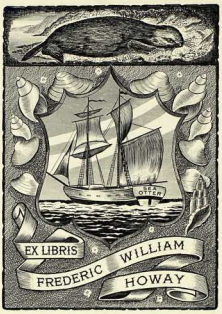

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

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THE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
UNIVERSITY STATION
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FRANZ FERDINAND AT SPOKANE—1893

According to the *Spokane Chronicle* of September 19, 1893, the people of the city were anticipating an interesting event that was to take place that afternoon. The seven companies of United States soldiers encamped near the city were getting ready to take part in a parade and review; citizens were arranging committees to meet the distinguished visitor who was soon to appear and to tender him every courtesy that might add to his comfort or pleasure; Northern Pacific employees were making ready the train that was to bear him on his way East. The ladies, in the words of the *Chronicle*, "were bargaining for windows along Riverside Avenue and wondering what kind of a Prince this is who is thirty years old, isn't married, and doesn't want to be."[1]

For a Prince of ancient and royal blood was to pass through the ambitious little city that had grown up in a dozen years by the falls of the Spokane. The Archduke, Franz Ferdinand von Oesterreich-Este[2], heir to the imperial and royal thrones of Austria-Hungary, was making a tour around the world. Crossing the Pacific he had landed at Vancouver and then by way of the Canadian Pacific and upper Columbia lakes would reach Northport, the terminus of the railroad at that time. From Northport the Corbin railroad would bring the famous tourist to Spokane on his way to Yellowstone National Park and to Chicago where the Columbian Exposition was to be visited.

Franz Ferdinand, who was born December 18, 1863, is described in the *Chronicle* as "a well built, handsome young man whose erect and shapely figure is usually clad in a military uniform." His education was briefly characterized as militaristic and his inclinations autocratic in governmental matters, his life before the suicide of Prince Rudulf as careless and pleasure-loving and since so changed that his haughty reserve was now resented by the Austrian people.

Evidently the commonplace doings of princes made as good

1 Franz Ferdinand was married July 1, 1900, to the Countess Sophia Chotek, who was also assassinated at Sarajevo June 28, 1914.
2 The Archduke traveled under the name of Count von Hohenberg.

newspaper stories in 1893 as in 1924 for this account appears of the trip South from Northport: "It was known at various points along the line that a special bearing a number of the scions of the Austrian nobility would pass through today and at several stations large crowds assembled to get a glimpse of His Highness. The Archduke was not inclined to gratify the curiosity of the public.

"He occupied over an hour and a half in making his toilet after the party was installed in the private car which would take them to the Yellowstone National Park and to Chicago. When he entered the reception room all the disagreeable evidences of travel had disappeared. He was dressed in a dark suit elaborately decorated with emblems of his military rank. A light lunch was served, after which His Highness chatted pleasantly with the various members of his party. The lunch finished, he indulged himself in a cigar from which he knocked the ashes in a flippant manner. His bearing was dignified and his appearance dashing in the extreme."

At Loon Lake a copy of the *Chronicle* containing an account of the attempt on the life of the Emperor Franz Josef was obtained. It was noted that although the other members of the party were greatly interested the Archduke himself was seemingly indifferent.

Besides Franz Ferdinand there were six members in the party. They brought a large amount of baggage—a circumstance that inspired the following facetious query in the editorial column of the *Chronicle*: "If the archduke travels with 75 pieces of baggage now what will he have to carry on his wedding journey?"

At this time a detachment of the United States regulars was encamped near Spokane. On the previous day (September 18, 1893), the soldiers and the camp had been inspected by General Carlin. On the invitation of the military authorities the officials of the city were present and popular interest had been shown by a large number of visitors. It was hoped that Governor McGraw of Washington and Governor McConnell of Idaho would visit the camp on the day following—the 19th, the day Franz Ferdinand was to pass through the city.

The United States War Department had been informed some weeks before of the places to be visited by the Archduke and instructions had been sent to army officers in the Northwest to receive him with the honors due his rank as representative of a Eu-

ropean monarch. Acting under these instructions Colonel Cook, of the Fourth United States Infantry, sent the following telegram:

"Spokane, September 19,—To the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary. Three troops of cavalry and five companies of infantry, United States troops, are encamped about two miles from the City of Spokane. I extend to you an invitation to inspect and review this command at your pleasure. The time of your arrival in and departure from Spokane will enable you to visit the camp. Should you desire to inspect or review the troops, will be pleased to have you visit the camp under escort that will meet your train on arrival if you so desire. Please signify your wishes.

"H. C. Cook, *Lieut.-Colonel Fourth Infantry.*"

The telegram reached the Archduke at Northport about 10 o'clock in the morning. The reply was signed by General Count Leo Wurmbrand, who had charge of the details of the tour:

"Northport, Washington, September 19th.—Lieut. Col. Cook: Thanks very much but His Imperial Highness regrets very much not to be able to accept your kind invitation of inspecting troops and visiting camp. Travelling in strict incognito.

General Count Wurmbrand,

"Head Chamberlain in waiting."

The refusal of Franz Ferdinand put an end to the plan to escort him to Camp Carlin and there to tender the salute of 21 guns and to hold a review of the troops. A considerable number of citizens gathered at the station on the arrival of the train; a "little cheer" went up and some attempts seem to have been made by committees to extend the usual courtesies but there were no formal demonstrations of welcome.

The imperial party continued on its way and no further comment is found in the *Chronicle* but the *Spokane Review* in an editorial entitled "Austrian Politics" that appeared in the issue of September 25th takes the Archduke to task: "It has become generally understood that the Austrian emperor had a wise and patriotic purpose in sending the Archduke Franz Ferdinand on a tour of the world. It is feared however that the royal tour will fail of its purpose. Instead of passing his time in observation and comparison of the nations and governments of the different countries visited, the Archduke holds himself aloof and exclusive. He

failed to inspect the important British defenses at Esquimalt. He positively refused to review a considerable number of United States troops in this city. He persistently declines to put himself in touch with the officials and people and in consequence will learn little that will be of value when he shall be called to the Austrian throne."

We have an opportunity to get the Archduke's point of view in the matter because he published in Vienna in 1896 a massive two volume work describing his world tour. The title is *Tagebuch meiner Reise um die Erde, 1892-1893.* At Northport the Archduke says that they were so fortunate as to secure a Pullman which he immediately reserved for the rest of the trip. This car had among other advantages the merit "of securing our privacy and preventing contact with undesirable fellow passengers." He gives the following account of the Spokane affair and of Spokane itself:

"When at Northport I had received a telegram from Colonel Cook who invited me to inspect his regiment which was encamped in the vicinity of Spokane since we had to delay two hours there. I declined the rather peculiar invitation with thanks on account of my travelling 'incognito' but my refusal was the cause of a slanderous editorial[3] in the Spokane evening paper which was brought to us in our car. The article had the laconic heading 'Franz is Here', was adorned with my likeness and bristled with malicious untruths which however failed to achieve the desired effect which was to arouse my anger. On the contrary I thought this journalistic gem only amusing, especially since a number of passages of unintentionally comical effect had crept in. For instance the ill-natured reporter made fun of our rather numerous pieces of baggage and wondered what would be the situation if I were married; then he criticized the nonchalance with which I shook the ashes from my cigar and similar nonsense.

"Instead of viewing the parade I utilized the time in seeing the town of Spokane which with its monotonous buildings painted either red or green presented no refreshing sight. The center of a rich agricultural district, Spokane was founded in 1878 and after a big fire was rebuilt in 1889; vestiges of the latter are still perceptible in the center of the town. The streets displayed an un-

3 Not an editorial—the usual newspaper story. Unquestionably the Archduke was mistaken; no offense was intended as a careful reading of the newspaper accounts will show. These indicate a frank, unabashed curiosity but nothing of wilful impertinence.

usual amount of mud[4] which reminded me of conditions in small localities in Asia Minor.

"The two waterfalls which are within the precincts of the town, the Spokane Falls, are praised as wonders of nature but are in reality only mill dams over which the water falls from a height of 45 meters, the power being utilized for a lighting system and factories."[5]

A certain tragic interest attaches to Franz Ferdinand; in the great world tragedy he is the actor who reads the prologue. His death and the Austrian ultimatum that followed heralded the Great War and the ruin both of the political system for which he stood and of the class to which he belonged whose shortcomings in some particulars seem to have been exemplified in the Archduke himself.

Franz Ferdinand did not like Spokane and said so with frank superciliousness but of this opinion Spokane neither knew nor cared. So completely did the visit of the imperial party fade out of the minds of the people that at the time of the Sarajevo assassination (June 28, 1914) there is no mention of his visit of twenty-one years before, either in comment or in the biographical sketches of the Archduke in the *Chronicle* and the *Spokesman-Review*.

C. S. KINGSTON.

4 September, 1893, was an unusually wet season. Many old settlers in the Palouse still remember it as the year when much wheat spoiled in the sack after threshing.

5 Translation by Louise M. Spaeth.

THE FIRST JAPANESE MISSION TO AMERICA

Last year (1923), while in Japan under the auspices of the Institute of International Education, I paid a visit to Keio University, Tokyo, in order to deliver a lecture on "American Ideals." In the course of this visit I learned, as never before, to appreciate the work of that great pioneer of wstern education in Japan, Yukichi Fukuzawa, who, after teaching himself English by first learning Dutch and then English by means of a Dutch-English Dictionary, started the educational institution out of which grew the important University of Keio. It was a great delight to me to discover that the present President, Dr. Ichitaro Fukuzawa, is a son of the "Sage of Mita," and that I was also privileged to meet the representative of a third generation of a famous family in the President's son, Tarokichi Fukuzawa, just returned from his graduation at an American College. The meeting was to me a symbol of the swift transition from the past to the present with its promise of the future. Speaking to a crowd of eager young men, most of whom could follow a lecture in the English language, it seemed hard to realize that just behind the hall in which I was lecturing stood the wooden building where in 1874 the first Public Speaking in all Japan was taught and practiced, much to the misgiving and alarm of the timid conservatism of the early years of Meiji.

Before leaving the College I was presented by the President, for the Library of the University of Washington, with a copy of a very valuable book, autographed by the Fukuzawas, entitled (in translation): "An Illustrated Account of the First Japanese Embassy to the United States, sent in the first year of *Mainen* (1860)." It is a narrative compiled out of the diaries of the envoys and liberally illustrated with pictures drawn by members of the expedition or copied from American papers of the period, such as Frank Leslie's *Illustrated Weekly.*

With the assistance of one of my students, Mr. Kimura, of the University of Washington, the story has now been put into English and I am hopeful that eventually Mr. Kimura may be able to publish an English translation in its entirety. But, in the meantime, there seems sufficient importance attachable to the first recorded impressions of Japanese diplomats as to America and things American to make worth while the presentation of a brief sketch of the record.

A few words explanatory of the occasion of the embassy, may be pardoned in view of the very silght reference made to the event in American history.

The year 1860 was critical in the story of reopened Japan. The Treaty of Kanagawa, obtained from Japan by Commodore Perry in 1854, had created a difficult domestic situation. The chauvinists of Japan had made the signing of the treaty an opportunity for discrediting the Shogunate, and the Imperial party at Kyoto, aided by the clans hostile to the Tokugawas, was only too ready to resent the concessions made to the "barbarians." Moreover, the presence of foreigners in the open ports had given occasion for rather frequent brawlings in which it was clear that the Shogun was unable wholly to control the disorderly element. Nor were the foreigners satisfied, for Mr. Townsend Harris, the able Amreican representative at Yokohama, was insisting upon a commercial treaty to supplement the treaty of 1854 and was pointing to the war being waged by French and English against China as a pressing reason for yielding to the foreign desire voluntarily and at once.

Mr. Harris managed his part with consummate skill and had eventually the satisfaction of procuring the signature of the Japanese rulers to the Treaty of July, 1858. There was much delay in forwarding the treaty to the United States on account of various political complications which concern the domestic history of Japan, but at last it was decided to send a speical embassy to Washington bearing the Treaty and the greetings of Nippon to the American Government.

It will be remembered that the early summer of 1860 marks a moment in American history as critical as anything to which we may point in Japan. President Buchanan was in the last year of his term. Secession sentiment was coming to a head in the South. Abraham Lincoln was about to be nominated for the Presidency amid the rejoicings of some and the misgivings of others. Clouds were gathering around the Republic beyond which few even pretended to be able to see. It is not surprising that under the circumstances and in view of subsequent happenings the significance of the first Japanese Embassy failed of recognition.

Of the few writers who have made any allusion to the subject at all the most explicit is Professor Payson J. Treat and his account is at the same time brief enough to permit quotation in its entirety:

"It was about this time that, after several postponements, the first Japanese mission to a foreign country sailed from Yokohama on the U.S.S. *Powhatan* to exchange at Washington the ratified copies of the Treaty of 1858. In command of the Japanese steamer *Kanrin Maru,* was Capt. Katsu, better known as Count Katsu Awa, the organiser of the modern Japanese navy. And in the envoy's suite was Fukuzawa Yukichi, who became one of the great leaders of New Japan, founder of the Jiji Shimpo newspaper and of the Keiogijuku University. The mission was cordially received by President Buchanan at Washington. The ratified texts were exchanged, and, after a tour of the Eastern States, the envoys returned to Japan with all manner of examples of American products and manufactures. The information brought home by the keen observers in this party must have contributed much to a better understanding of the Western world on the part of the Yedo administration."[1]

As the purpose of this paper is not to discuss the mission and its results but rather to reflect the impressions made upon its members the above quotation will furnish a sufficient introduction. It is to be noted, however, that two vessels are mentioned, the U.S.S. *Powhatan,* a side-wheel steamer of some 2415 tons, and the Japanese steam corvette *Kanrin Maru,* a training ship under Kimura settsu no kami mori Katsu. The former ship brought the envoys and their suite, eighty-one persons altogether, room being provided for their accommodation by removing four guns from the deck. The Japanese vessel came apparently for the purpose of greeting the envoys on their arrival at San Francisco, though incidentally it brought home Capt. Brook of the wrecked ship *Fennimore Cooper* (nicely disguised in the Japanese syllabary as *Henimocobara*). The Japanese sailors were not over pleased at having an American on board lest it might appear that they had been indebted to the skill of the Yankee on this their first voyage to the United States.

Even the envoys, safe under the hospitable aegis of the American eagle on the *Powhatan,* felt that they were engaged in an epoch-making adventure and the second ambassador Murakami expressed this in a "tanka" of the orthodox five lined, thirty-one syllabled sort, as follows:

1 *Japan and the United States,* pages 46-47.

"Tama no i wa
Kami to kimi toni
Makase tsutsu
Shiranu kuni nimo
Na o ya no ko san."

which may be (inadequately) rendered:

"My life
To gods and emperor
An offering,
In an unknown land
I leave my name."

The names of the three chief envoys, whose portraits are given in the volume, were: Shinmi Buzen no kami Masaoki, first ambassador; Murakami Awaji no kami Norimasa, second ambassador; and Oguri Bungo no kami Tadazumi, censor. The arrival at San Francisco on March 9 of the *Powhatan* with the envoys on board was a memorable event, even as it was to the crew of Count Katsu's *Kanrin Maru.* A picture of San Francisco in 1860 shows the quite undistinguished Californian metropolis of over sixty years ago in which one may count the streets and pick out the individual houses. But it is worth noting that Californian hospitality showed itself warmly appreciative of the interest of the occasion. The address of welcome presented to Kimura settsu no kami ought to be counted to San Francisco for righteousness whatever changes of sentiment the years might bring. It included these words:

"*Whereas,* San Francisco has thus the honor of being the first city in the United States to extend a welcome to the representatives of the Empire of Japan: be it therefore

"*Resolved* That we, the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco, in the name and in behalf of the people of said City and County, do hereby extend . . . . a cordial welcome to our City, State, and Country; and in so doing, we take pleasure in expressing the earnest wish that the amicable relations happily existing between the Imperial Government of Japan and the United States of America, and their people, may be perpetuated and productive of great and mutual advantages."

The Japanese were equally appreciative, though, alas, compelled to leave behind several members of the crew, whose tombs in San Francisco are shown in one of the illustrations. They

suffered too somewhat from the unaccustomed food and obtained permission to provide and cook their own meals. All through the experience as related runs a sense of pride. It was only seven years since they saw their first steam-boat and only five since they had begun to study the science of ocean navigation. To cross the Pacific was "something to boast of to the honor of Japan."

The stay in San Francisco was short and the next move of the envoys, still in the *Powhatan,* was to Panama, whence a train was taken across the isthmus to Aspinwall. Here another and larger ship was at their service, the *Roanoke,* with 52 guns and a complement of 540 men. Six guns were removed to afford the necessary accommodation and the visitors were well looked after. "The ship was clean but inconvenient." Of the personnel mentioned Admiral McCluney was "of a dignified manner," Captain Gardner was "an upright, humorous man," while another officer, apparently belonging to the port, is spoken of with some amount of gentle depreciation because of his boastful description of the achievements of the Perry expedition (of which he had been a member), "as if he had known about Japan so well." With subtle irony Murakami says of this individual, "this might be the reason for his still remaining a captain."

The Japanese boarded the *Roanoke* on April 24 and arrived at Sandy Hook on May 9, but on landing the envoys proceeded immediately to Washington at the President's request.

The arrival at the Navy Yard was the signal for great demonstrations of enthusiasm and curiosity, as is shown both by the pictures and by the extracts from Murakami's diary. The people crowded to the roofs to see the newcomers and so many pressed along the way that "it seemed as if the road had disappeared." Among them were some newspaper men hurrying here and there as if they were writing something. Also it appears that a camera was brought into action, a feature of public reception which the Japanese of today have by no means overlooked.

It was indeed a noteworthy occasion. The Treaty was contained in a box placed in a kind of *norimono,* the Japanese equivalent of a sedan-chair. The envoys rode in decorated carriages, each carriage drawn by four horses. There were cavalry and infantry escorts and, of course, a band. Every few yards the procession paused in order to afford the onlookers a good opportunity to view the strangers. "It might be that the spectators were honoring us by ringing their bells. It was all like a festival at Yedo."

Arrived at the Willard Hotel, whose five stories and extensive rooms puzzled the Japanese in their effort to reduce the measurements to "mats," they found themselves still too foreign to American ways to accept all precisely as they found it. So the chairs were removed and their places supplied with cushions on the floor, while the ball-room became the receptacle for the baggage. Of this there were, it is said, eighty tons, almost a ton per head, surely a liberal allowance. Possibly, however, we are betrayed into some misunderstanding of Japanese weights and measures, or, it may be, dealing with a little Oriental hyperbole. The sumptuous feast with which the visit to Washington was inaugurated, "with wine and meat", was the prelude to many more of the kind, all of which are duly reocrded.

The first interview with the Secretary of State, Mr. Lewis Cass, took place on May 16 and is described with much detail. The envoys delivered the letter from their own Minister of Foreign Affairs and received from the Secretary the assurance that "the President and all the people of the United States were exceedingly glad to welcome the Japanese envoys on this occasion." Mr. Cass is described as "a tall old gentleman of over seventy," which was an accurate estimate. He was also to the mind of the visitors blunt and direct, though not lacking in dignity. It was probably the Oriental familiarity with the fastidiousness and prolixity of their own etiquette rather than any actual lack of politeness on the part of the Secretary which led Murakami to record: "I thought it hard to avoid the thought of savagery that he (General Cass) showed no courtesy and no refinement on the occasion of meeting foreign envoys for the first time, and offered no tea as if meeting friends." Of course, it was a case of different races, different manners.

The next great event was the interview with President Buchanan, which took place at the White House on the following day. The envoys prepared to go "gloriously dressed up in full costume," with the ambassadors wearing *karaginu* and their long swords, and the subordinate officials attired according to their grade. Each ambassador was accompanied by three foot-soldiers, a spearman, three samurai, and some domestic servants. There was the same escort of American soldiers and a band and the same curious and excited crowd along the road. "I felt so proud of myself" writes Murakami, "to be able to reflect the glory of the fatherland of the Rising Sun in a savage country abroad."

At the White House the ambassadors were somewhat surprised at the democratic ease with which everybody was admitted, including the retainers. The reception room was gorgeous with gay carpets and brilliant with mirrors hung upon the walls, while on the tables the envoys were not a little gratified to behold some of the products of their native land in the lacquer boxes and other curios brought back by Commodore Perry. Then Secretary Cass appeared, a door was thrown open, and the first envoys from distant Nippon found themselves in the presence of the *Daitoryu,* the President of the great Republic of the West. It was a moving moment, the emotions of the occasion only suffering some intrusion from the surprise of finding many ladies around the President, "old and young beautifully dressed up."

The proper salutations having been made, and the formal presentation of the pact accomplished, the envoys passed into another room, whence they were immediately thereafter recalled for an unofficial interview, unembarassed by etiquette. The President shook hands with everybody and "expressed his gratitude and the gladness of his people" for the happily established relations between the two countries.

Talking over the ceremony on their return to the hotel the Japanese compared notes, found it funny that ladies had appeared, "fully dressed and painted," tried to understand the method of electing a President, concluding that it was by putting in "bids," after the manner of an auction, decided that it had been unnecessary to wear their full costume with the *karaginu* "in a country where there was no class differentiation and no etiquette or politeness," yet consoled themselves by writing the following poem:

"Behold the savageries, glory of the Eastern land, land of the Rising Sun,

"Forgetting myself, a citizen of the Rising Sun, I feel proud of to-day's glorious service."

"The President," Murakami reports, "seemed about seventy years old, with a gentle face and dignity, but, like a merchant, he had the tight-sleeved suit and trousers of black woollen cloth, without any ornament or sword."

They found that presents to a President were not permitted, but could be consigned to a museum. Also that "articles could only be personally possessed if presented to a wife."

It would be tedious to describe all the entertainments provided at Washington for the ambassadors, so I select from the

narrative a few scattered notes. The concert at the White House I am afraid bored them and made them feel just a little homesick and lonesome. Possibly they were still unreconciled to the music of the "barbarians." Yet the ladies whose presence at the festivities had appeared to be of dubious propriety were most courteously attentive and (says Murakami) "they like especially our swords." The President's niece made herself particularly agreeable.

Treaties between the two countries were officially exchanged at Secretary Cass' office on May 22 "without any courtesy and etiquette." The fact that a Dutch translation accompanied the Japanese copy of the Treaty reminds us that the English language had not yet obtained more than the tiniest entering wedge at Yedo.

The envoys received many invitations while in Washington but objected to the late nights. So they accepted only those "likely to result in national benefit." A ball to which they were inveigled was interesting chiefly as a novelty, enabling them to see "the group dance of both sexes."

Much more enthusiasm was aroused by a visit to the Navy Yard where the Japanese reveled in a view of "remarkable and splendid works beyond the power of pen and tongue." The photograph of the envoys taken on this occasion, in company with the President and a large group of American ladies and gentlemen, reveals the fact that the dress of the Japanese envoys is hardly more obsolete to us today than have become the American fashions of the time.

The President gave a banquet to his guests on May 25 which was on the grand scale, but Murakami observes: "There seemed to be no porcelain or stained table-ware in this country." The visitors were still shy about dining with the ladies, "because of our unfamiliarity with different manners and customs." The President asked many questions, but some of them were evidently indiscreet and so unanswerable, as, for example, those which concerned the ladies of the Imperial Court. "I answered," says the diarist, "by beating around bushes." The finger bowls, as in other unsophisticated dining rooms, presented difficulties even more embarrassing, and one of the envoys was barely restrained by a pull at his sleeve from drinking therefrom. "It was very hard to restrain our laughter as we looked at one another." The President's nieces (three of them) distinguished themselves by their attention to the visitors.

The last event of the stay in Washington was a trip over every corner of the Willard Hotel, a trip which provided interest of the most varied kind, from a sight of the engine-rooms, laundries and kitchens to a private view of the girls ironing the clothes and using a sewing machine. "Several rooms were provided for a bath," but the bath tubs, lined with tin, seemed small to the visitors. The provision in every room of "strings for the ringing of bells" was both interesting and amusing. The hotel must have been a lively caravansery during these days, since Murakami relates that the other guests "used to swarm out to the halls to see us whenever we happened to appear."

At last, however, the Washington stay was complete and the envoys steamed away on the *Alida* for New York, where they arrived on June 16. The procession through the streets was a repetition of the Washington triumph. "Like a festival, the procession marched slowly, stopping very often and taking a roundabout way."

There was a military review in which two things are singled out for special mention. First the drum major twirling his silver topped stick, the pretty young girls carrying small casks of whiskey on their shoulders "for a stimulant in case of accident"—no doubt tolerably frequent. The girls were gorgeously and thickly painted "as for a festival."

With this reference to "other times and other manners" we may bring our narrative to its conclusion. Indeed but two or three other episodes are reported before the first Japanese envoys left our shores for the crossing of the Atlantic and the journey home around the Cape. The Walton Company gave each of the party a handsome pocket watch and Mr. and Mrs. J. Gordon Bennett gave a reception for the visitors, in a suburban home so wondrously beautiful that Murakami is once again moved to express himself in verse.

With this poem we may conclude:

"So cool the breeze through the leafage green,
I think I hear the cuckoo's song.
However strange the ways and deeds of men,
The summer hills at sunset are everywhere the same."

HERBERT H. GOWEN.

PORT GAMBLE, WASHINGTON*

In July, 1853, the schooner *Julius Pringle* dropped anchor in Port Discovery Bay, Puget Sound. She was commanded by Capt. W. C. Talbot, who was at the head of an expedition which had come to Puget Sound in the interest of the firm W. C. Talbot & Co., to select a mill site, build a mill for the manufacturing of lumber and engage in the merchandise and lumber business.

The firm was composed of W. C. Talbot and A. J. Pope of San Francisco, Cal., and J. P. Keller and Charles Foster of East Machias, Me.

Among others on the *Pringle* were E. S. Brown, a millwright from Bangor, Maine, (lately of Hersey, Beau & Brown, Stillwater, Minn., and now receiver of the Northwestern Mfg. & Con. Co., Stillwater, Minn.), Cyrus Walker, Skowhegan, Maine, (now manager of Puget Mill Co.), Nathaniel Harmon of East Machias, (still a resident of Port Gamble), Hillman Harmon of East Machias, Davis Foster (2nd mate of *Pringle*), of East Machias, James White of Bangor, machinist and engineer.

The cargo of the *Pringle* consisted of lumber, tools, supplies and merchandise necessary for a beginning of the proposed venture.

After a hasty examination of Port Discovery Bay, it was decided to take possession of the place, and enough lumber to build a shanty was landed. After this, it was thought best to make up an exploring party to go further up the Sound in search of a more favorable location. A party was made up and started out in a sailboat and canoe under the direction of Captain Talbot. They followed the western shore of the Sound, touching at Port Townsend, and next at Port Ludlow, where they found what has always been known as the best mill-site on Puget Sound. But this place was already occupied by W. P. Sayward and J. R. Thorndike, who were hard at work building a mill. Next the party sailed up Hood Canal as far as Hazel Point, (opposite what is now Seabeck) but no suitable place having been found, it was thought best to cross the canal and follow the other shore back until they reached Port Gamble, where they found a large "spit" suitable for a mill-site, backed up by a large bay, deep water, and plenty of

most excellent timber handy to the water's edge. Some considerable time was spent here, cruising timber and sounding out the channel in and out of the Bay.

The party seems to have been pleased with the place, but hesitated to make a final decision, partly on account of a scarcity of fresh water for the boilers. It was finally decided to go further up the Sound, thinking they might find a still more favorable place. At Appletree Cove, they found a mill in process of construction under the ownership of J. J. Felt. This mill was afterwards moved to Port Madison.

Port Madison, the next place visited, presented a snug little harbor and location for a mill-site. But the bay was small, and depth of water and timber around the bay were not in favor of a location there. From Port Madison, the canoe returned to Port Gamble, the sailboat proceeding farther South until it had sailed around Vashon Island (opposite Tacoma) and no more suitable place than Gamble having presented itself, they sailed for Gamble, via Seattle.

Seattle, at this time, boasted of a sawmill, a few houses, and many tents. After the return to Port Gamble a few days more were spent in cruising and making soundings, after which they again started out, this time to return to Port Discovery, intending to locate there. On arrival at Discovery, they found settlers, hearing that a mill was to be built there, began to come in and locate around the bay, and before discharging the schooner's cargo, Captain Talbot thought best to look at the timber that grew around the bay. It did not compare favorably with that at Gamble, which influenced him to weigh anchor and sail for Port Gamble.

Arriving at Port Gamble, they immediately set to work discharging cargo and building a shanty, for lodging house, a cookhouse and a store. These buildings were rough structures and constructed of eastern lumber from the cargo and cedar splits. The schooner after being discharged, went to Seattle and took a cargo of lumber and piles to San Francisco.

Then they started in laying the foundation and to build the mill. The timber for this purpose was hewn at the head of the bay on land now owned by W. S. Jameson. The full crew at this time left here by the *Pringle* was ten men.

On Sept. 5th, 1853, the schooner *L. P. Foster,* under command of Capt. J. P. Keller, one of the partners, arrived, 154 days from Boston, Mass. The *Foster* was about 176 tons burden and loaded

decks to the water with engine, boilers, merchandise supplies, and mill machinery and findings. Capt. Keller's wife and daughter were with him, and were the first white women to land at this place. The *Foster* bound in met the *Pringle* bound out, at Port Townsend, and thus learned the location of the mill-site. After considerable hard work the heavy cargo was unloaded and landed, the schooner taken to the head of the bay, and the crew went into the woods, cut a full load of piles, loaded the schooner, and she sailed for San Francisco under the command of Captain Talbot. Captain Keller remained at Port Gamble as resident owner. Capt. Finley Keller was mate of the *Foster* and Capt. A. W. Keller, now master of the bark *James Cheston*, was a sailor before the mast of the *Foster*.

E. G. Ames.

WENATCHEE INDIANS ASK JUSTICE

An early Indian name for the Wenatchee River was Pisquouse and that name was also used for a tribe of Indians in that vicinity. Probably the first time the river was mapped was by William Clark of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, who spelled it "Wah-na-a-cha." In the journals the tribe is referred to as "Chimnapoos." (Elliott Coues edition, pages 973 and 1255.) Five years later, 1811, David Thompson charted the river as "Pis-kowish" and referred to the tribe as Sinkowarsin." (*Thompson's Narrative,* The Champlain Society edition, page 482.) The editors of the above sources recognize that the original observers were referring to the Wenatchee Indians and the river near their home. On June 9, 1855, Isaac I. Stevens, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Washington Territory, made a treaty with many tribes which he grouped into one "nation" under the name of "Yakama." Two tribes so grouped were called Pisquouse and Wenatshapan. It now seems likely that at most the Indians thus mentioned were but bands of the tribe later known as Wenatchee. The *Handbook of American Indians,* Volume II., page 932, says *winatshi* is a Yakima word meaning "river issuing from a canyon" and says that those we know as Wenatchee Indians were "probably a band of the Pisquows formerly on Wenatchee River." As the river became better known by its present name the Indians were called by the same name.

The famous treaty by Governor Stevens was ratified by the Senate on March 8, 1859, and was proclaimed on April 15, 1859. Article 10 is as follows:

"*And provided,* That there is also reserved and set apart from the lands ceded by this treaty, for the use and benefit of the aforesaid confederated tribes and bands, a tract of land not exceeding in quantity one township of six miles square, situated at the forks of the Pisquouse or Wenatshapam River, and known as the 'Wenatshapam Fishery,' which said reservation shall be surveyed and marked out whenever the President may direct, and be subject to the same provisions and restrictions as other Indian reservations."

The Wenatchee Indians feel that it was wrong to include them in the Yakima "nation." They also feel that they should be given the benefit of at least the "Wenatshapam Fishery" reservation. They were advised to consult some United States officer.

In the white man's city of Wenatchee they found that R. S. Ludington was a United States Commissioner. Two representatives of the tribe laid their case before him and he helped them prepare a letter to the "Great White Father" at Washington. John Hermilt was one of the elders or chiefs of the Wenatchee tribe. He could not write but "made his mark" by touching the pen over the X and another wrote by it his name. Louis Judge was an educated Indian and frequently acted as interpreter when Indian matters were involved. Mr. Ludington says the Indians did not report to him again. He heard that Louis Judge died in a Spokane hospital recently. Mr. Ludington saved a carbon copy of the Indians' letter and has furnished it for publication that a permanent record may be had of the Wenatchee Indians' plea for justice.

The document is as follows:

Wenatchee, Washington,
January 3, 1910.

Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Department of the Interior,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

We believe that the records in your office will show that in 1855, at the time that Colonel Wright was in the then Territory of Washington, he met a band of our people under Chief Pshamouch; that at that time the Indians were under arms, but agreed to lay down their arms and be at peace with the United States Government and its people, upon being assured that they would have unmolested and for their own a tract of land which was to be six miles square, and later, by Colonel Archer, was increased to eight miles square, embracing the lands then occupied by them which were located along what is now known as the Wenatchee River, from a point just below the present town of Cashmere and extending up the river towards Leavenworth.

We understand that there has been a ruling by one of the acting Indian Commissioners adverse to this claim, but we are certain that these are the facts and that the matter was confused and not made clear in the treaty of 1855, which was ratified by Act of Congress on June 9th of that year, and which treaty provided for a tract of land not exceeding in quantity one township situated at the forks of the Pisquouse or Wenatshapan River, and known as the Wenatshapan Fishery; which reservation was to be surveyed and marked out whenever the President may direct, sub-

ject to the provisions and restrictions the same as other Indian reservations. The tract thus referred to in the treaty would have been located below the forks of what are now the Wenatchee and Icicle Rivers, just at or below the present town of Leavenworth, and that treaty should have made it clear that this was for the Pisquouse of Wenatchee Indians.

As a matter of fact, this land was lived upon and is still resided upon by members of the Pisquouse or Wenatchee tribe, and has always been considered as their lands, and although we understand there have been claims to the contrary, they continued to use the lands and the river as a fishery until prevented by preponderance of white settlers, who had secured lands by homestead and from the railroads, due to the fact that the President had not caused the reservation to be surveyed and marked off, and that consequently the lands were treated by the General Land Office as open to entry, and that with these grants and patents from the Government the white settlers were enabled to prevent the Indians from continuing to put in their weirs and other means for using the river in the manner in which they had used it in prior years. That the local Indians, relying upon the understanding that they had of the treaty made with Colonel Wright, took no part nor were they instrumental in bringing the matter to the attention of the Department in 1892, when the Yakima agent, Lynch, under date of July 19th made inquiry as to whether that tract had ever been set off, having apparently discovered from the treaty that such a tract was to be set off.

