing classes in my home town while in the old East Windsor (now Hartford) Theological Seminary, before coming to Oregon, and was kindly remembered there by his old pupils. He sold his place at Whitman in 1873; being then sixty-three years old, and went to live with his son Edwin at Puget Sound. We received word that he was to make the trip on horseback alone by way of Snoqualmie Pass, and would stay a few days at Atanum. I think it was late in August when he came, with a good saddle horse and pack-animal. A man of medium size and plain appearance; wiry and active, very precise and deliberate in speech; practical and successful in business matters; economical and yet liberal in giving to church and school. Dr. George H. Atkinson told me later, that before Mr. Eell's death he had given more than $15,000 for benevolent purposes. He was much pleased that I could tell him of the families he had known in East Windsor, and brought out from his packed bucksin bags (relics of the old missionary days), many souvenirs they had given him—mittens, socks, handkerchiefs, which he had kept for more than thirty-five years. Not so lasting, however, was the rich fruit cake they had made for him, at his request, and which proved both food and medicine when, upon the plains, his stomach had rejected the unaccustomed diet of buffalo meat. See *Life of Rev. Cushing Eells* by his son Rev. Myron Eells. He remained several days, and preached on Sunday in the new schoolhouse. The day came for his departure. He planned to go only to Mr. Nelson's place beyond the Naches that afternoon. Mr. Tanner had an appointment to go to the saw mill that afternoon, and I was sent with Mr. Eells to see him safely across the ford of the Naches. Before leaving we were asked to join him in a brief service of song and prayer. Mr. Eells led in singing

"Guide me, O Thou Great Jehovah,
Pilgrim through this barren land,
I am weak, but Thou art mighty,
Guide me by Thy powerful hand."

On the hither side of the Naches we found Tom Nelson at work in his field. He proposed to ford the rapid stream and bring over a small boat, but Mr. Eells would not listen to that. "I have forded worse rivers than this," said he. "I can ride this way if I have to," and he sprang to his knees on his saddle. So Tom rode his own horse and leading the pack animal, piloted him safely across, while I remained on this side, watching them. Just

about seven years afterward Mr. Tanner himself lost his life in that treacherous stream.

The Congregational church at Atanum was organized in May, 1873, by Rev. George H. Atkinson and Rev. Thomas Condon, who came with Mr. Tanner from The Dalles. There were only three other Congregational churches in Washington Territory at that time at Walla Walla, Olympia and Seattle. Now there are more than two hundred. I think there were fourteen charter members, of which the writer was one. James Keeling and E. S. Tanner were the deacons and A. J. Pratt clerk.

Mr. Fenn B. Woodcock and family came to the valley about 1878 and after the death of Deacon Tanner in 1880, the mantle of Elisha seemed to have fallen upon him, and he carried on the work Mr. Tanner had started. Mr. William Bland, J. R. Filkins, H. M. Humphrey, Hugh and Silas Wiley, and their families; W. L. Stabler, Alonzo Durgin, A. J. Pratt and his father and brother, and Mr. Crosno; the Millicans, William and James, were among the pioneers; also Joseph Bouzer, John Polly, Moses Bollman and Mr. Robbins. On the Naches were the Nelsons. In Wenass and Selah valleys were Simmons, Vaughn, Mayberry, and Longmire. Ralph O. Dunbar, later to be for a long term of years Chief Justice of Washington, was reading law and tending his little band of cattle on his ranch in Wenass. Captain Henry C. Coe, son of the pioneer of Hood River, had a claim and cattle in Atanum, and his brother, Captain Frank, a hay ranch on the Yakima below the mouth of Satas Creek. J. B. Dickerson was the government farmer upon the Reservation. His nephew, William, farmed his place at Atanum and married a daughter of William Bland. They are now living in Los Angeles, as is also Captain Henry Coe. Ernest Woodcock, son of F. B., lives at Atanum.

In 1878 a sod fort was built upon the J. B. Dickerson place. There was fear of an Indian uprising, and the settlers took refuge there until the scare was over. When a company of Yakima volunteers captured Chief Moses and brought him in, they felt safer. About that time Robert Bland, son of Postmaster William Bland, was killed by Indians, at his homestead in Idaho, and a young couple named Perkins were murdered between Ellensburg and Yakima. The sod fort was in good preservation when I saw it in 1884, but I am informed that nothing now remains of it. Some suitable monument should mark the site.

The pioneers of Yakima were helpful to each other in time of need. When rough and ready Jo Bouzer met with a bad accident they carried him to The Dalles for treatment. When Mr. Tanner was delirious with a burning fever Mose Bollman hurried to the mountains for ice to relieve him, and Si Wiley rode post haste to The Dalles to bring a doctor. Si had been a cavalryman in the Civil War and made the trip in record time. He returned, smiling, with Dr. Baird, on the third day, despite the muddy trails and raging waters of Satas Canyon.

Once, in harvest time, it was announced at Sunday School, "Millican is seriously sick. His ten acres of wheat is ripe and must be cut. Who will volunteer?" They turned out with grain cradles and rakes and by noon Millican's wheat was safe in the shock, and the wives and daughters of the workers had prepared a dinner fit for a king. Millican was improving, but words failed him to express his gratitude.

In the summer of 1873 settlers came in rapidly. Men were trying with poor success to run logs down the Yakima for ties for Dr. D. S. Baker's Wallula and Walla Walla railroad.

The old town at Union Gap took on new life, especially upon the arrival of fresh consignments of "white mule." The Barker brothers soon built a flour mill. The Schanno brothers came from The Dalles and built a large general store, and later a brewery. About that time hop growing became general and extensive. I think that a Mr. Carpenter was the first one to plant them. A Good Templar lodge was formed which at one time had about one hundred members, the best young men and women in all the country. "Oregon" Dunbar, the future Chief Justice, and G. W. Kennedy, the Methodist Episcopal circuit rider, were prominent among them.

I left the Yakima country in the autumn of 1873. My next visit was in 1875, when I was with a surveying party under the late D. D. Clarke, of Portland. We surveyed two townships, most of them in the valleys of the Naches and Wenass. Besides our chief the party consisted of James Davis and Lee and Philander Kelley of Naches; William Roberts of The Dalles, and Alonzo Durgin of Yakima was camp keeper and cook. Roberts, a youngster then, is now a well known civil engineer. Lee Kelley was drowned in the Naches a few years later. Philander perished alone in a winter storm while hunting stock.

After J. B. Dickerson gave up the position of government farmer Father Wilbur had Mr. Tanner appointed in his place.

and he removed to the Lone Pine farm in Simcoe Valley near the present town of White Swan.

In the summer of 1879 I was sick at White Salmon for a long time, with the ague. I met Mr. Tanner at The Dalles, and accompanied him home. He had now returned to Atanum. On my return a few weeks later he took me as far as Lone Pine farm, where we ate our lunch togther, and bade each other a last good-bye. The following year he was drowned in the Naches.

After his death I saw the family again in 1884. It was my last view of the Atanum. Very few persons are now living who were there in the early '70's. The old, and the men and women then in the prime, have, most of them, passed on. The children of that pioneer time are now in the harness. Let us hope that they and their children will carry on, will be as faithful to their tasks, and their duty, as were the pioneers of Yakima almost sixty years ago.

There are many, many incidents of those two summers of which I might write, but they are not of historical value, and I desist. This story is already too personal. I did not know many of the pioneers personally, and hope no one will feel neglected.

ALBERT J. THOMPSON.

THE BENJAMIN P. CHENEY ACADEMY[1]

In the development of a new country towns spring up quickly, enjoy brief periods of prosperity and then, with the shifting of economic interests, pass into obscurity. Such has been the history of Cheney, Washington, once the county seat of Spokane County and a considerable village of Eastern Washington, but now without claim to distinction save as the site of one of the State Normal Schools of Washington. In 1879 Spokane County was separated from Stevens County by an act of the Territorial Legislature and the temporary county seat was located at Spokane Falls. The following summer a town, favored by officials of the Northern Pacific railroad, was located on a site known to early settlers as Depot Springs.[2] In November, 1880, by vote of the people of Spokane County, the county seat was located at Depot Springs, which by this time had come to be called Cheney, in honor of one of the directors of the railroad.[3] The six years which followed were "boom" years for Cheney, but in 1886 Spokane Falls had attained sufficient importance to win back the county seat. There followed a shifting of economic interests, and Cheney fell upon evil days. Turgid oratory and editorial effervescence failed to alter a condition. Worsted in the struggle for economic supremacy, the people of Cheney then turned their attention to a new desideratum and conceived the idea of making Cheney an educational center of Eastern Washington. In this enterprise more than ordinary success has crowned their efforts. The Benjamin

1This article has been extracted from Chapter I of the present writer's *History of the State Normal School at Cheney*, Ms. This volume will be published within the year.

2 H. T. Cowley, in Durham's *History of Spokane and the Inland Empire*, vol I, p. 374. On July 10, 1880, according to George Engel, *Reminiscences*, Ms., the first political meeting in Cheney was held at the home of J. A. Lemon for the purpose of agreeing upon a location for a county seat. The minutes were published in the *Palouse Gazette* of July 16, 1880. From the following excerpt the influence of the Northern Pacific on the selection of the site may be inferred: "The interests of Spokane Falls were ably sustained by Andrew Lefevre, Spokane Bridge by Taylor Winn, and Spring Valley by Tobias Smythe. Mr. A. S. Abernethy then stated on behalf of the N. P. R. R., that a townsite had been finally located on S. 13, T. 23., R., 41, E., at present known as Depot Springs, as a point which will accommodate the largest area of agricultural country. The Depot Springs were then mentioned as a suitable place for the county seat, also Spokane Falls and Medical Lake. On an informal ballot being taken, the Depot Springs were ahead, and on a formal ballot being called for, the sense of the convention was declared unanimously in favor of Depot Springs."

3 That Cheney has had three names is a fact which seems to have been overlooked by students of local history. My attention was first called to the matter by reading the reminiscences of George Engel, prepared for C. S. Kingston, vice president of the Normal School, in 1922. The manuscript is preserved in the Normal School library. Said Mr. Engel: "We used to call Cheney then Depot Springs, from the fine spring that was near the site of the present depot. After this there was a little while that it was known as Billings, from Frederick Billings, one of the financiers of the railroad." In the *Palouse Gazette* of September 17, 1880, the following item appeared: "By order of General Sprague the townsite on the line of the Northern Pacific railroad, formerly called Billings, has been changed to Cheney, after Hon. Ben P. Cheney, one of the directors of the road. This point is more familiarly known as Depot Springs." Frederick Billings was president of the Northern Pacific from 1879 to 1881. For a further account of his career see Smalley, E. V.: *History of the Northern Pacific Railroad*. Putman's, New York, 1883.

P. Cheney Academy, established in Cheney through the generosity of Benjamin P. Cheney and the Northern Pacific railroad, gave the opportunity.[4] When Washington was admitted to the Union, November 11, 1889, the trustees of the academy consented to the donation of the building and grounds to the state on condition that the state locate and maintain in Cheney in perpetuity an institution for the training of teachers.[5] Around the establishment of the Normal School and the efforts and sacrifices of the people to retain and upbuild it in the face of fires, internal dissensions and political manipulations the history of Cheney has revolved since the beginning of statehood. Striving in the face of adversity to build up an institution which has now become the pride of the commonwealth, struggling against forces—natural as well as political—which would have daunted men and women of less courage and vision, the efforts of the pioneer citizens of Cheney in behalf of the Normal School have made one of the brilliant chapters in the annals of the Pacific Northwest. There have been few dull moments in the history of the State Normal School at Cheney. It has run the gamut of adversity. From its inception almost to the present it has been a storm center of politics. Twice it has been destroyed by fire,[6] and three times it has been brought low by the veto power of the governor.[7] Yet it has withstood all of these

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4 Benjamin Pierce Cheney was born in Hillsboro, N. H., August 12, 1815. He received a common school education, became a stage driver and subsequently manager of the line. In 1842 he established, with two others, Cheney & Co's., Boston and Montreal Express. A few years later he formed the United States and Canada Express Co., of which he was president. In 1879 the great business he had founded was merged with the American Express Co., in which he became the largest stockholder and in which he held the office of director and treasurer until his retirement from active business life. He was a director of the Northern Pacific railroad for many years. In the course of his lifetime Mr. Cheney amassed a huge fortune, valued at his death in 1895 at $9,000,000. Despite his lack of education, he had a broad outlook upon life, and was generous in his donations to educational institutions. He gave $50,000 to Dartmouth College. He presented to his native state a bronze statue of Daniel Webster, with whom he had been on intimate terms in his days as a stage driver. Richard Olney paid him the following tribute: "Mr. Cheney was one of the self-made men of New England and possessed in large measure the qualities to which their success in life is to be attributed. From his youth up he was temperate, industrious and persevering and resolute in his determination to better the conditions to which he had been born. He brought to its accomplishment great native shrewdness, a kindly, cheerful and engaging disposition, a sense of honor, the lack of which often seriously impairs the efficiency of the strongest natures, and an intuitive and almost unfailing judgment of human character and motives. The reward of his career was not merely a large fortune accumulated wholly by honorable means, but the respect and regard of the entire community in which he lived."

Mr. Cheney, in recognition of the honor which had been conferred upon him by associating his name with a town for which a promising future was anticipated, contributed $10,000 toward the construction of an academy, and thereby laid the foundation for the educational system which Cheney enjoys today.

5 Stephen G. Grubb, author of the act which created the State Normal School at Cheney, wrote, several years afterward, a brief account of the vicissitudes of the measure in the legislature in 1889-90. His article was published in 1907 in the *Rhododendron*, the year book of the student body of the Normal School.

6 The academy building was destroyed by fire on August 27, 1891. The administration building of the Normal School, which was completed in 1896 at a cost of $60,000, was destroyed on April 24, 1912.

7 Appropriations for the Normal School have been vetoed as follows: John H. McGraw, 1893; John R. Rogers, 1897; Ernest Lister, 1913. The school, by private assistance, was kept in operation despite the veto of Governor McGraw. During the year 1897-98 the school was obliged to close on account of Governor Roger's veto, but in the fall of 1898 it was reopened on a subscription and tuition basis. In 1913 the legislature passed the appropriation bill for the Normal School over the veto of Governor Lister.

misfortunes and justified the faith of the citizens of Cheney and the Inland Empire. But it is not within the purview of this article to trace the development of the Normal School. This article is limited to a brief treatment of the Benjamin P. Cheney Academy, the progenitor of the State Normal School at Cheney.

Benjamin P. Cheney, in consideration of the honor which had been conferred upon him, gave $10,000 toward the establishment of an academy in Cheney, and the Northern Pacific donated a site, consisting of about eight acres.[8]

"The Benjamin P. Cheney Academy was built in the fall of 1881 and was completed shortly after the opening of the year 1882. The builder was a Portland contractor, and the material was brought from Portland over the Northern Pacific railroad, which had been finished as far as Cheney about June, 1881. The building was a wooden structure, 36 x 66, with the longer side facing the town. In the inside there was a hall running across the building and dividing both the first and second floors into two schoolrooms each. The building stood as described until 1891, when an addition, 24 x 60, was built at the middle of the rear end of the building, making the ground plan of the structure in the form of a 'T'.[9] The addition was also of two stories, and was intended to be divided into four classrooms. It was also planned to have a gymnasium in the basement of the addition. But, while the addition was still under construction, a fire started, August 27,

8 L. E. Kellogg, editor of the first newspaper published in Cheney, *The Northwest Tribune*, on July 16, 1923, recounted for the present writer his recollections of the establishing of the Cheney Academy. He said: "In the fall of 1878 [1880], following the excitement of the Spokane county-seat election and its removal to Cheney, the new town took on a phenomenal growth. Fraternal orders were instituted, churches organized, the necessity for school advantages recognized, and steps taken to provide for them. The population was mostly recent arrivals, and the continual solicitation for funds during and following the campaign had taxed the financial ability of the people to the utmost. But school facilities must be provided. A meeting of representative citizens was called to meet in *The Tribune* office to discuss the school matter and take necessary steps. Hon D. F. Percival was chairman and L. E. Kellogg secretary. The importance of school advantages was fully discussed, and, as usual, a committee was appointed to solicit funds although it was apparent that the people were not able to raise sufficient funds to build a school building to accommodate the growing demands of the town.

"Hon. Alex Abernethy was present at that meeting. Mr. Abernethy was associated with the land department of the Northern Pacific railway and personally acquainted with Benjamin P. Cheney, one of the directors of the N. P. Mr. Abernethy suggested that some substantial aid might be obtained from Mr. Cheney, and the secretary, upon motion, was directed to communicate with Mr. Cheney. Accordingly, the secretary wrote Mr. Cheney. Some time after this Hon. J. W. Sprague, general supervisor of the Northern Pacific railway, had official business in Cheney, and he said he had received a letter from Mr. Cheney on the subject of a school building, and expressed the opinion that he thought Mr. Cheney would humor his pride by furnishing the means to build a school edifice that would stand as a monument to his memory. Some further communications were exchanged, resulting in the announcement that Mr. Cheney had placed the sum of $10,000 in the hands of General Sprague for a school building at Cheney."

L. E. Kellogg was born in Ashtabula, Ohio, August 3, 1850. He was educated in the common schools and spent one year at Grand River Institute, Austenburg, Ohio. He arrived in Colfax, Washington Territory, in June, 1877. He has been auditor of Douglas County, receiver of the United States land office in Waterville, and postmaster at Waterville. For several years he was engaged in newspaper work in Washington. He now resides in Wenatchee.

9 The *Biennial Report of the Trustees of the Normal School*, 1892, page 3, gives the dimensions of the addition as 40x60 feet.

1891, a short while before the opening of school, which destroyed both the unfinished addition and the main part of the school building. The fire occurred about one o'clock in the morning. Officially, it was declared that the fire started on the northeast side, in a heated mortar bed, which was too close to the wooden basement wall."[10]

The first board of trustees for the academy, organized in 1881, consisted of the Reverend George H. Atkinson[11] of Portland, Congregational minister; D. F. Percival,[12] business man of Cheney, and General J. W. Sprague[13] of Tacoma, official of the Northern Pacific railroad. Articles of incorporation were adpoted on September 24, 1881, and filed with the records of the Spokane County auditor on October 1.[14]

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10 Engel, George: *Reminiscences*, Ms. The building was under construction in November, 1881. The *Palouse Gazette*, November 25, 1881, recorded the death of a workman who was injured while working on the academy building. In the issue of the same newspaper for April 7, 1882, the following item appeared: "According to *The Tribune*, the opening exercises of the Cheney Academy occurred last Friday" [March 31]. It is presumed that these exercises were public, for all other available records point to April 3 as the opening school day.

11 George Henry Atkinson, pioneer educator and missionary of Oregon and Washington, was born in Newburyport, Mass., May 10, 1819. In 1843 he was graduated by Dartmouth, and three years later completed his course in the Andover Theological Seminary. He married Nancy Bates in 1846, was ordained February 24, 1847, and the following October Mr. and Mrs. Atkinson left for Oregon via the Sandwich Islands. For forty years Mr. Atkinson was engaged in religous work in the Northwest. He was pastor of the Congregational church in Oregon City for fifteen years and of the Portland church for several years. In 1872 he became general home missionary superintendent for both Oregon and Washington, a position which he held until his death. During his many years in the Northwest Mr. Atkinson found time to write extensively on the resources of the country. He made several trips to the East, and addressed many prominent bodies. His interest in education is attested by the fact that he was a trustee of Tualatin Academy, Whitman College, Cheney Academy and Fidalgo Academy. He founded Steilacoom Academy. He was the first school superintendent of Clackamas County and was subsequently superintendent of Multnomah County schools for two terms. He died in Portland on February 25, 1889. For an extensive account of his life see the following book, compiled by Nancy Bates Atkinson: *Biography of Rev. G. H. Atkinson, D. D.* F. W. Bates and Company, Portland, Ore., 1893.

12 Daniel F. Percival was born in Bangor, Maine, November 16, 1839. Mr. Percival's father was a lumberman, and his son was brought up in the business. He enlisted in the Union army in 1864, was present at the fall of Richmond and the surrender of General Lee, and was discharged in 1865, when he engaged in merchandising in St. Joe, Mo. On May 1, 1866, he started across the plains with an ox team, arriving at Bozeman, Mont., on Sept. 1 of that year. Two years later he went to California, where he engaged in business in San Diego for two years. He then went to Portland and engaged in the lumbering business. In 1872 he went to Rock Creek, Washington, and entered the stock-raising business. He served as county commissioner of Stevens County in 1874 and 1875, and was a member of the territorial legislature from 1876 to 1880. In 1881 he moved to Cheney and entered the real estate and brokerage business. He established a private bank, and in 1889 organized the First National of Cheney, serving as its president. Mr. Percival served for five successive terms as mayor of Cheney. He was president of the board of trustees of the Eastern Washington Insane Asylum at Medical Lake for eight years, and served his community and state in many other capacities. It was he who introduced in the legislature of 1879 the bill to separate Spokane County from Stevens County. He died in 1907.

13 John Wilson Sprague, soldier, was born in White Creek, N. Y., April 4, 1817. He was educated in the common schools and attended the Rensslaer Polytechnic Institute at Troy, but was never graduated. After leaving school he became a merchant, and in 1851-52 he was treasurer of Erie County, Ohio. At the beginning of the Civil War he was made captain in the Seventh Ohio volunteers, became colonel of the Sixty-Third Ohio in 1863, and was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers on July 30, 1864. He received the brevet of major-general, United States volunteers, March 13, 1865. At the close of the war he declined a lieutenant-colonelcy in the regular army. In 1870 he came to Washington Territory, having been made general agent and superintendent of the Northern Pacific railroad, which offices he resigned in 1882. Afterwards he was engaged in various enterprises, and for five years was president of the National Bank in Tacoma. The town of Sprague, in Lincoln County, is named in his honor. For an account of his death and a brief sketch of his life see the *Spokane Weekly Review*, December 28, 1893.

14 Spokane County Auditor, *B-2, Misc.*

"The trustees, General J. W. Sprague, Rev. Dr. Atkinson, and Hon. D. F. Percival, met here on the 15th inst. [December, 1881] to complete the organization of the Benjamin P. Cheney Academy. General J. W. Sprague was elected president, Rev. Dr. Atkinson secretary and Hon. D. F. Percival treasurer. The board examined the academy building, which is nearly completed, and pronounced it a substantial structure, with large working capacity and all modern improvements necessary to the health and comfort of the pupils. Several hundred dollars have been saved through the liberality of Henry Villard,[15] president of the Northern Pacific railroad, and General J. W. Sprague, general superintendent, in transporting material free of charge over the O. W. R. & N. and N. P. lines. The trustees of the academy and the directors of the Cheney public school met and discussed educational interests. The trustees of the academy assured the board of directors that it was their desire to carry out the views of Judge Cheney and make this a first class institution of learning, and would do all in their power to promote our educational interests. They believed, with proper effort, that the academy could be opened in a few weeks, and meantime it is the intention of the trustees of the academy and the school directors to make some arrangements for the future that will be entirely satisfactory to the public."[16]

The arrangement made by the trustees of the academy and the board of directors of the Cheney school district was a merger, whereby the academy was employed by the school district to teach the children who otherwise would be enrolled in the public school.[17] This merger lasted until 1887, during which time the district taxed itself about ten mills, and the rest of the money was obtained by tuition and contributions by Mr. Cheney. During the period of the merger the affairs of the school were carried on jointly by the two boards. The merger became unsatisfactory be-

15 Henry Villard, president of the Northern Pacific railroad from 1881 to 1883, was born at Speyer, Rhenish Bavaria, April 10, 1835. He was educated at Speyer, Munich, and Wurzburg. He landed in New York on November 18, 1853. In 1856-57 he edited the *Volksblatt* at Racine, Wis. In 1858 he reported the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and in 1860-61 he was reporter for the *Associated Press* at Springfield, Ill. During the Civil War he was a reporter on military affairs, and in 1866-67 he went to Europe as war correspondent for American newspapers. From 1876 to 1883 he was actively engaged in the railroad business. In 1881 he gained control of the Northern Pacific and was elected president. That same year he also bought the New York *Evening Post* and the *Nation*. In 1883 he resigned the presidency of the Northern Pacific, but re-entered the directorate in 1887-88. He died on November 12, 1900. For a comprehensive account of his career see *Memoirs of Henry Villard*, two volumes. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York, 1904.

16 Newspaper clipping found in the *Papers of D. H. Felch*. Mr. Felch was the first principal of the Benjamin P. Cheney Academy. The clipping is dated December 23, 1881, but there is no clue as to the newspaper in which it was published. It is supposed that the item was clipped from a Cheney newspaper.

17 Walter, Louis: *Reminiscences*, Ms.; letter of F. V. Hoyt to writer, October, 1922.

cause many persons believed that the Congregational church was dominating the academy.[18] The academy opened on April 3, 1882.

Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin P. Cheney and other prominent officials of the Northern Pacific railroad visited Cheney in September, 1883. Their coming was the occasion for a gala day in Cheney. A special committee on arrangements was appointed, and placards, conveying the following information, were distributed:[19]

"Upon the arrival of the train with Mr. Cheney citizens are requested to close their places of business and retire to the academy. School children participating in the reception will meet at the academy at one o'clock. The committee of arrangements and school children will escort Mr. Cheney to the academy, preceded by the band. On account of the uncertainty as to the exact time of the arrival of the train with Mr. Cheney, teachers will retain children at the academy until notified by the committee. The committee expresses the hope that every citizen will join in the reception."

Mr. Cheney's visit, judging from the newspaper account, was highly successful. Under a Cheney date line, September 18, 1883, *The Oregonian* carried the following story:

"The grandest and most imposing ceremonies ever witnessed in this section have just been concluded. The occasion was in honor of Benjamin P. Cheney of Boston, one of the directors of the Northern Pacific railway, for whom our town is named, and who is the founder of the B. P. Cheney Academy here. Mr. Cheney arrived on a special car at eight o'clock,[20] accompanied by his most estimable wife; Robert Harris, one of the directors of the Northern Pacific railroad, and vice president of the New York, Lake Erie and Western Railroad; General Kane, brother of the famous Arctic explorer, and other prominent railroad men.

"The party was met at the depot by about two hundred students of the academy, brass band and citizens of Cheney and surrounding vicinity. The town was beautifully decorated with flags and evergreens, and across one of the principal streets was suspended the motto in evergreen letters, "Greeting to B. P. Cheney." All business was suspended. Mr. Cheney and friends were escorted to the academy by the band, students and a large crowd of citizens. * * * *

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18 Walter, *Reminiscences*, Ms.

19 From the *Papers of D. H. Felch.*

20 This hour does not agree with the hour set in the placard quoted above. It may be that eight o'clock is a misprint, and that three o'clock was meant. The figures three and eight are easily confused. In the news story the hour was indicated by a figure.

"Hon. D. F. Percival delivered the address of welcome in a brief but appropriate speech, after which Mr. Cheney was introduced amid great applause. Mr. Cheney related some of the incidents of his visit to the Pacific coast, but said this occasion was the most pleasant of all. He concluded by saying that when the academy should be found insufficient to accommodate the demand he would make it larger. * * * * *

Appropriate remarks were made by Dr. G. H. Atkinson, Rev. Father Eells,[21] W. R. Andrews and others. The party were all evidently much pleased with their visit, as were the citizens, who feel grateful to Mr. Cheney. They were all interested in the display of vegetables and grains at the railroad office and were much pleased with the town of Cheney. * * * * * The day will long be remembered as the most pleasant in the history of Cheney."

Meager information that is available, coupled with the recollection of a few persons who lived in Cheney during those years, tends to show that the academy was kept in operation with varying success until Washington Territory became a state. During that time five principals served the school.

D. H. Felch,[22] the first principal, remained with the school for about two years. Trouble of some sort arose, and he withdrew. The Reverend F. V. Hoyt succeeded him and was principal for three months in the winter of 1883-84.[23] James W. Dow

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21 Cushing Eells, missionary to the Indians of Washington Territory, was born in Blanford, Mass., February 16, 1810. In 1834 he was graduated by Williams College, and three years later he finished his studies at the East Windsor Theological Institute. He was ordained October 25, 1837, and on March 5, 1838, he married Myra Fairbank. In August, 1838, the Eellses arrived at the Whitman Mission, and in the autumn the Reverend Cushing Eells, with Elkanah Walker, located a mission at Tshimakain, now called Walker's Prairie. The following February work was begun at the mission and continued until June 3, 1848. For the next several years Mr. Eells was engaged in educational work in the Willamette valley. He obtained a charter for Whitman Seminary from the Washington Territorial Legislature in the winter of 1859-60. He became president of the board of trustees, and for two years was principal of the seminary. He organized the first Congregational church north of the Snake River and East of the Columbia, at Colfax, in 1877, delivered the first Fourth of July address in the Walla Walla valley, and preached the first Protestant sermon in Walla Walla. In April, 1882, he moved to Cheney and built a house, which is still standing. He had previously organized a church in Cheney, February 26, 1881, in a hotel over a barroom. This church, the first in Cheney, started with a membership of nine. The Rev. Mr. Eells contributed $500 to the building of the Cheney church, which was dedicated December 18, 1881. He organized many other Congregational churches in the Inland Empire, and bought bells for many of them. He died February 16, 1893. See Eells, Myron: *Father Eells, or the Results of Fifty-Five Years of Missionary Labors in Washington and Oregon.* Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society, Boston and Chicago, [1894?].

22 Daniel Henry Felch was born in Groton, Mass., September 19, 1856. He was graduated by Bowdoin College in 1874. He read law, spent a year in the Harvard law school, and was admitted to the bar in 1880. He then came West and established himself at Cheney. He was principal of the Cheney Academy for about two years, starting April 3, 1882. He died March 5, 1920. He is survived by a daughter, Mrs. Ruth Felch Ford.

23 Frederick V. Hoyt, now a farmer of Usk, Wash., was born in Meridian, N. Y., May 24, 1858. His parents were natives of New York State. Mr. Hoyt was educated at Olivet College and at Yale Divinity School, receiving the degrees of A. B. and B. D. He came West in 1882, arriving at Cheney August 4. He married Mary C. Buch on August 12, 1886. They have one son, Arthur B. Hoyt, of Usk.

was principal from April, 1884, to June, 1886.[24] Mortimer M. Carraher was principal from 1886 to 1889.[25] B. G. Cheney, a distant relative of Benjamin P. Cheney, was principal during 1889-90, the last year the academy was in operation.[26]

During the several years the Cheney Academy was maintained money to defray the expenses of operation came from three sources: tuition, district school taxes and contributions by Mr. Cheney. It is not known that any official records bearing upon all the details of this matter are now extant, and the statements of those who participated in the activities of the academy, made nearly forty years afterward, are contradictory in some respects. This, however, is not to be wondered at. Whether or not tuition was charged in the beginning, whether or not Mr. Cheney's donations stopped with the original gift, it is a fact beyond dispute that a note of an annual tuition fee of $30 is recorded in the *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education* for 1882-83.[27] As the Cheney Academy was not opened until April 3, 1882, it is apparent that it could not have continued long without charging tuition, else the record would not be shown so soon in the reports of the United States Commissioner of Education. Tuition rates for the term beginning August 24, 1885, were advertised as follows: Primary, $6.50 per term; common English, $9.50 per term; higher English, $10.50 per term; languages, each extra, $2.00 per term.[28] Provision was made whereby lessons in instrumental music might be obtained from competent teachers in town.

School was maintained for three terms of twelve weeks each, and special inducements were held out to those contemplating

24 James W. Dow, real estate and insurance dealer of Chewelah, Wash., was the third principal of the Benjamin P. Cheney Academy. He was born in Leicester, N. Y., April 19, 1850. He took a classical course in Oberlin College. He came to Cheney April 7, 1884. On August 24, 1897, he married Miss Anna Follett.

25 Mrs. Imogene Carraher of Seattle, widow of M. M. Carraher, submitted the following information to the present writer on April 29, 1922: Mortimer M. Carraher was born in Quebec, Canada, April 8, 1853. A few weeks later his parents moved to Connecticut, thence to Dubuque, and subsequently to Sioux City, Iowa. Mr. Carraher was educated in the common schools and received his diploma from the normal school at Cedar Falls, Iowa, in 1879. In 1884 he was awarded a diploma by the Northern Indiana Normal. In 1885 Mr. Carraher came to the Pacific Coast with a G. A. R. excursion party. He visited in Seattle, then with relatives in Spokane, and finally settled in Cheney, and became principal of the Cheney Academy. June 15, 1887, he married Imogene Bybee of Cheney. In 1889 the family moved to Seattle, and Mr. Carraher entered the real estate and loan business. He became prominent in civic and fraternal circles in the city, and was a prominent member of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce until his death on October 7, 1919.

26 B. G. Cheney, attorney at Montesano, Wash., was born in Maine on April 19, 1860. He was educated at Bates. In 1885 he married Jennie E. Barton. Mr. Cheney arrived in Cheney, Wash., in September, 1889, and served as principal of the Cheney Academy until it was closed the following spring. In May, 1890, he became a resident of Montesano, Wash., where he has since lived. He has served as clerk of the court, city attorney and mayor of Montesano.

27 *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education*, 1882-83, p. 514; *ibid.*, 1888-89, vol. II, p. 1053. Walter, *Reminiscences*, Ms. Letter of James W. Dow to writer, Nov. 17, 1922; letter of F. V. Hoyt to writer, October, 1922; letter of B. G. Cheney to writer, 1922. These letters are on file in the library of the State Normal School at Cheney.

28 *The Northwest Tribune*, July 30, 1885.

teaching to attend. The board of directors in 1885 was the same as when it was organized in 1881.

In 1886 tuition fees were advertised as follows: Primary (three lowest grades) $5 per term; intermediate (the next three grades), $7 per term; common and higher English, $9 per term; languages, each extra, $2 per term. It was announced that free-hand drawing would also be taught incidentally, without extra charge.[29]

The last term of school held in the academy opened on January 6, 1890. Scientific, business, literary, elementary, and primary courses were advertised. These courses were offered on a tuition basis.

At no time did the curriculum of the academy advance far beyond the bounds of an ordinary grade school. In 1883-84 work was offered to the eighth or ninth grade.[30] During the next two years the course of study was still somewhat indefinite, classes being arranged according to the inclinations of the pupils.[31] High school subjects offered during those years included elementary algebra, plane geometry, physics and Latin.[32] In 1888-89 "there was offered a general review of the grade subjects along with high school subjects. * * * * * As near as I can remember there were no very mature pupils in the school."[33]

The first commencement exercises of the Cheney Academy, described by a contemporary in the extravagant language which characterized country journalism a few decades ago, were held in the Cheney Congregational church on June 15, 1888. Four pupils were awarded diplomas by the principal, M. M. Carraher, one of whom, Ralph Hendricks, is now a prominent physician of Spokane. The group attending the exercises passed a resolution of gratitude for the efficient service given by the principal and his faculty to the academy and to the community.[34]

With the transfer of the county seat to Spokane Falls after the election in 1886, the Cheney Academy, like the town of Cheney, entered upon a period of decline.[35] At about the same time local dissensions forced a dissolution of the merger between the

29 *Ibid.*, August 19, 1886.

30 Letter of F. V. Hoyt to writer, October, 1922.

31 Letter of James W. Dow to writer, Nov. 17, 1922.

32 *Ibid.*

33 Letter of W. E. Gamble to writer, April 15, 1823. Mr. Gamble, superintendent of schools at Loomis, Wash., when the letter was written, was a member of the faculty of the Cheney Academy in 1888-89.

34 *Cheney Sentinel*, June 22, 1888.

35 The contrast is shown by comparing the reports of the United States Commissioner of Education. In the report for 1882-83, p. 514, an enrolment of 201 is shown. In the report for 1888-89 the number of pupils enrolled is recorded as 60 (vol. II, p. 1053).

academy and the Cheney school district, and in 1887 W. J. Sutton of Michigan was elected principal of the Cheney public school.[36] For three years the academy waged a losing fight with the public school, and was on the point of closing its doors when the admission of Washington to the Union brought a new hope to the academy and to the people of Cheney. Why not offer the moribund academy to the State of Washington on condition that the legislature locate and maintain a State Normal School in Cheney? Provision for normal schools had been made in the Enabling Act. The proposition was accordingly carried to the legislature by Representative Stephen G. Grubb of Cheney, acted upon favorably, and the building and the grounds of the Benjamin P. Cheney Academy became the home of the oldest state teacher-training institution in Washington.[37]

NOTE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the preparation of this article the writer, because of the lack of official records, has been obliged to rely mainly upon incomplete files of Cheney and Spokane newspapers published during the period under discussion, and to draw upon the recollections of men who participated in the activities of the Benjamin P. Cheney Academy. Two men whose reminiscences have been particularly helpful are Louis Walter and George Engel. Mr. Walter came to Cheney in 1881, and during the subsequent twenty years played a creditable role in the activities of his community and the state. He was appointed president of the first board of trustees of the Normal School, and during the second session of the legislature he was a member of the house of representatives. Mr. Engel came to Cheney in the summer of 1880, while the site was still known as Depot Springs. He has lived in Cheney since then, and for many years has been an employe of the Normal School. In 1922 C. S. Kingston, vice-president of the Normal School, prevailed upon these men to reduce to writing a part of their recol-

36 Interview with W. J. Sutton.

37 "An Act to establish a normal school for the State of Washington, in the city of Cheney, in Spokane County, and for the government, mangement and control of the same." [Approved March 22, 1890].

"Section 1—That a normal school for the State of Washington is hereby established in the city of Cheney, in Spokane County, ********** *Provided*, That the trustees of the Benjamin P. Cheney Academy shall, prior to the first day of September (1890), eighteen hundred and ninety, donate to the state the building and one block of ground containing eight acres, now occupied by said Benjamin P. Cheney Academy, within the limits of the city of Cheney, and valued at not less than thirty thousand ($30,000) dollars, and shall convey the same to the State of Washington by a good and perfect title in fee simple, to be approved by the attorney general and accepted by the board of trustees hereinafter mentioned."—*Session Laws*, 1889-90, p. 365. State Printing and Publishing Company, Olympia, 1890.

The building and the grounds were formally accepted by the board of trustees on August 18, 1890.—*Cheney Sentinel*, August 22, 1890.

lections of early Cheney history, and these manuscripts are now on file in the Normal School library. They have been referred to in this article as the Walter and the Engel *Reminiscences.*

Incomplete files of the *Cheney Sentinel* and *The Northwest Tibune,* as well as complete files of the *Palouse Gazette,* have been used. In July, 1923, L. E. Kellogg of Wenatchee prepared for the writer a valuable paper on early Cheney history. Mr. Kellogg was editor of *The Northwest Tribune* when it was moved from Colfax to Cheney in 1880, and for some time thereafter. In the notes of this article the *Papers of D. H. Felch* are cited occasionally. These papers, which had been assembled in the form of a scrap book by Mr. Felch during his lifetime, were made available to the writer by Mr. Felch's daughter, Mrs. Ruth Felch Ford. The story from *The Oregonian* was discovered among these papers.

Material for biographical notes has been assembled from sundry sources. For the sketches of the lives of the principals of the academy information has been obtained from the men themselves or from some member of their respective families. Apart from the sources specifically cited in the other sketches, the writer has drawn upon Jonathan Edwards, *History of Spokane County;* N. W. Durham, *History of Spokane and the Inland Empire,* three volumes; and *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography.*

A file of the *Spokane Times,* a newspaper published in Spokane Falls during the period under discussion, is extant. The Normal School hopes to obtain possession of it within a short time. It should prove a valuable source for the history of Spokane County during the eighties.

J. ORIN OLIPHANT.

SEATTLE'S FIRST NEED OF A POST OFFICE

I have just unearthed a letter that ought to interest the people of Seattle. It is probably well known that the little colony at Alki Point first took upon itself the name of New York. The schooner *Exact* which landed the colony there took D. R. Bigelow and others on to Olympia. A few weeks later Mr. Bigelow wrote the letter I have just found. It is addressed to the Delegate to Congress from Oregon Territory. Mr. Bigelow was an eloquent man and well educated, a graduate of Union College and of Harvard Law School. On July 4, 1852, he delivered the oration at Olympia. So highly esteemed was that oration that it was published in full in the *Columbian's* first issue on September 11, 1852. With James K. Kelly and Reuben P. Boise, Mr. Bigelow was made a member of the Code Commission of Oregon Territory. As a youth, I looked up to Mr. Bigelow and wondered why he did not practice his profession. I was repeatedly told that he had become a Christian early in 1853 and promptly concluded that he could not continue the practice of law and live up to his conception of what the life of a Christian ought to be. With this introduction I now append the old letter mentioed above.

GEORGE H. HIMES.

Olympia, Puget Sound, O. T.
Dec. 21st, 1851.

Hon. Joseph Lane,
Sir,

There is great anxiety in Oregon that something should be done to protect immigrants crossing the plains against the Indians. The Indians have killed several this year, and stolen much stock. I crossed this season. The Pawnees were very insolent and thievish, and as I have been informed robbed some of the late trains, so that they were compelled to return to the States. But the Snakes have been the worst, they have killed women and children and men also, when they had opportunity, and had several battles with whole trains. Many here that have friends in the States wishing to come here have been compelled to write them that they do not consider it safe for them to cross the plains on account of Indians, and many more will be compelled to write the same unless government does something to protect immigrants. Some

troops at Fort Hall and Boise would do much good, as it is this side of Fort Hall that most of the disturbance has taken place. Twelve hundred wagons came into Oregon this season. This part of the country has received a fair portion of this year's immigration, and is improving fast. There is great need of more Post Offices along the Sound, some have to come 60 miles to this office, this being the only one on the Sound, and many neglect to take papers on account of being so far from an office. There ought to be an Office as low down as New York, that place is fifty miles below this, at the mouth of the Dewamps river, and that part of the country is settling fast. It would be a great benefit to this section if the mail was brought round by a steamer. If you could get that done for us you would do us much good. The mail is now brought across by land, and is frequently wet by high water, so as to damage it materially.

Your Obd Sevt,

D. R. Bigelow

MARKING HISTORIC SITES*

On the 29th day of August, 1851, citizens living in the Northwest part of Oregon Territory met in convention at Cowlitz and formulated a petition to the United States Congress asking for division of territory, and the erection of a new commonwealth north of the Columbia river, to be known as "The Territory of Columbia." Several other things were asked for by the members of the convention: one of great importance was an appropriation of $100,000 for the construction of a road across the Cascade Mountains from Puget Sound to Fort Walla Walla. Congress of course could hardly do just what the people most intimately concerned wanted done; but they did appropriate $20,000 for the construction of a military road from Fort Steilacoom to Fort Walla Walla via the Naches Pass, and they did enact a law creating a new Territory north of the Columbia, with much greater expanse than was asked, then too they called it Washington instead of "Columbia." We of today, however, have no quarrel with Congress relative to either one of those digressions from the original petition.

Deeming that the date and facts of the Cowlitz Convention were of sufficient importance to be remembered, not only by the people of today, but also by those of generations yet to come, the Washington State Historical Society has erected, on the Pacific Highway, near the bank of the Cowlitz river, at Toledo, a granite monument, inscribed as follows: "August 29, 1851, a convention held at Cowlitz, 1 mile South, formulated a petition asking Congress to divide Oregon. Acting on this, Washington Territory was created. President Fillmore signed the act March 2, 1853. This memorial erected by Washington State Historical Society, 1922."

Some nine miles north of this marker is another historic spot known as "Jackson's Prairie." Mr. John R. Jackson visited the prairie in 1844, and at that time decided that was the location he wanted for a future home. The next year he began improvements on the place and gave it the name of "Highland." In the fall of 1847 Mr. Jackson employed Leander Wallace, a carpenter,

*Mr. W. P. Bonney, who furnished this article, is Secretary of the Washington State Historical Society. He is entitled to the credit of suggesting and planning most of the markers mentioned.—EDITOR.

to assist him in the construction of a house. The house being completed in the spring of 1848, Mr. Jackson went to Oregon City where he married Mrs. Matilda Koontz, and brought her and her boys to "Highland."

The Jacksons prospered and in the course of time acquired 2200 acres of land; they raised grain, vegetables and live stock for the market.

It is said that Lieutenant U. S. Grant (who was quartermaster at Fort Vancouver) visited the Jackson home during the summer of 1853 and purchased provender for the use of the soldiers stationed at the Fort. Being directly on the highway between Puget Sound and Columbia River settlements, Jackson did a profitable business feeding and lodging travelers. After the death of Mr. and Mrs. Jackson, the farm passed into other hands. In 1915, Mr. Augustine Donahoe, then being the owner, deeded to the Washington State Historical Society the plot of land on which the old house stands; the St. Helens Club of Chehalis repaired and renovated the building; the Historical Society constructed a stone wall along the front and placed an iron gate at the entrance in front of the house. Over the gate-way is an arch, with letters reading: "1847 Jackson Home" "1850 Court House." The first date refers to the time that the house was built, the second to the year it was first used as a court house. In the gate posts are granite tablets suitably inscribed.

At Tumwater another monument has been erected marking the site where Michael T. Simmons and his party of thirty-one people unyoked their oxen, October, 1845. They were the first American settlers on Puget Sound. Simmons took a land claim where the falls of the Deschutes river are and gave the name "New Market" to the place (now known as Tumwater). The marker is an imposing one, being a large cut-granite boulder with a bronze tablet insert. The granite was furnished by the Schmidt Estate. The bronze tablet 28 by 34 inches in size, has a bas relief of a party of immigrants cutting a road for their wagon train through the forest, with the inscription: "The arrival at Tumwater of the first American Colony on Puget Sound, October, 1845. Michael Simmons, Mrs. Elizabeth K., their children, George Washington, David Crockett, Francis Marion, McDonald, Christopher C.: George Bush, Mrs. Isabella J., their children, William Owen, Joseph Talbot, Riley Bailey, Henry Sanford, Jackson January; James McAlliter, Mrs. Martha S., their children, George,

America, Martha, John, James; Gabriel Jones, Mrs. Keziah B., their children, Lewis Morris, Elizabeth; David Kindred, Mrs. Talitha, their child, John Karrick; Samuel Crockett; Jesse Ferguson.

"In commemoration of that event and in honor of that party, this tablet has been placed by the Washington State Historical Society, The Thurston County Pioneers and the town of Tumwater, July 12, 1916."

Beside the Pacific Highway, in the Nisqually Valley, stands a cut and carved granite, lettered as follows:

"She-Nah-Nam Medicine Creek Treaty. 1¼ miles Northwest is a bronze tablet placed by Sacajawea Chapter D. A. R. marking site where Governor Stevens held council with Nisqually, Puyallup and Squaxon Indians December 24-26, 1854. This stone erected by Washington State Historical Society, 1922."

Just across the Pacific Highway from American Lake railroad station, at Camp Lewis, by the side of Clark Way, is a split granite boulder with bronze tablet insert, telling of the first wagon road established in Pierce County. This road, first used by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1833, has been in continuous use ever since. For many years it was known as the Huggins-Greig Road, and is now Clark Way through Camp Lewis. Just to the left of the main entrance into Camp Lewis are three trees that were planted by Generals Leitch, Muir and Alexander. These trees were planted in memory of the men who went from Camp Lwis to the World War with these commanding officers and never returned. At the base of each of these trees the Washington State Historical Society has placed granite boulders with suitable inscriptions.

On a corner of "Mission Prairie" between Lakes Sequalitchew and American Lake, stands a splendidly carved granite stone with letters reading:

"1841 Fourth of July 1906. Commemorating the 65th. anniversary of the first public observance of our National birthday on the Pacific Coast or West of the Missouri river by Capt. Charles Wilkes, U.S.N., and the officers and marines of his fleet on Monday, July 5th. 1841.

"Erected by the Pierce County Pioneer Association, assisted by the Washington State Historical Society, Washington State Pioneer Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, Sons of the American Revolution, Loyal Legion and G.A.R.

"Mr. and Mrs. George Lyon, Jr., of Nelson, Nebraska, donated the site."

At Steilacoom, just back of the Post Office, is a built-up granite monument, marking the site where the first Protestant Church was built north of the Columbia river; the church was built under the direction of Rev. John F. Devore, who came to Steilacoom in 1853. Hanging in the archway on top of the marker, is the old church bell.

A granite boulder with bronze tablet insert is in the corner of the yard of the church of the "Immaculate Conception," an old Catholic church, still standing in Steilacoom.

On the Mountain Highway, between Parkland and Spanaway, is a cobblestone pyramid with granite tablet reading: "First Military Road in Washington, from Fort Steilacoom to Fort Walla Walla via Naches Pass, crossed the Highway here; located 1853-1854 A.D. This memorial erected by the Washington State Historical Society, A. D. 1922."

About one-half mile up the Clover Creek road, which branches off from the Mountain Highway at Brookdale Station, is a granite marker with bronze tablet, directing to the site where the immigrants of 1853, who were the first pioneers to come directly across the Cascade Mountains to Puget Sound, made their last general camp. This was the train of 1853 that had such a hard time coming over the Naches Pass.

On the East Road between Seattle and Auburn are two carved granite markers; one where the Indians massacred eight persons in October, 1855; the other where Lieutenant W. S. Slaughter and Corporals Barry and Clarendon were killed by the Indians on December 4, 1855.

W. P. Bonney.

PROPOSED WAGON ROAD TO OREGON

One of the first, if not the first, suggestions of the feasibility of a wagon road from Missouri to the Pacific Northwest was made in an article which appeared in the *Missouri Gazette* late in the spring of 1813. The article was based upon an interview which the editor had with a party of men who had returned overland from Astoria with dispatches for John Jacob Astor. *Niles's Register*, vol. iv, p. 265 *et seq.* (June 26, 1813), reprinted the article, and it is from this version that the following extract is taken:[1]

"On the 29th [28th of] June, 1812, Mr. Robert Stewart, one of the partners of the Pacific Fur Company, with two Frenchmen, Messrs. Ramsey Crooks and Robert M'Clellan, left the Pacific Ocean with dispatches for New York. * * *

"By information received from these gentlemen, it appears that a journey across the continent of North America might be performed with a waggon, there being no obstruction in the wheel rout [whole route] that any person would dare to call a mountain, in addition to its being much the most direct and short one to go from this place to the mouth of the Columbia river. Any future party who may undertake the journey, and are tolerably acquainted with the different places, where it would be necessary to lay up a small stock of provisions, would not be impeded, as in all probability they would not meet with an Indian to interrupt their progress; although on the other route more north there are almost insurmountable barriers.

J. ORIN OLIPHANT

1 This article has also been reproduced in full from the *Missouri Gazette* in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, v, p. 224 *et seq.* The brackets which have been inserted above correct the article in accordance with the Thwaites reprint, it being supposed that the discrepancies between it and the *Niles Register* reprint were due to typographical errors.

Gabriel Franchere, *Franchere's Narrative*, in Thwaites, *op. cit.*, vi, p. 277, tells of the departure of this group from Astoria in the following words: "The necessary papers having been prepared anew [party which had set out previously was attacked by Indians and the papers were stolen], and being now ready to expedite, were confided to Mr. R. Stuart, who was to cross the continent in company with Messrs. Crooks and R. M'Lellan, partners dissatisfied with the enterprise, and who had made up their minds to return to the United States." In company with other parties bound for posts in the interior (Okanogan, Spokane and the Snake River region), Franchere continues, the flotilla quitted Astoria on June 30, having on board sixty-two. Alexander Ross, *Oregon Settlers*, p. 195, in Thwaites, *op. cit.*, vii, says that the party left Astoria on June 29, as does Ross Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia*, vol. I, p. 118.

July 29 the party arrived at Walla Walla. Two days later the transcontinental party, consisting of Mr. Stuart, Benjamin Jones, Andre Vallar, Francis Le Clerc, and Mr. Crooks and Mr. M'Lellan, set out for Missouri where they arrived safely, after enduring many hardships, on April 30, 1813.—Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 198, 228.

The *Missouri Gazette*, in which the foregoing article was first published, was the progenitor of the *St. Louis Republic* and the earliest newspaper published west of the Mississippi. The first issue appeared in 1808.—Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v, page 198, note.

NAME OF MOUNT SAINT HELENS

In this *Quarterly,* Volume XL., Number 3, (July, 1920,) page 217, there appeared a record of the naming of Mount Saint Helens by Captain George Vancouver in October, 1792, who explained simply "in honor of His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at the Court of Madrid." Inquiries, especially from the new city of Longview, about the personality of the ambassador thus honored have prompted a gleaning of the following facts:

Alleyne Fitzherbert was born in 1753. He was schooled at Derby and Eton and in July, 1770, matriculated as a pensioner at St. John's College, Cambridge. Thomas Gray, the poet visited him and wrote to William Mason: "the little Fitzherbert is come as pensioner to St. John's, and seems to have all his wits about him." While the boy was still in college his father, in 1772, committed suicide on account of pecuniary trouble. The mother was evidently a superior woman for Doctor Johnson said "she had the best understanding he ever met with in any human being."