In this connection it might be well to refer to the fact that the local Indians are not members of the Yakima nation, and have always steadfastly refused to be classified or numbered as members of that nation; that they do not speak the Yakima language; that they are separated from the Yakimas by a high range of mountains, and have no dealings with them beyond an occasional visit either from or to that tribe of Indians located in and near Ellensburg, across the mountains from the homes of the Wenatchee or Pisquouse Indians. And in this connection it might be stated that the local Indians' name of their river and their tribe is Pisquouse, and that the name "Wenatchee," which had been given to the river and to them, is the name used to designate them in the language of the Ellensburg Indians. This can be explained by the fact that Ellensburg is the county seat of Kittitas County, and that this section of the country was formerly in Kittitas

County, and that consequently most dealings that affected lands and persons in this neighborhood were of record and carried on from Ellensburg, and that probably the early interpreters were Ellensburg Indians, who had a smattering of the Pisquouse language.

At the time that Agent Lynch came over into this section from Yakima to look into the question of the reservation, he did not attempt to lay out the reservation at the forks of the river, as is provided by the treaty, but went some thirty miles farther away, up towards or above Lake Wenatchee, in a region where the local Indians did not go nor did they claim any particular rights there, and that consequently when the reservation was surveyed in that section they did not consider it their reservation, and did not consider that they had any voice in that reservation.

Apparently their honorable position in this matter has worked to their injury, where the Department has evidently taken the position that this reservation was in fulfillment of the 1855 treaty obligations, and by their refusal to exercise any dominion over it, the matter was left to the Indians on the Yakima reservation, who of course had no particular interest in it, as they never came to this section for fishing, but went down in the neighborhood of The Dalles, and consequently had no reason for desiring to preserve the reservation, and were perfectly willing to sell the same and appropriate the proceeds from the sale.

It also appears that after this reservation was surveyed and designated, and because the majority of the Yakimas had no need for it, they voted to sell it and when it was sold, by reason of the fact that the council at which the matter was considered was held in midwinter, when the trails were practically impassable and when the distance was over a hundred miles from the homes of the local Indians, with a range of high mountains between them and the place of the council, that the Yakimas had a large majority present at that council and could overvote the local Indians as to the disposal of the lands and also as to the use of the money obtained from the proceeds of the sale of the same.

As the records will show, arrangements were made at these councils for the Yakima Indians to cede this reservation for a consideration of $20,000 and that this $20,000 was used for building an irrigating system that benefited solely the lands in the Yakima Indian reservation.

It now appears that arrangements are to be made to open up the Yakima Indian reservation, and for that reason the local In-

dians deem the time opportune for again bringing this matter to the attention of the authorities, with the request that some steps be taken that will give to them the rights which thus far they feel they have been denied, and to secure to them some benefits as compensation for their compliance with the treaty, and not to permit the Yakimas to appropriate everything for themselves.

In this connection attention is called to the fact that the records show that numerous attempts have been made by the Department to have the local Indians consider themselves as a part of the Yakima nation and to move to the Yakima reservation, and that the local Indians have steadfastly refused to do so, as they do not understand the Yakima language, as they and their fathers have lived in this region and have had very little in common with the Yakima Indians, and that those of their members who have desired to go to any other reservation have elected to go and have been admitted to the reservation allotted to the Columbia Indians or to the Colville reservation.

The fisheries as above referred to, as above stated, were never used by the Yakimas, as they did their fishing in the neighborhood of The Dalles, and that the only outside Indians that availed themselves of the Wenatchee fisheries, besides the local Indians, were those within the immediate neighborhood and some of those from the Big Bend country, known as the Chief Moses Indians, and the Indians in and around Chelan and farther north, all of whom have practically the same language.

Outside of the payment of the expenses of one or two delegations to Washington, the Government has never expended anything for the local Indians nor given them anything outside of permitting them to take allotments under the general allotment law and giving them some farm implements, and also permitting some of their number to live on the Colville reservation.

It would seem that because of the good faith of the local Indians and their strict observance of the treaty, the Department rather lost sight of them and apparently concluded that they did not exist and that any rights they might have had descended to the Yakima Indians; and in order that this attitude may not continue and thereby prevent the local Indians from getting what they believe to be their rights in the matter, they now desire to call attention to the fact that they have never received any benefits from the sale of their fishery and reservation, and that as matters now stand it has been appropriated wholly by those of the Yaki-

mas residing on the Yakima reservation, and that the Yakimas are profiting by and enjoying the benefits of the property which should in law and equity be enjoyed, in part at least if not in whole, by the local Indians. In other words, by the use of the $20,000 obtained from the sale of the Wenatchee reservation in constructing irrigating ditches for the lands on the Yakima reservation, the local Indians are prevented from gaining any benefits therefrom, unless they are willing to desert the homes that they and their fathers have occupied for generations and take up a residence among other Indians whose language they do not know and whose habits they are not familiar with, and whose lands are at such a distance and so located that to move there would be a hardship and an expense that they could not stand and should not be required to undertake.

From their standpoint they submit that they should not be deprived of the advantages which would accrue to them by the treaty stipulation providing for a township to be located at the forks of the Wenatchee River and to be known as the Wenatchee Fisheries, where the treaty provided that the President should survey and mark the reservation, and where the treaty provided no affirmative act upon their part other than to be peaceable. That the failure of the President or those in authority to perform that stipulation in the treaty should not of right be used against them, when they had been in possession of the land, had been using the land as contemplated in the treaty, had no agent or any means of knowing whether the President had complied with that provision of the treaty, and especially when the steps were taken to dispose of the reservation they had but three representativs present in a large council, and where there was no interpreter for the Wenatchees, and where those that were present steadfastly refused to accede to the sale of their reservation, and where the Government agents considered that the price paid was fair and reasonable, because the Yakima Indians had never used the fisheries nor had ever asked the President to survey the reservation. In other words, the adverse ruling as made by A. C. Tonner, Acting Commissioner, under date of March 11, 1898, is apparently based almost wholly upon the grounds that the Yakima Indians had slept upon their rights and had not used the land in question, when his report shows on the face of it that the councils where the matter was considered were held in Yakima on December 18, 1893, and on January 6, 1894, at a time of the year when there was from four

to ten feet of snow on the ground and at a point 150 miles distant from the Wenatchee Indians, by a trail that led over a high range of mountains. In this report it states that only four Indians of the Wenatchee tribe attended the council. One of the undersigned, John Hermilt, was one of the Indians that attended, and he says that there were only two others from the Wenatchee tribe that were with him, both of whom are now dead. This report states that due notice was given to the Wenatchee Indians, but there is nothing to show what that due notice was nor whether the Wenatchee Indians had time to have a council and consider the matter; and from the communications which have been addressed to the Secretary of the Interior and the Department of Indian Affairs since then, it would seem that the proceedings of said council were never recognized nor acceded to as being binding upon the Wenatchee Indians.

The Acting Commissioner also apparently felt that a wealthy and speculatively inclined Yakima Indian named Thomas Pearne was in effect the sole objector to the proceedings at these councils, and simply because there was objection on the part of such a member of the Yakima tribe, it should not be permitted to prejudice the rights of the Wenatchee Indians. As a matter of fact the Wenatchee Indians had no connection with nor did they know anything about Thomas Pearne.

The conclusion of Acting Commissioner Tonner, to the effect that the fishery in question was owned by the Yakima nation in common, and not by the Wenatchee Indians, has the effect of depriving the Wenatchee Indians of all rights in and to the Wenatchee reservation or the proceeds obtained from the sale of the same, for the reason that they have never considered themselves a part of the Yakima Indians. The attendance of their three men at the council was a matter of courtesy, apparently in response to the summons of the Indian Department, and it would seem unjust that they should be barred on that account, when they have steadfastly refused, as they did at that council and have done consistently since then, to accede to the right of the Yakima Indians or of the Department to take lands which should by right be theirs and sell them and use the proceeds for other Indians.

The fact that the Government has erroneously considered the Wenatchee Indians a part of the Yakima nation, does not make them a part of that nation; and it would seem that it was the intention of the Government to do something for the Wenatchee

Indians, or it would not otherwise have specified in the treaty for a Wenatchee fishery for the Yakima Indians, when the Yakima Indians did all their fishing in the neighborhood of The Dalles. And it is submitted that a careful study of the records will bear out the position herein taken, and we believe should appeal to the conscience and good judgment of the Government to persuade it to give to the Wenatchee Indians whatever they consider their fair rights in the matter.

In this connection, in order to facilitate a full understanding of the matter, we hereby give a list of the papers which we now have relative to this matter, which are as follows:

(1) A letter dated December 15, 1896, written from Vancouver Barracks by Assistant Adjutant General to William Hermilt and Louis Judge, stating that the authorities at Washington would look to it that all parties interested in the Wenatchee reservation should obtain fair treatment.

(2) A letter or report dated March 11, 1898, bearing number "Land 74-1898" from A. C. Tonner, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior referring to a report of Inspector W. G. McConnell of the Yakima Agency under date of September 21, 1897, wherein that inspector evidently concluded that the equities were with the Wenatchee Indians from the investigation which he made on the ground.

(3) A petition dated May 10, 1899, made by a delegation of Wenatchee Indians to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, also a latter dated May 10, 1899, signed by the same delegation addressed to the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, also a letter or report dated May 22, 1899, from Acting Commissioner A. C. Tonner to the Secretary of the Interior in reply to said petition.

(4) A letter dated May 26, 1899, from Acting Secretary Ryan addressed to John Hermilt and Louis Judge, enclosing a copy of the reports above mentioned.

(5) Copy of a letter dated February 8, 1900, addressed to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for reimbursement for the expenses of the delegation to Washington.

Now that the Yakima reservation is to be opened it seems to us that without injury to any one our rights can be protected and we can be permitted to enjoy the benefits that are ours by reason of our honorable observance of our treaty promises.

The Wenatchee Indians believe that this can be done in several ways, and without meaning to designate any particular way, they submit that the matter could be easily adjusted.

First, by the Government reserving or taking eight miles square of land in the Yakima reservation of fair value and of equal value to that of the Wenatchee reservation which was sold, and selling that in whatever manner the Government should see fit, and having the proceeds derived from that sale turned over for the benefit of the local Indians.

Second, to have a certain number of acres of the land allotted to the Indians in the Yakima reservation who are profiting by the irrigating ditch built from the money obtained from the sale of the Wenatchee reservation and set aside for the benefit of the Wenatchee Indians a number of acres, together with the water right, that would equal in value the amount received by the sale of the Wenatchee reservation.

Third, or out of the proceeds of the sale of the surplus lands of the Yakima reservation to set aside $20,000 and the interest thereon from the time that the money was obtained by the sale of the Wenatchee reservation, and to use said $20,000 and interest for the benefit of the local Indians; or

Fourth, any other way, manner or form which can be devised by the authorities that would be fair and that would secure to the local Indians the rights which they feel they have not obtained from the sale of their reservation.

Therefore, the undersigned, representing their tribe, respectfully request that this matter be considered by the Department and that if necessary they may be heard further as to whether they have slept upon their rights and also upon their right to the proceeds from the sale of the reservation by any fair method that will permit them to substantiate the statements above made by them (especially those which may be considered as contrary to the holdings of the Department); and they respectfully request that the Department will promptly take such action as will protect them and give them Justice, and on behalf of all the Wenatchee Indians the above matter is respectfully submitted.

his
JOHN X HERMILT
mark
LOUIS JUDGE.

OLD FORT COLVILLE*

The year 1925 marks the hundredth anniversary of the founding of old Fort Colville, which for many years was the most important interior trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Oregon Country. In the year 1821 the North-West Company was merged with the Hudson's Bay Company, and soon thereafter was begun the systematic exploitation of the fur-trade in the lands drained by the Columbia River and its tributaries. The Northwesters, in the summer of 1810, had established Spokane House near the confluence of the Spokane and the Little Spokane Rivers. Near this establishment Fort Spokane was started by the partners of John Jacob Astor in the summer of 1812. In the following year the Astorians sold out their interests in Oregon to the Northwesters, and eight years later, by the merger heretofore mentioned, all of these holdings came into the possession of the Hudson's Bay Company. As the trade of the Hudson's Bay Company developed, it was felt that some changes in the locations of trading posts were needed. Accordingly, in 1825, Fort Vancouver was established on the north side of the Columbia River, and became the emporium of the fur-trade in the Pacific Northwest. At about the same time it was decided that Spokane House should be abandoned and that a new post, to be known as Colville, should be erected near the Kettle Falls of the Columbia River, in what is now Stevens County, Washington.

Our knowledge of the beginnings of this establishment is gleaned from the writings of Alexander Ross,[1] a former employe of Astor who took service under the North-West Company when

*It is the purpose of this article to bring together information regarding old Fort Colville from its inception in 1825 to the final abandonment of it by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1871. The present year marks the hundredth anniversary of the founding of this important fur-trading establishment, and it therefore seems fitting that some of the activities of the post should at this time be passed in brief review. This is not intended to be a critical study, but rather a chronological presentation of contemporaneous descriptions and points of view. The distinction between the Hudson's Bay Company's establishment, which was located on Marcus Flat, near the Kettle Falls of the Columbia River, and the present town of Colville, should be kept in mind. Old Fort Colville was named in honor of Andrew Colville (or Colvile), who was at one time governor in London of the Hudson's Bay Company. The spelling of Colville has been disputed. Some authorities insist that the proper spelling is "Colvile." Wherever "Colvile" has appeared in a quotation I have preserved that spelling; on other occasions I have adpoted the more common spelling. In the preparation of this article I have been much indebted to the scholarly researches of William S. Lewis of Spokane, corresponding secretary of the Eastern Washington State Historical Society, and to T. C. Elliott of Walla Walla, who edited several of the *Work Journals*. I am also indebted to C. S. Kingston, vice president of the State Normal School at Cheney, for criticisms and helpful suggestions, as well as to J. A. Meyers of Meyers Falls.

1 Alexander Ross came out to the Pacific Northwest on the ship *Tonquin*, Captain Jonathan Thorn, as a member of the Astor party, with the rank of clerk. During the next few years he was prominently identified with the fur-trading activities in the Old Oregon Country and later wrote extensively of his experiences in the Pacific Northwest.

Astoria was sold, and later became an employe of the Hudson's Bay Company, and of John Work,[2] an employe of the Hudson's Bay Company. We are informed by Ross that on April 12, 1825, he arrived at the mouth of the Spokane River, where he had an interview with Sir George Simpson, governor in North America of the Hudson's Bay Company, who was on his way across the Rocky Mountains to Rupert's Land. Ross proceeded to the Red River Country in company with Governor Simpson, the party consisting of Chief Factor M'Millan, Ross's son, two Indian boys, in addition to Simpson and Ross, "together with 15 men, all embarked on board of two boats."[3] From the mouth of the Spokane the party passed on to the Kettle Falls, "distant about 82 miles," and of this place Ross wrote the following description:

"At this place, the site of a new establishment, to be named 'Colville,' was marked out close to the Falls.[4] The situation of Colville has been extolled by many as a delightful spot; there is a small luxuriant vale of some acres in extent, where the fort is to be built, under the brow of a woody height; this is so far pleasant enough, but in every other respect the prospect on all sides is limited. The place is secluded and gloomy; unless the unceasing noise of the Falls in front, and a country skirted on the opposite side of the river with barren and sterile rocks and impenetrable forests in the rear, can compensate for the want of variety in other respects. If so, the place may, indeed, be called delightful; otherwise, there are very few places in this part of the country less attractive or more wild."[5]

At "Columbia Lake 16th Apl. 1825" Governor Simpson addressed a letter to John Work, which was handed to Work on his arrival at Spokane House on July 20, 1825. In this letter Governor Simpson said:

"I have lined out the site of a new establishment at the Kettle Falls and wish you to commence building and transporting

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2 T. C. Elliott (*Wash. Hist. Quart., III*, 199) insists that this name is properly spelled "Wark," and this spelling appears in the "Journal and Letters of David Douglas" (*Quart. Ore Hist. Soc., V*, 335); but I find in the *Journal Kept by David Douglas During His Travels in North America*, 1823-1827 (London: William Wesley & Son, 1914) that the name is spelled "Work." For some mention of the career of Work consult Mr. Elliott's valuable introductions and footnotes to the installments of the *Work Journals* printed in the *Wash. Hist. Quart., III and V*. See also a life sketch of Work in Lewis and Phillips, *The Journal of John Work* (Cleveland: Clark, 1923).

3 *The Fur Hunters of the Far West*, II, 159-161.

4 "Fort Colville was staked out by Governor Simpson on April 14, 1825."—*Ranald MacDonald*, 1824-1894, p. 103, *footnote* 94.

5 Ross, *The Fur Hunters of the Far West*, II, 162.

the property from Spokane as early as possible. Mr. Birnie[6] has been directed to plant about 5 kegs of potatoes[7]—You will be so good as (to) take great care of them the produce to be reserved for seed, not eat, as next spring I expect that from 30 to 40 Bushels will be planted.—Pray let every possible exertion be used to buy up an abundant stock of Fish and other Provisions country produce, as no imported provisions can in future be forwarded from the coast."[8]

Work, who had been put in charge of the outfit destined for Spokane, set out from Vancouver on June 21, 1825, with a brigade for the interior. From Fort Nez Perces he proceeded with a party up the Snake River to the Clearwater to purchase from the Indians horses for use in the interior country. On July 18, 1825, with six men, an Indian guide and 106 horses, he set out from the Snake River across the Palouse Country for Spokane House. In his journal entry for this day he speaks somewhat at length of the proposed establishment at the Kettle Falls, declaring that his "object in accompanying the horses besides seeing them taken care of principally is to visit Spokane, see how affairs stand there and consult with Mr. Birnie as to the practicability of getting all the property, etc., removed at once to the Kettle Falls so that the whole may be there by the time the boats arrive. . . . . In order to enable us to put the above plan in execution I got Mr. Dease[10] prevailed upon to supply Spokane with 11 Pack Horses which are certainly very few considering that there are only eight at Spokane, and there is little prospect of being able to hire any from the Indians as removing the Fort is likely to be disagreeable to

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6 James Birnie, at this time in charge of Spokane House, a trading establishment located at the junction of the Spokane, and the Little Spokane Rivers, nine miles northwest of the present city of Spokane. Spokane House was established in the summer of 1810. Birnie was a Scotsman who entered Oregon in 1818. He remained for many years at Fort George (Astoria). Finally he retired to Cathlamet, where he died December 21, 1861, aged 69 years.—Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, I, 41, *footnote*.

7 The instructions of Governor Simpson in this matter were evidently carried out, for we read in Work's *Journal*, under date of July 21, 1825, the following: "Six kegs [of potatoes] which were sowed at the Kettle Falls also looked well the last time people were there they have been hoed twice."—*Wash. Hist. Quart.*, V, 97-98.

8 "Journal of John Work." *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, V, 98

9 *Ibid.*, p. 87.

10 John Warren Dease, a chief trader, was at this time in charge of Fort Nez Perces, or Walla Walla (now Wallula). See footnote by Mr. Elliott, *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, V, 87; also see "Journal and Letters of David Douglas." *Quart. Ore. Hist. Soc.*, V, 334-335. In the *Journal Kept by David Douglas During His Travels in North America*, 1823-1827, p. 161, appears the following sentence: "Arrived at the junction of the Spokane River with the Columbia at sunset, where we found John Warren Dease, Esq., commandant in the interior, and a party of fourteen men, on their way up to the Kettle Falls, ninety miles further up the Columbia."

them.[11] I have also brought two men intended to be left at Spokane to assist. I also wished much that Mr. Dears[12] should accompany me for the same purpose, so that he might proceed to the Kettle Falls & remain in charge of the property with one man while the transortation of the property was going on, but Mr. Dease would not consent to his coming. . . . . "[13] Work clearly indicated that he was not pleased with the objections to his proposal made by Mr. Dease.

Arrived at Spokane, Work was handed the letter from Governor Simpson. The following day, so Work tells us in his *Journal,* he was employed in "examining the property to be transported to the Kettle Falls and find that the whole amounts to 254 pieces including trading goods, provisions, stores & sundries. Mr. Birnie has been actively & diligently employed during the summer, & has almost the whole tied up and ready to be put on horseback. Had Mr. Dears been permitted to accompany me I could have returned to Okanagan with an Indian, and the transportation of the property might have commenced immediately as Mr. Dears with one man could have remained in charge of the property at Kettle Falls. But now as the horses which I brought with me must be returned to Okanagan and it being necessary that I should be at that place to receive the goods and to accompany the boats up, and no one being here to spare to take charge of the goods at the Kettle falls, and leave enough to remain here with Mr. Birnie and to attend to the horses on the voyage, the conveying the property must be deferred until Mr. Dease and some men can be sent from Okanogan and the first trip will be at the Kettle Falls by the time the boats arrive."[14]

Two days later, on July 23, 1825, we find Work setting out for Fort Okanogan, and on August 4 he had reached the mouth of the Spokane River on his return journey to Spokane House. In his journal entry under this date he wrote that he had been occu-

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11 Governor Simpson, in a letter written on April 16, 1825, to Work, said that the "Spokans will not be pleased at the removal of the Fort."—*Wash. Hist. Quart.*, V, 99. After his arrival at Spokane House, Work, on July 21, 1825, wrote the following in his *Journal*: "From the dislike the Indians have to the removal of the Fort, of which they have heard some vague reports, which they seem unwilling to believe, there is reason to apprehend that no assistance will be received from them in the horse way which will very much retard our business, as the number of horses which we have, about 34, will be a long time conveying all these pieces."—*Ibid.*, p. 97. On March 21, 1826, Work, speaking of the abandonment of Spokane House, says: "The Indians much regret our going off, and frequently complain that they will be pitiful when the whites leave them."*Ibid.*, p. 279. More than twelve years elapsed after the abandonment of the Spokane House before Elkanah Walker and Cushing Eells established their mission at Tshimakain in order that they might labor among these Indians.

12 Thomas Dears, a clerk of the Hudson's Bay Company who was not attached to any post.—T. C. Elliott, in *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, V, *footnote*, p. 87.

13 "Journal of John Work," *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, V, 94-95.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 97.

pied in "distributing property" and "also in laying out the goods for Rocky Mountain that are to go to Kettle falls, and some boxes of tools for the building at Kettle Falls."[15] On the following day, August 5, he "left the guide P. L. Etang preparing to start with the boat and cargo destined for the R Mountains, to the Kettle Falls, where he is to remain until the 20th of next month, he has 7 men with him, who are to be employed preparing timber and, if they have time, building a store as a beginning to the new establishment, tools are sent with him for the purpose. Intend sending Mr. Dears[16] who I expect is arrived nearly at Spokane by this time, to Superintend the people, and L. La Bentie who is a carpenter to assist & direct in the building."[17]

By August 25, such had been the march of events, Work was "apprehensive we will not be able to remove to the Kettle Falls this fall as we are uncertain what assistance we may have to give the Snake people."[18] Nevertheless, we read that on August 29 he "sent off 9 men with some tools etc to the Kettle falls to assist with the buildings," and that he intended following them "tomorrow or next day, to see how the business is going on. Getting the store completed is the first object."[19] Two days later, August 31, the weather was "pleasant," and Work "set out from Spokane accompanied by an Indian with 3 horses & some articles, required for building and trade, to the Kettle falls at 8 o'clock and encamped at an old burn on a little river in the evening at 5 oclock." At noon on the following day Work arrived at the new establishment, where he found at work the men whom he had sent from Spokane on the 29th. But he was not pleased with the slow progress which had been made on the construtcion of buildings. Writing under date of September 1, he said:

"The men who were here before have made but very little progress in the work. 7 men of them have been employed since the 13th of Augt. and have only squared 4 logs 70 feet long, 4-25 feet long, 16-12 feet long & 13 joists 25 feet long. Mr. Dears says he could not get them to go quicker, as some of them were almost always sick."[20]

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15 *Ibid.*, p. 104.

16 Mr. Dears arrived at Spokane House from Walla Walla on August 8, and on the 10th Work, who was setting out for a visit to the country of the Flatheads, "left Mr. Dears preparing to go off to the Kettle Falls with L. La Bontie to go on with the buildings at that place."—*Ibid.*, pp. 106-107.

17 "Journal of John Work," *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, V, pp. 104-105.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 111.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 112.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 113.

Work's journal entries for September 2 and 3, while he was at the Kettle Falls, read as follows:

"The men were at work at an early hour [September 2] and finished squaring the logs mentioned yesterday, the pitt saw was also put in order and a pit made to commence sawing tomorrow. A carriage with two wheels and horse harness were also furnished that carting the timber to the house may be begun tomorrow.

"The fort is to be situated in a little nick just above the falls on the South side of the River. This little nick or valley, is of a horse shoe form, about 2 miles along the River side and about 2½ or three miles in depth surrounded by steep hills on both sides, a ridge of hills runs along the opposite side of the River.[21] The Fort is to be situated on a sandy ridge about 600 yards from the river side. There is not a sufficiency of wood about it to build the store, that is now under way there the nearest wood is 1400 yards off on one side, 1500 or 1200 yards on the other, where a little river is to be crossed.

"I took a ride along the river, through a point where there is some fine timber. The most expeditious mode of getting the dwelling house and other houses built will be to have the timber squared a few miles from the fort and rafted down the river. There seems to be some fine timber on the opposite shore about the same distance off.

"The potatoes look well, but the moles are destroying some of them. the ground they occupy may be about 35 yards square.

Saturday 3 [September, 1825]

"Fine pleasant weather.

"The men were differently employed, four preparing the frame for the store, some sawing, some squaring & one carting. there are now fifteen men fit for duty at work I expect as they are now properly set agoing they will get on well, and be able to have the store so far completed that the property can be deposited in it if we can effect a removal from Spokane this fall. This must in a great measure depend on what assistance we can give the Snake people."[22]

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21 The little "nick" mentioned by Work is Marcus Flat, near the present town of Marcus. W. S. Lewis, in *Ranald MacDonald*, 1824-1894, says: "The site of Colville contained about five square miles of land."—Page 103, *footnote* 93, Paul Kane, the artist, wrote the following description of Colville in 1847: "Fort Colville stands in the middle of a small prairie, about one mile and a half wide by about three miles long, surrounded by high hills. This little prairie is extremely valuable for agricultural purposes, as it is, in fact, an island of fertility, surrounded by barren rocks, sandy plains, and arid mountains, to the distance of three or four hundred miles along the river, the Spokan valley to the south being the nearest land fit for cultivation."—Paul Kane, *Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America* (London, 1859), pp. 306-307.

22 "Journal of John Work, "*Wash. Hist. Quart.*, V, p. 114.

On September 4 Work returned to Spokane House, making the trip from the Kettle Falls in one day. This, according to Work, "was a hard days riding." Three days later he "sent a man & an Indian off to the Kettle Falls with a supply of tools and articles of Trade for Mr. Dears," and on September 15 he "sent a man and an Indian off to the Kettle Falls with some provisions & other articles required for the Express." On the 17th he received from Vancouver, via Walla Walla, a communication from Dr. McLaughlin directing him to "stop the buildings at Kettle Falls till the arrival of the Express from across, because the site pointed out for the Fort is on the South side of the River."[23]

On the following day Work, accompanied by Mr. Kittson, set out from Spokane for Colville and arrived there that night. Work's disappointment at the slow progress being made on the construction is recorded in his *Journal,* under date of September 19, as follows:

"Since I have been here last very little progress has been made in the building. Not a stick of the house is up yet nor will the timber be in readiness for some time, I expected the frame at least would have been up. The causes assigned for this slow progress is principally the want of a proper hand to lay out the work for the men. L. La Bonta it appears is quite unfit for this duty, the whole of the posts (14) were squared too small & others of a proper size had to be taken out of the woods. — J. B. Proveau is now laying out the work and the business is going better on. The timber for the frame is now pretty well advanced in readiness to put together, but only about the ⅓ of the filling up pieces are squared. Sawing also has gone on very slowly, only about 93 boards & planks are yet cut—the saw at first was badly sharpened, & some time was lost putting it in proper order. Some of the men were also often sick, or pretended to be so, & unfit for work. Certainly there is little work done for the number of men & times they were employed.

"7 men since the 10th or 12th August and

"9 more men since the 1st inst."[24] [September, 1825].

Before setting out from Colville on his return journey to Spokane, Work gave directions to Dears to keep the men at work for a few days longer in order to get the timber ready for the store which was to be set up in the spring "if another situation does not

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 164-165.
24 *Ibid.*, p. 166.

be fixed upon." He also remarked that "there is no other convenient spot near the fishing at the falls on which to build a fort." In view of the existing situation, however, it became necessary to pass the winter at Spokane House, and within a few days after Work's departure from the Kettle Falls the men were to be recalled from that place to put the Spokane establishment in order for the winter.[25]

Accordingly, on Tuesday, September 27, an Indian was sent from Spokane with some horses to the Kettle Falls bearing instructions to Dears to "get the potatoes put in a pit," and to protect them so that they could be used for seed the following year. Dears was also instructed to store the timber properly, and "come home as soon as possible with the men and all the tools."[26]

On Saturday, October 1, we read in Work's *Journal* that:

"Mr. Dears and the men under his charge arrived from Kettle Falls with all their tools baggage etc. They were sent for in good time as they would have been obliged to come home or have had provisions sent to them as no more could be got there. — He took up the potatoes and put them bye in a little house that was built there by one of the men, the produce is only 13 kegs from six that were sowed.[27] they burried & (put) a good thickness of earth over them that the frost may not injure them so that they may serve for seed next year if the Indians do not steal them in the winter. The old chief is directed to take particular care of them. The timber &c is also left under his charge, and he promised to take good care of it as well as the potatoes.

"It would require ten men, 8 or 10 days yet to have the store up and ready for covering the roof. The frames are now all ready for setting up and about the one half of the filling up pieces ready, of the covering planks 18 feet long are ready, plank of ten feet for doors &c and boards of two feet for the gable ends are also ready."[28] Once more Work regretfully goes over the number of men who were employed at the Kettle Falls and adds that "had there been an experienced hand to lay out the work for the men much more would have been done."[29]

Without following closely the activities of Work during the winter of 1825-26, we shall pass to the entry in his *Journal* under date of March 21, 1826, wherein he speaks of the final abandon-

25 *Ibid.*, p. 167.
26 *Ibid.*, p. 168.
27 "The first vegetables grown in Stevens county, Washington, by white men."—T. C. Elliott, in *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, V, 169, *footnote.*
28 "Journal of John Work," *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, V, 169.
29 *Ibid.*, p. 170.

ment of Spokane House. "The Blacksmith & cook, the only two men we have now here, employed collecting all the iron about the place, stripping hinges off doors &c. The Indians much regret our going off, and frequently complain that they will be pitiful when the whites leave them."[30]

On April 1, 1826, an express arrived at the Forks (the confluence of the Spokane and the Columbia Rivers), ... "Messrs. McLeod, Ermatinger & Douglas.—They brought 3 pigs & 3 young cows for Fort Colville."[31] Two days later "F Rivit, Old Philip & old Paget & Pierre with a number of women and children & all the horses & the young cows, were sent off to Kettle falls. They have a quantity of seed potatoes with them & tools to commence farming immediately."[32] These persons, declares T. C. Elliott, became the first residents at Fort Colville.[33]

Further confirmation of the fact that by this time Spokane House had been abandoned is found in the journal of David Douglas, the botanist. On April 22, 1826, according to his own narrative, Douglas arrived at the Kettle Falls, which he spoke of as being a "new settlement, called Fort Colville, near the Kettle Falls," ninety miles above the mouth of the Spokane.[34] On May 9 Douglas set out from Kettle Falls "for the abandoned Establishment at Spokan, distant about one hundred and ten miles." His object in making this journey, he states, was to see Mr. Jacques Raphael Finlay, "a Canadian Sauteur, ... who is possessed of extensive information as to the nature of the country, its animals, vegetable productions, etc." Douglas also took his gun to Finlay to get it repaired, for Finlay apparently was "the only person who could do it within a distance of eight hundred miles."[35]

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30 *Ibid.*, p. 279.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 284. Douglas wrote in his journal that he arrived at this place on April 11.—"Journal and Letters of David Douglas," *Quart. Ore Hist. Soc.*, V, 334. Ranald MacDonald, a son of Archibald McDonald, says of the beginning of the cattle industry at Colville: "On its establishment in 1826, [i.e. Colville] it was at once stocked with three calves and three pigs, ... From these three calves sprang, I believe, all the cattle—millions, since probably—literally on a 'thousand hills'—from California to Alaska, throughout the 'Sea of Mountains,' with valleys, of utmost fertility, innumerable, now constituting the States of Washington, Montana, Idaho, Eastern part of Oregon and central and eastern British Columbia."—*Ronald MacDonald*, pp. 103-104.

32 "Journal of John Work," *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, V, 284. On August 5, 1826, Work was at Colville and spoke of the agricultural efforts there as follows: "The potatoes appear pretty well; barley middling. No wheat at all came up, and only few stalks of Indian corn. Green peas but indifferent. The kitchen garden stuff, turnips, cabbages were so and so. The soil appears to be too dry."—*Work's Journal, Ms.*, cited by Bancroft, *Hist. N .W. Coast*, II, 472.

33 "Journal of John Work," *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, V, 284, *footnote*.

34 *Quart. Ore. Hist. Soc.*, V, 336-337. In the *Journal Kept by David Douglas During His Travels in North America*, 1823-1827, p. 165, is the following account of Douglas's arrival at the Kettle Falls: "Arrived at the Falls at six in the evening, thoroughly drenched to the skin, and gladly walked over the portage three-quarters of a mile to a small circular plain surrounded by high hills on all sides, where the new establishment is to be."

35 *Quart. Ore. Hist. Soc.*, V, 338; also *Journal Kept by David Douglas During His Travels in North America*, 1823-1827, pp. 169 et seq.