On receiving his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1774, the young man made a tour of France and Italy and in 1777 received the Master's degree by proxy as he began his diplomatic career by being appointed Minister at Brussels. In 1782, Lord Shelburne sent him to Paris to seek a peace with France and Spain. He had no part in the famous treaty of 1783 which brought the desired peace and acknowledged the independence of the United States, but it is claimed that his preliminary work aided that final agreement.

In 1783, Fitzberbert was promoted to be Envoy Extraordinary to Empress Catherine of Russia, accompanying that sovereign on a tour of the Crimea in 1787, when he returned to England and became Chief Secretary of Marquis Buckingham, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

He was appointed Envoy Extraordinary at The Hague in 1789 and was transferred the next year to the Court at Madrid to settle the controversy that had arisen over the seizure of English vessels by Spaniards at Nootka Sound on the northwest coast of America. War was imminent. It looked for a time as if the new Republic of the United States would be drawn into it on one side or the other. Washington and his Cabinet decided upon neutrality, the first official act in that American policy which later devel-

oped into the Monroe Doctrine. The British Ambassador Fitzherbert averted the war by signing at Madrid the so-called Nootka Convention on October 28, 1790. For this achievement he was raised to the Irish peerage with the title of Baron Saint Helens.

In 1793 he concluded a treaty of alliance between Spain and Great Britain and on January 11, 1794, signed the "Supplemental Treaty of Madrid" as a final settlement of the Nootka Sound controversy. On March 25, 1794, he was transferred as Ambassador at The Hague where his friends feared for his safety when the French were successful in that country.

On July 16, 1797, he sustained a severe loss when his house burned and he barely escaped with his life. Lord Minto wrote: "He has lost every scrap of paper he ever had. Conceive how inconsolable that loss must be to one who has lived his life. All his books, many fine pictures, prints and drawings in great abundance are all gone."

He was sent to St. Petersburg in April, 1801, to congratulate Emperor Alexander on his succession to the throne and to arrange a treaty between Great Britain and Russia. On completion of that work Baron Saint Helens was raised to the peerage of the United Kingdom. He attended the Emperor's coronation ceremonies at Moscow and then rounded out his diplomatic career by arranging treaties with Denmark and Sweden. When he retired from that service on April 3, 1803, he was granted a pension of £2,300 a year.

Baron Saint Helens was admitted to more intimate friendship with the King and Queen than any other courtier and in May, 1804, he was created Lord of the Bedchamber. From 1805 to 1837, he was a trustee of the British Museum and at the time of his death (February 19, 1839,) he was senior member of the Privy Council.

From the above it will be conceded that the man for whom the mountain was named had an interesting and important career.

EDMOND S. MEANY

DOCUMENTS

THE NISQUALLY JOURNAL

[*Continued from Volume XV, Page 66.*]

[April, 1852.]

[Ms. Page 54.]

Thursday 1st. Fine all day. Showery in the Evening. Chaulifoux[1] doing various jobs for Mrs. Tolmie.[2] Cowie[3] & Gang at road.[4] Barnes[5] superintending the treading of Wheat in barn. William Tawan[6] & gang of women planting Potatoes. ploughs at work in Swamp. Oxen hauling logs. Mr. Ross[7] in to superintend the road makers. Lambing commenced. McPhail[8] drunk and creating a disturbance.

Friday 2nd. Showery. Chaulifoux & Squally[9] making Ox Yokes. Mr. Ross & gang at work at road. Kanakas[10] in from Tlithlow[11] to assist at same. McPhail still drunk. Two Carts out after Beef. Oxen employed at hauling logs for road fence.

Saturday 3rd. Showery. Chaulifoux & Squally at Yokes. Remaining hands at road. 4 pair of Oxen at work hauling logs for road fence.

Sunday 4th. Squally Showery Weather. William McNeal[12] started this morning for Victoria.[13] Lambing progressing favorably. The "Honolulu" the name of the vessel expected to arrive for a cargo of cattle is reported to be off Kitson's[14] Island. large

1 Baptiste Chaulifoux, a servant.

2 Mrs. William Fraser Tolmie, wife of Dr. Tolmie, and daughter of Chief Factor John Work.

3 A native of Hawaii, employed as a servant.

4 County road. See this *Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, p. 227, and XV, No. 1, p.63.

6 William Tawai, a native of Hawaii, employed as a servant.

7 Mr. Walter Ross, clerk. He resides at the company post of Tlithlow near Steilacoom, and is in charge of the stations on the plains.

8 John McPhail, shepherd.

9 An Indian employee.

10 The word "Kanaka" in the Hawaiian language means "man." Many natives of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands were in the employ of the company.

11 A company station near Steilacoom, originally settled by the "Red River immigrants" of Canada in 1841 and called Tlithtlow, Tlithhllow, and Tlithlow. After their departure in 1842, the place was taken over by the company, and later a Mr. Heath was permitted to settle thereon. From this circumstance it received the name of "Heath's." He died, and Mr. Walter Ross, clerk, was placed in charge. It is frequently mentioned as "Mr. Ross'," "Walter's," and "Ross Ville." A journal kept there has been preserved.

12 Capt. William McNeill, former commander of the *Beaver*, but now one of their chief traders. McNeil Island, just opposite, is named for him. For an account of his life consult Walbran, *British Columbia Place Names*, pp. 391-392.

13 Fort Victoria, Vancouver Island, at the site of the present city of the same name. When the boundary line of 49 was prolonged to the Pacific Coast, placing Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia river, on American soil, the headquarters of the company was transferred to Victoria. James Douglas, chief factor, is in charge.

14 Ketron Island, in Puget Sound near Steilacoom, named by the Wilkes Expedition in 1841 in honor of William Kitson, chief trader, formerly in charge of Fort Nisqually. By some slip of draftsmanship, "Kitson" was changed to Ketron on the Wilkes' charts and the error perpetuated.

express canoe sent up to Bolton's[15] (the Boat Builder above Steilacoom) to get thoroughly repaired. [Ms. Page 55.]

Monday 5th. Showery. Chaulifoux & Squally F. Noon finishing Ox Yokes. A Noon repairing plain[16] wagon. Remaining hands hard at work at road. Took on more Indians[17] to day. Oxen hauling logs. Horse & Cart out[18] after Beef. McPhail sent out to Spanuck[19] to take charge of two bands of Ewes during Lambing.

Tuesday 6th. Fine pleasant Weather. hands employed as yesterday. Wagon sent off to Muck[20] for a load of Potatoes.

Wednesday 7th. Showery. Chaulifoux & Squally taking down fire place in room adjoining large house & fixing a small American Stove in same. remaining hands at road. Oxen hauling logs for fencing. 16 Bushels Peas sown. The Honolulu arrived this morning from Olympia. Sales[21] has returned on her. Dr. Tolmie[22] rode out to Tlithlow.

Thursday 8th. Showery. Chaulifoux doing various jobs for Mrs. Tolmie. Barnes thrashing Wheat with a band of Horses. Two pair of Oxen out after Beef, 7 animals slaughtered. Horse Cart broke down. Sales sowed 3 Bush Pease. The Tlithlow Oxen in to assist at road making. [Ms. Page 56.]

Friday 9th. Barnes & Lagg[23] F Noon cleaning Wheat. A Noon Barnes sowing seed in garden. Lagg carting Beef down to "Honolulu" for Victoria. Mr. Ross & gang at Road. Chaulifoux mending Cart. Two ploughs at Work, one Pit Saw at work. 7 animals slaughtered.

Saturday 10th. Fine, a strong breeze from the S. West. Barnes at Work in garden. Chaulifoux & part of Indian gang at work hard loading the Honolulu, finished by 10 o'clock at Night when she set sail with a fine fair wind. She has taken 270 Sheep, 453 Qs. Beef for the Compy. at Victoria, also live Stock for private individuals. Mr. Ross with remainder of gang variously em-

15 William Bolton, formerly a sailor with the British ship *Albion*, but now the proprietor of a ship yard at Steilacoom.

16 A wagon used on the Nisqually plains. Compare, also, "plain crops," "plain people," "plain Englishmen."

17 Employees.

18 That is, to the stations on the plains.

19 A station on the plains now known as Spanaway.

20 A station near the present town of Roy, Pierce Co.

21 W. Sales, a servant.

22 Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, chief trader for the Hudson's Bay Co. and superintendent of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Co.

23 See entry for Monday 12th.

ployed. two Carts employed carting fodder, &c down to beach, two ploughs at work in Swamp. Oxen after Beef.

Sunday 11th. Fine, blowing a Gale from the S. West. a visit from Dr. Fisher[24] & Captn. Balch.[25].

Monday 12th. Fine. A White Frost in the morning. Chaulifoux making doors for new Cattle park. Mr. Ross & hands tearing away at the road. Barnes & Lagg (a hand from Cowlitz) away drinking. Sales sowing Peas. 1 Pit saw at work.

Tuesday 13th. Showery Weather, hands employed as yesterday. [Ms. Page 57.]

Wednesday 14th. Rainy. Squally Weather. Chaulifoux at Cattle park gates. Mr. Ross & hands setting up Cattle park. Barnes thrashing Peas. Oxen F Noon hauling logs. A Noon carting up Salt from beach. 1 horse & cart bringing home firewood & 1 carting fence rails. 6 Bushels Peas Sown.

Thursday 15th. Barnes at work in garden. Chaulifoux hanging gates to new Cattle park. Oxen out after Beef. part of Indian gang clearing the dung out of Shearing park and carrying it into garden. remainder of gang with Mr. Ross at the new road. Cart bringing in firewood.

Friday 16th. Showery. Cowie at work preparing wood for a new horse cart. remaining hands employed as before. This morning myself,[26] accompanied by Mr. Dean[27] and George Dean went round and presented notices to the following personages, squatters on the Companie's lands. Sergt. Jas. Hall[28] of the U. S. A. R. M. Hall[29] Christopher Mahon.[30] Thomas Talentire.[31] John Withal[32] and C. W. Savage.[33] all of whom have taken claims in the vicinity of Sastuc.[34]

Saturday 17th. Fine pleasant weather. hands employed as yesterday. Dr. Tolmie rode out to Spanuck visit Mrs. Montgomery[35]

24 Identity not ascertained.

25 Captain Lafayette Balch, founder of the town of Steilacoom, proprietor of a store, and owner of the *George Emery*.

26 Edward Huggins, clerk, keeper of the *Nisqually Journal*.

27 Thomas Dean. He resides near Tlithlow and is foreman under Mr. Walter Ross of the stations on the Nisqually Plains. George Dean is his son.

28 First Sergeant James Hall, 1st Artillery, U.S.A., of Fort Steilacoom.

29 Sergeant R. M. Hall, of Fort Steilacoom.

30 Mentioned as C. Mahan, one of the original donation claimants, in H. H. Bancroft, *History of Washington, Idaho and Montana*, p. 367.

31 Thomas Tallentire. He arrived on the Sound on February 3, 1852, in the *Mary Taylor*.

32 Identity not ascertained.

33 Identity not ascertained.

34 A company station near Steilacoom.

35 The wife of John Montgomery, servant, who is in charge of the station at Spanuck or Spanaway.

who is sick. a visit this afternoon from Dr. Haden & Lieutt. Dement[36] U. S. A. Steilacoom. [Ms. Page 58.]

Monday 19th.[37] Cloudy. Work resumed as last week. J. Chapman[38] of Steilacoom City having been engaged to survey the lands claimed by the Puget's Sound Co; he started today to commence operations, accompanied by Mr. Huggins[39] and also Barnes, G. Dean, and 6 Indians.

Tuesday 20th. Rainy. Strong breezes from the S. W. Work as before. The Honolulu after leaving cleared the C H[40] at Olympia, anchored here last night. she is come for another cargo of live stock.

Wednesday 21st. Fine, wind N. Sales & Zolidge[41] ploughing in Swamp; Cowie under the directions of Goudie[42] making a horse cart on an improved plan; Chaulifoux setting up doors to new Cattle Park. Goudie jobbing at the Forge. New Cattle Road progressing tolerably.

Thursday 22nd. fine all day. No change in the work. Some Cattle killed today, for beef to be sent to Victoria.

Friday 23rd. Variable weather. Oxen hauling rails to new cattle road, for the out wing more Cattle killed today. The others [Ms. illegible] as before.

Saturday 24th. Fair. A. Gorridge[43] sent out to Tlithlow with another plough to expediate seeding in the plains. A visit from Mr. Huggins reports about 30 miles of survey finished. Work arduous & fatigueing. Cattle road finished [Ms. Page 59.]

Sunday 25th. Fair. Preparations made for Cattle driving tomorrow. Mr. H. ag[ain] left for the field of action.

Monday 26th. Cloudy with passing Showers of rain. Indian gang variously employed. A troop of about horsemen succeeded in driving in about 50 head of Cattle (chiefly Cows). New Cattle road answered all expectations.

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36 Dr. I. A. Haden, medical officer, and Lieut. John Dement, 1st Artillery, U.S.A., of Fort Steilacoom.

37 No entry was made for Sunday 18th.

38 John B. Chapman, formerly of Indiana and lately of Grays Harbor. He has just laid out a townsite upon the claim of his son, John M., which he has called "Steilacoom City" and which he is booming in opposition to the townsite of Lafayette Balch. A plat of his survey is in the possession of the State Library at Olympia.

39 Mr. Walter Huggins, clerk, keeper of the *Nisqually Journal.*

40 Customs house.

41 A Gorridge, a servant. See entry for Saturday 24th.

42 James Goudie, a servant.

43 See entry for Wednesday 21st.

Tuesday 27th. Showery. A lot of abt. 20 head Cattle driven in today in two drives. Cattle scarce in the plains on account of the bad weather; Chaulifoux & William shipping Cattle.

Wednesday 28th. Weather as yesterday. about 17 head driven in again today. rather weak handed most of the volunteer horsemen having fallen off. More Cattle required.

Thursday 29th. Heavy showers of rain with heavy gales of wind. On acct of bad weather and scarcity on Cattle only 22 head were got in today in two drives. There being not so far yet a full load of Cattle for the Honolulu and the Captain not wishing to leave till there were; Dr. T.[45] agreed to pay him $100 to make good the loss for the same; and the vessel to leave this evening; as it would not be convenient to do anything more in the way of cattle driving this week; The horses besides being done up with the last four days hard work. Goudie who was to have left with this vessel, agreed to remain till her next trip. [Ms. Page 60.]

Friday 30th. Showery with hard gales from the S. W. Chalifoux & Tapou[46] making water troughs to be placed in new cattle park; Cowie under the directions of Goudie making a harvest cart. William with Indian gang making a new cut in the river to drain swamp which is yet very wet; Dr. Tolmie left on a trip to Olympia. A messenger from the surveying party requiring some provisions.

[May, 1852.]

Saturday 1st. Cloudy, with occasional gleams of sunshine, work as yesterday. McPhail returned from the plains, lambing almost ended; a great row amongst the Indians round this place, a good many being in liquor, nothing very serious took place; Dr. Tolmie returned from Olympia. The surveying party came home, their operations having been stopt today by a party of the Squatters settled on the lands claimed by the P. S. Co.[47]; who would not allow them to proceed any farther. The surveying would have been finished in three or four days more if not stopt; more than three parts being done.

Sunday 2nd. Fine pleasant Weather. [Ms. Page 61.]

44 Men living on the Nisqually Plains farming on their own account.

45 Tolmie.

46 Joe Tapou, a native of Hawaii, employed as a servant.

47 The Puget's Sound Agricultural Co., a subsidiary concern of the Hudson's Bay Co., created in 1838, to carry on the agricultural operations of the parent company. Its headquarters and chief post were at Nisqually.

Monday 3rd. Fine. Sales ploughing in Peas. Goudie making a Watering Pot for garden. Cowie, Tapou, Squally & Gohome preparing wood for a new Cart to be made after a pattern by Goudie. Chaulifoux cutting & preparing wood for axe handles. Horse Cart F. Noon carting fodder to Stable. A. Noon caring firewood. Oxen bringing up Flour &c from Store at beach. Mr. Ross left this afternoon with a party of lightweights for Tlithlow to drive in cattle, to be in readiness for the Honolulu, which vessel is expected in daily. A packet arrived by canoe from Victoria. S. Hatal[48] despatched to the Columbia with a packet. Mr. Chapman arrived. Commenced making a plan[49] of the portion of the Companys lands he has lately surveyed. Barnes away drinking. William with part of gang at new water lead. McPhail with the remainder preparing Potatoe land in Swamp.

Tuesday 4th. Fine. Hands employed as yesterday. Mr. Ross unsuccessful at Cattle driving, all got away into the bush.

Wednesday 5th. Very pleasant Weather. Sales ploughing in Swamp. Indian gang at work at new water lead. Wagon F. Noon carting dung. A. Noon off to Montgomery's[50] to bring in a load of Oats tomorrow. Mr. Chapman, myself,[51] Barnes, Tapou & 5 Indians recommenced Surveying this morning. Run 8 Miles from behind C. Ross'[52] House to Mr. Chapman's City at Steilacoom City. Mr. Ross & people after a very hard day's drive, succeeded in parking two yearlings. Horses knocked up. [Ms. Page 62.]

Thursday 6th. Fine. Cowie at Horse Cart. Tapou and Tumwater[53] making a park Gate. Chaulifoux preparing a new lever for Wool press. had the Furs out, aired and well beaten. another attempt at cattle driving to day attended with not so much success as the drive of yesterday. Could not succeed in driving a Single one to beach. Owing to the numerous attempts at cattle driving lately only five Milch cowes have been driven in; as yet no better has been made. Oxen brought in a load of oats from Montgomery's place[54] and went off this Evening to Muck to be in readiness for tomorrow's killing. one Ox butchered to day to

48 A servant.
49 This plan, or plat, of the company's holdings is now in the possession of the Washington State Library, Olympia, Washington.
50 Montgomery's place, or Spanuck, later known as Spanaway.
51 Edward Huggins, clerk, keeper of the *Journal*.
52 Charles Ross, a relation of Mr. Walter Ross. He was formerly a servant but is probably farming on his own account on the plains.
53 Chiniwha or Tumwater, an Indian employee or servant.
54 See note 50.

send up to Olympia tomorrow to a Mr. W. Huntley[55] who has made arrangements to have a carcass of Beef twice every week. Sent a carcass last Tuesday for the first time.

Friday 7th. Fine. Work as yesterday. Dr. Tolmie attended at a Sale of Provisions which took place to day, at the Steilacoom Barracks,[56] and purchased several Barrels of Flour. Mr. Ross and party succeeded in driving to park about 20 head of Cattle to day. Dr. Chapman still at work at the Compy's claim.

Saturday 8th. Fine Warm Weather. Chaulifoux renewing Wool press. Cowie making a Cart. Tapou & Tumwater making a Park Gate. Indian gang ditching in Swamp. Wagon did not return with the Beef till this afternoon. Mr. Ross and party made another attempt at cattle driving, succeeded in parking one head. This afternoon a Sale by auction took place of the effects of the deceased Charles Forrest.[57] [Ms. Page 63.]

Sunday 9th. Very Warm Weather. Dr. Tolmie went this morning to Mr. Bolton's below Steilacoom to attend an Englishman who is lying there very Sick. A cow found dead behind the Fort.[58]
Monday 10th. Fine. Chaulifoux, Johnson (a Candaim [*sic*, Canadian (?)] newly engaged) & Squally at Wool press. Tapou at park gate. Cowie at cart. McPhail & gang making potatoe drills in Swamp. Goudie at Sundry jobs. Horse Cart employed carrying dung into Swamp. Barnes at work in garden. Sales ploughing in Swamp. Wagon off to McLeod's[59] place at Muck for a load of potatoes, Dr. Tolmie having purchased a quantity of potatoes from McLeod at 25 cents per Bushel, the plain[60] Wagon in with a load of potatoes from McL's. Mr. Ross left to resume his duties at Tlithlow. One of the cows driven last week into park at beach found dead this morning. Cause of death probably over exertion at driving. The plain[61] Englishman *sic* are reported to be drinking at Sastuc. Dr. Tolmie has not returned from Bolton's.
Tuesday 11th. Fine. Strong breeze from the S. W. Hands employed as before. 12 Bush. potatoes planted. Wagon returned

55 Identity not ascertained.
56 That is, Fort Steilacoom.
57 Charles Forrest, formerly an agent for the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company. For an account of his death see this *Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, No. 2, April, 1923, p. 147.
58 Fort Nisqually.
59 John McLeod, formerly a servant. On March 8, 1851, he jumped lands claimed by the company in the vicinity of Muck. He was also one of those arrested for "treason" for living with the Indians during the Indian War of 1856. A picture of him is reproduced, in Meeker, *The Tragedy of Leschi*.
60 See note 16.
61 That is, the English employees living at Sastuc—on the Nisqually Plains. See notes 16 and 60.

from McLeod's with 50 Bush. Potatoes. Dr. Tolmie returned from Bolton's bringing with him the patient (a female relation of R. Thornhill)[62] as she will receive better attendance here than a[t] Steilacoom. A visit from Drs. Haden & Fisher. George Dean has deserted from the Compy's Service, and is now working for the Squatter Bradley[63] (a very good riddance). [Ms. Page 64.]

Wednesday 12th. Fine Pleasant Weather. hands employed as before. Young [64]hanging Salted Tongues in smoke house. Gang planting potatoes. Oxen off to McLeod's for potatoes. Dr. Tolmie rode out to Tlithlow. A brisk Trade in Sale Shop to day.

Thursday 13th. Fine. Sales ploughing land in Swamp. McPhail & gang planting potatoes. remaining hands at work at Wool press. Wagon in with 60 Bush. potatoes (60). horse cart carting dung.

Friday 14th. Fine. Johnson & Squally at work at Wool press. Goudie making a windlass to Wool press. Cowie painting Horse Carts. McPhail & gang making potato drills. William Tawai & two Indians cleaning out Shearing House. Chaulifoux attending on his wife who is lying dangerously ill. Horse Carts carting dung, firewood, &c. The "Honolulu" is reported to have passed upon her way to Olympia.

Saturday 15th. Weather & work the same as yesterday. Two ploughs at work in Swamp. Mrs. Chaulifoux ceased to exist this morning. The Sick female brought here on Tuesday last is lying in a very precarious state, little hopes are entertained of her recovery.

Sunday 16th. Fine pleasant weather. A visit from Dr. Haden. The Honolulu arrived this evening and anchored off new cattle park. [Ms. Page 65.]

Monday 17th. Fine pleasant Weather. Chaulifuox with permission building an enclosure around his wife's grave. Cowie, Tapou & Squally at Wool press. Johnson & Sales ploughing in Swamp. Gang making drills, & planting potatoes in Swamp. Mr. Ross and party failed at Cattle driving again to day. Horse cart carting dung. Oxen bringing home firewood.

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62 A servant.
63 John Bradley. See this *Quarterly*, April, 1922, p. 135, note.
64 William Young, a servant.
65 A servant.

Tuesday 18th. Fine very Warm. Hands employed as yesterday. The Sick Female lying at Thornhill's died this morning.

Wednesday 19th. dull Signs of rain. McPhail & gang repairing Sheep dam. W. Tawai & gang making potatoe drills. Mr. Ross & gang made two attempts at driving as usual failed. both myself, Barnes & Fiandie[65] have been since Monday at Surveying part of the Compy's claim commencing at the corner 1 Mile below Steilacoom & finishing at the point where Mr. Chapman was interrupted on Saturday 1st May. Dr. Tolmie & 2 Indians drove in a band of ten Oxen to day.

Thursday 20th. Chaulifoux, Tapou & Cowie at Wool press. McPhail superintending the washing of a band of Ewes. Barnes cleaning out Store ready for receiving Wool. Fiandie sick. William & gang planting potatoes. A visit from Collector Moses[66] & a gang of Olympians.

Friday 21st. Fine. Hands employed as yesterday. Myself, Barnes & Tapou Started this Evening to commence early tomorrow morning and finish measuring from Mr. Chapman's place to below Steilacoom. [Ms. Page 66.]

Saturday 22nd. Fine. Barnes & myself returned having finished. the Comp's claim has been now entirely run round. hands employed as before. A visit from Major Smith & Captain Howard (Gentlemen from the Columbia.)[67] a brisk trade in Sale Shop to day principally from Americans. Mr. Ross failed again in cattle driving. Charles Wren[68] brough[t] in to park 7 large Oxen for which he his [*sic*] to receive $4.00 per Oxen cash or $5 in goods finds his own Horse.

Sunday 23rd. Dull. Signs of Rain. Dr. Tolmie Started this morning for Cowlitz to attend court which takes place next week. the "Mary Dare"[69] case will be decided.

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66 Simpson P. Moses, collector of customs.

67 Probably army officers from the Columbia Barracks at Vancouver.

68 A squatter on the Company's lands near Steilacoom. He was one of those arrested for "treason" for living with the Indians during the Indian War of 1856.

69 On the seizure of the *Mary Dare* H. H. Bancroft writes: "In January, 1850, President Taylor declared Portland and Nisqually ports of delivery; but subsequently the office was removed at the instance of the Oregon delegate from Nisqually to Olympia, when there followed other seizures, namely, of the *Mary Dare* and the *Beaver*, the latter for landing Miss Rose Birnie, sister of James Birnie, formerly of Fort George, at Nisqually, without first having landed her at Olympia. The cases were tried before Judge Strong, who very justly released the vessels. Strong was accused of bribery by the collector; but the friends of the judge held a public meeting at Olympia sustaining him. The seizure cost the government twenty thousand dollars, and caused much ill-feeling."—*History of Oregon*, II, p. 107. See, also, this *Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, No. 2, April, 1923, p. 148.

Monday 24th. Fine. 7 head of cattle driven into park. Chaulifoux & Kanakas making Ox Yokes. McPhail & gang planted 43 Bush. potatoes in Swamp. ploughs making & filling in drills. 2 Harrows at work. Bill & Wyamoch[70] out Cabassing[71] Oxen, brought home one. Horse Cart bringing home firewood. had the Furs out, aired and dressed in readiness for packing tomorrow. A Mr. Tiffins[72] arrived by canoe from Victoria. Mr. Ross sent round the Indian camps to endeavor to purchase Horses for the Compy at Vancouver's Island.

Tuesday 24th [*25th*]. Fine. Wren in with 4 Large Oxen. Bill & Wyamoch succeeded in Cabressing & bringing home four fine Oxen. Montgomery & party drove to park fifteen head. Chaulifoux & Kanakas making Ox Yokes. Barnes with Indians packing Furs. Fiandie superintending the washing of a band of Rams. part of a band of Ewes clipped. 12 B. potatoes planted. Mr. Dean in. [Ms. Page 67.]

Wednesday 25th [*26th*]. Very Warm. the remaining of the band of Ewes clipped. the band numbers [blank space in Ms.] Mr. Dean in. dipping Ewes in Tobacco water. Wool pressing goin on favorably. Chaulifoux at various jobs. Oxen hauling logs to be cut into planks. Evening Dr. Tolmie arrived accompanied by C. F. Ballenden.[73] Mr. B is on his way to Victoria. failed again at Cattle driving. 12 Bus potatoes planted.

Thursday 26th [*27th*]. Fine pleasant Weather. A band of 50 head of cattle parked this Evening. part of a band of Wedder Lambs clipped. hands employed as yesterday. The "Mary Dares" case was not tried this last court.

Friday 27th [*28th*]. Very Warm. This Morning Mr. Ballenden left by canoe for Victoria. remainder of Wedder Lambs clipped. Commenced loading "Honolulu" this afternoon. Wagon & 2 carts out after Beef.

Saturday 28th [*29th*]. Fine. All hands employed loading "Honolulu" had 105 head of cattle Shipped before four o'clock when she set sail with a fair wind. she has taken 50 Quarters of Beef for consumption at Victoria. Young has gone to attend the cattle.

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70 Employees.

71 A term the meaning of which has not been ascertained. In volume XI, no. 4, October, 1920, p. 300, are these words: "Here . . . cutting hides for cabraces. See, also, Vol. XII, no. 2, April, 1921, p. 141, note 301. Possibly a lariet or other roping arrangement.

72 Identity not ascertained.

73 Chief Factor John Ballenden.

Sunday 29th [*30th*]. Fine. An American Schooner called the "Mexican"[74] has arrived in the Sound from Queen Charlotte's Island, where she had been on a Gold expedition but could not find a particle of the precious metal. [Ms. Page 68.]

Monday 31st. Fine Very Warm. Chaulifoux making a step ladder to doorway of large house. Cowie repairing one of the wheels to plain[75] Wagon which was broken on Saturday last whilst carrying home Beef. Barnes, Fiandie & gang of Indians pressing Wool. A band of Ewes washed & a band of Wedder Lambs clipped. Sales & Johnson ploughing potatoe drills in Swamp. Dr Tolmie accompanied by Mr. Parker (a Californian whom [*sic*] is about purchasing 5 or 600 Sheep at $5.00 per head) rode out to Mr. Dean's[76] to examine some Sheep. a band of last years Ewe Lambs that has been staying all last winter at Mr. Dean's place, has commenced lambing. it appears that a quantity of rams have been negligently allowed to remain in the band.

[June, 1852]

Tuesday 1st. dull Gloomy Weather. heavy Showers of rain during the day. McPhail & a gang of Indians picking out the dry Sheep from a couple of bands of Ewes to be sold Mr. Parker. Chaulifoux & Cowie repairing Wagon Wheel. Barnes at work in garden. Wool pressing going on. 33 B potatoes planted in Swamp. Wagon fetched a load of small potatoes from Sastuc. Horse & Cart bringing home firewood. John Ross[77] has made over all his cattle (running wild on these plains) to the Compy for the consideration of $300.00.

Wednesday 2nd. Chaulifoux & Cowie at various jobs. Tapou, Fiandie & gang pressing Wool. William & gang planted 36 B of potatoes. McPhail & gang picking at Sheep for Mr. Parker. [Ms. Page 69.]

Thursday 3rd. Fine growing Weather. The canoe that carried Mr. Ballenden to Victoria arrived this Evening. they report having seen the "Honolulu" Tuesday last lying becalmed at the end of Whidbey's Island with several cattle dead on board. McPhail &

74 For an account of this gold excitement see this *Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, No. 4, October, 1923, p. 203.
75 See note 16.
76 See note 27.
77 A relation of Mr. Walter Ross. He was formerly a servant but is now farming on his own account.

gang washed a small number of Ewes to complete the quantity to be taken by Mr. Parker. gang at work in Swamp. Barnes in garden. Fiandie cleaning out Stores. Wagon carting Salt & Flour from beach, started in the Evening for Montgomery's[78] to be in readiness for tomorrows butchering.

Friday 4th. Fine. Hands employed as before. a band of Ewes Shorn.

Saturday 5th. Fine. Mr. Parker left to day. The Sheep are to be driven to the mouth of the Cowlitz where he will receive them and pay down the balance of the purchase money.

Sunday 6th. Very Warm. Thermometer as high as 93 in the shade (93°).

Monday 7th. Weather the same. McPhail accompanied by the Kanakas Tapou, Kanahanin & Kaphan and several Indians started this afternoon for Cowlitz with the 1000 Sheep for Mr. Parker. Chaulifoux & Tapou splitting cedar boards. Sales superintending Sheep Shearing. a band of Ewes Shorn. a band of Ewes washed. Barnes & gang pressing Wool. Fiandie ploughing in Swamp. Wagon off to McLeod's[79] for a load of Potatoes. an Election[80] takes place this day at Steilacoom City. a large Barque is reported to be lying in Payallop[81] Bay. [Ms. Page 69½.]

Tuesday 8th. Fine pleasant Weather. Chaulifoux & Gohome splitting cedar boards. Cowie making an enclosure to surround the grave of the deced. Mrs. McPhail.[82] a band of Ewes Shorn. Tawai & gang of washers weeding in garden. Barnes & gang pressing wool. Wagon broke down with a load of Potatoes the other side of Muck. the Kanakas Kalama, Keahwaccow & Tamane have been working since Monday at Tlithlow erecting a dairy, &c, &c.

Wednesday 9th. Fine Cool Weather. Chaulifoux & gang home repairing Wagon. Cowie preparing timber for a cart Shed to be built adjoining Fort. A Band of Ewes Shorn. Tawai & gang of men weeding in garden. Fiandie out searching for runaway plough Horses. Barnes & gang pressing Wool. three Indians cutting grass in Swamp to feed work Horses. plain Wagon brought in

78 Spanuck or Spanaway, a station on the plains.
79 Near Muck. See note 59.
80 Probably for county officers.
81 Now spelled Puyallup. The bay was officially named "Commencement" by the Wilkes Expedition of 1841, and renamed Tacoma Bay by the people of the city of Tacoma.
82 Evidently an error. See entry for Tuesday 18th.

the load of yesterday's potatoes. Horse Cart carting in grass. A Canadian named C[anai] arrived from Cowlitz bringing a mail. word received from McPhail saying that he has got the Sheep safe across the Squally[83] but that two of his Indians had deserted. wishes two more to be sent on directly to join him.

Thursday 10th. Showery. The whole of Indian gang clearing land in Swamp, remaining hands employed as yesterday. Brig Leonesa is lying at landing.

Friday 11th. Fine. Work as before.

Saturday 12th. Fine. part of gang clearing river by Slaughter house, remainder working in garden. plain Wagon sent in broken. [Ms. Page 70].

Sunday 13th. Fine growing weather.

Monday 14th. Gagnon returned from Vancouver & started for Vancouver's Island. Canai has gone with him. Chaulifoux & Cowie repairing plain Wagon. Sales with Indian women clearing in Swamp. Tawai with gang of men weeding in garden. Two American Missionaries[84] here from Olympia on a visit. Johnson quittted the Compy's employ to day. he had made no engagement. a brisk trade in Sale Shop. have taken $150.00 all from Indians. 5 Indians are reported to have been murdered down the Sound. A notice to quit was handed Louis Seton[85] who has settled on the Compy's lands in the Canadian plain.[86] Gagnon reports having seen McPhail within 12 Mile of Cowlitz. only one Sheep dead.

Tuesday 15th. Fine. Chaulifoux & Cowie making a new wheel to plain Wagon. Indian gang clearing in Swamp. late in the Evening Mr. Ballenden arrived from Victoria. 40 head of cattle died last trip of "Honolulu."

Wednesday 16th. Fine. hands employed as yesterday. Two ploughs at work in Swamp. Oxen sent off to work a day or two at Tlithow hauling rails to renew fences.

Thursday 17th. Fine very warm. Chaulifoux & Cowie splitting wood for axe handles &c. a band of Ewes washed. a band

83 The Nisqually River.
84 Identity not ascertained.
85 Identity not ascertained.
86 A plain adjacent to Tlithlow near Steilacoom, so called from the circumstances that the "Red River Immigrants" of Canada took up their abode there in 1841. Between this plain and Fort Nisqually is the "American Plain," the former residence of Rev. J. P. Richmond, the American missionary. Both names are now obsolete; but American Plain is thought to have given its name to American Lake.

clipped. two ploughs preparing land in Swamp for Turnips. Dr. Tolmie accompanied by Mr. Ballenden rode out to Steilacoom. [Ms. Page 71.]

Friday 18th. Fine. This morning Dr. Tolmie accompanied by Mr. Ballenden & Mr. Jeffreys[87] started for Vancouver. Dr. Tolmie goes to settle business with Mr. Parker. a band of Ewes dipped in Tobacco water. Chaulifoux & Cowie handling Hay Scythes. Barnes cleaning up Stores. Gang of women clearing in Swamp. a good trade in Sale Shop to day. took upwards of $270.00.

Saturday 19th. Fine. Indian gang hoeing potatoes. Chaulifoux & Cowie making Scythe handles. Barnes at work in garden. Two ploughs at work in Swamp preparing land for Turnips. Mr. Ross in. reports three Compy's horses having been found severely injured by Shot. one of them is not likely to recover, having received a Ball in the chest. a Squatter named Tollentine[88] is suspected of being the guilty party. The Horses were found close to his house in the Sastuc Plain.

Sunday 20th. Dull gloomy weather. Mr. Ross accompanied by myself rode out to Tollentine's place but he was not at home. saw Mr. Bradley (a squatter) who complained very much that the compy's cattle were breaking into his fields & destroying his crop. an Indian named Patchin residing at Sastuc told us that he saw Tollentire come out of his house with a gun in his hand & fire at the Compy's horses. a horse the property of Montgomery has also been stabbed with a knife. A Comp's Bull has also been found Shot in Sastuc plain. [Ms. Page 72.]

Monday 21st. Gloomy, signs of rain. The last band of Sheep Shorn. Tawai & gang of men clearing & deepening course of race under slaughter & milk house. five women cutting grass. Chaulifoux & Cowie putting up a cart Shed on North side of Fort. Oxen hauling timber for Shed. Barnes at work in garden. Bill & Wyamoch brought home three wild Oxen. Horse cart bringing in firewood. the Indian Gohome has knocked off work & is now working for the Americans at Port Steilacoom.

Tuesday 22nd. Fine. Hands employed as before. One of the Horses shot at lately is reported to be dead.

Wednesday 23rd. Fine. Chaulifoux & Cowie at new Shed. Barnes & gang pressing Wool. Gang finished deepening river. a

87 Identity not ascertained.
88 See note 81.

band of Ewes dipped in Tobacco water. Oxen sent off to work at Tlithlow. Horse cart bringing in firewood. two ploughs working in Swamp.

Thursday 24th. Fine. Chaulifoux & Cowie completed cart Shed. Gang earthing up Potatoes. A band of Ewes dipped in tobacco water. Barnes & gang baling up Wool. Sales got leave of absence for the day. [Ms. Page 73.]

Friday 25th. Fine. Chaulifoux & Cowie repairing Horse carts. Squally making pack saddles. Barnes & gang pressing Wool. Sales breaking in a wild Horse to plough. William Tawai & gang earthing up potatoes. William Tawai has of late been behaving shamefully getting drunk with the Indians & staying out in the camp all night.

Saturday 26th. Fine pleasant weather. hands occupied as yesterday. Crops look rather dull oats in particular.

Sunday 27th. Fine very warm. Indians all drunk.

Monday 28th. Gloomy. Signs of rain. Chaulifoux & Cowie making Packsaddles. Sales & S. Hatal ploughing in Swamp. Sales is getting very lazy — independent, has a barrel of liquor in his house & has been selling the same to Indians. paid off the whole of Indian gang. Oxen bringing fence rails beach road. Cart employed carrying out Salt to various parts of Prairies for cattle.

Tuesday 29th. Showery. Chaulifoux & Cowie occupied as before. I spoke to Sales of his lazy habits & told him an Indian always did more work ploughing in a day than he did he only working 6 hours out of the 10 & sometimes only 5, he got sulky & said he intended deserting would not work any longer, he is indebted to the Compy. Barnes & myself marking Wool Bales. took on 5 Women for grass cutting. Young has been laid up for three days with a bad knee. Tawai in Slaughter house. [Ms. Page 74.]

Wednesday 30th. F. Noon Fine. A. Noon Gloomy with slight showers of rain. Chaulifoux & Cowie repairing cart wheels. Barnes & myself weighing Wool bales. the amount of Wool packed is 7766 lbs. Young still sick. Oxen hauling logs for firewood. S. Hatal sowing Turnip seed in Swamp.

[July, 1852.]

Thursday 1st. Fine. Chaulifoux & Cowie occupied as yesterday. Barnes thrashing out Wheat with Horses. Oxen F. Noon fetch-

ing Wheat from Mr. Ross'. A. Noon off to Montgomery's to be in readiness for tomorrows killing. one Horse & cart employed carting Wheat from C. Ross'. Gang of Women earthing up Potatoes.

Friday 2nd. Showery. Hands occupied the same as yesterday. two carts fetching Wheat from C. Ross's.

Saturday 3rd. Showery early this morning. Dr. Tolmie returned from Vancouver. McPhail & party are bringing down a boatload of Goods from Vancouver for this place. Chaulifoux & Cowie repairing cart Wheels. Barnes & two Indians Winnowing Wheat. Gang weeding Onion beds in garden. Oxen carting firewood.

Sunday 4th. Gloomy. strong breezes from the S. West. [Ms. Page 75.]

Monday 5th. Fine. Wagon fetched a load of Potatoes from Muck. Chaulifoux & Squally mending Wagon Wheels. Cowie sticking seed Onions in garden. Gang Weeding Onion beds. Dr. Tolmie gone to Olympia to attend at the celebration of the 4th of July.[89] Young fixing pack saddles in readiness for fetching goods from the Cowlitz.

Tuesday 6th. Dull Gloomy Weather. Hands occupied the same as yesterday. Oxen fetched a load of potatoes from Sastuc in the Evening. Dr. Tolmie returned from Olympia with a bad foot.

Friday 9th.[90] Cloudy. Mr. Huggins accompanied by Barnes started for Cowlitz with packhorses for a supply of Flour and such of the goods for Nisqually as may be brought from Vancouver by the return Sheep [batteau?]

Saturday 10th. Little stir about the place. Chaulifoux still laid up. Cowie propping appletrees in garden. Indian gang weeding potatoes.

Sunday [*11th*]. Forenoon cloudy after clear but sultry. [Ms. Page 76.]

Monday 12th. Fine. Captain Fowler,[91] an Indian trader from Cape Flattery, purchased a quantity of Blankets amounting to

89 For an account of this ceremony see Edmond S. Meany, "The Cowlitz Convention" in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, no. 1, January, 1922.

90 No entries were made for Wednesday 7th and Thursday 8th.

91 Probably Capt. Enoch S. Fowler, who arrived on Puget Sound as mate of the *George Emory* in 1850. At this time he is in command of the *George Emory*. In 1853, he opened a store at Port Townsend, with Gilbert Wilson in charge. A sketch of his life appears in *History of Pacific Northwest, Oregon and Washington*, Vol. II, p. 329.

$329. Chaulifoux resumed work. Commenced pulling pease at barn.

Tuesday 13th. Fine. Chaulifoux & Cowie jobbing. Pease all pulled. Gang afterwards weeding potatoes. Little done in Sale shop.

Wednesday 14th. Cloudy. Chaulifoux and Cowie commenced refitting flooring of granary. Others as yesterday.

Thursday 15th. Cloudy. Pretty good trade in Sale Shop. Tawai burning Swamp. Commenced cutting wheat.

Friday 16th. Showery. Indians turning wheat cut yesterday.

Saturday 17th. Mr. Huggins accompanied by John McPhail arrived from Cowlitz.

Sunday 18th. Showery. Barnes arrived with the Horses loaded with Flour from Cowlitz. no goods sent for this place for return of McPhail.

Monday 19th. Fine. Chaulifoux & Tawai at Granary Floor. Tawai & gang weeding potatoes. Barnes & two men lately discharged from Cowlitz out at Tlithlow drinking. Kanakas with permission out working at their potatoe patches. Oxen hauling fence rails from beach.

Tuesday 20th. Fine. Tawai & gang cutting Wheat. Others occupied as yesterday. [Ms. Page 77.]

Wednesday 21st. Fine. McPhail & gang of Kanakas cutting and binding Wheat. Tawai & gang weeding potatoes. Barnes & Lagg cutting Hay in Swamp. Chaulifoux repairing Horse Cart axel of which is broken. Bill & S. Hatal brought in Two wild cows. Horse cart out after Beef.

Thursday 22nd. Fine. Chaulifoux repairing harvest carts. Barnes & Legg cutting Hay, others hard at work cutting & binding Wheat. Oxen F. Noon carting home Hay. Afternoon off to Montgomery's for tomorrows killing. Dr. Tolmie gone to Olympia. Nothing doing in Sale Shop. traded 13 Beaver.

Friday 23rd. Fine. Chaulifoux making charcoal. Barnes cutting Hay. Others getting on with harvest. Lagg with Horse cart bringing home Grain.

Saturday 24th. Weather & work the same as yesterday. Two

carts & Wagon bringing home grain. Dr. Tolmie returned from Olympia.

Sunday 25th. Fine. The Am. S. "John Davis" has arrived at landing. she has brought a great quantity of things (50 tons) for the Bishop of Vancouver Island (Catholic) who wishes the goods to be stored here and to be send [*sic*] by first opportunity per Compy's Vessel to Vancouver's Island. [Ms. Page 78.]

Monday 26th. Fine. all hands at harvest. Dr. Tolmie has made an arrangement with Captn. Plummer[92] of the "John Davis" to take the Bishop's goods to Vancouver for $450.00. he will probably bring back cargo for this place.

Tuesday 27th. Fine. Chaulifoux making charcoal. Kanakas cradling Wheat. Gang pulling Oats. Horse Cart & Wagon bringing home grain.

Wednesday 28th. Chaulifoux making a step ladder. Cowie, Kahannai & Kuphai repairing bridges across Segualitchew. Tapou & Barnes making Hay. Indian gang pulling Oats. Cart & Wagon bringing home Oats. Dr. Tolmie rode out to Tlithlow & Sastuc.

Thursday 29th. Fine. Chaulifoux & all the Kanakas commenced putting up a house (with timber purchased from Glasgow[93]) for the use of Mr. Miller Custom House Officer for which he will pay rent. others occupied as yesterday. Wagon F. Noon carting grass. A. Noon off to Sastuc for tomorrows killing.

Friday 30th. Fine. Hands employed as Yesterday.

Saturday 31st. Fine. Chaulifoux & Kanakas putting up House at beach. Indian gang finished pulling Oats and commenced at the Peas. Barnes & Tapou cutting Hay. Wagon & cart bringing home Hay.

[*To be Continued*]

92 His full name has not been ascertained.
93 Thomas W. Glasgow, a settler of 1847.
94 Winlock W. Miller, surveyor of the port of Nisqually.

BOOK REVIEWS

Fifty Years on the Old Frontier, as Cowboy, Hunter, Guide, Scout, and Ranchman. By JAMES H. COOK. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923. Pp. 291. $4.00.)

Of all that has been written of the cowboy and the life of the cattle range, very little has been written by the principal actors themselves. The same is equally true of the famous government scouts, mail riders and other adventurous figures, who were men of deeds rather than words. Not many possessed, like David Crockett and W. F. Cody, the power to dramatize themselves.

The author of *Fifty Years on the Old Frontier* was, however, a genuine cowboy, and he is able to recount in a most readable way his adventures over half a century. During the Seventies and part of the Eighties he rode the ranges in Texas and New Mexico. A vivid account is to be found in the first part of the book of the life of the cattlemen in the Southwest, including such details as rounding up entirely wild cattle and horses, and the conveying of droves of animals hundreds of miles through extremely rough, Indian-infested territory. Those who desire thrills can find them here.

The author served as government scout in the campaign against Geronimo in 1885, and saw later, in the North, much of the unfortunate troubles with the Sioux and the Cheyennes, whom he shows to have been shamefully misused by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Much space is given to the Sioux chief, Red Cloud, of whom Cook was a champion and faithful friend.

Not the least entertaining parts of the book are the narratives of hunts after big game in the Rockies, during the years when Cook was one of the foremost guides and hunters of the regions bordering the one transcontinental railway.

There is at times a lack of continuity in the narrative, and considerable variation in the style between the different portions of the book. This is not sufficient, however, to mar its value to the collector of material about the Old West.

CHRISTINA D. SMITH.

Alexander Ross's Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River. Edited with historical introduction and notes by MILO MILTON QUAIFE. (The Lakeside Press, Chi-

cago, R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company, 1923. Pp. 338, map).

"Our editor this year has turned us away from the wilds of the north woods and faced us toward the Great West and the early history of its development. Had its size permitted, we would have started with a reprint of the Journals of Lewis and Clark, but this has been republished so often that it is easily within reach of anybody who is interested in the story of that wonderful expedition. Also Washington Irving's *Astoria* is so well known that its reprinting would lose the character of novelty which the publishers of the *Classics* have tried to maintain. Ross's story of the same expedition, approached from an entirely different angle, is far less familiar, and the publishers believe it will be a new and interesting book to most of the recipients of the volume. It certainly is filled with episodes of adventure, and the producers of moving pictures have apparently overlooked its possibilities as another 'thriller'."

In the foregoing words the publishers of the *Lakeside Classics* introduce the reading public to their annual volume, a work which will be welcomed by students of Northwest history as well as by lay readers. This volume is a reprint of the London edition of 1849, and the title page of that edition and the original preface, dated August 1, 1846, have been reproduced. This work was also reprinted as volume vii of R. G. Thwaites's *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, Clark, 1904.) Although the Thwaites edition is available to those who have access to the larger libraries, the publishers of the present volume have given a real service in offering to the public in convenient form one of the sources of Northwest history. The approaching centenary of the founding of Vancouver will draw attention once more to the Columbia River country and to the activities of the early fur traders. The present volume may be the first of a series of new books or reprints of earlier works treating of the fur trade in the Pacific Northwest.

The annotations have been made by the editor with considerable care, and he has cited some books which had not been published when the Thwaites edition appeared in 1904.

Students who have been delighted with Washington Irving's *Astoria,* and who have felt that the strictures of H. H. Bancroft upon that work were not altogether warranted, will be pleased to read in the *Historical Introduction* to the present edition that the editor agrees with Chittenden (*American Fur Trade of the Far West,* New York, 1902) that Bancroft's "bias of judgment and bitter prejudice" are not warranted by the facts. "Speaking

for myself," writes Mr. Quaife, "I have undertaken no thorough-going study of this controversy, but so far as I have gone into the matter my impressions coincide with the conclusions of Chittenden, and until a new and abler critic of *Astoria* shall appear I am content to accept his seasoned judgment in the premises."

The latest addition to the *Lakeside Classics* will be appreciated for its readability and for its convenience. This book will fit into one's coat pocket and will make an agreeable companion for a week-end trip, or will afford more than one evening of real entertainment at home.

J. ORIN OLIPHANT

"A Scrap of Paper." By W. T. DOVELL. (Seattle: Privately Published, 1924. Pp. 19.)

Not long before his death, Mr. Dovell read a paper before his associates of The Monday Club giving his recollections of the treaty broken with the Nez Perces and the remarkable leadership of Chief Joseph in the war that followed in 1877. Mr. Dovell's boyhood was spent in Walla Walla, not far from the beginning place of that war. He says that he and his boy friends were easily terrified by mention of Chief Joseph's name. How the judgment of manhood looked upon that broken treaty may be felt from this paragraph:

"We have called it the 'Nez Perces War'—perhaps because the conquerors chose to dignify the mighty effort it cost them by that name. It was not a war; it was a single flight; and in all history no hegira swifter, bolder, or, in one view, more pathetic."

The author carefully assembled dates and facts from documents to fortify those held so vividly in his memory.

After the author's death, one of his law partners, Mr. Otto B. Rupp, had this beautiful pamphlet published as a tribute to the one "who had gone on before."

To Oregon by Ox-Team in '47. By FRED LOCKLEY. (Portland, Oregon: The Author, 1243 East Stark Street, 1924. Pp. 16.)

Mr. Lockley is a newspaper man. He starts his booklet with an interview with Jeptha T. Hunt, County Commissioner of Marion County, Oregon, whose father, G. W. Hunt, crossed the plains in 1847 and who went from Oregon to California in 1848 to participate in the gold mining rush. Jeptha T. Hunt asked the newspaper man to condense the story in his own words. The last two-thirds of the work is a compact story well worth saving

in this permanent form. G. W. Hunt was a relative of Wilson Price Hunt, a partner in the John Jacob Astor enterprise of 1811.

Unveiling of the Memorial Stone to Peter Skene Ogden. By FREDERICK V. HOLMAN. (Portland, Oregon: Oregon Historiacl Society, 1924. Pp. 16.)

The address delivered on October 28, 1923, by Mr. Frederick V. Holman, President of the Oregon Historical Society, has been reprinted from the Quarterly of the *Oregon Historical Society.* The ceremonies were held in the Mountain View Cemetary, Oregon City, to honor the memory of the humane and historic character of Peter Shere Ogden, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Mr. Holman treats the subject with commendable sympathy.

Hawaiian Historical Society, Thirty-First Annual Report. (Honolulu: The Society, 1923. Pp. 48.)

Pages 37-40 contain an article, "The Identity of the Oregon Mission Press" by Howard Malcolm Ballou. In this *Quarterly,* Volume XIV, (October, 1923), pages 291-298, there appeared an article entitled, "Hall's Visit to Oregon in 1839." It was E. O. Hall who brought the famous printing press to Oregon during that visit in 1839. Mr. Ballou has found some additional material about the old press which he has placed in the above publication.

The Red Man in the United States. By G. E. E. LINDQUIST. (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1923. Pp. 461.)

The subtitle of the book is "An Intimate Study of the Social, Economic and Religious Life of the American Indian." Preceding the title-page is this statement: "The Committee on Social and Religious Surveys, which is responsible for this publication, was organized in January, 1921. The Committee conducts and publishes studies and surveys and promotes conferences for their consideration. Its aim is to combine the scientific method with the religious motive. It cooperates with other social and religious agencies, but is itself an independent organization. The Committee is composed of: John R. Mott, Chairman; Ernest D. Burton, Secretary; Raymond B. Fosdick, Treasurer; James L. Barton and W. H. P. Faunce. Galen M. Fisher is Executive Secretary. The offices are at 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City."

Hon. Charles H. Burke, United States Commissioner of In-

dian Affairs, has written a sympathetic "Foreword," and Secretary Galen M. Fisher, under "Acknowledgments" shows that help and information were received from many individuals.