Some idea of the importance of Colville to the Hudson's Bay Company is conveyed to us in a letter written by Joshua Pilcher, an American fur-trader, to J. H. Eaton, secretary of war, following a visit to Colville in September, 1829. Says Pilcher:

"This post is on the main Columbia River, about thirty miles below the mouth of Clark's fork, and on the south side of the river, in latitude 48° 38′. A proprietor of the company, a couple of clerks, and about 25 men are stationary at this post. It consisted, when I saw it, of log houses for the accommodation of the company, and for storehouses for the merchandise and furs. A stockade was begun before I left there. Some swivels, in addition to common firearms, were all the defenses which I saw. About 60 or 70 acres of ground were under cultivation, and the crops were fine and abundant. Wheat, barley, oats, Indian corn, Irish potatoes, peas and garden vegetables of every description, grow well and were equal in the quality and in the product to any in this country. The wheat was ground at the post on hand mills, though a windmill was erecting, and a plentiful supply of flour obtained. Of domestic animals there were cattle, hogs and horses; the post being well supplied with its own bacon, butter, milk, etc.

"The situation of the post is beautiful, being at the foot of the last range of mountains, and at the principal falls on the upper part of the Columbia. Many spots of ground are fit for cultivation, and the climate is healthy and agreeable. This spot, as I have said, is the principal depot for the mountain trade.[36] Its supplies of merchandise are received by way of the Columbia, coming in ships as high up that river as fort Vancouver, and afterwards in batteaux; the distance from the sea being about 600 miles. The merchandise thus brought up to fort Colville is traded partly at that post, and partly distributed to the Flathead post, and another on McGilvray's river, another branch of the Columbia, coming from the south, and falling into the main river about 25 miles above the mouth of Clark's river. The furs collected at all these places are sent down the Columbia in batteaux to fort Vancouver, and thence shipped to England and other places. Besides the furs obtained from these posts, others are got by trapping; for which purpose parties have gone as far south as the Colorado, for

36 According to the *House of Commons Report on Hudson's Bay Company*, printed in 1857, the following posts were in the Colville district: Fort Colville, Pend d'Oreille River, Flatheads, Kootenais and Okanagan.—Cited by Bancroft, *Hist. N. W. Coast.*, I, 448. Requested to name the posts which constituted the Colville district while he was in charge, (1848-1851), Alexander Caulfield Anderson replied: "Colville, Okanagan, Flatheads and the Kootenais. Colvile was the headquarters."—*H. B. Co. vs. the United States*, [iv], p. 35.

six or seven years past.[37] I remained twenty days at fort Colville, received the most kind and hospitable treatment from the gentlemen of the post; and having received from them an offer of the protection of their annual express or packet along the line of their posts and establishments, across the continent to lake Winnipec, I determined to accept it, and relinquished the intention of going down the Columbia to its mouth."[38]

Somewhat more than three years later another American, Nathaniel J. Wyeth, paid a visit to Colville. In his Memoir to Caleb Cushing, dated February 4, 1839, Wyeth declared that when he "was at this post, its picketed walls were down and repairing; its defenses appeared no other than those commonly used against Indians; a chief trader and about 15 men were then posted at this place."[39]

In this decade, however, we have numerous accounts of Colville, written by missionaries and others who visited the post. Also there are available to us some of the writings of Archibald McDonald,[40] one of the men in charge of Fort Colville in this decade, as well as the story of Ranald MacDonald, a son of Archibald,

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37 "From the days of the North-West Company, there were trapping parties always moving about, who explored all over the Flat-head and Snake countries, and also first opened up the land route between Oregon and California."—Deposition of Dugald Mactavish, April 10, 1865, in *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S. Evidence for Claimants*, [iv]. p. 121.

38 Letter of Joshua Pilchner to J. H. Eaton, secretary of war: *Senate Doc.* 39, *2d Sess., 21st Cong.*, pp. 9-10.

39 Memoir of Wyeth to Caleb Cushing, dated Feb. 4, 1839: *House (Supplemental) Report* 101, *3d Sess., 25th Cong., Appendix I.*

At the time of Weyth's visit to Colville it appears that Francis Heron was in charge as chief trader. Of this person W. S. Lewis (*Wash. Hist. Quart.*, XI, 29) writes: "He was promoted to chief trader in 1828, and was assigned to and stationed at Fort Colville in 1830. The Minutes of Council for 1830 show that he applied for transfer of furlough for 1831, and that the application was referred to Dr. McLaughlin, Chief Factor of the Columbia District. It was evidently denied. He continued at Colville during 1831 and 1832, and in the latter year attended the Meeting of Council at York Factory and was given charge, from Fort Edmonton to Fort Colville, of the recruits sent out for the Columbia River District, with Annance and Francis Ermatinger as his aids. He left Fort Colville in 1833 for Fort Vancouver and later for Nisqually, where he succeeded Archibald MacDonald, on June 27, 1833."

40 Archibald McDonald was stationed at Fort Colville from 1836 to 1843 [1844?]. He was made a chief trader of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1842. "While at Colville, in the early forties, Archibald McDonald is said to have had many hundred acres under partial cultivation. His son, Benjamin MacDonald, is still living, [1918] states that his father had nearly five thousand acres of land under cultivation at one time in the vicinity of old Fort Colville. Mr. Jacob A. Meyers places the maximum of land in agricultural use by the Hudson's Bay Company in the vicinity of Fort Colville at 2,000 acres, including hay lands some twelve miles distant in the neighborhood of the present town of Colville. The Company also held six townships of pasture lands obtained from the Indians by treaty.

"At Fort Colville, Archibald McDonald superintended the reconstruction of the old sawmill, said to have been originally built in 1826-29, and the first sawmill on the Pacific coast, north of California. The original roof boards of the old fort buildings, of mill sawen lumber and lumber for company boats, bateaux and other purposes came from this mill. Archibald McDonald also superintended the rebuilding of the grist mill on 'Mill Creek' (now Meyers Falls of the Colville River); this mill was thereafter known as the 'Goudie Mill' from the Fort Colville blacksmith of that name in immediate charge of the work."—William S. Lewis, "Archibald McDonald: Biography and Genealogy," in *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, IX., 96-97. This article is a very satisfactory sketch of the career of McDonald.

whose manuscript was published in 1823 under the editorial supervision of William S. Lewis and Naojiro Murakami.[41]

Archibald McDonald, in a letter dated at Colville January 25, 1837, remarked that the farm at Colville "at present is on an extensive scale." He also appeared to be somewhat elated as he spoke of the "upwards of 5000 bushels of grain" that had been produced—"3000 of wheat, 1000 of corn and more than 1200 of other grain." At the same time, McDonald continued, "your three calves are up to 55 & your 3 Grunters would have swarmed the country if we did not make it a point to keep them down to 150."[42]

The prosperity of Colville also made a strong appeal to the Reverend Samuel Parker, who in his journeys "beyond the Rocky Mountains" in the years 1835, '36 and '37 visited this post.[43]

As the Reverend Elkanah Walker, on September 17, 1838, first beheld Colville from the summit of a very high hill, "looking like a city under a hill," he thought it a most pleasing sight. "It was truly pleasing after being nearly a half year without seeing anything that will bear to be compared with good farming, to see fenced fields, houses and barns grouped together, with large and numerous stacks of hay and grain, with cattle and swine feeding on the plain in large number." He further stated that McDonald that year estimated his wheat crop at 1,500 bushels and his potatoes at 7,000 bushels. About 20 men were at that time employed on the farm.[44]

Regarding the fort itself, Mr. Walker wrote as follows:

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41 William S. Lewis and Naojiro Murakami, *Ranald MacDonald*, 1824-1894. The attention of the reader is especially directed to pp. 102-104. The footnotes are particularly helpful.

42 *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, 254-255.

43 *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains . . . in the Years* 1835, '36, *and* '37 (Ithaca, N. Y., 1838), pp. 291-292. Parker further says: "This establishment [Colville] is built for defense and is well stocsaded, but so friendly have the natives always been, that no wars have ever occurred among them. It is occupied by some half dozen men with Indian families, and is well supplied with the useful animals and fowls common to farming establishments. The winter and summer grains, together with garden vegetables, are cultivated with success and in profusion. This place does not suffer with summer droth, as many other parts of this country do, and rains are of frequent occurrence; the seasons here not being marked, as on the lower parts of the Columbia, by wet and dry."

"As to climate this region [Colville] has the reputation of being more rainy than the country below, but seasons occur when no rain falls. In the summer the temperature varies very considerably in the course of twenty-four hours, but they have kept no meteorological register, at least none was kept at the time of the visit of our party. The temperature in summer (July) rises to 100 degrees and falls to 12 degrees in January and February. The winter commences in November, and ends in March. They frequently have flowers in February."—Wilkes, *U. S. Exploring Expd.*, IV, 445.

44 *Letters and Diaries of Rev. Elkanah Walker and Mary R. Walker*, 1838-1852, *Ms.* These letters and diaries were assembled and copied by William S. Lewis, corresponding secretary of the Eastern Washington State Historical Society. There is a copy of the manuscript in the Spokane public library. The quotations reproduced above may be found on pp. 126-129 of the manuscript. Walker describes a dinner he had at Colville as follows: "Had for dinner today [Sept. 18, 1838] boiled buffalo meat, corned tongue, and some fowls, small but very good, sweetened with a dish of soup, which did not taste, crowned with a fine blueberry pie."—*Id.*, p. 128.

"The area of the fort is twice as large as any I have seen this side of the Mts. It is built with sticks of timber set up, supported by braces. In and about the fort are quite a number of dwelling houses, three or four large stables & store-houses for grain. He is well provided with farming tools, carts and sleds, a sleigh and a gig. In the latter he has promised to give me a ride."[45]

Of the establishment at Colville from 1840 to 1846, in which latter year the Oregon Question was supposedly settled by a treaty signed by representatives of Great Britain and the United States on June 15, we have numerous accounts. On the 7th of April, 1841, George T. Allan arrived at Colville from Fort Vancouver. From his journal of that trip the following description of Colville has been extracted:

"Fort Colville is a very neat and compact little establishment, and nothing I have yet seen in the Indian country can equal the beauty of its situation—placed on a rising ground in the midst of a very pretty plain, encircled by an extensive and well cultivated farm, the fields and fences laid out with a neatness which does credit to the taste of their projector—here and there a band of cattle to enliven the prospect, and at a considerable distance surrounded on all sides by high mountains, covered from the base to the summit with beautiful pines. Nor does the inside of the establishment yield in any respect to the exterior, for when seated at table with Mr. and Mrs. McDonald[46] and their family, one cannot help thinking himself once more at home enjoying a *tete-a-tete* in some domestic circle."[47]

Sir George Simpson, who probably gazed upon Colville from the same hill from which Elkanah Walker first beheld it, was no less than Walker impressed by the beauty of the prospect. He

45 *Ibid.*, p. 128.

46 Mr. and Mrs. Archbald McDonald. See footnote 40, *supra*. Mrs. Marcus Whitman, wife of the American missionary, held a very high opinion of Mrs. McDonald. In a letter to Mrs. H. K. W. Perkins, dated July 4, 1838, she said: "When I received yours, I was entirely alone. My husband had gone to brother Spalding's to assist him in putting up a house, and soon after we had the privilege of preparing and entertaining Mr. and Mrs. McDonald and family of Colville. They came by the way of brother Spalding's, spent nearly a week with them and then came here. They left here last Thursday, and are still at Walla Walla. Had a very pleasant, agreeable visit with them. Find Mrs. McDonald quite an intelligent woman; speaks English very well, reads and is the principal instructor of their children. She is a correspondent, also, with myself and sister Spalding. She appears more thoughtful upon the subject of religion than any I have met with before, and has some consistent views. What her experimental knowledge is, I am unable to say. It would be a privilege to have her situated near us, so that we could have frequent intercourse: it would, no doubt, be profitable."—*Twenty-First Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association for* 1893, p. 111.

47 George T. Allan, "Journal of a Voyage From Fort Vancouver, Columbia River, to York Factory, Hudson's Bay, 1841," in *Transactions of the Ninth Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association for* 1881 (Salem: E. M. Waite, 1882), p. 40. Allan came to Vancouver on October 25, 1831. Nearly ten years later he kept the journal from which the quotation given above has been extracted. On October 23, 1881, in a letter dated at Cathlamet, Mr. Allan said: "I have preserved the following journal in order to show our primitive mode of traveling long before steamboats or railroads were heard of in Oregon."—*Id.*, p. 38.

wrote: "On reaching the summit of a hill, we obtained a fine view of the pretty little valley in which Colville is situated. In a prairie of three or four miles in length, with the Columbia River at one end, and a small lake in the center, we descried the now novel scene of a large farm, barns, stables, etc.; fields of wheat under the hand of the reaper, maize, potatoes, etc., etc., and herds of cattle grazing at will beyond the fences . . . . Cattle thrive well, while the crops are abundant. The wheat, which weighs from sixty-three to sixty-five pounds a bushel, yields twenty or thirty returns; maize also flourishes, but does not ripen till the month of September; potatoes, pease, oats, barley, turnips, melons, cucumbers, etc., are plentiful. A grist mill, which is driven by water, is attached to the establishment; and the bread that we ate, was decidedly the best that we had seen in the whole country."[48]

In the year 1841 Lieutenant Johnson, of the *Wilkes United States Exploring Expedition,* spent three days at Colville. His detailed description of that place, even though it may involve some repetition of conditions heretofore mentioned, is worthy of reproduction at this time.

"Fort Colville is situated on the east bank of the Columbia River, just above the Kettle Falls. In this place ,the river, pent up by the obstructions below, has formed a lateral channel, which nearly encircles a level tract of land, containing about 200 acres of rich soil. Of this peninsula, about 130 acres are in cultivation, and bear crops, composed chiefly of wheat, barley and potatoes. There are also raised small quantites of oats, Indian corn, and peas, but garden vegetables have never succeeded well. Their failure, however, is to be attributed either to bad seeds or unskillful management; for the soil, which is a rich black loam, mixed with a portion of gravel, seems capable of producing anything.

"The whole peninsula has the appearance of having been deposited by the river, and is believed to be the only spot of that character formed in its whole course.

"There are two entrances to the fort, from one of which a

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48 Sir George Simpson, *Narrative of a Journey Round the World During the Years* 1841 *and* 1842 (London, 1847), I, 149-151. Simpson has left us the following description of the "good things to eat" at Colville in those years: "Just fancy, at the base of the Rocky Mountains, a roasted turkey, a sucking pig, new bread, fresh butter, eggs, ale, etc.; and then contrast all these dainties with short allowance of pemmican and water." —*Id.*, p. 148.

Apparently the "common run" of people at Colville did not fare so well as this. On this subject Angus McDonald writes: "Excellent beer and some superior wiskey were distilled and furnished for the mess, but the laboring men fared on very simple rations; if simple, they were solid, however, such as flour, salmon, lard or tallow, venison and potatoes; no sugar or coffee or tea until later days; regular rations of such were issued." —"Angus McDonald: A Few Items of the West," in *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, 198.

road leads to the flour-mill; from the other there is a path extending along the bank of the river.

"Fort Colville, like all the other posts of the Hudson Bay Company, is surrounded by high pickets, with bastions, forming a formidable defensive work against the Indians. Within the pickets all the dwellings and storehouses of the Company are enclosed.

"The peculiar character of the soil renders Colville superior, for the purposes of cultivation, to any spot on the upper waters of the Columbia. . . . .

"The cultivation of crops is here the principal object of attention, for the whole of the northern posts depend upon Colville for supplies of provisions. . . . .

"The time of planting the spring wheat is in April; the winter grain is sown in October, and succeeds best, particularly if the autumn should be a wet one. The crops of wheat are reaped in August. Indian corn is not a sure or good crop; it is planted in May and gathered in September. Potatoes, beans, and some oats, with two thousand bushels of wheat, are raised annually at this place.

"Of fruits they have those of the country, such as the service-berry, strawberry, wild cherry, and the hawthorn-berry. These ripen from June till September. Imported fruit trees have not as yet succeeded, and it is thought the spring frosts are too frequent and severe for them.

"This post was established in 1825, at which time a bull and two cows were introduced from Vancouver, and from these have sprung 196 head of fine cattle. They have likewise 30 mares with foal, and 60 grown horses. The horses are little used during the winter, and are usually turned out to shift for themselves. Care is, however, taken to keep them in places which are much exposed to the sun, and in consequence least covered with snow. Though represented as hardy animals, it is deemed prudent to get them into good condition before the winter sets in ,to enable them to withstand its rigours."[49]

Article III of the Treaty of 1846 guaranteed "the possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, and of all British subjects who may be already in the occupation of land or other property, lawfully acquired," in the territory south of the 49th parallel of north latitude, which line was specified by Article I of this treaty as the future boundary line between British and American posses-

49 *U. S. Exploring Exped.*, IV, 443 et seq.

sions in the Pacific Northwest. Article IV of this treaty confirmed to the Puget Sound Agricultural Company its farms and other property on the north side of the Columbia River.[50] Years passed, however, before a final settlement was made by the United States with these British companies, and the Hudson's Bay Company continued to occupy its establishment at Fort Colville.

At the time the foregoing treaty was made the following list comprised, according to the records of the Hudson's Bay Company, the improvements at Colville:[51]

Post No. 10—Colville

1	range of stores	60 x 25 feet
1	range ditto	50 x 21 feet
1	store, unfinished	40 x 22 feet
1	dwelling house	50 x 24 feet
1	dwelling house	24 x 18 feet
.. 1	range of officers' houses	60 x 18 feet
1	range of men's ditto	50 x 18 feet
1	house, Indian hall	16 x 16 feet
1	kitchen	27 x 16 feet
1	blacksmith's shop	17 x 13 feet
1	carpenter's shop	30 x 17 feet
1	meat house & ice cellar	20 x 16 feet
1	bake house & oven	15 x 15 feet
1	poultry house	20 x 13 feet
1	pigeon house	9 x 9 feet
1	root house	40 x 20 feet
	Pigs' houses	60 x 15 feet
1	stable	17 x 13 feet
1	barn	50 x 25 feet
2	byres, each	65 x 20 feet
	Horse yard, six feet high, solid logs	127 x 87 feet
	Barn yard	81 x 60 feet
	Cattle yard	84 x 33 feet
1	bastion	12 x 12 feet
	Stockades, 208 feet square, 14 feet high.	
	18 M. fence poles	
	340 acres cultivated land.	
	One flour mill complete, with one pair of stones and bolting machine	30 x 20 feet

50 *Senate Document* 476, *1st Sess., 29th Cong.*, pp. 2-3.
51 *Hudson's Bay Company vs. the United States. Evidence for Claimants.* [iv]. pp. 124-125. In Library of Congress set it is [ii].

Farm at the White Mud

1 dwelling house.....16 x 16 feet
1 barn .....30 x 20 feet
1 stable .....20 x 15 feet
1 pig house.....8 x 8 feet
2½ M. fence poles
30 acres cultivated land.

The settlement of the Oregon Boundary Question, as has already been stated, did not bring to an immediate close the activities of the Hudson's Bay Company in the present state of Washington. Under the guaranty of "possessory rights," the representatives of this company continued to hold Colville, and for several years after 1846 an important trade was carried on up and down the Columbia River. The coming of the Americans in large numbers, however, particularly after the organization of Washington Territory in 1853, brought on a series of Indian wars during the fifties, with the result that some of the interior posts were abandoned by the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Columbia River became less important as a highway for the fur trade. Supplies for Colville came in time to be brought overalnd from Vancouver Island, and the importance of Fort Vancouver declined.[52]

During the decade of the forties, however, Colville continued to show an active trade. During that period, notwithstanding the fact that Vancouver showed losses during three years, Colville always was able to show a net gain.[53] A statement of the "furs traded at this post" during this decade shows that large numbers

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52 Consult the testimony offered in the case of the *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, especially the testimony by Angus McDonald, *id.*, [iv], pp. 150 *et seq.*, and by Alexander Caulfield Anderson, *id.*, [iv], pp. 35 *et seq.*

Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.*, I, 38, says of Lewis (or Lewes): "The fop of the Columbia district was John Lee Lewes, an old Northwester, who after having been many years at the several northern posts was placed in charge of the district of McKenzie River, and afterward at Fort Colville. He was a man of fine personal appearance, and possessed many good qualities. He had the misfortune to lose his right hand by the accidental discharge of a gun." Father De Smet also spells this name "Lewes." "The kindness of the Honorable Mr. Lewes and family I shall never forget," wrote De Smet from St. Paul's Station, near Colville, May 29, 1846.—Chittenden and Richardson, *Father De Smet's Life and Travels Among the North American Indians*, II, 552.

53 *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S. Evidence for the U. S. Misc., Part III*, [iii]. On page 192 of this volume is printed the following table, showing the net gain of the H. B. Co. at Colville and at Vancouver for the years indicated herein:

Years	Colville			Vancouver		
	Lbs.	s.	d.	Lbs.	s.	d.
1840	2194	14	6	1425	6	11
1841	2450	0	4	816	18	9
1842	2353	7	0	*1213	3	1
1843	2344	7	0	*1005	18	11
1844	2017	4	9	1372	12	5
1845	2707	2	11	*2656	8	4
1846	2712	2	5	1314	4	7
1847	3859	7	2	4445	12	3
1848	2507	18	2	2383	18	9
1849	2103	1	8	5244	2	11
1850	1922	15	2	204	4	4

*Indicates a loss.

of pelts of the following named animals were bought: badgers, bears, beavers, foxes, lynxes, martins, minks, muskrats, land otters, raccoons and wolves.[54]

A comparison of the value of furs traded at Colville with that of the furs traded at Vancouver during this period will, according to the figures of the Hudson's Bay Company, show the following:[55]

Year	Colville			Vancouver		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1840	3,086	13	0	3,241	0	8
1841	3,342	2	3	3,529	15	9
1842	3,429	8	3	3,198	16	1
1843	3,351	4	2	4,207	9	3
1844	3,751	14	3	3,669	13	0
1845	3,664	12	11	2,781	2	10
1846	3,773	5	7	2,384	7	7
1847	4,480	1	10	1,906	14	4
1848	4,662	15	10	1,105	7	8
1849	3,475	8	11	645	7	10
1850	2,956	6	8	883	19	9

A statement showing the number of employes at Colville in 1846, together with a statement of their wages, is included in the exhibits offered by the Hudson's Bay Company in the case of the *H. B. Co. vs. the United States.* This statement follows:[56]

Number of Employes	Wages per Annum[57]
1	£12
6	16
7	17
1	20
5	22
2	25
2	27
3	30
1	50

Thomas Lowe, a merchant of Victoria, B. C., formerly a clerk in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, gave, on August 5, 1865, his recollection of Fort Colville in 1847 and during

54 *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iii], pp. 193-196.
55 *Ibid.*
56 *Ibid.*, p. 197.
57 In the year 1846 there were stationed at the posts mentioned in the memorial of the H. B. Co. (i.e. the posts south of the 49th parallel) 315 employes, among the number being three chief factors and three chief traders. The chief factors and the chief traders

the years immediately following. "At this post the Hudson's Bay Co. carried on extensive farming operations," he said, "and had a grist mill for the manufacture of flour, with which article they supplied the interior posts in the Districts of New Caledonia and Thompson's River, as also Fort Nez Perces and stations in the Snake Country. It was the center likewise of a large fur trade, including the Flathead Country, Kootenais, and Columbia Lakes. Large numbers of horses and cattle were raised here. It was also at this place that all the boats required for the navigation of the Columbia River were built. It was considered the place next in importance to Fort Vancouver. . . . .

"Including the flour mill, I should appraise the value of all the buildings belonging to the establishment as it stood in the spring of 1847, at not less than $100,000. In 1849, several important additions had been made, especially by the erection of stockades as a further protection against the native tribes who had recently been at war with the American Government. . . . .

"The land adjoining the fort I should estimate worth $20,000."[58]

During the years 1848 to 1851 Alexander Caulfield Anderson, a chief trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, was in charge of Fort Colville.[59] On August 9, 1865, he related many things of in-

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were paid from the profits of the Company. Wages paid per annum to the other employes were as follows:

Amount of Wages	Number of Men Paid
17 pounds	133
27 pounds	71
22 pounds	26
30 pounds	15
16 pounds	14
8 pounds	2 (least)
150 pounds	2 (most)
100 pounds	6

See *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iii], p. 197.

"In the year 1846, and previously, the number of officers employed at the different stations west of the Rocky Mountains was between fifty and sixty, and of engaged servants something over 500. Besides these, there were numbers of Indians at the different establishments employed as laborers and voyagers. These men, under proper officers, distributed through the country at the different posts, kept the Indians generally in good order, and prevented them, as I have already mentioned, from attempting to injure the Company's servants when they had them in their power, as the Indians knew, with this force at the disposal of the Company, it would be impossible for them to injure the whites with impunity. The requirements of the business also, and the immense tract of country occupied by the Company, made it necessary to maintain a large staff of officers and men—the management of horses and boats also requiring labour well skilled in such duties, and in great abundance, and for the want of which it would have been impossible to carry on the business at all. With this force at their disposal, also, the Company were prepared to meet any opposition in the fur trade promptly and efficiently, thus giving them the virtual control of the Indians in Oregon, and a monopoly of the trade with them for many years previous to the date of the treaty."—Dugald Mactavish, in *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv]. p. 212.

58 *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv]. pp. 14-15.

59 *Ibid.*, pp. 33 *et seq.* Anderson, in his deposition, said that he was at Colville first in 1832, again in 1840, and again in the spring and in the autumn of 1842. He further declared that, during the time he was in charge of this post, the district included "Colvile, Okanagan, Flatheads and the Kootenais. Colville was the headquarters." Responding to an inquiry as to what was done with the wheat raised at Colville in those years, and the flour that was ground, Anderson replied: "A portion was consumed for the support of the people attached to the different establishments: a portion was supplied to the other districts, and likewise for the general purposes of the Company, in carrying on the transpoort on the Columbia River."

terest about Colville, some of which are included in the following extract:

"As far as I can recollect, there were about 200 [horses] attached to Colvile itself, and about 120 came there occasionally from the different outposts. Previously to my residence there I believe there were more, but there was a very heavy loss in the winter of 1846, and again in the winter of 1848. The deficiencies were made up occasionally by horses purchased from Walla Walla. . . . .

"There were myself, chief trader, in charge, six clerks, postmasters and interpreters, and the average complement of men was about thirty. The number of Indians employed was generally about 10; sometimes as many as 50 were employed during the emergencies of harvest, seed time, etc. . . . . [60]

"The main trade for exportation was of course in furs; there were other trades which had local applications; I allude particularly to the trade of the Flatheads in 'par-fleches' and 'appichemous'; these are buffalo skins dressed in a particular way for the purposes of horse transport, and were indispensable to the operations of the Company, for the purpose of carrying on their transport from Okanagan to the more northerly posts. Large quantities of dried meat and tallow were also traded, required for the provisioning of the different parties by whom the transport was carried on. The returns from the different outposts were brought in in the spring. The outposts then received supplies of provisions and goods, for the purposes of the summer trade; their parties again returned in the autumn in time to meet the full brigade from the maritime depot; they then returned to their different posts with the outfit for the winter trade."[61]

(To be continued.)

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60 Lieutenant Henry J. Warre, 14th Regiment, and Lieutenant M. Vavasour, Royal Engineers, reported on Colville in 1845 as follows: "The soil of the surrounding country is sandy and unproductive, but the irrigation afforded by the constant overflowing of the river enables the Hudson's Bay Co. to raise about one thousand bushels of wheat annually in its vicinity. They have also about 100 head of cattle and 300 or 400 horses attached to this post."—"Report of Lieuts. Warre and Vavasour, Dated 26 October, 1845. Directed to 'The Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies.' Received July 6, 1846"; in *Quart. Ore Hist. Soc.*, X, 42. In this same report are given the following statistics on Colville: Number of men, 30; acres of land under cultivation, 118; number of horses, 350; number of cattle, 96; number of hogs, 73.—*Id.*, p. 69. In a subsequent report, dated March 1, 1846, Lieut. Vavasour wrote: "Fort Colville is similar in construction to those on the east side of the Rocky Mountains, surrounded by a picket fence of 60 yards wide and having one blockhouse or tower. At the time of my visit [Aug. 16-19, 1845] the pickets were nearly all blown down. It is on the left bank of the Columbia River, on a rising ground, on a sandy plain surrounded by sand hills, 400 yards from the river bank at the head of an impassable rapid called the Chaudiere Falls, around which it is necessary to carry the boats, baggage, etc., making what is usually termed a portage. This portage is usually made on the left bank but there is no reason why the right should not be equally available."—*Wash. Hist. Quart.*, III, 145.

61 *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], p. 35.

DOCUMENTS

Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest

Introduction

The United States Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842, deserves much more attention than it has ever received in the Pacific Northwest. During the summer of 1841 it did much exploration work in this region and added extensively to the world's geographical knowledge of the Puget Sound and Columbia River areas. The squadron was in command of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, of the United States Navy, and for that reason the enterprise is most often referred to as the Wilkes Exploring Expedition. The Government itself is partly responsible for the latter title. While the results were being prepared for publication, President Buchanan (February 8, 1859), complied with a resolution of Congress asking for a statement of all expeditions "on account of the preparation and publication of the work known as Wilkes's Exploring Expedition."[1]

The actual inception of the enterprise is clouded in the rancor of political and personal wrangles. Contemporary publications gave J. N. Reynolds of New York credit as originator of the undertaking and expressed anger at the refusal to let him participate in it.[2] The act of Congress authorizing the expedition was passed on May 14, 1836, in the administration of Andrew Jackson. Ten years later, by the act of August 26, 1846, Congress directed the Joint Committee on the Library of Congress to supervise the publication of the scientific monographs in a form similar to the *Voyage of the Astrolabe* published by the Government of France.[3] The scientists of the Wilkes Expedition referred favorably to conclusions reached by Charles Darwin in his explorations during the voyage of the British ship *Beagle*, 1831-1836.[4] Anyone who has studied the character of Andrew Jackson will believe that he would not relish his country's being idle while England and France were gaining laurels by scientific explorations around the

1 James D. Richardson: *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. V., page 537.
2 Contemporary authorities cited by H. H. Bancroft: *Northwest Coast*, Vol. II., page 669.
3 Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, *Checklist of Public Documents*, 1895, page 176.
4 James D. Dana: *Corals and Coral Islands*, 1890, page 261.

world. Whether or not the suggestions by Mr. Reynolds influenced him, Old Hickory would favor that enterprise launched in the last year of his administration.

It is not necessary to dwell at length on the political wrangles that threatened disaster in the first two years. A contemporary publication says: "The failure of its first organization had exposed the whole affair to ridicule, and had seriously impaired the confidence and ardor of its officers and friends."[5] Lieutenant Wilkes refers to the situation as follows: "The command of the Exploring Expedition devolved upon me, by orders from the Hon. Mahlon Dickerson, then Secretary of the Navy, on the 20th March, 1838. At that time, great confusion existed in its organization. It is unnecessary, and would be out of place here, to enter into its previous history. It is sufficient to refer to the fact, that it had already been denounced as an entire and complete failure, and that I was instructed to organize it anew."[6]

Opposition to Wilkes arose partly from that early trouble and partly from the fact that he was only a lieutenant in rank. In sarcasm he was referred to as "lieutenant-commodore." One of the best reasons for his selection is revealed by a later biographer as follows: "He was appointed to the department of charts and instruments in 1830, and was the first in the United States to set up fixed astronomical instruments and observe with them."[7] The opposition continued and, with other troubles arising on the long cruise, culminated in court-martial at the end. In this he was acquitted of all charges except illegally punishing some of his crew, for which he was reprimanded. In trying to throw off personal feeling he wrote: " * * * it was as incumbent on me to see that our work was not retarded by their want of zeal and knowledge, as to shorten sail on the approach of the tempest."

This was the first expedition of the kind ever undertaken by the United States Government. The squadron consisted of the sloops of war *Vincennes* and *Peacock*, the ship *Relief*, the brig *Porpoise* and the tenders *Sea-Gull* and *Flying Fish*. The officers and men were all expected to cooperate fully in the scientific work and all papers and diaries kept should be turned in at the end of the cruise for the use of the Government in publishing the results. The corps of scientists attached to the expedition consisted of Horatio Hale, philologist; Charles Pickering and T. R. Peale, na-

5 *North American Review*, Vol. 61. July, 1845, page 55.
6 Charles Wilkes: *United States Exploring Expedition, Narrative*, Vol. I., page xiii.
7 Lieutenant William H. Beehler, U.S.N., in *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography*, Vol. VI., page 508.

turalists; Joseph P. Couthouy, conchologist; James Dwight Dana, mineralogist; William Rich, botanist; Joseph Drayton and Alfred T. Agate, draughtsmen; J. D. Brackenridge, horticulturist. The titles thus used are from the instructions issued on August 11, 1838, by J. K. Paulding, Secretary of the Navy. The muster rolls of the crews show slightly different titles and add John G. Brown, mathematical instrument maker; and John W. W. Dyes, assistant taxidermist.

The expedition got under way from Norfolk, Virginia, on Saturday, August 18, 1838, and cast anchor at New York on June 10, 1842. They had sailed around the world. Most of their scientific work had been done among the islands of the Southern Pacific. It was believed that they had found a great continent in the Antarctic, but this was later proved to have been a huge ice-field.[8] On May 1, 1841, the expedition entered the Strait of Juan de Fuca and began the summer's work in the Pacific Northwest.

This is the part of the great enterprise to which the present publication is devoted. That it was deemed important to the interests of the United States on the Pacific Coast is shown by its prompt and confidential use. The squadron anchored in New York harbor on June 10 and on July 1, 1842, President John Tyler sent this message to the United States Senate:

"In pursuance of the suggestions contained in the accompanying letter from the Secretary of the Navy [Abel P. Upshur] and of my own convictions of their propriety, I transmit to the Senate the report made by Lieutenant Wilkes, commander of the exploring expedition, relative to Oregon Territory. Having due regard to the negotiations now pending between this Government and the Government of Great Britain through its special envoy, I have thought it proper to communicate the report confidentially to the Senate."[9]

That report was in manuscript form as several years elapsed before the printed volumes of the expedition began to appear. There was no haste about preparing the materials for publication. Lieutenant Wilkes served on the United States Coast Survey, 1842-1843, during which time, on July 13, 1843, he was advanced to the rank of Commander. In 1844 he was detailed to work on the reports of the exploring expedition, preparing them for publication. This continued until 1861. During that time, or on Sep-

8 Personal interview in Seattle, 1921, with Captain Roald Amundsen, who discovered the South Pole on December 14, 1911.
9 Richardson: *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. IV., page 160.

tember 14, 1855, he was advanced to the rank of Captain. Through that span of seventeen years of his editorial work, all the published volumes appeared but one, Volume XVII., on Botany, edited by Asa Gray, which did not appear until 1874.

The Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, refers to the series as "Washington edition, 24 volumes, 11 atlases, 1844-1874."[10] However, five of the projected monographs were never published and probably still exist in manuscript form. These are Volumes XVIII., *Botany,* by Gray; XIX., *Distribution of Animals and Plants,* by Pickering; XXI. and XXII, *Ichthyology,* by Agassiz; XXIV., *Physics,* by Wilkes. The volumes that did appear were the first five, called *Narrative,* edited by Wilkes and giving the story of the entire cruise; Volumes VI., *Ethnology and Philology,* by Hale; VII., *Zoophytes,* by Dana; VIII., *Mammalogy and Ornithology,* by Cassin; IX., *Races of Men,* by Pickering; X., *Geology,* by Dana; XI., *Meteorology,* by Wilkes; XII., *Mollusca and Shells,* by Gould; XIII. and XIV.,*Crustacea* by Dana; XV., *Botany Phanerogamia,* by Gray; XVI., *Botany Cryptogamia,* by Brackenridge; XVII., *Botany Cryptogamia,* by Gray; XX., *Herpetology,* by Baird and Girard; XXIII., *Hydrography,* by Wilkes.

The first five volumes, the *Narrative,* were later reprinted, the most frequently encountered edition being that by Lea and Blanchard, Philadelphia, 1845. The Government's edition of the *Narrative* and of the scientific monographs was limited to 100 sets. The three leading officers of the expedition—Wilkes, Hudson and Ringgold—each received a set. One set went to each of the following: Library of Congress, Naval Lyceum at Brooklyn, each State and Territory of the Union, each friendly power and one extra set each to Great Britain and France. Washington Territory was organized in 1853, while the volumes were being printed. A set was forwarded to the new Territorial Library but, unfortunately, they were not appreciated in the early days and some of the volumes disappeared. In later years, studies in this field of history caused the necessity of securing photostatic reproductions from the set in the Library of Congress. These were especially helpful from the volume on *Hydrography* and the large atlas accompanying it.

The outbreak of the Civil War not only ended the editorial work by Captain Wilkes but it probably was also the cause of pre-

10 *Checklist of Public Documents,* 1895, page 176.

venting the publication of the five unprinted volumes mentioned. Captain Wilkes became a national hero during the Civil War. In 1861, while in command of the steamer *San Jacinto* he stopped the British steamer *Trent* and took off the Confederate Commissioners John Slidell and James M. Mason and carried them as prisoners to Boston harbor. Congress passed a resolution of thanks and northern newspapers were loud in their praise. Great Britain protestd against the stopping of her steamer on the high seas. President Lincoln had already said the two prisoners were probably "a pair of white elephants on our hands." Secretary of State Seward caused the two prisoners to be given over to Great Britain and offered proper excuses. To approve the act, he claimed, would be the same as approving the "right of search" which had always been denied by the United States Government. Captain Wilkes was promoted to the rank of Commodore on July 16, 1862, and had command of a squadron in the West Indies. By June 25, 1864, he was deemed of age for retirement (he was born in New York City on April 3, 1798), and was placed upon the retired list. On July 25, 1866, he was given the rank of Rear-Admiral on the retired list. He could enjoy that courtesy title for the last decade of his life. He died in Washington, D.C., on February 8, 1877.

Mention should be made of the fact that while he was busily at work on his manuscripts, he condensed part of his *Narrative* into a book called *Western America, Including California and Oregon,* which was published in Philadelphia in 1849. The gold rush to California was undoubtedly the reason for this book's appearance. One item will show the value of the little book to our studies. Nowhere else has been found his reason for naming Point Defiance, near the present Tacoma. On page 81 of this book he says if it was strongly fortified it "would bid defiance to any attack."

The Philadelphia publishers of *Western America* were Lea and Blanchard, who had published the *Narrative* four years before. In the back of the first edition of the smaller work there is a catalog of the firm's publications, one page of which is devoted to the United States Exploring Expedition. They announced a magnificent edition of the *Narrative* "in five magnificent imperial octavo volumes with an atlas of large and extended maps" at twenty-five dollars. A new and cheaper edition at two dollars a volume was also announced and urged upon all who were forming libraries. There is included an excerpt from the *Albany Religious*

Spectator as follows: "We have no hesitation in saying that it is destined to stand among the most enduring monuments of our national literature. Its contributions not only to every department of science, but every department of history, are immense; and there is not an intelligent man in the community—no matter what may be his taste, or his occupation, but will find something here to enlighten, to gratify, and to profit him." The firm also offered a few copies of the five volumes and atlas at sixty dollars, calling them "the edition printed for Congress." A further announcement offered for ten dollars each a few copies of *The Ethnology and Philology of the United States Exploring Expedition.* This was one of the precious monographs published for Congress, which was also republished by Lea and Blanchard. In fine type at the end of the page there is the announcement that the volume on *Corals* by J. D. Dana, Esq., "will be shortly ready, to be followed by the others." Dana's *Corals* was republished in several editions; Pickering's *Races of Men* was also republished; but the other monographs were restricted to the 100 sets issued by Congress.

While at work on the *Origin of Washington Geographic Names,* 1915-1923, the desire arose to consult, if possible, the original diary from which Lieutenant Wilkes prepared the *Narrative.* Victor J. Farrar, then Research Assistant in the University of Washington, set about to find it. After much correspondence the original diary was located in the Hydrographic Office, United States Navy Department, Washington, D. C. Captain F. B. Bassett, U. S. N., Hydrographer, was kind enough to assist in having photostatic reproductions made of all those pages of the original diary which relate to the Pacific Northwest. Those pages are to be published as carefully and faithfully as possible. Lieutenant Wilkes became a naval officer before the establishment of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis. His published *Narrative* is wofully redundant of commas and other punctuations, but his manuscript diary is relatively careless of such ornamentation. If any changes, however slight, are made they will be enclosed in editorial brackets. This document is considered a fundamental one in the history of the Northwest. Its faithful reproduction will be attemped with that thought constantly in mind.

At the end of each of the original pages will be placed the next page of the manuscript in brackets. Lieutenant Wilkes evidently started to use but one side of the leaves in his diary. Occasionally he thought of another item and wrote it by itself on the

opposite side. All such are prefaced with [Added entry]. He also found it necessary at times to prolong a regular entry on the opposite page. Such cases will be indicated by [Continued on opposite page]. As the work progresses other devices may be found necessary to insure the readers and users of the document that they are being kept close to the oriignal manuscript.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

Diary of Lieutenant Wilkes

May 1841

1st May.

The first part of this 24 hrs. was full of anxiety respecting the ship's standing from side to side in the entrance to the Straits of *Juan de Fuca* in a dark, thick and rainy night with baffling and variable winds. the land was not to be seen but at short distances and then indistinctly, I preferred standing to & fro on time varying the length on the short or long leg. At daylight I found I had made some progress into the straits. An Indian canoe came alongside about 8 o'clock they spoke a little English and said they belonged to the Classet tribe in which bay[11] it was my intention to have anchored last evg. if I had been fortunate enough to reach it. All this day we have scarcely had any wind, water quite smooth. At 2 P. M, I had all the boats hoisted out, and sent ahead to tow ships for the exercise of the men. The gig I sent to explore a near bay. Mr. Totten returned with the information that he had not been able to obtain any soundings though close in with the shore length of line ten fathoms The land on both sides is high about 1200 feet clouds hung heavy all day [illegible] and the rain and mist continued until about 4 o'clock at which time the Barometer showed a rise of .02 and the weather to break with a higher breeze from the westward, heading all day for the Point of New Dungeness, From 4 to 6 we had sunshine which we took advantage of to dry the clothees, Ends with light airs from the westward and clear moon light Bar. 29.780 [Added entry.] Two of the Indians that boarded us this morning were dressed in red frock coats, I suppose the livery of the H. B. C.[12] time will show. [Ms. P. 55.]

11 In early maps Cape Flattery is shown as Cape Classet and it is most likely that he here refers to Neah Bay, which he later tried to christen Scarborough Harbor.

12 Hudson's Bay Company.

May 2d.

This day we commenced with light winds from the wd. smooth water fine night both shores of the Straits of Juan de Fuca in sight continued our course towards *New Dungeness* Pt. with a light wind which left us at 5 A. M. when the tide swept us back some 6 or 7 miles the light air hauling to the sd At noon observed the Latitude 48.15 north Weather fine about 2 P. M. the wind sprang up from the Westward and enabled me to steer up the Straits at the rate of 7 knots. Exercised studding sails and in consequence of studg. sails being torn badly and Lt. Budd[13] persisting in exercising it whilst torn I was under the necessity of suspending him from duty, he spoke to me afterwards in the cabin, and I restored him to duty fully satisfied by his explanations that he did not intend the impression his conduct naturally led and therefore restored him to duty. At 6.30 we passeed New Dungeness Pt. in 3½ fathoms within a ¼ of a mile of it and then bore away for Port Discovery[14] were I anchored in 27 fathoms water the Brig in company near Vancouver's point. It would be difficult to imagine a more perfect harbor than this there appears but one objection to it the water is rather deep. there never was an island that better deserved its name than that of Protection Island At 8.30 furled all sails and gave the men their Hammocks. There appears a few lodges of Indians in the Port, & a strong smell of fish in the wind which is from their quarters [Added entry.] This morning a canoe came along side and few can imagine the degradation of these poor creatures they appear to be but one degree removed above the Fugians. they pretend to no decency in their clothing if a blanket alone may be entitled to this name We bought some fish for a few fish hooks and tobacco which they seemed eager to obtain. [Ms. P. 56.]

May 3rd.

This day we have had many natives along side selling fish clams mussels &c. &c. They are for the most part under statue, dirty squalid and devoid of all pretensions to beauty smeared from head to foot with a red pigment, they seem to have had much communication with foreigners they generally wore blankets which served their only covering. they are much lighter than any natives

13 Thomas A. Budd is shown by the muster rolls to have joined the *Peacock* as Acting Master. He was transferred to the *Vincennes* at Feejee. After this temporary reprimand he was honored by having Budd Inlet, now Olympia Harbor, named for him and what is now Washington Harbor, near Dungeness, was charted as "Budd's Harbor."

14 Named in 1792 by Captain Vancouver for his ship. Lieutenant Wilkes, in the *Narrative*, Volume IV., page 298, says: "The description of Vancouver is so exactly applicable to the present state of this port, that it is difficult to believe that almost half a century has elapsed since it was written."

we have seen since leaving the Fuegians. This day I made the survey of this Harbour employing 12 boats & officers, the wind blew fresh which prevented all the soundings from being carried through. The weather has been variable and the wind changeable. This habour is surrounded by Hills wooded to the waters edge. The Barometer had risen but again stood at 30.000 from which point it fell towards night the weather we have found chilly and the passing showers render the air damp.

I despatched a communication off to Fort Nasqually[15] requesting a Pilot and interpreter, and look for his return tomorrow evening in company with the Steam boat of the H. B. Company that I have understood is now there Carpenters were sent on shore to cut some small spars for our boats. All the navies of the world might be furnished with spars here. Officers and crew were supplied with fish. [Added entry.] One of the natives whom I bargained to take the letter to Fort Nasqually was quite intelligent and spoke a few words of English & made great efforts to make us understand him, and to understand us but to little effect farther than the transmission of this letter and what he was to receive for his services. He was a *catholic* and finally made the sign of the cross, and said his short prayers.[16]

4. May.

Engaged draughting & plotting the work of yesterday the day was stormy in the morning in fact it rained hard all night and prevented the survey from being fully completed. In the morning we had no natives alongside owing to the stormy wind from the S. S. E. after noon it moderated & many canoes came bringing fish &c. &c. [Added entry.] Latitude of Discovery Harbour Carr's Pt. by obsn. of 4th 48° .03′ .13″. North. No Longitude obtained. By my observations of 5th Latitude was 48°. 02′. 58″ N chronometric, Long^{e} 123°. 02′. 07.5″ W. [Ms. P. 57].

5th May.

I have been employed this day in making observations for Lat. and Long., Variation, Dip, and Intensity on the Point near the ship which I call Carr's Pt.[17] the rest of the officers of this ship & Porpoise including her commander have been engaged completing the survey of this Harbr. The weather uncommonly fine with a light Breeze from the N^{d} & W^{d} temperature 55° in shade. Many Indians about us lazy lounging & filthy combined with

15 In the published *Narrative* he gives the correct spelling—Nisqually.

16 Probably a convert of Father Modeste Demers who began his missionary work along the shores of Puget Sound in 1838.

17 In honor of Lieutenant Overton Carr of the Expedition.

their gutteral language is enough to disgust any one without their fishy smell. they seem all well disposed & desrous of cultivating our good will

Fish we have in abundance Salmon, Cod, flounders, Clams, Crabs, oysters (small) ducks, geese, Venison. The water to be had easily and plentifully at Carr's Point.

The number of natives resident in this Bay is quite large I had them counted in their canoes at the time of meals & the numbers were [18] The women have a miner piece of bone stuck through the septum of the nose about an inch long though peculiar in its appearance it has not that disgusting appearance that I had imagined it would have from the accounts I have read of it & appears the only clean article about their persons. [Ms. P. 58.]

6 May.

An extremely fine day. At 10.30 got under weigh and beat out of Port Discovery and rounded the Point called by Vancouver Point Wilson and went in and anchored. Roads in 10 fathoms water sandy bottom. This is a beautiful Bay[19] and has a long level beach with a Pond of Freshwater backing it and a run into the Bay where vessels may be supplied the Point a low sandy one called Hudson's point[20] is bold to and may be passed about a ¼ of a mile in 10 fathoms from our anchorage Mount Baker shows over Hudson Point a large fleet might anchor and maneuver here, there is a Bluff that joins the beach abreast the ships the top of which slopes to the water and is a beautiful lawn here and there with groups of trees and to the N^d and W^d a fine copse of pine trees upwards of 1000 acres all ready for the plough the soil is a light sandy loam but seems exceedingly productive the grass was several inches high & covered with flowers & wild strawberry plants in blossoms. We anchored at 5.30 having had very light winds The distance from our anchorage in Discovery Port is not over 10 miles I think. At night made preparations for the survey of it.

7 May.

At 4½ all boats left ship for surveying duty put up signals and observed measured a Base of 4,620 feet on a fine Beach. All Boats returned by 9 A. M. wind set in from the Eastward. Employed on board plotting work until [Continued on opposite page] ½ hour after noon when the wind hauled to the westward and I

18 He failed to enter the number in the space left for that purpose.
19 Port Townsend Harbor.
20 In honor of Lieutenant William L. Hudson of the Expedition.

got under weigh Porpoise in company and stood up the Straits at 3.30 the wind came out ahead stood into a bight and came to anchor making preparations for surveying it tomorrow morning if the wind is ahead or calm. We have advanced almost 8 miles to the S. E. and from where we now are lying have a view of Admiralty inlet & Hoods Canal. With weather unpleasant and wind ahead with little cloud. Caught several new things in the dredge. Fish & Venison alongside in plenty. Also ducks & geese. [Ms. P. 59.]

8th May.

Strong breezes this 24 hrs. boats at day light sent on surveying duty of a Bay which I call[21] and in which I took shelter last evening at 1.30 P. M. got under weigh and beat up to a small bight Pilots Bight[22] opposite to Whidby's Island (East End) where I anchored in 15 fath. water close to the shore but being under lee of a Point we found it a snug berth for the night. here we were joined by Mr. Heath 1st Officer of the Steamer Capt. McNeil[23] who kindly sent him down to Pilot us up to Nasqually Fort the principal settlement in Puget Sound belonging to the Company H. B. In beating up today we had a strong breeze from the S. E. and as much as we could carry our topgallant sails to. The Porpoise was unable to keep way with us and anchored about an hour after I did. [Added entry.] Mr. Heath mentioned a ceremony of offering the salmon before selling or trading any by the Indians. inquire about it.

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21 He left a blank space here but in the *Narrative* Volume IV., page 303 he calls it Port Lawrence, an honor for James Lawrence, of the United States Navy, whose battle-signal: "Don't give up the ship!" made him famous. Vancouver in 1792 had named it "Oak Cove" because his men had found some oak trees there. Captain Henry Kellett, in 1847, sought to revive the old name and charted it Oak Bay, which name is in present use.

22 In the *Narrative* and on his chart he calls it Pilot Cove and says it is opposite the southern end of Whidby Island instead of "East End" as here mentioned.

23 Captain William Henry McNeill, for whom Lieutenant Wilkes later named McNeil Island, (dropping one "l" in the process) was then in command of the Hudson's Bay Company steamer *Beaver*. That famous craft had arrived in northwestern waters in 1836. Charles W. McCain in his *History of the S.S. "Beaver,"* page 21 says: "Capt. David Home was first officer in command of the *Beaver*, and one can well imagine the feeling of pride with which the bestrode the deck of his brave little steamer which had so successfully made the perilous voyge around Cape Horn, and thus attained the proud distinction of being the first steamer to cross the Atlantic to America, the first to round Cape Horn, and the first to ripple the waters of the broad Pacific." Capain McNeill succeeded Captain Home in command of the steamer late in 1836 or early in 1837. At the time of the above entry the steamer was undergoing repairs at Fort Nisqually. All printed accounts heretofore have said that the first mate was sent out to Wilkes as pilot. In his diary he plainly says Heath was the first officer who was sent. Other authorities say that Charles Dodd, who came out in the *Beaver* as second officer, was promoted to first officer on arriving at Fort Vancouver. H. H. Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, Volume II., page 657, says that when Governor Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company visited Fort Nisqually in that year 1841 "Hopkins and Heath" were in temporary charge there. On February 23, 1848, Dr. W. Fraser Tolmie wrote to the Board of Management of the Hudson's Bay Company: "On the farm in occupation of Mr. I. T. Heath, there are now 170 acres enclosed," etc. Heath's name figures often in the "Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House." It seems likely that Heath was the pilot who later turned farmer.

The Company has a lease of 10 years of the Coaststead North of 54° from the Russian Company.

Finished letters and dispatches for Capn. Hudson who I am informed has arrived in the Columbia.[24]

9th May.

I got under weigh at daylight and found great difficulty in getting the officers to their stations. Lt. Alden[25] not having made his appearance on the forecastle when the topsails were sheeting home and after we had hove in 30 fathoms of cable I felt myself obliged to make an example of him by suspending him from his duty—and what aggravated his case more was he stood several calls. We beat up for about 2 hours with the flood and then anchored in *apple tree cove* in 20 fathoms water about 4 miles to the Sd. & Ed. of our last nights anchorage at 1 P. M. surveyed the cove & then got under weigh and beat to windward about 7 miles more and then anchored for the night under the western shore in 12 fathoms water sandy bottom The Point Orchard in sight to the Sd, & Wd. [Continued on opposite page.] found the tide to set strong to the Sd. & Wd. up the Sound. The wind generally draws down ship and with a head wind it is a tedious job getting up the Sound. the scenery is not unlike the North River particularly about Poukeepsie in places and from there up. Porpoise still in company. Trees putting out their foliage but the great majority of the timber is pine. Today I saw some apple trees nearly in blossom, I called the place apple tree cove.[26] [Ms. P. 60.]

10. May

This day after 9 A. M. I despatched all the Boats on surveying duties up a Small Bay[27] off the point of which we had anchored last evening. the morning proving calm prevented my getting under weigh with the tide which set flood until 8½ o'clock after 12 o'clock, with the men that were on board I attempted to get under weigh but the wind proved light and I found it necessary to drop anchor again and run a tow line to the Porpoise by which I hove the ship sufficiently ahead to get under weigh by,

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24 It will later appear that Captain Hudson in the *Peacock* was wrecked at the mouth of the Columbia.

25 Lieutenant James Alden of the *Vincennes*.

26 It is not known that a single apple tree was there at the time and it is believed that he saw the western dogwood trees beginning to bloom.

27 In the *Narrative* he shows that he named this bay Port Madison. The north and south points of the bay he named Jefferson and Munroe in order to honor three former Presidents.

and off the lee shore when the boats returned filled away[28] and stood up the Sound with a stiff breeze which dying away about 7½ o'clock I came to anchor within about a mile of the Narrows[29] on the western shore in 17 fathoms water within about a cables length of the shore the bank shelving off very rapidly— from there we have a splendid view of Mount Ranier[30] which is conical and covered about 2/3 rd. of its height with snow last Evening the weather cleared sufficiently to see it and also Mt. Baker at the Entrance of Admiralty Inlet—The survey of the last Bay made this morning proves it to be capacious and good water from 3 rivers or brooks that empty into it. If the weather should prove calm in the morning I shall make a Survey of this part of the Sound as I deem it highly important as vessels are likely to be detained here in consequence of the difficulty in getting through the Narrows,[31] which I trust we shall pass tomorrow and reach the Fort before night.

Ends calm and cloudy. the country is about the same altitude tho less covered with wood & the trees are more blended. [Added entry]. Latitude

(To be continued.)

28 A nautical phrase meaning to trim the yards so that the sails shall catch the wind.

29 Near the present city of Tacoma. The diary capitalizes the name but the *Narrative* does not. However the capital "N" establishes the name on chart 78 in the Atlas accompanying the monograph on *Hydrography*.

30 The published *Narrative* and charts show the correct spelling—Rainier.

31 His whole experience was with sailing craft and he knew such would not always find it easy to pass the Narrows into what was then known as Puget Sound.

David Thompson, the Explorer. By CHARLES NORRIS COCHRANE. (Toronto: The Macmillan Company. 1924. Pp. 173. Price $1.00).

Mr. J. B. Tyrrell's *Brief Narrative of the Journeys of David Thompson,* in the Proceedings of the Canadian Institute, 1887-8, the late Dr. Elliott Coues's extracts from his journals in the *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest,* the many journals of Thompson's voyages annotated by Mr. T. C. Elliott and published in this *Quarterly* and in that of the Oregon Historical Society, and Thompson's *Narrative* issued by the Champlain Society with notes by Mr. Tyrrell, Mr. Elliott, and others have made his achievements familiar to al students of western history.

This little book, which is one of a series of "Canadian Men of Action," is written for the general reader and as an introduction to the more intensive study of that part of the story of the West. No attempt at independent research has been made; it would have been out of keeping with the purpose. Professor Cochrane frankly admits that he has merely condensed Thompson's own account; but he has succeeded in giving in this small compass a clear and accurate view of the work done by "Canada's greatest geographer." He has told the story in a connected and interesting manner, touching upon the salient features in Thompson's life, and enabling the reader, who is borne along on the easy current of the narrative, to appreciate not only the vast extent of his explorations, but also the sterling character of the pathfinder. A map is included, which shows roughly the region in which Thompson spent over a quarter of a century, and enables the uninitiated reader to follow with reasonable accuracy the explorer's numerous journeys.

A few small errors have found their way into the book. Page 106 contains three statements that can scarcely be accepted in their entirety; in 1806 John Jacob Astor was not, as stated, exerting all his strength to build up a fur trading empire on the Pacific slope; nor was the Hudson's Bay Company then knocking at the barrier of the Rockies; nor had Fraser then made his celebrated voyage to the sea. The author has a chapter on "The Race to the Sea," dealing with Thompson's journey to Astoria in 1811, but the better opinion today is that he was proceeding quite lei-

surely. The statement on page 141 that at "each halting place" Thompson posted a notice claiming the territory for the King is scarcely in accordance with the fact.

The book is of convenient size and well printed. It contains a short bibliography but has no index.

F. W. HOWAY.

The Columbia Unveiled. By M. J. LORRAINE. (Los Angeles: Times-Mirror Company, 1924. Pp. 435+7. $3.50).

This book is the narrative of a rather remarkable feat performed in the summer and fall of 1921 by the author, who is a civil engineer by profession, and who, for the pure love of adventure and scientific knowledge, navigated in a dory or skiff of his own making the entire length of the Columbia river from source to Astoria, which is practically its mouth. He carried his own outfit and lived and maneuvered his boat alone except where other assistance was positively needed for patent reasons and himself took many of the pictures with which the volume is illustrated. His book is well printed and bound and is a distinct addition to the literature pertaining to the Columbia river. In the information contained it is to be preferred to another of the previous year by Lewis R. Freeman, who made a similar journey but as a journalist with much assistance, but who traveled beside the river and not upon it for many miles. The trip by Mr. Lorraine is, as far as known to the writer, the first travel of a white man over the entire length of the river recorded in the history of the river since David Thompson accomplished his voyage of discovery in the year 1811. Although not a writer Mr. Lorraine tells the story in a simple manner and without too much personal reference, and the illustrations add much to our knowledge of the river and its tributary streams. Unfortunately the historical references and statements are based upon insufficient or erroneous information, and in a great many instances must be disregarded. Had this story been tied up to that of David Thompson by use of the daily journal kept by that wonderful man this book might have been a real addition to the history as well as the literature of the river.

T. C. ELLIOTT.

Paul Bunyan. By ESTHER SHEPHARD. (Seattle: The McNeil Press, 1924. Pp. 235. $2.50).

It begins to look as though those who have deprecatingly in-

sisted that these United States have encouraged the flourishing of absolutely no folk-lore save that of dispossessed aborigines and the descendants of slaves would have to revise their opinion. The evidence that should compel such an alteration in a rather general belief has been multiplying with interesting rapidity of late. Within the past year there have appeared, for instance, Percy MacKaye's "A Mountain Munchausen," tales from the Kentucky mountains, and his two plays derived from the apparently inexhaustible sources of the same section of the country. Professor Rowland P. Grey's "Songs and Ballads of the Maine Lumberjacks," Miss Joanna Colcord's notable collection of American sailor-songs, "Roll and Go," and J. Frank Dobie's recent "Legends of Texas." And within the same short period magazine articles have been published on so diverse a group of regional heroes as Pecos Bill, Tony Beaver, and the mythical Davy Crockett. The latest proof that the creation of legendary figures and their adventures has been steadily going in the very midst of our super-industrialized civilization, *Paul Bunyan* by Esther Shephard, has just been issued from the press. It is a scholarly and artistic produtcion in which any westerner at all concerned in the recording of western culture may well take a peculiar and commendable local pride. Not because the book is the work of a western woman, or a study of a western folk-hero, or a by-product of a course of training in a western university, or the offering of a western publishing firm, though it is all of these things, but because it is a piece of decidedly excellent craftsmanship.

Originating in an incidental bit of investigation, undertaken as a mere appendage to the task of completng a master's thesis on frontier literature submitted and accepted at the University of Washington in 1921, Mrs. Shephard's interest in the subject of the mightiest of lumberjacks and his marvelous feats has led her to the acquisition of what, there can be little doubt, is the most complete collection of Paul Bunyan yarns extant, and to a knowledge of their relationship and development that corresponds. From this collection, and with this knowledge, Mrs. Shephard has chosen for publication a selection of typical tales, so presented and of such number as to give her reader an accurate conception of who and what Paul Bunyan is, and of how and why he has played, and still plays, a noteworthy part in the alleviation, by means of the diversions of humor, of the rigors of frontier existence; and she has prefaced her work with a tactfully humble, yet adequately informative, brief introduction.

Previous Paul Bunyan authorities have declared that the proper logging industry flavor is impossible of capture and retention in stories told of him between the covers of a book, owing to the difficulties of reproducing there the special nuances of the timber workers' dialect. Readers of Mrs. Shephard's book will be glad that she has accepted the challenge implied in such a declaration, and will feel reasonably assured that she has made good her temerity. At any rate she has probably come as near to catching the precise accent of the timber worker as any mere tenderfoot maker of books is ever likely to come. Recent attempts of lumberjack authors themselves certainly have not been appreciably more successful. Here then for the first time we have in action on the printed page the real Paul Bunyan, "as big as life an' bigger." His story may not be quite what the writer of the publisher's "blurb" claims for it, "the one epic of the American frontier"—a statement well within a blurb writer's license, however—but there can be no question that Paul Bunyan himself is of truly epic proportions, and his deeds of the stuff from which primitive epics have been made before repeatedly. More important still, he is of the actual folk, pure homespun. And he is thoroughly American. The exaggerated "tall" aspect of his tales show him to be that, indubitably. Further, he is a genuine "culture-hero," the seemingly inevitable product of the communal needs of a group of people differentiated from their fellows by the distinctive characteristics of their occupational environment. Like all other "culture-heroes" he was summoned into existence partly because he served, through the attribution to him of supernatural powers, to explain away the mysteries of wholly natural phenomena. If the superstitious features of the stories about him were contributed by narrators with their tongues in their cheeks, and swallowed by auditors disclosing a conscious and painful effort to keep their faces straight, the element of superstition that went into his making is none the less evident. The folk of today are almost as powerfully moved by the marvels and beauties of nature as the folk of earlier times, even though they are only moved to make jokes about them. They are up-to-date chiefly by virtue of being able to reserve a smile where their predecessors were unable to repress a shudder. In so far as Paul Bunyan is the result of this modern tendency to turn into game what cannot be altered otherwise he is all the more invaluably symptomatic of the age that produced him.

Paul Bunyan has lived and could have lived only in the bob-tailed narrative forms that have been utilized to present him. He is much too coarse and earthy a creation to be transferred to poetry. He is too grotesque to be embodied in any of the various species of drama. There is nothing about him to suggest the motif for a theme in music. Draw a picture of him, and every vestige of the marvellous vanishes from him instantly. Even the movies with all their resources rendering plausible the absurdly unbelievable would utterly fail to delineate him. The cycle of stories connected with him was evolved solely from within itself, largely by repetition of itself. Unfortunately there are signs that the creative process whereby this evolution was previously assured is coming pretty definitely to a full stop. Without the disinterested zeal of the tireless collector the danger of the well-nigh complete disappearance of this unique figure from American folk-lore has been growing increasingly imminent. It is a danger that Mrs. Shephard's work happily averts for all time. She is to be congratulated upon the service of literary preservation she has so acceptably performed. And her readers are to be congratulated also on the certain entertainment of a robust frontier quality which her book provides for them.

V. L. O. CHITTICK.

The United States of America: Volume II. From the Civil War. By DAVID SAVILLE MUZZEY, Ph.D., Professor of History, Columbia University. (New York, Ginn and Company. 803 pp., XLIV. $3.50).

This is the second in a two-volume set designed by Dr. Muzzey to supply the need for a suitable college text in United States history. The first volume appeared about two years ago and traced the story of the American people in conquering a continent and developing the political and constitutional foundations of their national power. The first volume ended with the close of the Civil War, and this one continues the narrative from that point to the present time. New problems in the later period have called for a new emphasis. Sectional cleavage between North and South has given place to economic sectionalism between East and West. Non-interference with business has been slowly supplanted by a growing consciousness of the necessity for Federal control, and the old traditional detachment from the rivalries of the Old World became suddenly transformed when we became a World Power

charged with the administration of distant colonies of alien peoples. To present this story in the light of a continuously developing movement has been the aim of the author and in this he has succeeded very well.

It is comparatively easy for a writer having unlimited space to set down all the facts of an episode in chronological order. That requires little skill. But to condense a volume into a chapter, or a chapter into a paragraph and leave out nothing of importance requires a different kind of ability and of higher order. The salient facts must be selected from the mass, and they must then be organized into an interesting and telling story that will give the correct impression to the reader. Here Dr. Muzzey has been singularly successful. There are many single sentences and a few paragraphs in the volume which if taken by themselves give an erroneous impression. These will no doubt be cited by the hostile critic. But when they are read in connection with the context the meaning is usually very clear. Here and there one instinctively calls out for an additional paragraph or page to clear up a discussion but it is only to realize that these additions mean many more pages or even an additional volume. This is but another way of saying that the reviewer does not everywhere agree with Dr. Muzzey either in the selection of his facts, or in their presentation. But it is very evident throughout the book that the author has been very careful in the selection of his material, that he knows the literature of the field thoroughly and that there is clearly manifest a strong desire to be entirely fair to both sides in every controversy. To say that another would select for emphasis a different group of facts is no criticism of Dr. Muzzey, and certainly no one could exceed him in the spirit of fairness.

The books shouuld find a welcome place in college courses and the general reader will find the story stimulating and enlightening. Both may make use of the excellent bibliographies at the end of the volumes.

EDWARD MCMAHON.

"Brother Mack," the Frontier Preacher. By A. J. MCNEMEE. (Portland, Oregon: 1924. Pp. 80.)

Here is a little book that deserves to be classed as a "human document" in the literature of the Northwest. It is sure to take its place among the rare items of Northwest Americana. To a request for information as to the selling price of the book the ven-

erable author replied: "It is a *cultus potlatch,* as the Indians say, as it is not for sale. I only had three hundred copies published and I have given them away to the preachers and to some of my old time friends."

The author was born in Portland, Oregon, on March 5, 1848. His people were of frontier stock and he, himself, maintained the standard of courage so characteristic of that stalwart breed. His story of boyhood memories, of his struggle for an education and his travels as a young Methodist preacher is not only a narrative of gripping interest but it teems with incidents and descriptions of real historic value.

Mr. McNemee has correctly judged that his book will be of greatest interest to preachers but what reader in King County would not relish this comment on its history: "When I took charge of the Squak Mission, September 18, 1885, we had in Seattle two preachers, Rev. John N. Denison of First Church, and Rev. L. A. Banks of the Battery Street Church. Reverend John Flinn had White River circuit and my appointment included nearly all the rest of King County down to the Snohomish County line. It took me three weeks to go around this Circuit afoot, as there were scarcely any roads, only a sled road or a pack trail and often only a blazed trail, sometimes not even that to follow. Often when going down the Snoqualmie River Bottoms I have followed the bear trails in preference to crawling through the brush and over the logs, for this country, so rich now, was then almost a wilderness."

The last page of the book is a tabulation of sums raised for the building or repairing of churches and parsonages. The sums seem relatively modest in each case, but the fifteen communities were small ones and the work involved was undoubtedly out of all proportion to the money raised.

Mr. McNemee, in retirement, is living in a little home at Langley, Washington, where his book was dated August 1, 1924.

The Mountaineer. Edited by THE EDITORIAL BOARD. (Seattle: The Mountaineers, Incorporated, 1924. Pp. 91. Seventy-five cents.)

Mazama. Edited by MERLE W. MANLY. (Portland: The Mazamas, 1924. Pp. 112. $1.00.)

For a long time it has been an annual privilege to call attention to these valuable publications in the January issues of this

Quarterly. Each organization issues a monthly which at the end of the year takes the form of a large and beautifully illustrated magazine. As would naturally be expected, each of these magazines carries the financial and statistical reports for the year, a list of members and reviews of recent mountaineering books. Heretofore, the special articles have been devoted almost entirely to descriptions of the places visited and the mountains climbed during the year then current.

The Mountaineer for 1924 has made a distinct departure from the former practice. The number is dedicated "To the Members of the Third Mount Everest Expedition" and the beautiful greeting (in facsimile) is from Lieutenant-Colonel E. F. Norton, leader of that world-famous expedition. The leading article, "The Himalayas as a Climbing Field" is by Colonel H. Appleton, late of the Royal Engineers of Great Britain. Stephen T. Mather, Director of the National Park Service, writes on "America's National Parks." Another official contribution is by Owen A. Tomlinson, Superintendent of Mount Rainier National Park, on "Development of Our National Parks." Major E. S. Ingraham tells the story of "The Ascent of Mount St. Elias" by the Prince, Luigi of Savoy, Duke of the Abruzzi, of whose party in 1897 Major Ingraham was a member. Such articles have a world-wide interest and value. The other articles have intense interest but they are more local in their appeal and deal largely with mountaineering activities around Mount Rainier.

The articles in *The Mazama* deal largely with Mount Adams to which the club devoted its 1924 outing. There are also articles showing researches in the field and in literature about mountains, glaciers and mountaineering.

The editors of each of these publications have set a high standard of excellence for their successors to follow.

Chinook by the Sea. By LEWIS R. WILLIAMS. (Ridgefield, Washington: The Author, 1924. Pp. 136. $2.00.)

Chinook is one of the best known Indian words in the Pacific Northwest. The warm breeze that melts the snows of winter is called "Chinook Wind"; the greatest fish of the Columbia River is the "Chinook Salmon"; the trade language among Northwestern Indians is the "Chinook Jargon"; and one of the most historic settlements on the Columbia River, near its mouth is Chinook. It is a record of the village that the author has put into book form.

Perhaps the chapter headings will serve to show the plan of the work: "Discovery of the Columbia River," "The Coming of Lewis and Clark," "The Coming of the Astor Party," "The Battle of Wappalooche," "Settlers of the 40's," "The Events of the 50's," "In the 60's," "Events and Happenings of the 80's," "A Review of the 90's."

When the book appeared, the Portland *Oregonian*, on November 9, 1924, gave it a very favorable editorial beginning: "Local communities—and there are many in the old Oregon country—which are rich in historical associations will be stimulated by being reminded that inspiring memories are not exclusively the property of the so-called older civilizations. The annals of the Northwest are replete with instances among which the neglected history of Southwestern Washington furnishes a number of noteworthy examples. Hitherto ignored by historians, yet the scene of many a memorable occurrence, the counties of Pacific, Wahkiakum, Cowlitz and Clarke constitute a field for study unrivaled, we think, by a good many which owe an adventitious celebrity solely to the circumstance that they have been painstakingly tilled."

The National Park Service. By STEPHEN T. MATHER, Director. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1924. Pp. 165. Twenty-five cents.)

The eighth annual report, like its predecessors, gives the record of the travel season for the current year as well as many suggestions for improvements. Director Mather's report on the Mount Rainier National Park occupies pages 45 to 48. The report of Major O. A. Tomlinson, Superintendent of the Mount Rainier National Park occupies pages 114 to 118. He suggests a number of needed improvements. His compilation of statistics shows that in the travel year of 1924 the park was visited by totals of 38,351 cars and 161,473 people. Of these, 57,055 people were from Seattle and 32,474 from Tacoma. A total of 31.509 cars and 128,335 people are credited to the State of Washington.

Little Pioneers of the Fir-Tree Country. By MABEL G. CLELAND. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924. Pp. 124. $1.50.)

Here are twelve more pioneer stories delightfully written for children by Mrs. Cleland. Young readers in the Pacific Northwest have rejoiced over her stories for a number of years. Young folks throughout the country will now share in that joy through the assistance of the great firm of publishers in Boston.

The Constitutions of the Northwest States. By JOHN D. HICKS. (Lincoln, Nebraska: 1923. Pp. 162.)

The printing of this double number in the "University Studies" of the University of Nebraska seems to have been delayed as it just arrived though bearing the date, January-April, 1923. The publication seems more delayed as the work substantially in its present form was submitted in 1916 as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy at the University of Wisconsin.

The scope of the work is best revealed by the chapter headings: "The Statehood Movement," "The Departments of Government," "Education and School Lands," "Corporations other than Municipal," "Labor and Social Legislation," "Taxation and Public Finance," "Miscellaneous," (such as Suffrage, Local Government, Irrigation and Water Rights), and "Admission."

The "Bibliography" includes a helpful collection of titles of Congressional and State documents, newspapers, periodicals, books and pamphlets.

It is clear that Doctor Hicks, in his thesis, has undertaken to cover an immense field. Restriction toward unity is evident in the emphasis placed on the so-called "Omnibus States"—North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana and Washington. By a clever welding of the masses of material he has made a valuable work on those States as a group, but by omitting an index he has left it a difficult matter to glean his conclusions about any single State. The two most outstanding conclusions are that there was a growing distrust for public officials and that too much legislation was injected into the constitutions. Toward the end of his study, in summing up his conclusions he declares: "Whether the West had swallowed the Nation or the Nation had swallowed the West would be a difficult question to decide." He asks and seeks to answer certain questions as to what should be really expected of a state and then ends his study with the following paragraph:

"The men who framed these constitutions did not consciously admit any lack of confidence in democratic government. Direct popular control was to their minds the paracea for all ills. Every effort was made to place public officials in such a position that they must respond to the desires of the people. The use of the referendum became more common. The length of the ballot increased. The great weakness of the system lay in this over-estimation of the capabilitiees of the people. Changes in the laws

which the constitution contained could be effected only by constitutional amendment, and although that process was usually made easy, intelligent decisions on the part of the electorate were likely to be difficult to obtain. The increase in the number of elective officers added a further burden. Regardless of the question as to who is best fitted to fill administrative and judicial offices, the fact remains that, voting on a large number of candidates at one time, popular interest is likely to be divided and popular judgment uncertain. Nevertheless, the trend towards direct participation by the people in the government had not yet reached its climax. The initiative, the more expanded use of the referendum, and the recall were yet to come. And even now, a third of a century later, it may well be doubted if any distinct reaction has set in."

Studies in Administrative Research. By FRED C. AYER. (Seattle: Board of Directors, 1924. Pp. 117. Sventy-five cents.)

Professor Ayer is Director of the Seattle Public Schools Department of Research. This book is Bulletin No. 1. The subdivisions are "Time Allotment," "The Curriculum," "Upper Grade Organization" and "Progress of Pupils." The work is of especial value to teachers and others having responsibility in the maintenance of our system of education.

Cowboys North and South. By WILL JAMES. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924. Pp. 217. $3.50.)

The publisher's announcement says: "Here is the cowboy's story at its best, written by one who was brought up a cowboy and has lived all his life as a cowboy, among cowboys, and knowing every tradition of the cattle country." The author himself says: "Me, never being to school and having to pick up what I know in grammar from old magazines and saddle catalogs scattered in cow camps would find plenty of territory for improvement in the literary range."

The language throughout the book has the same sound of galloping hoofs and swinging ropes. Anyone who loves the West will like these stories. The fifty-one illustrations, all by the author, comprise one of the most attractive features of the book. Will James is certainly a clever artist. There is no question but that this book will receive a cordial welcome among collectors and readers of the rapidly growing cowboy literature.

The Austin Papers. Edited by EUGENE C. BARKER. (Washington: American Historical Association, 1924. Two volumes. Pp. 1824. $1.25 per volume.)

The two volumes are parts 1 and 2 of Volume II. of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1919. They comprise the fifteenth report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. The exhaustive work is of greatest interest to Texas. Most of the manuscripts and other materials were found in the Library of the University of Texas. They trace the progress of the busy enterprises of Moses and Stephen F. Austin from Virginia through Missouri and Arkansas to Texas. In his preface, the editor says' "Moses Austin illustrated in his own career the typical aspects of the business man in the Westward Movement; and Stephen F. Austin was, to a degree not approached by any other colonial proprietor in our history, the founder and the indispensable guardian and director during its early vicissitudes of a great American Commonwealth."

Other Books Received

ALVORD, CLARENCE WALWORTH and CARTER, CLARENCE EDWIN. *Trade and Politics, 1767-1769.* (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, c1921. Pp. 760.)

GUILDAY, PETER. *The Catholic Church in Virginia.* (New York: United States Historical Society, 1924. Pp. 159.)

HOWARD COLLEGE. *Studies.* (Birmingham, Alabama: Howard College, May, 1924. Pp. 61.)

JENISON, MARGUERITE EDITH. *The War-Time Organizations of Illinois.* (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1923. Pp. 508.)

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL LIBRARY. *Proceedings, Volume 57, 1923-1924.* (Boston: The Society, 1924. Pp. 531.)

ROBINSON, JAMES HARVEY. *An Introduction to the History of Western Europe. Part 1.* (Boston: Ginn, 1924. Pp. 530. $2.80.)

PACIFIC NORTHWEST AMERICANA

Auction Sales

No important sales of Western Americana have yet taken place during the present auction season. At the sale held by Charles F. Heartman, at Metuchen, New Jersey, on November 29, a considerable number of rare items of miscellaneous Americana were sold. Among these was a copy of George Wilkes' *Proposal for a National Railroad to the Pacific Ocean* (N. Y. 1847). This pamphlet of 24 pages, in wrappers and with the folding map, brought the sum of $612.50.

George Wilkes' "Proposal"

Such a pamphlet as the above occupies an important place in the bibliography of western railroad building. It is difficult nevertheless to understand how it could command a price of twenty-five dollars a page, even from a collector of unlimited means. George Wilkes' plan for a national railroad to the Pacific was first given to the public in his *History of Oregon* (New York, Colyer, 1845). The following year he embodied the same ideas in a memorial to Congress and in a memorial to the Oregon Provisional Government. The text of the plan as set forth in the *History of Oregon,* pages 47-62, was revised and republished in pamphlet form. A second edition of the pamphlet was issued by the author in 1845. It contains 23 pages. The fourth edition contains 24 pages and was published in New York by Daniel Adee in 1847. A copy of the latter edition is to be found in the University of Washington Library and it is this edition apparently that was sold at the Heartman sale. George Wilkes' *History of Oregon* was reprinted in this *Quarterly,* where the text of the railroad plan can be found in volume 2.

Early Literature of the Northwest Coast

In his presidential address before the Royal Society of Canada at the May meeting of 1924, Judge F. W. Howay of British Columbia gave an admirable resumé of the maritime voyages of exploration to the Northwest Coast of America prior to 1800. His paper will appear in Volume 18, Third Series, of the Transactions

of the Royal Society of Canada. Students will be glad to learn that the paper has already been preprinted by the Society in a pamphlet of thirty-one pages.

Judge Howay has given separate treatment to the Spanish, French, American and English voyages. Into a narrative of the various expeditions skilfully combining stories of national ambition and personal venture, the author has liberally sprinkled notes on the chief printed and available manuscript records.

At the Conference of the Pacific Northwest Library Association in Victoria, B.C. on August 27, Judge Howay gave an address on the literature of the American and English voyages to the Northwest Coast. This address has been printed and is now available in the Proceedings of the Pacific Northwest Library Association for the year 1924, pages 104-122. The information of the latter address is substantially that of the former, with the omission of the French and Spanish voyages. Librarians and students will find enduring value in these informing and convenient summaries.

The Journal Man

Mr. Fred Lockley of Portland continues in the *Oregon Journal* his column entitled "Impressions and Observations of the Journal Man." For more than eleven years, he has maintained this useful department. During this time he has secured and printed interviews with several thousand pioneers of Oregon and Washington.

Approaching the Century Mark

Holiday greetings from Major Junius Thomas Turner, of Washington, D. C., recalls the fact that he has passed his 98th natal day and has practiced law for 72 years. He was on Puget Sound and took part in the Indian war of 1855. He also participated in an Indian war in Oregon, in the Mexican war and the Civil war. His friends call him a hero of four wars. Among other duties just now, he is teaching a boy of sixteen to become a journalist.

Pacific Coast Branch

At the nineteenth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, held at the University of California on November 30 and December 1, Prof. J. A. O. Larsen of the University of Washington read a paper on "Representative Government in the Panhellenic League." Prof. Frank A. Golder, formerly of the Washington State College and now of Stanford University, read a paper on "Pictures from Soviet Russia," and Prof. Walter C. Barnes of the University of Oregon read one on "Natural Law in Eighteenth Century Thought."

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Historic Tablet in Olympic Hotel

The Daughters of Pioneers (prior to 1870) have placed a beautiful bronze tablet at the main entrance of Seattle's new Olympic Hotel. The inscription on the tablet is as follows:

"This is the original site of the University of Washington, A.D. 1861-A.D. 1895. Placed by the Daughters of the Pioneers."

The people of Seattle had combined their efforts to build the great hotel. They took pride in the ceremonies that dedicated their accomplishment. The Seattle *Times* of December 9 thus announced the ceremonies attending the dedication of the historic tablet:

"Following closely the lavish dedication of the new Olympic Hotel Saturday evening came another event yesterday—one less elaborate, much more limited in participants, but none the less important from an epoch-making standpoint, especially to its sponsors, members of pioneer families whose courage and faith in the city's future brought about this great civic achievement."

About three hundred representatives of the pioneer families assembled for luncheon in the ornate Spanish ballroom. Mrs. Helen Polson Gibson, President of the Daughters of Pioneers, presided and made the introductory address touching on the importance of the occasion. With her at the speaker's table sat six of the seven known survivors of the first University students of 1861. These were called to their feet for introduction as follows: Mr. and Mrs. Clarence B. Bagley, Mrs. Susie Mercer Graham, Mr. Rolland H. Denny, Mrs. Gardner Kellogg and Mrs. M. S. Drew. At the same table were Mrs. O. C. Shorey, who kept the first University Boarding House, Mrs. Clara McCarty Wilt, who was the sole member of the first graduating class in 1876 and Judge W. P. Bell, President of the Pioneer Association of Washington. These were the guests of honor of the occasion. Other participants in the program who occupied seats at the same table were Miss Alice Calhoun, Chairman of fthe Committee of Arrangements, Mrs. Este Avery, soloist, and her accompanist, Mrs. George B. Lamping and Doris Lamping, daughter and granddaughter of Mr. and Mrs. Rolland H. Denny.

Before little Doris Lamping, great granddaughter of Arthur A. Denny, principal donor of the land, unveiled the tablet, Prof. Edmond S. Meany gave an address on the history of the land and the University leading up to the building of the great hotel. He complimented the Daughters of Pioneers on their service to the future in thus marking a site of such historic importance.

An Honor for Vancouver

The memory of Captain George Vancouver has been honored in the place of his birth by the naming of a new road.

In this *Quarterly* for October, 1924, there was published a review of *Vancouver and His Great Voyage* by G. H. Anderson. In acknowledging a copy of the review the author, who is Borough Accountant, writes from Town Hall, King's Lynn, England: "I am pleased to say that the suggestion I made as to naming the new road has been adopted and every day I now have the gratification of walking through 'Vancouver Avenue'."

Two Washington Centennials

The year 1925 should be interesting to the citizens of the State of Washington on account of two centennials. Mr. Oliphant mentions one of them in his article on Fort Colville in this issue. The other is Vancouver. Chief Factor John McLoughlin moved the Columbia River headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company from Fort George (Astoria) to what he called Fort Vancouver in the spring of 1825. The village, now city, of Vancouver grew up alongside the Fort. It is the oldest continuous home of white men in the State of Washington. Its centennial ought to be marked by some ceremony or celebration.

The Pacific Wilderness Olympiad

Fifteen cities in view of the Olympic Mountains are working up interest in a great pageant as a tourist attraction for 1925. It is planned to weave some pioneer history and later progress into a story that will be successful in pageant form. The cities as listed in the advance literature are Olympia, Hoquiam, Aberdeen, Montesano, Elma, Chehalis, Centralia, Bremerton, Shelton, Port Angeles, Port Townsend, Port Orchard, Quilcene, Seattle, Tacoma.

Pacific Coast Historical Meeting

The twentieth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held at Los Angeles on November 28-29. The sessions were well attended and papers were read by representatives from eight Universities and Colleges located on the Coast. The address of President Cleland at the Annual Banquet was a very informing study of American-Mexican relations which was the result of a year's investigation in Mexico. This paper should have a wider circulation than it has received. The officers for the coming year are, President, Wm. A. Morris of the University of California; Vice-President, Oliver H. Richardson of the University of Washington; Secretary-Treasurer, Ralph H. Lutz, Stanford University. Informally the members expressed a desire that the next meeting be held at Seattle and the Council will keep in mind their wishes in arranging for the next meeting.

Early Days of the University of Washington

Mr. J. Orin Oliphant, while searching through the files of Spokane's first newspaper—the *Spokan Times*—found two items about the Territorial University which he transcribed. They follow:

From the issue of September 25, 1879:

"The Territorial University at Seattle opened on the 1st inst. Prof. Anderson has ten able instructors, who are as factors, conducting the different branches of the University: A. J. Anderson, A.M., President—Psychology and Mathematics; Mrs. L. P. Anderson, Preceptress—Botany and French; Miss R. F. Scott, A. B.—Latin and Greek; T. R. Wilson, A.B.—Applied Mathematics and common English; Mrs. Emma Guttenberg—German; C. B. Plummer—Elocution; Miss Minnie Sparling—Painting and drawing; G. W. Ward, Vocal music; C. M. Anderson—Book-keeping and Practical Business; O. P. Anderson—Plain and Ornamental penmanship; Miss Jennie Hancock—Telegraphy."

From the issue of December 18, 1879:

"The attention of all concerned, and this class will include every permanent resident of the Territory, is called to the open letter of President Anderson, on University topics, to be found below. Under the guidance and control of Mr. Anderson, our Territorial school has grown from an institution of primary learning to one little short of the leading institutions of learning on the

Coast. With each succeeding quarter there is an increase of attendance, a raising of the higher branches of study, and a progress strongly marked and exceedingly gratifying. The following is President Anderson's letter:

"'To the Citizens of Washington Territory:

"'The University Fall term of 1879 closed the 3rd instant with 125 names upon the register, showing a gain of one student over the Fall term of 1878. Forty different classes recite daily. Average time of recitation, forty minutes.

"'It is expected that the apparatus and reference books provided for by an appropriation of $500 by the Legislature will be secured in time for use during the winter term, which begins December 1, 1879. At that time classes will be organized in Natural Philosophy, Conic Sections, Common School Bookkeeping and Counting House Bookkeeping. January 1, 1880, pupils will have an opportunity to begin the following studies: Algebra, Latin, Mineralogy, Greek and Mental Philosophy. Pupils can at any time enter classes in the common branches, music, Painting and Drawing.

"'The price of tuition in the higher branches is just three-fourths of the charge at Willamette University, and is less than at any leading college of Oregon. At the same time it is the determination that the character of the instruction given shall not be excelled in any institution of the North Pacific Coast.

"'Board and room in the University Boarding house can be had for $45 per term of thirteen weeks. Private families charge about the same price. Some students find places to work for their board, while others board themselves at no greater cost than two dollars per week. Some of our most promising pupils work their own way."

Principal Articles in the Washington Historical Quarterly

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*
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Announcements

¶ The diary of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, U. S. N., while in command of the United States Exploring Expedition, is being reproduced from the original so far as it relates to the Pacific Northwest. It is valuable source material for the history of this region.

¶ Before his departure from the University of Washington, Victor J. Farrar edited "The Nisqually Journal" through the month of December, 1852. Its further publication is suspended for the present.

¶ Professor Kingston of the State Normal School, Cheney, has produced an interesting article about the Austrian prince, whose assassination caused the World War.

¶ Professor Gowen's recent trip to the Orient has resulted in a timely article about Japan's first mission to America.

¶ Mr. Oliphant's study of Old Fort Colville has peculiar significance for the centennial year of 1925.

¶ United States Commissioner R. S. Ludington has furnished a copy of the Wenatchee Indians' plea for justice.

The Washington Historical Quarterly

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OLD FORT COLVILLE

[*Continued from Volume XVI., Page 48.*]

The extent of the Company's land claim at Colville, Anderson asserted, would, if reduced to a regular square, be from five to six miles square. The value of the arable lands in 1846 he put at "about $25 an acre." About the fort he considered there were 1,500 acres answering to this description, and in the vicinity of White Mud, "at least 3,000 acres." The remainder of the land he valued at not more than $1.25 an acre.[62]

With respect to the cost of erecting a mill such as the Company owned, between 1848 and 1851, Anderson made an estimate of $20,000. [63] "The cost to the Company was very large, partly from the difficulty of getting proper mechanics, and again from the heavy cost of transport of the necessary material by boat from Fort Vancouver. The new mill was commenced either in the winter of 1845 or the spring of 1846 by my predecessor, Chief Factor Lewis. [64] On my arrival there in the autumn of 1848, I found the work still incomplete, and it was only by great exertion that I succeeded in completing it about 18 months afterwards; for besides the original impediment to which I have already alluded, the excitement caused by the discovery of the mines in California had arisen, and its effects extended to the very gates of Colville. Meanwhile the old mill which had been built many years previously was kept as far as possible in repair, in order to carry on the necessary grinding."[65]

62 *Ibid.*, pp. 35 *et seq.*

63 *Ibid.*, p. 42. Anderson stated, on cross examination, that during his residence at Colville the annual production of wheat was about 1,500 bushels. Asked whether he received wheat from other sources to be ground at the Company mill, he replied: "Yes, from the settlers and squatters in the vicinity, and likewise from some of the Indians whom we had encouraged to raise wheat to aid the sustenance of themselves and families. The amount I could not state with any degree of correctness, possibly 1,000 bushels; received none from any other post of the Company. The toll rate, I believe, was one-eighth. This was during my residence there from 1848 to 1851."

64 John Lee Lewis (or Lewes) succeeded Archibald McDonald at Colville in 1844. See footnote by W. S. Lewis, *Wash. Hist. Quart., VIII*, 180. Lewis was still at Colville in 1848 when the American missionaries, Eells and Walker, with their families, abandoned the station at Tshimakain and sought refuge at Colville. Lewis was probably succeeded by A. C. Anderson. See *supra*, footnote 63. Also see Myron Eells, *Life of Father Eells*, etc., and *Letters and Diaries of Rev. Elkanah Walker and Mary R. Walker*, 1838-52, pp. 94 *et seq.*

Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.*, I, 38, says of Lewis (or Lewes): "The fop of the Columbia district was John Lee Lewes, an old Northwester, who after having been many years at the several northern posts was placed in charge of the district of McKenzie River, and afterward at Fort Colville. He was a man of fine personal appearance, and possessed many good qualities. He had the misfortune to lose his right hand by the accidental discharge of a gun." Father De Smet also spells this name "Lewes." "The kindness of the Honorable Mr. Lewes and family I shall never forget," wrote De Smet from St. Paul's Station, near Colville, May 29, 1846.—Chittenden and Richardson, *Father De Smet's Life and Travels Among the North American Indians*, II. 552. (This paragraph was erroneously given with note 52 of the first installment of this article in the January issue.)

65 *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], pp. 42-43.

Anderson admitted that since 1847 the "Company's posts on the upper Columbia, in New Caledonia, and Thompson's River [had] been supplied chiefly from Fort Langley on Fraser's River, in British Columbia." However, he would not admit that the importance of Colville for securing the surrounding trade had in any way decreased.[66]

During the year 1848, when the Cayuse war was waged as a result of the Whitman massacre of the preceding November, the American mission station at Tshimakain, founded by Cushing Eells and Elkanah Walker in 1838, was abandoned, and for several weeks protection was afforded to the families of these missionaries by the Hudson's Bay Company's employes at Colville.[67] Some five years later, when Governor Stevens and his party came through Eastern Washington, the hospitality of this post was generously extended to them.[68] Stevens speaks highly of the entertainment he received, and, judging from an account given by Angus McDonald, who was then in charge of Fort Colville, Stevens and McClellan, who met Stevens at this place, enjoyed themselves to the uttermost.[69]

In a letter to Mr. Marcy, Secretary of State, dated June 21, 1854, Governor Stevens gives a description of the establishment at Colville as it appeared in 1853. He says:

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66 *Ibid.*, p. 44.

67 Testimony of Thomas Lowe, August 5, 1865; *H. R. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], p. 15. Also consult Eells, *Life of Father Eells*, and *Walker Diaries, passim.*

68 Of the McDonald hospitality Stevens writes: "Mr. [Angus] McDonald, the trader in charge, gave me a most hospitable reception, and addressed a note to McClellan [later General George B. McClellan], who had just gone to his camp nearby, informing him of my arrival. McClellan came up immediately, and though I was fairly worn out with the severeness of the ride, we sat up till one o'clock. At 11 we sat down to a nice supper prepared by Mrs. McDonald, and regaled ourselves with steaks cooked in buffalo fat, giving them the flavor of buffalo meat. I retired exhausted with the fatigues of the day." —*Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad From the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, . . . in* 1853-55, XII, 137.

Others have spoken in glowing terms of the hospitality extended to them at Colville. In October, 1859, F. M. Engel, topographical engineer with the Mullan Military Road Expedition, visited Colville. Writing to Lieut. John Mullan, under date of March 8, 1860, he said: "At Colville I was hospitably received by Mr. McDonald, the gentleman in charge."—John Mullan, *Report on the Construction of A Military Road From Fort Walla Walla to Fort Benton*, p. 108. Father De Smet, some years earlier, had commented on the hospitality of the H. B. Co trader in charge of Fort Colville. See footnote 52, *supra.*

69 Of this affair Angus McDonald writes: "I was in charge here in 1853 when Governor Stevens met here. I had full instructions as to the hospitality and the discretion of it entirely trusted to myself. The Governor had ample credentials from the east crossing the Rocky Mountains by the Hell Gate deille. McLellan met him here with an escorting party from Puget Sound. I had fifty imperial gallons of extra rations to entertain the gentleman. McLellan drank but little. The Governor was rather fond of it and laid back about ten on the first night to sleep the darkness out. His last words that night were 'Mac this is powerful wine.' All hands had been steeped during the day and found the grass and their blankets the best way they could. As all the party had disappeared McLellan began to sip the juice of the vine more freely and we sat on the old sofa together, as closely as space allowed. Having to undergo the hospitalities of the day to all hands, I felt my greg inviting me to go to my blankets. But I was well trained to that splendid brandy and in prime of life too, and hard to make me give in at it. Suddenly the General put his arm around my neck and whispered in my ear 'Mc, my proud father too was at Culloden,' and he quietly slipped down off the sofa to the floor. I soon made the sofa an easy place for him and he and the Governor snored the night till daylight."—"Angus McDonald: A Few Items of the West," in *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, 196-197.

"Fort Colvile, upon the Columbia, above Kettle Falls, is next in importance to Fort Vancouver, though far inferior to it in extent. It is situated on the second terrace, at some distance back from the river, the lower terrace being in part flooded during the freshets. The buildings consist of a dwelling house, three or four store-houses, and some smaller buildings, used as blacksmith shops, etc., all of one story and constructed of squared logs. The whole was once surrounded by a stockade, forming a square of about 70 yards on each side. This has been removed, except on the north side, where it encloses a narrow yard containing offices. One bastion remains. About 30 yards in the rear of this square are the cattle yards, hay sheds, etc., enclosing a space of 40 by 60 yards, roughly fenced in, and the sheds covered with bark. On the left of the front are seven huts, occupied by the lower employes of the company. They are of rude construction, and much decayed. On the right of the square, in the rear, at a distance of a few hundred yards, are three more buildings, used for storing produce. At this post the barges used by the company for the navigation of the Columbia River are built.[70]

"Besides the principal establishment, there is a cattle post, about nine miles distant, on the stream laid down as the Slaun-te-us, and a grist mill of one pair of stones, three miles off on the same stream. The latter is in good order.[71] Here formerly the flour for the northern posts was ground from wheat raised on the Company's farms. The mill is still used by the farmers of the Colvile valley, and by the Spokane Indians, who bring here their wheat from a distance of 70 miles. The farm at this point was once pretty extensive, but only a small portion is cultivated at present.

"Fort Colville was once the post of a chief factor, the highest officer in charge of a station, and here the annual accounts of the whole country were consolidated previous to transmission across

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70 "The H. B. Company made all the Columbian boats here of the native Yellow Pine.'"—'Angus McDonald: A Few Items of the West," in *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, 198. Consult footnote 40, *supra*.

71 "In 1848 there had been a large new mill built there, 2½ stories high, and one run of stones, 30 x 40 or 50 feet."—Angus McDonald, *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], p. 156. He expressed the opinion that, "for our purposes, twelve to fifteen hundred dollars would put it in good repair." This was in 1865.—*Id.*, p. 165. Compare Stevens' statement, as well as that of Angus McDonald herein quoted, with the descriptions of this mill given througout this article, especially footnote 65, *supra*, and William S. Lewis's statement in footnote 40, *supra*. Mr. Meyers declares that the dimensions of the stones given above should be 35 x 50 feet.

the mountains.[72] The present force consists only of a chief clerk, a trader, and about 20 Canadians and Iroquois Indians.

"I estimate the value of Fort Colvile and the mill, with the improvements, at $25,000."[73]

On December 2, 1852, the Hudson's Bay Company valued Fort Colvile, "including the farms, mill and fort," at 10,000 pounds.

Just before the outbreak of the Civil War occurred what is known in history as the San Juan Affair, a disturbance over the international boundary line in the Pacific Northwest which nearly brought on an armed clash between forces of Great Britain and the United States. This controversy arose over the meaning of a statement in the Treaty of 1846, which provided that the boundary line between British and American possessions in the Pacific Northwest should be run through the middle of the channel which separates the mainland from Vancouver Island. Inasmuch as there are two channels, Canal de Haro and Rosario Strait, the San Juan Islands became the subject of a dispute. Years afterwards, however, like all others which had arisen between Great Britain and the United States over the Oregon Country, was settled peaceably.[74]

Meantime, however, the encroachments of American settlers upon the lands claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company were causing losses to these companies and producing much bad feeling between the British and the Americans.[75] In his first message to the Territorial Legis-

72 "Several trips were made, during the season of open water, annually on the Columbia, from Fort Vancouver to Fort Colvile and back, as business required; and between Fort Vancouver and Hudson's Bay there was one voyage every year, leaving Vancouver in the spring, with documents and books, and also taking out all the servants whose contracts had expired, and who wished to return to Europe and Canada, as the case might be, returning in the autumn from York Factory with the young recruits necessary to replace the hands who left, or were leaving the service. From all this it is clear that the Columbia River formed a very important link in the chain of communication, not only between these posts of the Company on the west side of the mountains, but also between these posts and Hudson's Bay."—Deposition of Dugald Mactavish, in *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], p. 211.

73 *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], pp. 221-222. This letter has been taken from the report of George Gibbs to Captain George B. McClellan, dated at Olympia, March 4, 1854. In the Gibbs report, however, occurs this paragraph, which does not appear in Stevens's letter to Marcy: "In former years goods were sent through this post [Colville] to those north of the line, but this route is now abandoned. The amount of furs collected here is not large, and comes chiefly from the upper Columbia. They are principally bear, beaver, muskrat, marten, and fox skins. The beaver is not considered to be worth in London more than its cost when laid down here."—*Reports on Explorations and Surveys . . . Made Under the Direction of the Secretary of War*, in 1853-54: *Ex. Doc.* 78, *2d Sess.*, 33d *Cong.*, *I*, 420.

74 Art. XXXIV of the Treaty of Washington, concluded May 8, 1871, provided that the dispute over the possession of the San Juan Islands "should be submitted to the arbitration and award" of the Emperor of Germany, his award to be final. On October 21, 1872, Emperor William I decided in favor of the United States.—*Public Treaties of the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), pp. 355 *et seq.*

75 Consult the deposition of Dugald Mactavish, April 10, 1865, in the *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], pp. 198 *et seq.*; also read the deposition of Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, September 25, 1865, in the *Puget Sound Agricultural Co. vs. the United States. Evidence on the Part of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. Claimants*, pp. 105 *et seq.*

lature of Washington, on February 28, 1854, Governor Stevens called attention to the "foreign corporation situated in our midst," an organization "usurping a large proportion of the trade, and annually carrying off great amounts of specie from the country." He further stated that the "vague and uncertain nature" of the limits of the possessions claimed by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company "must necessarily give rise to many disputes between the Company and the settlers, and tend to retard the settlement of many portions of the Territory."[76] This question was not settled until 1869.

The treaties negotiated by Governor Stevens with the Indians of Washington Territory, in 1854 and 1855, did not remove from the minds of the savages the fear that the white men would swarm into the northwest and dispossess the Indians of their lands. Suspicions of this sort developed into almost certainty in the minds of the Indians, when, in the summer of 1855, miners began to pass through Eastern Washington on their way to the Colville country. The murder of some of these miners in the Yakima valley, together with the murder of Indian Agent A. J. Bolon, was the signal for the outbreak of the Indian war in the autumn of 1855. Of the rush to the Colville mines during the summer of 1855, Acting Governor C. H. Mason, addressing the Territorial Legislature of Washington on December 7, 1855, stated:

"During the past summer, rumors of discoveries of gold fields near Fort Colville induced many enterprising and energetic citizens of the Territory to visit that region. Many have returned on account of the war, and the impossibility of obtaining provisions there during the winter. Although the extent of the gold bearing district is not known, yet the fact is certain, that those who worked the bars and prospected the country near Fort Colville found gold in sufficient quantities to pay well for working. Wherever the more experienced miners dug, either upon the bars or upon the hillsides, gold was found, and even with the rude

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76 *Journal of the Council of the Territory of Washington*, 1854 (Olympia: George B. Goudy, Public Printer, 1855), pp. 10 *et seq.* Stevens's prediction that there would be trouble between the American settlers and the "foreign corporation" was borne out by later events. The question of the power of the government of Washington Territory to tax the lands of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company was finally settled by the Territorial supreme Court, in December, 1861, in the case of the *Puget Sound Agricultural Company* vs. *Pierce County* (1 Wash. Ter. Rep. 159). The court in this case held that the lands of the Company were liable for taxes, and that the failure of the assessor to assess other lands in Pierce County would not exempt this company from paying taxes on any of its lands which were liable to taxation. With reference to the power to tax the court held: "That the taxing power is one of the largest of Government and of vital importance to its existence, and that it is not to be assumed that the treaty (Treaty of June 15, 1846), while recognizing the right of the Company to their lands, and pledging the Government to confirm the same, intended to deprive this Territory of the power to tax said lands."

mode of working with pans, an average of $10 per day has been made, and those who are still at the mines report profitable employment. I have no doubt that with improved machines and better preparations for working to advantage these gold mines will prove amply remunerative to many citizens who may go there, whenever the state of the country will permit communication between the Columbia River and Puget Sound settlements and the gold bearing region."[77]

The Indian wars of 1855-56, which extended generally throughout Oregon and Washington Territories, had an unfortunate influence on the fur trade. The Cayuse war in 1848 had, according to the testimony of Dugald Mactavish on April 10, 1866, seriously affected the business of the Hudson's Bay Company at the Walla Walla, or Nez Perces, post.[78] From that time up to the final abandonment of this post, at the order of Indian Agent Nathan Olney, in 1855, Mactavish declared that the "Indians were never the same people to deal with that they had been, and the trade was never so profitable as formerly." In 1855 and 1856 the posts at Fort Boise and Fort Hall were abandoned by the Hudson's Bay Company, and in 1860 Fort Vancouver was abandoned. These steps, according to Mactavish, were taken with a very heavy loss to the Company.[79]

As a result of the Indian disturbances, the Columbia River ceased to be so important to the trading operations of the Hudson's Bay Company, as a way had been found to bring supplies overland from Victoria to the interior posts. Okanogan ceased to be a factor in the distribution of supplies for the interior, but it was stated by Alexander C. Anderson, on August 9, 1865, that the importance of Colville for securing the surrounding trade in furs had not been materially decreased, "and it has much increased in a general commercial sense since that period."[80]

On March 8, 1867, Dugald Mactavish, a chief factor for the Hudson's Bay Company, declared that he had "sent two boatloads of goods up to Fort Colvile in the summer of 1856, from Vancouver. But the bulk of the supplies for that year, as also for the following ones of 1857 and 1858, were sent into Fort Colvile from

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77 *Journal of the Council*, 1855 (Olympia: Public Printer, 1856), p. 19. For some mention of the discovery of gold at Colville consult "Angus McDonald: A Few Items of the West," in *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, 201.