There are forty-five good illustrations and eight maps. The thirteen double-column pages of index makes the bulky volume a more useful work of reference.

The sixty pages of Part I. are devoted to a general treatment of the subject. The chapters of Part II. are devoted to the different regions of the United States. Chapter XIII., "Rocky Mountain States," includes Wyoming, Montana and Idaho, parts of whose Indians were in the Old Oregon Country. Chapter XIV., "The Pacific Coast," treats of the Indians of California, Oregon and Washington. The portion devoted to the Indians of Washington covers pages 381 to 389. School, social and mission work are discussed and there is a brief statement of the "Indian Shaker Religion of the Northwest."

One of the most valuable portions of the volume is that devoted to the six appendices. These are: Reservation Summaries, Schools, Mission Statistics, Other Organizations Engaged in Indian Work, The Legal Status of the Indian, Bibliography on the American Indian. Many readers will be disappointed to find that important works by Edward S. Curtis have been omitted from the Bibliography.

Early Days in the Fir Tree Country. By MABEL GOODWIN CLELAND. (Seattle: The Washington Printing Co. Inc., 1923. Pp. 212. $1.75.)

Mrs. Cleland has here rendered a valuable service to the children of the Pacific Northwest and, indirectly, to the grown-ups as well. She has compiled thirty-three of her fine stories of pioneer experiences in the Northwest country.

In the introduction, Professor Edmond S. Meany says that the western children love the stories of Miles Standish, John Alden and Priscilla, John Smith and Pocahontas, but they have also begun to love stories about the western Indians and pioneers. He praises the work of Mrs. Cleland and adds: "Her stories have already received high and deserved praise. They are destined to live in the hearts of the young. The story of the 'Star of Oregon' is especially attratcive as it mingles sentiment and business, politics and economics at a critical time in the evolution of the Oregon Country into an American Commonwealth."

It is in every way a wholesome little book and should receive a generous welcome into the schools and homes of the West. Young people in this "Fir Tree Country" will surely learn to love it as one of their own possessions.

Three Old Plainsmen and Three Other Western Stories. By ROBERT BRUCE. (New York, 18 Old Slip: Robert Bruce, 1923. Pp. 24. $0.60.)

Ezra Meeker is the most prominent figure in this group of pioneer stories. He is shown in the center of the frontispiece as representative of the Oregon Trail. His birth year is given as 1830. On one side stands Albert H. Baiseley, 1847, of the Santa Fé Trail and on the other side stands William Francis Hooker, 1856, of the Cheyenne Trail. The photograph was taken in New York City, 1922. The text deals with the experiences of the men on those trails.

The second brief story is by Mr. Baiseley. It bears the title, "Initiation of a Bullwhacker," with sub-title, "Proud Moment of a New York Boy on the Plains Nearly 57 Years Ago."

The third story, "Echoes of the Old West, a 'Hossman's' Recollections of More Than 60 Years, Which Include the Rise, Height, and Eclipse of Stage Coach Travel and Wagon Freighting," is by Col. George W. Stokes.

The fourth story, "A Frontier Episode, Tense Moments on the Plains Recalled by a Former Bullwhacker," is a conversation between William Francis Hooker and A. H. Oleson, reported by Robert Bruce.

There is no announcement of how many copies of this pamphlet were issued but collectors are sure to prize the item in years to come.

Proposal to Change the Name of Mount Rainier. By C. T. CONOVER and others. (Seattle: Lowman & Hanford Co., 1924. Pp. 76.)

The Name. By A. H. DENMAN. (Tacoma: The Mt. Tacoma Club, 1924. Pp. 10.)

These two pamphlets have made their appearance in connection with the most recent effort to change the name of Mount Rainier. Mr. Denman makes a calm and dignified appeal based wholly on the assumption that Tacoma was the aboriginal name

of the mountain. He has assembled a good array of names of prominent men who have favored the name of Mount Tacoma.

In the larger pamphlet, Mr. Conover has collected a mass of evidence showing that "Tacoma" was not the aboriginal name and showing also why the time honored name of Mount Rainier should not be displaced. The first part of this pamphlet is a record of the case presented before the United States Geographic Board on May 2, 1917. To this have been added statements by a number of well-known authorities. The title page of the pamphlet is practically a table of contents as follows:

"Before the United States Geographic Board, In the Matter of the Proposal to Change the Name of Mount Rainier. Statement of C. T. Conover, Representing Numerous Citizens of the State of Washington in Favor of Retaining the Present Name, and Oral Presentation by C. T. Conover and Victor J. Farrar, May 2, 1917. Statement of C. Hart Merriam, a Member of the United States Geographic Board, Before Said Body, May 11, 1917. The Decision, May 11, 1917. Addenda: Statement of John Muir, Former Traffic Manager of the Northern Pacific Railway Co.; Statement by Dr. C. M. Buchanan, Late Superintendent of the Tulalip Indian Agency; Statement by Edwin Eells, Late Indian Agent at Tacoma; Statement of H. B. McElroy, of Olympia; Statement of William G. Steel; Statement of Elwood Evans, of Tacoma."

Beauty Spots of Oregon. By the Multnomah Hotel. (Portland: Oregon: The Hotel, 1924. Pp. 32.)

Intended as a piece of high class advertising, this booklet carries a series of surpassing illustrations with explanations in the brief text. Emphasis is placed upon Crater Lake National Park.

Government Intervention in Labor Disputes in Canada. By MARGARET MACKINTOSH. (Kingston, Ontario: Queen's University, 1924. Pp. 30.)

This is Number 47 in the Bulletins of Queen's University devoted to History and Political and Economic Science.

History of the Union Pacific; A Financial and Economic Survey. By NELSON TROTTMAN. (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1923. Pp. 412. $5.)

This volume gives a connected story of the first and for many

years the only transcontinental railroad in America. For sixty years this road has played an important part in the development of the West. The sources for this history are largely the official documents of the federal government and of the several states. The author has given frequent citations both to the sources and secondary authorities utilized in the preparation of the work. The item constitutes an important addition to the growing literature of the American railroad.

Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Conference of the Pacific Northwest Library Association. (Seattle: Ralph Munn, Secretary, 1924. Pp. 54. $0.75.)

An account is here given of the Conference held in Corvallis, Oregon, June 11-13, 1923. The activities of the Association are shown by the reports from ten active committees. The discussions reported show keen interest not only in matters of library technique but in matters of general civic welfare. The next meeting is announced for Victoria, B. C., August 25-27, under the presidency of John Ridington of the University of British Columbia Library.

An Analysis of Lafayette National Park. By ROBERT STERLING YARD. (Washington: The National Parks Assocaition, 1924. Pp. 46.)

In his opening paragraph, Mr. Yard justifies the preparation of this beautiful pamphlet. It is as follows:

"Except for Lafayette National Park in Maine, the United States east of the Mississippi is still unrepresented in our National Parks System. The reason is that Congress does not purchase land for National Parks, and all eastern lands are privately owned except certain Appalachain forests recently acquired under the Weeks Act for the protection of stream sources and the conservation of growing timber. All other public lands are in the far West. Lafayette National Park was the gift of the people to the United States. It required years of labor and personal sacrifice to acquire it.

Most of the excellent photographs from which the illustrations were made are credited to Herbert W. Gleason. The park is on Mount Desert Island and commands many views of the Atlantic.

Westerners should rejoice over the Nation's acquisition of

Lafayette National Park. Struggles for adequate maintenance of the larger parks will be favorably modified by a swift and general approval of this fine gift from the people.

The Western Gateway to World Trade. By CHICAGO, BURLINGTON & QUINCY RAILROAD, NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY, GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY. (Chicago and St. Paul: Passenger Traffic Managers of the Companies, 1924. Pp. 31. Free.)

Treasure Lands of the Pacific Northwest. By CHICAGO, BURLINGTON & QUINCY RAILROAD, NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY, GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY. (Chicago and St. Paul: Passenger Traffic Managers of the Companies, 1924. Pp. 31. Free.)

The latest numbers in a series of booklets well described by the titles. The previous issues are entitled *The Land of Opportunity Now, Through the American Wonderland, A Business of Your Own in Poultryland, Timber Billions of the Pacific Northwest, There is a Happy Land, The Land of Better Farms, Power for Supremacy.* Of course it is all railroad advertising material but collectors of Northwest Americana will do well to save the booklets. They are well written, beautifully illustrated and printed on first class paper. They carry valuable information in compact form and the advertising is not obtrusive. It consists of two pages in the back of each booklet under the caption: "See the Pacific Northwest" and bearing the names of P. S. Eustis, A. B. Smith and A. J. Dickinson, Passenger Traffic Managers of the three cooperating railroads.

Mandan and Hidatsa Music. By FRANCES DENSMORE. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923. Pp. 192. $0.60.)

Excavations in the Chama Valley, New Mexico. By J. A. JEANCON. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923. Pp. 80. $0.75.)

Bulletins 80 and 81 are well described by the titles. The usual high standard of printing is maintained. There are abundant illustrations, diagrams and music scores. Though outside the field of this *Quarterly,* they are mentioned here on account of the growing interest in ethnology throughout the Pacific Northwest.

Other Books Received

AMERICAN IRISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Journal, Volume 22, for the Year 1923.* (New York: The Society, 1923. Pp. 265.)

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Transactions for the Year 1922.* (Springfield, For the Society, 1923. Pp. 161.)

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Collections 1919-1922, Volume 15.* (Topeka: State Printing Plant, 1923. Pp. 673.)

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Twenty-Third Biennial Report,* 1920-1922. (Topeka: State Printing Plant, 1923. Pp. 70.)

MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION. *Michigan Biographies, Volume 1.* (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1924. Pp. 482.)

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Twenty-Second Biennial Report, 1921-1922.* (St. Paul: The Society, 1923. Pp. 90.)

ROBESON, GEORGE F. *The Government of Special Charter Cities in Iowa.* (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1923. Pp. 286.)

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA. *Phoebe Apperson Hearst Memorial Volume.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1923. Pp. 389.)

WEST, W. READ. *Contemporary French Opinion on the American Civil War.* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1924. Pp. 159.)

PACIFIC NORTHWEST AMERICANA

A Halt in Prices

Buyers of Western books will find encouragement in the statement recently made by Frederick M. Hopkins, Editor of the "Old and Rare Books" department of *Publishers Weekly*. "There are indications," writes Mr. Hopkins, "that the high prices which rare historical material relating to the Early and Far West has been bringing have about reached their height for the present. Collectors and librarians are disposed to stop buying, if need be, rather than pay prices that seem unreasonably high and still advancing." The suggestion of a halt in the advancing prices of Americana is cheering news, coming as it does from a well posted authority.

The Curtis Photo History

There have been no important sales of Western Americana since the Anderson Sale of December 3-5, 1923. Of the few single items that have appeared in the market during the winter the most notable has been the sale at the American Art Galleries, on January 22, of a set of Edward S. Curtis's *The North American Indian*. The twelve volumes of text and twelve portfolios brought the sum of $925.00. Students of Western history are familiar with this ambitious work by Mr. Curtis, long a photographer of Seattle. The work was originally projected for twenty volumes to be sold for $3,000.00 the set. The price was later raised to $3,500.00. Volumes 13 and 14 are reported now complete with much material on hand for the later volumes.

The Library of Congress Buys Western Books

The question frequently is asked as to what becomes of all the rare Western books that pass through the auction rooms. There is a prevalent belief that most of them become the property of millionaire private collectors. It is cause for satisfaction to learn that a part of the items sold during the auction season of 1922-1923 were acquired by the Library of Congress.

The Report of the Library of Congress for 1923 devotes three pages (Pp. 30-32) to acquisitions on the Far West. Among the books so listed appear two items of extreme rarity noted in this *Quarterly* for April 1923, Pp. 156-157, namely: Wilkes, George, *Memorial for a National Railroad*, and Merrill, D. D., *The North-*

ern Route to Idaho and the Pacific Ocean. A third item of great local interest is Mrs. A. H. H. Stuart's *Washington Territory,* published in Olympia, Washington, in 1875, and to be found only in the Seattle Public Library among the libraries of the Pacific Northwest. Librarians and students may well be glad to watch the upbuilding of the collections in the Library of Congress since the bibliographical services of that institution added to generous and impartial privileges of duplication render its material accessible in a high degree.

Anacortes Newspapers

Two additional newspaper files have recently been placed in fireproof storage at the University of Washington Library. These papers were donated by Mr. Melville Curtis of Anacortes, brother of Mrs. Anna Curtis Bowman, in whose honor the town of Anacortes was named. The files include the *Northwest Enterprise,* complete from the beginning, March 25, 1882 to March 13, 1886, and the *Anacortes Progress* from the first number August 3, 1889, to its suspension January 22, 1892, with the exception of eleven missing numbers. Both files are bound and in excellent condition.

The placing of these valuable newspapers in the safety of public archives was due to the friendly interest of Mr. Frank Carleton Teck of Bellingham. Mr. Teck is the writer of "Rambles" a daily column on the first page of the *Bellingham Herald.* He will be recalled as the author of a book of verse entitled "Under Western Skies."

Donation of Manuscripts

Clarence B. Bagley has recently donated to the University of Washington Library a collection of manuscript letters and papers relating to the history of the University and State of Washington. Many of these papers relate to University lands. Others relate to the claims of Washington citizens for depredations made by the Indians during the Indian War of 1855-1856.

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Geographic Decisions

The United States Geographic Board has published the list of decisions rendered from July, 1920, to June, 1923. The cases involved are in many parts of the world wherever American interests have extended, such as the American Virgin Islands, Porto Rico, the coast of China and especially in Alaska, where the commission to mark the International Boundary between Alaska and Canada had completed its work. There are a number of decisions pertaining to Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming and Montana. The cases recorded here as in the State of Washington are as follows:

"*Battle;* butte, about 10 miles west Spokane, T. 24 N., R. 41 E., Spokane County, Wash. (Not Wright.)

"*Big Sheep;* creek, rising in British Columbia, crossing International Boundary about long. 117° 56′, tributary to Columbia River near Northport, Stevens County, Wash. (Not Sheep, White Sheep, nor Yomelsin.)

"*Chutla;* peak (altitude 6,000 feet), near western end Tatoosh Range, about ¼ mile southeast Eagle Peak, Mount Rainier National Park, Pierce County, Wash.

"*Lane;* peak, three-pointed (altitude 6,000 feet), in Tatoosh Range, rising ⅓ mile northwest of Cliff Lake, Mount Rainier National Park, Pierce County, Wash. (After the late Franklin K. Lane, former Secretary of the Department of the Interior.)

"*Lenore;* lake, about 8 miles long, Ts. 22, 23, and 24, Rs. 26 and 27, Grant County, Wash. (Not Alkali.)

"*Ohanapecosh,* hot springs, on the Ohanapecosh River, sec. 4 T. 14 N., R 10 E., Rainier National Forest, Lewis County, Wash. (Not Cowlitz.)

"*Rich;* passage, entrance to Port Orchard from Puget Sound, south of Bainbridge Island, Kitsap County, Wash. (Not Rich's.)"

A small two-page list of decisions rendered by the Board on June 13, 1923, comes as a supplement and deals mostly with cases in southeastern Alaska. Through the necessity of having names for the peaks and other landmarks along the Boundary many new names were bestowed. International impartiality was observed and names were selected from English, Spanish, Russian and American characters who took part in the historical events connected with the Boundary. One of those decisions is here re-

printed because the man honored had so much to do with important events in the history of the Northwest, such as the Treaty of Ghent and the Joint Occupancy Conventions:

"*Mount Quincy Adams;* peak (altitude 13,561 feet), lat. 58° 54′ 23″, long. 137° 27′ 02″, near Mount Fairweather, on the International Boundary between Alaska and Canada. Named for Hon. John Quincy Adams, former Secretary of State of the United States, and President of the United States, who, in the former capacity, negotiated the first treaty between the United States and Russia, concluded April 17, 1824, proclaimed January 12, 1825, providing inter alia for a part of the boundary between Russia and Great Britain, which is now the boundary between the United States and Canada."

The Telephone in Seattle

On March 7, 1924, The Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company conducted an interesting celebration to commemorate the forty-first anniversary of the telephone in Seattle. The occasion also helped to celebrate the opening of the new home of the Company, one of the most perfect telephone structures in the world; the installation of dialing or mechanical switching was noted; and the wonderful facilities for long-distance conversation were exemplified.

In the case of the last-mentioned feature, the wires were cleared for Santa Barbara, California, where resides Mrs. Harriett Hanson Hall. As Hattie Hanson she had served as the first "Central" in Seattle. The pioneers assembled were among the original ninety subscribers she had helped to serve. Four of them, E. W. Melse, L. S. Booth, Judge C. H. Hanford and A. B. Stewart, had brief long-distance conversations with the original "Central" from the office in Seattle.

Mr. W. J. Phillips, Division Commercial Superintendent of The Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company, made a brief address to the assembled pioneers, including the following paragraphs:

"On this forty-first anniversary of the inauguration of telephone service in Seattle, it seems fitting to us to bring together insofar as possible those still in the city who were subscribers to the service in the beginning.

"We have made an earnest endeavor to notify all those who could be reached who had telephones in their own names or who

as adults in 1883 were actively engaged in business and identified with firms who did have the first telephones.

"The lapse of time since the pioneer days of 1883 and the ravages of the big fire in 1889 and the public library fire in 1900 or 1901 have destroyed, as far as we can find, any exact records of the list of original subscribers.

"We do know that the Seattle telephone exchange opened March 7, 1883. We know that there were at the outset ninety subscribers. Through the assistance of Mr. Melse, who put in the first system and is with us today, Mr. Bagley, whose father once owned the site on which this building stands, Professor Meany, Mr. Carkeek, and several of you with whom we have compared notes, we have endeavored during the past year to reconstruct or compile, wherever memory can be brought to serve, the list of the first ninety subscribers, which included those of you gathered here today."

The assembled pioneers to whom the remarks were addressed included the following: C. B. Bagley, L. S. Booth, A. M. Brookes, Judge Thomas Burke, R. H. Denny, A. W. Engle, J. E. Gabriel accompanying his uncle Captain E. W. Gove, John Haley, Judge C. H. Hanford, J. D. Lowman, A. E. McCulsky, Maurice McMicken, Professor E. S. Meany, E. W. Melse, John M. Moran representing his father Robert Moran, Sherman Moran, Joseph W. Phillips, Roy Pinkham and A. B. Stewart.

Mention should be made of Roy O. Hadley, former newspaper man and former Secretary of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, who is now associated with the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company. He gave much time and effort toward the compilation of corect information about this important phase of Seattle's history.

Old Directories of Seattle

Judge C. H. Hanford has presented two rare books to the Washington University State Historical Society which, in turn, places them in the University of Washington Library. They are early *Directories of Seattle,* one compiled by R. D. Pitt in 1879 and the other published by Elliott & Sweet in 1882. These gifts will be appreciated by all who have encountered difficulty in finding such dependable source materials in studying the history of Seattle.

Washington Educator in Peru

The recent revival of interest in education in Peru has resulted in the publication at Arequipa of a magazine called *Peru Pedagogico.* Volume I., number 1, appeared in September, 1923. It contains a chapter on Glenn W. Caulkins, Regional Director of Ensenanza, and a full-page portrait of him. Mr. Caulkins was a Bellingham boy who graduated from the University of Washington in the class of 1901, with his major work in Spanish. He devoted seventeen years to educational work in the Philippine Islands, two years in Porto Rico and the last three years in Peru. The new magazine in Arequipa speaks of his work and his character in terms of highest praise.

Fort Nisqually Manuscripts Sold

One of the most important transfers of Pacific Northwest Americana ever made in these parts was consummated in January, 1923, when Mr. George W. Soliday, prominent Seattle collector, purchased of Mr. Thomas Huggins, of Tacoma, the journals, account books, and private papers of Fort Nisqually.

Fort Nisqually was founded by the Hudson's Bay Co. about April 15, 1833. On Dec. 23, 1840, it was transferred to the Puget's Sound Agricultural Co., a subsidiary concern which undertook to carry on the farming operations of the parent company. Sometime during the years 1841-42, the old fort was abandoned, and a new structure built several miles inland, which also received the name of Fort Nisqually. From this location, now known as Dupont, the company ran a cattle and sheep ranch on the plains from the Puyallup to the Nisqually rivers, and established a number of substations at such places as Sastuck and Tlithlow (Steilacoom), Muck, Tenalquot, Spanaway. From April 15, 1833, the time of beginning, until Sept. 10, 1869, the time of ending, when the United States closed out the American holdings of the companies for a price, the two organizations occupied a prominent position in the history of the Puget Sound region. And the records kept at Nisqually furnish a veritable storehouse of information for the historian.

Shortly after Sept. 10, 1869, the Puget's Sound Agricultural Co. held an auction and closed out its affairs. After the abandonment of the fort, Mr. Edward Huggins, clerk, withdrew from the service, and took up the site under the homestead laws of the United States. The journals, account books, papers and other rec-

ords, considered worthless at the time, were given to Mr. Huggins, along with other effects, who, after his death, bequeathed them to his son, Thomas.

Besides the *Journal of Occurrences,* familiarly known as *The Nisqually Journal,* the collection included about 89 account books, some 600 letters, and other records, such as deeds, manifests, receipts, bills of sale, etc. Unfortunately, the collection will not be available for use by students for some time to come, being stored in several safe deposit vaults at a local bank. A photostat copy of the *Journals,* a list of which, given below, is at the University of Washington:

The *Nisqually Journals* which have come down to us cover the following periods: May 30, 1833, to April 25, 1835; April 26, 1835, to August 23, 1836; September 1, 1836, to October 31, 1837; November 1, 1837, to May 31, 1839; January 20, 1846, to April 30, 1847; May 10, 1849, to August 6, 1850; August 7, 1850, to August 31, 1851; September 1, 1851, to October 3, 1852; October 4, 1852, to May 28, 1854; May 29, 1854, to August 15, 1856; August 25, 1856, to August 23, 1857; September 26, 1857, to September 27, 1859. It will be seen that certain books are missing, having in some way been extracted from the series; some four or five journals covering the six years from May 31, 1839, to January 20, 1846; and one from April 30, 1847, to March 10, 1849. Possibly the *Journal* was not continued after September 27, 1859. In addition to the *Nisqually Journals* the collection includes *Muck Farm Journal* from April 22, 1858, to April 16, 1859; and *Tlithlow Journal* (Steilacoom) from January 1, 1851, to August 2, 1851, and from November 19, 1856, to April 30, 1857.

Principal Articles in the Washington Historical Quarterly

VOLUME XIII

The Cowlitz Convention: Inception of Washington Territory.....*Edmond S. Meany*
Advertising and the Klondike.....*Jeannette P. Nichols*
The Wreck of the St. Nicholas.....*C. L. Andrews*
Origin of Washington Geographic Names.....*Edmond S. Meany*
The Loss of the "Tonquin".....*F. W. Howay*
The Background of the Purchase of Alaska.....*Victor J. Farrar*
A Daughter of Angus MacDonald.....*Christina Williams*
Crossing the Plains.....*Clarence B. Bagley*
Newspapers of Washington Territory.....*Edmond S. Meany*
Finan McDonald.....*J. A. Meyers*
Early Development of Railroads in the Pacific Northwest.....*C. J. Smith*
Van Ogle's Memory of Pioneer Days.....*Van Ogle*

VOLUME XIV

The Building of the Walla Walla and Columbia River Railroad .....*W. W. Baker*
Spokane, Portland and Seattle Railway.....*L. C. Gilman*
Newspapers of Washington Territory.....*Edmond S. Meany*
Historical Services of Thomas W. Prosch.....*Charles W. Smith*
Origin of Washington Geographic Names.....*Edmond S. Meany*
The Orphan Railroad and the Ram's Horn Right of Way..*C. H. Hanford*
Memories of White Salmon and its Pioneers.....*Albert J. Thompson*
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Announcements

¶ In response to requests for information about Grand Coulee, Dean Henry Landes, well known authority on the geology of the Pacific Northwest, has prepared an article for this issue in which he assembles the results of the latest studies of that remarkable geographic feature of Washington.

¶ From a similar spirit of service a brief article is published on the source of the name of Mount Saint Helens on request of those who are building the new city of Longview at the mouth of Cowlitz River.

¶ The pioneer, Albert J. Thompson, received so many compliments for his article on the history of White Salmon that he was encouraged to write his memories of the Atanum Valley, in the Yakima Country of the early days.

¶ Notwithstanding the loss of records by fire, Mr. Oliphant has succeeded, after extensive research, in assembling a satisfactory history of the Benjamin P. Cheney Academy, on whose foundations was built the Washington State Normal School at Cheney.

¶ Mr. George H. Himes evinces a spirit of neighborliness by sending from his Oregon collections a brief item of early Washington history.

¶ Mr. George W. Soliday, of Seattle, has acquired the valuable manuscript records of the Hudson's Bay Company and Puget's Sound Agricultural Company at Fort Nisqually.

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ROBERT MOORE IN OREGON HISTORY[1]

The frontier has been a significant fact in American history. From the very beginning of colonial times the frontier existed, and the history of America, to a considerable extent, has been the story of resourceful men seeking larger economic opportunities and satisfaction for the adventurous spirit; of fearless frontiersmen driving their axes into primeval forests, blazing trails through woods inhabited only by savages and wild beasts, making their way across mountain ranges, following rivers from their sources to their outlets in larger bodies of water, and ultimately winning from savagery a new continent for the Anglo-Saxon people and prosperous homes for later generations. In these men the desire for new experiences overcame the desire for ease and security.

A new type of man was produced on the American frontier. Trained to the rigorous life of the wilderness, where the struggle for existence was a stern reality, the typical frontiersman grew restive under the restraints of civilization. As the country into which he first penetrated early in life became subdued, he continued his advances toward the setting sun. Thus it frequently happened that within the short space of a lifetime an American frontiersman would reside upon three or four frontiers. He kept moving steadily forward as a vanguard of civilization until death laid him low and he found a final resting place in the wilderness he loved so well. The frontiersman was the herald of an age to follow, one of the few who pointed the way.

A century ago the United States had little claim to the Oregon country. It is true that the Treaty of Ghent had restored whatever rights the Americans had acquired to this country by discovery, exploration and settlement before the War of 1812, and that, failing to effect a satisfactory arrangement with Great Britain with respect to a boundary in Oregon, the United States had, in 1818, entered into a treaty of "joint occupancy" with that coun-

1 Authorities consulted in the preparation of this article have been cited in the footnotes. The writer wishes to take this occasion, however, to express his appreciation of the assistance given him by the following persons: Jessie Palmer Weber, librarian of the Illinois State Historical Society; Stella M. Drumm, librarian of the Missouri Historical Society; William R. Sandham, Wyoming, Ill.; George H. Himes, curator and assistant secretary of the Oregon Historical Society; Charles H. Carey, Portland; the Rev. Harry M. Painter, of Cheney, Wash., a great-grandson of Robert Moore; and Mrs. J. B. Davidson, of Ellensburg, a great-granddaughter of Robert Moore. Mrs. Davidson has made available to the pesent writer sundry family records and manuscripts. These have been designated in the notes as the "Davidson Mss."

try. But for a time the advantage apparently lay with the British. The warring British fur-trading companies had reached a *modus operandi* or union in 1821, and thereafter they began a systematic exploitation of the resources of the Pacific Northwest.[2] It was difficult for independent American traders to compete with such a powerful organization.

But Americans did come into the Oregon country, slowly at first, but later, following in the train of the missionaries, settlers pushed across the great plains and entered the valley of Oregon. By 1843, when the "Oregon Question" was beginning to assume large international importance, a steady stream of American settlers was flowing into the Willamette Valley to claim the country for the Stars and Stripes. In 1840 there had arrived in Oregon Robert Moore, a Pennsylvanian, a man who was already past the zenith of life and who was equipped with experiences acquired on two other frontiers. He was destined to play a considerable part in the early history of Oregon, to pass with it through the vicissitudes of a provisional government and through a territorial regime almost to the year of statehood before he was laid to rest in the soil of Oregon, hard by the falls of the Willamette.

Robert Moore was born of Scotch parentage in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, October 2, 1781. At the age of nineteen he moved with his parents to Mercer County, Pennsylvania, where, on April 18, 1805, he married Margaretta Clark, of his native county, who was born on March 8, 1783. They were the parents of ten children.

Robert Moore served in the American army during the War of 1812, and subsequently attained the rank of major in the Pennsylvania militia, a position which he held until 1822. He attained his majority just after the Jeffersonian democracy had supplanted the Federalist regime, and his first vote for president was cast for Thomas Jefferson in 1804. He was a firm supporter of Jefferson and his principles, and he cast his vote successively for Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams.[3]

In 1822 Robert Moore moved his family to St. Genevieve, Missouri, where for the following thirteen years he took an active part in the affairs of his community and of the State of Missouri. He served in the Sixth General Assembly of Missouri (1830-1832) as the representative of St. Genevieve County, and it is said that

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2 In 1821 the Hudson's Bay Co. and the Northwest Co. were united.

3 *Oregon Argus*, Sept. 12, 1857; Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, i., 237-238.

there he was an ardent supporter of the "free-state" doctrine.[4] During his residence in Missouri Robert Moore also became a close friend of Dr. Lewis F. Linn,[5] his family physician, who later spent ten years in the United States Senate as the colleague of Thomas Hart Benton, and who consistently labored in behalf of Oregon.

In the spring of 1835 Robert Moore migrated to Peoria, Illinois, and the following year he laid out the townsite of Osceola, in what is now Stark County. From a pioneer history of that region the following account of his activities of those years is taken:

"In December, 1835, a number of resolute men had pushed their way from Peoria to what has since been called Osceola Grove. Among them were James Buswell, Isaac Spencer, Thomas Watts, Giles C. Dana, Peter Pratt, and Dr. Pratt. They came out under the auspices of Major Robert Moore, who had obtained a map of the lands in township fourteen north, range six east, designating the patent and unentered lands; and he now encouraged emigration hither, with a view to building up a town, which he had surveyed and called Osceola. Major Moore was an intelligent, active business man, ever ready to take advantage of circumstances, and fond of adventure. He subsequently went to Oregon with one of the first parties that ever crossed the mountains, whither his family followed him some years after, with the exception of his youngest son, Robert Moore, Esq., who is at this date a resident of Toulon. But at the time of which this narrative treats Major Moore owned a ferry that crossed the river at Peoria, and to this he gave his personal supervision, and, as emigrants crossed, which they did frequently, he would take the opportunity to recommend the Osceola country to them. In this way probably originated the company he led there in 1835. Quoting Clifford's history in regard to this enterprise: "The parties above named were all from Vermont—which Saxe says is a good state to come from but a poor one to go to—except Moore, who was

4 *Oregon Argus*, Sept. 12, 1857; *Official Manual of the State of Missouri*, 1913-14 (Jefferson City, 1914), 152; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-238.

5 Dr. Lewis F. Linn was born in Louisville, Kentucky, Nov. 5, 1795. Early in life he established himself as a physician in St. Genevieve, Mo. He was married in July, 1818. Dr. Linn soon built up an extensive practise in Missouri, and his services to the poor made him one of the best-loved men in that state. He spent ten years in the United States Senate as the colleague of Thomas Hart Benton. During those years Dr. Linn was much admired by his fellow senators and by other men in public life with whom he came in contact. He and Henry Clay were warm friends. During his senatorial career it appeared that Dr. Linn's first interest was in Missouri and his second interest Oregon. He was at all times a champion of the American settlers in the Willamette Valley. He died Oct. 3, 1843. Linn City and Linn County, Oregon, were named in his honor. See E. A. Linn and N. Sargent, *The Life and Public Services of Dr. Lewis F. Linn*, (New York, Appleton, 1857).

from one of the southern states,[6] and Day who was from Massachusetts. When these persons reached the Grove there was no one living there except Henry Seeley, who then had a cabin where he now lives, and Lewis Sturms'."[7]

Osceola has gone down in history as one of the "lost towns" of Stark County, Illinois. Like many of the boom towns of an early period, it failed to stand the test of time, but the enterprise is none the less interesting as an attempt at city-building on an American frontier.

On February 9, 1818, Daniel Crottnell, a veteran of the War of 1812, received from the United States a patent to the southwest quarter of section twelve of what is now Elmira township, Stark County, Illinois. During the next few years this quarter section passed through several hands, and on February 16, 1824, it was conveyed to "Major Robert Moore of St. Genevieve, Missouri, for $100. The same piece of land was sold for taxes, for $2.69, in 1834, to Thomas Ford, who was governor of Illinois from 1842 to 1846. The tract was redeemed by Major Moore and reconveyed to him February 10, 1836.

"Some time in the early part of 1835 Major Moore came to this part of Illinois to view his land and to become the operator of a ferry on the Illinois River at Peoria. . . . With the assistance of the county surveyor of Putnam County, of which the land that is now Elmira township was then a part, [he] surveyed and platted a townsite on the foregoing described quarter section. He named it Osceola, after the Seminole warrior Osceola, the Indian leader in the Florida Indian War. There were four others, James C. Armstrong, Thomas J. Hurd, D. C. Enos, and Edward Dickenson, who were associated with Major Moore in the promotion and sale of lots in the new town. The new town as platted consisted of 48 blocks of 10 lots each, with a large 'Washington Square' in the center. The plat was dated July 7, 1836, and was recorded on page 278 in Book D, in the recorder's office in Hennepin, the county seat of Putnam County.

"The exalted hopes of Major Moore and his associates ended in disappointment, for the reason that the people who came to settle in this part of Illinois preferred to make their homes in and near the groves, a short distance west of the new town. . . .

"Major Moore sold all his interest in the Osceola townsite

6 This is a mistake. Robert Moore was born in Pennsylvania. He lived in Missouri for several years, and perhaps the writer had this state in mind in saying that he came from a "southern state."

7 Mrs. E. H. Shallenberger, *Stark County and Its Pioneers*, (Cambridge, Ill., 1876), 31.

and in the quarter section on which it was located, May 2, 1839, just two months after the county of Stark was created. His son, James Madison Moore, owned a half interest in the quarter section from February 25, 1841, to April 21, 1842. The record books in the recorder's office in Toulon show that the Osceola townsite was vacated by the owners, Isaac Spencer, Timothy Carter, and Oliver Whitaker. The vacating deed was filed for record July 16, 1845. . . . . The quarter section on which was located the lost town of Osceola is now productive farm land."[8]

Major Moore had by this time heard the call of Oregon; and, although he was now reaching the age when many men begin to think of resting somewhat from their labors, he decided to set out for the "River of the West" as soon as the opportunity afforded. It was not long in coming. In the autumn of 1838 Jason Lee, a Methodist missionary stationed in the Willamette Valley, stopped in Illinois on a journey eastward and spoke on the Oregon country. Thrilled by his description of this wondrous land, a group of men organized the famous "Peoria Party," under the leadership of Thomas J. Farnham, to go forth and "take possession of Oregon."[9] Nineteen men composed this party, one of whom was Robert Moore.[10]

"This company was organized at Peoria, Illinois, early in 1839, and started on its western journey about the first of May. . . . .

"It was organized on the community or common-stock principle, each one paying an equal proportion of the expenses and sharing alike in the gain or loss of the enterprise.

"Not one of these individuals had ever been farther west than St. Louis, or knew any of the hardships and dangers of the expe-

8 William R. Sandham, "A Lost Stark County Town," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, xiii, no. 1, 109-112. This article gives a satisfactory account of the founding of the town of Osceola and of the activities of Robert Moore in Illinois. The article was reprinted in the Wyoming (Illinois) *Post-Herald* of Sept. 21, 1921.

9 Robert Shortess, "First Emigrants to Oregon," *Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association for* 1896, p. 92 et seq. (This document was prepared many years ago by Robert Shortess, one of the party, and given by him to Mr. William Chance, late of Astoria, to whom the secretary of the Oregon Pioneer Association is indebted for it.—George H. Hines, secretary). See, also, *Farnham's Travels*, (Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, xxviii, xxix, Cleveland, Clark, 1906). In the library of the Oregon Historical Society is an interesting pamphlet, entitled "The Oregon Expedition of Obadiah Oakley." This is a reprint from the *Peoria Register*, and was published in New York in 1914. Unfortunately, the article from which the reprint was made is not dated, but it must have appeared not later than 1840. Oakley was a member of the Farnham party and traveled with Farnham as far as the Rocky Mountains, and then abandoned the enterprise and returned to Illinois. The pamphlet mentioned above says, p. 3: "Mr. Obadiah Oakley, one of the party who left Peoria in May for Oregon, returned home on Sunday last, having separated from his companions in the Rocky Mountains. From a conversation with him we have gathered the following outline of his journey and adventures."

10 Robert Shortess, *op. cit.*, p. 92. Obadiah Oakley, *op. cit.*, p. 3, states that the company numbered 15 when it left Peoria, that another joined at Quincy, and two more at Independence, Mo. "The company, 18 in number, left Independence the 29th of May, on the Santa Fe road, which is a distinct wagon track."—*Ibid.*, p. 4. Farnham says they left May 30.—(Thwaites, xxviii, 52).

dition in which they had engaged. They were led by Thomas J. Farnham, and proceeded on their long and perilous journey toward the setting sun. Their outfit consisted of a circular tent, large enough to cover the entire party and their baggage, one two-horse wagon and team, a small stock of provisions, and $100 for contingencies; besides, each had his riding animal and rifle, some of the latter carrying 120 balls to the pound. There were also several bowie knives, weighing from seven to nine pounds each. Their leader dubbed them Oregon dragoons, and they carried a flag, presented by Mrs. Farnham, bearing the motto, 'Oregon or the Grave'."[11]

A question has been raised whether Major Moore was a member of the "Peoria Party," or whether he set out from Peoria with another party in the same year that the Farnham party left. Bancroft, writing in 1886, maintained that Major Moore was a member of another party composed of eleven persons, which left Peoria in 1839.[12] Later research, however, appears to have established beyond doubt the fact that Moore was a member of the famous Farnham band.[13] All accounts agree that he arrived in Oregon in 1840.

Long before Farnham and his "dragoons" obtained even a Pisgah view of the promised land of Oregon the party fell on evil days. Dissensions arose and division followed. Some of the adventurers gave up the idea of conquering Oregon and returned to the United States, others went to New Mexico, while some who desired to continue the journey to Oregon refused to travel any

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11 Shortess, *op. cit.*, p. 93; *Farnham's Travels*, (Thwaites, xxviii), preface and chapter i. For one contemporary account, see *Niles' Register*, lvi, 208, which reads: "We learn from the *Peoria (Illinois) Register* of the 4th inst. that a party of 12 young men left that place on the 1st, bound for Oregon. Upon reaching the Columbia, the party will proceed to take possession, as American citizens, of the most eligible points, and make settlements. These claims (to use a pioneer phrase) will be held in common by the whole company until the title is recognized by the United States. Should any of the party, however, previously become dissatisfied, he will be at liberty to leave, but his interest in the possession thus claimed will be forfeited." Then follows a table showing the equipment of the party. Another contemporary account reads as follows: "One mule, which belonged to the party in common, carried their tent, two kegs of powder, and a few other articles. The other mules, of which each member, for the most part, owned one, carried the provisions, clothing and other property of each. The provisions amounted to 200 pounds of flour and 150 pounds of bacon, besides sugar, coffee, tea, and minor groceries. Upon their riding horses they carried their rifles, blankets, and some extra clothing."—*The Oregon Expedition of Obadiah Oakley*, pp. 3-4.

12 Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

13 S. A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History*, ii, chap. xliv. Clarke states that in 1880 he took notes for this chapter from Joseph Holman, a member of the Peoria party. He includes the name of Robert Moore. See Shortess, *op. cit.*, p. 92, and Oakley, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

longer under the leadership of Farnham.[14] Among the dissenters was Robert Moore, who spent the winter at Fort St. Vrain and arrived in Oregon the following year. He took up a claim near the falls, on the west bank of the Willamette River.[15] He obtained a title to his claim from an old Indian chief.

"Major Moore bought his land on the west side of the river, from old Chief Wanaxka, and I once saw the deed to this purchase, but did not then realize its historic value. It was signed 'Wanaxka X Mark.' Major Moore had a piece of land a mile square up and down the Willamette, exactly opposite where Oregon City now stands. But his wife never came out here; she died, so the major had to give up half his claim.[16] Opposite Major Moore's claim, on the east side of the river, Dr. McLoughlin had his claim of 640 acres, a mile up and down the falls."[17]

"Robert Moore built his home, 'Robin's Nest,' on a steep hillside directly overlooking the falls of the Willamette. The 'Robin's Nest' was a log cabin, long since destroyed, but historic for many things."[18]

Commodore Charles Wilkes, commander of the United States Exploring Expedition, who visited the Willamette Valley in 1841, -reported several conversations which he had with Major Moore, in the course of which Major Moore informed the commodore

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14 Shortess, *op. cit., passim.* "The *Peoria Register* furnishes the following account of the *finale* of the expedition which set out from that country for the mouth of the Oregon: *Finale of the Oregon Expedition.* A letter has recently been received by Mr. Burhans, of Tazewell County, from Capt. Thomas J. Farnham, leader of the party of fourteen Peorians who set out a year ago for Oregon, written at one of the Sandwich Islands, in January last. Our latest previous advices from Captain F. left him at Brown's Hole, in the Rocky Mountains, with only one of his Peoria companions, waiting to fall in with some company bound to the Columbia River. Though in this letter he does not mention the fact, yet it is presumed he did fall in with such a company, and that he prosecuted his journey with them. He now states that in every respect the country has been overrated; that, excepting the valley of the Wilhamet—the seat of the Methodist Mission—no portion of the territory through which he passed presents anything attractive, or offers any inducements to farmers, or any other class of immigrants. In a word, all the unfavorable representations that were made to him by returned travelers whom he met on the journey, and to which he then lent an incredulous ear, were abundantly realized."—*Niles' Register,* lviii, 242. (June 20, 1840).

Bitter feelings developed among the members of this party soon after they left Independence. The hardships of the journey broke down the crusading spirit, and it must have been apparent to all within a short time that, in attempting to "Conquer Oregon," they were tilting at a windmill. Perhaps the bitterness of felling which soon developed was occasioned by disillusionment. At any rate, it seemed difficult for one member of the party to say anything good about another. Oakley makes a serious accusation against Robert Moore and Robert Shortess, and declares that their withdrawal from the party was an occasion for rejoicing on the part of several other members.

15 Shortess, *op. cit.,* p. 105; *Davidson Mss.; Palmer's Journal,* (Thwaites, xxx), 163, note.

16 "Mrs. Moore died at the home of her son in St. Louis before the new home in Oregon was ready for occupancy."—Sandham, *op. cit.,* p. 112. According to the *Davidson Mss.,* the date of her death was Oct. 7, 1848. The *Oregon Spectator* of December 23, 1851, contains the following notice of the second marriage of Robert Moore: "Married—At Portland, on the 18th inst., by Rev. J. H. Wilbur, Mr. Robert Moore, proprietor of Linn City, and Mrs. Jane Apperson, of Portland." Mrs. Moore died Feb. 28, 1859.

17 Letter of Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, of Oregon City, to Vera Josephine Maxwell, of Ellensburg, Wash., May 26, 1917.

18 *Ibid.*

that he had purchased his land from an Indian chief. Wilkes wrote in his journal that some doubt was entertained whether such titles would be recognized by the United States government.[19]

Excerpts from the report of Commodore Wilkes give some notion of Major Moore's plans and of his confidence in the future of Oregon, as well as Wilkes's opinion thereon. In one of his descriptive passages Wilkes remarks:

"The rocks here change their character within a few miles. Much volcanic scoria, vesicular lava, and pudding stone, intermingled with blocks of trap, and many crystals of quartz, occur. My attention has been called to this particularly by old Mr. Moore, who had set up his claim to the west side of the falls, communicating to me in confidence that he intended to erect furnaces for smelting iron, etc. Although I saw the old man some time afterwards, and told him of his mistake, he would not believe that he had been in error."[20]

Wilkes's estimate of Major Moore's ability was summed up in these words:

"Old Moore had some shrewdness, and was exceedingly talkative; he possessed much information in relation to the country he had passed through, which I found to correspond to what I have since received from other sources. He had crossed the mountains the year before, and found no difficulty in making the trip. He intends to return and bring out his family being of [the] opinion that the country is a fine one, and exceedingly healthy, and that it will compare well with the lands of Missouri and Illinois."[21]

Only a few weeks elapsed after his arrival in Oregon before Robert Moore began to take a part in the political activities which gives him his place in Oregon history. Ewing Young died in the late winter of 1840-41, possessed of a considerable fortune. So far as his neighbors in the Willamette Valley were aware, he had died without heirs. The disposition of his estate, therefore, became a matter of concern to the American settlers and set in motion a train of events which culminated in the establishment of a unique political organization in Oregon.

At the funeral of Ewing Young a call was issued for a public meeting of the settlers of the Willamette Valley to take steps to-

19 Charles Wilkes, *United States Exploring Expedition*, iv, 344. (New York, Putnam, 1856).

20 *Ibid.*, p. 346.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 348.

ward the settlement of the estate. Turning now to the *Oregon Archives*,[22] we read that, at a public meeting held on February 17, 1841, it was

"*Resolved*—That it be recommended that there be a committee of seven elected for the purpose of drafting a constitution and code of laws for the government of the settlements south of the Columbia River."

"It was then

"*Resolved*—That all settlers, north of the Columbia River, not connected with the Hudson Bay Company, be admitted to the protection of our laws, on making application to that effect."

The meeting then adjourned until the following day.

February 18, 1841, "at a full meeting of the inhabitants of Willamette Valley, at the American Mission House, ... doings of the previous meeting were presented to the assembly, and were accepted, in part, viz.:

"That a committee be chosen for framing a constitution, and drafting a code of laws; and that the following persons compose the committee, to wit:

"Rev. F. N. Blanchet, Rev. Jason Lee, David Donpierre, Gustavus Hines, Mr. Charlevon, Robert Moore, J. L. Parrish, Etienne Lucie, and William Johnson.[23]

"J. L. Babcock was appointed to fill the office of supreme judge, with probate powers. . . . .

"*Resolved*—That, until a code of laws be adopted by this community, Dr. Babcock be instructed to act according to the laws of the State of New York."[24]

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22 Lafayette Grover, *The Oregon Archives*, (Salem, 1853), 5, 6.

23 "The only one of the number who had any practical knowledge of legislation was Moore, and most of the others were probably ignorant of even the theory of the law."—Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

24 Grover, *op. cit.*, p. 6. W. H. Gray affirms that Ira L. Babcock (This name is written J. L. Babcock in *Oregon Archives*, but this is probably a typographical error) was instructed to act *just as he pleased*. "I query whether there was a single copy of the laws of that state [New York] in the country for ten years after the last resolution was passed. I know there was none at the time, and only a single copy of the laws of Iowa two years after; hence, Ira L. Babcock was lawmaker, judge, and executive to the settlement, just as much so as John McLoughlin was to the Hudson's Bay Company."—W. H. Gray, *A History of Oregon*, (New York, American News Co., 1870), 201. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 294, quotes Hines's *History of Oregon*, 419, to the effect that there was one copy of the New York laws in Oregon at that time. J. Quinn Thornton, "History of the Provisional Government of Oregon," *Constitution and Quotations From the Register of the Oregon Pioneer Association*, (Salem, 1875), 55, makes the following statement, which does not agree with those quoted above: "They [the people of Oregon] were also without law books, excepting one copy of the Iowa Statutes, to which to refer for assistance in framing laws, and they had not a press on which to print them when enacted." "There was not, so far as has ever been disclosed, a copy of the New York Statutes in the territory."—Charles Henry Carey, *History of Oregon*, I, 383, note, (Chicago, Pioneer Historical Publishing Co., 1922).

Both Gray and Thornton declare that Robert Moore was appointed a justice of the peace at this meeting, but there is no record of such appointment in the *Oregon Archives*.

The meeting adjourned, to reassemble the first Tuesday in June, at the New Building, near the Catholic Church.[25]

When the adjourned meeting was called to order on June 1 it was found that the committee had prepared no report, for the chairman of the committee, the Rev. F. N. Blanchet, had failed to call a meeting of his committee. The resignation of the committee chairman was accepted at this meeting, and Dr. William J. Bailey was appointed in his stead. The reorganized committee was instructed to hold a meeting the first Monday in August (1841) and to report to an adjourned meeting of the body of citizens, at the American Mission House, the first Tuesday in October, at eleven o'clock. Before adjournment was voted, the committee was instructed to confer with Dr. McLoughlin and Commodore Wilkes regarding the feasibility of organizing a government.[26]

Wilkes opposed the adoption of any laws at this time, and asserted that he "differed with them entirely as to the necessity or policy of adopting the change."[27] This rebuff, coming from an official representative of the United States government, could not fail to produce an effect. The meeting which had been called for the first Tuesday in October was not held.[28]

Keen disappointment at the failure to organize a government was felt in several quarters, and the agitation for a government of some sort would not "down." It became a subject of debate and general conversation wherever settlers in the Willamette Valley came together.[29] In the *Oregon Archives*, however, we encounter no further records until February 2, 1843, at which time a meeting of settlers was held at the Oregon Institute to consider measures for protecting their herds from predatory animals. A committee of six was appointed to "notify a general meeting" to be held at the house of Joseph Gervais on the first Monday in March.[30]

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25 Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 201, says that the meeting was to be held the first Thursday in June, but the *Oregon Archives*, 6, shows that the meeting was held on the first Tuesday in June.

26 Grover, *op. cit.*, p. 7. *Cf.* Gray, *op. cit.*, chap. xxvii.

27 Wilkes, *op. cit.*, p. 352. "I therefore could not avoid drawing their attention to the fact, that after all the various officers they proposed making were appointed, there would be no subjects for the law to deal with. I further advised them to wait until the government of the United States should throw its mantle over them. These views, I was afterwards told, determined a postponement of their intentions."—*Ibid.*, p. 353. *Cf.* Thornton, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

28 Gray reported that it was the opinion of the settlers that Wilkes "understood and tasted the qualities of Dr. McLoughlin's liquors," and that his heart was warmed toward the Hudson's Bay Company.—*Op. cit.*, p. 204. Substantially the same report is made by Thornton, *op. cit.*, p. 56. But, although Thornton recorded this as the opinion of many, he was himself persuaded that the real cause of Wilkes's opposition was founded upon the belief that the settlers in the Willamette Valley were financially unable to support a government. "The people were few in number," he continued, "greatly reduced in their pecuniary circumstances, occupying portions of the country remote from each other; they were engaged in felling forests, cultivating fields, and in other ways giving their utmost attention to supplying their most pressing wants."—*Ibid*, p. 55.

29 Gray, *op. cit.*, chap. xxxiii; Thornton, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

30 Grover, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Gray, *op. cit.*, chap. xxxiii.

This meeting was held, pursuant to the call, on March 1, and considerable business growing out of the original purpose of the meeting was transacted. Then affairs took a new turn. Before adjournment a resolution was carried to authorize the appointment of a commitee of twelve persons "to take into consideration the propriety of taking measures for the civil and military protection of this colony."[31] The committee was appointed, W. H. Gray[32] being a member, and the report of this committee, which was the acceptance of a form of provisional government, was submitted at a mass meeting held Champoeg[33] on May 2, 1843. And of that meeting this brief though meaningful record has been preserved:

"At a public meeting of the inhabitants of the Willamette settlements, held in accordance with the call of the committee, chosen at a former meeting, for the purpose of taking steps to organize themselves into a civil community, and provide themselves with the protection secured by the enforcement of law and order,

"Dr. J. L. Babcock was chosen chairman, and Messrs. Gray, Le Breton and Willson secretaries. The committee made their report, which was read, and a motion was made that it be accepted, which was lost. Considerable confusion existing in consequence, it was moved by Mr. Le Breton, and seconded by Mr. Gray, that the meeting divide, preparatory to being counted; those in favor of the objects of this meeting taking the right, and those of a contrary mind taking the left, which being carried by acclamation, and a great majority being found in favor of organization, the greater part of the dissenters withdrew."[34]

Gray affirms, in his *History of Oregon,*[35] that the vote stood "fifty-two for and fifty against," and exhaustive researches direct-

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31 Grover, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-11; Gray, *op. cit.*, chap. xxxiii.

32 W. H. Gray, whose *History of Oregon* has been frequently cited in this article, was born in New York in 1810. He came to Oregon in 1836. Although his *History of Oregon* has been condemned by several writers, it can not be altogether ignored, for he was an eye witness of many of the events which he described. Gray died in Oregon in 1889. For a sketch of his life, see Joseph Gaston, *Centennial History of Oregon,* iii, 574, (Chicago, Clarke, 1912).

33 In the early records this place is called "Champoolck," but the name did not persist. "Cham-poo-eg—not Cham-poo-ey—was the site of an Indian village for many years prior to the arrival of white men. This was the first point on the Wil-lam-ette River south of its confluence with the Columbia where the prairie extended to it. Consequently, when Dr. John McLaughlin, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, made it an object for the French Canadians to begin raising wheat in the Willamette Valley—that was about 1830, near the present town of Gervais—he built a small warehouse at Champoeg in which to store the grain from year to year for shipment by canoe or bateau to Oregon City. Under the conditions then existing Champoeg was the center of population in the Willamette Valley, and the most convenient place to reach on May 2, 1843."—*Souvenir of the Eighty-first Anniversary of the Organization of the First American Civil Government West of the Rocky Mountains, etc.*, (Oregon Historical Society, Portland, 1924).

34 Grover, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15. For the part taken by Joseph L. Meek in this proceeding, see Gray, *op. cit.*, chap. xxxvi.

35 Page 279.

ed by George H. Himes, curator and assistant secretary of the Oregon Historical Society, have confirmed this statement. Mr. Himes's tabulation showing the names of those who voted for the adoption of the report of the committee at the Champoeg meeting has been published in several of the more recent books on Oregon history. Among the names of the fifty-two who favored the adoption of this committee report one finds the name of Robert Moore.[36]

The adoption of the report of the committee did not end the work of the Champoeg meeting. Officers were chosen for sundry civil positions, and a legislative committee of nine was appointed to draw up a plan of government to be submitted to a meeting of the settlers to be held at Champoeg on July 5.[37] The members of this legislative committee were as follows:

Robert Moore, William H. Gray, David Hill, Robert Shortess, Alanson Beers, T. J. Hubbard, James A. O'Neil, Robert Newell, and William M. Doughty.[38]

"Few of them had any experience in legislation, and few books on law existed in the country. Moore, the chairman, and Shortess were better informed than their colleagues, though Gray, Newell, Hill, and O'Neil were active in suggesting what ought to be done."[39]

The legislative committee spent six days compiling its report. It met for the first time at Willamette on May 16, 1843. Robert Moore was chosen chairman and G. W. Le Breton secretary.[40] The

36 Snowden, *History of Washington*, ii, 274-275, note; Gaston, *Centennial History of Oregon*, i, 175-177.

37 Grover, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

38 In the *Oregon Archives* this name is written Dougherty, and this spelling has been adopted by Gray. George H. Himes, however, has demonstrated that Doughty is the correct name, and later writers on Oregon history have made the correction. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 304, wrote William M. Doty.

The following facts pertaining to this committee, which were collected by Mr. Himes, were published in Gaston's *Centennial History of Oregon*, i, 175-177:

Name	*Place of Birth*	*Church*	*Arrived in Oregon*
Robert Moore	Pennsylvania	Presbyterian	1840
William H. Gray	New York	Presbyterian	1836
David Hill	Connecticut	Congregational	1842
Robert Shortess	Pennsylvania	Methodist	1840
Alanson Beers	Connecticut	Methodist	1837
T. J. Hubbard	Massachusetts	Unknown	1834
James O'Neil	New York	Methodist	1834
Robert Newell	Ohio	Episcopalian	1840
William M. Doughty	North Carolina	No choice	1841

Carey, in his *History of Oregon*, i, 381, note, mentions the forthcoming work by Leslie Scott, *History of the Oregon Country*, as one which will contain biographical sketches of these men. This work was not available to the present writer.

For a sketch of the life of Robert Newell, see T. C. Elliott, *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, ix, 103, and for a sketch of the life of Gray, see Gaston, *Centennial History of Oregon*, iii, 574. For a complete list of the names of the 52 men who voted in favor of the organization of the provisional government on May 2, 1843, see the pamphlet cited in note 33, above. In this pamphlet will also be found the names of the 50 who voted against the proposition.

39 *Bancroft, op. cit.*, p. 305

40 Grover, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

chairmanship of this committee was an honor which rightly belonged to Robert Moore. Not only was he the eldest of the group, but he had served in the Missouri Assembly more than a decade before, and the ways of law-making were not altogether new to him. Under his direction special committees were appointed, and the deliberations were continued through May 16, 17, 18, 19 and June 27 and 28. A copy of the Iowa Statutes, with which was bound a copy of the Ordinance of 1787, furnished a guide for the work of this important committee.[41]

"The Methodist Mission furnished without charge the use of their granary at the old mission, as the first council chamber on this western coast. This building was a frame, some sixteen by thirty feet, one and a half stories high, boards upright, with one square room in front, and the balance used for a granary, from which it derived its name; the upper part was for storing and sleeping use. The square room was used for schoolhouse and church, and now for a legislative hall.

"We will enter this hall and introduce you to an old gray-headed man with a fair complexion, bald head, light eye, full face, frequent spasmodic nodding forward of the head, and a large amount of self-importance, not very large intellectual developments, with a superabundance of flesh, sitting by a square-legged table or stand, in a chair with square posts, and strips of rawhide for bottom; dressed in fustian pants, large blue vest, and striped shirt, and a common brown coat, who, on motion of Mr. Hill, was chosen speaker of the House, and hereafter will be known in our history as Hon. Robert Moore, Esq."[42]

A later writer on Oregon history has given the following account of this celebrated committee:

"The composition of the pioneer legislative committee here chosen is worthy of especial consideration. Its members were David Hill, Robert Shortess, William H. Gray, Dr. Robert Newell, Alanson Beers, Thomas J. Hubbard, James O'Neal,[43] Robert Moore, and William M. Doughty. The last [first] mentioned was a native of Connecticut, who had arrived in the territory in 1842, and who represented the new settlers. Shortess, a member of Farnham's Peoria party, who had come in 1840, was a man of considerable attainments, widely read, and then generally regarded

41 Grover, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-22; Carey, *History of Oregon*, I, 381, states that O'Neil had a copy of the Iowa Statutes. A specific reference to the Laws of Iowa for 1838-39 may be found in the official records of the committee meetings.—Grover, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

42 Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

43 This name is generally written O'Neil.

as an American extremist. During the year 1843 he became active in having drafted and circulated a petition to Congress praying for extension of the authority of the United States over the new territory, in which the Hudson's Bay Company and Dr. John McLoughlin were denounced, and the condition of the colony was depicted as desperate and the peril from encroachment of the British interests extreme. Dr. Robert Newell was a Rocky Mountain trapper who had seen service with Smith, Jackson, and Sublette, and had brought the first wagon from Fort Hall to the Willamette Valley. Beers was a blacksmih, a lay member of the first reenforcement of Methodists sent to Jason Lee in 1837. Hubbard, a member of Nathaniel Wyeth's second expedition in 1834, had been a leader in the community and had organized a cattle company, the second in the Willamette Valley, the agents of which had narrowly escaped massacre by the Rogue River Indians in an attempt to reach California overland in 1840. O'Neal, also of Wyeth's party of 1834, was one of those who had aided in driving to Oregon the cattle bought in California by Ewing Young. Moore, a Pennsylvanian, had served in the War of 1812. He afterward founded Linn City, on the west bank of the Willamette River, nearly opposite Oregon City. William Doughty, formerly a free trapper, had arrived in the Willamette Valley in 1841. Such was the legislative committee, and, as was to have been expected, the committee was strongly American in its national inclinations."[44]

In brief outline the progress of the legislative committee, day by day, is recorded in the *Oregon Archives*. To repeat the details in this connection is unnecessary. Certain tendencies, however, should be noticed, for, in a sense, they show a recapitulation of American colonial experiences. Suspicion of a strong executive found vent in the creation of an executive committee of three. Likewise the tendency to imitate the documents which had set forth governing principles in territories previously organized was noticeable. Reports were brought in on the judiciary, militia law, land claims, districts, and ways and means. Taxes were not to be levied, as the expenses of government were to be paid by private subscriptions. But more noticeable than anything else was the declaration in the preamble to the judiciary report that this form of government was to prevail until "the United States should extend its jurisdiction over the Oregon country." A committee of three persons was to be appointed to draw up a digest of the doings of the people of the territory with regard to a poli-

44 Carey, *History of Oregon*, i, 380-381.

tical organization and to transmit the same to the United States government for its information.[45] Should one wonder that officials of the Hudson's Bay Company, or other persons then resident in Oregon who hoped ultimately to see the Union Jack waving over the entrance to the Columbia River, were not overly enthusiastic in supporting the agitation for the organization of a government in the Willamette Valley?

The report of the legislative committee was submitted by Robert Moore to the settlers on July 5, 1843, and adopted.[46] For the purpose of showing how the ordinance drawn up for the government of the Old Northwest became a sort of *magna charta*[47] for the New Northwest, a comparison of these two documents should be made. Section one of the judiciary report, with unimportant modifications, is identical with articles one, two, three and six of the Ordinance of 1787, wherein slavery is prohibited and the fundamental rights of citizenship in an Anglo-Saxon state are guaranteed.

Robert Moore and his associates, in thus paving the way for the insertion subsequently of these provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 in the Oregon Territorial Act of August 14, 1848,[48] re-wrote a chapter in human freedom on the Pacific Coast. Although it is improbable that slavery would ever have found root in Oregon, it is none the less significant that these men were determined to write into their organic law the guaranties of personal freedom which had been evolved by Anglo-Saxon forebears in preceding centuries. It detracts nothing from their labors that they re-enacted rather than created a document which will live forever in American history. They might have passed it by. The signature of Robert

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45 Grover, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

46 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

47 Thornton, *op. cit.*, p. 66, refers to the first section of the organic law as the *magna charta* of the people of Oregon. "In the fifth [fourth] article of this section it was provided that there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in Oregon, otherwise than for the punishment of persons duly convicted of crimes. . . . And it was in deference to the will of the people thus expressed, as well as because of my own convictions on the subject of human rights, that when in Washington City in 1848, representing the people and Provisional Government of Oregon, I incorporated this provision in the Act of Congress of August 14, 1848, when I drafted the bill for the establishment of a Territorial Government in Oregon, and for other purposes." Extracts from the journal of the legislative committee of the provisional government for June, 1844, show the attitude of that body on the question of slavery. June 25, 1844, "the rules were suspended for the special purpose of allowing Mr. Burnett to introduce a bill for the prevention of slavery in Oregon, without giving previous notice."—Grover, *op. cit.*, p. 47. June 26, 1844, "the bill to prevent slavery in Oregon, and for other purposes, was read a third time, and, on the question, shall the bill pass? the yeas and nays were demanded, when the vote stood: yeas—Messrs. Burnett, Gilmore, Keizer, Waldo, Newell, and Mr. Speaker [M. M. McCarver]—6. Nays—Messrs. Lovejoy and Hill—2. So the bill passed."—*Ibid.*, p. 51. See section 14 of "An Act to Establish the Territorial Government of Oregon," approved August 14, 1848, (*Laws of Oregon*, 1874, p. 59).

48 Compare the Ordinance of 1787 with the organic law of Oregon and with the act

Moore to this document will forever insure him an honored place in Oregon history.

The official journal of the meeting of July 5 records that at this time Robert Moore was elected a justice of the peace.[49]

After the adoption of the plan of provisional government it appears that Robert Moore began to retire from active participation in the public affairs of Oregon and to devote all of his time to his private affairs. Rarely does his name appear in the legislative journals after 1843. On June 20, 1844, A. L. Lovejoy presented to the legislature a petition from Robert Moore, and others, praying permission to establish a ferry at the Willamette Falls. The petition was referred to the committee on roads. Two days later Mr. Gilmore gave notice that, on the Monday following, he would ask leave to introduce a bill to authorize Robert Moore to keep a ferry at the Willamette Falls. On June 26 this bill was read a third time and passed.[50] At a subsequent session of the legislature, December 24, 1844, the legislative journal shows that Mr. Burnett presented a petition from Robert Moore asking for an increase of ferriage toll.[51]

Meantime Major Moore had founded Linn City, on the west bank of the Willamette, and he was desirous of making it "the city" of the Willamette Valley.[52] In December, 1844, "it consisted of two log buildings and many tents, wherein the emigrants of 1844 made their headquarters."[53] Some few months later a traveler to Oregon gave the following description of Major Moore's city:

"Upon the west side of the Willamette, and opposite to Oregon City, are laid out two villages; the upper one is called Linn City, in honor of the late senator from Missouri, whose memory, for his patriotic services in the cause of the Oregon emigrant, is held in high esteem by every true friend of his country and of humanity. When Dr. Linn died the friends of Oregon lost a champion who would not have shamelessly deserted them in the hour of need. Mr. Moore, late of Missouri, is the proprietor; his claim commences one-fourth of a mile below the falls, extends above the falls one and three-fourths of a mile, and back from the river one-half of a mile. When I left there were about fifteen buildings in this village, inhabited mostly by mechanics. The proprietor

49 Grover, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

50 Grover, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 44, 51.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 69.

52 Letter of H. M. Painter, of Cheney, to the present writer, Jan. 3, 1924.

53 *Palmer's Journal*, (Thwaites, xxx, 162, note).

had refused to sell water power, which was doubtless one of the reasons why more emigrants did not settle in it."[54]

Doubtless with a view to promoting his business interests, Major Moore, on April 18, 1850, became the owner of the *Oregon Spectator*, of Oregon City, the first American newspaper published west of the Rocky Mountains.[55] The first issue of *The Spectator* appeared on February 5, 1846. In the beginning it was a four-column, four-page, semi-monthly newspaper.[56] Five editors had directed, or attempted to direct, this newspaper before Major Moore became the proprietor. Among these editors was George L. Curry, who subsequently became governor of Oregon Territory. On September 12, 1850, *The Spectator* was first issued weekly, with D. J. Schnebly as editor, and the subscription price was increased to $7 per annum.[57]

According to George H. Himes, Mr. Schnebly became owner of *The Spectator*, beginning with vol. vi, no. i, on September 9, 1851.[58] Although this date does not correspond with the date on the certificate of transfer which is given below, it is correct. It is presumed that the certificate of transfer was not made out until some time after the plant was turned over to Mr. Schnebly. The original certificate, in the handwriting of Major Moore, is now in the possession of Mrs. J. B. Davidson, of Ellensburg, a great-granddaughter of the major. From the original Mrs. Davidson made the following copy for the present writer:

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54 *Ibid.*, pp. 162-163.

55 George H. Himes, "History of the Press of Oregon, 1839-1850," *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, iii, 354 *et seq.*

56 While preparing this article I have had the use of three copies of the *Oregon Spectator*, one a fac-simile of a copy of the first issue, and the other two original copies of the issues of June 19 and July 10, 1851. These papers belong to Mrs. J. B. Davidson of Ellensburg. In June of this year I also had the privilege of examining files of *The Spectator* in the library of the Oregon Historical Society.

The editor of the *United States Gazette*, on receiving a file of the *Oregon Spectator* in the summer of 1846, made the following comment: "The progressiveness of our people receives nowhere so strong a proof as in the west, where the transition from the sparse and rude settlements to populous and well ordered communities, and from the uncivilized and roving settler to the steady and law-governed citizen, is rapid. The upstarting of communities as if by magic, the disappearance of the forest and the appearance of villages, the incoming of law and order, where but a few years ago there was no rule and the Indian held undisputed possession, are subjects for grateful contemplation, and in each new body of citizens, which our government gathers under its protecting wings, upon its own proper territory, there is another guarantee for the continuance of our institutions. Oregon is coming up to the position of our advanced civilization very rapidly. It has a provisional government formed to meet the exigencies of her position, and Oregon City is a thriving place, with all the elements of great future prosperity about it. Among these is its newspaper, the *Oregon Spectator*, a very well conducted sheet, the publication of which has recently been commenced there."—*Niles' Register*, lxx, 340, (August 1, 1846).

57 Himes, *op. cit.*, p. 355. David J. Schnebly began his newspaper career in Mercersburg, Penn., and before coming to Oregon he worked at his profession in Peoria, Ill. Mr. Schnebly was employed for about a year by Robert Moore to edit *The Spectator*, and after Mr. Schnebly's marriage to Mr. Moore's granddaughter the paper came into his possession. Mr. Schnebly moved with his family to Washington Territory in 1861 and settled near Walla Walla, where he engaged in the stock business. The family moved to Ellensburg in 1883, and on July 12 of that year Mr. Schnebly started the *Ellensburg Localizer*. He continued to edit this paper until he retired in 1896.—*Davidson Mss.* See, also, *Sixth Annual Proceedings of the Washington State Press Association for* 1892, (Hoquiam, 1893), 12-13.

58 Himes, *op. cit.*, p. 356. Mr. Himes and I verified this date on June 10, 1924.

"Know all men by these presents, that I, Robert Moore, being owner of *The Spectator* office with all its appurtenances, do, for the love I bear my daughter, Jean Painter, and one dollar in hand paid, the receipt hereof is hereby acknowledged, assign all my right, title and interest to the above *Spectator* office and appurtenances to her to have and to hold to her own use and benefit forever. This 15th day of December, A. D. 1851. Robert Moore."

The Spectator was given to Margaretta Painter, a granddaughter of Robert Moore, on her marriage to David J. Schnebly.[59] This transaction is shown by the following endorsement on the back of the certificate of transfer quoted above: "Linn City, February 2, 1852. I, Jean Painter, assign to my daughter, Margaretta A. Schnebly, nee Painter, all my right, title and interest to *The Spectator* office to have and to hold forever in her own name and right. Jean Painter."

Soon after Mr. Schnebly became the owner *The Spectator* entered upon troubled times. "On March 16, 1852, it was suspended, and did not resume business until August 19, 1853. After this date the paper was not well supported, and gradually it grew weaker and weaker, and finally was sold by Mr. Schnebly to C. L. Goodrich, late in 1854, and was permanently suspended in March, 1855."[60]

On August 9, 1919, under the auspices of the National Editorial Association, a bronze tablet was unveiled at Oregon City, on the site where *The Spectator* was first issued.[61] "The ceremony at Oregon City was an impressive one, editors from all sections of the United States being present at the unveiling of the monument dedicated to an Oregon newspaper which began publication more than seventy years ago. . . . . At the ceremony Aaron Wait, grandson of Aaron E. Wait, fourth editor of the newspaper, unveiled the monument, assisted by Mrs. Guy U. Hardy, of Canon City, Colorado, wife of the president of the National Editorial Association."[62]

It was fitting that on this occasion the principal address should be given by the venerable George H. Himes, a pioneer newspaper man of Washington and Oregon. In the course of his address Mr. Himes said:

"At the time *The Spectator* was started the difficulties confronting such an enterprise were very great. Then Oregon City

59 *Davidson Mss.*
60 Himes, *op. cit.*, p. 356; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 575, note.
61 *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, xx, 297-300.
62 *Oregonian*, August 10, 1919.

had a population of less than five hundred. The total population of the 'Oregon Country'—meaning the area now constituting the states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and the parts of Montana and Wyoming west of the summit of the Rocky Mountains—did not exceed two thousand. The total voting population on June 3, 1845, was five hundred and four. Yet the citizens in and around Oregon City determined to have a newspaper. A subscription paper was prepared that year and enough pledges at ten dollars a share were secured to aggregate approximately $1200. That sum was entrusted to Gov. George Abernethy and forwarded to New York; and through him a hand press, type, cases and other items needed in a printing plant, including a supply of paper, were purchased and sent to Oregon City *via* Cape Horn in a sailing vessel. Arrangements were made with John Fleming, a printer from Ohio, who came across the plains to Oregon City in 1844, to do the printing. The size of the paper was 11½ by 15½ inches, with four pages of four columns each, and it was issued twice a month at $5.00 a year. Beginning with September 12, 1850, the paper was issued weekly with D. J. Schnebly as editor, and the subscription price was raised to $7.00 a year."[63]

Although nearly seventy years old when he bought *The Spectator,* and entering the twilight of an adventurous career, Major Moore was still actively engaged in the task of developing his water power site on the Willamette River. In *The Spectator* of June 19, 1851, the following advertisement appeared over his signature:

"The undersigned, being proprietor of one of the finest water powers in the world, would propose to have the same developed. The wants of the country seem to demand a speedy completion of the said improvements in the erection of flouring mills, and almost all kinds of machinery that can be propelled by water; and the water privileges being so extensive, the undersigned would propose to capitalists that he is desirous of making arrangements for having said water brought into immediate use, and will offer such inducements to those desirous of engaging in such an enterprise, that they cannot fail to meet their views. Said water power is situated at the great falls of the Willamette. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that as to location it is perhaps the finest in the world, being at the great outlet to all the farming country of the great valley of the Willamette. Call on the undersigned."

63 *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society,* xx, 297.

But misfortune attended Major Moore in his efforts to build up Linn City. It is stated by the Rev. Harry M. Painter, of Cheney, a great-grandson of Robert Moore, that, in carrying out his ambitious plan to make Linn City "the city," Major Moore built a warehouse above the falls and one below. "Likewise he constructed a breakwater at the falls so ships could unload and cargoes be transferred to the lower warehouse and be there loaded into boats again. He had two steamers above the falls. Linn City at this time was threatening the supremacy of Oregon City."[64]

It appears that Major Moore's steamers and wharves were destroyed, and that he believed their destruction was instigated by unfriendly rivals in Oregon City.[65] This, however, has been preserved merely as a family tradition and has not as yet been substantiated by more conclusive evidence. It is a matter of record, however, that Linn City suffered in a flood in 1853,[66] and perhaps the beginning of the disastrous end of Robert Moore's attempt at city-building in Oregon dates from this occurrence. The present writer is not aware of any complete study which has been made of the founding of Linn City.

More than eighty years have passed by since Robert Moore labored with his colleagues in the old mission house to construct the foundations of the government of Oregon. From the vantage ground of historic perspective it is now possible to evaluate with some degree of fairness their labors. And the judgment of this generation, without doubt, must be that they wrought well. Of the character of Robert Moore little need be said. His labors speak in his behalf. He was not a man who attracted others to him, and he was punished by contemporary neglect. A dour Scotsman,[67] both the good and the bad qualities of that race were his. He was irascible, opinionated, eccentric. Brought up in the Presbyterian faith, he insisted upon remaining a Presbyterian to the end. When the church with which he had affiliated in Oregon City was changed from the "Presbyterian Church of Willamette Falls" to a Congregational church, Major Moore withdrew, or-

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64 Letter of H. M. Painter, Jan. 3, 1924.

65 *Ibid.*

66 Of the Willamette flood of 1853 the *New York Tribune*, citing *The Oregonian*, remarked: "Linn City also sustained considerable loss in buildings, etc.—the extent of which we have been unable to learn. The wharves at this city have all been more or less injured, but will soon be repaired, as their foundations have successfully resisted the flood." —*New York Tribune*, March 1, 1853. A sequence of misfortunes descended upon Robert Moore's enterprise at Linn City after the flood of 1853. It is a matter of record that in 1855 he was in financial difficulties and that some of his creditors were bringing action against his property in Linn City. See the *Oregon Argus*, June 2, 1855.

67 Several of the printed records say that Robert Moore was Irish, but his descendants maintain that he was of Scotch descent.

ganized a Presbyterian church in his own house and employed a minister to preach to him each Sunday. This minister also edited *The Spectator* for a time.[68]

But notwithstanding his eccentricities, Robert Moore possessed some admirable traits of character. He was temperate to the point of being puritanical, and in the deeds which he gave to lots in Linn City it was specified that intoxicating liquors should not be sold thereon.[69] He was a close friend of Dr. John McLoughlin, whose claim was just across the river, and he was an ardent champion of Dr. McLoughlin's rights to this property in Oregon City when the property was in controversy.[70] Yet, despite their friendship, the doctor and the major frequently quarreled and fell out. The blood of Scotch forebears flowed in the veins of each.

What Robert Moore lacked in education he made up in native shrewdness and wide experience. The frontier was a harsh taskmaster. Under such guidance men, who in a well-ordered society might have lived their lives in comparative obscurity, rose to positions of influence. So it was with Robert Moore. Even those who looked upon some of his schemes as chimerical bore witness to his shrewdness, aggressivenes and integrity. He was noticed by all travelers in Oregon in his day. Measured by the standards of the frontier, Robert Moore was not unsuccessful. His two attempts at city-building ended in failure, but his place in history is assured despite these failures.

Robert Moore has won a place in history as one of the early builders of Oregon. He helped to lay the foundation upon which the superstructure of Oregon was built. He cut a wide trail across the frontier, and the passing of time will not obliterate it.

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68 This story is related by Mrs. Eva Emery Dye in the letter cited in notes 17 and 18, above. It has, in substance, been repeated to me by two of Robert Moore's descendants. The minister employed by Robert Moore was Wilson Blain, who became editor of *The Spectator* on Oct. 4, 1849.—Himes, "History of the Press of Oregon," pp. 353-355.

A slightly different version of this story is given in the *Biography of Rev. G. H. Atkinson, D.D.*, (Portland, 1893), as follows: "May 25th, 1844, Rev. Harvey Clarke, a self-supporting Congregational missionary, a native of Chester, Vermont, and a citizen of Governeur, New York, was preaching to a little company of settlers at this place [Oregon City]. It was proposed to organize a church. Three brothers were willing and desirous to be so organized." (Peter H. Hatch, Robert Moore, and Orville Russel). . . . . "Mr. Moore desired the name to be 'The Presbyterian Church of Willamette Falls.' Being the oldest man, venerable and of strong convictions, the others yielded the name, though the mode of constituting the church was essentially Congregational and Scriptural, by the act and vote of the members."—*Ibid.*, p. 177. When the Reverend Mr. Atkinson became pastor of this church in 1848, he held afternoon services in Linn City for the benefit of Robert Moore and his family.—*Ibid.*, p. 180. "Rev. Wilson Blain, of the Associated Reformed Presbyterian Church, had arrived, and began to preach at Linn City. Brother Robert Moore united with his church, forgetting to call for his letter, and made it necessary to erase his name from our roll."—*Ibid.*, pp. 180-181. In 1849 the name of the Oregon City church was changed to "First Congregational Church of Oregon City" by a vote of eight to one.—*Ibid.*, p. 181.

69 *Oregon Argus*, Sept. 12, 1857.

70 Letter of H. M. Painter, Jan. 3, 1924.

He was a representative of a type that has passed away, for the American frontier now belongs to the past.

It is fitting that another pioneer of Oregon should say a word of him in passing.

"Moore settled at the Wallamet Falls, on the west bank of the river, and called his place 'Robin's Nest,' where he lived until his decease, at a good old age, in 1857. Here, in 1841, Wilkes found him claiming to hold a section of land under a purchase from an Indian chief—Old Slacomb, I suppose—and sneered at him, because, with the true instinct of a native Pennsylvanian, he saw iron in the vicinity and expected before long to be engaged in smelting it. But time, which tries all things, has verified 'Old Mr. Moore's' unlearned opinion and confuted the admiral's scientific skepticism.

"McLoughlin claimed the opposite bank of the river. In the course of this strife for preoccupation here met these two characteristic representatives of the pioneer of the Old and the New World to claim the respective shores of this great water power and commanding point in the future navigation of the river and business of the country. For years they looked out upon one another across the foaming flood as the vanguards or leaders of the opposing armies of occupation. They died within a few days of each other, and their bodies lie buried within the sound of the cataract, which separated them in life."[71]

Robert Moore died at his residence in Linn City on September 1, 1857.[72] Four years later a flood swept away most of the buildings in Linn City, and since then this town has had no separate existence.[73]

Descendants of Robert Moore have been honored citizens of Oregon and Washington for several generations. A daughter, Jean M., married Judge Philip Painter and lived in Missouri for several years. In 1850 the family started across the plains to Oregon. Cholera overtook them, and Judge Painter and two sons were buried in Kansas. The surviving members of the family continued the journey to Oregon and resided for a time with

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71 "Annual Address of Hon. M. P. Deady," *Transactions of the Third Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association*, (Salem, 1876), 30.

72 *Oregon Argus*, Sept. 12, 1857.

73 *Davidson Mss.; Palmer's Journal*, (Thwaites, xxx, 162, note). Severe losses were suffered in the flood of 1861 by residents in the Willamette Valley. It was estimated by the *Oregon Argus* that the losses suffered by the citizens of Oregon City and the immediate vicinity amounted to "probably $170,000." In the issue of the *Oregon Argus* for Dec. 14, 1861, it was stated that "Linn City has only two houses and the warehouse at the works remaining." One week later the same newspaper published the following notice: "Champoeg—The flood swept this town entirely clean of houses, and the site is now as bare as a sand beach."

Robert Moore. Subsequently Mrs. Painter took up a claim on the Tualatin River. She died at the home of her son, W. C. Painter, of Walla Walla, at the age of 76 years.[74]

Two sons of Mrs. Painter, Robert Moore and William Charles, served in Washington Territory with the Oregon Mounted Volunteers in the Indian War of 1855-56. In later years W. C. Painter served as an officer of Washington volunteers in the Indian wars of 1878 and became an officer on the staff of Governor Ferry. He died in Walla Walla in 1900. His widow, Mrs. Caroline Mitchell Painter, a pioneer of 1847, is still living in Walla Walla. Robert Moore Painter died in Forest Grove, Oregon, in 1868.[75]

Margaretta Painter, a daughter of Mrs. Jean M. Painter, married David J. Schnebly, one-time editor of the *Oregon Spectator*. In 1861 the family moved to Washington Territory and settled near Walla Walla. In 1883 they moved to Ellensburg, where Mr. Schnebly edited the *Ellensburg Localizer* until he retired in 1896.[76]

Joseph C. Painter, a grandson of Robert Moore, represented Walla Walla County in the house of representatives of the first and second sessions of the legislature of the State of Washington.[77] He was a brother of William Charles Painter and Robert Moore Painter.

James Corydon Moore, a grandson of Robert Moore, is still living in San Diego, California. He is the son of Robert Morrison Moore, the youngest son of Robert Moore, who went with his father to Illinois in the thirties and lived there until his death in 1890.[78]

Samuel Leroy Crawford, one of the pioneer newspaper men of Seattle, and who was for some time associated with the *Post-Intelligencer*, was a great-grandson of Robert Moore. The father and the mother of Samuel Leroy Crawford crossed the plains in 1847. His mother at that time was a girl of ten and his father a lad of 20. Samuel Leroy Crawford was born near Oregon City on June 22, 1855, and died in Seattle in October, 1916. For many

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74 *Davidson Mss.*

75 J. Orin Oliphant (editor), "Journals of the Indian War of 1855-56," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, xv, no. 1, 11-31.

76 *Davidson Mss.*

77 Barton, *Legislative Manual of Washington*, 1891-92, (Olympia, 1891), 329.

78 Sandham, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

years before his death he was associated in the real estate business in Seattle with Charles T. Conover.[79]

A mere tabulation of all of the descendants of Robert Moore would make an article of considerable length. It has been the purpose of the present writer in the preceding paragraphs merely to call attention to the fact that among his descendants are several persons who have deserved well of the commonwealths of Oregon and Washington.

J. ORIN OLIPHANT.

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79 Professor Edmond S. Meany, of the University of Washington, has an interesting collection of materials on the life of Samuel L. Crawford. Included in the collection are manuscripts as well as newspaper clippings. I have consulted the following: "To the Pioneers of Washington," Ms., by S. L. Crawford— (This manuscript, due to the illness of the author, was read for him to the Pioneer Association of the State of Washington, June 2, 1915)—"Personal Reminiscences of Samuel L. Crawford," Ms.; clippings from the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, January, 1917; *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, October 30, 1915, and October 12, 1916.

CHIEF PATKANIM

Patkanim, Chief of the Snoqualmie and allied tribes, was honored by dignified and impressive ceremonies when a beautiful monument was unveiled over his grave at Tulalip, Snohomish County, Washington, on Sunday afternoon, June 29, 1924.

On the monument is a bronze tablet bearing a portrait of the Chief and under it the inscription: "Patkanim, Chief of the Snoqualmie, Snohomish and allied tribes, signed on Jan. 22, 1855, the treaty which ceded to the United States all the lands from Elliott Bay to the British line. As Captain of Indian warriors he fought for the white people."

The tablet is the work of James A. Wehn, sculptor of Seattle, who for a period of ten years took advantage of every opportunity to study the subject. He made repeated trips to the reservation where the remnants of the old tribes reside and prepared one model after another. There is in existence but one small photograph of the old chief. Of course the sculptor used that in his modeling. He submitted his studies to survivors of the tribe and especially to Susie, the last remaining child of Chief Patkanim. It is believed by those on the reservation that Susie is about one hundred years of age. Mr. Wehn believed he had achieved success when Susie fondled a photograph of his last model and exclaimed: "Papa, my papa." No one without a commendable enthusiasm for his work could have persisted in the difficult task as did Mr. Wehn. His enthusiasm was shared by Leon Morel, of the Morel Bronze Foundry, and by Mr. Edmund C. Messett, President and Manager of the Sunset Monument Company, Inc., who provided the tall and rugged granite shaft on which the tablet is securely placed.

The most persistent Indian advocate of this tardy honor to the Chief was Skookum George, of Tulalip, a nephew of Patkanim. He made frequent journeys, appeared before many audiences and finally helped to raise among the Indians a large portion of the money necessary to pay the actual cost of the monument.

When about 1000 Indians and white friends assembled in the cemetery at Tulalip the meeting was called to order by Eagle Scout Edmond S. Meany, Junior, bugling "Assembly" out of respect to the military character of the Chief. Skookum George,

Chairman of the Day, then called upon Father O'Donnell, of Marysville, who opened the program with prayer. The American flag was then raised by an unveiling device manipulated by Jack George, seven years of age, son of Solomon George, and grandson of Skookum George, relations of Patkanim. Four Indians, representing as many tribes, made addresses in their own languages and these were intepreted by Charles Alexis of the Suquamish tribe. These addresses were by Little Joe, of the Suquamish tribe; Snoqualmie Jim, of the Snoqualmie tribe; Henry Quyeenah, of the Lummi tribe; and George Alexander, of the Skagit tribe. Arthur A. Denny, one of the founders of the City of Seattle, was a great friend of Chief Patkanim. The Indians are now proud of that old friendship. The name of Denny is very familiar to them. On this occasion, a granddaughter of Arthur A. Denny, Mrs. Florence Denny Heliker, gave a brief address referring to the fine old friendship between her grandfather and the great Chief in whose honor the meeting was assembled. The Indians were immensely pleased and each sentence was repeated in their own tongue by the interpreter, Charles Alexis. The history of Patkanim was briefly traced in an address by Professor Edmond S. Meany. A letter from Governor Hart was read after which Mr. W. F. Dickens, Indian Agent at Tulalip, accepted the monument on behalf of the United States Government.

Many friends of the Indians and those interested in the historic significance of the ceremony came forward to show their appreciation by pressing the right hand upon the granite shaft. These included Professor and Mrs. F. H. Hodder, of the University of Kansas; Professor C. V. Gilliland, of the University of Southern California; Professor and Mrs. R. F. Nichols, of Columbia University, New York; Professor Frank Harmon Garver, of the University of Montana; Professor and Mrs. J. A. O. Larsen, Professor H. S. Lucas, Mr. Victor J. Farrar, Miss Ebba Dahlin and Miss Iva L. Buchanan, all of the University of Washington; Dean John T. Condon, representing the President of the University of Washington; Mrs. Florence Denny Heliker, Mrs. D. W. Bass, Mrs. P. H. Bamford, Mrs. George Lamping, Rolland Lamping, Mary Ann Lamping, Doris Lamping, and Marcia Lamping, all descendants of Arthur A. Denny; Mrs. Charles Patton, a descendant of William N. Bell, a founder of the City of Seattle; a descendant of Dr. Henry A. Smith for whom Smith's Cove is named; D. W. Bass, a native of Oregon; Dr. Mabel Sea-

grave and her father, a pioneer of Seattle; Judge Noah Shakespeare, of Everett; Enoch W. Bagshaw, Football Coach, University of Washington; James Fenton, of Eldridge Buick Company, Seattle, Paul S. MacMichael, President of the Northern Clay Company. Susie, the venerable daughter of Chief Patkanim, was introduced to the audience while she stood beneath the portrait of her father.

The bugler sounded the solemn notes of "Taps" and the day's ceremonies were ended. The Indians thereupon invited the guests to a clam-bake on the beach near the Tulalip Indian School.

Chief Patkanim occupies a position toward the City of Everett comparable to the relation of Chief Seattle toward the city that bears his name. When it was first proposed to honor the memory of Patkanim it was expected that Everett would decide to erect a statue of that Chief in a prominent place. Instead of that, the authorities decided to erect in his memory an eighty-foot "story-pole," more commonly called totem-pole, carved by William Shelton, a talented Snohomish Indian of Tulalip. That pole was erected on July 26, 1922, with Mayor W. H. Clay, other officers of the city and many Indians participating in the exercises. On August 1, 1923, other ceremonies were held when a bronze tablet set into the base of the pole was unveiled. This tablet bore a portrait of the Chief and a brief record of his services. It is the work of Sculptor Wehn and is similar to the tablet that ornaments the granite shaft on the Chief's grave at Tulalip.

The completion of these belated honors to his memory make it appropriate that there should be gathered into permanent and accessible form the known facts of Patkanim's history.

The date of his birth is not known. On November 26, 1858, the *Pioneer and Democrat,* an Olympia newspaper, announced that Patkanim and John Taylor, Chiefs of the Snoqualmie and Snohomish tribes of Indians had died "within the last few months." That is the most definitely fixed date of his death. It was about two years from the time he had gained enduring fame in the Indian war. He was certainly not an old man at the time of his death and we may therefore conjecture that he was born in an early year of the nineteenth century. The great inland sea we now know as Puget Sound was the wild home of his ancestors. At the time of his birth that sea had been entered only once by vessels of the white man. In 1792, Captain George Vancouver and his two vessels discovered and explored these waters. He an-

chored near the very place where that monument has been reared over the Chief's grave. Elwood Evans is authority for the statement that Patkanim was the hereditary Chief of the Snoqualmie tribe. [1] It is inconceivable that children of a chief would grow up without hearing about the strange people in their big boats.

In the absence of written or printed records, one can only surmise the hunting and war-path training of Patkanim prior to 1848. In that year he appears in history as a leader among chiefs and a foe of the advancing white men. Reared as a savage among savages, it was natural that he would not favor the white man. Being a leader, and a clever one, it was also natural that he would seek to back his opposition with force.

The Hudson's Bay Company had established Fort Langley near the mouth of Fraser River in 1827 and, as a way station between that fort and headquarters at Fort Vancouver, the Company established Fort Nisqually, about midway between the present Cities of Tacoma and Olympia, in 1833. Patkanim would know about this first actual settlement of white men on the shore of the inland sea which his people called "Whulge." In 1836 the Hudson's Bay Company brought to Fort Nisqually, the steamer *Beaver*. It was the first steamer to ply the waters of the Pacific. It was a mystery to the Indians. They called it by a name meaning "fire-ship.' It would be a stupid Indian Chief who would not sense in such a craft a menace to his people's mode of life and Patkanim certainly was not stupid.

Historian Bancroft records the fact that Thomas W. Glasgow journeyed from Olympia in 1848 to Whidbey Island. There he staked a claim and then returned to Olympia for companions. Patkanim immediately called a council of all the tribes of Puget Sound to be held on Whidbey Island. Bancroft, in a footnote, cites as his authority a manuscript by Elwood Evans as follows:

"Patkanim exhibited the tact in this instance which marked him as a savage of uncommon intelligence. Parade has a great effect upon the human mind, whether savage or civilized. Patkanim gave a great hunt to the assembled chiefs. A corral was constructed with the wings extending across the island from Penn Cove to Glasgow's claim, and a drive made with dogs, by which more than 60 deer were secured for a grand banquet at the inauguration of the council. Patkanim then opened the conference by a speech, in which he urged that if the Americans were allowed

1 *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington*, volume II., page 513.

to settle among them they would soon become numerous, and would carry off their people in large fire-ships to a distant country on which the sun never shone; where they would be left to perish. He argued that the few now present could easily be exterminated, which would discourage others from coming, and appealed to the cupidity of his race by representing that the death of the Americans in the country would put the Indians in possession of a large amount of property. But the Indians from the upper part of the Sound, who were better acquainted with the white people, did not agree with Patkanim. The chief of the bands about Tumwater, Snohodumtah, called by the Americans Grayhead, resisted the arguments of the Snoqualimich chief. He reminded that council that previous to the advent of the Americans the tribes from the lower sound often made war upon the weaker tribes of his section carrying them off for slaves, but that he had found the presence of the Boston men a protection, as they discouraged wars. Patkanim, angered at this opposition, created a great excitement, which seemed to threaten a battle between the tribes, and Rabbeson becoming alarmed fled back to the settlements. Two days later Glasgow followed, being assisted to escape by a friendly Indian, but leaving behind him all his property."[2]

Probably Patkanim was emboldened by his experience in driving Glasgow from his settlement on Whidbey Island. The next spring he led a band of his braves to Fort Nisqually where a little batlte occurred on Tuesday, May 1, 1849. Dr. W. Fraser Tolmie, in charge at Fort Nisqually, wrote a complete account of it in the journal of that day. It has already been published in the *Washington Historical Quarterly,* Volume X. (July, 1919,) see pages 212-215. Patkanim had gone into the stockade and was there when the attack was precipitated on the outside. Leander C. Wallace, an American, was killed outright and two other Americans were wounded, one of whom, Lewis, survived his wounds only a short time. The Americans had come to the Fort to trade and arrived just as the gates were closed at the time of the attack. Chief Patkanim escaped from the stockade and joined his band. The next day, May 2, Doctor Tolmie with a few others went to Steilacoom and passed through the woods where the Snoqualmies had been encamped, "but saw no signs of the enemy, by all accounts they have gone clean off."

2 H. H. Bancroft: *History of Washington, Idaho and Montana,* page 11.

Doctor Tolmie in the original record intimates that the Indians did not come with hostile intent but were really bent upon making a disturbance among the Indians at the Fort when they would run off with a number of women and children to be used as slaves. Subsequent writers, however, have believed that it was a part of Patkanim's plan to drive the white people out of the country. And, moreover, the American settlers gave practical evidence that they proposed to resist any similar attacks by promptly building blockhouse forts at Tumwater and Cowlitz.

A report of the Nisqually attack was sent by Doctor Tolmie to General Joseph Lane, first Federal Governor of Oregon, who acted with prompt and vigorous courage. Lieutenant Hawkins and five men constituted the military men at Governor Lane's command. With these he set out for Puget Sound. At Tumwater he was overtaken by an express bringing the news that Brevet-Major Hathaway had arrived in the Columbia River with two companies of artillery. He sent a letter to Doctor Tolmie and hastened back to the Columbia River where he soon arranged with Major Hathaway that the company under Captain B. H. Hill, waiting at Astoria, should be sent to Puget Sound. They arrived in July and were quartered at Fort Steilacoom near Nisqually.

Measures were at once taken to punish the Indians who had killed those Americans in the attack on Fort Nisqually. Marshal and jurymen were sent from the Columbia River; court was regularly convened at Fort Steilacoom and two Indians, Qualawort, a brother of Patkanim, and Kassass, another Snoqualmie Chief, were convicted and hanged "in the presence of the troops and many of their own and other tribes."[3]

From the above it is clear that at least four events must have impressed Patkanim following his display of masterful power on Whidbey Island in 1848. These events were the stubborn resistance at Fort Nisqually, the building of the first blockhouse forts, the establishment of United States troops at Fort Steilacoom, and the trial and execution of two of his Chiefs.

Chief Patkanim took a new trail.

It is claimed that he accepted an invitation to make a voyage in a sailing vessel to San Francisco in 1850. Those were the days of gold in California. Life was exciting in San Francisco. The Indian Chief returned to his own people convinced of the

3 H. H. Bancroft: *History of Oregon*, volume I., pages 67-70, 79-80. Among contemporary authorities cited for the trial and execution is the *Oregon Spectator* for October 18, 1849.

number and activities of the white people. In a dramatic speech he lifted from the beach a handful of sand and let the grains trickle through his fingers. That many would be the white people who would come to Puget Sound. He and his people must be friendly with them.

On November 13, 1851, there landed at Alki Point a colony of twelve adults and twelve children. From that colony the City of Seattle has grown. It is well known that Chief Seattle soon sought out Arthur A. Denny as leader of the colony. The two men became friends. Other chiefs sought the friendship of Mr. Denny. These included Chief Patkanim. Those friendships proved valuable when the Indian war broke out a few years later. At the recent ceremonies, Mrs. Florence Denny Heliker said she once asked her grandfather if he was not afraid when he proposed to go out into the woods and bring into camp Chief Patkanim and his band. Her grandfather's only reply was: "Why I never deceived an Indian!"

The next great event in the life of Chief Patkanim was his participation in the making of the famous Point Elliott (Muckilteo) treaty signed on January 22, 1855. Washington Territory had been created by the Act of Congress of March 2, 1853. The first Governor, Isaac I Stevens, had arranged for the making of Indian treaties as soon as the government of the new Territory was organized. Couriers had assembled 2300 Indians at Point Elliott. Four great Chiefs occupied the front row. These were Chief Seattle of the Suquamish and allied tribes; Chief Patkanim of the Snoqualmie and allied tribes; Chief Chow-its-hoot, of the Lummi and allied tribes; and Chief Goliah, of the Skagit and allied tribes. The sub-chiefs occupied the second row and behind them were grouped members of their various tribes. Governor Stevens made an address explaining the purpose of the treaty. He then called upon Chief Seattle who made a brief speech and then Chief Patkanim spoke as follows:

"Today I understood your heart as soon as you spoke. I understood your talk plainly. God made my heart and those of my people good and strong. It is good that we should give you our real feelings today. We want everything as you have said, the doctor and all. Such is the feeling of all the Indians. Our hearts are with the whites. God makes them good towards the Americans."[4] Three cheers were given for Chief Patkanim's

4 Hazard Stevens: *The Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens*, volume I., pages 462-466.

speech as was the case for the other Chiefs when each one concluded his speech.

The speeches and each article of the treaty was thoroughly interpreted into each of the languages represented. When all was understood the document was signed by Governor Stevens first followed by the four Chiefs in the order named above and then by seventy-eight sub-chiefs of the various tribes. Seventeen white men signed as witnesses.[5]

That treaty conveyed to the United States all the land from Point Pully, locally known as "Three Tree Point" northward to the British line. Anyone who will glance at the map of that area and think of the importance of that transaction will surely concede that those who signed the treaty well deserve to be held in grateful memory.

It should be added that the treaty was not ratified by the United States Senate until April 11, 1859. The main reason for that delay was the outbreak of the Indian war on both sides of the Cascade Range. In that war Chief Patkanim reached the zenith of his career.

While Governor Stevens was making treaties with the Indians of Eastern Washington, (the Territory then extended to the land of the Blackfeet in what is now Montana) the Secretary of the Territory, Charles H. Mason, was Acting Governor. He made a trip through the White River country and declared that the settlers had left in an unjustified panic. They thereupon returned to their cabins and on October 28, 1855, William H. Brannan, wife and child, Harry N. Jones and wife, George E. King and wife, and Enos Cooper were killed by the Indians. That tragedy was all that was needed to make the alarm genuine and effective.

Lieutenant W. A. Slaughter, of the United States Army, sent a messenger to Acting Governor Mason to say that Patkanim was dogging him at every step. Mason promtply sent an express to the Captain of the sloop-of-war *Decatur,* in Seattle harbor asking that two brothers of Patkanim and such Snoqualmies as were in Seattle be arrested and put in irons. Arthur A. Denny had previously told Captain Sterrett of the *Decatur* that he believed in the friendship of Patkanim. On that account the Captain sent for Mr. Denny and told him he thought he ought to arrest the Snoqualmies that very night.

"This was startling news to me," says Mr. Denny, "and I

5 Charles J. Kappler, clerk to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs: *Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties,* volume II., pages 669-673.

most earnestly protested, telling him that I knew Lieutenant Slaughter was mistaken, and that we had enemies enough to look after without attacking our friends; but he was so much disposed to act on Governor Mason's orders that I finally proposed, if he would not disturb the Snoqualmies, I would be responsible for their good conduct, and would prove to him that Slaughter was wrong, by going to Pat Kanim's camp and bringing him in. He very positively refused to allow me to leave town, but consented that I might send an express for Pat Kanim, and stand responsible for them until their return, having a time agreed upon within which they would be back. Very fortunately for me, and probably for Pat Kanim too, he was on hand within the time agreed upon. He had his women and children with him, and also brought a cargo of mountain sheep, venison, horses [horns] and hides, specimens of which he took on board and presented to the Captain, who expressed the greatest surprise and satisfaction with the conclusive proof, which I had thus furnished, of the good faith and friendship of the Snoqualmies. I never heard anything more from headquarters of the hostile Snoqualmies, but Pat Kanim was very soon employed by the Governor with a party of his tribe, as scouts and did good service during the continuance of the war."[6]

To this day the Snoqualmie are proud of Mr. Denny's championship of their cause at that critical time. They love the name of Denny. That is why an interpreter at the recent memorial exercises turned every sentence of Mrs. Florence Denny Heliker's address into the Snoqualmie tongue so that every one of the Indians would understand.

It will be noticed that Mr. Denny, in his book spells the Chief's name Pat Kanim. In the Nisqually journal of May 1, 1849, the name is spelled Patakynum. In the treaty of 1855 it is signed Pat-ka-nam. He could not write so that was only another white man trying to record the spoken name. Historian Bancroft spelled it Patkanim and most of the subsequent writers have accepted that as the best form.

There is abundant evidence of the services rendered by Chief Patkanim for the white settlers during the Indian war of 1856. The muster roll of his company of warriors has been saved and was published with the muster rolls of the volunteers in the Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Washington

6 Arthur A. Denny: *Pioneer Days on Puget Sound*, pages 66-67.

for the years of 1891 and 1892.[7] There are eighty-one warriors on the list. Patkanim's name is at the head with the rank of Captain.

The only newspaper printed on Puget Sound at that time made frequent mention of Patkanim and his warriors. His most stubborn battle is described as follows:

"Since our last issue, we have received further information of the operations of Pat Kanim, and his party, and for the following we are indebted to Mr. A. C. Phelps, of Island county, who arrived here this morning with an express from Seattle. Our informant states that about the middle of last week, Pat Kanim, with his band of some sixty Snoqualmie and Snohomish Indians, approached Leshi's camp, in the night, with the intention of surprising and capturing it; but his advance and presence was betrayed by the barking of dogs in the hostile encampment. Leschi's strong position was in the forks of a small stream on White river, and a small house or defense being outside the forks.

"Pat Kanim approached within speaking distance of Leschi, who said to him—'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.' To which Pat Kanim replied—'I don't know, but I think that before that time I will have your head.' Pat Kanim then went back to his party—made a proper disposition of his force, and early in the morning commenced the attack.

"His first demonstration was made against the outside house, or protection, to which we have referred, and in which the main body of the enemy were fortified, and after a sharp engagement, in which some severe fighting took place, he drove the enemy from his position, into his stronghold, in the forks of the creek. A number of shots were fired into this last position by Pat and his party, by which he thinks a number must have been killed or wounded.

"An Indian report has just reached here, that Pat's party killed and wounded quite a number of the enemy in the defences, of which he knows nothing, but he is certain that eight were killed during the action—one a chief. However but two heads were obtained, as six of the Indians were killed on the opposite side of the stream, and with his small force, Pat concluded it imprudent to cross over after them. Leschi's force is set down at from 150 to 200, active fighting men.

7 Schedule B, pages 173-174.

"The engagement lasted ten hours, and the ammunition and provisions of our allies being exhausted, Pat was compelled to draw off his force and await supplies—with which he says he could easily have completely routed the enemy on the following day.

"In this engagement, Pat Kanim and his party have obtained a decided advantage. He is determined to continue in the field, and is expected in this direction in a few days, to make proper preparation for following up the blow he has already given to Leschi and his hostile band. At the last accounts he was at his home—at Holme's Harbor, Island County, with his command."[8]

The Chief carried to the headquarters of the white soldiers gruesome evidences of his battles in the form of heads taken from the bodies of slain hostile Indians. He and his men received pay in the form of money, blankets and other goods. They went to their homes satisfied.

Chief Seattle departed from the ways of savage leadership and took the new trail of friendship about 1839. Twelve years later the colony of white people settled at Alki Point and began the city that was to bear his name. He continued a constant and appreciated friend through the Indian war and to the time of his death on June 7, 1866. He had followed the new trail for twenty-seven years. That period was long enough for the cordial record of his friendship to be firmly established among the white pioneers.

Patkanim was not so fortunate. He had less than ten years on the new trail and those years were harrowed by an Indian war. In 1848 he was an ardent leader of his people on the old trail of savage life. In 1849 rebuffs came and in 1850 he entered on the new trail of friendship. Eight years thereafter he was dead. These facts account for the published feelings of mingled respect and hatred during that span of eight years. The *Pioneer and Democrat* published expressions of joy over his victories for the white pioneers and of hope that he would persist while the war continued. It is not pleasant to add that the same paper expressed suspicion and hatred of the Indian leader. That mingled sentiment was continued in the memories of many pioneers. If the truth were wholly known it is quite probable that the Indians also had feelings of mingled hatred and respect growing out of the same events.

Time is just.

Whatsoever Patkanim may have done as a savage leader,

8 The Olympia *Pioneer and Democrat* for February 22, 1856.

there are two great events which give him clear title to fame and to an honored memory. Those two events do not depend upon any Indian legend or tradition. They are safely and permanently recorded in the official documents made by agents of the white man's government. The events so essential in this cause are the signing of the treaty ceding these lands to the United States and the raising and commanding of a company of warriors in battles for the pioneers. Those two events would be sufficient to insure the reputation of a white hero. It is a certainty that they will maintain the reputation of the Indian Chief.