78 Deposition of Dugald Mactavish, April 10, 1866: *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], pp. 198 *et seq.*

79 *Ibid.*, p. 217.

80 *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], p. 44.

Victoria, Vancouver Island, by the way of Fort Hope, on Frazer's River, and from Colvile were distributed to the other posts."[81]

The coming of the American settlers, the Indian wars consequent upon this influx, the placing of the Indians upon reservations by the Americans—these were important factors in bringing to a close the fur-trading epoch in the present state of Washington. The Treaty of 1846 had conferred upon the United States government the right to extinguish by purchase the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company to their lands south of the 49th parallel; but, notwithstanding this provision in the treaty, no definite step was taken by the American government to remove "the foreign corporation" until nearly ten years after Governor Stevens had delivered his first message to the first Territorial Legislature of Washington.

According to the terms of a treaty concluded between the United States and Great Britain on July 1, 1863, it was agreed that commissioners should be appointed by the United States and Great Britain to determine the sum of money which the United States should pay for the "possessory rights" of these companies. In the voluminous testimony which was submitted by each side in the cases of the *Hudson's Bay Company vs. the United States* and the *Puget Sound Agricultural Company vs. the United States* is contained much valuable information respecting the activities of those companies in the present state of Washington. Only with the testimony regarding Colville are we at this time primarily interested.

In the memorial of the Hudson's Bay Company, dated April 8, 1865, the sum of 785,350 pounds, or $3,822,036.67 is asked in settlement of the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company to the property south of the forty-ninth parallel. Under one heading of the memorial appears this statement:

"The post at Colvile, consisting of dwelling houses, servants' houses, shops, stores, outbuildings, stables, barns, yards, stockades and bastions, flouring mills and appurtenances, all erected by the Company, and of the cost and value of ten thousand pounds sterling, (10,000); three hundred and fifty acres of land occupied and used and cultivated as farm land, and about five miles square of land occupied and used for pasturage of their cattle and horses, of the value of five thousand pounds sterling, (5,000); the White Mud farm, (appurtenant to this post) with a house, barn and

81 *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iii], p. 167.

stable, store and outbuildings, erected upon it by the Company, of the cost and value of one thousand pounds sterling, (1,000); the land used and occupied as a farm, 30 acres of extent, and of the value of five hundred pounds sterling, (500); making together the entire sum of sixteen thousand five hundred pounds sterling, (16,500); equal to eighty thousand three hundred dollars ($80,300)."[82]

On June 10, 1868, a motion was made to amend this memorial, wherein was asked a total addition of 94,500 pounds, or $459,900. Of this sum it was asked respecting the establishment of Colville "that an addition of 9,500 pounds sterling, equal to $46,233.34, be made to their claim for the land at Colvile and White Mud farm."[83]

With the great mass of testimony brought forward in this case we are unable within the limits of this article to deal adequately. Attention is therefore directed specifically to the report of a commission of experts designated on July 17, 1866, by W. C. Johnson, attorney and agent for the United States, to examine and appraise the property owned by the Hudson's Bay Company at Colville. These men, Jesse Applegate, Jacob L. Rinearson and John C. Carson, were specifically instructed to examine the buildings and the improvements at Colville, White Mud farm, "some 12 miles from Fort Colville," and the grist mill and the water power used by the Company. The report of this commission was dated at Portland, Ore., August 8, 1866.[84]

In making the survey of Colville, this report states, it was found necessary, in order to include all of the lands that had been in cultivation, to divide the lands into two sections. Section No. 1 of the survey included the fort buildings and about 75 acres of land, and Section No. 2 included fields amounting to about 150 acres. On Section No. 1 were found three enclosures: "one of about four acres between the fort and the river, another of about 11 acres below the fort, and another of about 60 acres above the fort." The first tract was used as a kitchen garden, but only about one-half had been planted, and the crops on it were reported to look poor; the second tract had a "fair grain crop upon it," and the third tract had upon the low ground "an excellent crop of wheat, oats and potatoes." This last named tract was at that time, by permission of the Hudson's Bay Company, occupied by

82 *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.: Arguments in Behalf of the U. S. . . . C. Cushing, Counsel* (Washington, 1868), p. 10.
83 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
84 *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [1], pp. 271-280.

an American citizen who paid no rent. On Section No. 2 were found three small improvements valued by the assessor of Stevens county at "$25, $100, and $200, respectively," and about 150 acres enclosed. Part of this was cultivated by Indians, a part by the Hudson's Bay Company, and a part lay idle. On these two sections were found rail fences, "generally out of repair," which were valued by the commissioners at $2,000. The land that had been enclosed was considered "injured rather than benefited by cultivation."[85]

Detailed descriptions of the buildings found at Colville, both inside and outside the fort, are given in this report, but are too long for reproduction here. Values placed by the American commissioners on these buildings and other improvements on the two sections heretofore mentioned follow:

Aggregate value of building on Section No. 1, at Fort Colville	$6,800
Value of fencing, including the tenement of O'Sullivan	700
Value of fencing on Section No. 2, exclusive of the tenements	1,300
Amount taxable	$6,800
Value of the same as given in to the assessor by Chief Trader McDonald[86]	$6,200

Following an elaborate description of the Fort Plain, the commissioners declared that they considered "for agricultural purposes the fee simple title to the whole Fort Plain not to exceed $2,500, beyond or exclusive of the improvements."[87]

With respect to the mill of the Company, the commissioners reported:

"About four miles south of the fort, and upon the stream called Mill Creek, is the Hudson's Bay Company mill. It has once been a strong building, about 30 by 40 feet [35 x 50] and 20 feet high; it has been strongly framed, and the walls made of squared timber, grooved into posts in the usual manner. The machinery was driven by a breast wheel sixteen [seventeen] feet in diameter with 30-inch [40-inch] buckets, and consisted of one pair of stones, three feet [forty inches] in diameter, cut out of the granite common to the vicinity, a bolting apparatus, but no smut

85 *Ibid.*
86 *Ibid.*, p. 276.
87 *Ibid.*, p. 277.

mill. The whole structure seems to be entirely rotten, and has not been used for some years, nor can it be until entirely rebuilt [was run until September, 1872]. We value the mill at $500, it has been assessed at $1500."[88]

White Mud farm was said to be located about 13 miles southeast of the old fort, and to consist of about 30 acres enclosed and a few buildings of no great value. The Company ceased to cultivate it in 1860. "There is now but the ruins of one of the houses built by the Company, and no vestige of their enclosures." In fact, the commissioners saw "nothing of value remaining at the White Mud farm which had been made by the Company." As for the public lands in the Colville Valley, the commissioners were "of opinion that . . . . [they] will command no more than the minimum price, exclusive of the improvements made upon them, say $1.25 per acre."[89]

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88 *Ibid.*, p. 278. J. A. Meyers has given to me the following as the correct dimensions of this mill: 35 x 50 feet, with an outside water wheel, 17 feet by 40 inches. The stones were 40 inches instead of three feet in diametr. These stones, according to Mr. Meyers, were cut from the granite common to the Kettle Falls vicinity. Mr. Meyers's father, Lauther W. Meyers, was at Colville as early as 1862, and since 1869 J. A. Meyers has resided at Meyers Falls. Moreover, Mr. Meyers has spent several years in the study of the early history of the Colville region, and his opinions thereon are entitled to weighty consideration. The brackets above enclose corrections by Mr. Meyers.

89 *Ibid.*, p. 279. Continuing, the commissioners said: "In regard to the fee simple title to lands in the vicinity of old Fort Colville, we herewith submit an extract from the assessor's books of Stevens county, which shows the value of improvements according to the judgment of that officer, who resides in the country and knows the value put upon property by its owners, as well as himself; . . . and we are told by other intelligent men that improvements could be purchased in almost any part of Mill Creek Valley for less that they could be made."—*Id.*, p. 278. In this same volume, pp. 280-281, is printed the extract alluded to above. It follows:

Extracts from the Rolls of the Assessor of Stevens County, Washington Territory, for the year 1866, Hudson's Bay Company represented by Angus McDonald:

Lands cultivated (rents on same)	$ 100
Buildings and rails	6,100
One mill (out of repair)	1,500
Henry Lafleur (Joins the White Mud farm, Isaacs' place is included)	1,000
George B. Warnicut's (7 miles from Old Colvile)	1,000
T. J. Demers (on the White Mud farm)	1,600
Francois Marzou, 12 miles from old Fort	500
Alexander Marzou, 13 miles from old Fort	400
Antoine Charette, 14 miles from old Fort	600
Jo. Martin, 7 miles from old Fort	300
S. Mershon, 6 miles from old Fort	100
Gaspard, 8 miles from old Fort	80
John Probelle, 1 mile from old Fort	100
James Lee, 1½ miles above old Fort	25
Peter Grover, 2 miles from old Fort on Fort Plain	200
Alexander Jandron, 5 miles from old Fort	600
George Finis, 6 miles from old Fort	600
L. Peon, 9 miles from old Fort	350
John Histon (on Mud Farm)	250

"I certify the above as correctly extracted from the assessment rolls made by me for the county and the year above written.

"Lyman C. Richardson
"Assessor, Stevens County, W. T."

Mr. Meyers has called attention to several errors in this extract. The name George B. Warnicut, he declares, should be changed to George B. Wonncott. This man was Mr. Meyers' uncle. He further says that for the name of Gaspard there should be substituted Joseph Dissotell de Gaspor. The place occupied by this man in 1866 was bought by Mr. Meyers's mother about the year 1873. Other names, Mr. Meyers contends, should be altered as follows: For Peter Grover, Peter Gush; for S. Mershon, J. Merchant.

Mr. Meyers further states that the report made by Jesse Applegate was unfair in many respects, particularly with respect to the dimensions of the buildings. Mr. Meyers says that he himself has measured all of these buildings.

Quite different from the values put upon the Colville establishment by the American commissioners were those assigned by Angus McDonald,[90] at that time in charge of Fort Colville, in his deposition of September 25, 1865.[91] It is probable that McDonald greatly exaggerated the value of his company's holdings, but his associations with this establishment covering a long period of years give weight to his testimony and make it desirable to examine with considerable care the larger part of it. He declared:

"The present condition of the fort is much better than it was in 1848 or in 1852, when I took charge of it, except the mill, which is older than it was in 1848, and requires some repairs, but is in running order. It needs new cogs for some of its wheels, and new foundation logs for its frame. In the main I have nearly rebuilt all the buildings inside the square of the fort since 1852; but there was a row of engaged servants' houses outside of the fort, which was not kept in repair, but allowed to disappear save two old servants' houses which still remain. There is now a large dwelling house, 50 by 23 feet, one story and a half high with two floors; a frame house, clap-boarded and shingled, hard finished with plaster inside, with two large quartz rock chimnies. There is a back family house, of square timber, boarded roof, one story high, and two floors, lined with cotton drill inside, about 22 x 15, and a kitchen of the same size, shingle roof, and a large chimney of quartz rock. There is a large store, 60 x 20 feet, more or less, shingle roof, two floors, one story and a half high, built of squared timber in the Canadian fashion; another store about 40 x 18 feet, built in the same style as the first and on the other side there is a

90 Angus McDonald, a nephew of Archibald McDonald, was born in Scotland on October 15, 1816. He received a good education, and in 1838, at the age of twenty-one, entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. "In 1842 he was promoted to clerk and engaged for three years, from June 1, 1842, at 75 pounds per annum." Being given charge of Colville in 1852, he was in that year "promoted to the position of chief trader and made a shareholder in the Company. Angus McDonald remained in charge of Fort Colville from 1852 to 1872 [1871] and was one of the last chief traders of the Hudson's Bay Company to conduct a post within the territorial limits of the United States. In 1871 he sold out his interest to the Company and removed to Montana in 1872-73, where he engaged in stock-raising until his death on February 1, 1889."—Introduction by W. S. Lewis to "Angus McDonald: A Few Items of the West," in *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, 188 *et seq.* This document was edited by F. W. Howay, William S. Lewis and Jacob A. Meyers.

In his deposition of September 25, 1865, *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], pp. 150 *et seq.*, Angus McDonald declared that he was then 49 years old, a citizen of Great Britian, a chief trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, and that he had been in the employ of this company since 1838. He further declared: "I have some acquaintance with the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Fort Colville. I first saw it in the winter of 1839, wintered there, and proceeded in the spring to Fort Hall in the Snake Country —took charge of Colville in 1852, and remained there until 1857, and again assumed charge of it in 1859, whereof I have had charge ever since." In view of this testimony, I am inclined to believe that Mr. Lewis is in error in stating that McDonald was in charge of Colville from 1852 to 1872, for, continuing, McDonald declared: "I was there occasionally in 1857 and 1858, although not in charge." McDonald, moreover, gives a hint as to who was in charge during those two years. "The buildings at white Mud farm have nearly all disappeared, except one built in 1858, by Mr. Blenkinsop, then in charge of the fort."—*Id.*, p. 157. See also Bancrofft, *Hist. N. W. Coast*, II, 711.

91 *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], pp. 150 *et seq.*

file of officers' houses, 60 x 18 feet, shingled, three chimnies and two floors, one story and a half high, partly ceiled inside with tongue and grooved boards and partly mudded and whitewashed; also a bake house 15 x 15 feet, a poultry house, 10 x 12 feet, and a pigeon house. Outside is a heavy square timber bastion, two stories high, boarded roof with port holes, a blasksmith's shop, about 16 x 12 feet, carpenter's shop, about 30 x 30 feet, a barn about 60 x 30 feet, framed, boarded, and roof covered with double cedar bark, and a cedar rail horse park, about 150 x 150 feet, and the two old houses mentioned above, 20 x 20 feet, of square timber, thatched with poles and clay. The half of the stockades still remain. There was also a root house which I have omitted to mention.

"In 1848, at White Mud, there was a small dwelling house, a barn, stable, a store and about 30 to 40 acres of enclosed land. The buildings at White Mud farm have nearly all disappeared, except one built in 1858, by Mr. Blenkinsop, then in charge of the fort, about 40 x 30 feet. The buildings were pulled down and destroyed by the settlers on the farm. I found the servant of the man who settled there engaged in pulling down one of the buildings, and told him to desist, which he refused. I then complained to Major Lugenbeel,[92] the commander of the United States forces in garrison near there, who said to me: 'Never mind, McDonald, take no notice of it; it will not invalidate your claim to the place'."[93]

McDonald then gave a lengthy description of the lands at Colville claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company, with which we can not now concern ourselves. In answer to a question he stated that when he took charge of Colville there were from 100 to 150 head of cattle there, and that generally from two to three hundred

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92 "Four companies of the Ninth Infantry, under command of Major [Pinkney] Lougenbeel, arrived at the flat near Mill Creek, about three miles from the Colville River, on June 21, 1859, and the erection of log barracks for a four company post was at once commenced. This was completed late in the fall, and the American Boundary Commission under Captain Parke wintered there. The post was occupied until the troops were withdrawn in 1881; it was definitely abandoned in 1882. The old buildings were removed by settlers and are now scattered up and down the Colville Valley for twenty-five miles."—Footnote by W. S. Lewis, in *Wash. Hist Quart.*, VIII, 194. An American town which subsequently grew up in this community was at first called "Pinkneyville," and somewhat later "Pinkney City," in honor of Major Lougenbeel. This town became the county seat of Stevens County when that county was organized on January 20, 1863. Five years later an act of the Territorial Legislature, approved January 14, 1868, changed the name of Pinkney City to Fort Colville.—*Stat. of the Ter. of Wash.*, 1867-68, p. 148. In 1871 the people of Stevens County, bearing that the American troops at Colville were about to be withdrawn, petitioned the Congress, through the Territorial Legislature, to leave at Fort Colville the garrison which in that year consisted of one company of infantry. They claimed the presence of these troops was required to protect the settlers from Indian attacks.—*Wash. Ter. Laws.*, 1871, pp. 209-210. See also Edmnod S. Meany, *Origin of Washington Geographic Names*, p. 54.

93 *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], pp. 156-157.

head of horses were kept there; but he added that at this time (1865) there were few cattle there.

The chief grains raised at Colville, according to McDonald's testimony, were "wheat and oats, and some barley and peas, with a little Indian corn; but wheat was the staple grain. Hay was made of the natural grasses growing on marshy lands that were overflowed on the White Mud plains." With respect to prices at Colville, McDonald continued: "The average value of good wheat heretofore has been $2.50 per bushel at Colville, and the present price $3 per bushel. Hay in the cock, about $9 per ton, and sold at Fort Colvile at $25 per ton."

The mines which could be supplied from Colville, McDonald declared, were those on the Columbia, from Priests Rapids up to the head of the river; those on the Pend Oreille and Salmon Fork; the Kootenais; those of Rock Creek and American Creek; those of Similkameen and of Northern Idaho; and those of Thompson's River and Cariboo.[94]

Upon the arable lands at Colville and at White Mud McDonald placed a high value, the price being $40 an acre. Pasture land, save where hay was cut, he valued at $2 an acre, and the hay land at $5 an acre. The mill, together with its site, being the "best in the whole country," he valued at $20,000, and, as for the buildings at Colville and at White Mud, he expressed the opinion that, at the high prices then obtaining, it would cost from $70,000 to $120,000 to build them.[95]

On cross examination, McDonald stated: that the number of men kept at Colville varied from 10 to 30, "including about 20 Indians"; that the fur trade at Colville had about doubled since he took charge; that the trade which the post had with the miners was not the principal activity of the establishment. As for the grist mill, he declared that from twelve to fifteen hundred dollars would put it in good repair. Furthermore, he asserted that from 15 to 30 cattle were always kept at Colville, and that during the summer and working seasons from 150 to 250 horses were kept there; that the amount of land enclosed included two tracts, one of about 160 acres and one of about 5 or 6 acres, both cultivated.[96]

Direct examination being resumed, McDonald testified that there were at Colville from 1200 to 1600 acres of land worth $40 an acre, and at White Mud farm from 4,000 to 8,000 acres of

94 *Ibid.*, p. 159.
95 *Ibid.*, p. 160.
96 *Ibid.*, p. 164.

equal value, with perhaps 1400 acres, more or less, worth $5 an acre. He declined to estimate the number of acres of pasture land.[97]

Further information regarding prices at Colville in 1865 is available in the testimony of Thomas Flett,[98] a farmer living at that time in the Colville valley. At Victoria, on September 26, 1865, in answer to questions, he gave the following statements:

"I am acquainted with the prices paid [for labor]. Carpenters $10 a day; farm hands $60 to $70 a month; hewers and choppers $5 to $6 a day, and sometimes they could not be had at these prices."

"The price of wheat, when I left there, was $3 per bushel, hay in the stack generally $10 per ton, and at Colvile, Columbia River, from $20 to $35 per ton, and lumber on Colvile Flat $50 per M."[99]

Flett further declared that the land at Colville yielded, on an average, 15 bushels of wheat to the acre, and that the cost of raising this wheat and transporting it to market was about $15 an acre.[100]

On September 10, 1869, in the city of Washington, the commissioners appointed under the Treaty of 1863, John Rose for Great Britain and Alexander S. Johnson for the United States, made their award. In full settlement of its "possessory rights" mentioned in the treaties of 1846 and 1863 the sum of $450,000 was awarded to the Hudson's Bay Company, and to the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, in full settlement of its rights, was awarded the sum of $200,000. At the time of the first payment on these claims each of the aforementioned companies was to deed to the United States all of these properties. What sum was considered a fair price for the holdings at Colville is not set forth in the award.[101]

Fort Colville was vacated by the Hudson's Bay Company on June 8, 1871, when Angus McDonald moved all of the goods and property to Kamloops, B. C. Angus McDonald claimed the old

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97 *Ibid.*, p. 166.

98 Thomas Flett, at that time a farmer living in the Colville Valley, declared that he was a citizen of the United States, that he was born in Scotland, that he had spent eighteen years in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, and that he had left the Company in 1851. Concerning his experiences at Colville, he said: "Was at Colville from 1840 to 1851, then went to the Williamette Valley, where I remained until 1856; in that year returned to Colvile, took a claim 25 miles south of the fort, where I have since resided."—*Id.*, pp. 169-170.

99 *Ibid.*, p. 169

100 *Ibid.*, p. 170. For additional estimates of the value of the holdings of the Hudson's Bay Company at the several interior trading posts, as well as for some account of the abandonment of these posts, see Bancroft, *Hist. N. W. Coast*, II, 710-711.

101 *H. B. Co. vs. the U.S.: Opinions and Award of the Commissioners. . . Pronounced September* 10, 1869 (Montreal, 1869), p. 30.

trading post site as his home until 1873-74, and occasionally in later years returned to visit this spot. The spot on which the old fort was located is a part of what is now known as Donald Townsite. This consists of about twenty acres of the Northwest Quarter of Section 12, Township 36, Range 37. It is at the present time the property of Mrs. Harriett Munro of Kettle Falls.[102]

Today, nearly one hundred years after its founding, there is little to mark the site of this famous establishment. On the hill above, the old mission house has fallen in ruins; in the beautiful little "nick" below one unfamiliar with the region will look about him and wonder where the exact location of the fort may have been. The buildings in which many a traveler shared the hospitality of the McDonalds[103] and others in charge off Fort Colville; in which Governor Stevens and McClellan forgot their weariness in "powerful wine"; in which the families of Cushing Eells and Elkanah Walker, the American missionaries who had labored for nearly ten years at Tshimakain, were sheltered from Indian attacks—these have yielded to the ravages of time. Yet from the hill above one may gaze into this beautiful little valley and wonder not that Walker in 1838, and Sir George Simpson in 1841, were delighted with what opened up before their eyes. For the site of old Fort Colville, notwithstanding the encroachments of civilization, has retained much of its pristine beauty.

The Present Town of Colville

Although my article on "Old Fort Colville" was not intended to take into account the present town of Colville, Washington, the persistence of the name Colville makes it appear fitting that some mention should be made of the founding of the present county seat of Stevens county. Moreover, the discovery in recent weeks of the publishers' file of *The North-West Tribune*, one of the early newspapers of the Spokane country, has brought to my attention some matters relative to the founding of Colville that I have never elsewhere encountered.

I have already briefly related the story of the establishment

102 For the information contained in this paragraph I am indebted to W. S. Lewis, J. A. Meyers and Chester R. Wiley, assessor of Stevens County. In the issue of the *Spokan Times* for October 30, 1880, under "News From Colville," I have discovered the following sentence: "Agnes [Angus] McDonald, an old pioneer and former Hudson Bay trader here, returned to his old stamping ground from Montana, and still thinks 'there is no place like home'."

103 For an interesting description of life at Fort Colville in the summer of 1806, written by a woman, see Leighton, *Life at Puget Sound*. . . . . (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1884), pp. 71 *et seq.*

of Pinkney City, a trading post adjoining the American army post in the Colville country. In 1868 the Legislative Assembly of Washington changed the name of this town to Fort Colville to avoid confusion arising from the fact that the post office in the Colville valley was called Fort Colville, whereas the name of the county seat was Pinkney City.[104] It has been stated by some writers that the present town of Coville grew up on the site of Pinkney City or Fort Colville. This is a mistake. The present town of Colville is located three miles distant from the site of Pinkney City.[105]

Colville was laid out and promoted by a group of men of whom W. F. Hooker and J. W. Still, real estate dealers of Cheney, appeared to be the leaders. The name first given to the site was Belmont, in honor of August Belmont. This name appeared on the first map of the townsite, although Colville was substituted therefor before the plat was filed for record by J. W. Still on May 20, 1883. The streets and alleys had been dedicated to public use by Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Hooker on February 28, 1883. The land for the townsite was taken from farms owned by John U. Hofstetter and John Wynne.[106]

The following communication, to which was signed the name "Observer," appeared in *The North-West Tribune* of August 1, 1884:

"In noting the improvements of Washington Territory Colville, the county seat of Stevens county, deserves notice. It was laid out in January, 1883, by J. W. Still, while the snow was yet a foot deep on the ground, and the same energy and vigor displayed then seems to have characterized its growth and progress ever since. Considering the age of the town, and the fact that it is far away from the railroad, I have seen nothing equal it. Ho [f] stetter's store and hall, a large and elegantly furnished building, has been built at a cost of $6,000, as also Montgomery's store (two story) costing $3,500.[107] Within this short time 13 business houses have been put up on a paying basis and everybody appears busy and happy . . . . Lots are constantly increasing in value in town."

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104 N. W. Durham, *Spokane and the Inland Empire*, 1, 273.

105 *Ibid.*, p. 267.

106 *An Illustrated History of Stevens, Ferry ,Okanogan and Chelan Counties* (Western Historical Publishing Company, 1904), 89, 127, 129; *The North-West Tribune*, February 2, 1883; letter of Dorothy Dexter, auditor of Stevens county, to the writer, February 26, 1925.

107 C. H. Montgomery was the first man to move his goods from Pinkney City to Colville. This was in 1882.—*An Illustrated History of Stevens, Ferry, Okanogan and Chelan Counties*, p. 129. Apparently he moved his goods before the townsite of Colville was surveyed.

In *The North-West Tribune* of February 2, 1883, appeared a communication signed by "Traveler." From this the following paragraphs have been copied:

"Belmont, the future county seat of Stevens county, is located upon a beautiful incline, the view from which is grand. From springs elevated more than 60 feet flows down through the town sufficient water to run extensive machinery. At the southern line of the townsite is already a well constructed lime kiln with an inexhaustible supply of lime stone. Five miles distant from town is a vast ledge of marble.

"This town was named in honor of August Belmont; building commenced, lumber being hauled on the ground before the survey was completed. The famous Hofstetter brewery is located here."[108]

On March 16, 1883, there appeared in *The North-West Tribune*, over the name of W. F. Hooker, secretary of the Colville townsite company, the following statement:

"The map of Colville, which was published as Belmont, is now on exhibition at the real estate office of J. W. Still,[109] where all persons who desire to purchase choice lots are cordially invited to call and make selections and prices.

"As old Fort Colville[110] has been abandoned, it was deemed expedient to retain the old familiar name, and carry with it the good will and prestige of the county seat of Stevens county. In doing so we are in perfect accord with the citizens of that section and officers of the county, and will together bend our energies to settle up and beautify that already lovely vale, where thousands can find fertile and pleasant homes.

"We are prepared to introduce and locate settlers on fine lands. Four townships are already surveyed and contract let for the survey of thirty more this season, which will not conflict with the rights of settlers.

"Our town site company consists of James Monaghan, J. C. Davenport, John Hofsttetter, John W. Still and W. F. Hooker. Maps and deeds are all on record in Stevens county."

The Legislative Assembly of Washington, in an act approved on November 28, 1883, declared that the county seat of Stevens county, "now located at Colville, shall be temporarily located at the new town of Colville in said county, until the next general

108 This brewery, according to the history cited above, was built in the year 1874 by John U. Hofstetter. It was the first building erected on the site of the present town of Colville.

109 That is, in the town of Cheney.

110 Reference is here made to the American Fort Colville which was abandoned in 1882.

election, when the qualified electors of the said county of Stevens shall vote, under the regulations of the election law, for the election of county officers [and] for a permanent location of the county seat of said county. The place having a majority of all the legal votes cast shall be declared to be the permanent county seat of said county of Stevens."[111]

This act also required the county commissioners to remove all of the county records to the new town of Colville on or before the first Monday in January, 1884, and to provide in this town by lease suitable buildings for county purposes.[112]

I have made no effort to gather information relative to the election in Stevens county in 1884, but from the following article it appears that the fight for the permanent location of the county seat in that county caused a commotion somewhat like that which characterized similar electioins in nearly all of the counties of Eastern Washington during the eighties:

"Colville won the county seat of Stevens county at the late electioin by eight votes. There is talk of a contest."[113]

Mining activities gave to the new town of Colville a remarkable impetus, so that as early as the autumn of 1885 we find it in the midst of a "boom." This is indicated by the following letters written to the editor of *The North-West Tribune* by George Nichols Watson "after a pleasant sojourn of six monthts in the noted Colville valley:"

"As a matter of course, good prospects in the mines give a great impetus to the growth of Colville and the day is not far distant when that hitherto quiet hamlet will be teeming with a busy, restless population, attracted not only by the mines, but by the good quality of the soil, by the almost exhaustless timber, by the mild climate, the great bunch grass ranges. . . . Twenty-nine miles from Colville is the 'Little Dalles' which has been the shipping point for all freight destined for the Canadian Pacific. More than a thousand tons of wheat have been forwarded this season."[114]

Three weeks later Mr. Watson wrote the following description of Colville:

"There are at the present time eleven buildings in course of erectioin in the town of Colville.

"The streets are thronged with newcomers.

111 *Session Laws of* 1883, p. 411.
112 For an account of the removal of the records see the history cited above in Note 106.
113 *The North-West Tribune*, December 5, 1884.
114 Issue of October 8, 1885.

"Two saw mills are running in sight of town, and many cannot build for want of lumber.

"There are three stores, three saloons, two blacksmith shops, one gunsmith shop, one brewery, three feed stables, two butcher shops, two restaurants, a barber shop, printing office, at the present time, and more branches of business will be represented as soon as parties can build. . . . .

"The ore in the Old Dominion proves richer as they go down."[115]

J. ORIN OLIPHANT.

115 *The North-West Tribune*, October 29, 1885.

INFORMATION CONCERNING THE ESTABISHMENT OF FORT COLVILE*

The Hudson's Bay Company's Trading Post at Kettle Falls, Washington, was named Fort Colvile presumably in honour of Mr. Andrew Colvile, who was a member of the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company at the time the Post was established.

Its beginning are indicated in the letter from Governor George Simpson dated at Columbia Forks Spokane River encampment, 10th April, 1835, and addressed to Mr. John McLoughlin, Chief Factor, who was then in charge of the Columbia District. The instructions of Mr. George Simpson were:—

"A most serious expense and inconvenience is annually incurred Spring and Fall in transporting the Spokane Outfit and Returns between the Forks and Establishment which would be avoided by removing the Post to the Kettle Falls, this is a more desirable situation in regard to Farming, Fish, provisions generally as also in respect to Trade, and many other points of view, we have therefore determined that the Establishment shall be removed after the arrival of the Brigade and Mr. Work should be instructed to proceed thither direct with his Outfit and to send an Express to Mr. Birnie from Walla Walla apprising him of his arrival in order that everything may be in readiness to commence transporting the property across without delay; indeed I think Mr. Work himself should proceed by land from Walla Walla leaving the Brigade under the charge of Mr. Dears or of Mr. McLeod if you approve of an arrangement I mean to suggest in regard to him.—The six men from your Establishment who assist in working up the craft and wait the arrival of the Express Canoe should be directed to employ themselves in transporting Building etc., together with Cartier and St. Martin and any other retiring Servants that may be coming out, until it is time for them to be at the mountain to meet the York Factory people about the 20th, October.—We mean to line out the Fort en passent and Mr. Birnie is directed to send two men immediately across to plant 5 or 6 kegs of Potatoes."

In a letter to Mr. John Work at Spokane House dated at Columbia Lake 16th April, 1825, Governor Simpson writes:—

"The Dr. will no doubt have informed you of the reasons that induced me to alter your destination for this season and I trust

*This information was secured by Mr. Lewis principally through the courtesy of Richard Benson, Acting Secretary of the Canadian Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, in the executive office of the company, 208 Main Street, Winnipeg.—Editor.

the chance will be agreeable to you.—I have lined out the site of the new Establishment at the Kettle Falls (to be named Fort Colvile) and wish you to commence building and transporting the property from Spokane as early as possible.—you will be so good as to take care of them the produce to be reserved for seed *not ate* as next spring I expect that from 30 to 40 Bushels will be planted.—Pray let every possible exertion be used to lay up an abundant stock of Fish and other provisions country produces as no imported provisions can in future be forwarded from the coast.

"The Spokans will not be pleased at the removal of the Fort, you must secure the Chiefs with a few presents besides fair words.—

"Do me the favor to collect all the seeds, Plants, Birds and Quadrupeds you can (even mice and Rats) and let them be forwarded by the Ship of next season to Micholas Garry Esqr. care of Williams Smith Esqr., Secretary H. B. Coy, London."

Although Governor Simpson addresses John Work in regard to the removal of the Post from Spokane to Kettle Falls, the latter is not to be in command at Fort Colvile, the charge of this establishment being actually given to Chief Trader John Warren Dease, as will be seen from the following extract of letter to Chief Factor John McLoughlin from Governor Simpson dated York Factory 11th July, 1825:—

"Mr. Black is intended to relieve Mr. Dease at Fort Nez Perces and he will assume the immediate charge of that Establishment accordingly; Mr. Dease remaining there for a few weeks to make that gentleman thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the Trade and to furnish him with every information respecting the Post that may be considered useful.—Mr. Dease will afterwards proceed to Fort Colvile and assume the charge of that establishment where Mr. Birnie will in the mean time remain while Mr. Work goes to the Flat Head Post and Mr. Dears to the Coutonai Post."