Chief Patkanim died in 1858. Henry L. Yesler, pioneer sawmill owner of Seattle, had a coffin made for the remains. The first burial place on a bank of the Snohomish River being threatened by high water, relatives and friends moved the body to a grave in the little cemetery near the Indian School at Tulalip. The monument reared on that grave will be visited in the years to come by those who love to honor the memory of men who live and die worthily according to the light as they are given the power to see it.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

NORTH WEST AND HUDSON'S BAY COMPANIES

The Predominating Influence of the North West Merchants of Montreal in the Plan of Amalgamation with the Hudson Bay Company in 1821.

There is no more romantic nor highly colored story in the whole span in the history of the fur trade of North America than is revealed by the diaries and journals of the men who made up the company of merchants known as the North West Company of Merchants from Montreal. These men had fallen heir to the fur trade of New France as a result of the Treaty of Paris, 1763, and had united their individual interests in the North West Company in 1784.[1] The energy of members of this company was surpassed only by the apathy of its great chartered rival, the Hudson's Bay Company, which had been in existence at this time one hundred and fourteen years.

Canada had been twenty-one years in British possession when the North West Company was organized without assistance, privilege or governmental favors by a few Scotch Canadians for the better prosecution of a business with which they were all more or less familiar. The roll call of names includes McTavish, Macgillivray, Mackenzie, Fraser and David Thompson, together with many others.

Infusing into their traffic the spirit of enterprise, these associates pushed their adventure beyond Lake Superior to Winnipeg, Saskatchewan, and Athabasca, and finally overspread the wholly new Northwest. It was they who found the River Mackenzie and followed it to the Frozen Ocean; it was they who ascended the Peace River, crossed the Rocky Mountains, planted posts upon their western slope and traversed the country to the Pacific; it was they who by their Scotch shrewdness and resistless energy, after absorbing the Canada trade, took possession of the Northwest Coast, swept Astor from the Columbia, and brought the monster monopoly, the Hudson's Bay Company itself, upon its knees.[2] It is very interesting to observe the evolution of the two companies and their relative successes in the fur business. The older one was a creature of royal prerogative, chartered by Charles II., May 2, 1670, and buttressed by one hundred and four-

1 Burpee, *The Literature of the Fur Trade*, p. 52.
2 Bancroft, *Works*, vol. 27, pp. 551-552.

teen years of precedent and implied judicial jurisdiction; the younger was a company with no governmental grant but with a very generous backing of Canadian moral support.

In the history of trading companies, it is probable that the North West Company of Montreal has never been equaled in the thoroughness of its discipline, the energy of its operations, the courage of its promoters and the scope of its trade. In fifteen years from the formation of the company, namely by 1799, its business annually amounted to 106,000 beaver skins and 65,000 other peltries, conducted by an army of about 2,000 men, not including the Indians. The capital required by the agents in Montreal, the number of men employed, the vast quantities of goods sent out, and the enormous stores of furs received in exchange all combined to make the business of this company the most important in Canada.

Upon huge profits of such an extensive business, the members of the North West Company soon acquired the wealth of the Indiamen, which they expended with as much careless liberality as their national prototypes, the Nabobs. Some bought seigniories, built mansions or even purchased estates in the old country, to which they retired to live a life of specious and preternatural sobriety. Others used their wealth for nobler ends and McGill University stands as a lasting monument to the wise foresight and high civic pride of one of the partners.[3] The company naturally wielded an immense power in Canada, both commercially and politically.

Slowly, slowly awoke the monster monopoly, as by their charter and self-affection they would wish to be, well nigh dormant in their hyperborean dealings these hundred years and more, to a realization of their situation. These Montreal Scotchmen, wtih their constantly increasing wealth and independence, were becoming formidable.

What should be done?

There was but one answer an Englishman could make to such a question: They must be driven out. Although they were planting themselves firmly enough in all the wide north-west, scaling the stony barrier which had so long obstructed the fur-hunter's path to the Pacific; and although the fiercer beat upon them the storms of rivalship, the deeper and more firmly did they root themselves to the soil, yet they must be driven out. For every post they planted, another should be built beside it; for every induce-

3 Reed, *Masters of the Wilderness*, p. 64.

ment offered the natives to trade, double should be given; so the council ordered, and so the servants did.

Now no highland chieftain in his sovereign stronghold was ever more ready for the issue than these same revellers in the great hall of Fort William; no highland clansmen were ever more eager for the fray than the impulsive voyageurs and fierce half-breeds who echoed the master's bacchanals beyond the pickets.

Three claims to sole occupation and superiority the Hudson's Bay Company set up, not one of which with the North West Company was of a feather's weight. First was their royal grant, which, whether confirmed by parliament or established by time, or neither confirmed nor established, restricted the grantors to Rupert Land, which latter term signified the territory immediately encircling Hudson Bay. Secondly, the policy of the Rupert Land adventurers, which was to let the natives of the interior alone, while the white men should remain at their factories on the coast and receive such peltries alone as the Indians chose to bring them. This methods was deemed better than to push traffic into the heart of the continent to the speedy extermination of native men and beasts. Thirdly, fixed prices, sober routine, orderly intercourse, and various slow commercial flummeries to which the wide-awake Northwesters would not even listen. It must be confessed that the North West Company men were not so strictly scrupulous in their use of means as they might have been; but in principle they were sound enough. The northwest territories were as rightfully open to one robber as to another; and of this a Scotchman did not need to be told. Evils arose from bitter rivalry which might be justly chargeable to both.[4]

The massacre of Governor Semple and almost twenty of his Hudson's Bay Men on the 16th of June, 1816 by a half-breed band on the plains of St. Rupert's Land, where for a century and a half the Hudson's Bay Company had ruled and where for fifty years the shrewd Scottish sense of the Montreal traders had prevented more than an occasional death by violence startled the Imperial Government into activity. In June, 1819, the question of rivalries and existing disputes between the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company was brought before the British Parliament. Later by interposition of the ministry, a compromise was effected and the two companies merged into one.

Then it was that the Montreal merchants, strengthened as they were by Canadian political and social support, stepped into

4 Bancroft, *Works*, vol. 27, pp. 567-568.

the breach and accomplished three things which proved their predominating influence in the amalgamation, namely:

First—Suggested the plan of union finally adopted and confirmed by Parliament.

Second—Named the man who was appointed first governor of the united companies.

Third—Acquired judicial jurisdiction which was confirmed by Parliament July 2, 1821. This judicial jurisdiction had not been recognized in the Hudson's Bay Company for the 120 previous years.[5]

Edward Ellice was an officer in the North West Company; Lord Bathurst, hearing that Ellice had a plan of union of the two companies, sent for the peace maker, heard his views and adopted the method suggested.[6] Lord Bathurst promised Ellice that he would unite the companies by Parliamentary Act if the companies could but make a financial adjustment between themselves. The propounder of the plan, Ellice, encouraged by the promise given by the Imperial Government to his plan, undertook, amid numberless prophesies of failure, to bring together the hostile elements.

The agreement reached, after much discussion, was entered into March 26, 1821; it provided that the two companies should share equally the profits of trade for twenty-one years—each company furnishing an equal amount of capital. The whole stock was divided into 100 shares, forty of which were to be distributed among the wintering partners, as the traders actually engaged in St. Rupert's Land were called. By the terms of the Deed Poll, dated March 26, 1821, immediate control of the amalgamated company's affairs passed from the hands of a committee sitting in London to a personage known as Governor-in-Chief of St. Rupert's Land, resident in Canada, and his council. His commission extended over all the Company's lands and possessions with an unlimited tenure of office.

The council was to be composed of chief factors and occasionally a few chief traders who were to meet at some convenient center for the purposes of consultation.[7] This, then, was a decided concession to the controlling hand of the North West Company. The government of the amalgamated company had become democratic and supervision and administration had become local.

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5 Report of Special Committee—Appendix 8, published by Parliament in 1857, p. 368.
6 Bryce, *Makers of Canada*, vol. 8, p. 212.
7 Beckles Willson, *The Great Company*, p. 436.

But the real work of reconciliation was not to be accomplished by passing equitable acts of Parliament, or by bestowing fair salaries upon partners. It needed a man of the right stamp to unify and moderate the opposing members. What qualifications should such a man have? He needed to be young and independent, not having strong affiliations with either party, and yet a man of intellect, of position and of attracive manner to hold the respect of shrewd, experienced factors and traders. He must be a man of British rather than Canadian antecedents, in order that the older company might be satisfied, and yet preferably a man of Scotish origin to give the confidence of the strong Celtic elements which largely made up the North West Company of Montreal. To have visited the fur country was a necessity, and yet not to have there lost his business habits as so many of the older traders, who had lived long in the remoter posts had done. The man must be of quick perception, affable manners, patient temper, good judgment and natural astuteness. Was such a catalogue of virtues and habits to be found in any one man? It seemed very unlikely.[8]

Again Mr. Edward Ellice, the shrewd North West Company representative in the negotiations, was instrumental in finding a way out; Ellice had been struck by the qualities and special aptitude for this important post of a young Scotchman, George Simpson.[9] Simpson was appointed and administered the office long and well.

As has already been stated, the Hudson's Bay Company had not for more than 120 years been trusted with judicial authority by Parliament. The Canadians had been suspicious of a company with offices in London administering the law justly and equitably. The Canadians had no such suspicions after the merger of the company's employees, composed to a large extent of members of the company resident in Canada.

When the union of the two companies was effected a grant was made by the King to adventurers trading in Hudson's Bay and to William Macgillivray, Simon Macgillivray and Edward Ellice, the persons so named representing the former proprietors of the North West Company of the exclusive trade for twenty-one years in all the countries in which privileges could be granted agreeably to the act. Persons in the service of the rehabilitated Hudson's Bay Company were at the same time commissioned as

8 Bryce, *Makers of Canada*, vol. 8, p. 215.
9 Beckles Willson, *The Great Company*, p. 436.

justices of the peace for those countries with jurisdiction in civil cases up to £200 and in criminal cases not involving capital punishment; and the jurisdiction of the courts of Upper Canada was rendered effective as far as the shores of the Pacific, no exception being made in that respect by the act with regard to any of the territory embraced in the grant, not within the limits of any civil government of the United States.[10]

AARON NEWELL.

10 Robert Greenhow, *History of Oregon and California*, p. 326.

PASSING OF AN IMMIGRANT OF 1843

John A. Stoughton, one of the last of the celebrated band of immigrants that crossed the plains to Oregon in 1843,[1] died at the Spokane County Infirmary, at Spangle, on July 1, 1924. He was nearly ninety years old at his death. He was buried at Cheney, beside his wife who died many years ago.

John A. Stoughton was born in Westfield, Mass., September 23, 1830. In 1836 he went with his parents to Mobile, Alabama, and four years later removed with them to Missouri. As a lad of 13 he accompanied the emigrants across the plains to Oregon. Years afterward (the manuscript is not dated) Mr. Stoughton wrote a brief account of his recollections of the journey across the plains. From the original Professor Edmond S. Meany, in 1906, made the following copy:[2]

"In March, 1843, I was in a little town in Missouri, called Weston, and there I heard a speech by Dr. Marcus Whitman.

"On account of that speech a noted lawyer named Peter Burnett[3] afterwards governor of California) took up the cause and canvassed several counties trying to get emigrants to go to Oregon.

"As a reward for his efforts we, the latter part of March, gathered together about twenty wagons to start for a rendezvous where we were to meet others attracted by the speeches of Dr. Whitman from the different states visited by him.

"The rendezvous where we met was about seventy-five miles south of Fort Leavenworth, in the Indian Territory, and there gathered together about two hundred wagons drawn by oxen and averaging about five souls to each wagon.[4]

"On about the 20th of April we made the start and then be-

1 In a letter to J. Orin Oliphant, dated January 31, 1924, George H. Himes, curator and assistant secretary of the Oregon Historical Society, declared that Mr. Stoughton was not the sole survivor of the emigration of 1843. He said: "I have known Mr. Stoughton quite well, and he is a pioneer of 1843. He is not the only one either. I know two ladies who came in 1843, and there may be others."

2 "This manuscript was copied from the mutilated original loaned to me at Cheney, 18 March, 1906, by Mrs. Mary Elizabeth (Stoughton) Harris, daughter of the author.—Edmond S. Meany."

3 Burnett was elected captain of the organization on May 18, 1843, according to J. W. Nesmith, who was chosen "Orderly Sergeant, with the duties of Adjutant."—Consult "The Occasional Address of Hon. J. W. Nesmith," in *Transactions of the Third Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association* (Salem, 1876).

4 For various estimates of the number of persons in the emigration of 1843, see sources cited by H. H. Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, Vol. I., p. 395, *note*.

gan an experience of hardships which in my life has never been equaled.[5]

"Our first difficulty was with the soft ground, and I remember seeing as many men as could get hold of a wagon working at the wheels to get it out of the mud, the oxen having to flounder out as best they could. I have seen them up to their sides in the mire.

"In fording the streams we sometimes had twenty wagons fastened together. I remember in crossing the Platte River our end wagons worked downstream until they reached deep water and then rolled over and over, costing us much loss and trouble. We seldom got across a stream without trouble, as we had to swim the cattle; and, to make matters worse, we did not have any road or trail, and in crossing the sage brush country we had to cut our way through.

"Our lives were greatly endangered by buffaloes. We saw thousands upon thousands of them. We had to send out guards to shoot into the herds in order to keep them, when stampeded, from trampling us under foot. For miles in advance we had to keep a close lookout to keep from getting trampled under foot by the maddened animals.

"We also had great trouble with the Indians stopping us and making us pay tribute. One morning we came upon a body of Indians who had just finished a battle. The dead still lay on the ground with arrows sticking in them, and some of them were scalped. The Indians who had won the battle halted us and demanded some of our cattle. We finally compromised by giving them a number of cattle which they killed and proceeded to make merry over their succcess.

"Everything went well for about a week, when we were halted again by Indians. Just at that moment Kit Carson, under Colonel Fremont, who was sent out by the government to report the best locations for posts, came up. The Indians wanted tribute for the privilege of passing through their country. We told Kit Carson about our being stopped before and he advised us to go out and investigate, saying the Indians were full of tricks and that it might be the same band. Accordingly some of our men went out with him and found to our surprise that it was the same band, eight hundred strong, which had stopped us two hundred miles

5 Of the departure of this company Nesmith says: "On the 20th of May, 1843, after a pretty thorough military organization, we took up out line of march, with Capt. John Gantt, an old army officer, who combined the character of trapper and mountaineer, as our guide."—*Transactions of the Third Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association*, p. 47.

back. When Kit Carson saw that it was a trick he had the cannon drawn up and every man took his rifle. Confronting the Indians, he demanded that they let us pass, saying they had once been paid and would get no more. As a result of our stand they opened up their lines and let us pass through. We did not see them again.

"When we arrived at Fort Hall, we found it in charge of the Hudson Bay Company. Mr. Grant was the president of the company.[6]

"When we were about one hundred miles from Fort Hall, Doctor Whitman told us that the danger of Indians was over and to make the trailing easier we broke up into little bands, which covered a radius of several miles.

"On arriving at Fort Hall, Mr. Grant tried to discourage us in every possible way, saying that we could not get over the Rocky Mountains and that we had better stop there. Failing to influence us, he next proposed that we trade our cattle and wagons for pack horses, he and his under men almost insisting that we trade them. Just then Doctor Whitman, who had come in a little late, arrived and told us not to pay any atention to Mr. Grant, to rely on him and he would pilot us through in safety. Having great confidence in the man who had been the cause of our starting on the journey, we did his bidding and moved on for a couple of miles and camped for two or three days in order to let all catch up and to rest our tired animals.[7]

"From the first we were well organized.[8] We had a captain, corporals and sentries who stood guard all the time, and one who was found asleep on duty was hauled up and courtmartialed and deprived of his gun.

"Dr. Whitman saved my life in crossing Snake River. We had chained about ten wagons together. There were two islands, and we had to cross from one to the other. In crossing Dr. Whitman rode beside the wagon I had charge of, which was the hind-

6 Captain James Grant was in charge of Fort Hall at this time.

7 "Capt. Grant, then in charge of the Hudson Bay Company at Fort Hall, endeavored to dissuade us from proceeding further with our wagons, and showed us the wagons that the emigrants of the preceding year had abandoned, as an evidence of the impracticability of our determination. Dr. Whitman was persistent in his assertions that wagons could proceed as far as the Grand Dalles of the Columbia River, from which point he asserted they could be taken down by rafts or batteaux to the Willamette Valley, while our stock could be driven by an Indian trail over the Cascade Mountains, near Mt. Hood. Happily Whitman's advice prevailed."—J. W. Nesmith, *Transactions of the Third Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association*, p. 47.

8 Nesmith, in the address already cited, p. 48, says: "It devolved upon me to make up a complete roll of the male members of the company capable of bearing arms, and including all above the age of sixteen years. They were divided into four details for guard duty, thus giving one-fourth of the company a turn of guard duty every fourth day, or as the soldiers express it, we had 'three nights in bed.' I have that old roll before me, and it is the only authentic copy extant."

most wagon. He kept punching the cattle in the sides to keep them from getting into deep water. The current was very strong and came against the bank with terrible force. Before we were across I had got so far below that my horse lunged into deep water and Doctor Whitman, seeing the dangerous position I was in, wheeled around and left the cattle to pull the wagons out and grabbed my horse by the bridle, hollering: 'let go the reins.' He pulled him so that we reached the island in safety. Otherwise I would not have been alive to write this story.

"After we had crossed Snake River, Dr. Whitman left us and went on to his mission. We followed and when we were within about one hundred and fifty miles of the mission we ran short of food and had to send men ahead to Dr. Whitman's to get food. The Doctor had a little pair of burrs with which to grind wheat. After getting their supplies they came back and met us.

"When we arrived at the mission we lay there three weeks and made canoes by digging out the big cottonwood trees and then floated them down the little Walla Walla River to what was then Fort Walla Walla, but now Wallula junction. It was then in charge of the Hudson Bay Company and the officers of the company told us that it would be suicide to start in such canoes as we had and advised us to get canoes of the Indians, which we did. I must say our three weeks were wasted as the canoes we made would turn over if we looked at them. We had to hire an Indian in each canoe to pilot us, as we could not manage such frail crafts and did not know anything about the character of the water we had to pass over. We ran out of provisions before we could reach a Hudson Bay Company supply station.

"We had to drag our canoes around the Cascades falls, which took us two or three days. As we were making this portage we met Colonel Fremont, who had been to the coast and was returning with his report to the government. His meeting us convinced him that it was practicable to cross the continent.

"Just before we reached Fort Vancouver we encountered a terrible wind which caused us to lay up. We had no provisions and our party were forced to eat an old beef hide which had lain in the bottom of the canoe and was watersoaked so that the hair was falling off. Some of them burnt it to a crisp and ate it, but the next day we were able to proceed and reached Fort Vancouver in the evening. We were supplied with food. Dr. McLough-

lin was very good to us.[9] It was Dr. McLoughlin who, when he heard that we had got over the plains as far as Whitman's Mis sion, said:

"'Tut! tut! tut! the damned Yankees will get to China with their ox wagons yet.'

"Next we went up the Wallamet River and got as far as where Portland now stands and camped. At that time there was nothing there but timber, not even a sign of civilization. From the site of the future Portland we went to Oregon City, our destination, and were received by the missionaries very kindly. They showed us every favor and we stayed with them until we could branch out and get our lands.

"At Oregon City there was a grist mill belonging to the Hudson Bay Company, a sawmill and a store. All the supplies came from England.

"Thus ended my first experience in crossing the plains, which lasted a period of about eight months."

Sixty-three years later, in an interview with a newspaper reporter in Spokane, Mr. Stoughton gave the following brief account of his manner of living in Oregon City immediately after his arrival:

"We settled at Oregon City. For food we had boiled wheat and peas, with the game we killed. The wheat was used just like corn hominy. On Sunday and when we wanted to have a special dish we burned out a hollow place in the top of a fir log and ground the wheat into a sort of flour and made bread out of it. Finally we got a few pigs from the Hudson Bay Company, and then we got on fairly well."[10]

Mr. Stoughton farmed in the Willamette Valley for several years. He went to California in search of gold in 1848, but soon returned to Oregon. In 1850 he married Frances E. Townsend, a pioneer of 1847. In 1879 he went to Cheney, Washington, and settled on a farm in the Four Lakes country, where he lived until 1906. He then went to Oregon, but in the summer of 1922 he returned to Cheney, and from that time until his death he was at the Spokane County Infirmary at Spangle.

Friends in Cheney used to visit Mr. Stoughton often during

9 "Dr. John McLoughlin, then at the head of the Hudson Bay Company, from his own private resources, rendered the new settlers much valuable aid by furnishing the destitute with food, clothing and seed, waiting for his pay until they had a surplus to dispose of. Dr. John McLoughlin was a public benefactor, and the time will come when the people of Oregon will do themselves credit by erecting a statue to his memory."—J. W. Sesmith, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

10 Spokane, *Spokesman-Review*, November 26, 1905.

the closing months of his life. These visits were much appreciated by him, for he delighted to talk with them of pioneer days. In the early spring of 1923 Mr. Stoughton was brought by friends to Cheney for a short visit, and while in Cheney he visited the State Normal School and made a short talk to the class in Northwest History.

Mr. Stoughton is survived by two daughters: Mrs. Ida McLean, of Fernwood, Idaho, and Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Harris, of Forest Grove, Oregon. Mrs. Harris was born in Salem, Oregon, in 1854. In 1870 she married Stephen Martin Harris, at Forest Grove, Oregon. Mr. and Mrs. Harris were residents of Cheney for many years. Mr. Harris died in 1923.

J. Orin Oliphant.

SECRET AID FOR OREGON MISSIONS

Dr. Minnie F. Howard, President of Southern Idaho Historical Society, has called attention to the fact that the latest, or eleventh, edition of the *Enclycopedia Britannica,* Volume XX., page, 248, in the article on "Oregon," says: "In this year [1838] Jason Lee returned to the Eastern States and carried back to Oregon with him by sea over fifty people, missionaries and their families. It is significant, if true, that part of the money for chartering his vessel was supplied from the Secret Service fund of the United States Government."

Doctor Howard then asked if there was any basis for this new edition statement.

An appeal to search the records at the National Capital was sent to Prof. J. F. Jameson, Director of the Department of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution. In his reply he said: "I am informed by the Treasury Department that their accounts of expenditures from the Secret Service fund begin only in 1865, and their impression is that the fund, as such, did not exist before that time."

Although the most likely source of such information proved unavailing, Professor Jameson added: "It is barely possible that some expenditures, having that nature, may somewhere be recorded in the archives of the Department of State, but the person to whom I am referred as the one who would know about this is now absent upon his vacation." He added that, as the *Encyclopedia Britannica* probably derived its information directly or indirectly from the statement in Hubert Howe Bancroft's *History of Oregon,* (San Francisco, 1886,) Volume I., pages 176-177, it would be well to check against the manuscript source used by that author.

Prof. Herbert I. Priestley, Librarian of the Bancroft Library, University of California, was kind enough to make the search and to send the following extracts from the manuscript "Anecdotes of Oregon" by Rev. Josiah L. Parrish:

"We were the third reinforcement after the establishment of the mission that was sent out by the missionary board in which I came.

"There is a fact connected with that, the government had a little hand in. I was told, but I knew nothing of it then and I do

not know positively about it now, but the company brought us out, the adults I think for $200 each, and the children were graded down. The company I suppose could not bring us for that. I understood after I had been to Oregon for seven years that the government paid Fry Farnham & Co. 50 dollars a head from the secret Treasury. Mr. Lee on his return got missionaries proper and mechanics of all kinds to establish his work permanently in the country and make it if possible self supporting instead of drawing on the missionary fund constantly. The government discovered that the missionary family, as it was called in New York, was almost sufficient to establish a permanent colony, that is a small one. The government had an eye to the settlement of the boundary question; and I understood afterwards by a member of the missionary board that the government paid Fry Farnham & Co. 50 dollars on each one of our heads. I have no doubt that the reinforcements was the settlement of the question really."

That is the source referred to by Historian Bancroft. In sending the extract Professor Priestley says: "As you will see, the gentleman is not quite sure, but thinks so. Doubtless the *Brittanica* used some such authority. In all probability he was right."

Historian Bancroft was quite frank in his avowal of the fact and its probable purpose. His statement, as cited above, is as follows: "A proof of the favor with which his [Jason Lee's] designs were regarded by the cabinet is furnished by the appropriation of considerable money from the secret-service fund, for the charter of the *Lausanne*, as related by one of her passengers. Lee kept the secret, and so did those who gave him the money, until the boundary question was settled between the United States and Great Britain."

In making that statement, Mr. Bancroft in a footnote cites the manuscript by Mr. Parrish, the full extract from which we have reproduced above. As Mr. Parrish says, he was one of the passengers and that the company was the third reenforcement of the Methodist Mission in Oregon. All the children in the party have never been enumerated but there were more than fifty souls in the reenforcement. Some of them became prominent leaders in Oregon. It would be well to repeat here a list of them. This can best be done by quoting from Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, Volume I., pages 177-178:

"Everything being finally arranged, the mission family, a term by which this emigration was more particularly designated, assembled at New York, whence the *Lausanne* was to sail. Jason Lee

had certainly improved his time in several respects; for the so lately bereaved husband was returning comforted with a new wife. Following are the names of the members of this reenforcement: Mr. and Mrs. Jason Lee; Rev. Joseph H. Frost, wife[1] and one child; Rev. William W. Kone and wife; Rev. Alvan F. Waller, wife and two children; Rev. J. P. Richmond,[2] M. D., wife and one child; Ira L. Babcock, M. D.,[3] wife and one child; Rev. Gustavus Hines, wife and one child; George Abernethy,[4] mission steward, wife and two children; W. W. Raymond, farmer, and wife; Henry B. Brewer, farmer, and wife; Rev. Lewis H. Judson, cabinet-maker, wife and three children; Rev. Josiah L. Parrish, blacksmith, wife and three children; James Olley, carpenter, wife and children; Hamilton Campbell, wife and children; David Carter, Miss Chloe A. Clark, Miss Elmira Phillips, Miss Maria T. Ware, Miss Almira Phelps, teachers; Miss Orpha Lankton, stewardess; and Thomas Adams, the Chinook whom Mr. Lee had brought with him from Oregon. The other Chinook, Brooks, had died.

"It was on the 10th of October, 1839, that the *Lausanne* sailed. The mission family gathered on the steamer which was to convey them to Sandy Hook, where the ship was anchored. Assembled there were many friends, and some strangers drawn thither by curiosity regarding so unprecedented a missionary exodus. Religious services were held conducted by the reverend doctors Bangs and Anderson, secretaries of the American Board. Stronger to move the heart than sound of brass or stretched strings is the music of the human voice; and as prayer and song fell upon the ears of those excited by hopes and fears, their souls were stirred within them, and sobs, tears, and embraces mingled with the farewell benedictions, as the travellers stepped from the steamer to the ship. No company ever sailed from that port whose departure was watched with more interest by religious and political circles."

The latest edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* says it is "significant, if true," that this emigration was assisted on its way to Oregon from the secret service fund of the United States government. It has been shown that Bancroft published the same

1 In 1907, or sixty-seven years after the journey here recorded, the present writer had the good fortune to meet Mrs. Frost, (then Mrs. Beggs) and to record her remarkable story. See *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Volume II., pages 12-23.

2 One of the founders of the branch mission at Nisqually, 1840, first American home north of the Columbia River.

3 First Supreme Judge of the Provisional Government of Oregon, 1841.

4 First and only Governor of the Provisional Government of Oregon, 1845-1849.

fact as early as 1886. Students of Northwestern History have never been sure that such secret aid was actually extended. However, they have not been particularly disturbed as the cause for such an expenditure could hardly have been a better one. Future researches may disclose an account book with a record of as much as $3000 expended on behalf of the *Lausanne's* passengers from New York to Oregon. Such a record would be definite and authoritative. No one will be able to compute in dollars and cents the good those passengers did in helping to redeem Oregon from a wilderness and to retain it as a part of the United States.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

DOCUMENTS

THE NISQUALLY JOURNAL

[*Continued from Volume XV, Page 143*]

[August, 1852.]

[Ms. Page 79.]

Sunday 1st. Two of the Work Oxen very Sick.

Monday 2nd. Fine. Mr. Ross,[1] Two Kanakas[2] & four Indians with 8 Oxen started this morning for Cowlitz to bring over the Wagons laden with Flour. Chaulifoux[3] & hands roofing house[4] at beach. Gang pulling Peas. Barnes[5] & Tapou[6] cutting Hay. Lagg[7] carting home hay. Dr. Tolmie[8] rode out to Tlithlow.[9]

Tuesday 3rd. Gloomy, smoke appearing on the Prairie. Chaulifoux repairing Horse Carts. Cowie, Kahannai & Kuphai[10] at house on beach. Barnes & Tapou thrashing out Peas with a Flail. Gang finished pulling Peas. Commenced cutting &c piece of Wheat. Cush[11] returned from Vancouver.[12]

Wednesday 4th. Fine. W. Tawai & gang of men clearing away brushwood from along Swamp fence and firing it. McPhail[13] & gang of women F. Noon cutting Wheat. A. Noon turning outside a portion of the Oats in barn which have commenced heating. Chaulifoux & Tapou repairing doors. Barnes thrashing Peas. Kanakas as before.

Thursday 5th. Gloomy smoky weather. hands occupied the same as yesterday.

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1 Walter Ross, clerk. He resides at Tlithlow, near Steilacoom, and is in charge of operations on the Nisqually plains.

2 The term "Kanaka" in the Hawaiian language means "man." Many Hawaiian men, or kanakas, were in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company.

3 Baptiste Chaulifoux, a servant.

4 By special arrangement the Company is to build a house and office for Winlock W. Miller, surveyor of customs for the Port of Nisqually, which he is to occupy on a rental basis.

5 Henry Barnes, a servant.

6 Joe Tapou, a servant.

7 A servant.

8 Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, chief trader for the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound Companies.

9 A company station near Steilacoom.

10 These persons are kanakas.

11 An Indian employee or servant.

12 Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River at the site of the present city of the same name in Washington. It was formerly the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company in these parts, but is now only a minor post.

13 John McPhail, shepherd.

Friday 6th. Barnes & Tapou thrashing Peas. Gang clearing in Swamp. Chaulifoux & gang roofing house at beach. Two carts out[14] for Beef. Six Indians sent to Steilacoom Mill[15] for lumber for Mr. Miller's[16] house. [Ms. Page 80.]

Saturday 7th. Gloomy dull Weather. The "John Davis" has arrived from Victoria[17] with a supply of goods for this place. Dr. Tolmie gone to Olympia to settle the custom's[18] business. Gang raising potatoes for rations. others occupied as before.

Sunday 8th. Fine. Dr. Tolmie returned from Olympia.

Monday 9th. Gloomy dull weather. Chaulifoux & Cowie sawing wood for a new Horse Cart. Tapou & three Indians thrashing Wheat. Kahannin, Kuphan & two Indians making ready for putting up a fence through Woods back of Fort to facilitate Cattle driving. McPhail & gang F. Noon unloading "John Davis" (She has brought a few Bales of Blankets, 120 Barrels Flour, 4000 lbs Sugar & 2 pair Cart Wheels.) Afternoon clearing in Swamp. Two Carts out after Beef.

Tuesday 10th. Fine. Chaulifoux & Cowie at Horse-Cart. Tapou thrashing Peas. Kahannin & Kuphai roofing house at beach. Gang clearing in Swamp. a brisk trade in Sale Shop. took upward of 140 dollars.

Wednesday 11th. Showery. Cowie repairing large Canoe in readiness for Dr. Tolmie'strip to Victoria. others occupied as before. Mr. Anderson[19] accompanied the Misses Birnie[20] who arrived. Mr. Anderson stays here till Dr. Tolmie returns from Victoria. [Ms. Page 81.]

Thursday 12th. Fine. Chaulifoux, Kahannin & Kuphan making a Cart. Cowie repairing large Canoe. Barnes cutting Hay in Swamp. Gang F. Noon sweeping out Fort. A. Noon clearing in Swamp. Dr. Tolmie accompanied by Mr. Anderson gone to Olympia to protest against Mr. Moses not paying the Bill

14 That is, to the stations on the plains.

15 Probably the T. M. Chamber's mill.

16 See note 4.

17 Fort Victoria, Vancouver Island, at the site of the present city of Victoria. When Fort Vancouver was placed on American soil by the treaty of 1846 the headquarters were removed to Victoria.

18 Olympia and Nisqually are the only ports of entry on Puget Sound at this time. Simpson P. Moses is collector.

19 Chief Trader Alexander Caufield Anderson, of Fort Vancouver. In 1838 he married the eldest daughter of James Birnie.

20 Daughters of James Birnie, formerly in charge of Fort George, Astoria. They reside at Cathlamet.

21 For an account of the Queen Charlotte gold expedition see this *Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, No. 4, October, 1923, p. 203.

($1800.00) for goods suppd. "Damarascove" on her Queen Charlotte Expedition[21] in January last.

Friday 13th. Fine. Hands occupied as before. Dr. Tolmie and Mr. Anderson returned from Olympia. Mr. Ross[22] arrived from Cowlitz. Wagons coming on behind loaded with Flour & Wheat. on his way here Mr. Ross's Horse (a valuable animal) fell down and broke his leg.

Saturday 14th. Fine. This afternoon Dr. Tolmie accompanied by Mrs. Tolmie[23] & the two Miss Birnies started to Victoria, Mr. Anderson remaining in charge. here. Thornhill[24] has gone to act as steward. Chaulifoux & Cowie making a new Axle to Horse Cart. Kuphai, Cowie & Kahannin working at House at beach. Gang cleaning out Fort. took $170.00 in Trade Shop today principally from Indians.

Sunday 15th. Fine. Very Warm.

Monday 16th. Fine. Chaulifoux & Kuphai at house on beach. Cowie making a Cart horse Harness. paid off Harvest gang. Mr. Ross sent to Olympia. this afternoon the "Mary Taylor" arrived from the Columbia River with a large Invoice of goods for this place. Wagons arrived all safe. [Ms. Page 82.]

Tuesday 17th. Gloomy dull weather. all hands employed unloading Mary Taylor. her Cargo consists chiefly of Blankets, of which she has brought 103 Bales.

Wednesday 18th. Gloomy all day. late in the Evening commenced raining hard. Chaulifoux & all the Kanakas at house on beach. Barnes at work in Garden. one of the Wagons drawn by Two Horses out after Beef. Bishop Demers[25] arrived.

Thursday 19th. Showery. Chaulifoux & gang occupied as before. Barnes repairing a set of Cart horse harness. Wagon out after Beef. two animals slaughtered. A visit from Captn. Howard.[26] took $80 in Sale Shop today. opened some of the new goods.

Friday 20th. Showery. Hands occupied as before. Wagon bringing goods up from beach.

22 See note 1.
23 The wife of Dr. William Fraser Tolmie. She was, before her marriage, Miss Jane Work, daughter of Chief Factor John Work.
24 A servant.
25 Rev. Modest Demers, Catholic, Bishop of Vancouver Island.
26 Probably a U.S. army officer from Vancouver. See this *Quarterly*, Vol. XV, No. 2, p. 134, entry for May 22, 1852.

Saturday 21st. Fine. No change in the work.

Sunday [*22nd*]. Fine pleasant Weather.

Monday 23rd. Fine. Chaulifoux & gang commenced roofing barn and adjusting rafters which have fallen considerably over. Barnes fixing riding Saddles for Mr. Anderson. McPhail & 4 Indians cutting Timothy. William Tawai thrashing grass. Bill Wyamoch,[27] Secaille[28] & two oxen went out captured & brought home a fine young ox to be broken in for work. Legg out with Horse Wagon after Beef. one Wagon employed bringing home Peas. [Ms. Page 83.]

Tuesday 24th. Chaulifoux & the Kanakas employed as before. Barnes preparing riding Saddles. Young making Saddle Bags. Gorridge[29] winnowing Peas. Wagon out after Beef. another wild Ox brought home.

Wednesday 25th. Fine. Barnes and Gorrdige cutting Oats. Chaulifoux & gang finished roofing Barn. Traded 17 Beaver.

Thursday 26th. Fine. Barnes, Gorridge & Legg cutting Oats. Chaulifoux & gang at Miller's house. McPhail & 3 Indians setting fire to Swamp, &c. Young & Tawai have gone with several quarters Beef to various Shops in the Sound. they will call at Steliacoom and bring hom a raft of lumber. Wagon off to the Plains for tomorrows butchering.

Friday 27th. Gloomy. Three Englishmen cutting Hay in Swamp. Chaulifoux & Kanakas at house at beach.

Saturday 28th. Fine. hands ocupied as yesterday.

Sunday 29th. Gloomy all day. Evening heavy showers of rain.

Monday 30th. Fine. Chaulifoux & Kanakas at Miller's house. Englishmen F. Noon thrashing Peas. A. Noon measuring out 200 Bushels Salt for Captn. Gove[30] which he has purchased at $2.00 per Bushel. Wagon out after Beef. two animals slaughtered. McPhail & Indians repairing fencing around Swamp. Cart Carrying Rails. [Ms. Page 84.]

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27 An Indian employee or servant.
28 An Indian employee or servant.
29 A. Gorridge, a servant.
30 A. B. Gove.

Tuesday 13st. Fine. Barnes, Garridge, Kuphai, Kuavhaccow & Lagg with Wagon & Horses off to Wyatchie[31] to cut Hay in one of the numerous Swamps there. Chaulifou, Cowie and Tapou making Sashes for House at beach.

[September, 1852.]

Wednesday 1st. Fine. William Tawai & 5 Indians sent off the Wyatchie to carry the Hay off the Swamp to Wagon. Ox Wagon F. Noon Carting in Oats. A. Noon off for load of Hay.

Thursday 2nd. Fine. Young, Tawai & Keahannin, sent to Steilacoom Mill to bring back a raft of lumber. Wagon in with a load of Hay. off again in the evening for tomorrows killing. Lagg in with a load of Hay. Cart also in with a load. Chaulifoux & Cowie glazing Window Sashes.

Friday 3rd. Fine. Hands employed as before. one load Hay in.

Saturday 4th. F. Noon Showery. A. Noon Fine. Young arrived with raft of timber. Two loads Hay home.

Sunday 5th. Heavy Showers of rain. one of the Shepherds complaining of vagabond Indians having killed and eaten one of his Sheep. [Ms. Page 85.]

Monday 6th. Rain all day. Gang of Indians sent to move the Hay out of Swamp. F. Noon Barnes & Gorridge thrashing Peas. A. Noon with myself[32] went to hunt up the Sheep Stealers. discovered one, brought him home and confined him in the Bastion. left Barnes to watch for the other delinquent. Chaulifoux & gang at Miller's house. despatched a Canoe to Victoria with letters. Ox Wagon off for a load of Hay.

Tuesday 7th. Showery. Three loads of Hay brought home. Barnes returned with other Sheep Stealer. Cowie & Kuphai making Hayrack for Stable.

Wednesday 8th. Fine. Chaulifoux, Kuavhaccow & Keahannin at house at beach. Cowie & Tapou F. Noon at Horse racks. A. Noon with McPhail & Kuphai drying Hay. Evening Dr. Tolmie & party accompanied by Miss Work,[33] Miss Anderson and Master Anderson arrived from Victoria after a tedious & Stormy Passage

31 A station on the plains.
32 Edward Huggins, clerk, keeper of the Nisqually Journal.
33 Letitia Work, daughter of Chief Factor John Work. She later marries Mr. Huggins. The others are children of Mr. Anderson.

of 7 days. The Beaver[34] has returned from her gold expedition deeply in debt. a valuable bed of Coal[35] is reported to have been discovered on Vancouvers Island. flogged[36] the Sheep Stealers this morning and let them go. Two loads of Hay home.

Thursday 9th. F. Noon Showery. A. Noon Fine. Chaulifoux, Kahannin & Keavhaccow[37] repairing old ox Wagon. others occupied as before. 3 loads of Hay home.

Friday 10th. Fine. Hands employed as before. two loads of Hay home. [Ms. Page 86.]

Saturday 11th. Fine pleasant Weather. Mr. Anderson & party left for Columbia. Chaulifoux & Keahannin repairing Ox Wagon. Cowie, Tapou & Kuavhaccow mending Fences. finished hauling home Hay. 26 load in the Barn.

Sunday 12th. Fine pleasant Weather.

Monday 13th. Showery. two Wagons bringing up goods from beach. one out after Beef. Chaulifoux & Kuavhaccow commenced cutting a road around Swamp to facilitate Cattle driving. Tawai & 5 Indians raising Potatoes.

Tuesday 14th. Gloomy. Signs of rain. Legg and Gorridge commenced ploughing in Swamp. remaining hands employed as before.

Wednesday 15th. Chaulifoux & all the Kanakas fitting up Store No. 3 for a Sale Shop. Barnes packing up Goods preparatory to removing to New Shop. Ox Wagon bringing up planks from beach. $645.12 were paid under protest to the Apisser [*sic*—appraiser] of taxes[38] for the land occupied by the Puget's Sound Company.

Thursday 16th. Fine. Kuphaie & Young gone to Steilacoom Mills to bring back a raft of lumber. remaining hands occupied as before.

Friday 17th. Fine. no change in the work. On Monday last Mr. Ross & Heyward[39] started with 140 Wedders for Vancouver.

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34 The Hudson's Bay Company's steamer *Beaver*.

35 This is the celebrated Nanaimo discovery.

36 The Company had no such power after the treaty of 1846.

37 A servant.

38 The payment of these taxes and later ones was used as proof of the Company's ownership of the land, a condition which the settler did not admit.

39 A servant.

they take the Sheep as far as the Cowlitz river, where Mr. Lewis[40] receives them and delivers to their care. 60 Horses for this place. [Ms. Page 87.]

Saturday 18th. Fine. hands accupied as before.

Sunday 19th. Fine pleasant Weather.

Monday 20th. Fine. Chaulifoux & all the Englishmen belonging to the Establishment off this morning to work at making a County road from Steilacoom to Olympia. they will be employed at the same for three days. Tapou[41] boiling Tobacco. Cowie & Tuphai making a Chimney to Mr. Millers House. Tiahannui & Keavhacco putting up new Store. Wagon Carting up Salt from beach.

Tuesday 21st. work the same as before.

Wednesday 22nd. Morning Frosty. fine all day. Kahannui & Keavhaccow finished putting up new Store. McPhail & Indian gang digging Clay at old Fort.[42] Cowie & Kuphai fixing Millers Chimney. Wagons employed bringing home Clay & firewood. hands returned from road. in the Evening Mr. Ross returned from Cowlitz with 23 Horses principally mares. Mr. Lewis could not succeed in driving a great many fine Geldings. a large Black Bear was shot this evening close by the Fort. Commenced transferring Goods into new Shop.

Thursday 23rd. Morning Frosty & Cold. fine all day. Chaulifoux partitioning off new House at Beach. Cowie & Kuphai at chimney. Gorridge & Keavhaccow digging drains in Swamp. gang cutting a Small patch of Barley. Wagon Forenoon Carting Clay down to Beach. Anoon off for tomorrows killing. [Ms. Page 88.]

Friday 24th. Fine Weather. hands employed as before.

Saturday 25th. Weather and work the same as yesterday.

Sunday 26th. Mr. Ross met with a bad accident this afternoon. fell from his horse and broke his arm. Mr. Ross is shortly going to Victoria to serve out the remainder of his term at the Coal mines there.

Monday 27th. pleasant weather. hands employed about Millers

40 Possibly Adolphus Lee Lewis for who Lewis river is named.
41 These are all Kanakas.
42 The first Fort Nisqually, built in 1833 and abandoned in 1842-43. The outline of the fort, on the banks of the Sequalitchew not far from the beach, can still be traced.

house, ditching in Swamp, ploughing airing & beating Furs &c &c. Cattle are becoming very scarce now about the plains, do not show themselves out so much. the Shooters have sometimes to travel over a great deal of ground to find them. Barnes away drinking. G. Heyward has deserted.

Tuesday 28th. Fine. hands employed as before.

Wednesday 29th. Showery. Gales of wind from the S. West. hands employed finishing Miller's House, cutting a road for transmitting Clay, ditching in Swamp, ploughing, &c &c. Barnes not yet returned.

Thursday 30th. Weather as yesterday. Gang commenced raising potatoes. remaining hands employed as before. a visit from Collector Moses.[43]

[October, 1852.]

Friday 1st. Showery Windy Weather. hands employed at Millers house, raising potatoes, ploughing, boiling Tobacco for Sheep dipping &c &c. Young[44] and myself[45] down at the beach Store picking out good Flour. 1/3 good 2/3 indifferent. Wagon taking down road wherewith to build a cook house adjoining Millers House. Mr. Ross's arm is getting on well.

Saturday 2nd. Fine pleasant Weather. A band of Lambs dipped in Tobacco water. gang picking potatoes. Wagon bringing up good s from beach.

Sunday 3rd. Frosty Cold Weather. received word from Bolton[46] the Carpenter living below Steilacoom that Wade, formerly mate of the Steamer[47] and but very recently left the Service had while in a fit of intoxication blown his brains out (Wade's) [Ms. Page 3.]

Monday 4th. Fine pleasant Weather. hands variously employed.

Tuesday 5th. Fine. Chaulifoux finished making the Tables for Millers House. Cowie, Kuahanin & Kuphai at work building Kitchen adjoining Millers house. Tapou boiling Tobacco. Barnes employed about Fort. McPhail & gang raising potatoes. Wagon F. Noon taking logs down to beach for new Kitchen. A. Noon

43 Simpson P. Moses, collector of customs.
44 William Young, a servant.
45 See note 32.
46 William Bolton, a shipbuilder, at Steilacoom. He was formerly a sailor on the British ship *Albion*.
47 An interpollator has written in the word "Beaver" after "Steamer."

bringing home potatoes. Lagg & Wyamoch ploughing in Swamp. This Evening Mr. Ross left for Victoria. W. Young goes with him. Myself[48] accompanied Mr. Ross as far as Bachelders[49] at Steilacoom City to Witness Mr. Ross's taking oath to a deposition made by him regarding a Filly belonging to Chas. Wren[50] & stamped by the Compy by mistake in 1851. The brand was obliterated by Mr. Ross with the consent of C. Wren and all considered the matter at an end. but the Filly having wandered away, or died, Wren makes a claim against the Company for a Horse in lieu of the one branded by the Company, and says he never was aware the Brand had been effaced from his Filly, and hints at her having been Shipped off to Victoria by the Company.

Wednesday 6th. dull gloomy weather. hands employed as before. Mr. Dean in Superintending the dipping of Sheep in Tobacco water. [Ms. Page 4.]

Thursday 7th. dull Cold Weather. Chaulifoux making a sieve for potatoe sorting. Kanakas at Millers house. Barnes employed about Fort. gang Forenoon picking potatoes. Anoon digging Clay. 3 Indians cutting a road around Swamp for conveying home potatoes. Wagon out after Beef.

Friday 8th. Gloomy Weather, blowing a Gale from the S. West. Chaulifoux making window Sashes for Trade Shop. Barnes & three Indians branding the Horses lately arrived from Vancouver. McPhail and gang raising Potatoes. two ploughs at work in Swamp. Gorridge went out on Wednesday last with Wagon & Horses to Sastuc[51] to carry Cedar bark to the different Stations on the plains. Horse Cart bringing home potatoes.

Saturday 9th. Showery windy weather. hands occupied the same as Yesterday. Mr. Millers house finished to day.

Sunday 10th. Fine, no wind.

Monday 11th. dull. Showers of rain during the day. Chaulifoux at Sashes for Trade Shop. Barnes in Slaughter house till Young's return. gang of Indians clearing the River about Slaughter house. A band of Lambs dipped in Tobacco water. two ploughs & one Harrow at work in Swamp. Gorride & Wagon returned from the plains. [Ms. Page 5.]

48 See note 32.
49 Charles C. Bachelder, later identified with Port Townsend.
50 Formerly a servant, but now farming on his own account on the plains.
51 A station on the plains near Steilacoom.

Tuesday 12th. Fine. Chaulifoux at Sashes. Cowie & party finished Millers house. Tapou boiling Tobacco. Wagon carting up goods from beach. Indian gang clearing River.[52]

Wednesday 13th. Fine pleasant weather. Indian gang digging potatoes. Cowie, Kahannin & Kuphai sent off in the woods to split Shingles to cover large House. Leg sent off with Beef to an American's[53] down the sound. Wagon off for tomorrows killing. A visit from Captn. Bachelder, wife & family. in the Evening Messrs. Peers & Roberts[54] arrived from Cowlitz. also Captn. Porter[55] who reports the Brig "Jane" to be on her way up the Sound from California.

Thursday 14th. fine. Chaulifoux fitting Sashes in Trade Shop. Barnes making Horse Bridles. Tapou boiling Tobacco. Gorridge and 3 Indians digging large ditch in Swamp. Captn. Porter purchased goods to the amount of $200.00. Dr. Tolmie accompanied by Mrs. Tolmie and Miss Work rode out to Tlithlow.

Friday 15th. Fine. Chaulifoux fixing window sashes in Shop. Barnes at blind Bridles. Gorridge and three Indians at drain in Swamp. gang digging potatoes. Horse Cart bringing home Potatoes. [Ms. Page 6.]

Saturday 16th. Squally bad weather. Letters arrived from Vancouver. Mr. Ballenden[56] wishes a party to be sent from this place to Vancouver, and bring over to Nisqually all the Sheep that are at that place as he does not intend breeding any more Sheep there. hands employed digging ditch in Swamp, boiling Tobacco &c gang picking potatoes.

Sunday 17th. Gloomy all day. rained in the Evening.

Monday 18th. McPhail, Cowie, Tamani, Tapou & Sam preparing for Vanocuver. Chaulifoux repairing old Wagon. gang raising potatoes. Oxen hauling home potatoes.

Tuesday 18th [*19th.*] Fine. McPhail accompanied by four Kanakas & eight Indians started this morning for Vancouver. hands employed as yesterday.

Wendesday 19th [*20th.*] Fine. Chaulifoux doing sundry jobs in

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52 The Sequalitchew.
53 Probably to Mr. Lowe's store at "New York," now Alki Point, Seattle.
54 George B. Roberts and Henry N. Peers, both connected with the H. B. Co.
55 Captain Porter.
56 Chief Factor John Ballenden.

large House. Kahannui & 2 Indians sent off to the woods to split Shingles. Barnes cleaning Stores. gang raising potatoes. Gorridge and 5 Indians at large drain in Swamp. gang raising potatoes. Wagon & horse Cart bringing home potatoes. Kuphaie boiling Tobacco.

Thursday 20th [*21st.*] Showery. Chaulifoux working in large house. gang raising potatoes. Wagon off for tomorrows killing. This afternoon Young arrived from Victoria. There is an abundance of Coal[57] at the new mine recently discovered on Vancouvers Island and can be furnished on the spot at $10.00 per Ton. Several Sheep owners on the Sound are anxious to hear news of the mine. [Ms. Page 7.]

Friday 22nd. Showery. Barnes, Young & Gorridge sent to work on the Steilacoom road. Chaulifoux jobbing about Fort. Indian gang dipping a band of Sheep in Tobacco water. Aubrey Dean a Son of Mr. Thos. Dean[58] arrived here yesterday from Victoria to serve the remainder of his time with his father. A Canoe sent off to Victoria this morning with letters that arrived from Vancouver a day or two ago.

Saturday 23rd. Rain all day. Barnes and Dean stringing Onions. Chaulifoux jobbing about. Gorridge thrashing Oats in Barn. gang sorting Potatoes. Wagon bringing home Potatoes. Kahannui preparing wood for stocking a plough. Kupahi boiling Tobaco.

Sunnday 24th. Showery Cold Weather.

Monday 25th. Showery. Chaulifoux at various jobs about Fort. Barnes and myself[59] took an Inventory of the goods in Store at beach. Kanhannui and Dean stringing Onions. Gorridge and gang digging ditch in Swamp. Indian gang raising potatoes. Wagon bringing up goods from beach and bringing home potatoes. Dr. Tolmie has made a bargain with Chas. Wren for 200 Bush. of Oats at $1.25 at his own house, the Oats are for Fort Victoria.

Tuesday 26th. Gloomy. Chaulifoux preparing boards for relaying the Ceiling of large house. Kupahi baling Tobacco. Barnes, dean and myself taking Inventory of Goods in Store. gang raising Potatoes. Gorridge and hands digging ditch in Swamp. Wagon bringing home Shingles. [Ms. Page 8.]

57 See note 35.
58 Mr. Dean resides at Tlithlow, near Steilacoom, and is foreman under Mr. Walter Ross, of all the stations on the plains.
59 See note 32.

Wednesday 27th. Rain all day. Chaulifoux forgeing for an American. Kahannui & 4 Indians trimming off Shingles. Barnes & Dean assisting at Inventory. Wagon bringing home blocks for Shingles. gang sorting potatoes. Dr. Tolmie made a bargain to day with Gravelle[60] for 100 Bush of Black Oats deliverable at his house at $1.00 per Bushel.

Thursday 28th. Showery. Chaulifoux, Kahannin and Kupahi commenced building a Verandah around large house. aBrnes & Dean at work in garden. Gorridge & gang at large ditch in Swamp. 3 Indians trimming Shingles. gang raising potatoes. Wagon off to the plains for tomorrows killing. two ploughs at work in Swamp.

Friday 29th. Rain all day. hands employed as before. letters received from Cowlitz.

Saturday 30th. Weather and work the same as before.

Sunday 31st. Heavy rain all day long.

[*To be Continued.*]

60 Francois Gravelle, probably at one time a servant of the company but now farming on his own account. His name appears in the account books of the company.

BOOK REVIEWS

History of the State Normal School at Cheney, Washington. By J. ORIN OLIPHANT. (Spokane: Inland-American Printing Company, 1924. Pp. 175.)

The appearance of this volume is the realization of a long-time ambition of Professor C. S. Kingston, head of the History Department, at the Cheney State Normal School, to see put into permanent form the record of dramatic and stirring events through which the Cheney State Normal School has developed. The author is a former student of Professor Kingston and has had the benefit of sympathetic and critical advice in the preparation of the manuscript. It is evident that the author, as a graduate of the institution and its executive secretary, has performed a labor of love as he has traced the story of the location of the town of Cheney, its losing fight with Spokane, the coming of the Cheney Academy, the fight for the establishment of the first State Normal School, the political disasters, the fire, the periods of prosperity and fair skies, the intervals of tragic uncertainty, and the final triumph and permanent development of this outstanding teacher-training institution.

Mr. Oliphant has followed a convenient scheme of organization, giving one chapter to the early history of the community of Cheney, then developing the history of the Normal School through nine significant chapters, and closing with very complete statistical addenda, bibliography, and index. He has been critical, fair and accurate. This book is an example of excellent historical work, aided by good educational guidance and judgment.

Mr. Oliphant has told the story of the pioneer—settler, railroad, community, institution. The Benjamin P. Cheney Academy was built in 1881, it served a needed educational purpose for several years, during which it flourished; with the coming of the public school it languished and died, but afforded a convenient center when the agitation for a State Normal School made possible such an institution for eastern Washington. In 1890, the State Normal School was located in the old Academy building. Then follows the story of the "ups and downs" when the little institution was struggling to secure a permanent foothold. It became at once the victim of political log-rolling, the football of politics;

it suffered the vetoes of its appropriations by unfriendly governors, the loss of the main building by fire, and the results of disastrous bickering and quarreling by the people of the community.

Devotion and courageous fighting spirit have characterized the friends of the school, and the dedication of this volume to Senator W. J. Sutton is a tribute worthily bestowed—a recognition of the optimism, courage, sacrifice which have stood the school in good stead in its troublous days. The later chapters detail the struggle for the new buildings, the development of the campus and building plans, the construction of the curriculum, and the recent effort to secure the right to bestow the baccalaureate degree.

The careful development of numerous biographical, historical, and legislative notes and comments constitutes a valuable part of the material, and has called into play the historical training of the writer.

A word of commendation is due the mechanical makeup of the volume, for the cover, paper, printing, type, and editorial work are unusually good.

ALEXANDER C. ROBERTS.

Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies. By MARIUS BARBEAU. Illustrations by W. Langdon Kihn. (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1923. Pp. 208. 15 illustrations.)

The title of this book conveys an accurate idea of the contents of the book. "We have tried in the following chapters to visualize the advent of the white man into the northwest from the Indian standpoint," writes the author in the introduction. . . ."To the reader some of the following chapters—*An Indian Seer,* and *Tchatka,* for instance—may seem pure fiction or Indian fairy tales. Yet they are not. They are true narraitves of Indian lives substantially as reported from native sources. Beeny, the seer, was perhaps the first Indian of the uplands who foretold the coming of Europeans and obtained vague notions of the Christian faith. In his quality of juggler, he was only too anxious to show his power, to predict the future, and to accomplish marvels that would astonish his people; and his theme was the white man—the 'Sky being' as he termed him. He was imposing on the popular credulity and unconsciously at the same time on his own."

Writers there have been suffiicient to recount the glorious march of Europeans across the continent of North America. They have told us how the frontier has shaped the course of American

history; how a great continent has been wrested from the wilds by the courage and the perseverance of the pioneer folk. All of which is true. But there is another side of the picture about which fewer writers have written. This other side is the story of the aboriginal inhabitants, who were crowded farther and farther westward as the white men swept over the continent like a great tidal wave. The success of one was the ruin of the other. Unable to accommodate himself to the ways of the white man, the Indian is about to disappear, just as the buffalo upon which he subsisted has disappeared from the great plains.

"The present-day Indians of the western prairies and the Rocky Mountains are no longer what they used to be. They have dwindled in numbers; their ancient customs are gone, their character is lost. They are a vanishing race. In the white man's pageants or in silver screen views of the wild west, they may still appear to us, when garbed in buckskin and feathers, as spectacular personalities dwelling in a sphere apart from the rest of mankind; but when visited at home, on the reserves, they seldom live up to the fanciful expectations we derive from literature and pictorial art."

In the pages of this book one gets a little glimpse into the mind of the Indian of the northwest before the coming of the white men. We are told how Beeny, the seer, predicted the coming of the white men, the "sky beings," who were to make life easy for the children of the forests. The white men came, but they came to trade; with them came disease which decimated the ranks of the red men; weapons which the Indians were taught to use successfully in destroying each other. Today the freedom of the children of the forests is no more. Tucked away on reservations, mere fragments of the vast empire over which they wandered in the long ago, the Indians appear to be nearing the end of the trail. They are completely disillusioned. The white man's medicine was too strong for them.

In reading the pages of this book one feels with the author that the passing of the Indian "is one of the great tragedies of the American continent. It is a sacrifice to the new Moloch—the white man who now dominates the planet, unwillingly crushing life wherever he tramples. Yet it remains unheralded for want of panegyrists, unregretted for want of outspoken sympathizers."

The author has written this book to entertain, and he has succeeded.

J. Orin Oliphant.

History of the State of Washington. By EDMOND S. MEANY. (Revised Edition. New York; The Macmillan Company, 1924. Pp. 412. $2.20.)

The first edition of Professor Meany's History of Washington was published in 1909. For fifteen years it has served as a school and college text at the same time maintaining its prestige as the only good one volume history of the State for the general reader. Although twice reprinted it has been entirely out of stock for several years and it is a pleasure to announce that a new and revised edition is now ready.

A comparison of the two editions shows a few changes in the spelling of proper names, a few other minor corrections and a few instances of the substitution of new material for old. On the whole the amount of revision is slight. The new material includes an "Outline" and "Topics and Essays", Roman pages xiii-xv; a new chapter, "Chapter XXXII. Evidences of Recent Progress"; and four appendix tables, revised and brought to date. The new chapter gives a summary of fifteen years' development. It covers political changes, industrial progress, and social and economic development including Washington's participation in the World War. The map at page 284 shows the new counties and county seats.

The reappearance in the market of this useful volume calls attention once more to our good fortune in having a satisfactory state history. Few states can boast a volume equally compact, well written, well illustrated, and reliable. Professor Meany has given proof that a single volume can serve both student and general reader. His *History of the State of Washington* is an absorbing narrative, accurate as to facts and sound in interpretation. Numerous footnote citations moreover add greatly to its value as a reference book and contribute to make it one of the few indispensable volumes relating to the history of the Pacific Northwest.

CHARLES W. SMITH.

Men Who Are Making the West. By B .C. FORBES. (New York, B. C. Forbes Publishing Co., 1923. Pp. 343. 15 illustrations.)

Here are given life sketches of fourteen men, who, in the opinion of Mr. Forbes, are "making the West." Included in this list are bankers, manufacturers, transportation men, ranchers, miners, millers; and in each sketch there is recorded a story of a marvelous climb from a small beginning to a position of affluence. Citizens of Washington will be especially interested in the life

sketches of Elbridge Amos Stuart, president of the Carnation Milk Products Company; Moritz Thomsen, head of the Centennial Mill Company, and Robert Dollar, founder of the Dollar Steamship Lines.

In bringing together the materials which compose this book Mr. Forbes has believed that "human beings are more interesting than anything else in the world." He admits that he has not covered his field adequately and looks forward to the day when this can be done. He mentions others whose life sketches should be included in a complete work of this sort.

Mr. Forbes has written with the enthusiasm of one who has been won by the "spirit of the West." He has been almost extravagant in his praise of this country. Much ink has been spilled in telling the country of the accomplishments of the East, Mr. Forbes declares. "This volume," he adds, "represents a feeble, but earnest and sincere, effort to tell the rest of the country something about the West and, more particularly, something about a number of men who have played a conspicuously important part in the development of the West."

Robert Dollar has written an introduction to this book. He, too, is a man who has unbounded confidence in the destiny of the West.

The Pioneer West. Edited by JOSEPH LEWIS FRENCH. (Boston: Little Brown, and Company, 1923. Pp. 386. $2.50 net.)

Mr. French has collected from well known books and from sources not so easily accessible a series of accounts of the American frontier, for the most part in the words of the pioneers themselves. The extracts are important, full of color, and throbbing with human interest. The publishers' announcement says: "Present-day interest in the period of 'The Covered Wagon' makes a collection of early western stories most timely."

The contents begin with "The Unbroken Wild," (1804), from Lewis and Clark's Journals, and follow with Beckwourth, Fremtn, Parkman, Bret Harte, General Custer, Mark Twain and others, a total of twenty-three stories.

The book is well made; there is a satisfactory table of contents but no index. There are four illustrations in color by Remington Schuyler. Hamlin Garland has written an appreciative

foreword in which he says: "I perceive in this collection another link in the lengthening chain of our traditional story. The Great War has thrown the events of our early settlement suddenly into remote distance. It is as if an extra half- century had been abruptly interposed, and this added perspective has given us a new and keener interest in the beginnings of our nation."

The Huguenot-Walloon New Netherland Commission, Inc. (New York: The Commission, 1924. Pp. 48.)

Those who have noticed the memorial tercentenary stamps on recent letters will be interested in the beautifully illustrated pamphlet to call attention to the three hundred years of contribution to American life by the Huguenots and Walloons. The illustrations comprise reproductions of old paintings and engravings to which are added portraits of such modern characters as the Queen of the Netherlands, the King of the Belgians, the President of France, President Harding and President Coolidge. The headquarters of the Commission are at 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York.

British Columbia Historical Association, First Annual Report and Proceedings. (Victoria, B. C.: 1924. Pp. 34.)

In addition to the constitution, list of members, secretary's report and other proceedings the pamphlet contains "The Earliest Pages of the History of British Columbia," the Presidential Address by Judge F. W. Howay; "The Pioneer Press of British Columbia," by J. Forsyth; "Thomas Muir, Scottish Political Martyr, and His Connection with Vancouver Island," by John Hosie.

Les Origines de la Doctrine de Monroe. By S. E. Morison. (Paris: Revue des Sciences Politiques, Jan.-Mar. 1924. Pp. 52-84.)

This reprint is by S. E. Morison, Harmsworth Professor of American History, Oxford, England. The author is well known to readers of the Washington Historical Quarterly. It is a pleasure to note his success in the great English University.

The Future of Rotary. By Frank H. Lamb. (Hoquiam, Washington, 1924. Pp. 16.)

Mr. Lamb is Third Vice-President of Rotary International.

He is called to many cities of the United States and Canada to give addresses which are being published. This address was given at Edmonton, Canada. Others in the series recently published are "Rotary's Organization and Activities," "The Service of Rotary," and "Ten By-Products of Rotary."

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Reports of the President and Secretary, 1924.* (Buffalo: Printed for the Members, 1924. Pp. 96.)

HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF SOUTH CAROLINA. *Transactions, No. 28.* (Charleston: The Society, 1923. Pp. 67.)

KERMODE, FRANCIS, DIRECTOR. *Report of the Provincial Museum of Natural History.* (Victoria, B. C.: 1924. Pp. 24.)

NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Addresses delivered at the Observance of the Centennial of the New Hampshire Historical Society, September 27, 1923.* (Concord: The Society, 1923. Pp. 71.)

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION. *Public Letters and Papers of Thomas Walter Bickett.* (Raleigh: State Printers, 1923. Pp. 394.)

PEASE, THEODORE CALVIN. *Illinois Election Returns.* (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1923. Pp. 598.)

ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA. *Proceedings and Transactions, Third Series, Volume 17.* (Ottawa: The Society, 1923. Pp. 63 + 196 +129+196+151+288.)

RUSSEL, ROBERT ROYAL. *Economic Aspects of Southern Sectionalism, 1840-1861.* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1924. Pp. 325. In two parts, $1.00 each.)

WHITNEY, NATHANIEL R. *The Sale of War Bonds in Iowa.* (Iowa City: Iowa State Historical Society, 1923, Pp. 236.)

WRIGHT, HENRY H. *A History of the Sixth Iowa Infantry.* (Iowa City: Iowa State Historical Society, 1923. Pp. 539.)

PACIFIC NORTHWEST AMERICANA

An Oregon Item Brought to Light

In the Diary of Colonel Philip L. Edwards published in Sacramento in 1890(*Checklist,* No. 1083) an introductory statement is made to the effect that Edwards published a pamphlet descriptive of California after his return to the East in 1837. The existence of this pamphlet has been called in question, even so diligent a bibliographer as Mr. H. R. Wagner having stated (*Plains and the Rockies,* p. 31), "I think this must be a mistake as no pamphlet is known that could very well have been written by Edwards."

Mr. Wagner has now come into possession of a copy of this pamphlet which had fortunately been preserved by the Edwards family but it turns out to relate to Oregon not to California. The title page reads as follows: *Sketch of the Oregon Territory; or Emigrants' Guide. By P. L. Edwards, Esq., of Richmond, Mo. Liberty, Mo: printed at the Herald Office. 1842.* The pamphlet is a small octavo of twenty pages and the subject matter takes the form of a letter written to Dr. T. M. Bacon, Liberty, Missouri. The information of this first far-west emigrants' guide is presented with a dignity and restraint quite in contrast with modern publicity literature. It awakens new interest in the author. A valuable article on Colonel Philip Leget Edwards contributed by Charles L. Camp is to be found in the current issue of the Quarterly of the California Historical Society, Vol. 3, Pp. 73-83.

A Rare Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon

After more than ten years' endeavor the University of Washington Library has obtained a copy of the Chinook Jargon Dictionary compiled by Thomas W. Prosch and published in Seattle by Griffith Davies in 1888. This item is described in Pilling's *Bibliography of the Chinookan Languages,* Pp. 60-61, and a copy is contained in the Library of Congress. Strangely enough no copy has hitherto been available in the libraries of the Pacific Northwest and the present copy is the only one known to exist in the West. The practical disappearance of this 40 page pamphlet affords an extreme illustration of the ephemeral nature of pamph-

let literature. According to the preface of a revised but unpublished edition now preserved in the University archives, Mr. Prosch states that "The first edition of this Dictionary—consisting of fifteen hundred copies—was printed in 1888, and came to the publisher early in the following year for sale. A few copies had been disposed of, when all that remained—more than fourteen hundred—were destroyed in the great fire of June 6, 1889". It is surprising to find that neither author nor publisher preserved copies. The copy in hand was secured by Mr. Davies from a friend and was donated to the University by Mrs. Davies shortly after her husband's death. The copy examined by Mr. Pilling may have been the one supplied to the Library of Congress in compliance with copyright regulations. Here is an example of a pamphlet issued in an edition of fifteen hundred copies so recently as 1888 of which but two copies are now known to exist.

Auction Sales

Since the April issue of the *Quarterly* was printed, two sales of Americana have taken place at the Anderson galleries. On April 2 and 3, a collection of 632 items was sold bringing a total of $5,071.00. Among the more notable items may be mentioned a copy of Milton and Cheadle: *An Expedition Across the Rocky Mountains into British Columbia,* issued in London in 1865. The price paid was $280. This rare pamphlet of 37 pages is stated to have been issued in an edition of but 50 copies and to have been suppressed at the request of the Hudson's Bay Company. Wagner states (*Plains and the Rockies,* page 180) that he has not seen a copy and refers to it as a report preliminary to the well known *Northwest Passage by Land,* also issued in London in 1865. Another interesting item was the *Oregon Memorial,* reported by Mr. Deady of the Council from the Joint Committee to Memorialize Congress (8vo. Pp. 8. Salem, Oregon, 1851). The amount paid was $37.50.

On May 6 an Americana collection from the library of the late William S. Lambert of Brooklyn was sold. The sum of $5,147 was realized for the 362 lots offered. The most important item was a set of the *British Colonist,* volumes 1-8, 1858-1862, for which $425 was paid.

A New Bibliography

Attention is here called to Miss Rockwood's *Books on the Pacific Northwest for Small Libraries,* which was briefly reviewed in the January issue of this *Quarterly.* It is a bibliography which should be in the hands of all students of Pacific Northwest history. It furnishes a comparatively brief list of the important books that are generally available, giving publishers, prices and descriptive notes.

Association Copies

Whatever value may attach to association copies of rare books, the librarians of public institutions must forego the collector's desire to secure unique editions. As educational institutions, it is information primarily and not paper, ink or bindings that must be given consideration. Occasionally in the ordinary course of business a volume with a famous signature or from a famous library is acquired and the librarian is less than human who does not take pleasure in noting even such trivial matters relating to the books under his charge. The University of Washington Library has recently added an interesting association set of Mackenzie's travels to the Pacific Northwest. It is the French edition entitled *Voyages dans l'intérieur de l'Amérique septentrionale, faits en 1789, 1792 et 1793,* published in three octavo volumes in 1802 (*Checklist, No. 2329*). The volumes are bound in contemporary calf with the initials "P. B." on the backs and the word "Malmaison" stamped on the sides. The initials stand for Pagerie Bonaparte, the Empress Joséphine. The chateau of Malmaison was the favorite residence of Joséphine, to which she retired after her divorce from Napoleon and in which she died.

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Records of the British Fur Companies

Aaron Newell, while pursuing graduate work in the Department of History, University of Washington, wrote to the Public Record Office at London, and the Public Archives Office of Canada for information as to the present accessibility of the records of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company of Montreal. The replies he received are so important to researchers in the field of Northwestern history that they are here published in full.

The Deputy Minister of the Public Archives of Canada wrote from Ottawa on April 29, 1924, as follows:

"In answer to your letter of the 21st instant, I beg to say that the Hudson Bay Company are now removing their papers to a building which they have taken for the purpose of their Archives. The staff is engaged in the arrangement of these papers for the purpose of publishing an official history of the Company.

"I believe that there are certain documents relating to the North West Company in Montreal but the papers are not open at the present time to the public and I understand that no copies will be made until an examination of the whole of the records is complete. This will probably take two or three years."

Mr. A. E. Stamp, Secretary of the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, W. C. 2, London, writes on May 7, 1924, as follows:

"With reference to your letter of the 21st ultimo, I am directed to inform you that the material formerly in the Hudson Bay Company's Building has been removed to 9, Elvaston Place, London, S. W. 7, and that enquiries regarding it should be addressed to Sir William Schooling, K. B. E., at that address. I am further informed by the representatives of the Canadian Archives here that many attempts have been made to trace the papers of the Northwest Company of Montreal, but without success."

Valuable Newspaper File

A file of the *Spokane Times*, the pioneer newspaper of Spokane County, has been given to the library of the State Normal

School at Cheney by Mrs. Cook, widow of Francis Cook, who founded this newspaper. Of this valuable historical source Vice President C. S. Kingston writes:

"The series runs from May, 1879, to the end of April, 1882, but there are thirty-four copies missing from the files. Nevertheless, the one hundred and twenty-two copies that we have of the old weekly form an invaluable source of information on the early history of Spokane. The first copy is the first paper published in Northeastern Washington. That in itself makes it a valuable relic. In addition to the weekly, Mrs. Cook sent about twenty copies of the daily edition of the *Spokane Times.*"

Such items are always relished by those who have sincere regard for history. There are few sources more dependable than the early newspapers of any community. It is therefore always a joy to record the facts when such files are made the permanent possessions of well managed libraries.

Member of the Bulfinch Family in Oregon

In Weston, Oregon, there resides C. F. Bulfinch, of the famous family for whom Captain Robert Gray named "Bulfinch Harbor" now known as Grays Harbor. Congressman Nicholas John Sinnott, of the Second Oregon District, has been trying to get Congress to grant a belated recognition and compensation, on behalf of the heirs, for the Bulfinch sacrifices in establishing American claims to the Northwest Coast by the discovery of Grays Harbor and the Columbia River in May, 1792.

Visiting Historians

An interesting group of historians are visiting in the Northwest while serving as guest members of the University of Washington faculty for the summer of 1924.

Professor Frank Heywood Hodder is head of the department of history and political science at the University of Kansas. He has been associated with that institution since 1891, prior to which date he was for five years a member of the faculty of Cornell University. He is accompanied by Mrs. Hodder. During August they will make a trip to Alaska.

Professor Clarence Vosburgh Gilliland is head of the history department at the University of Southern California, which posi-

tion he has held since 1919. For six years prior to that date he was Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Professor of History at the Dakota Wesleyan University. He and Professor O. H. Richardson of the University of Washington are exchange professors for the summer of 1924. Professor Gilliland has been enjoying reunions with friends and relatives in Seattle and Tacoma.

Professor Frank Harmon Garver is Professor of History and Government in the State Normal College, a part of the University of Montana. He is giving work in the department of political science in the University of Washington during the summer of 1924. He is greatly interested in local history and the marking of historic sites in Montana.

Roy Franklin Nichols, Ph.D., is Instructor in History in Columbia University, New York. He is giving two courses of lectures in this summer quarter of the University of Washington His present research activity is devoted to the history of the Democratic Party during the Civil War period. He is accompanied by his wife, Dr. Jeannette Paddock Nichols, who is studying the history of Alaska. In 1923, the Arthur H. Clark Company of Cleveland, Ohio, published her book of 456 pages entitled: *Alaska, A History of Its Administration, Exploitation, and Industrial Development During Its First Half Century under the Rule of the United States.*

Death of Professor Garrett

Professor Robert Max Garrett died on July 8, 1924, at his home in Seattle. He was one of the most loved members of the University of Washington Faculty, in which he held the rank of Associate Professor of English. He graduated from the University of Idaho in 1902, took his Master of Arts degree at the University of Washington in 1903 and the Doctor of Philosophy degree from the University of Munich in 1909. In the last mentioned year he became an Instructor in English in the University of Washington and steadily advanced. He studied in Leipzig and Munich 1906-1909 and in the British Museum during the summers of 1907, 1908, 1909 and 1911. He contributed studies on the life and works of Shakespeare and related fields of English literature.

He also delighted in searching out folk-lore in the Pacific

Northwest and published a number of his gleanings in various magazines. One of his later efforts was a compilation of the bibliography of Canadian literature.

Professor Garrett was forty-three years of age. The cause of his death was announced as a tumor on the brain.

Correction—In the last issue of this *Quarterly* on page 97 Mr. Albert J. Thompson was made to say that Malcolm Moody was "thirty years of age, afterwards Congressman from Oregon." The words "of age" should have been omitted. Moody was only fifteen at the time mentioned. The phrase should have been printed "thirty years afterwards Congressman from Oregon."

Principal Articles in the Washington Historical Quarterly

VOLUME XIII

The Cowlitz Convention: Inception of Washington Territory.....*Edmond S. Meany*
Advertising and the Klondike.....*Jeannette P. Nichols*
The Wreck of the St. Nicholas.....*C. L. Andrews*
Origin of Washington Geographic Names.....*Edmond S. Meany*
The Loss of the "Tonquin".....*F. W. Howay*
The Background of the Purchase of Alaska.....*Victor J. Farrar*
A Daughter of Angus MacDonald.....*Christina Williams*
Crossing the Plains.....*Clarence B. Bagley*
Newspapers of Washington Territory.....*Edmond S. Meany*
Finan McDonald.....*J. A. Meyers*
Early Development of Railroads in the Pacific Northwest.....*C. J. Smith*
Van Ogle's Memory of Pioneer Days.....*Van Ogle*

VOLUME XIV

The Building of the Walla Walla and Columbia River Railroad .....*W. W. Baker*
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Memories of White Salmon and its Pioneers.....*Albert J. Thompson*
Introduction of Cattle into the Pacific Northwest.....*C. S. Kingston*
Captain John Mullan and the Engineers' Problem.....*Samuel F. Bemis*
The Mullan Road: Its Local History and Significance.....*T. C. Elliott*
Senator Cole and the Purchase of Alaska.....*Victor J. Farrar*
Klickitat County: Indians of and Settlement by Whites...*Delia M. Coon*
Cape Disappointment in History.....*Barbara Coit Elliott*
Hall's Visit to Oregon in 1839.....*Howard M. Ballou*

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Announcements

¶ Mr. J. Orin Oliphant, Executive Secretary of the Washington State Normal School at Cheney, is a graduate of the University of Washington, Class of 1916. During the past academic year he returned to his Alma Mater as an Arthur A. Denny Fellow in History. Some of his research work has appeared in this *Quarterly* including the two articles in this issue—"Robert Moore in Oregon History," and "Passing of an Immigrant of 1843."

¶ Mr. Aaron Newell contributes part of his work in graduate research in the article on the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies. In the News Department will also be found some letters received by him in the course of his researches. The letters give encouraging information about the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company and the promise of a forthcoming official history of that great organization.

¶ Monuments have now been erected to the memory of Chiefs Seattle and Patkanim. The hope has also been expressed that similar honors may be accorded to Chief Chow-its-hoot of the Lummi tribe and Chief Goliah of the Skagit tribe. In that way attention will be permanently directed to the four Chiefs who signed the treaty of January 22, 1855, conveying to the United States all the lands from Elliott Bay to the British line.

The Washington Historical Quarterly

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

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REMINISCENCES OF JOSEPH H. BOYD

An Argonaut of 1857*

It is no wonder that I love the sea, said Mr. Boyd; I was born within a stone's throw of it, and, as I have been told, on the night of one of the worst storms known on that coast. That night of storm was January 6, 1842—a night long remembered in Devonshire, England—when the wind drove the sea raging against the Devon coast and over the breakwaters of Plymouth. Just how near Battery Street, Plymouth, is to the shore I cannot tell, or whether it was there I was born, but at one time the family lived on such a street, and again on Adelaide Street.

Of my father, John Boyd, of Scotch descent, a coast guardsman, I remember practically nothing; he was away from the home during most of my waking hours and he died when I was a small boy but seven years old. My mother, Martha Taylor, from county Armagh, Ireland, and an Orange woman, left me only this of her tradition and her history. She died in my fourth year, but a distinct memory of her holding me on her lap after a cart had run over and broken my leg is yet, to me, a shadowy prescence of loving ministration, and her face, surrounded by white hair and a white cap, shines in my memory with tenderness and beauty. Yet another mental picture of her is clear. A gust of wind blew out the light on the supper table, my little hand darted into the sugar bowl, but a larger hand overlaid it and held it firm until the light came again and showed my mother's face, reproachful and amused.

I was the youngest of twelve children, two of whom died in infancy, but the names of the others sound like a roll of ancient worthies John, James, Henry, Simon, Benjamin and William; Martha, Ellen, Margaret. My brothers impressed me variously, but my sisters have always remained in my memory as patterns of goodness and womanliness, especially the youngest, Margaret, my youthful companion and champion. I yet recall their quantities of long, black hair and soft, pleasant voices.

*These reminiscences were recorded and arranged by William S. Lewis, of Spokane, corresponding secretary of the Eastern Washington State Historical Society.

After the death of my parents, the home seemed to break up, and we younger children went to live with the older married ones. John, the eldest, a clergyman of the Episcopal Church, took one of my sisters I went to live with my brother Simon. Several of my brothers were on the sea, and I have no recollection of ever seeing them—Benjamin, and, I believe, James. Simon's wife, Matilda Hyatt, has ever remained in my memory as a woman of much charm, who sang sweetly and had refined manners and appearance. When I entered business and thought another letter in my name advisable, I ook H. from her name, Hyatt, as a bit of testimony of her unfailing kindness to me. She treated me in all ways as well as she did her one and only son.

I went to what was called a National School, a sort of public school, presided over by a man whose name I have forgotten, but known among us boys as "Snuffy Dick"—a schoolmaster of the old type. Primitive indeed, were the methods of instruction, beginning with "pot hoooks and hangers" and ending with the boys of the upper forms instructing the lower classes and themselves studying with the master at night. The discipline was like that of the army, rigid and absolute, by a rule of the rod, not always just. "Joseph," said the master to me, one day, "go out and get me a new cane, one that you think will last." I did my best, bending and swishing the new cane around imaginary squirming legs before I brought it to the master. "Ha, it looks good," said Snuffy Dick, bending it tentatively, "here, let's see how it works," and my own unoffending legs gave initial proof and testimony of its effectiveness.

A love of learning was in me as a boy and I absorbed all that was to be had from my few years in that school, and I have supplemented it with reading all through my life. I possessed a good memory, and reading history has been my keenest pleasure.

I recall many quaint incidents which indicate the different conditions of life then from our present extravagant and hurried ways. Then people thought nothing of walking ten miles or so to spend a Sunday afternoon with friends, or of family excursions, (on foot) to some point of interest. All the countryside loved to walk in the grounds of the Earl of Mount Edgecomb just to admire the beauties of the park. I recall the Breton peasants, coming to peddle in the streets, selling long ropes of onions for a farthing or so, the fishwives and hot-cross bun sellers crying their wares and the carol singers in the streets on Christmas Eve.

I yet remember something of boys' pranks and plays, too, the games of cherry stones and marbles, of getting lead from roof gutters to make a crude pencil for writing, of the swimming contests in the harbor and the triumph in swimming from Pig's Nose to Pudding, two rocks projecting out of the water. The trips, in orderly procession, of the boys marching twice each Sunday to the long services at St. George's Chapel were not an unalloyed pleasure, but the stately building with the atmosphere of reverence, the vested choir, the rector and curate, the red-coated soldiery and fine ladies in attendance, made a deep impression, nevertheless. Sunday school was taught by a Waterloo veteran, a Sergeant-major Hardy.

Like childhood everywhere, these things passed all too soon. At nine years of age I began, after school and on Saturdays, to be a helper to a bookseller, working as an errand boy. Among my duties was the polishing of my employers knives and forks and the cleaning of his boots. After a short time, I went to work, as small boys can, for a confectioner named Grenville, in Union Street where I learned to make pies and cakes. About my work I remember little, but much of the wondrous two-hundred pound Christmas cake, with sugar decorations reaching to the ceiling, kept a whole year and then cut in small bits and sent to the customers, a new cake taking its place; of the way the boys went for and delivered trays with Sunday dinners baked in the great baking ovens while the housekeepers were at church, 'done to a turn, and all for a ha'penny', of the fairy jellies moulded in forms of fruits, birds and beasts that the ladies ate daintily with pound cake when they stepped in for refreshments of an afternoon; of the toothsome quartern (eight pound) loaves of bread sold for eight pence, firm and good, to bite into with the teeth, not full of holes and all fluffy crumbs, like the stuff we get from the bakers here.

My brother Simon was a store-keeper on a ship, and when I was yet a little fellow, but eleven or twelve years old, he took me with him on the 'Linnet,' a small sailing vessel, employed in the coast trading service along the African shores. I spent five or six years on the ship as it went up and down the west coast, transferring cargoes from one point to another. Even with the adventure before me, I grieved at the thought of leaving school! My family I might, probably would, see again, but school days, I knew, would not come back, and I wept and brooded until,

somehow, I obtained some books and histories that I read absorbedly in my spare time. Captain Need of the 'Linnet' later taught me something of navigation, and I learned the trade of the sailor.

During the years I spent in this life I returned to visit in England once or twice but the love of travel and adventure grew strong in me, and the sea life led me far.

I could tell many interesting tales of my experiences in those years; of the primitive conditions of life and trade on the African coast; the visits to the islands of Ascension, St. Helena, Cape Verde and others; the harrowing experience of being becalmed for weeks on tropic seas—sufficient material for a book. After these years I sought new scenes, and shipped for America, California, that the golden glamor had made so alluring a few years before. The vessel was the *Thams City* of London, a barque og about 1500 tons, on which I signd as assistant steward, but the steward receiving his discharge during the voyage I was promoted to steward. After taking on cargo at London, we finally sailed from Plymouth. The voyage was long, but full of new things as we touched Rio Janeiro, passed around the stormy Horn, up the west coast with landings at several places and so to San Francisco; but first I must go with my ship to Victoria, the port for which she was bound with cargo. Here my obligation was fulfilled in May, 1857, and I left the ship to return at once to San Francisco by the first available boat, a steamer sailing in July.

San Francisco was then a thriving city of about 25,000 inhabitants, and I sought employment at any work that was offered. Here in the winter of 1857-58, at the age of sixteen I determined to quit the sea. However, my stay there was short for with the news of the discovery of gold at Fraser River a rush of men of all ages and ranks started and with it the youth in search of adventure and fortune. From that time my life was passed in the northwest country. I was young, with no close family ties, and, naturally, of strong physique, my years at sea having given me a physical power and self reliance far beyond my years.

At barely sixteen I had touched at most of the important ports on the face of the globe and had already gained a somewhat comprehensive knowledge of the world and its people. Though but a boy in age I had mingled and associated with grown men for years, and I knew better than most present day youths of twenty-one and over, how to conduct myself with, and how to hold my own among the bold, hardy and, sometimes, lawless adventurers of the northwest frontier.

The Fraser River Gold Excitement

In the spring of 1858 reports of very rich placer gold discoveries along the Fraser River in British Columbia reached us at San Francisco. The news immediately became the chief subject of conversation and caused great excitement. Nearly everyone who could planned to go to the new fields. Half a dozen worn out, old time boats rotting in the bay—in fact everything at San Francisco that would carry passengers was loaded and set sail for 'Squimalt, as it was called. I left California in the first rush in May, 1858, on board the steamer *Republic,* arriving at Esquimalt, a fine harbor a few miles from Victoria harbor, early in June, 1858.

In those days Victoria, B. C., consisted only of the Hudson's Bay Company's post and a few shacks and shanties. The exodus from California soon built up the town. The rush of miners came principally from California, but included many from Oregon and Washington Territories. Within a couple of weeks fully five or six thousand miners had arrived. From Esquimalt and Victoria miners took small boats to different points along the Fraser River. Supplies were procured from the Hudson's Bay Company at Victoria, and from Fort Hope and Fort Yale.

Six of us purchased a row boat and started for the mines, first crossing the Straits to Bellingham Bay; there was no settlement or hotel there then, it was just a stopping place. All foreigners were required by Governor Douglas to pay a mining tax. This was first paid, I believe, at Victoria, and later at a government office established in an old boat named the *Discovery* and owned by the Hudson's Bay Company. The boat was anchored at a point on the Fraser River below Fort Hope and near what is now New Westminster, which settlement was just starting its existence. All stopped there.

When we were going to the mines we saw a British war vessel at anchor above the mouth of the Fraser River and inquiring there concerning the required "miner's license," we were directed to the *Discovery.* We pulled up the river and stopped and procured our miner's license. The license fee was five dollars. We rowed on up the river to Fort Yale where the party separated. I didn't locate a claim but sought and secured employment as a miner. Being a greenhorn I got but $2.50 a day; experienced California miners earned $4.00 a day. I worked around about eight months along the Fraser River bars.

Free gold, very fine, was found in the bars along the Fraser River, and the miners took up claims on these bars and worked them during low water in the summer and fall, using rockers to separate the gold from the sand. The deposits while quite extensive were not very rich and more money was spent, as a whole, by the inflocking miners than was made from the diggings, and the stampede was a disappointment to most of those who participated in it, including myself. The rich diggings on the upper river were yet undiscovered; the Cariboo mines were not yet known.

Among the Californians who went into the Fraser River placers and subsequently acquired international fame was Frances Bret Harte of San Francisco, who came up to try his fortune as a miner. He was one of a party going from Victoria to Bellingham on their way to Fort Hope when I met him. They were camped a little way north from Point Roberts and the party I was with called in at their camp for some reason, just what I do not now recall. He was dressed in a miner's blue shirt, with belt around his waist and, like most of his companions, was armed with a bowie knife and pistol. After eight months spent along the Fraser River, I left for Puget Sound in the early spring of 1859.

The Boundary Line Survey was then being made, the line running through Point Roberts above the town of Bellingham. When I came out there were a number of British war ships in Semiachmoo Bay, this side of Point Roberts. While camped there I saw a boat's crew from a war ship place and draw a seine across the mouth of a creek and catch so many salmon that the net wouldn't hold them; great masses of fish hurled themselves against the seine and went right through it. However there were enough left to fill the boat and to supply everyone in the neighborhood.

Puget Sound in 1859

From Point Roberts I proceeded to Port Townsend where there were several saw mills. One Tibbals ran the hotel, and the place might have had a population of 200. I stopped here for a few days to inquire about work and then went on to Port Ludlow, which is, as I recall, some 20 to 25 miles up the Sound, through Hood's Canal. I found employment in a saw mill at Port Ludlow and worked there for about six months. One day a fellow workman, an Irishman named Tom Clark, asked me how I would like to take up a ranch in partnership with him. I was agreeable and

we proceeded further up Hood's Canal to a place near Seabeck where we located our ranch. This land was the finest tract of land I have ever seen, and a fine place to live, especially in those days. We soon got up a comfortable cabin and cleared three or four acres of alder and maple growth and put in a crop of potatoes and some vegetables. We had a good boat and we passed our time in improving our farm or in hunting and fishing, as we felt inclined. We had always plenty of fish and fowl. One could wade into the creek and catch a good sized salmon by the tail. I have seen a square mile of ducks and geese in the inlet at one time. We had an old flintlock musket and could get all we wanted at any time. On the flat at the mouth of the creek we had a neighbor, an Englishman named Lile or Lysle, who possessed a dog named Caesar.

I stayed on our ranch about six months. My partner, Clark, was very fond of whiskey, and, usually, when he drank he was very amusing. About this time, however, we went on a visit to one of our few neighbors, Clark became full, and we got at outs and came to blows. The next morning I said to him, "Tom, you and I have been together about long enough. I have five dollars, and I'll take the boat and you can have the ranch." The next day I took our boat and left, and after going to Seabeck and looking around some, I pulled thirty miles to Port Gamble and there sold the boat and secured employment from Miller in a logging camp at Squalwish Harbor. I worked here about six months. In the early spring of 1861 (February and March) the first news of rich gold discoveries in Idaho reached us and some acquaintances of mine at Port Ludlow wanted me to go to Idaho with them. In May, 1861, we clubbed together and hired a "plunger", as such sail boats were then called, owned by Sam Alexander, and went from Port Ludlow to Port Gamble, and then to Olympia. There were five of us in the party—Frank Delanely, and three more whose names I have forgotten.

En route we passed by the site of the City of Seattle, then composed of Yesler's mill and the shacks of a half dozen employees. Steilacoom was then the location of the Territorial prison. We passed by the site of Tacoma, there being no town there then, and stopped for a short time at Olympia, then a town of twenty-five hundred or three thousand population; here we engaged passage by Shoemaker's spring wagon stage for Montecello. Shoemaker was the mail carrier between Olympia and Portland and he

had a good team of horses. The trip consumed nearly a day during the course of which we picked up a few passengers—one a young girl. We stopped at Humphrey's Landing on the Cowlitz River for supper and took a small boat to Montecello. Montecello possessed a nice road house or hotel, and we had a good breakfast with some fine wild honey, the first I ever ate. It was just a small settlement, the hotel, a few houses and a fruit farm. We waited here for the boat to take us to Portland. After breakfast we walked past an orchard and the owner said to us, "Boys, wouldn't you like some fruit? Come in and eat all you want, but don't carry away any." We accepted the invitation, but a bee immediately stung me on the left ear and I spent some of the most painful moments of my life right there in the orchard while the others were enjoying the fruit. This was in June, 1861.

Portland, Walla Walla and Lewiston

About ten or eleven o'clock that morning we got aboard the little steamer and proceeded down the Cowlitz across the Columbia and up the Willamette River to Portland. In four or five hours and towards evening we reached Portland, which was then a city of about four thousand inhabitants. After a short stay there, for economy we engaged our passage with a man owning a river sailboat—a flat boat schooner—plying between Portland and the Cascades. En route we stopped at Vancouver, then a town of about one thousand people. With the tide and wind often against us, it took us over a week to make the Cascades. Here we got off the boat. Freight went forward by Colonel Ruggles' rail tram way and go car. My partners and I picked up our blankets and baggage and carried them the three miles. Above the Cascades we took a river steamboat to The Dalles where we stopped over night at the Dalles Hotel, run by a man named S. Sinnot. The Dalles was only a small settlement. Next morning we took a stage around the Cascades to Celilo. Here we boarded another steamer, the *Colonel Wright,* in charge of Captain Bauman. On the boat we met several men we had known on the Sound. The next day we went up the river to Wallula, which town then consisted of a store, a saloon, and two or three buildings.

In 1861 there was no boat running to Lewiston, and there was no Lewiston. We had intended to go to Walla Walla by stage, but there being no stage to meet us, the five of us had to shoulder our packs and blankets and travel on to Walla Walla on foot. There was then a sort of a road house at the mouth of the

Touchet; here we stopped and bought a pan of milk and some bread. We reached Walla Walla late at night. In a restaurant that night we met the proprietor, an Irishman named Donovan, a former acquaintance from the Sound country, a sawyer formerly employed at Port Discovery. He invited us to eat dinner with him, and gave us all the information he had concerning the gold diggings. Walla Walla was then filled with miners and men going to the Oro Fino placer mines, and had a population of from eight to ten hundred people and we met several other acquaintances from the Sound country. The next day we bought a cayuse for a pack animal and as we didn't have much money we struck out on foot for the mouth of the Clearwater River.

It took us three days to reach the mouth of the Clearwater. I remember that some early settler already had a ranch on the site of Pomeroy; our next stop was at Alpaha; then on, all of us afoot, to Jake Schultz's ferry across the Snake River above the mouth of the Clearwater. Schultz had a house near the ferry landng. We camped on the site of the town of Lewiston, Idaho, when there was nothing there but the tents of a few miners like ourselves, and two stores in tents, one owned by a man named Titus. Slater was the other early merchant there. During the first years of its existence the settlement went by the name of "Ragtown," on account of the many tents which soon acquired a very dirty and dilapidated appearance.

The next morning we bought a few supplies and started off for Sweetwater and camped on the place of Sam Berry or Sam Lilbee on Clearwater. We then went towards Craig's Mountain. We were directed to camp at a spring on Craig's Mountain but we couldn't find it and we kept on along the pack trail until late at night when we reached Cold Springs, now the site of Nez Perce City; here we camped. It was June and the weather was extremely hot but ice formed that night in the creek. We crossed Jake Shultz's ferry across the South Fork of the Clearwater twenty-five miles from Oro Fino and camped over night. The next day we got to the Tezas Ranch and camped with a pack tran going into Oro Fino. The packers had plenty of grub and liquor which they hospitably shared with us and which we greatly appreciated.

The next day we got into Oro Fino. Oro Fino was the first of the mining camps in what is now the State of Idaho. It was then situated in, I believe, Spokane County, Washington Territory, and the county seat was Colville. When I arrived in June, 1861,

there was already quite a little settlement strung out along the side of the hill. The first miners in the district were from Oregon and California and they introduced the California mining laws and regulations. By June, 1861, there were over 2,000 men in the Oro Fino district, and more arriving each day. By the end of 1863 there were at least 6000 people in Oro Fino and Pierce City. The town had the usual restaurants, saloons, etc., of the early day frontier mining town and was a very lively place. A Swede, named Swanson, ran one of the first stores, and Captain Ankeny, father of the late U. S. Senator Levi Ankeny, also had one of the first stores, and then or later owned a steamboat on the Snake River. Levi Ankeny was then but a boy.

Captain E. D. Pierce, the discoverer of the mines, had been an Indian trader and was married to a Nez Perce Indian woman, who told him about the gold deposits. Pierce had been in California and after the Indian wars of 1855-1858 and the ratification of the Nez Perce treaty he returned and discovered gold in paying quantities near the site of Pierce City early in 1860. He returned to Walla Walla and reported the discovery; the news spread like wild fire through the Northwest. Pierce City and the discovery mine were about a mile and a half down the creek from Oro Fino. The richest ground was on Rhodes and Canal Creeks. Probably $150,000,000 was taken out of Oro Fino Creek and its tributaries.

The next day after I arrived I went to work farming for Hexter and May on Rhodes Creek a quarter of a mile from town. Hexter was the father of Mrs. Sam Galland of Spokane. I shoveled tailings at $4.00 a day. Current wages were $4.00 a day and board on bed rock and $3.50 a day on surface work moving non-paying dirt. This was the first work I did in the Oro Fino mines in 1861. I worked on during July and August; then went to work for Basset over in the "Big Flat" four miles up Rhodes Creek from Oro Fino and worked until winter weather stopped us. I had earned enough money to keep me during the winter. There was quite a little settlement at the Big Flat, a store, several houses, etc. Eight of us wintered there in a cabin we built about 30 by 50 feet in size. We laid in a good supply of provisions and took turns at cooking and had nothing to do but to kill time and wait for spring.

The Florence mines in a basin on the mountains near Salmon River—reputed to have been the richest placer ground ever found

anywhere in the United States—had been struck in the fall of 1861 and during the winter lots of people came in from Florence snow blind; numbers never got in at all. Snow blindness was cured by us by heating stones and holding one's head and eyes over the steam generated by sprinkling water or snow on the hot stones.

The winter of 1861-62 was very severe. That winter two fellows came in, bought two five-gallon kegs of whiskey and started back to Florence, camping under a tree beside the trail out a piece from our camp. The weather was bitter cold and they tried to keep warm by drinking whiskey and were later found sitting up against the tree frozen to death. Some of the men went out from our camp and buried them.

A great many miners lost their lives in the mining country that winter. It was so cold that our thermometers froze and we never knew just how cold it was. I slept under four or five heavy blankets and by morning the blankets would be frozen together from my breath. Nights we men would gather together from the different cabins and have a social time. We had a fiddler in camp and often had stag dances. One night a man named Cain who had a store, got to drinking, and then started home. The boys were afraid that he couldn't take care of himself and went out to look after him and found him stretched out in the snow, which was a good five feet deep on Nez Perce Prairie and much deeper in the drifts and in the mountains. Cain was brought in and recovered all right.

During the winter Titus, the store keeper at "Ragtown," set out with two other men to buy supplies at Portland. There was no transportation so they went on foot. They were frozen to death on Butte Creek near Wallula. Another incident of that winter was when a man sawing logs near camp broke his leg. The men carried him into Oro Fino on a stretcher; from there he was carried out to a doctor and fully recovered. Father Cataldo came into camp that winter after enduring much hardship. The winter dragged out and provisions began to be scarce, and it was impossible to get in further supplies from outside. Soon all we had left was some flour and a little bacon but by being frugal this lasted us through. Two Germans living a couple of hundred yards from us had two large sacks of beans but we couldn't persuade them to sell us any.

In the spring of 1862 some fellow drove in a couple of steers

over the snow and killed them, selling the meat regardless of cut and bone at a straight $1.25 a pound. Flour at Oro Fino was $24.00 a barrel; at Florence $50.00 a sack. Bacon was $10.00 a pound; tobacco $10.00 a pound; whiskey $1.00 a drink. Beans 25 cents a pound; butter, when it could be had, 75 cents to a dollar a pound. Sugar 30 to 35 cents a pound; shovels $5.00 to $8.00; picks the same. Gold pans were $2.00, hand saws $5.00, and camp kettles $4.00. Leather boots were $15.00 a pair; rubber boots $25.00.

New finds were constantly being made. The Warrens' placer mines in the Salmon River country were discovered by Warrens in the summer of 1862. The Elk City placer mines at the forks of the south fork of the Clearwater River were also discovered this year by a party of miners from Oro Fino.

During that winter (1861-62) one enterprising citizen of Oro Fino kept a record of the snowfall—it totaled 47 feet. By April this had packed down to six or seven feet of nearly solid ice. Our supplies were low and our money exhausted. There was little credit given at stores in those camps and we were compelled to get to work early. We started by shoveling off four feet of snow from the claims; then stripping and shoveling the surface dirt and gravel 3 to 4 feet deep into wheelbarrows and wheeling it off to get down to pay dirt. Pay dirt commenced about four feet and bed rock was usually reached in eight or nine feet. I worked all that season with pick and shovel and saved my wages. A man going into the Florence mines wanted me to grubstake him. I gave him all I had but he was no good and dissipated the money and never located anything for me. I worked for the Basset Company until the fall of 1863. After that year I went to work for myself. I confined my interests principally to Rhodes Creek and its tributaries; locating claims and working and selling them.

Pierce City was the supply point and center for Canal Gulch and lower Oro Fino Creek, while Oro Fino was the center for Rhodes Gulch and upper Oro Fino Creek. The diggings extended down Oro Fino Creek four or five miles, and up Rhodes and Canal Gulches eight or ten miles on both sides,and up the many gulches running into them. The principal tributaries to Rhodes Gulch were Shanghai Gulch, Humbug Gulch, Bartley's Gulch and Mill Creek. I worked on all of them at one time or another. While in the camp I brought in seven ditches; the largest was dug in 1864

from Shanghai Gulch to Mill Creek on the Big Flat on Rhodes Creek, a distance of about seven miles.

After my first experience in the long winter of 1861-2 with four friends I went to Portland in the late fall of 1862 to winter. We spent two or three weeks in the city and then went out to Peter Reinerston's farm on Clockmas River about eight miles from Portland. The others were Jimmie Wright, Frank Rand and Bradley, whose Christian name I have forgotten. A Mr. Parker, who had the farm under lease, treated us fine. After our hard work we enjoyed the rest, the good food and the society of the girls and always attended the dances given in the neighborhood. During the winter Jim Wright went to Portland, and before going asked me if he couldn't do something for me, as he only intended to make a brief stay. I had a lot of gold nuggets and asked him to convert them into money for me. "Sure I will," he said. I have never heard from him since. In the spring through loss of my gold I was broke. Parker loaned me the money to go back to the mines in April. Frank Rand and Bradley came back with me. At Umatilla Rapids, Frank Rand was standing on the prow of the boat when the boat struck a rock and he was thrown overboard. Dressed in his heavy clothes and gum boots he was poorly equipped to swim. The mate and I jumped into a boat, but before we got to him he sank. Three or four weeks later his body was found at Celilo. Frank was from Davenport, Iowa, about twenty-five years old and one of the best men I have ever known. Had the Captain immediately heaved the boat to, there would have been a chance to save him, but the Captain, fearful that his vessel had received serious injury and might sink kept up full speed so as to get inshore, if necessary, before the boat might sink.

Being short of funds I was unable to stop and search for the remains of my friend. Reaching Wallula Rand and I took stage to Walla Walla, and then stage to Lewiston where we had wintered our horses. Then we rode up to the forks of the Clearwater where we swam them behind the Frenchman's canoe ferry by which we crossed. When we got to Schultz's at the Texas ranch the snow was too deep for horses and we left them and walked into the camp where our friend, I. B. Cowan, soon had a warm dinner ready for us.

I located claims for myself, principally on Rhodes Creek and its tributaries, and worked and sold them. My last property was

a hill claim about two miles above Oro Fino. I had two partners, Ollie Gullingsrude and Swanson, both Norwegians and fine workers. I brought down a ditch of three miles in the fall of 1865 from Bartley's Gulch to Rhodes Creek, and built a dam to catch and divert the water. I surveyed the ditch with a triangle and plumb bob, the whole three miles being staked in a day. That winter (1865-1866) Swanson and I sawed out lumber with a whip saw for flumes, boxes, riffles and other needs—Swanson in the pit and I on top of the log. To whip-saw lumber one has to dig a pit, and build a staging over it; then cut and roll down the logs, which are first squared up by sawing off the slabs on four sides; then laid out by rule for sawing into boards. Swanson and I sawed an average of 200 feet a day, which is a good day's work. A good whip-sawer in those days could earn $20 a day, sometimes more.

In five weeks the three of us dug three miles of ditch, carrying 100 miners inches of water. We were out before sunrise, and started work by starlight, and worked until after sunset and went home by starlight. We worked all day, every day, rain or shine, and were often wet to the skin ten minutes after we had left our camp, and kept going in wet clothing all day. One partner went ahead with a broad axe or mattock cutting the brush, kinnikinnick, and sod and turning it over down hill; the next partner followed taking a spadeful or two out, and I followed finishing up the ditch. I finished 105 rods of ditch in one day.