The Summer Establishment of Fort Colvile was to consist of Chief Trader Dease and four men.

As evidence of Governor Simpson's impression of Fort Colvile as a Farming centre the following further remarks from the last mentioned letter will be of interest:—

"Fort Colvile is well adapted for a Farming Establishment and from what I have already seen of Mr. Dease's neatness of arrangement in that way I entertain confident hopes that under his management it will become a very important auxiliary to us

in the way of living.—Indian Corn, Pease, Wheat and Barley I am satisfied would thrive there, Potatoes in any quantity may be raised and the country is so well adapted for the rearing of Hogs that I expect he will very soon be able to furnish any quantity of Pork we may require."

It would seem that some doubt existed in the mind of Mr. McLoughlin as to the possibility of moving the Post from Spokane to Kettle Falls in the year 1825, for in writing to Mr. John Work he states, that, while it is to be hoped that the removal has begun, yet he, Mr. Work, will have to be guided by his own judgment and the circumstances in which he is placed as to whether he can remove to Kettle Falls in the Autumn. Mr. Work must have informed John McLoughlin as to his inability to carry out the desired removal, for in September the latter writes:—

"Since you find it impossible to move the Spokane establishment this season to the Kettle Falls you will take the necessary measures to do it next Spring before the Brigade comes down. I was not aware the spot selected was on the south side of the Columbia. You will raise no buildings on it till the Express comes in, and I hope by that time it will be known whether we ought to build on the north or south side."

Eventually the property from Spokane was removed to Kettle Falls in the period 7th March and 22nd March, 1826, and in the letter dated Athabasca Portage 16th October, 1826, Mr. John Warren Dease writes:—

"Since I had the honor of addressing you last Spring, nothing of any particular moment has occured worthy of notice, the day after Mr. McLeod left me I took my departure for the Kettle Falls to which I had three Trips made before we got up the property, it took us twelve days. I without delay sett all hands about erecting a store for the security of our Goods etc., which was fortunately effected before my Men left me for to join the Brigade going down.

With regard to our Agricultural pursuits our Seeds of different kinds were sown in good time in fact as early as the Season would admit of, every thing came up well with the exceptioin of Indian Corn and Wheat, the latter was damaged on the way in, and the former had not come to maturity of course neither fit for seed, our Barley which was stored before I came off yielded 14 for one, 24 bushels of Potatoes were planted and were thriving well, but unfortunately a kind of ground mice got among them and had destroyed more than half before I came off for this place,

other vegetables such as cabbage, turnips, etc., I can not complain of, the Cattle brought from Vancouver were safe when I came off and thriving well the pasture about being excellent. With respect to our Summer I can not complain, I was visited by the lower Kootonais who brought me some Furs, and seem highly pleased at having a Fort to which they can resort to do trade. The Indians of the Lake brought in tolerable hunts and I expect will do well when Traps become more common among them, in the Fur way the Flat head and Kootonay trade stand much as last year, but not near so good in provisions, which I have every reason to regret as Salmon is scarce all over which is attributed to the height of the Waters."

In the July 1827, writing to John Warren Dease, Governor Simpson says:—

"We are glad to learn that Fort Colvile promises to become such a useful Post, both in point of returns and provisions, and we are satisfied that it would be highly advantageous to its interests that you passed another year or two there."

He continues:—

"We regret that you have not gone on with the Buildings and improvements at Fort Colvile, and beg that they may be continued . . . . . there is no probability of a boundary line being determined for many years, in the meantime the article in the Treaty of Ghent which provides that the country shall be left open to the subjects of both nations, is what we mean to regulate ourselves by."

Mr. John Warren Dease made a report of Colvile District in April 1827, from which the following extracts may be of interest:—

"*Limits of the Department.* The roving mode of life the natives of this district lead renders it impossible to define exacttly their limits, however, to give a tolerable idea of it, they Hunt or go about from the Saint Poilish river which is a small distance below Spokane River where it empties into the Columbia to the Rocky Mountain and from thence Eastward to the Piegan Lands on the Missisourie Southward as far as Henry's Forks in the Snake Country, the Columbia below this joining a kind of Boundary line between the Indians hereabouts and those of Okinagan.

"*Nature of the Country, Soil and Vegetable Productions.* The nature of the Country is generally speaking Woody, however, here and there fine Plains along the little Rivers in low grounds fine Meadowland. The Timber is of different kinds, white and red Pine, Cedar, Larch, Birch, Soft Maple, etc., etc., some of which grow to a very large size. The soil in many parts fit for cultivation. Nutrituve roots and fruits of different kinds grow Spontaneous. Considerable Mountains and High Hills line the Columbia and Flat Head Rivers. The animals hunted for Food are Deer of different species, Mountain Goat, and Buffaloe.

"*Means of Subsistence.* Fish, Deers, Meat, Roots, Berries and in case of Starvation Moss.

"*Number of Indians.* The Columbia Lake Indians 34. Kettle Fall Indians 54. Grand Rapid Indians 62, Saint Poils 91. These 4 tribes inhabit the country from above Columbia Lakes to Saint Poil River below what is called Spokan Forks. The Spokan Indians separated into 3 more tribes amounting to 222 men inhabit the country along the river of that name. The Pendant Doreilles Lands are at a Bay of that name and along Flat Head River, they may be in number 250 men. The Flat Heads, another Tribe of about 150 claim the lands about Bitter Root River and hunt between that and the Snake Country as far as Henry's Forks. All these tribes are part of one nation the rest of them are about Okinagan. The Kootonais Nation are divided in two tribes called Kootonais and Flat Bows. Their Hunting Grounds are McGillivrays River to the Peigen Lands. Gaur Dalenes another Nation divided into several Tribes in number about 150 men Hunt back of Spokan.

"The Kootonais whose numbers I forgot to mention may be 150. So that the three nations who occasionally visit our District Establishments may amount to about 1200 men."

Within three years of its establishment, the control of Fort Colvile seems to have passed to John Work, as, in April 1829 he wrote a report, in answer to questions submitted by Governor Simpson, dealing with various points of natural history, climate, surroundings, habits and customs of the native, etc. Therein he gives the number of the Indians in the district thus:—

			Children	
	Men	Women	Boys	Girls
Lake Indians	34	38	25	41
Kettle Falls Indians	96	110	61	74
Sinapoilish Indians	91	77	24	26
Spokans Indians	222	241	111	130
Coeur d'Alens Indians	157	112	60	75
Pendant d'Oreilles	203	248	207	185
Kootenais Indians	182	215	118	115
Flat Heads Indians	150	180	164	169
Nez Perces Indians	440	495	255	260
	1575	1716	1025	1076
Total				5391

WILLIAM S. LEWIS.

LETTER FROM ANGUS MacDONALD*

Colvile, 4th June '70.

Confidential

My dear McKenzie

I have your note by Joe[1] from Lytton and that other one you left here for me. I scarcely find words.....

The Company say that terms will be made with the Gentlemen of the West[2] and that they are forthcoming. Perhaps I'll take no decided step till they come. Meanwhile.....or say Kamloops.

Vast emigrations are in view from the East and the West will grow and land will be valuable. And a home is always so. My intentions are to get what I can for my improvements here. See Duncan[3] fixd at the Flat-Head Post and if you join your fate with mine North or somewhere I'll do everything in my power to help you and make you happy.

Mr. Finlayson is well disposed to you. I made suggestions to him in your behalf

Two horses were brought here by Joe. to blacks. he says he left the sorel of Peon[4] dying in the Colvile Mountain.

Poor Allard[5] is dismissed. a total drunkard and raving mad with delerium tremens. If you want charge of Shepherd[6] you can go and wait to close it up whilst looking for something else I

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*Angus MacDonald was Chief Trader at Fort Colville (originally spelled Colville) and this letter was to his son-in-law, James McKenzie, a former Hudson's Bay Company clerk at the same fort. The letter and notes are furnished by William S. Lewis.—Editor.

1 Joe LaFleur: he accompanied Mr. and Mrs. McKenzie on their journey with the H. B. Co's. records from fort Colville. See Reminiscences of Christina MacDonald McKenzie Williams, Washington Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIII, page 114.

2 In July 1863, through a reorganization, a new Hudson's Bay Company took over by deed of transfer the assets of the old company theretofore existing. On 10th September, 1869, by final award under the treaty of 1846 the new Company was given by the American Government $450,000 in its own name, and $200,000 to its affiliated company, the Puget Sound Agricultural Association. *Treaties and Conventions*, 1776-1887, pages 469-470.

The "trade partners," or commissioned officers, i. e., Chief Traders and Chief Factors, were in 1871 paid by the new company £107,055 (or $520,287.00) or a third of the amount received by the Company from the Canadian Government for the surrender on November 19, 1869, of the land and territories embraced within "Rupert's Land," but these trade partners or Chief Traders and Chief Factors were excluded from any participation in the American Award. Malcolm McLeod, son of John McLeod—one of the signers of the deed poll of 1821 and one of the early company officers in the Columbia River District—made an unsuccessful attempt in the Courts of Canada to recover the share claimed by these officers in the American Award. *Malcolm McLeod's Brief* on the claims of the late Chief Factors and Chief Traders against the Hudson's Bay Company. These matters are what the writer refers to.

3 Angus McDonald's son.

4 Baptiste or William Peone, employee of the company, who settled at Peone Prairie, Spokane County. McKenzie did not take company horses on the trip.

5 Jason Allard. Allard afterwards recovered and reformed, and removed to British Columbia, where he died about two years ago near Ft. Langley.

6 The H. B. Co. post on the Columbia, just north of the international boundary line.

will simplyfy the accounts and only keep Donald[7] we close with this winter the whole District.[8]

I enclose a note for Christina[9] and if you give her a kiss on the two cheeks and on the mouth for us three I will remain what I am

A. M. Donald.

Mr. James McKenzie.

7 Angus McDonald's son.

8 The closing of the Hudson's Bay Company's business in the American side of the boundary, established by the treaty of 1846. See hereon Reminiscences of Christina Mac Donald, McKenzie Williams, *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, pages 107-117.

9 His daughter, Mrs. McKenzie: *Washington Historical Quarterly, Supra.*

VANCOUVER'S CENTENNIAL

Preparations are under way for an appropriate celebration of Vancouver's centennial birth-year. The whole State of Washington should be interested as Vancouver is the oldest continuous home of white men in the State. The Spaniards at Neah Bay and the Astorians at Okanogan and Spokane began earlier settlements. Those were later abandoned while the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Vancouver persisted and was later merged with the American village by its side, continuing from March, 1825, to the present time as an important home of white men.

One of the choicest records of Vancouver's first year has been saved for us by David Douglas, a young Scotch botanist. As a protege of Sir W. J. Hooker, he was sent on an exploring trip to the Pacific Northwest by the Royal Horticultural Society of London. His success was remarkable. Many still call our greatest lumber tree the "Douglas fir." He was an enthusiastic collector of flowers and plants. The Indians called him "Grass Man." For a long time we had access to only a fragment of his journal published by T. Somerville in *Overland Monthly* for August, 1871. In 1914, the Royal Horticultural Society published the volume called *Journal Kept by David Douglas During His Travels in North America 1823-1827*. In that volume may be found references to his kind treatment by Dr. John McLoughlin and on page 107 is the following entry:

"My residence is on the north bank of the river twelve miles below Point Vancouver (90 from the ocean), the spot where the officers of his squadron discontinued their survey of the river. The place is called Fort Vancouver. In the river opposite my hut lies Menzies Island, so named by Mr. Broughton in honour of Archibald Menzies, Esq., then his companion on the famous expedition. On my arrival a tent was kinly offered, having no houses yet built, which I occupied for some weeks; a lodge of deerskin was then made for me which soon became too small by the augmenting of my collection and being ill adapted for drying my plants and seeds. I am now (August 16) [1825] in a hut made of bark of *Thuya occidentalis* [cedar] which most likely will be my winter lodging. I have been only three nights in a house since my arrival, the three first on shore. On my journeys I have a tent where it can be carried, which rarely can be done;

sometimes I sleep in one, sometimes under a canoe, turned upside down, but most commonly under the shade of a pine tree without anything. In England people shudder at the idea of sleeping with a window open; here, each individual takes his blanket and with all the complacency of mind that can be imagined throws himself on the sand or under a bush just as if he was going to bed. I confess, at first, although I always stood it well and never felt any bad effects from it, it was looked on by me with a sort of dread. Now I am well accustomed to it, so much so that comfort seems superfluity."

As preparations for the centennial celebration proceed, many early records will be searched such as the diaries of missionaries from 1834 to 1844, the journals of pioneers in manuscript or published form and such reports as that of the Wilkes Expedition of 1841.

While Vancouver is a city of Washington much help toward making a success of the proposed celebration will come from Oregon. The Columbia River boundary does not hinder a large and growing interchange of social and business activities. One of the greatest sources of help will be the Portland *Oregonian,* one of America's greatest newspapers from the standpoint of constant and effective attention to matters of historical value. On March 15, that paper cordially announced Vancouver's proposed ceremonies of ground-breaking for the coming celebration. The announcement with illustrations covered a full page. In the same issue, the leading editorial, a column in length, gave the reasons for, and the purpose of the celebration. The opening paragraph of that editorial is as follows:

"The formal dedication of old Fort Vancouver, on the north bank of the Columbia River, near Portland, which occurred just one hundred years ago this week, was an event of primary significance in Oregon history. As is not uncommon with incidents which subsequently prove to be of moment, it appears that the founders of Vancouver were hardly aware of the importance of what they were doing. So little effort was made to clothe the affair with the trappings of historical consequence that until recently there has been doubt concerning the precise date of the formal beginning. The agents of the Hudson's Bay Company in that time were fur-traders, not annalists. Choosing of the site which for nearly two decades was actually if not technically the capital of the Oregon Country and the building of a half military,

half mercantile establishment was all in the day's work. It was destined nevertheless to influence the destiny of a region six times as large as England, half again as large as post-war Germany."

In addition to the willing and effective help from the *Oregonian,* Vancouver will undoubtedly receive assistance from distinguished individuals in Oregon who hold in high esteem the history of the whole original Oregon Country. These include such students and writers as the venerable and loved George H. Himes, Curator of the Oregon Historical Society; Professor F. G. Young, of the University of Oregon; Frederick V. Holman, author of *Dr. John McLoughlin, the Father of Oregon;* Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, author of *McLoughlin and Old Oregon, McDonald of Oregon, The Conquest* and other works; Judge Charles H. Carey, author of the recent and valuable *History of Oregon;* and others with full information and willing spirit. Vancouver has in her own midst a number of men who have given much study to the history of the region. Prominent among these is Mr. Glenn Ranck, author of several works on the subject.

From the outset, the enterprise has an international flavor on account of the interest retained by Canada and England in the work of the old Hudson's Bay Company men. At the groundbreaking ceremony on March 19, one of the most prominent participants was Mr. Charles H. French, Supervisor of the Fur Trade of the Hudson's Bay Company in British Columbia, a position similar to that held by Dr. John McLoughlin from 1824 to 1846. Mr. French turned the first shovelful of earth at the ceremony. He was followed in turn by Mayor Allen of Vancouver, Washington; Mayor Pendray, of Victoria, B.C.; Mayor Taylor, of Vancouver, B.C.; Mayor Setters, of Astoria; and Mayor Gibbs of Longview.

Another evidence of this wide interest was a telegram received by Clement Scott, Chairman of the Centennial Banquet Committe, from Robert N. Kindersley, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, London, England, as follows:

"I profoundly regret that ill health prevents the fulfillment of my promise of 1920 and precludes acceptance of the invitation to me as Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company to be present at the banquet tonight, but I wish to assure you that all connected with the Hudson's Bay Company feel an intimate interest in the centennial celebration of Fort Vancouver, which a

century ago was established as headquarters of the company's western fur trade department."

The ground-breaking ceremony was the preliminary step in the plan to reconstruct Fort Vancouver as it was in the time of its supremacy in the Oregon Country. The stockade, 700 by 300 feet will be reconstructed on its original site with logs set on end. Twenty-three buildings, like the original ones, will be constructed within the stockade. Here will be assembled relics and exhibits of all sorts. The *Oregonian's* announcement says:

"The old Oregon trail will extend from the Fifth Street entrance of the military reservation to the Columbia River, winding between lines of stately shade trees. One side of the trail will be devoted to displays of diversified products of national repute, the other will be given over to amusements. At one end will be the Hudson's Bay fort and at the other end, an Indian village. In addition to the fort stockade, the entire tract, about 20 acres, will be enclosed by a stockade built of logs set on end. An impressive pageant has been outlined. Its personnel includes 200 persons, who will be garbed in frontier costumes."

The celebration will be held from July 4 to August 4, 1925. The Committee having it in charge consists of the following: State Senator J. W. Shaw, President; W. Foster Hidden, capitalist, Vice President; Leonard Clarke, local Manager of the Puget Sound Power & Light Company, Secretary; J. S. G. Langsdorf, cashier of the United States Bank, Treasurer; William Paul, Chairman of the Executive Board; Dr. A. C. Wagner, Secretary of the Executive Board; Glenn Ranck; W. S. Cohen, Deputy County Assessor; N. Blythe, newspaper men; John Wilkinson, attorney; Lewis Shattuck, automobile dealer; O. Jorgen Olson, President of the American Security Bank; Judge George B. Simpson, Dr. A. B. Eastman, Postmaster; and E. M. Blurock, President of the United States National Bank.

During the progress of the celebration there should be discovered a number of valuable records bearing on the early history of the Pacific Northwest.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

CAPTAIN SIMON METCALFE AND THE BRIG "ELEANORA."*

In the various attempts to piece together something of the life-stories of those whose names are so frequently mentioned in the records of the early days of the maritime fur trade, no attention appears to have been given to this interesting man and his vessel. These few notes covering a part of the years 1789-1794 are offered as a contribution to a connected and detailed investigation of his operations.

In October, 1795 John Boit, the master of the sloop *Union,* met the celebrated John Young at Kawaihae, from whom he learned many things concerning the ships and the men engaged in the maritime fur trade. If he correctly understood and correctly reported that information it may hereafter be found that Simon Metcalfe in the brig *Eleanora* was not only among the first of the United States traders on the Northwest Coast of America, but also the first—the pioneer. In his "Remarks on the Voyage of the Sloop *Union,*"[1] Boit writes: "It appeared that Captain Metcalf had purchased this small vessel [the *Fair American*] at Macao *after his arrival at that port in the Elenora from the N W Coast* and did there fit her with the Snow for the Coast again and gave the command of her to his eldest son". Plainly this refers to the year 1788 and shows that Metcalfe had been trading on the American coast in the season of 1788, thus preceding the *Columbia* and the *Washington* which did not arrive until September, 1788.

The *Eleanora* and the *Fair American* on the 5th June, 1789, sailed in company from Macao. Off the Japanese coast they were separated in a storm and made their way thereafter by different routes towards Nootka. Somewhere in Alaskan waters, or off the Queen Charlotte Islands, the *Washington,* then in command of Captain Kendrick, met the *Eleanora* probably in the month of September, and later also encountered the *Fair American.* About the middle of October as Martinez, the Spanish commander at Nootka, was preparing to return to San Blas a schooner was seen

*Judge F. W. Howay, of New Westminster, B. C., submitted the main portion of this article to a recent meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Association.—Editor.

1 These "Remarks" will shortly be published with notes by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

approaching the sound. It was the *Fair American.* After she had anchored a few miles from Friendly Cove Martinez invited her captain to bring her to that place. Upon her arrival he seized her for illegal entry into a Spanish port.[2] On 31st October, after Martinez had set sail for San Blas in company with the captured schooner, he sighted a brig bound for Nootka. At a distance of two leagues he raised the Spanish flag and fired a shot. He maneuvered to get with speaking distance but the stranger succeeded in preventing him. Martinez says: "She raised the American flag and acknowledged ours, and hauled the wind so that she could make toward the coast. The captain of the American schooner recognized her as his father's ship, but the latter was doubtless afraid that I would make him prisoner."[3]

It is stated by Manning that both the *Eleanora* and the *Fair American* were seized by the Spaniards,[4] but it is doubtful if such be the fact. At any rate, if the *Eleanora* were seized it is certain that Martinez was not the culprit. His list, according to his own Diary, contains only the four vessels belonging to Meares and the *Fair American.*

Probably the better view is that the *Eleanora* was never seized by the Spaniards, for Vancouver states (vol. 3, p. 227, 1801 ed.) that "the Eleanor came on in the autumn of that year (1789) to the Sandwich (Hawaiian) islands, and remained principally about Owhyee (Hawaii) during the winter."

Further in a letter from Revila-Gigedo to Valdez dated 27th December, 1789, he states that Martinez seized the schooner ("goleta") and being uncertain how to act had brought her to San Blas for the Governor's decision. He goes on to say that, considering that the Americans had not interfered with the Spanish settlements, that their entry into the fur trade had created no embarrassment for Spain, that they were acting in good faith, and that the expense of keeping the crew as prisoners would be considerable, he had resolved to release the little vessel and allow her to proceed. But he does not mention any capture of the *Eleanora;* on the contrary he merely says that Martinez sighted her ("un vergantin") and attempted to intercept her but was unsuccessful and that she disappeared ("y se perdio de vista").[5] It seems safe,

2 Martinez' manuscript Diary, under dates 13-17th October, 1789.

3 Martinez' manuscript Diary, under dates, 13-17th October 1789.

4 The Nootka Sound Controversy, by William R. Manning, p. 342; see to the same effect, History of Oregon, by Robert Greenhow, London 1844, p. 224.

5 This letter is in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, under the reference 90-3-19. No. 158; copy in my library.

therefore, to say that the *Eleanora* was not captured. Further research may show how, when, and where the two vessels met, if at all, before they both arrived at Hawaii.

Apparently, immediately after her release the *Fair American* sailed for the Hawaiian Islands and spent some time there before she met disaster.

In March, 1790 the *Eleanora* under Simon Metcalfe was at Kealakekua Bay in the Hawaiian Islands.[6] The boatswain, John Young, afterwards so well-known in the story of those islands, went ashore to visit some Americans residing there; he failed to return, and in the archives of Hawaii is still preserved the letter that Simon Metcalfe wrote to those residents threatening reprisals if his officer were not at once sent on board. A copy of that letter, with a fac-simile reproduction, will be found in the Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society.[6] At the same time the *Fair American*, under his son Thomas Humphrey Metcalfe, was at anchor near Kawaihae. It is stated that the two vessels had appointed, when on the Northwest Coast, a rendezvous in that vicinity. At this time, however, the *Eleanora* was probably unaware of the proximity of the other. The gruesome incidents of the visit—the Olawalu massacre and the capture of the *Fair American*—are familiar to all readers of Vancouver's Voyage (1801 ed. vol. 3, pp. 228-234; vol. 5, p. 54 *et seq.*); but as Ingraham in his manuscript journal gives the first account of these sad events I quote:

"It seemed this was not the only calamity which befell Captain Metcalf at these islands, for not long before this schooner was captured, his long boat was stolen from the stern of his vessel at the Island of Mowee (Maui). The man stationed in her, to watch her, being asleep, the natives towed the boat to shore, and murdered this poor fellow in cold blood, while on his knees in tears he was supplicating for mercy, and these unfeeling wretches often told with exulting pleasure how this unhappy man behaved before they took his life, saying the man who killed him was a great warrior. After this circumstance they had the impudence to bring off the boat's keel and the man's bones for sale, which they were by the account received from the natives themselves, 200 men fell, yet it seems that many innocent fell with the guilty, and the chief who murdered the man was on shore and escaped".

6 Hawaiian Historical Society's Reports 1913, p. 28. 1916, p. 58; Ingraham's manuscript Log of the Brig *Hope*, under date, 26th May, 1791; Hawaiian Historical Society Reprints, No. 4, p. 16 *et seq.*

Ingraham records also the story of the capture of the *Fair American*, as follows:

"A small schooner named the Fair American was taken by the natives of Owhyhee (Hawaii). This schooner was tender to the Eleanora, Captain Metcalf, of New York, and commanded by his son, whom the natives killed with 3 seamen. One they threw overboard, but after beating and bruising him in a most shocking manner, they took him into one of the canoes and lashed him in with his face downwards, where Ridler found him, and interceded to save his life, in which he succeeded. When the schooner was taken the Eleanora was in Karakooa (Kealakekua) Bay taking in sandalwood. This, it seems, was known by his son, as the natives had informed him. The seamen of the Fair American, conceiving their situation dangerous, urged this unfortunate young man not to remain in Toyahyah (Kawaihae) but to go to Karakakooa (Kealakekua), where they would be under the protection of the brig and could there supply themselves with everything they were in want of; but unhappily for himself and those under his command he seemed infatuated and turned a deaf ear to this advice.

"One of the chiefs coming aft with a feathered cap presented it to Captain Metcalf, (i. e., the young Metcalf, the captain of the *Fair American*), at the same time desired he might fit it on his head. In doing which, finding him off his guard, he (the chief) clasped him round and threw him overboard. At the same instant everyone on board was seized and overpowered by numbers. After being thrown into the sea those in the canoes, in the most cruel manner, beat and bruised with their paddles, etc., till they put a period to their existence".[6]

After the loss of the schooner and her crew Simon Metcalfe, Ingraham tells us, sailed away[7]; but whither we do not know. The *Eleanora* simply goes into eclipse. One might surmise that as the two vessels had only reached the Northwest Coast late in the season of 1789 and as one of them had been seized the work of that year must have been somewhat of a failure, and that, in consequence, Metcalfe may have spent the summer of 1790 in obtaining a cargo of sea-oter skins. Unfortunately, 1790 is a blank year; up to the present no record of the activities of that year has been discovered. All that we know is that in November, 1790, a Danish ship which had been dismasted in a typhoon, was pur-

7 Ingraham's Log of the *Hope*, May 26, 1791; Hawaiian Historical Society Reprints, No. 4, p. 17.

chased at Wampoa by "Capt. Medcalf to be sent to New York".[8] Presumably this was Captain Simon Metcalfe. Between March and November there would be sufficient time to sail from the Hawaiian Islands to the Northwest Coast, spend three months in trading, and return to China. It is possible that Metcalfe may have been on the coast again in 1791; but that is scarcely probable, as neither Bartlett nor Ingraham mentions his being in the trade during that year.

So far as available records extend the *Eleanora* does not emerge from the umbra until January, 1792. Bartlett's manuscript journal shows that, on 16th January, 1792, he shipped as gunner on the *Eleanora* Captain Simon Metcalfe commander, bound for the Isle of France (Mauritius) with a cargo of 2,500 chests of tea. Arriving there in March the brig, after discharging her lading, was thoroughly repaired and strengthened—new beams being placed in her, fore and aft. Captain Metcalfe then, with a view to another voyage to the Northwest Coast, purchased a large quantity of copper and iron and a general assortment of articles for trade. Just as he was about ready to sail he saw a chance to make money by buying for $4,000 a small French brig that had been wrecked on a rock at the entrance to Port Louis and was supposed to be bilged. Examination proved her to be quite seaworthy, after some small repairs had been made. This purchase absorbed all his ready cash and caused him to change his plans.[9] He disposed of the goods he had obtained and resolved to try a venture to the island of Desolation, or Kerguelen's Land, in the southern Indian Ocean, in search of fur-seals and seal oil.

With his two brigs—the *Eleanora* and the *Ino*, as he had renamed the French vessel—he sailed on 19th September, 1792, from Mauritius to Madagascar to obtain wood and water, rice and other necessaries for a sea stock. Coming out of Port Louis the *Eleanora* had the misfortune to strike a rock and throughout the whole voyage to Kerguelen's Land one pump had to be kept constantly going to keep her afloat.

At Fort Dauphin, Madagascar, Metcalfe had an encounter with the natives. Bartlett describes an incident in that struggle, which is here reproduced in all the quaintness of his original grammar and spelling. He says:

8 Bartlett's manuscript Journal, under date November, 17x0. This Journal is shortly to be published by the Marine Research Society, Salem, Mass.

9 Bartlett's Journal, under date, May 9, 1792, and following dates.

"....in our Vessel we had a Brass four Pounder when I Loded her I put not quite a half of a nine Pound Cartrige in her and throught that wos Suffishent for her knowing that She had a Chamber in her and Required Less Powder than a Other Gun that has No Chamber the Captn Assoisted uppon haveing More Powder put in her I Did So Loded her All moust upto the Muzel and my Fireing of her So Often I knowd how She would have to be with it Nearly. After that I had Elivated the Gun for the Shore I Tuck Long Stick of fire on One end of it for with a Comon Charge She would Brack her Britchens and fly round with her Muzzel Against the Capstain for the Same Reson I went be hind the Capstain to fire her to Prevent her Bracking my Legs. Our Cook being About half Drunk ran with a Brand ends of Fire and tuckt her before I Could Git Redy to Do it my self The Gun Bustted and wounded the Captn in his Lip and the Cook in his Arm and knockt all the Vituals Out of the Combuse and killd two men On the Shore".[10]

After some further desultory firing on both sides the natives asked for a truce and peace was restored.

Leaving Madagascar on 1st October the two vessels about the end of November reached Kerguelen's Land and anchored in Christmas Harbour, as Captain Cook had named it. There they found the bottle that Captain Cook mentions, containing the record of the arrivals of Kerguelen and Cook together with a letter showing that the *Phoenix* of Macao had visited the spot. To Metcalfe's great disappointment, though there were many seals, very few were of the fur-seal species whose pelts were of value in China. His first business was to seek some place where he could, in safety, overhaul his brigs, repair their rigging, and heave down the *Eleanora* so as to stop some, at least, of the leaks. These duties accomplished, and seal skins not being obtainable, he was, perforce, compelled to content himself with a cargo of oil. Then day by day numbers of sea-lions and sea-elephants were slaughtered and their blubber went to the melting pot, the crew living upon penguins and their eggs and the well-known Kerguelen cabbage--for of bread there was none and the supply of flour was so limited that only one pint was allowed per day for four men.

So as the month of December passed, barrel after barrel of oil found its way into the holds of his vessels. Metcalfe celebrated New Year's Day, 1793, by naming the place Port Ino and by setting

10 Bartlett's Journal, under date, 25th September, 1792.

up a sheet of copper marked with thirteen parallel stripes and bearing the letters "U. S. A." He also left a bottle with a record of the fact of his visit. Having by the 12th January, 1793, obtained 600 barrels of oil he got under way and the *Eleanora* and the *Ino* were headed for the Isle of France (Mauritius) once more. He "hove too of Christmass harbour to Send the Bottle with Captn Cook Letter On Shore the wind blew so frish that it wos imposable for a boat to Land we Preceaded on Our Course towards the Isleand of France." On the way he passed close to the islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam, and observed that the latter was on fire in several places; doubtless the remains of its recent volcanic birth.

The exact date of his return to the Isle of France is unknown; but, at any rate, it was prior to 17th March, 1793, for on that date Bartlett sailed thence a-whaling in another ship.[11]

It is altogether probable that Metcalfe sailed, some time in 1793 in the *Eleanora,* from the Isle of France to Macao; but there is nothing to show where he disposed of the *Ino,* unless we assume, from Bartlett's having shipped in another vessel, that it was at the former. In the season of 1794 he was on the Northwest Coast again probably in the *Eleanora.* There, at Houston Stewart Channel, near the southern end of Queen Charlotte Islands his brig was captured by the savages; and there Simon Metcalfe, with all his crew but one man, perished under the daggers of the Haida. The story is told in John Bolt's manuscript Log of the *Union* and in Bishop's manuscript Log of the *Ruby.* Oddly enough both of these men obtained their information from residents of the Hawaiian Islands. Boit's account was given to him by John Young; while Bishop received his from Captain Barnett of the *Mercury* who got it from Isaac Davis. As Boit's is the more detailed it will be quoted verbatim. He says:

"Young likewise informed me that old Captain Metcalf in a Brig from the Isle of France had been cut off at Coyars in ye Queen Charlotte Isles by ye Natives of that place & ev'ry soul murder'd except one man who got up in ye Main top & was taken alive Captn Metcalf's younger son was mate of the Brig. this man whom ye Natives took alive was afterwards bought of by ye Master of a Boston ship who pass'd here about a fortnight since. 'Twas from this man that Young got his intelligence the purport of which was as follows: that some time in the year '94 Capt Metcalf came to an anchor in his Brig at Coyar's Sound &

11 This account has been condensed from Bartlett's Journal.

began a friendly traffic for furs with the Savages but not being much suspicious of them, let a great number come upon his decks & the natives taken advantage of their superiority in numbers, clinch'd and stab'd, ev'ry man on board, except ye one that sprung up the shrouds. This horrid Massacre was executed in the space of a few minutes, with no loss on the side of the natives."

Thus we see that the northwest trade had taken heavy toll of the Metcalfe family. The eldest son, Thomas Humphrey Metcalfe, was killed near Kawaiihae, when the *Fair American* was captured; and both Captain Simon Metcalfe the father and Robert Metcalfe the younger son were murdered on the Northwest Coast when his brig, presumably the *Eleanora* was captured in 1794.

In conclusion I desire to re-iterate one of the opening sentences; this is not put forward as a complete study, but merely as a contribution, in the hope that some of the gaps indicated may be filled in by others.

F. W. Howay.

MEMBERS OF THE SEATTLE BAR, WHO DIED YOUNG*

The recent death of Walter S. Fulton ended a brilliant career, and brings to mind others who like him were illustrious members of the Seattle Bar, though removed from our midst by the call of death while they were young men. I will leave to others the privilege of commemorating the life of brother Fulton in a worthy memorial of him, which doubtless will be assumed by those who knew him well. In the short time allowable for an address at a noon-day meeting I will speak only from memory of a few of those who died years ago. The death roll of Seattle lawyers comprises about one hundred and fifty names; obituaries written by Mr. John Arthur and addresses published with proceedings of Washington State Bar Association honor the memories of some, but not all of them. Judge William H. White undertook to write a history of the bench and bar, but gave up the task on account of dearth of available information. That is regrettable because lawyers have been foremost among makers of history of our State and the Northwest. Now biographical sketches of lawyers living until recently, to be found in new histories, only partially satisfy desire for knowledge concerning the lives and characters of those most active in affairs of public importance during the infancy of our City and State.