The next spring we got water through our ditch and began washing gold. The average working day in the mines for hired labor was eleven hours; owners however worked regardless of hours. Wages averaged $4.00 a day with board. I paid an exceptionally good man $6.00 a day. When Ollie Gullingsrude and I were working the Rhodes Creek claim, I would get up at 5 a.m. and while Ollie was getting breakfast I would walk three miles to the head of our ditch and turn the water into the ditch from the impounding dam which had collected it during the night, then walk back three miles for breakfast at 7 a.m. I got dinner, and Ollie again got supper while I went to the head of the ditch and turned the water off again. Every Saturday afternoon we cleaned up our sluice boxes and Sundays we sort of rested up. Our "clean ups" averaged $400 to $500 a week. Each Sunday I made from dried fruits six pies, one for each day in the succeeding week.

We had a comfortable cabin and plenty of grub, even butter, fresh meat, and spent the winter comfortably. In the spring of

1867 we each made $100.00 a day every day, sluicing on our claims. My partners were fine workers and we were all young. In the winter of 1867-68 three or four of us (Doctor Colonel Crocker, George Miller, and Tom Giles, an Englishman) went out to San Francisco, had a good time and came back in the spring. Like most young men we only wanted money to spend. If I had taken my money and invested it I would have been a millionaire. The next spring I hired a man to mine for me but he had the opportunity to and mined principally for his own benefit. I thought I had all I wanted out of the ground and sold out to two Germans named Miller or Moeler. After working the ground some time they sold out to Chinamen.

In 1866 I bought into a general merchandise business at Pierce City with Stanford Capps and I also acquired a number of houses in Pierce City. For several years after this I continued to live at Pierce City. I spent one winter with Peter Dumas, a Frenchman, who kept the general store. Dumas offered to teach me during the long winter evenings how to play chess and how to speak French. The very first night I was able to beat Peter at chess and the proposed instruction in the French language was abruptly dropped by him. At this time I had some placer mines on Cow Creek, about thirty miles away, but they never amounted to much. I hired a man at $10.00 a day to work them for me but he put most of the proceeds in his own pocket.

In 1865 I did some ditch work on a placer claim, the same property which Dr. Bowles later located a ledge on and developed up to the time of his death. The ground is now being developed by others who have built a mill to handle the ore. I cut the ledge in '65 but found nothing. Some five or six years ago I went over this ground again and found trees as thick as my body growing on the bed rock I had once cleared off.

During these years transportation into the district was by stage or horseback or foot to Lewiston, and thence by stage to Walla Walla, or later also by boat to Wallula and down to Portland. Mail and gold dust and money was carried out by the "poney express". During my residence in the Idaho gold camps Joaquin Miller, then known as Charlie Miller, was employed for a time as one of these express riders but I never met him, though I had heard of him. Massman was another express rider of those days. While I was living in Pierce City, I made trips a number of times for the express rider, ——— Fettis, carrying mail,

and large sums of money and gold dust to Lewiston and other points. In these days road agents or highway men were stationed on the routes between Oro Fino and Pierce City, Oro Fino and Lewiston, and other trails, and meeting miners and merchants coming out with money and gold dust, murdered them. Some of these tracked down by Hill Beachy, proprietor of the Luna House at Lewiston, were lynched. Their crime and their arrest by Beachy sounds like fiction. McGruder, the murdered man was a packer engaged in packing from Lewiston to the new gold fields in Montana Territory. His murderers, Billy Peoples and three others, secured employment with him and murdered him for his money on the return trip. They eventually reached San Francisco. McGruder was a personal friend of Hill Beachy who vowed that he would run them down and bring them back to suffer for their crime if it took the rest of his life. He brought them back, and a gallows was hastily built about a half mile from Lewiston and after a semblance of legal enquiry the outlaws were taken out by the miners and strung up. Some of the participants in this hanging were afterwards prominent among the vigilantees of Montana.

I remember an incident of early days of Oro Fino. Bill Miller was proprietor of one of the dance halls, customary establishments in all early day mining camps. The women were mainly Spanish and Mexican women from the Mexican border and California. One day Miller brought in a bunch of Spanish women on horseback. A hilarious crowd from Bostwick's saloon decided to have a good time with Miller and gathering up all the brass instruments and other instruments of noise went out and met Miller's caravan and "razzed" them into town, as one would now say. Miller conceived that he had been grossly insulted, and became greatly enraged. Hastening to his dance hall he came back with two revolvers and looked for his insulters. He saw one, Ridgeway, who had taken a prominent part in the fun go into a saloon and shot through the closed door at him, wounding Ridgeway in the thigh. Ridgeway secured a sawed off shot gun and when Miller got in front of the saloon fired a charge of shot at him, one of which wounded Miller slightly in the neck. Miller, however, only became more violent and stayed around flourishing his guns and making further threats until men about town lost patience and hung him on a tree at the outskirts of town. X. Beiler, one of the leaders in this was later identified with the

vigilantees of Montana. Within three months after these executions most of the outlaws had left Idaho mining camps.

My most trying trip during these years was when I set out alone on snow shoes over a most difficult route in the middle of winter to bring in a doctor to care for a very sick woman, wife of a friend in the camp. The case was very urgent and great haste was necessary, and the heavy condition of the snow made the thirty miles seem a long distance for one days journey, but I covered it without mishap only to find the Doctor (Col.) Crockett unable to start until the next morning. Colonel Crockett had been an army doctor and was used to the hardships of our life, so after the small person, whose arrival he was awaiting, came in the middle of the night he snatched a few hours sleep and before day break the Doctor and I started on the return journey. He reached the sick woman in time to save her life.

During the years 1868-69 I was a deputy sheriff of Shoshone County, I. T. under I. B. Cowan, well known in Pierce City where he died about a year ago as Judge Cowan. Cowan was a cripple and the active work of the offiice fell on me. One of my duties was to collect the mining tax from the local Chinamen. There were eight or nine hundred Chinamen located in the diggings in 1864 and most of them remained for more than twenty years. Two or three of this number—too old to get away—were still in the deserted pioneer mining camps a short time ago. At that time there were a good many of these yellow men in the various mining camps and a monthly tax of $5.00 a head was levied on them by the Terriitory. The collector, myself, got 20 per cent of this and in annoyance the task was well worth this return. Often when the Orientals saw the collector coming they would run into the woods or other hiding places and I had to round them up and force them to pay their tax. Sometimes they would claim that they did not have the money and I marched them in pig tail file down the trail to the store where they would borrow the required sum from the store keeper. It usually took me one week of each month to collect the Chinese tax. Most of them worked claims too poor to attract white miners. I would sometimes round up a dozen on a claim and would collect from a half dozen such camps in a day. My fees were above $100 a day or $700 to $800 for the week. Money was easily made, quickly spent and lightly valued in those days in the mining camps.

In these early days the present townsite of Oro Fino at the

mouth of Oro Fino creek on the south branch of the Clearwater River was known by the name of "Wiskey Flat". People camped there on the way into the gold camps; then someone put up a building there and started the present town. In going in, in the spring, we used to have to swim our horses over the North fork of the Clearwater.

In these days I knew Benjamin Franklin Yantis. He had a store at Pierce City and his son, Bob, then twenty-five of six years old, was associated with him in the enterprise. They were still there when I left. I knew the late Judge Brents (of Walla Walla) in and about Pierce City. My old friend, Judge Cowan, about the last of my contemporaries, died last year at Oro Fino at the age of 93 years. At one time he also rode for the "pony express". If I had taken the money I made in the Idaho mines and conservatively invested it I would have been a millionaire. In the spring of 1871 I sold out my houses, my interest in the merchantile business and all other holdings to "Judge" Cowan and left for Portland, Oregon. When I came out from the mines in 1871 Lewiston, Idaho, had grown to a town of from two to three thousand people.

Portland, Oregon, when I returned and settled there in 1871 had grown from a population of four thousand to a city of from twenty to twenty-five thousand people. I lived there until 1883, engaging in the real estate and loan business, and investing in real estate, and I was for some time interested in the Vulcan Iron Works there. The land on which the Portland Union Depot stands was purchased by me for $6,000 and I later sold it to the railway company for $45,000.

Soon after settling in Portland, on August 9, 1871 I married Mina Epperly, daughter of John and Louisa C. (Graham) Epperly, and a native of Butteville, Oregon. My three children; Edith L., Edna M. (deceased) and Graham, were all born in Portland.

In 1881 I was induced to loan some money, $6,000, on a piece of property in Couch's Addition on the Big Havermale Island in Spokane Falls and the property came to me through default of the mortgagor. This was part of the property on which the Great Northern depot now stands, I later sold it for $45,000. Coming up to the Falls in 1883 to look over this bad debt I met the late A. M. Cannon and the late Judge L. B. Nash. they stated was badly needed. I was unacquainted with that business and took in as an equal partner a man whose only capital was

his knowledge of the hardware business, and started a store at the southeast corner of Howard and Riverside. I then returned to Portland where I soon had to take over the National Iron Works of that city in settlement of another bad debt. Reports from Spokane indicating that all the money from the hardware business was not going into the till caused me to return there and dissolve the partnership, but the peculiar nature of the alliance made it necessary for me to pay my "partner" nearly $9000 for what was his half of the business in which I was the sole investor. This brought me permanently to Spokane.

Some years later I brought the National Iron Works equipment to the Falls on three flat cars and organized a local company of that name which set up a factory on Havermale Island in 1887, and in this business I had associated with me Charles Stratton; Judge George Turner, later U. S. Senator; George Foster and Don Carson. In the great fire of 1889 the iron works was untouched but the hardware store was razed to the ground.

The hardware business was conducted under the name of J. H. BOYD HARDWARE CO., and at the time of the fire my store was in the old Hyde Block; after the fire I reopened the store on the south side of Sprague avenue, just west of Lincoln Street, adjoining what is now the Clemmer Theatre. In the fire of 1889 I lost all my investment in the store above $25,000 insurance. In the spring of 1890 I consolidated my store with the Weaver & Goss Hardware Co., of Rochester, N. Y., and a short time later we consolidated the business with the Holley, Mason, Marks & Co., of which I was a director and member until 1897. The firm is still in business at the Holley Mason Hardware Co.

After 1890 I centered my attention on the National Iron Works in which I later acquired sole ownership. In 1896 the plant was destroyed by fire, and rebuilt at Cataldo and Division on land purchased from the late J. J. Browne. I continued to opperate it until the late war when an advantageous offer being received, I decided to let it go as I was growing old and was willing to be relieved from the cares of active business.

I went into the Coeur d'Alene mines with the "first bunch" when the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mine was struck. I soon got acquainted with a Mr. Esler, a mining man from Butte and we built the first concentrator in the district. I was agent for the Hercules Powder Company and put in a store at Wardner. I had a man named Gus Reith working for me, he had only

$500 but to secure his attention to the business while I looked after my other affairs I gave him a half interest in the store for that amount. I supplied materials for construction of the lake boat connecting with D. C. Corbin's narrow gage railway into Coeur d'Alene mines. The sale of this to the Northen Pacific Raiload Co., led to a quarter of a century's litigation in the courts until I finally received my money.

For sixty years I have kept up my interest in the mining development of the Northwest and I have at different times invested in the development of most of the principal mining districts of the Northwest. I still retain an interest in some mining properties in the Coeur d'Alene. For many years I have been a Mason, belonging to Spokane Lodge No. 34, F. & A.M. For two years I was a City Councilman of Spokane, and during the last year of the term I was President of the Council. During my term I was largely instrumental in securing the erection of the beautiful $500,000 concrete arch bridge over which the Sunset highway leading west from Spokane, crosses the Hangman's Creek gulch. I am now nearing the age of 83 years. Looking back over my life I can see that I was handicapped to some extent and lacked many advantages that most boys enjoy. But this probably had its compensations. I early learned that I had to depend on myself, and to make the most of my time and opportunities. This early developed reliance and dependence on my judgment. I have had an active part in the development of our present economic wealth out of the raw natural resources of sixty-five years ago, and I have seen most of our present cities in their infancy. Looking back over forty years it is my candid opinion that I made a mistake in closing out my investments and in moving from Portland in 1883. As conditions have developed, my holdings and investments there in 40 years would have produced for me more wealth than I secured elsewhere.

JOSEPH H. BOYD.

EARLY EFFORTS AT ROAD MAKING

Here is an item that should interest the people of the Puget Sound country. I found it in a copy of Oregon's first newspaper—the *Oregon Spectator* for September 5, 1850. The letter is signed "H. A. G." Those were undoubtedly the initials of Hugh A. Goldsborough. I knew him well in the early days at Olympia. His brother, Admiral Louis M. Goldsborough, was a member of the joint army and navy commission in California and Oregon in 1849. I think the "Dear B." to whom the letter is addressed was John D. Biles, because I know that he arrived at Fort Vancouver in May, 1849, on the United States Steamer *Massachusetts,* and I know that he was a member of the first Legislature of Washington Territory from Clark County, beginning February 27, 1854, the other members from that County being A. J. Bolon, F. A. Chenoweth and Henry R. Crosbie.

GEORGE H. HIMES.

Puget Sound,
August 15, 1850.

My dear B—

Your occasional visits to our county, consequent acquaintance with many of our settlers, and the interest you feel in the prosperity of Oregon Territory generally, will I am sure make it agreeable for you to learn that we have at length roused ourselves from our apparent lethargy and supineness, and while fully sensible of the many advantages of our position, are determined to try to render them available to others. We have all for some time felt the want of a more direct route from the Cascade range of mountains to Puget Sound, than the present round about way down the Columbia river, through the Willamette valley, and up the Cowlitz; and at a meeting convened a short time past to take this subject into consideration, it was determined to open a wagon road around the northern base of Mt. Rainier, down the valley of the Yakima toward Fort Walla Walla; for this purpose a subscription paper, headed by Mr. M. T. Simmons, was circulated through the country, to which we had very soon over $1,500 contributed; and a strong party of active young men properly organized, and provided with the requisite provisions, utensils, wagon, oxen, &., left this on the 5th inst., to commence their labors:—we have heard from them lately, and their success thus far has

been truly encouraging, so far as to give us hopes that they will succeed, (in their most earnest endeavors) in opening a thouroughfare in time for some portion of the immigrating parties of the present year. This road when finished will be a great desideratum, and will render the ingress of immigrating parties, and the egress of those destined for the gold mines on the Yakima, comparatively easy by the most direct route. When this shall be accomplished, our next most worthy object of attention, will be to change and improve the present line of road way from this to the mouth of the Cowlitz. In this latter undertaking I feel confident that no difficulty of serious moment will be encountered; the general topography of the country and other natural advantages are so favorable, that a plank road or rail road might readily be constructed from Puget Sound so as to communicate with the Columbia, whenever the increasing business of the country shall demand such facilities of intercommunication. Both of these roads are so evidently important in a national and military point of view, that I think we may safely look to the General Government for pecuniary aid in their construction.

We have recently held elections for the different county officers, of which we have been destitute, and having chosen them, we may now, as a county, be said to be organized, and in fair sailing trim. The County Assessor is now on a tour of duty, and his assessment on property taxable by law, in the Nesqually, New Market, and Olympia, and part of Cowlitz precincts, already $300,000, leaving it probable that the whole amount from the county will not fall far short of half a million of dollars. The extreme disproportionate size of our county, will, for the present render any arrangement for the permanent county seat, &c., somewhat inconvenient, but this must soon be remedied by more appropriately local partitions.

I have been gratified, during a recent extensive jaunt, to see the crops of wheat, oats, peas, potatoes, &c., looking remarkably well, and to find the acknowledged salubrity of our climate was so well sustained, that I could not hear of a single case of sickness among the whites during the past summer.

The town of Olympia, situated on Budd's Inlet, is well located, and offers many inducements for permanent investment; two vessels arrived this morning from San Francisco, with ample supplies for the establishment of Messrs. Simmons & Smith, and a regular trade is carried on between the two places. The navigation

from the ocean to Olympia, the Southern extremity of Puget Sound, is probably unrivaled by any other sheet of water of equal size, whether we regard the facility of access, the depth of water, or the number of excellent harbors. Choice mill seats are plenteous, and good sea coal is confidently believed to be abundant. Under so many favoring circumstances I cannot hesitate to believe that if we follow the advice of Hercules, and put our own shoulders to the wheel, we will ere long make our section of country populous and prosperous in an eminent degree, especially in view of the Bill before Congress—by this time most probably the law of the land—donating half of a section, to unmarried men; a Bill, which with all its provisos and safeguards, I regard as so signally beneficial to our Territory, as to give full satisfaction to all, except such as would growl were they in Paradise.

Yours most cordially,

H. A. G.

OREGON'S PROVISIONAL POST OFFICE

The first official notice that the Provisional Government of Oregon would attempt to furnish its citizens with mail service is found in the Organic Law of Oregon adopted by the people July 26, 1845. Article II., Section VI. of this document gives the House of Representatives the power to "establish post offices and post routes".[1] The legislature was prompt in availing itself of this power, for during the afternoon session of December 15, 1845, "Mr. McClure gave notice that on tomorrow, he would introduce A bill to provide for post offices, and post roads, in Oregon."[2] The bill was introduced and read for the first time December 16, 1845;[3] the next day it was read the second time and referred to the Committee of the Whole.[4] The same day the bill was considered in the Committee and adopted.[5] On the 19th it was read for the third time and passed.[6]

The law provided for a post office department, and a postmaster general who was to be elected by the House of Representatives. The postmaster general was given the power to establish post offices, post routes and to appoint post masters. In the discharge of his duties, he was to be governed by "the laws of the United States as published in *Ingersoll's Abridgement of Acts of Congress, A.D. 1825, Regulating the Post Office Department,* so far as they may be considered applicable to the circumstances of Oregon, and where there is no provision made by the House of Representatives of Oregon."

The employees of the department were subject to the provisions of the same law, but the House saw fit to make special provision as to those who were eligible to carry the mail, limiting them to free males, descendants of white men. Any violation of this provision by a contractor was punishable by a fine of not less than $20.00 for each offence.

The rates of postage were fixed by the law, and were rather high. This was considered later as one of the causes for the failure of the experiment. The rates were: "For every letter composed of a single sheet of paper conveyed not to exceed thirty

1 Brown's *Political History of Oregon,* Vol. 1. Portland, Ore., 1892; p. 168.
2 L. F. Grover, *The Oregon Archives,* Salem, 1853; p. 145.
3 L. F. Grover, *The Oregon Archives,* Salem. 1853; pp. 145-6.
4 L. F. Grover, *The Oregon Archives,* Salem, 1853; p. 148.
5 L. F. Grover, *The Oregon Archives,* Salem, 1853; p. 149.
6 L. F. Grover, *The Oregon Archives,* Salem, 1853; p. 150.

miles, fifteen cents; over thirty miles and not to exceed thirty miles, thirty cents; over eighty miles and not exceeding two hundred miles, forty cents; two hundred miles, fifty cents." The rate of postage on newspapers was four cents each.

The postmaster general was authorized to allow the postmasters a commission on the postage they collected; provided it did not exceed the rate per cent allowed by the fourteenth section of the said law of the United States. The compensation for the postmaster general was to be "the sum of 10% upon all monies received by him and paid out." The law also provided that the postal employees should be exempt from jury and militia duties.[7]

The House of Representatives elected William G. T'Vault postmaster general on December 19th,[8] and on the 22nd appropriated fifty dollars for the Post Office Department.[9] With this liberal appropriation the fortunes of the Post Office Department passed from the legislative branch to the postmaster general.

Postmaster General T'Vault on February 5, 1846, advertised in *The Oregon Spectator,* (the first newspaper published in Oregon), for sealed proposals for carrying the mail on two routes described as follows: "Route No. 1, from Oregon City to Fort Vancouver, once in two weeks, by water. Route No. 2, From Oregon City to Hill's in Twality county; thence to S. J. Hembres in Yam Hill county; thence to Andrew Smith's, Yam Hill county; thence to N. Ford's, Polk county; thence to Oregon Institute, Champoeg county; thence to Catholic Mission and Champoeg to Oregon City, once in two weeks, on horse back."[10]

In the same paper, Postmaster General T'Vault advertises that he had made a contract with Hugh Burns to carry the mail to Weston, Mo., for one trip only, and that the charge would be fifty cents for a letter of a single sheet.[11] The tenor of the advertisement led people to believe that Burns was to receive all the postage charged the letters; so in the next issue of the *Spectator* T'Vault hastens to explain that Burns was to receive 25% of the postage paid, for his services.[12] Burns was to leave early in March and planned to cross the Rocky Mountains by way of South Pass.[13] This is the only attempt I have found on the part

7 *The Oregon Spectator,* Oregon City. Vol. 1, No. 1.
8 Grover, *The Oregon Archives,* p. 152.
9 *Laws of a General and Local Nature Passed by the Legislative Committee and Legislative Assembly,* Asahel Bush, Territorial Printer, Salem, Oregon, 1853; p. 53.
10 *Oregon Spectator,* Vol. 1, No. 1.
11 *Oregon Spectator,* Vol. 1, No. 1.
12 *Oregon Spectator,* Vol. 1, No. 2.
13 *Oregon Spectator,* Vol. 1, No. 2.

of the Department to send mail east during its active life of nine months.

The organization of the department must have progressed for on March 4, 1846, T'Vault published the official instructions for postmasters and they give us considerable information concerning the service.

After covering routine matters such as an oath of office and property responsibility, it states that: "The mails were established for the transportation of intelligence; the articles, therefore proper to be sent in them are, letters, newspapers, and pamphlets." No packets were to be accepted that weigh over three pounds, and articles that would hazard or deface the mail are to be excluded. Under this head are listed "models of inventions and other things of wood, metal, mineral or glass."

The following sections seem to be so illuminating that I quote them in full: "Letters received to be sent by mail should be carefully marked with the name of the post office at which they were received, and the initials O. T., the day of the month on which they were forwarded in the mail, and the rate of postage chargeable on them." "The law fixes the rate of postage. Letter postage is also to be charged on all hand bills, printed or written proposals for new publications, circulars written or printed, lottery bills, advertisements, blank forms, manuscript copy for publication, and any memorandum which shall be written upon any newspaper or other paper conveyed in the mail, except it be a note from the publisher of a newspaper to a subscriber stating the amount due." "You will charge letter postage on all packets that be known. You will receive in payment of postage, specie, and approved orders on solvent merchants. You are not authorized in any case, to give credit for postage." "At the beginning of every postoffice quarter, you will require the subscribers and others who receive newspapers regularly through your office, to pay the quarter's postage in advance, and with out such payment, you will not deliver them any papers, even though they tender you the postage on them singly." "You will permit any person who desires it to pay the postage on any newspaper, letter or pamphlet, which he deposits with you to be sent by mail, marking upon it the rate of postage, and against the rate the word 'paid' at full length. Such paid letters are to be entered in the post bill, and when the mail is made up in the proper column in the *account of the mail*

sent. The postage on the paid newspapers and pamphlets is to be placed at the foot of your account of newspapers and pamphlets received."

I have omitted several sections dealing with such routine subjects as locking the mail bags, and that letters shall be held for three months before they are returned to the central office as not deliverable, but the directions in regard to the handling of postal funds are of interest. First the postmasters are instructed to send no money to the department, for the department will draw on them for the amount due and they must hold themselves in readiness to meet all drafts when they are presented. In no case will a draft be drawn unless there is evidence of funds in the possession of the post master.[14]

The above is a brief description of the machinery that put the post office into being and with which it carried on the struggle for existence several months, but the printed materials dealing with the subject are scarce. We find no further notice until the issue of the *Oregon Spectator* for October 15, 1846. This carries the following advertisement which marks the end of the Post Office Department as an important part of the machinery of the Provisional Government: "To the Public:—The last Legislature of Oregon passed a law creating a Post Office Department. Accordingly, in the month of February last, Post Offices and Post Masters were appointed in the several counties south of the Columbia. Since that time, the mail has been regularly carried to the said offices semi-monthly. The revenue arising from the postage falls far short of paying the expense of transportation of the mail. It is deemed advisable to stop the transportation of the mail for the present, the last legislature having only appropriated fifty dollars for the purpose of establishing a Post Office Department in Oregon, and fixing the rate of postage so high as to amount to prohibition of carrying letters by mail. Notwithstanding the strictest economy has been used, the last quarter's mail has been carried, having been paid entirely by contributions; yet the whole revenue arising from the postage of three quarters, will not pay the transportation for one quarter; and to attempt taxing the people for transportation of the mail, is a responsibility the Post Master General declines at the present time. If there should important mail arrive from the states, the mail will be despatched immediately to the several offices. W. G. T'Vault, P. M. G."[15]

14 *Oregon Spectator,* Vol. 1, No. 3.
15 *Oregon Spectator,* Vol. 1, No. 13.

That he was as good as his word is evidenced by the advertisement in the next issue of the *Spectator* which gives a list of fourteen men for whom there was mail in the central office at Oregon City. This mail had not been called for and the advertisement gives the additional information that these letters were brought from the States by Lieutenant Woodworth of the United States Navy.[16]

I find no further reference to the mail service until December 1, 1846, when Governor Abernethy gives some space to this problem in his message to the Legislature of that date. I quote as follows: "The law establishing the post office department needs altering, very materially. It was found, after being in operation but a very short time, that the rates of postage were altogether too high, amounting, indeed, to prohibition. Very few letters passed through the office; the revenue arose almost entirely from the postage on newspapers, but so far short of the expenses, that the postmaster-general, at the close of the third quarter, stopped sending the mails. I would recommend that the rates of postage be reduced to five cents on each single letter, double letters and packages in proportion, and one cent on each newspaper. A mail route should be kept up between the principal sections of the territory; and I have no doubt, if the postage is reduced, the revenue, arising from the receipts of the office, will nearly or quite pay the expences."[17]

The legislative activity that followed the delivery of the governor's message shows that the interest in the mail service was far from dead. On December 3 the Speaker of the House announced among the standing committees, one "on post offices and post roads" composed of Boon, T'Vault and Peers.[18] On the same day that part of the governor's message which dealt with postage, was referred to this committee.[19] Mr. Boon, speaking for the committee on December —, reported "A bill amendatory to the act establishing a post office department."[20] The bill was read for the first time on the same day[21] and on the 15th was read a second time and referred to the committee of the whole[22] which reported it back with amendments.[23] The bill got no further on its legislative journey, and was not printed; so we are ignorant

16 *Oregon Spectator*, Vol. 1, No. 18.
17 *The Oregon Archives*, p. 159.
18 *The Oregon Archives*, pp. 165-6.
19 *The Oregon Archives*, p. 164.
20 *The Oregon Archives*, p. 186.
21 *The Oregon Archives*, p. 187.
22 *The Oregon Archives*, p. 190.
23 *The Oregon Archives*, p. 191.

as to its provisions but it seems safe to assume that it followed the Governor's suggestion as to placing the postal rates lower. This is idle speculation for the legislature on the 18th passed a deficiency appropriation of $116.00 for the relief of the post office department[24] and the next day passed an act repealing all laws relative to the establishment of the Post Office Department to take effect January 1, 1847.[25] This marks the final effort of the Provisional Government to furnish its citizens with mail service for there is no further mention of the subject in the records of the House of Representatives as recorded in *The Oregon Archives.*

As early as 1845 and continuing down into the territorial days, we find the people of Oregon trying to induce the government of the United States to furnish them with mail service. On June 25, 1845, the Provisional Government of Oregon sent a memorial to Congress which says in part: "We pray: * * * That a public mail be established, to arrive and depart monthly from Oregon City and Independence, and such other routes be established as are essential to the Willamette country and other settlements."[26] This appeal and the growing interest in the Oregon Question had some effect for on January 23, 1846, Mr. W. Gilpin wrote to Senator Atchinson on the question, and from his letter I quote the following: "Two gentlemen, now residents of the Willamette, formerly mail contractors in the states of Illinois, Iowa and Missouri, and familiar with the route and the country, stated to me that they would undertake a monthly mail for ten dollars a mile, going and returning. The Indians beyond the Rocky mountains may be employed safely in this business, and horses are very abundant and fine on the lower Columbia. The average price of a good horse is ten dollars. * * * The law should make provisions for the enlargement of the monthly service to a weekly service, and provide for extension to the Sandwich Islands and later to China."[27]

That letter seems to have had some effect on the deliberations of the committee on Post Offices and Post Routes for in their report of March 2, 1846, I find the following: "The committee have determined that the immediate establishment of a mail route from the western line of the state of Missouri to the mouth of the Columbia River is a measure required by the growing interest of the government and people of the United States on the

24 *The Oregon Spectator*, Vol. II, No. 2.
25 *The Oregon Spectator*, Vol. I, No. 25.
26 Brown's *Political History of Oregon*, p. 162.
27 Sen. Doc. 1st Session of 29th Con., Vol. IV, Doc. No. 178.

shores of the Pacific Ocean. * * * Population of Oregon is ten thousand people [?] * * * These people feel a great anxiety to have regular communication through which they can correspond with their friends in the United States. While the Federal government possesses the exclusive power to establish post-offices and post roads, it is expected that the facilities afforded by this means of communications will be equally extended to every part of the United States. Ten thousand people in Oregon with out post-offices and post roads. * * * No other body of people of that size in the United States are without mail service. * * * A mail route established would not be expected to pay the cost at first, but it might later, not only for a monthly service as now proposed but in time might support a daily mail."

The report goes into great detail, in urging the trade of the Pacific as an excuse for establishing the service. It also gives the following information as to the probable time for the transportation of the mail. "The time for a letter to go from New York to Independence, Mo., is thirteen days. * * * It is believed that the mail can be carried from Independence, Mo., to the mouth of the Columbia in forty days. After the service is established this time can be reduced to twenty days."[28]

There was no favorable action taken on this report; so President Polk in his message to Congress on August 6, of the same year, says in part: "It is likewise important that the mail facilities, so indispensable for the diffusion of information, and for binding together the different portions of our extended Confederacy, should be afforded to our citizens west of the Rocky Mountains";[29] and again in his message at the beginning of the special session of Congress December 8, 1846, from which I quote: "It will be important during your present session * * * the establishment of * * * post-offices and post roads, and provision for the transportation of the mail on such routes as the public convenience will suggest," in the territory of Oregon.[30]

That these efforts produced some legislation and other activities is shown by a letter from Secretary of State Buchanan to John M. Shively who had been appointed deputy postmaster for Astoria, Oregon, dated at Washington, March 29, 1847. I quote an extract: "Sir: On the eve of your departure for Oregon the

28 Sen. Doc. 1st Session of 29th Con., Vol. IV, Doc. No. 178.
29 Richardson's *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* 1789-1897, *Washington*, 1897, Vol. IV, p. 457.
30 *Ibid.*, 504.

President has ordered me * * * An earnest of this is afforded by the recent act carrying into effect the recommendations of the president, so far as regards the extension of our post office laws, and the grant of mail facilities to our fellow citizens of Oregon. This will appear from a certified copy now furnished you of part of an act approved March 3, 1847, 'to establish certain post routes and other purposes.' I am authorized by the postmaster general to assure you that all the provisions contained in these sections will be carried into effect with as little delay as possible. You will perceive, that means have already been provided for the conveyance of public information and private correspondence amongst our citizens in Oregon themselves, and between them and our states and territories east of the Rocky Mountains."[31]

The quotations from the certified copy of the law referred to above are as follows: " * * * an act to establish certain post routes * * * Oregon. From Oregon City, via Fort Vancouver and Fort Nisqually, to the mouth of Admiralty inlet. From Oregon City up the Willamette valley, to the Katamet River, in the direction of San Francisco.

"Section 2.—*And be it further enacted,* that the above routes shall go into operation on the first day of July, 1847 or sooner, should the funds of the department justify the same: *Provided,* that as soon as a responsible contractor shall offer to transport the mail over any portion of the routes included in the bill, for the revenue arising therefrom respectively, the postmaster general shall have the power forthwith to put them under contract.

"Section 6.—*And be it further enacted,* That the postmaster general be, and he is hereby, authorized to contract for the transportation of the mail from Charlestown to Chagres, * * * and across the Isthmus to Panama and from thence to Astoria, or the mouth of the Columba river * * * The mail to be conveyed from Charlestown to Chagres, and from Panama to Astoria in steam ships, and to be transported each way once in two months or oftener, as the public interest shall demand: *Provided,* that the expenditure shall not exceed one hundred thousand dollars per annum.

"Section 7.—*And be it further enacted,* That the postmaster general be, and he hereby is, authorized to establish a post office and appoint a deputy postmaster at Astoria, and such other places on the Pacific within the territory of the United States as the

31 *The Oregon Spectator,* Vol. II, No. 17.

public interest may require: That all letters conveyed to or from * * * Astoria and on other places on the Pacific within the United States shall pay forty cents postage."[32]

This resulted in the publishing of the following advertisement in the *Oregon Spectator* for September 16, 1847:

"MAIL CONTRACTS TO LET.—The undersigned, special agent for the post-office department of the United States for Oregon Territory, will receive sealed proposals for the carrying of the mail from Astoria to Oregon City and back again, and such other intermediate offices as shall be established. Also, for carrying the mail from Oregon City to the mouth of Mary's river and back again, and such other intermediate offices as shall be established. Also for carrying the mail from Oregon City via Fort Vancouver and Fort Nesqually, to the mouth of Admiralty Inlet and back again and such other intermediate offices as may be established. Persons wishing to propose for carrying the mail on any of the aforesaid routes, are informed that the amount of pay will be the entire yield of the respective offices on the route, over and above the commission of the postmasters respectively. As Oregon City will be situated on more than one route, a division of the proceeds will be made between the different contractors coming to that office in proportion to the number of trips performed.The person proposing to carry the mail will express definitely the number of trips he will carry the mail per month for the compensation above offered, and the contract will be continued for four years from date unless sooner annulled by the department. Sealed proposals will be received until the first Monday in October next, for the carrying the mail on any aforesaid routes, and may be deposited with W. G. T'Vault of Oregon City.—C. Gilliam, Special Agent Post Office Department of the U. S. for Oregon Territory, Oregon City, Sept. 9, 1847."[33]

The publication of the above articles in the *Spectator* must have raised high the hopes of the people, but the United States failed more miserably than the Provisional Government and there was no mail service. For Governor Abernethy in a letter to President Polk dated Oregon City, October 19, 1847 says: "Desired:—Appropriation for the transportation of the mails in Oregon and to Oregon (we have postmasters and agent but no mail)";[34] and in a letter dated April 3, 1848 as follows: "Col.

32 *The Oregon Spectator*, Vol. II, No. 17.
33 *The Oregon Spectator*, Vol. II, No. 17.
34 Brown's *Political History of Oregon*, p. 301.

Gilliam killed accidently in the Indian war * * * He was appointed by your excellency to the office '*Agent of the Post Office Department*' * * * Nothing was ever effected in that department, as an advertisement was put in the paper offering to let contracts, but as the contractor was to get pay out of the proceeds of the office, and even that could not be guaranteed to him for four years, no one would enter into contract to carry mail, consequently no mail has been started in this territory under the authority of the United States."[35]

This ends the story of the efforts to establish a mail service during the tenure of the Provisional Government, but the question comes to mind, what was done in the matter of communication during this period when there was no mail service. From the scanty sources I have gathered the following examples: On April 17, 1847, the Board of Directors who controlled the fortunes of the *Oregon Spectator* announced that they had employed a person to carry the paper to subscribers.[36] Then in September of the same year a notice is published in the *Spectator* that Captain Gilston of the bark Whiton expected to sail direct to Panama from that place, Oregon City, and he would be glad to take any letters enrusted to his care. The editorial comment was that such letters could reach the United States in three months.[37] The third newspaper to be published in Oregon was the *Oregon American Evangelical Union* published at Tualitin Plains and in its issue published June 7, 1848, said: "Probably the greatest embarrassment to the successful operation of the presses of Oregon is the want of Mails." It announced that arrangements had been made for two carriers to make the rounds through the settlements; also, by special arrangement, it was to receive the mail from Portland, twelve miles away, once a week, and by special express whenever foreign intelligence reached the river.[38]

Thus ends the struggle of the people of Oregon for mail communication with their old homes in the States and between the settlements in Oregon. They failed, yet it was a splendid attempt to achieve a task beyond their means.

WALTER M. UNDERHILL.

35 Brown's *Political History of Oregon*, p. 373.
36 *The Oregon Spectator*, Vol. II, No. 6.
37 *The Oregon Spectator*, Vol. II, No. 18.
38 Carey, *History of Oregon*, p. 682.

THE OREGON MINT

In making a study of early Oregon history we are at all times confronted with the fact that we are studying the acts of an independent state.

Judge Matthew P. Deady in the Lownsdale case vs. the City of Portland said: "It is well known that at the time of the organization of the Oregon Territory an anomalous state of things existed here. The country was extensively settled and the people living under an independent government by themselves. They were a community in the full sense of the word, engaged in agriculture, trade, commerce, and mechanic arts, had built towns, opened and improved farms, established highways, passed revenue laws,, collected taxes, made war and concluded peace. These were the acts of a fully organized government, a government arising from necessity, but dependent upon the will of the people."

Since Oregon was such an independent state, it is not to be wondered or questioned that the legislature under the provisional government passed an act providing for the establishment of a mint to coin gold, even though it be the act of an independent sovereign power.

This early phase of Oregon history illustrates well the method of how man has passed through various stages of development and finally arrived at a money medium. We find that for thirty years Oregon had no other method of exchange, or a financial system, other than barter and trade. Coins were of little use, in fact the Indians hardly knew of their value. Thus in general we can go from furs to wheat, from wheat to general produce, from paper on such securities to gold dust measured by private scales, from gold dust to coined native gold measured by local standard, finally from native gold to the alloyed gold coins of the United States. Easily enough for each of the above steps, reasons in economy and justice can be given.

As early as 1845 the provisional legislative commission created a currency which included gold and silver, treasury warrants, orders on solvent dealers, wheat delivered at market, and where no specific contract had been made—available orders, wheat, hides, tallow, beef, pork, butter, lard, peas, lumber and other articles of export of the territory. These were made lawful tender at their current value, giving a very flexible financial system, which worked

fairly well up to the time when the necessity for coined gold became paramount.

Small currency of that period gave rise to a literal interpretation of the expression "a pocket full of rocks." Made of small flints by pasting upon them representatives of finance to represent the values they were to pass for, with the name of the individual who stood responsible, they were often a convenient aid.

In 1848 and 1849 the Oregon Territory was greatly influenced by the change in economic conditions brought about by the discovery of gold in California. The population of Oregon at this time was approximately 13,000 white people, located chiefly in the lower Willamette valley. Excepting agriculture, the industries were very few, in all there being eight flour mills and fifteen sawmills, two of each being located at Oregon City. When the news of the gold discovery in California reached Oregon, it was in the midst of the harvest season, August, 1848. Immediately there began a great exodus of gold seekers, which for a time literally threatened to depopulate the land. Burnett, who was among the fortune hunters, says that "two-thirds of the men capable of bearing arms departed the first season." Naturally those who went from Oregon, being among the first there, were very successful, but on the other hand those who stayed at home were just as successful, if not more so.

With the population of California jumping overnight as it were, to 100,000, a great demand for produce was created. It was an effective market above all else, for California had gold with which to pay. Oregon being as close as she is to California had a great advantage and we find that in one year the ships that visited Portland increased from five in 1847 to fifty in 1849. The price of wheat went from 62½ cents a bushel to $2, flour began to sell at $15 and $16 a barrel, potatoes sold at $7 a bushel, and lumber at the beginning sold at $80 a thousand but dropped to about $40 after sawmills were established in California. Thus for a period of about three years Oregon products sold from two to three hundred per cent higher than the usual prices.

With this increase in the export trade gold dust began to find its way rapidly into Oregon. By January, 1849, about $400,000 worth of gold dust was estimated to be in Oregon. This new currency sold at first in bulk by the aid of scales, against the other goods. Although it was an improvement over wheat orders on merchants, and the ordinary Territorial script on account of its

standard universal value, it lacked two things needed in a successful currency—cognizability and homogeneity.

The weighing of gold dust was at the least a wasteful and irregular process. The dust being handled often became mixed with impurities and the transferring of the gold was never exact. Oregon needed some form of currency of uniform and authoritative standard of weight and fineness. Since the Federal mint was not opened in San Francisco until 1854, the delay caused much dissatisfaction, as the demand for coinage seemed not only urgent but to be more or less endurng.

The agitation for an "Oregon Mint" began properly with the holders of the gold bullion. There were many complaints, the chief being against the merchant who had in nearly every instance fixed a low price for the dust, even where it was exchanged for goods. The object of the movement was merely to establish some rule of exchange in Oregon on a par with that in operation in California and not to raise the price of gold dust above the market rate. How it resulted in the establishment of a gold mint we shall see.

In California the miners received $16 an ounce. On coming to Oregon they got only $11, or rather the arbitrary price of the merchant who fixed it to suit himself. The price ran anywhere from $10 to $14 an ounce. Thus a miner in California by converting his dust there into currency at $16 an ounce, could buy dust in Oregon for say $11, and by shipping again to San Francisco could make a third profit. The Hudson's Bay Company at one time by having a quantity of small coins on hand, due to their foreign relations, pushed the price of gold dust down to the unheard of price of $7 an ounce. Needless to state that at the time gold dust was bringing $20 an ounce in London.

Not only was the need of coinage evident, but the arguments in favor of a Territorial mint were supported by pure calculations and it was estimated that by August 1, 1849, there was about $1,500,000 to $2,000,000 worth of gold dust in Oregon or at least would be by that time. In January gold dust was exchanging for coin at from $11 to $12 an ounce or about two-thirds of its value. At least one-third of $1,500,000 was worth saving.

So when the Oregon legislature met in February, 1849, a petition signed by many of the leading and influential citizens, setting forth the needs of territorial coinage, was presented. People were impatient at the delay of the United States in establishing a Terri-

torial government, and were becoming more disgusted with the greed of the merchants. Furthermore, the Territory, having just passed through the Cayuse Indian war, had a heavy debt to meet and the members of the legislature were ready for some scheme whereby this debt could be paid. They thought that between the price of gold dust as fixed by the Oregon merchants and its true value was a wide margin and that by splitting this amount both the individual holder and the government would profit accordingly.

The first reading of the bill before the legislature of the Provisional Government took place during the afternoon session of February 13, 1849. The next day the house went into a committee of the whole to discuss it and on Thursday afternoon the bill to provide for the weighing and stamping of gold was passed, the official date being February 16, 1849. The total vote cast was eighteen, there being sixteen for the measure and two against. Those who voted for were Applegate, Avery, Bailey, Cox, Curry, Hedges, Hill, Hudson, Lewis, Parker, Peterson, Portius, Thurston, Wilcox and the Speaker. Those opposed were Crawford and Martin.

As a justification for such an act in the preamble the law states: "Large amounts of gold dust and particles mixed with other metals and impurities are being brought to and bartered in this Territory; and great impositions may be practised upon the farmers, merchants, and community generally of the Territory by the introduction of spurious and impure metals, and great irregularities may exist in the scales and weights used by individuals dealing in the said article."

The act itself is, in part, as follows:

"Section I. Be it enacted by the House of Representatives of Oregon Territory that a place be established at Oregon City for the weighing and assaying of gold, and melting and stamping the same, and that said establishment shall be kept open daily, Sundays and holidays excepted, from 10 a.m. till 4 p.m. and shall be under the superintendence, management and control as hereinafter provided,

"Section II. There shall be elected a director, an assayer, one treasurer, one melter, and one coiner, who shall take oath of office and give bonds and securities, to be approved by the Governor, payable to Oregon Territory in the penal sum of $30,000 each, for the faithful performance of their duties, and who shall receive as compensation per annum $1999 each, for the time em-

ployed, to be paid quarterly out of the proceeds of the establishment created by this act."

Sections 3, 4, 5, and 6 deal with the duties of the various officers, the director being general superintendent and his duty to see the provisions of the act carried out, to keep the various departments in operation, and to publish a quarterly bulletin. The assayer was to determine the purity of the gold. The treasurer was to purchase bullion, to file the assayer's certificates and to keep a correct account of receipts and disbursements. The melter and coiner were to carry out the duties of their office as their titles indicated. The value of the coin under Section 6 was to be one dollar per pennyweight and the pieces were to be five and ten pennyweight respectively.

Section 7 provided that the dies for stamping should represent on one side the Roman figures five and ten for the pieces of five pennyweight and ten pennyweight; the reverse sides were to have the words "Oregon Territory" and the date around the edge, with the arms of Oregon in the center.

"Section 8. All disbursements, together with the pay of officers, shall be made in the stamped pieces hereby authorized and all that remains, expenses paid, shall apply on the public debt caused by the Cayuse War.

"Section 9. As soon as the establishment shall be ready to go into operation the Governor shall issue a proclamation of the fact."

Section 10 provided the criminal provisions: For others stamping gold unless authorized a fine of not less than $100 and not less than one year's imprisonment were imposed.

"Section 11. The criminal provisions of this act to take effect thirty days after passage, the balance to take effect from date of approval.

"Approved February 16, 1849.

George Abernethy, Governor
L. A. Rece, Speaker."

Both Crawford and Martin had their protests againstst the act written upon the records of the proceedings as follows:

"I vote no on the passage of an act to provide for the weighing and assaying of gold, melting and stamping the same.

"1st. Because the coining of money is contrary to the constitution of the United States, which as an American citizen I am sworn to support.

"2nd. Because I believe an officer of the United States will

soon be here, whose duty it will be to prohibit the operation of the mint.

"3rd. Because I believe it is inexpedient for the faith of this Territory to be pledged for the amount necessary to put this mint in operation, inasmuch as it will be discontinued immediately upon the arrival of an officer from the United States.

"M. Crawford."

Mr. Crawford was elected from Clackamas county in 1847.

The protest of W. J. Martin is as follows:

"1st. Because I believe it is an open violation of the constitution of the U.S. to coin money other than as directed by the Congress thereof.

"2nd. Because I have good reason to believe that the U.S. have extended their jurisdiction over this country and it will in a short time be in full operation.

"3rd. Because it is making this Territory a shaving machine by only allowing $16.50 per ounce."

Mr. Martin was elected from Yamhill county in 1848.

The Oregon mint was to open in Oregon City on March 10, 1849, but, as a mint under the Provisional Government, it never came to pass. On March 2, 1849, there arrived in Oregon the first governor under Federal authority, namely General Joseph Lane. He immediately issued a proclamation declaring the Oregon Territory to be under the jurisdiction of the United States, thus the coinage law became of no value whatsoever.

Nevertheless the demand for coinage was just as great as before and we find a group of business men undertaking to carry the program of the mint on to completion. A meeting was held in the counting room of the store of Campbell and Smith in Oregon City and a "partnership was formed for the purpose of the weighing and stamping of gold." The organization was known as the Oregon Exchange Company and the partners were Kilborne, Magruder, Taylor, G. Abernethy, Willson, Rector, Campbell and Smith. Since Mr. Taylor was director and Willson melter and coiner under the original act, they retained their positions, the aim being to carry out the purpose of the law—however with no official connection.

Mr. Rector, who was a man of mechanical skill, was authorized to build a rolling mill and furnish dies and stamps. He went to Salem and employed Thomas Powell, a good blacksmith, to do the work. In a letter Rector is quoted as saying: "Thomas Powell

was employed to do the forging at $10 a pound for iron used. They had considerable difficulty in obtaining iron but by using old wagon tires and such scraps as could be found, they eventually by welding the pieces together made a very good machine for which he (Powell) received $60. He also helped doing the lathe work and received $40 extra pay, although he did not expect it, as he wished to see the work go through."

When the mint was ready, gold dust was bought at $16 an ounce, no effort being made to separate the impurities. Because of this the pieces were made slightly heavier than those under the original coinage act. A $5 piece had 130 grains of "native gold" and a $10 piece twice as much. The output of the mint totaled $58,500, about $30,000 being in the smaller denominations

In order to convince the public that the gold pieces contained the correct amount of gold the company stamped on one side "Oregon Exchange Company" around the edge, and "10 D 260 G native Gold 10 D" in the center of the larger piece and "130 G native gold 5 D" on the smaller. On the reverse side in a semicircle around the edge were the initials K. M. T. A. W. R. C. S. of the partners. In the central space was the accepted Oregon coat of arms, the beaver on a log, and below appeared O. T. 1849 on the larger coin but with the letters reversed on the smaller. This money was called beaver money because of the picture of the beaver appearing on the coins.

A very intimate picture of the mint is given in a quoted letter of John P. Rector, the third son of Mr. Rector, who was one of the partners. He writes: "Father petitioned the Legislature allowing a company to coin gold dust, that was fast becoming the circulating medium of the country, into bullion in the shape of $5 and $10 coins. It was granted and a company was formed giving him the privilege of making the mint, and also the money. He went to work at once to make the machine, which gave him great credit, in the opinion of the people. The work was done in Salem, in the shop of T. Powell, a blacksmith. He did the forging, father superintending the work. Father did all the turning in Joseph Watt's shop on Mill Creek, east part of Salem. Hamilton Campbell engraved the dies and he claimed to have the tools. I saw him put the engravings on the five dollar pieces, if you remember there was a mistake in the order of the initials O. T., they were reversed and read T. O. This was a source of great dissatisfaction to father but it required so much work to make a

new die, that it was concluded to let it go. On the completion of the mint, father went to Oregon City and coined all the gold dust that the people brought in, charging a certain per cent, but I do not know what that was. The company then met and ordered the dies destroyed, and there was a committee of three appointed for the purpose. They were ordered to throw them from a high rock that stands below the falls at Oregon City. Whether they did so or not, I do not know as there was some doubt in after years. The stamps I know nothing about."

The dies were later found by D. P. Thompson in cleaning out some rubbish in a room in the old building that had once been occupied by Campbell and Smith in Oregon City. They are now in the vault of the Secretary of State of Oregon and are very highly prized possessions. The rolling mill is thought to have been sent south, probably down in the Umpqua region.

In summing up the situation, we have certain economic conditions, becoming a powerful economic force, and out of dire necessity arose the Oregon Mint. It accomplished its purpose by stabilizing gold and forcing merchants to offer a standard price for the metal. Although only about three per cent of the gold in the Territory passed through the mint, yet by establishing a price of $16 an ounce, it held that price over the Territory and thus regulated the market to that extent.

Since the stamped pieces of gold were worth from eight per cent to twelve per cent more than the standard alloyed gold coins of the United States, they brought a premium in the government mint at San Francisco after its establishment in 1854. Only a few of the old coins are now left, these being for the most part in private collections.

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T. Elmer Strevey.

WHILE IDAHO WAS A PART OF WASHINGTON

Mr. James E. Babb, attorney at law, Lewiston, Idaho, has obtained access to a number of old official records having to do with public business in Idaho while it was still a part of Washington Territory. He is deeply interested in historical matters and has an added reason for delving into such archives since Mrs. Babb is State Historian of the Daughters of the American Revolution. When Washington Territory was organized by the act of Congress dated March 2, 1853, the southern boundary extended along the Columbia River to the forty-sixth parallel of north latitude and thence along said parallel to the Rocky Mountains. When Oregon was admitted as a State, February 14, 1859, its eastern boundary was placed along the Snake River to the mouth of the Owyhee River and thence southward on a straight line to the forty-second parallel of north latitude. The land thus cut off was thrown into Washington Territory. From that year of 1859 until Idaho Territory was organized by the act of Congress, March 3, 1863, Washington Territory contained all of its present area and also all of Idaho and the western portions of Montana and Wyoming. Over that vast and thinly populated area the Territorial government emanating from Olympia was undoubtedly feeble. There was some local, or county government, the records of which are sure to attract the attention of historians as they become better known. Mr. Babb's extracts and comments follow.—Editor.

In the Recorder's office, Shoshone County, Idaho, is a leather book entitled "A", "Records", "Com. Records."

Page 1 shows a meeting of the Board of Commissioners of Shoshone County. "First regular term commencing Monday—September—A. D., 1861. * * * Present William L. Cardwell, James Griffin and John Tudor, County Commissioners. E. L. Bradley, clerk, and R. L. Gillespie, sheriff. * * * Adjourned sine die, October 28, 1861." Page 13.

The son of R. L. Gillespie became a noted doctor in Portland, Oregon, and had a sanitarium on the east side where Judge George H. Stewart, late of the Idaho Supreme Court, was treated.

A special meeting was held on January 3, 1862, "pursuant to

notice." Thomas Stringham had succeeded James Griffin as one of the Commissioners. Adjournment is recorded on page 17.

On page 18 there begins the record of a regular meeting at Pierce City, on April 21, 1862, J. P. Butler, clerk.

Record of a regular session on May 26, 1862, begins on page 21 and on page 22 authority was given for drafting plans for a jail and court house.

On June 7, 1862, notice was given to call for bids for building the jail and court house.

On page 28 the record shows that the bid by Reed and Keef for building the jail and court house was accepted.

An election was about to be held and George B. Walker and D. M. Fraser were appointed judges of the election and A. B. Anderson, inspector. Polls were to open at the National Saloon, Pierce City, and officers were chosen and polls designated to be opened at Bostwick and Pucket's Saloon in Oro Fino City.

Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Works,* Volume XXXI., pages 218, 400, 404, records the election for Delegate to Congress in 1861, saying that W. H. Wallace, Republican, defeated Selucius Garfielde, Democrat, by 300 and Edward Lander, Independent, bv 1000. During the canvass the three delegates met at Oro Fino and there agreed that whoever was successful should urge a division of the Territory. George B. Walker, a Justice of the Peace, suggested the name of Idaho for the proposed new Territory to result from such division.

The old county record for August 5, 1862, shows that warrants were ordered drawn for Reed and Keef for the erection of the jail and court house.

Mr. George H. Himes, of Portland, Oregon, furnishes this item: "Judge Oliphant left Walla Walla August 18, 1862, for Pierce City, to hold the session of the District Court for Shoshone County, to convene September 1st."

Judge Ethelbert Patterson Oliphant held the first term of court at Pierce on September 1, 1862, Gilmore Hays, Deputy Clerk, and at Florence, in Idaho County, September 22, J. W. Brown, Clerk.

The record for September 27, page 44, says the bill of H. Martin for $250 as Prosecuting Attorney, "at the last Term of Court" was allowed.

Martin had studied law with the famous jurist and author, Isaac F. Redfield, of Vermont. He later formed the partnership

of Martin & Johnson. The partner, Richard Z. Johnson, was one of Idaho's very ablest and best equipped lawyers of the early days. He said Martin was a very good Common Law lawyer. Martin was physically small, very lame and always rode a donkey. In his last years he lived in Weiser, Idaho. He was drowned in Reynolds Creek, Owyhee County.

The record for September 27, 1862, page 45, shows the bill of Edward Landers, as Assistant Prosecuting Attorney, was cut from $250 to $200.

That was doubtless Edward Lander, who had been Chief Justice of Washington Territory and a member of the Code Commission during the first Territorial Legislature. He was a graduate of Harvard and of Harvard Law School.

On October 25, 1862, page 50, the assessment roll was accepted by D. M. Fraser and Ed. Harris, County Commissioners, and T. S. Black, Clerk.

On November 17, 1862, page 53, J. H. Parker signed as Clerk.

In the Register and Fee Book, beginning on page 2 "September Term, 1864, Pierce City" is found the record that Alexander C. Smith was Judge; Levi Ankeny, Clerk; A. K. Davidson, Sheriff; Thomas M. Reed, Prosecuting Attorney. The Grand Jury qualified. Seven cases, Territory of Washington, were nolle pros'd.

The Journal of County Treasurers begins on July 18, 1862, and shows collections, taxes, etc., for 1862 and 1863. The Assessor in 1862 was Capps; in 1863, McCullough. Levi Ankeny took charge as Treasurer on May 1, 1864, first making a certificate of "Financial Conditions" when he took charge.

In a record of deeds Book A., page 23, is a conveyance from Edwin Meany to J. L. Martin, for the consideration of $500. The deed was dated, acknowledged and filed on October 31, 1861. The acknowledgment was taken by E. L. Bradley, Deputy Clerk, and witnessed by E. L. Bradley and Alexander Cameron. The description is: "Deed to the new building erected by Edwin Meany in Pierce City, Shoshone County, Washington Territory, an known as the 'Miner's Home,' together with the ground on which the same is situate."

Shoshone County was created by an act of the Washington Territorial Legislature on January 29, 1858, the county seat being located on the land claim of Angus McDonald, later on the

ranch of J. R. Bates and, some time in 1861, moved to Pierce City. Nez Perce and Idaho Counties were created by the Washington Territorial Legislature, 1861-1862.

Where are the records between January, 1858, and September, 1861?

The County Auditor at Colville, Stevens County, Washington, says the County Commissioners' Journal there begins with the organization of Spokane County on May 7, 1860. Book A. of Land Claims shows the first instrument recorded at Colville to be dated November 27, 1862.

F. Elliott Smith has a record kept by a Justice of the Peace at Pierce City, beginning about August or September, 1861. The book is a duplicate in size and make of the book entitled: "Book A., Liens, Mortgages, Contracts, etc., and Licenses."

These official records in private hands are such as were not taken North when the county seat was taken north about 1886 and now apparently belong by law to the respective county officers at Oro Fino, County Seat of Clearwater County. There is now adequate vault equipment there for preservation of the old records.

A number of such books received for examination from Mr. T. B. Reed, of Pierce City, will now, his consent having been given, be delivered to the Recorder of Clearwater County. Mr. Reed is the Mining Recorder at Pierce City and as such is the legal custodian of the early mining records there. They are doubtless of much value and interest.

JAMES E. BABB.

DOCUMENTS

The Nisqually Journal

[*Continued from Volume XV, Page 226.*]

[November, 1852.]

Monday 1st. Rain all day. Chaulifoux[1] preparing wood for verandah around large house. Kahannui,[2] Kupahi[3] and two Indians making Shingles. Barnes[4] & Dean[5] stringing onions. Gang strewing gravel about Fort yard. Gorridge[6] & Legg[7] ploughing land for Wheat. Oxen bringing up planks from Store at beach.

Tuesday 2nd. Fine. Hands employed as before. A visit from Messrs. Moses & Bradley[8] of the U. S. Custom House.

Wednesday 3rd. Frosty fine weather. Dr. Tolmie[9] off this morning [by] canoe for Olympia. Young[10] accompanies him with 15 bush. Wheat to be ground at the mill. Kahannui & Kuphai making Shingles. Chaulifoux at Verandah. Gang pulling onions in garden. Wagon and cart bringing home firewood.

Thursday 4th. hard Frost all day. Chaulifoux at work at verandah. Legg out with Wagon & Horses for Beef to supply a Vessel tomorrow. Ox Wagon out after Beef for rations. Kahannui, Kuphai & 2 Indians off to the Bush to split Shingles. Gang pulling onions in garden.

Friday 5th. Gloomy weather. rain in the evening. Barnes at work in garden. Gang sorting potatoes, others employed as before. Horse cart bringing home firewood. potato crop not very large this season about 800 Bushels. [Ms. Page 10.]

Saturday 6th. dull rain part of day. hands employed as before. *Sunday 7th.* A visit from Captn. Brown of the Am. Ship "Persea." Capt. Brown brought one of his Sailors, the jaw of whom he had broken in a quarrel by a blow from a Pistol.

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1 Baptiste Chaulifoux, a servant.
2 A servant. 3 A servant. 4 A servant.
5 Aubrey Dean, a servant.
6 A servant. 7 A servant.
8 Simpson P. Moses, collector of customs, and John Bradley, the latter identified with the town of Stellacoum.
9 William Fraser Tolmie, chief trader for the Hudson's Bay Co., and in charge of Fort Nisqually.
10 A servant.

Monday 8th. Cold Frosty Weather. Chaulifoux preparing boards for receiling big house. Kahannui & Kuphai making Shingles. Indian gang picking potatoes. Wagon bringing up goods from beach Store. a visit from Captn. Howard and Mr. Hathaway.[11]

Tuesday 9th. Cold a slight fall of Snow which soon disappeared. hands employed as before. Northover in with a very bad eye which hinders him from attending to his duties.

Wednesday 10th. Showery. Chaulifoux preparing Verandah. Kahannui,Kuphai, Squally, Bob & Bill making Shingles. Barnes at work in garden. Gang dipping a band of Ewes in Tobacco water. Two ploughs & two Harrows at work. Wagon removing Sheep parks, &c.

Thursday 11th. Fine. hands employed as before. Wagon off after Beef. [Ms. Page 11.]

Friday 12th. Showery. Hands employed splitting Shingles, clearing in Swamp &c. 4 Bushels Wheat sown and ploughed in, two Harrows at work. Canoe arrived from Victoria[12] bringing letters. The Indians at Victoria have become in some instances very hostile. An Orkney man in the employ of the Compy at Victoria has been Shot dead by them.

Saturday 13th. Rain all day. Hands employed as before.

Sunday 14th. Showery.

Monday 15th. Showery. Chaulifoux & Squally employed setting up Verandah around large house. Kahannui, Kuphai & Bill making Shingles. Gang repairing Fences. Wagon bringing home firewood. Lagg with two Horses & Wagon out after Beef. Two Indians started this afternoon with a mail for Vancouver. A good business in Sale Shop to day took upwards of $200.00. Flour still continues to sell very high, coarse Mill sort selling at $15 per Cwt. and we are selling our very sour Flour at $18 per Barrel. Mr. Dean[13] in the presence of C. Gallion[14] delivered a warning notice to Fredk. Rabjohn[15] who has settled at the end of the big lake[16] near Tlithlow.

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11 Officers from Fort Stellacoom.

12 Fort Victoria at the site of the present city of Victoria, B. C. It is now (1852) the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Co. in these parts, superseding Fort Vancouver on the Columbia.

13 Mr. Thomas Dean, foreman of all the stations on the plains under Mr. Walter Ross, clerk. He resides at Tlithlow, near Stellacoom.

14 Identity not ascertained.

15 A settler at Stellacoom. He was formerly a member of the ship *Albion*.

16 Probaby the present American Lake.

Tuesday 16th. Fine all day. Hands employed as before. paid off Plain[17] Potatoe Gang. Montgomery[18] sent in two Wild Oxen to be broken in [for] work. Young sent off with Beef to a Ship some distance down the Sound. [Ms. Page 12.]

Wednesday 17th. Frosty Weather. Chaulifoux & the Kanakas[19] commenced roofing large house with Shingles. Barnes & Dean beating Furs & making ready for packing. paid off Indian Gang. William Tawai breaking in Wild Oxen. Dr. Tolmie gone to Olympia. Lagg sowed 4 Bushels of Wheat.

Thursday 18th. Weather and work the same as yesterday. Wagon off after Beef.

Friday 19th. Fine Frosty Weather. Chaulifoux & Squally at work at Verandah. Kahannui & Kuphai making Shingles. Barnes repairing his own dwelling house. Lagg & Gorridge sowing & Ploughing in Wheat. Horse Cart bringing home firewood. Dr. Tolmie returned from Olympia.

Saturday 20th. Gloomy Weather. hands employed as before. Dr. Tolmie rode out to Steilacoom. An express arrived from Victoria.

Sunday 21st. Rain all day.

Monday 22nd. Showery. Chaulifoux finished Verandah in front of large house and commenced one at back of same. Kahannui & two Indians making Shingles. Barnes thrashing Oats. Gorridge[20] ploughing in Swamp. Lagg with horse Wagon bringing in Potatoes from Tlithlow. Oxen hauling firewood. Ox drivers Wm. Tawai & Schumapp. [Ms. Page 13.]

Tuesday 23rd. Showery. hands employed as before. There is a great demand for Beef principally from the Amn. timber Ships in the Sound. A Visit from Surveyor Miller.[21]

Wednesday 24th. Gloomy dull weather no change in the work.

Thursday 25th. Rain all day. Chaulifoux at Verandah. Kahannui, Bob & Squally splitting Shingles. Gorridge moving Sheep parks. Barnes sorting onions. Dean building new Oven in a

17 That is, the gang working on the Nisqually "Plains."
18 John Montgomery, a servant.
19 The word "kanaka" in the language of the Sandwich Islands means "man." Many natives of these islands were in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company.
20 A servant.
21 Winlock W. Miller, surveyor of the Port of Nisqually.

Shed adjoining Kitchen. lowered the price of Blankts. 3 pts. $4.00 & 2 ½ $3.00. Young sent down the Sound with Beef.

Friday 26th. Fine. hands employed as before. Dr. Tolmie gone on horseback to Olympia. a canoe sent to Olympia with Beef. Express Canoe left for Victoria. a good Trade in Sale Shop to day. took upwards of $200.00. a visit from a Mr. Cobb.[22] finished ploughing for the present. two of the Horses turned out. Leggs two (Betsy & Cendre) kept in for Wagon & Cart work.

Saturday 27th. Fine pleasant weather. hands employed as before. Dr. Tolmie returned from Olympia. Evening arrived Mr. E. Spencer in charge of 14 men who are on their way to Victoria. they have just arrived from the East side. Mr. Fred Kennedy son of Dr. Kennedy is also one of the party. Mr. Spencer goes no further than this. [Ms. Page 14.]

Sunday 28th. dull Gloomy Weather.

Monday 29th. Showery. Chaulifoux jobbing about. Kahannui attending to his sick wife. Kuphai cutting firewood. Barnes & Young part of day packing Tongues for Vancouver, remainder making Candles. the Gang of new hands accompanied by Mr. Kennedy & 5 Indians from this place started this afternoon for Victoria. Mr. Spencer left also for Vancouver. Gorridge & Legg sent off with their ploughs and Horses to a fine piece of land situated on the banks of Douglas Burn[23] & about ½ Mile to the South East of Old Muck House.[24] during the week Muck House is to be removed thence. Fiandre[25] took possession there to day, has a tent to reside in till a house can be raised there. Several persons have been talking lately of jumping this said piece of land, it is a place much better adapted for a Farm than old Muck. Two men of the party that arrived with the Express have been kept here, their names are Benston W. (brother to Adam Benston[26]) and W. Moore, both Orkney men. A Canadian also one of the party has deserted. Oxen out after Beef. Horse Cart employed taking the baggage of the party bound for Victoria down to the Canoe.

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22 Identity not ascertained.

23 The present Muck creek, a tributary of the Nisqually river, was called "Douglas River" by the Hudson's Bay Co. in honor of Chief Factor James Douglas. Douglas Burn takes its name from "Douglas River."

24 In the vicinity of the present "Muck Prairie" near the present town of Roy.

25 A servant.

26 Formerly a servant, but now farming to a large extent upon his own account. His name in the books of the Company is spelled "Beinston."

Tuesday 30th. Showery. hands employed as before. Two Americans named Ellet & Davis also two Indians belonging to this place are supposed to be drowned, having left Olympia last Monday Week for this place, and no tidings having been received of them up to the present day. [Ms. Page 15.]

[December, 1852.]

Wednesday 1st. Fine pleasant weather. nearly all hands sick with cold &c. The Canadian that deserted on Monday last has returned and offered to serve his time out at this place.

Thursday 2nd. Rain all day. Barnes, Dean and myself have been for the last three days about the plains measuring the distances between the different Sheep Stations. Northover[27] gone out to day to resume his duties at Tlithlow. Gallion has gone to live at Sastuc[28] to take charge of the Sheep. Wagon out after Beef for Rations. The amount of Cash taken during last Month is $2200.00.

Friday 3rd. Fine Frosty Weather. Chaulifoux & Kahannui making preparations for setting up Verandah at back of large house. Barnes at work in garden. Dean fixing his oxen. Moore sent down the Sound with Beef for an American. The Indians that were sent last month to Vancouver returned this evening bringing a packet. McPhail and the Sheep are reported to be near the Skookum Tsuck,[29] 15 dead. A visit from Messrs. Thomas, Cushman & Bachelder.[30] Mr. Cushman has agreed to purchase 2 or 3 Bales of 3 pt. Blankets at $6 per pair. Dr. Tolmie has also made an arrangement with Major Goldsboro[31] to sell goods for the Company on commission at 7 per cent.

Saturday 4th. Very Cold Gloomy weather. Chaulifoux at various jobs about Fort, remainder of hands employed cutting firewood. Dr. Tolmie made a bargain with Charles Wren[32] for 200 Bushels Oats delivered at the Store on landing at $1.50 per Bushel. a visit from Captn. Porter. [Ms. Page 16.]

Sunday 5th. Mr. Dean in. A Visit from Mr. Reed.

Monday 6th. Chaulifoux & Squally at Verandah. Kahannui laid

27 A servant.
28 A station of the plains, precise location not yet ascertained.
29 A tributary of the Chehalis river. It is now spelled Skookumchuck.
30 John Thomas, who settled at White River in 1852. Joseph Cushman, now a store keeper at Olympia, and probably Charles C. Bachelder, first identified with Steilacoom and later with Port Townsend.
31 H. A. Goldsboro of Olympia.
32 Formerly a servant, but now farming on the Plains on his own account.

up with the influenza. Kuphai sent out to assist in removing Muck House. Barnes at work in Garden. Thornhill has given up his situation as Steward and is going to Victoria per first opportunity to finish his time. Cush is Steward for the present. Moore in Slaughter house making Tallow. Beinston & Tawai with oxen. Fore Noon bringing goods up from Beach. A. Noon bringing home firewood. Lagg returned from Muck with his two Horses. Gorridge is still there ploughing. Horse Cart out after Beef. Dr. Tolmie has gone to Olympia. Gohome sent to Olympia with a Canoe load of Beef.

Tuesday 7th. Weather the same as yesterday. Legg out with Horse Wagon after Beef, remaining hands employed as before. Dr. Tolmie returned from Olympia.

Wednesday 8th. Rain all day. Chaulifoux repairing old Wagon. Squally & Kahannui roofing Verandah. Thornhill & Moore dipping candles. Barnes cleaning out Stores. Wagon bringing goods from beach & bringing home firewood. Lagg winnowing Oats. Young packing Tallow.

Thursday 9th. Heavy rain all day. Evening Heavy gales from the S. East. Ox Wagon sent after Beef. Legg with his Horse Wagon bringing Straw from Chs. Ross'.[33] More sent to Olympia with a load of Beef, remaining hands employed as before. [Ms. Page 17.]

Friday 10th. Rain all day, blowing very hard. Barnes thrashing Oats. Kahannui & Squally roofing Bakehouse. Thornhill & Young finished making candles. Legg bringing home firewood.

Saturday 11th. Fine all day. Commenced raining hard towards Evening. Barnes & Thornhill thrashing Oats, remaining hands employed as before. Dr. Tolmie has made an arrangement with the Canadian Tibeault, that he is to live with Bastien[34] & two days of the week he is to assist at Cattle [Ms. illegible] using his own Horses, & the remainder of the week to be employed in taming Cattle, &c, for which he is to receive two wild Cows per

Month, he commences from to day, received rations the same as the other men. Water appearing in Swamp. Mem: Tibeault after working 1 month was discharged as being useless.

33 Formerly a servant, but probably at this time farming on his own account.

34 Isaac Bastien, formerly a servant, but now farming on his own account, although frequently in the employ of the Company.

Sunday 12th. Rain all day. Commenced Snowing in the Evening. McPhail[35] in to say that they cannot get the Sheep across the Nesqually River until it has subsided.

Monday 13th. Snow on the ground to the depth of 5 inches. Chaulifoux repairing Grind Stone. Kahannui handling Axes. Barnes & Thornhill thrashing Oats. Young & Moore making Candles. Ox Wagon out after Beef. Horse Wagon bringing Straw from Chs. Ross's. Kalama[36] has made an engagement to day to serve Two years. Evening Snowing hard. [Ms. Page 18.]

Tuesday 14th. Very Cold, freezing hard. Commenced Snowing again in the Evening. McPhail & party arrived this Evening having left the Sheep (815) in charge of John Edgar[37] till the River retires, when they will be brought over here. Chaulifoux repairing old grind Stone. Barnes & Thornhill repairing road down hill at beach. Legg & Horse Cart bringing home firewood. Three hands cutting firewood. Moore sent off to Olympia with Beef.

Wednesday 15th. Weather & Work the same as yesterday. Young sent down the Sound with Beef. Oxen hauling logs to make good the road down hill to beach.

Thursday 16th. Cold freezing Weather, slight falls of Snow at intervals during the day. Chaulifoux, Kahannui & Squally commenced squaring wood for a new House to be built in Fort. Barnes & Thornhill at road at beach. Horse Cart bringing home firewood. A Visit from Captns. Thomas, Scott and Bachelder.

Friday 17th. No change in the Weather. Chaulifoux and hands squaring timber. Barnes & Thornhill finished repairing road. Young sent out to reside at Muck to look after the Sheep in place of Fiandre, who is devote his time attending on the Cattle. Legg fetched a load of Potatoes from Tlithlow. Orders for fresh Beef come in very fast. Trade in Sale Shop very brisk. [Ms. Page 19.]

Saturday 18th. No signs of a change in the weather. Snow about 1 foot thick on the ground. Chaulifoux with permission out seeking for fodder to feed his Horses. Barnes & Thornhill off paying a pleasure Visit to Olympia. Legg carting home firewood. Ka-

35 John McPhall, a servant.
36 A servant.
37 Formerly a servant. He has a small place on the Plains.

hannui, Gohome and Squally cutting firewood. Oxen fetching Flour from Store on beach. Gorridge finished ploughing at Muck.

Sunday 19th. Weather the same. late last Evening the express Canoe arrived from Victoria. they were ten days on their passage. experienced very bad Weather. The "Recovery" will be here in a week for the Yearly Returns.

Monday 20th. Weather the same, freezing hard. Chaulifoux, Kahannui, Cowie, Squally & Gohome squaring timber for new house. Barnes & Thornhill thrashing Oats. Legg & Gorridge with Wagon & Four Horses out after Beef. Ox Wagon also out after Beef. Horse Cart bringing home firewood. Aubrey Dean commenced baking buiscuits to day. Four Indians sent off to Olympia with a packet for the Mail. 12 animals butchered to day.

Tuesday 21st. Weather still the same. Chaulifoux & hands squaring timber. Tamaree making paddles. Barnes thrashing Oats. Thornhill sent off to Steilacoom with Beef. Legg with Horse Wagon and Gorridge with Horse Cart took 20 quarters Beef down to Store on beach in readiness for shipment to Olympia tomorrow. No Sheep dead as yet. [Ms. Page 20.]

Wednesday 22nd. Still bitter Cold Weather. Chaulifoux, Tamaree & Kahannui squaring timber to make a sledge for drawing home Beef. Thornhill killed an dressed two Hogs for the Christmas Regal. Barnes at work about Fort. Men sent off to Olympia with 27 quarters Beef. A Canoe sent off to Wells & McAlister with 10 Qtrs Beef. Horse Wagon and Ox Wagon carting backwards & forwards from beach. Two Carts bringing home firewood. Weed & Hurd of Olympia have contracted for 1000 lbs Beef to be supplied Weekly.

Thursday 23rd. Snowing hard all day, upwards of 2 feet on the ground. Chaulifoux preparing Shearing house for the reception of the American plain Horses, during the time the Snow remains on the ground. Barnes & Thornhill clearing the goods out of one of the Stores to make a dancing room for the men on Christmas day. All the Kanakas cutting firewood. Gorridge with Horse Cart carting fodder to Stables. Oxen hauling logs for firewood. Thermometer at 7 P. M. 19°.

Friday 24th. No change in the Weather. Men employed laying in a stock of firewood for themselves. Afternoon served out a

Regal to the Whitemen & Kanakas 5 lbs Flour, 3 lbs Sugar, 1 lb Coffee, ¼ Gal. Molasses, 1 lb Tallow, 5 lbs Pork, & ¼ Gal. Am. Brandy. To the Indians, 3 lbs Flour, ¼ Gal Molasses, 2 lbs Sugar & 1 lb Tallow. Evening arrived the "Mary dare" Captn. Mouat. She has come for a supply of Beef for Victoria. Mr. & Mrs. K. Logan passengers. [Ms. Page 21.]

Saturday 25th. Christmas day. Very Cold. Thermometer 4½°. Dr. Tolmie accompanied by Captn. Mouat[38] started early this Forenoon for Olympia and settled the "Mary dares" Custom House Business and returned herewith late in the Evening. Men enjoying themselves dancing & Singing in one of the Stores, previously cleared of Goods. McPhail & Tawai drunk & disorderly.

Sunday 26th. Snowing hard all day. Evening commenced blowing from the South West.

Monday 27th. blowing & raining hard. Snow slowly disappearing. Wagons employed bringing goods up from beach. Tawai & 5 Indians thrashing Oats. 3 Hands cutting firewood. Chaulifoux & the Kanakas squaring timber.

Tuesday 28th. Snow disappearing fast. Chaulifoux repairing fanning Machine. Cowie & Kahannui squareing timber. Horse Wagon out after Beef. Oxen hauling goods up from Beach Store. Barnes & Thornhill cleaning out Beach Store. Tawai & gang of Indians thrashing Oats.

Wesdnesday 29th. Weather the same. Wyhamoch sent off to Olympia with 2,000 lbs Beef for Weed & Hurd & 500 lbs for Mr. Collector Moses. A Small Invoice of goods has also been sent off in "Mary dares"[39] Boat to Major Goldsborough at Olympia to sell for the Company on Commission. Also 2 Bales of Blankets for Mr. Cushman of the firm of Kendall Compy. [Ms. Page 22.]

Thursday 30th. Weather Mild. Commenced raining in the Evening. Chaulifoux laying a new Ceiling to large House. Barnes at work about Stores. Thornhill & Moore making Candles. Ox Wagon brought a load of Potatoes from Tlithlow. Tapou in from

38 Capt. William Mouat. He was at one time connected with the Hudson's Bay Co. in charge of the *Mary Dare,* but is thought by some authorities to be a river pilot on the Columbia.

39 The brigantine *Mary Dare,* an H. B. Co. ship.

Yelm,[40] reports 48 Sheep dead. Horses begin to look sadly. Dr. Tolmie accompanied by Miss Work[41] rode out to Tlithlow.

Friday 31st. Oxen brought a load of Flour up from beach. remaining hands employed as before. Served out a Regal to the men, the same as on Christmas day. Snow disappearing fast.

40 Yelm, a station on a prairie of the same name in the present Thurston Co.
41 Miss Letitia Work, daughter of Chief Factor John Work. She later married Mr. Edward Huggins, clerk.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Oregon Trail. By FRANCIS PARKMAN. Edited with notes and an Introduction by James Cloyd Bowman. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924. Pp. 433. $1.00.)

If proof were needed to show the continuing popularity of Parkman's great classic, one would need only to list the number of publishers who in recent years have brought out editions of *The Oregon Trail.* The first three editions came from the house of Putnam, the fourth and many succeeding printings were issued by Little, Brown and Company of Boston. Beginning with 1910, distinct editions have been published by the following houses: Macmillan, Ginn, Longmans, Merrill, Newson, Scott, Foresman and Company, the Educational Publishing Company, Henry Holt, and last by Charles Scribner's Sons.

Parkman's narrative is classified both with history and literature. The editors of the various school editions appear to be about equally divided between professors of history and teachers of English. The editor of the present edition, Professor James C. Bowman, belongs to the latter group. He gives the literary estimate of the book in the following terms: "This then is the value of *The Oregon Trail;* it contains full and accurate observation of the primitive Indian in the remote fastnesses, uninfluenced by the White man. It also depicts the restless coming of the White man into these remote fastnesses. The conditions it describes have forever vanished; they can never again be observed at first hand: *The Oregon Trail* remains without rival in vividness or reality, the authentic record of this period. It is picturesque in the extreme, and ever reliable from the point of view of historic fact. But the story is not history; it is literature. It is told in a style as fascinating and compelling as that of Cooper at his best. Whether one reads for content or for language, one is satisfied. This perfect blending of matter and manner, of subject-matter and style, establishes *The Oregon Trail* firmly as an American literary masterpiece."

The present edition is well edited, well printed, substantially bound and issued at a reasonable price.

Seattle and Environs. By C. H. HANFORD. (Chicago and Seattle: Pioneer Historical Publishing Co., 1924. Three volumes. Pp. 679, 643, 630.)

Judge Cornelius Holgate Hanford is one of the best known and most highly respected pioneers of the Pacific Northwest. He was the last Chief Justice of Washington Territory, serving in that capacity from March to November, 1889. Soon after Statehood he was appointed as the first United States District Judge for the State of Washington. That position he filled with great credit for more than a score of years. He is the author of Volume I. of *Seattle and Environs* and has there produced a creditable work of history which will undoubtedly prove of great value to all writers who follow in this field. His adequate preparation through many years of observation is pointedly suggested by this first sentence of his Foreword: "Of all who were inhabitants of Seattle including Indians, when, in the year 1854, the author looked for the first time upon its site and harbor, only five women and two men are still living."

Seventy years of observation!

No wonder these six hundred pages are packed full of names, facts, dates and incidents. However, the packing process has been accompanied with cleverness. The pages seem alive with interest.

The first four chapters of the book deal with antecedents, the infancy and village period of the city and the Indian neighbors. The City of Seattle was incorporated on December 2, 1869. That is, of course, one of the great dates in this history. The author uses that date as a hinge and treats the subsequent developments chronologically, each chapter covering a decade. Arriving at the present year in the narrative, the author proceeds to discuss civic associations, buildings, parks, and many other of the elements that make up the growth and culture of the community. An appendix has made room for the Roll of Honor—a list of the men and women of Seattle and King County who served in the World War. There is also a "Lexicon of Chinook Jargon." There is a serviceable index. Well selected illustrations are sprinkled through the volume with lavish abundance.

Volumes II. and III. are devoted to biographical sketches and portraits. These frequently prove of great value in the years that follow their publication. They are collected and compiled in a way that is perfectly familiar to the people of the Pacific North-

west. It is the same scheme of paid write-ups from which the publishers reap their profits. This is the second such harvest within a decade.

Vancouver and His Great Voyage. By G. H. ANDERSON. (Kings Lynn, England: Thew & Son, 1923. Pp. 91.)

This little booklet is colored with a feeling of affection. It emanates from the birthplace of the great English navigator and is intended as a tribute to him. It will be a precious item in the collections of Northwest Americana though it may be difficult to obtain. The editor of this *Quarterly* has been favored with a copy by Mr. Stanley A. Griffith, of Seattle, who received it from England.

The body of the pamphlet is in newspaper type and carries the line: "Reprinted from the *Lynn Advertiser,* 1922." In ten chapters of close writing is told the "Story of A Norfolk Sailor." Something of the spirit of the writing is shown toward the end in a paragraph as follows:

"It is a pity that the man whose name has been given to an important island, to one city in Canada and to another in the United States, should not in his native town have been commemorated by the naming of some street or place. A good opportunity is now offered to remedy this by the making of the proposed new road from the South Gate, which might very well be called Vancouver Road."

The author gives the inscription on the monument at Nootka Sound, erected in 1903 by the Washington University State Historical Society which publishes this *Quarterly.* Of course Mr. Anderson could have had no knowledge that in August, 1924, a larger and finer monument would be unveiled at the same place on Vancouver Island with ample ceremonies under the auspices of the Historic Sites and Monument Board of Canada.

Another evidence of affection is the author's selection of illustrations and additional materials for the preliminary pages of the pamphlet. The frontispiece is a reproduction of the Lemuel F. Abbott portrait of Vancouver. There are three pictures from the birthplace of Vancouver's mother, one from his own birthplace, one of his ship, the *Discovery,* on the rocks in Queen Charlotte Sound, and a view of the Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B. C., with a statue of Vancouver surmounting the dome. There is reproduced the poem, "To Vancouver's Memory," by Dr. Laurence

Rentoul, of Melbourne University. There are also two pages of facts and a diagram of Vancouver's birthplace in King's Lynn.

Vancouver's fame is in the ascendant. This valuable gleaning and publishing of facts at his birthplace will enable all subsequent writers to make more human biographies of the man.

The Acquisition and Pioneering of Old Oregon. By CLARENCE B. BAGLEY. (Seattle: Argus Print, 1924. Pp. 41.)

A fresh historical item from the pen of Clarence B. Bagely is always welcome. The present is a beautiful, wide margined brochure richly illustrated. In telling the story with evident care he gives us the hint that it may be the last of its kind. On page 40 he says: "Of all those who, for seventy years or more, have lived and studied and written the history of this great Northwest only three survive—Ezra Meeker, George H. Himes and the writer."

The book closes with a sort of good-bye entitled "Author's Note." It is reproduced here for two reasons. First, it tells the purpose of the present publication; second, it carries a rather unique farewell from a real pioneer.

"The chief purpose of this monograph is to present briefly how Old Oregon became a part of our national domain, the impelling motives and causes of the great migration hither of seventy or eighty years ago, of the difficulties and dangers of the march of two thousand miles over mountains and across deserts, of pioneer conditions and experiences, with the gradual evolution of the country into separate states, each prosperous and in the present enjoyment of all that goes to make up twentieth century civilization.

" 'Along the Old Oregon Trail' has long been a fruitful theme for writers and will long continue, but it is doubtful if any other participant in the great hegira of nearly three-quarters of a century ago will hereafter give to the public his experiences."

Community Forces: A Study of the Non-Partisan Municipal Elections in Seattle. By R. D. MCKENZIE. (*The Journal of Social Forces,* January, March, May, 1924. Pp. 24.)

Professor McKenzie says: "Seattle affords unusually interesting data for a study of community forces. In the first place it is the youngest of our large cities, having in a single generation grown from a small village to a city of about 320,000 inhabitants.

Many of its village pioneers are still residing within its confines. Some families who were once doimnant forces in the community have lived to see their prestige fade away, while other pioneer families have come forward with increasing influence. Community forces have their *foci* in individuals and groups of individuals; they are ever in process of change, now one force, now another gains temporary doimnance. The present represents merely a momentary stage of unstable equilibrium between competing forces."

Old timers will be surprised to learn that their city has arrived at a size and an age where a scientific study of this kind can be made of it. The investigator has used materials gathered from the municipal elections for the thirteen years that the city has been under the system of non-partisan government.

The general summary of the study embraces eight paragraphs of clear-cut reasoning but the most important is the first paragraph as follows:

"Municipal policy as crystallized in election results, represents a momentary stage of unstable equilibrium among a large number of conflicting social forces. Such forces are quite as impersonal and as subject to scientific analysis and interpretation as are the forces which determine the distribution of population or the value of city lots."

Our Faith in Education. By HENRY SUZZALLO. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1924. Pp. 108. $1.25.)

The seven chapters reveal in their headings the scope of this stimulating little volume:—"Our Faith in Popular Sovereignty," "Education as the Basis," "Education and Politics," "Leadership and Followership," "Our Common Schools," "Our Higher Schools," and "Our Faith in Schools."

Since the author, Dr. Henry Suzzallo, is President of the University of Washington, readers in this State will be interested in his book and more especially in his chapter on "Our Higher Schools." The essence of his style and reasoning may be felt in the first paragraph of that chapter:

"Men are able to command whenever they have power; they are able to lead only when they have the intelligence and sympathy which make power over people safe in their hands. Our universities, colleges and higher technical schools do not train men to com-

mand, but to lead. The distinction is as fundamental as that between slavery and freedom, between despotism and democracy. As a tyranny requires commanders so a republic needs leaders."

Hidden Heroes of the Rockies. By ISAAC K. RUSSELL and HOWARD R. DRIGGS. (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y.: World Book Company, 1923. Pp. 295.)

The "Pioneer Life Series" of the World Book Company has been enriched by this new volume. Professor Driggs has collaborated and has written "A Word of Introduction," but the main work is that of Mr. Russell. He has devoted years of research work to these pages and has packed them with information, much of it new to the books ordinarily accessible. All the books in this series are intended for young readers. It remains to be seen whether *Hidden Heroes of the Rockies* will win that class. It is worthy; but the author's project is not easy for even older readers to follow. He wishes to establish an interest in the records of little known, forgotten, or hidden heroes. That is laudable but he goes further and seeks to rearrange the reputations of the better known characters in the story of the West. Mr. Russell's characterization of Captain B. L. E. Bonneville, for example, is very different from that in Bancroft, Chittenden and many lesser writers. It is a more agreeable characterization but to stand the test of time it will require some more definite citations to documents. Footnotes are not desired in a book for boys. They are absent in this case. The book deserves to succeed as it is and then Mr. Russell should use his abundant materials in a volume for older readers giving his arguments and authorities for the realignments he feels should be made.

Industrial Relations in the West Coast Lumber Industry. By CLOICE R. HOWD. (Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Labor, 1923. Pp. 120. 15 cents.)

Starting with "Migrations of the Lumber Industry in the United States," passing on through extensive development, through changes wrought by the World War, and ending with "A Constructive Industrial Program," this pamphlet has the qualities of a monograph on an important element of American economic development. Emphasis is put on the West Coast and the footnotes indicate an exhaustive search in the files of newspapers, re-

ports of State bureaus and of organizations. Those interested will need the technical label: "Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor tSatistics, No. 349."

History of Western Railroads. By JOHN LEEDS KERR. (Seattle: *Railway and Marine News,* July, August, September, 1924.)

In the well known trade magazine, *Railway and Marine News,* announcement is made that there will appear ten articles by John Leeds Kerr on the "History of Western Railroads." Three have already appeared as follows: in July, "The Building of the Union and Central Pacific, the Pioneer Lines. A Resume of Later Union Pacific Expansion"; in August, "Northern Pacific First Route Selected. How Lines Were Built. Villard and Others"; in September, "How the Late James J. Hill Built the Great Northern Railway and Made It One of the Powerful Systems of the Country."

The Oregon Pioneers and the Boundary. By FREDERICK MERK. (*American Historical Review,* Volume XXIX., No. 4, July, 1924. Pp. 681-699.)

This paper was read by Mr. Merk at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Columbus, Ohio, on December 28, 1923. The author's opening paragraph is as follows:

"It is a truism in American history that the success of the United States in the Oregon bouudary negotiations was due in considerable measure to the Oregon pioneers. They brought pressure to bear on the British government during the final stages of the Oregon negotiations, and this was a factor in winning for their country the empire of the Pacific Northwest. But what the nature of this pressure was, how direct it was, or how great its effectiveness, are questions that have never been carefully investigated. They deserve attention, for they go to the heart of Oregon diplomacy and determine the place of the Oregon pioneers in American diplomatic history. They are the province of this study."

The study is a good one. The fresh material used is almost wholly taken from British sources—manuscripts in the British Museum, the Public Record Office, the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, and London *Times.* History students and collectors of Northwest Americana will want to save this item for the light it throws on the most important phase of Oregon history.

Glimpses of Pioneer Life of Okanogan County, Washington. By O. H. WOODY. (Okanogan: *Okanogan Independent,* 1924. Pp. 143.)

During 1923 and 1924, a series of articles on pioneer biographies and experiences in Okanogan County appeared in the *Okanogan Independent.* Mr. O. H. Woody, publisher of that newspaper, saved the type and issued the compiled series in a booklet of double-column pages. In addition to being packed with information the volume makes another of those fugitive items of history so dear to the heart of the collector.

Historical Rym-O-Grams. By MINNIE ROOF DEE. (Portland, Oregon: The Author, 1924. Pp. 40.)

The author has attempted to tell the principal stories of the Pacific Northwest in simple verse to attract children. These include "The Beeswax Ship," "Captain Gray Discovers the Columbia," "Whitman's Ride," and other topics.

The Great Myth—"Mount Tacoma." By THE OLYMPIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE and THE THURSTON COUNTY PIONEER and HISTORICAL SOCIETY. (Olympia: The Societies, 1924. Pp. 32.)

The two organizations through their officers and trustees sign preliminary statements in forceful language and then reprint the extensive statement prepared by Charles T. Conover of Seattle for presentation to the United States Geographic Board. His statement is here entitled: "Mount Rainier and the Facts of History."

The Pacific Coast Homeseeker. Edited by N. M. and M. O. SHEVLIN. (Tacoma: The Editors, 1924. Pp. 64. 25 cents.)

A new magazine appears with Volume I., No. 1 dated October, 1924. It is beautifully printed and illustrated. The contents are selected with the evident desire to attract the attention of tourists and prospective settlers. Mr. and Mrs. Shevlin, who have had magazine publishing experience elsewhere, feel that they are entering a fruitful field with this new endeavor.

A History of Minnesota. By WILLIAM WATTS FOLWELL. (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1924. Pp. 477.)

This is Volume II. of the projected four-volume work. The

author, William Watts Folwell, is President of the Minnesota Historical Society and President Emeritus of the University of Minnesota.

The book is well made, thoroughly documented and indexed. The illustrations are abundant and selected with admirable taste. While the edition lasts, copies may be had through membership in the Minnesota Historical Society. Particulars may be had from the Secretary, Solon J. Buck, Saint Paul.

Other Books Received

BOWMAN, ISAIAH. *Supplement to the New World.* (Yonkers: World Book Company, 1924. Pp. 112.)

ESAREY, LOGAN. *Messages and Papers of Jonathan Jennings, Tatliff Boon, and William Hendricks.* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1924. Pp. 544.)

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, *Transactions, 1923.* (Springfield: State Printer, 1923. Pp. 368.)

NORTH DAKOTA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Collections, Volume 5.* (Grand Forks: The Society, 1923. Pp. 283.)

PARKER, ARTHUR C. *Seneca Myths and Folk Tales.* (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1923. Pp. 465.)

ROBINSON, JAMES HARVEY, AND OTHERS. *Our World Today and Yesterday.* (Boston: Ginn, 1924. Pp. 625. $2.12.)

UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Historical Records and Studies, Volume 16.* (New York: The Society, 1924. Pp. 152.)

WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Wisconsin Domesday Book: Town Studies, Volume One.* (Madison: The Society, 1924. Pp. 168.)

PACIFIC NORTHWEST AMERICANA

Brouillet versus Blanchet

Attention is here called to the fact that the anonymous booklet entitled *Dix ans sur la cote du Pacifique* (Quebec, 1873) was not written by the Rev. J. B. A. Brouillet to whom it has been frequently ascribed. This error in authorship was made in the compilation of the *Checklist of Pacific Northwest Americana* (item, no. 488) and on investigation it is found that of the three libraries reporting copies, two listed the book under Brouillet while the third gave a title entry only. The copy in the University of Washington Library contains a signed statement by the former owner, a well known student and collector, declaring Brouillet to be the author. The work appears to be similarly known in the book trade. It has been thus listed in *American Book-Prices Current* and so recently as December 1923 it was sold at the Anderson Galleries under the name of Brouillet.

Soon after the appearance of the *Checklist,* Mr. Soliday of Seattle pointed out to the present writer the improbability that this narrative was penned by Brouillet owing to the allusions to that gentleman made in the text. He suggested that internal evidence would indicate that Blanchet and not Brouillet was the "missionaire Canadien" responsible for the book. Definite confirmation of this view has been recently received from Father E. V. O'Hara, an authority on Oregon history, who shows that the author must have been Monsignor Francois Xavier Blanchet. One clear evidence of the author's identity is his statement on page thirty-nine of the text that he became pastor at Jacksonville in Southern Oregon and continued to be pastor in that territory. F. X. Blanchet, the author of *Dix ans,* was a nephew of the Archbishop, Francis Norbet Blanchet.

A New Oregon Bibliography

Miss E. Ruth Rockwood of the Library Association of Portland has practically completed an exhaustive compilation of Oregon State Documents. It has been accepted for publication by the State of Oregon as an official document under the title of *A Checklist of Oregon State Documents.* The list sets forth so far as possible all official and semi-official publications of the state of

Oregon and gives the location within the state of the rare items. Students of the entire Pacific Northwest will await with eagerness the completed publication.

American Book-Prices Current

Librarians and others wishing to keep in touch with prices on Western Americana will find much to interest them in Volume XXIX of the *American Book-Prices Current.* This volume recently issued contains the record of books sold at auction in America during the period from September 1922 to August 1923. Much important material was sold during this period. Although all sales under $7.50 were eliminated the volume makes a book exceeding nine hundred pages.

An examination of the annual records of this publication justifies the belief that we have been passing through a period unusually rich in its offerings of local American history, travel and overland adventure. It cannot be expected that the supply either as to quantity or variety will much longer obtain. Prices have shown an upward tendency as might be expected when the increasing demand is considered. A considerable number of sales nevertheless show a decline from earlier years. Anyone at all familiar with book values can discover instances of prices absurdly high or ridiculously low but in spite of fluctuating prices the records of the *American Book-Prices Current* furnish the best available means of judging the market values of Americana.

Space will not permit an extended list of the Western items but a few titles are here given because of local interest or noteworthy prices. For sake of economy short titles only are given with reference to the *Checklist of Pacific Northwest Americana* where fuller description can be found:

Davidson, G. *Tracks and Landfalls of Bering and Chirikof.* (*Checklist* 905) ---------- $ 14.00
Dodge, G. M. *Biographical Sketch of James Bridger.* (*Checklist* 995) ---------- 45.00
Evans, E. *Washington Territory.* (*Checklist* 1178) ---------- 70.00
Hastings, L. W. *Emigrant's Guide.* (*Checklist* 1624) ---------- 520.00
Howison, N. W. *Oregon: Report.* (*Checklist* 1806) ---------- 27.00
Kip, L. *Indian Council.* (*Checklist* 2042) ---------- 210.00
Mercer, A. S. *Washington Territory.* (*Checklist* 2458) ---------- 200.00
Miller, D. *Walla Walla County Directory for 1881.* (*Checklist* 2493) ---------- 55.00

Montana Historical Society. *Contributions, 1876-1917.* (*Checklist* 2546) ---------- 10.00

Oregon Annual Conference of the M.E. Church. *Minutes of the Fourth Session, 1856.* ---------- 52.50

Oregon. Adjutant General. *Report for 1855-56.* ---------- 41.00

Oregon Pioneer Association. *Transactions, 1875-1916* ---------- 18.00

Schooling, Sir W. *Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay, 1670-1920.* ---------- 35.00

Stuart, A. H. H. *Washington Territory.* (*Checklist* 3882) 61.00

Sutherland, T. A. *Howard's Campaign against the Nez Perces.* (*Checklist* 3896) ---------- 200.00

Warre, H. *Sketches of North America and Oregon Territory.* (*Checklist* 4248) ---------- 60.00

Washington. Governor. *Annual Report, Dec. 17, 1862* ---------- 14.00

Washington Historical Quarterly. Volumes 1-12; Volume 13, no. 1, October 1906 to January 1922. 49 nos. ---------- 50.00

Wyeth, J. B. *Oregon.* (*Checklist* 4478) ---------- 215.00

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Victor J. Farrar

Victor J. Farrar has returned to his Alma Mater, the University of Wisconsin, to complete his work for the Doctor of Philosophy degree. After that he plans to devote himself to the instructional side of his academic career. During the ten years now closed he has held the positions of Research Assistant and Research Instructor in the University of Washington. For two years of that time he was absent on leave while he served with the United States forces in France as Sergeant, First Class, Medical Department, with Base Hospital No. 50.

Readers of this *Quarterly* are quite familiar with the quality of his historical work. The most elaborate and longest sustained publication has been the "Nisqually Journal" edited by him and appearing with few interruptions through a period of six years. Favorable comments on that work have come from many important sources.

Prior to the appearance of the "Nisqually Journal," he edited the "Diary of Colonel and Mrs. I. N. Ebey," which was published in Volumes VII. and VIII. He also compiled for a number of the earlier volumes complete lists of officers, objects and works of the "Pioneer and Historical Societies of the State of Washington." In 1917 he used part of his vacation for collaboration with Charles T. Conover in presenting before the United States Geographic Board a history of the name of Mount Rainier. That research was later embodied in a pamphlet.

He wrote a chapter on "Settlement" which appeared in *A Geographic Dictionary of Washington*, 1917, by Henry Landes. In 1923 he wrote "Historical Summary to Statehood," a preliminary chapter in the book *The Economic Resources of the Pacific Northwest*, edited by Dean Howard T. Lewis and former Dean Stephen I. Miller, of the College of Business Administration, University of Washington.

Mr. Farrar developed a deep and absorbing interest in the history of Alaska. He studied Russian in order to understand and use the Alaskan literature in that language. The reasons for the American purchase of Alaska have been and are debated by historians. Mr. Farrar is still delving into the question with com-

mendable minuteness. Some of his researches have appeared in this *Quarterly,* such as "Reopening of the Russian American Convention of 1824," "Joseph Lane McDonald and the Purchase of Alaska," "The Background of the Purchase of Alaska," "Senator Cole and the Purchase of Alaska," and a number of reviews of books in that field. For three years he offered an elective course on Alaskan History in the University of Washington. For those classes, large in number, he prepared and published his "An Elementary Syllabus of Alaskan History," which will prove useful to any who undertake a study of the subject. Some of his Alaskan writings have been issued in separates and may be found in the principal libraries of America.

He wrote the early history of the University of Washington which was published as a serial in the Washington Alumnus.

Only a fraction of his work has appeared in print over his own name. Reference cards, clippings and copied data about the pioneers of the Northwest compiled by him fill many trays. They have not been counted by they run well into the thousands. Similar compilations were made as to the newspapers of Washington Territory and the origin of geographic names. Acknowledgments of his industry have been made in publicatoins completed from those researches. Similar results are anticipated from work on the State Constitution, native races of Washington and the Diary of Charles Wilkes, which he had advanced at the time of his departure.

In closing this brief review the editor of this *Quarterly* desires to publicly express his gratitude for the laborious years of work completed by Victor J. Farrar and to extend the hope that he may meet with abundant success in whatever new field of endeavor he may enter.

Monument at Nootka Unveiled

Many Indians and a few white people assembled at Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, midway between the capes on the western shore of Vancouver Island, on August 12, 1924, to witness the unveiling of an important memorial.

On the crest of a rocky islet at the entrance of Friendly Cove had been erected a large cairn of cemented stones. This was seven feet square at the base and eleven feet high. Fitted into the face of the cairn is a bronze tablet carrying this inscription:

"Nootka Sound. Discovered by Captain Cook in March, 1778.

In June, 1789, Spain took possession and established and maintained a settlement until 1795. The capture of British vessels in 1789 almost led to war which was avoided by the Nootka Convention, 1790. Vancouver and Quadra met here in August, 1792, to determine the land to be restored under that convention."

The lead in this undertaking was the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, of which Judge F. W. Howay, of New Westminster, British Columbia, is the western member. The Historical Society of British Columbia sent a delegation to the ceremony and His Honor, Walter C. Nichol, Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia, gave to the ceremonies a further emphasis of official sanction. He and Judge Howay made the principal addresses when the draped Union Jack was lifted from the bronze tablet. There were Indian speeches as well.

When the party landed at the Indian village in Friendly Cove there was given entertainment in the home of Chief Napoleon Maquinna, a direct descendant of Maquinna, the famous Nootka Chief who had welcomed Vancouver and Quadra in 1792. Part of the entertainment consisted of a spectacular Indian dance reminiscent of the old Indian days. It is interesting to note that the name of the steamer carrying the historians and guests to Friendly Cove was *Princess Maquinna.*

Judge Howay in writing that the monmument was built by Mr. J. P. Forde, Resident Engineer of the Department of Public Works, said that he had repaired the older monument erected there in 1903 by the Washington University State Historical Society. Winter storms from the ocean are severe at that point. The cement base of the granite shaft had loosened and the inscription had worn away in the twenty-one years. The cement was replaced and the lettering was re-cut and blackened, all of which was a fine example of neighborliness.

Veteran Van Ogle's Last Home

In preparing for publication a narrative left by the well known pioneer and Indian War veteran, Van Ogle, the editor was led into an error through correspondence with the officers of the Soldiers' Home at Orting. The narrative appeared in the *Washington Historical Quarterly,* Volume XIII., Number 4, pages 269-281. In the introduction the statement appears that Mr. Van Ogle died at the Soldiers' Home. The narrative and introductory statement have recently reappeared in the *Orting Oracle.* In calling

attention to the erroneous statement, Mrs. A. Van Ogle, widow of the veteran, says: "He died at Orting, in the house previously used by Mr. Allen as a Federal building and residence. One of my children purchased this house and we lived in it for ten years. It was here my husband died. * * * We would thank you to correct this error as my children did their best to make us both comfortable there."

Addition to the History Staff

Mr. Cecil Eden Quainton, son of Dean Quainton of British Columbia, and a recent graduate of Queen's College, Cambridge, England, has accepted the position of Instructor of Modern European History in the University of Washington. He takes the place of Mr. W. W. Eddy who has transferred to Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania.

An Old Printing Press

Mr. C. F. Stephens, a printer living in Seattle, recently visited at La Push, on the Indian reservation at the mouth of the Quillayute River and fronting the Pacific Ocean. There he became interested in an old "Washington" hand printing press. He says: "An Indian at La Push, probably fifty years old, told me that he was born and raised there and that this press had stood there just as it ns now as far back as he could remember."

No records have been found to explain the history of this interesting relic.

Historical Picture

The Seattle Chamber of Commerce entertained at a banquet on September 18, 1924, a large delegation of men and women representing the Massachusetts State Chamber of Commerce. At the close of the program the Seattle organization was presented with a beautiful photograph of the painting "Signing the Mayflower Compact." This reminder of the important historical event on the other side of the continent will grace the walls of the new Chamber of Commerce building nearing completion.

Correction—On the cover and title-page of the last issue of this *Quarterly,* July, 1924, the number should have been "3" instead of "2." Attention is here called to the error to aid those who bind the volumes for permanent preservation.

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Announcements

¶ Volume XV. is completed with this issue, and carries the index, prepared as usual by the Reference Department of the University of Washington Library.

¶ Walter M. Underhill and T. Elmer Strevey are graduate students in the History Department, University of Washington. Their articles on "Oregon's Provisional Post Office" and "The Oregon Mint" show their interest in the attractive sources of Oregon history.

¶ The venerable and loved authority on Northwestern history, George H. Himes, Secretary of the Oregon Pioneer Association and Curator of The Oregon Historical Society, contributes a brief item for this issue.

¶ Victor J. Farrar, well known to readers of this *Quarterly*, is saying farewell to its staff with his work in this issue.

¶ James E. Babb, author of "While Idaho Was a Part of Washington," is a well known attorney at law in Lewiston, Idaho.

¶ C. S. Kingston, Vice-President of the State Normal School, Cheney, Washington, has prepared a valuable article for the January, 1925, number of this *Quarterly*.