George N. McConaha came to Seattle in the year 1852. Intending to make his permanent home on Puget Sound, he brought his wife and children, a son and one daughter with him, and at once built a cottage for their habitation on ground now occupied by the Alaska Building. A second daughter was the first white child born in Seattle. He came from Missouri on advice given to him by Senator Thomas H. Benton the first American statesman to recognize the advantages of this gateway for oriental commerce, and predict one of the great States of the Union to arise, wherein scope for the exercise of talents of an ambitious young patriot would be alluring. He journeyed across the plains to Sacramento where he tarried and practiced law for a time. In that period Miners' Courts dealt summarily with those accused of stealing gold from sluice boxes and other crimes, and the cases were extraordinary in which findings were—not guilty—and those

*Address by Judge C. H. Hanford. Delivered at meeting of the Seattle Bar Association on January 28, 1925.—Editor.

condemned were speedily executed by hanging. In one case McConaha appeared before a miner's court, and by skill cleared an innocent young man.

He was a member of the California State Legislature in one session when David C. Broderick and Stephen Johnson Field were also members of the same body. McConaha was the peer in ability of the great men who were pioneers of California; if he had remained in that state, honors, fame and fortune would have distinguished his career. Coming to Puget Sound was in accordance with a definite purpose from which he was not to be diverted, and in forecasting the future, he chose Seattle as the best place to locate. He took an active part in all matters of public importance, and visited all the settlements in western Washington, finding a congenial friend in Col. Ebey on Whidbey Island, although Mrs. Ebey noted in her diary that—Mr. McConaha is a very conceited person—Action of Congress in creating Washington Territory followed the proceedings of the Monticello Convention, which petitioned for division of Oregon; McConaha was president of that convention. He would have been nominated for Delegate to Congress by the first political convention held in Washington Territory, if he had not declined to be a candidate for that honor. There was not sufficient time between the nomination and election day to effectually refute a libel upon his character published in a Sacramento newspaper, and he was unwilling to be placed in the situation of a seeker of votes throughout the whole Territory while having to defend his personal reputation. Voters in the Counties of Pierce and King knew him very well; their confidence in him was not impaired, and they elected him as a member of the Territorial Council, a position which suited him best, for sake of the opportunity to have a hand in framing the laws to be enacted by the first Legislature.

Columbia was proposed as the name of the new Territory. Though not adopted by Congress it was a popular name, and may have had some influence in the choice of Columbia Lancaster as the candidate for Delegate to Congress! at any rate it was suggestive of Timothy Dwight's poem, applicable alike to the man and the country, the ricital of which by McConaha thrilled the nominating convention.—Addressing the nominee, he said:—

"Columbia! Columbia! to glory arise,
The Queen of the world, and child of the skies.
Thy genius commands thee; with rapture behold,
While ages on ages thy splendors unfold.
Thy reign is the last and the noblest of time,
Most fruitful thy soil, most inviting thy clime;
Let the crimes of the east ne'er encrimson thy name,
Be freedom and science and virtue thy fame."

McConaha was president of the Council and a useful member of that wise Legislature which started the Government of the new Territory under a comprehensive and workable body of laws. In that pioneer period there were no public service carriers of passengers; travel between the Capital of the Territory and other points on Puget Sound was by canoes, and after adjournment of the Legislature on his journey homeward in a canoe, a storm was encountered and McConaha was drowned.

I was a small boy then, but I remember well the deep sorrow of the pioneers manifested when his death was mentioned. But little progress had been made in transforming the wilderness, and there was prevailing gloom as if a beacon light had been extinguished.

His son and namesake, then six years old was his mother's helper when she bravely assumed the burden of supporting a family by her own toil, doing the laundry work of Seattle bachelors. Chopping logs which were handy and plentiful, the little fellow actually provided necessary fuel through winter as well as summer seasons, and he was the only boy pupil in the first village school. When he was about ten years old he was injured severely by being dragged a considerable distance by a horse. He was leading the animal and was unable to disentangle himself from the rope when it ran away with him. He survived, but ultimately the injury caused a lesion of the brain which blighted his life. On account of scars evidencing injuries to his head examiners rejected him when he appeared for admission to the Naval Academy as a cadet for which an appointment had been given to him. Having to bear that disappointment he returned to Seattle and was a scholar in the University of Washington Territory during the time that Rev. George F. Whitworth was president of that institution. Next for two years he alternated between teaching a country district school and working as a farm hand, and then prepared for the legal profession by reading law books in

the office of John J. McGilvra. At the age of twenty-two he was admitted to the bar, and the same year was elected as one of the King County Representatives in the Legislature. He made a noteworthy speech in that body in favor of amending the road laws to provide revenue for constructing continuous highways crossing county lines. That, was more than thirty years before we began to abolish legal restraints upon the making of good roads. George inherited popularity and he was well liked for his own personality; he was twice elected to the office of Prosecuting Attorney for the third judicial district, which embraced all the countries of western Washington north of Thurston and Mason, in which terms of Court were held twice annually at Steilacoom, Seattle and Port Townsend. The duties included prosecution of criminals and handling of all civil cases involving interests of the Territory and each of the several counties in the district. There were no stenographers or typewriters in those days; all pleadings and papers to be served and filed had to be written in long hand, and during the four years of his incumbency of that office George had no assistant except a law student in his office. The student was myself. His duties were well performed, and he left no unfinished cases, but he was incapacitated for continuing in practice. Mental and physical breakdown ended his career. And he was only twenty-eight.

I remember W. S. Baxter, but have no knowledge concerning him, except that he died in Seattle after practicing law a few months. Recently I was reminded of him by Mr. Rummens who had met English relatives who had traced him to Seattle and lost track of him.

G. Morris Haller was a man of superior business ability as well as a capable lawyer. An incident reminiscent of him illustrates his force of character. Captain Allen master of the Ship Harvester encountered him in litigation growing out of abuse of sailors on a voyage around Cape Horn. Haller was proctor for the sailors suing for wages and damages, and he was not in the least intimidated by the arrogance of the captain who on the witness stand tried to be insolent as if he were on the quarter deck of his ship. After Haller had finished with him he remarked:—"God Almighty's overcoat wouldn't make a vest for that fellow."

His legal education was acquired as a student in the office of James McNaught; after admission to the bar he soon gained prestige in practice at Port Townsend, and while there succeeded

in extricating his father, Col. Granville O. Haller, from financial embarrassment in which he had become involved doing business as a merchant on Whidbey Island while temporarily out of military service. For many years Port Townsend was a good location for a lawyer to secure a share of admiralty practice; several large mercantile houses there catered to ship trade and acted as agents for ships and ship owners, and being the port of entry crews were hired and discharged there. Haller's regular clients included the Pacific Coast Steamship Company, and he continued to be the lawyer for that corporation and other shipping interests after removing his office to Seattle. Here he took an active part in community affairs and prospered in real estate investments at a time when city lots began to have recognized value. He became a member of the firm of Burke, Haller & Rasin—having a lucrative practice. Unit M. Rasin was a good mixer, popular with farmers, loggers, coal miners and wage earners generally. He was a joker and the wit of our bar. Once when I was presiding in court in San Francisco, a prominent lawyer of that city referred to Rasin as authority for the proposition that a man is not drunk if he can maintain a horizontal position without holding on to the grass. Haller was not a joker, his uniform serious and candid demeanor marked him as an object for newspaper reporters to spear with sarcastic jibes; having mentioned in the hearing of one of them that he was at the battle of Gettysburg, a paper in a column of sprightly personalities hit him thus: "General Meade—Is G. Morris Haller present? He is. Then let the battle begin."

When there was agitation for forfeiture of the Northern Pacific Railroad land grant the Seattle Chamber of Commerce in a largely attended meeting adopted a resolution protesting against forfeiture. Haller was one of two members who voted against that resolution; though with a small minority in that meeting his vote was in accord with popular sentiment. That was proved by the result of the ensuing political campaign when Washington Territory, though normally republican, elected Charles S. Voorhees, the democratic candidate, its Delegate to Congress; his success being attributable to his attitude as champion of settlers on public lands whose rights were contested by the railroad company. Haller's vote in the Chamber of Commerce meeting accorded with his understanding of the law that while the land grant was afloat, that is neither earned nor definitely located, the assertion of rights under the grant as being superior to rights

of settlers was illegal. In subsequent litigation, his opinion in that regard was confirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States.

He was likewise bold and outspoken on the side of law and order, at the time of the anti-Chinese agitation and the troubles, which culminated in the better organization of the National Guard of Washington Territory. He was the initiator of that movement, and was an officer of the First Regiment with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

In 1875 the Legislature provided for holding terms of court in Snohomish City; for attendance at those terms before the advent of railroads and automobiles, Seattle lawyers travelled with the Judge by steamboat which was an all day's journey. Chief Justice Lewis enjoyed those trips for sake of the opportunities for playing whist. He conducted court with dignity, and was strict in enforcing decorum. We could not pass up judgments to be signed unread; he required all judgment entries to be read in open court before signing. On one trip going to court his partner in a whist game was a stranger who attended court the next day. Debtors in default on contract obligations bearing a high rate of interest were quite numerous. Haller was in court to take default judgments on a fist full of promissory notes. and the stranger was amazed hearing him read:—and interest thereon from date until paid at the rate of two per cent per month payable quarter annually with interest on each installment if not paid when due at the rate of two per cent per month from the due date until paid. The stranger arose and spoke out—Say partner does the law import two per cent compounded four times a year? The court ordered the sheriff to arrest the man, and fined him $10 for contempt.

Haller was a sportsman, and being a prodigious worker he promptly cleared his desk of accumulated business after vacations. With Dr. Thomas T. Minor and Louis Cox, on a duck shooting trip, all three were drowned in the water of Puget Sound. That occurrence was on the 2nd day of December, 1889, when Haller was about forty years of age. General sorrow for the untimely death of those men was manifested by a large attendance of mourners from various parts of the State at memorial services held in Seattle. The Haller Building, construction of which commenced soon after the conflagation of June 6th, 1889, commemorates his business sagacity and enterprise.

Elwood Evans' history contains a brief sketch of John C. Haines, which when it appeared was unsatisfactory to him and to

his friends. He was the most learned man that ever practiced at this bar; to begin with he had an exceptionally bright mind, a retentive memory and was a splendid specimen of physical manhood; an untiring worker, he went deep into every subject, studied and pursued it until conscious of mastery, and was an adept in the use of conveniences like stenography and photography for accomplishing tasks. He was a graduate of Williams College, and his post-graduate education included a course in the law department of the University of Chicago, and a course in a medical college; he was a self-taught student of architecture, engineering and navigation. He was thorough in knowledge of anatomy, and could name the component parts in the structure of ships from keel to truck. As a cross-examiner of expert witnesses he had few equals and no superior.

Before coming to Seattle he had experience in law practice in Chicago and was twice elected a Justice of the Peace in that City. He came in January, 1880, and brought with him the first typewriter I ever saw, probably one of the first made. The keyboard was all capital letters that looked like buckwheat. Almost immediately he became as well known as if he were an old timer, and a leader in matters of public welfare. As a volunteer fireman he was among the first on the scene whenever a fire occurred at night or in daytime. He organized and was first Captain of Company D and was the first Colonel of the First Regiment of the National Guard, which was organized immediately following the anti-Chinese disturbance.

The law firm of Judge H. G. Struve and John Leary had cases ready for a trial lawyer to handle, and from the time of joining that firm Haines was busy in important litigation. I was not opposed to him in all the cases he tried, but he was my adversary in most of my cases and I soon learned to count on it that no point favorable or unfavorable to my side would be overlooked or slighted by Haines. He was eloquent, lucid and a master of mild sarcasm; he hit me hard, but without malice, so there were no angry tilts between us, and there was cordial friendship. Once I took him off in a pleasant way. I was prosecuting ship officers in a series of cases for maltreatment of sailors. Haines in defending asked every witness the question:— Was the spanker set?—That gave me the chance to remind the jury that he had asked that question of every witness without failing, and I said:— The explanation for that is—in getting

his nautical education in the prairie State of Illinois Haines had experiences with his mother's slipper, so he could never forget the spanker.

In the election campaign of 1884 when the N. P. land grant was an issue, the Democrats with support of the Post-Intelligencer were victorious, their candidate for Delegate to Congress was elected, and two years he was re-elected, giving him the advantage of prestige in a campaign for a third term. Mr. Leigh Hunt having acquired ownership of the Post-Intelligencer made it an organ of the Republican party, and for success in leadership he deemed it good policy to support a candidate hailing from the eastern part of the Territory. John B. Allen lived at Walla Walla, was known all over the Territory as a amn of superior ability and his personal character was unimpeachable. For those reasons the paper favored Allen, and Haines was in accord with Hunt's policy. A King County Republican Convention, however, chose Thomas J. Humes, on the favorite son idea, for standard bearer, and it elected twenty delegates to the nominating convention; Haines could not be snuffed out, so he was one of the twenty, and the only one not bound to work for the nomination of Humes. The convention was held at Ellensburg. Judge George Turner of Spokane was a candidate, and dissentions among the delegations from the eastern counties were handicaps on Allen, but Haines was his champion. In a splendid fight he won the nomination for Allen, and popularity for himself. For his recognized ability he was made chairman of the campaign committee to manage Allen's campaign.

Then came tribulations; he was obliged to give up the chairmanship by being arrested and taken to Albany, New York, under an indictment charging him with complicity in the crime of smuggling opium into that state. The smuggler had been an efficient member of the police force of Seattle and a Custom House Officer especially zealous and successful in capturing smugglers operating on Puget Sound. He was an admirer of Haines whom he retained for his own defense when caught bringing a wagon load of opium into northern New York. The stuff was seized and while in legal custody it was stolen. The theft was presumed to have been instigated by a genius, and the indictment of Haines followed. He was acquitted on his trial, but was detained a long time waiting for trial. During that time of waiting Watson C. Squire befriended him.

Speaking of a very learned man is apt to suggest spectacles,, a pale face, an under-nourished body hollow in front and languid

movements and a head full of mythology, astrology and ancient lore. Haines was not like that, his form was superb and he had gigantic strength. My little boy, a beginner in school, brought home the news one day that "Captain Haines throwed a policeman down and broke his leg off." That was not far from a true report. The actual occurrence was that in a wrestling match Haines threw James H. Woolery, who was the Chief of Police, and one of the most powerful young men in Seattle at that time, and in the struggle one of Woolery's legs was broken.

Haines was a toiler; in study and preparation of his cases he worked many hours at night, and I seldom quit earlier than he did. Many times we walked homeward together at midnight. Thus our friendship was cemented and as a confidential friend he told me that his ambition was to be one of the first United States Senators of our State. When statehood came and opportunity might have been grasped, he could not offer himself as a candidate for the office he asipred to, without defeating Watson C. Squire who had befriended him in a time of trouble. Loyalty to friends was a principle that ruled his life. Seeing that in a three cornered contest between Allen, Squire and himself, the first named would almost certainly be elected and Squire defeated, he had to choose between the way to which ambition pointed and the other way, which he regarded as the path of honor. Under circumstances that existed he was unwilling to enter the contest as an adversary of his friend, but hoped for a fair opportunity at a later time.

His aspiration was noble for he was conscious of ability to serve his country well in association with statesmen, and his patriotism was worthy of an American. Before the time came for the second election of a Senator the grim reaper extinguished hope for a second chance, and before ending the forty-second year of his life, John Charles Haines died at his home in Seattle.

Captain Howard D. Hughes, son of Elwood Clark Hughes, volunteered for military service when his country called its young men to the colors, and was killed in one of the bloody battles of the world war. From childhood to manhood he grew up in Seattle. To his sterling character and natural aptitude for the profession of a lawyer was added a good education. In his experience after being admitted to the bar there was no dreary waiting for clients; efficiency as an assistant in the office of the Corporation Counsel proved his ability and gained for him recog-

nition as a first class lawyer. He was busy in independent practice when the call to patriotic duty was the call to supreme sacrifice.

I admired Howard Hughes for his poise and graceful manners as well as for his sincerity and fairness in court-room practice, and for his superb voice; his calm utterances in court proceedings imposed no strain upon hearers. There was convincing power in his arguments, due to simplicity and clear understanding of his subjects. There is no extravagance of eulogy in naming him as one whom death robbed of distinction as a great lawyer.

C. H. HANFORD.

THE NORTH-WEST TRIBUNE

Since the January number of the *Quarterly* came from the press I have "re-discovered" in the Spokane Public Library almost a complete file of *The North-West Tribune,* the second newspaper to be started in Spokane County. This file was preserved by the publishers. For several years I had searched for such a file, and had all but come to the conclusion that none was in existence. On January 31, 1925, I made an inquiry at the Spokane Public Library, and a thorough search resulted in the discovery. This file, consisting of several unbound volumes, had been lying in the basement for years, uncatalogued, and apparently only one person in the library knew of its existence.

Miss Jennie Boughton, an employee of the Spokane Public Library, is a friend of the family of George F. Schorr, who apparently was the last publisher of this newspaper. Several years ago Mr. Schorr gave this file to Miss Bougton, and she took it to the library. One volume, 1888-1889, is missing; and perhaps there is no volume in the file that is entirely complete; but from the inception of this newspaper in June, 1880, to 1891 there is a file that is very "workable." Number one of volume one is missing.

The Spokane Library will get these volumes repaired and bound, and hereafter they will be available for research to students of the history of Spokane County.

Many erroneous statements relative to this newspaper have appeared in histories of the Pacific Northwest, and I want to take this occasion to give a few dates. *The North-West Tribune* was started in Colfax on June 16, 1880, by L. E. Kellogg. It was a four-page, seven-column weekly. Concerning the first number, *The Spokane Times,* under date of June 19, 1880, said: "The first number of this new enterprise in journalism, edited and published by Lucian E. Kellogg at Colfax, comes to us a welcome acquisition to our exchange list. It is brim full of enterprising news, dignified and well written editorials, and useful general intelligence. We bespeak for it a generous share of public patronage." This was perhaps the most complimentary comment that Francis H. Cook, the editor of *The Spokane Times,* ever made on *The North-West Tribune,* for soon he and Mr. Kellogg became bitter rivals in the Spokane county-seat contest.

Cheney had been laid out as a town in Spokane County in the summer of 1880, and at once entered the race with Spokane Falls for the possession of the county seat at the general election in that year. Mr. Kellogg was induced to remove his plant from Colfax to Cheney to support Cheney's candidacy for the county seat. One may believe that not a great deal of persuasion was needed to induce Mr. Kellogg to make the change, for on October 6, as he made his final bow to Colfax, he said in an editorial: "The expenses of the *Tribune* since its establishment have far exceeded the receipts; or more plainly it has not received sufficient of support to insure its financial success. We established this paper in good faith, worked hard, tried to attain success, but steadily run behind."

Volume 1, No. 18, dated October 13, 1880, was issued in Cheney. Here *The North-West Tribune* was published for six years. Mr. Kellogg sold it on May 1, 1884, to George F. Schorr, who had recently come into Washington Territory from California. Mr. Schorr enlarged the paper, although it is questionable whether he improved it by so doing. On October 14, 1886, a few weeks before the general election which was to give to Spokane Falls the permanent possession of the county seat took place, Mr. Schoor saw the hopelessness of the situation for Cheney. In that issue he made the following announcement:

"It has been found necessary to change our base of operations. All things change, and we are compelled to change with them. After this week *The North-West Tribune* will be published from Spokane Falls, instead of Cheney. . . . We do not leave Cheney because she is too small, but we go to Spokane Falls because she is larger."

One week later, located in the little city that it had abused for so long, the *Tribune* spoke out as follows:

"This is our first issue in Spokane Falls. We will go back to our original six pages again as soon as we are settled, and will endeavor to make the *Tribune* exclusively the farmer's paper. We will endeavor to give the news of Cheney, Sprague and Spokane Falls alike without special partiality to any place. We will endeavor to have all our country correspondence renewed. We will give telegraphic news in a condensed form, supplementing with farm notes, short stories, cooking receipts, etc. Subscription will remain for the present $2.50 per year in advance."

After its removal to Spokane Falls the *Tribune* was overshadowed by Frank Dallam's *Review*. A perusal of the columns

of the *Tribune* in the later years of the decade of the eighties leads one to the conclusion that it could not have been considered a high-class newspaper. However, it endeavored to give a resume of Inland Empire news, and it is probable that it had a considerable circulation in the communities of Eastern Washington outside Spokane Falls. I have not as yet been able to determine the year in which the publication of this newspaper was suspended.

Mr. Kellogg, the founder of *The North-West Tribune,* is now living in retirement near Wenatchee. He has had an interesting newspaper career in Eastern Washington. In 1877 he and a partner, C. B. Hopkins, started in Colfax *The Palouse Gazette.* This is said to be the first newspaper published in Eastern Washington north of the Snake river. It is now called *The Colfax Gazette.* In 1879 Mr. Kellogg withdrew from this partnership, and in the following year started a rival newspaper in Colfax. After disposing of the *Tribune* in 1884 Mr. Kellogg engaged in farming, but did not like this work. Farming never was as exciting as a county-seat fight. When the last stage of the Spokane county-seat warfare broke out in 1886 Mr. Kellogg started in Cheney another newspaper, *The Cheney Leader.* This newspaper was suspended immediately after the election in November of that year. It had lasted but three months. Mr. Kellogg afterward started in Waterville *The Big Bend Empire.* This was the first newspaper published in Douglas county. A complete sketch of the life of Mr. Kellogg, however, must be reserved for another time.

Mr. Schorr, who bought the *Tribune* in 1884, is dead. His widow is living in California.

J. Orin Oliphant.

THE BEAVER*

The Hudson's Bay Company's steamer *Beaver*, Capt. Swanston, which arrived in our harbor some time since, is one of the most remarkable vessels in the world. Her history, if written out, would fill a book, and the many singular adventures that have transpired on her decks, make a volume more strange than the works of fiction.

The *Beaver*, we are assured is the first steam vessel that ever puffed its smoke in the air of heaven on the Pacific Ocean, and up to the present day she retains her reputation as a pioneer by parting waters undisturbed by sea-going crafts. She scorns to traverse seas known to other vessels, and astonishes even the Indian in his canoe by her temerity and sudden appearance.

The steamer Beaver was built in the year 1835, for the Hudson's Bay Company, at Blackwell, England, of the best oak and in the most substantial manner. Her engines are of Bolton & Watts' make, and may be described as the old fashioned "beam engines." Although clumsy in appearance, they work well, and seldom or never get out of repair. Her wheels are placed far forward, are very small, and do not look unlike the forepaws of a land terrapin. Her poop is high out of the water, square, and slanting in toward the rudder. Her sides and timbers are unusually heavy and substantial, and everything about the old ship denotes durability and worth. Nothing for show and everything for use, seems to have been the motto of her builder. In the spring of 1836, she arrived at Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia river, having sailed around the Horn. Soon after she steamed down the Columbia, and has never since entered that river. At that time, with the exception of a few trading posts at distant intervals along the river and coast, the whole of the North Pacific coast was an almost unknown wilderness. San Francisco did not contain more than fifty inhabitants, and Victoria had not been laid out. A few trappers and hunters were the only white men in the country.

For the last twenty years, the *Beaver* has been constantly engaged in running from port to port in the extreme north, and

*This article was published in the Victoria Gazette in December, 1859. It was republished on October 6, 1880, in the *North-West Tribune*, of Colfax, Washington, from which it has been copied by J. Orin Oliphant.—Editor.

trading with the Indians.** Her voyages extend as far north as the 59th parallel of latitude, and 13 seconds—the head of inland navigation, and the beginning of the Artic region. She is usually absent from Victoria about seven months, leaving in April and returning in November, and deals entirely in skins and furs. The Indians are accustomed to her annual visits, can tell almost the day when to expect her, and are always prepared with their skins and furs, which they trade for blankets, clothing, hard bread, and other articles of prime necessity and ornament. She carries 30 men, 4 six pounders, and a large complement of small arms. Her decks are protected from invasion by a border netting of rope, so as to prevent the Indians from clambering up her sides, and never more than thirty are allowed to come on board at any one time, unless accompanied by their wives and children. The trading is conducted under the direction of one of the H. B. Co.'s "Chief Traders," Capt. Dodd, and is kept entirely separate from the sailing of the ship.

The discipline on board is as strict as on a man-of-war, and the greatest caution is used to prevent being taken at any time by surprise.

The *Beaver* generally, during her cruise, makes six visits with a full cargo to Fort Simpson—the extreme northern post of the Company, and just within the British line—58 degrees, 40 minutes —making that fort her depot while absent from here.

The *Otter* generally pays this port a visit to bring down these extra cargoes, soon after the arrival of the *Beaver* here.

There are many Indian curioisities aboard the *Beaver*—specimens of Indian mechanical skill and ingenuity which, to most people possess great interest, as showing the position the savage nations hold with regard to the arts.—*Victoria Gazette,* December, 1859.

**The above was first published in December, 1859. Those voyages continued until October 13, 1874, when the Hudson's Bay Company sold the steamer to Stafford, Saunders, Morton & Company, of Victoria, B. C., for $17,500. After that she was used as a freighter and towboat until Thursday night, July 26, 1888, when she ran upon the rocks at the entrance of Burrard Inlet, the harbor of Vancouver, B. C. Charles W. McCain in his *History of the S. S. Beaver*, page 30, says the old craft attracted many visitors until the swell of the steamer *Yosemite* passing near on June 26, 1892, "caused the boiler to work loose, when with a crash it fell outward into the channel carrying with it a large portion of the hull."—Editor.

DOCUMENTS

Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest

[Continued from Volume XVI., Page 61]

[May, 1841.]

[Added entry.] Latitude observed on shore by circum-meridian lights. 47°. 41′. 15″. N. Long. 122°. 41′. 12″.
Mt. Baker bore [blank]
" Rainier[32] " [blank][33] [Ms. P. 61.]
11 May

Employed this morning in surveying the Sound just below the Narrows which we finished about 1. o'clock and when the tide served at 3 P.M. I got under weigh with light baffling airs and had difficulty in getting the ships off the shore to which we were very close before we got underweigh but went closer after we weighed however by dint of exertion the boats took us off and we then took a good breeze that brought us to anchor off Nasqually by the help of a strong tide at 8 o'clock when I had the pleasure of an introduction to Capn. McNeill of the Steamer and a partner[34] and a Mr. Anderson[35] the agent at the Fort of the H.B.Co. they took tea with me and appear desirous of affording us all the assistance in their power at least such was their offer a few days will show the extent of it.

Nothing can be more striking that the beauty of these waters without a shoal or rock or any danger whatever for the whole length of this Internal Navigation the finest in the world accustomed as we are to prize that of our own country.[36]

I shall now proceed to make many comments to explain the facts of this country but little known, and trust that our endea-

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32 See note 30.

33 Failed to record the bearings.

34 In the published *Narrative*, Volume IV, page 309, Wilkes says: "Captain McNiel is a native of Boston, and was extensively engaged in the Northwest trade. He proved to be a serious competitor with the Hudson Bay Company in their business, and was consequently bought off. He is now a trader in the Company's service, owning stock, and receiving a share of the dividends; to qualify him for which it became necessary for him to become a naturalized British subject." Captain John T. Walbran, in *British Columbia Coast Names*, pages 391-393, gives a similar record but does include the "partnership."

35 Alexander Caulfield Anderson, after years of service with the Hudson's Bay Company as Chief Trader, retired in 1858 and took up his residence near Victoria, B. C.

36 Captain George Vancouver expressed similar enthusiasm for the pristine beauty of Puget Sound. See his *Voyage*, Second Edition, Volume II, pages 117-118.

vors will be successful in accomplishing all that may be deemed advisable in the way of information relative to its capacities for emigrations and settlement. [Continued on opposite page, 60a.]

12. May.

Lt. Alden was this morning transferred to the Porpoise temporarily on being restored to duty.

Orders were given to Mr. Johnstown[37] to prepare for an excursion into the Interior. Also to Dr. Pickering, T. W. Waldron of Porpoise, Mr. Brackenridge and the Sergeant.

Lt. Carr Mr. Totten May & Colvos,[38] to hold themselves in readiness for surveying duties in the Boat's launch 1st cutter, Ariel & Pilot, also Mr. Sandford & Elliott to join the Porpoise.

Returned the visit of Capn. McNeill and Mr. Anderson the agent of the Fort. It is construtced with Pickets some 20 feet high quadrangular with Bastions at each corner covering less than an acre sufficient however to accommodate the first Establishment but this having become one of their (the H.B.Co.) farms they find it very much contracted, there is indeed as I am informed little or no necessity for a fort or defense now, the Indians few in number some 60 to 100 and perfectly peaceable. the fort is of this shape. [crude drawing of the fort] the bastions thus serve the whole side and the defenders being entirely under cover are enabled to fight against great odds. besides having the bastions the galleries extend all around the pickets I was also shown their garden in which among other things the peas were about 8 inches in height strawberries are in full blossom and will be ripe in a few days.[Ms. P. 61a.]

The gooseberries were in full bloom also but what surprised us most was salad that had gone to seed some 3 feet high & very large, and thrifty.

With Capn. McNeill I visited the Steamer belonging to the Company after looking out for a site for the obsy.[39], on the top of the hill. The hill or bluff is about 200 feet above the water, low water mark, immediately under which the ship has one anchor in 12 fathoms the other in 31 although she is not over a a cable's length from the shore. This part of Nisqually is about ½ mile back from the base of the hill—opposite to the ship is a fine stream or brook of water affording all the facilities for watering

37 Lieutenant Robert E. Johnson, whose name was correctly given in this day's entry in the published *Narrative*.

38 Passed Midshipman George W. Colvocoressis. The abbreviated form was also used when Colvos Passage was named west of Vashon Island. See Meany's *Origin of Washington Geographic Names*, page 55.

39 Observatory. He had a special personal interest in this branch of the work.

ships, and washing the men's clothes. The Steamer[40] is about 120 tons, stern mizzen mast and has a double engine of 70 horse power, I was altogether pleased with the arrangement very like the boats in England of her class. I was exceedingly struck with the order of their machinery which at once showed their care of a good & practicable Engineer.

Everyone employed in fitting out boats and other duties appertaining to surveying. [Illegible] & put them in below. [Ms. P. 62.]

13. May.

Brig employed preparing for sea. All hands busily employed preparing boats for surveying. party on shore putting up the observatory.

Capn. McNeil Mr. Anderson & Mr. Wilson[41] attached to the Methodist Mission dined with us also several officers—Recd. from Mr. A. a present of two bullocks he stated that his orders would prevent a constant supply, being limited to that number by the Govr's instructions.

Lt. Johnston endeavoring to purchase horses, no success, less in obtaining guides—fine weather and temperature pleasant.

14th. [May]

Still engaged in oufits—no success in getting horses or guides. Mr. Wilson dined with professors[42] little or no information about the country is a kind of mechanic lives in a nice log house with a Dr. Richmond & his wife & four fine fat children rosy cheeks quite a novel sight to us. The House is situated on an extensive plain poor gravelly soil—though striking scenery, plain girted by fine woods, and the distant snowy mountains in sight—this night rain. breezes from S. W.

15th. [May]

Morning clear.

Brig sailed[43] (for order see letter books), happy to get off, our party:— Bought today 5 horses if so they may be called, Indians difficult to deal with never know when they will sell, require surrender to them before closing a bargain—Landed transit [illegible][44] clock put up transit house Boats nearly ready, gave Lt. Johnson notice he must start on Monday by 2 o'clock—also

40 He contents himself with capitalizing the word Steamer without using the name of the famous *Beaver*.

41 W. H. Willson. See Bancroft's *Oregon*, Volume I, pages 155-156, and 188.

42 Meaning the scientists of the Expedition.

43 The Brig *Porpoise* beginning the hydrographic survey from what they called Commencement Bay, the present Tacoma harbor.

44 An abbreviation which may mean siderial.

that the Boats must be ready for departure—by noon same day. [Ms. P. 62a]

16th May.

Being Sunday nothing was done towards fitting out the parties. a fine pleasant day though cool.

17th May.

Busily employed fitting out the Expeditions[45] for surveying and the interior the Boats started at 2 P.M. all in good spirits. I have succeeded in gettting them off without their grog as I was well satisfied they would enjoy better health.

Got Lt. Johnston off on shore and encamped that he might see his traps and equipment altogether.

Busily employed myself at the observatory in setting up the clock and transit this forenoon [illegible] in this meridian

making preparations for my departure for the Columbia River Fort Astoria—the weather fine though cool.

18th May.

Lt. Johnson not off yet fussing fidgeting and delaying our time no crupers, then no packsaddles, then no girths all his time being wasted bargaining for horses. I think his coadjutor Mr. I. W. Waldron would have attended to much better than he did. Still waiting for a guide no end to delay hope to see them off tomorrow, as I do not like the idea of starting before they are all off.

Have been most of the day employed at the observatory taking observations. Fine day & pleasant weather. Intend starting tomorrow morning. Mr. Waldron and Mr. Drayton with me. [Ms. P. 63.]

19th. [May.]

Left the fort at Nisqually at 10 A.M. Our party consisted of Mr. Waldron Mr. Drayton myself and three servants with a guide(Canadian) and two Indian Boys and together with our baggage horses they amounted to 13 all of them kindly loaned to me by the Company's agent Mr. Anderson in charge of the Fort to whom I feel under many obligations for the trouble he took in fitting us out, if it had not been for his kindness we should have made sorry work of it horses are difficult to be procured the Indians are beyond measure the most provoking fellows to bargain with that I have ever met with, and as your wants or necessities increase, their prices rise in proportion, they are not

45 Small-boat expeditions to survey the southern inlets of Puget Sound, the work to be done while he made a journey to the Columbia River.

slow in perceiving your wants, or the dilemma you may be placed in—which they view with becoming sang froid. Mr. Anderson's kindness in the loan of horses placed us beyond these difficulties and I had only to laugh at the perplexities Lt. Johnson was thrown into by the Indians retracting from the bargain he had all but closed with them, requiring more by way of *potlatch* or a gift adding greatly to the price of the horses; the only way to deal with them is to show an utter indifference of manner to obtaining the articles or closing the bargain, they then readily close for fear a competitor may come in and accept. They have little or no confidence in each other and are disposed to rivalry and knock-outs, the chiefs have little or no authority.

Our calvacade was novel and altho the Indians were clothed in worn out European costumes yet their free & easy carriage on horseback with a few ribbons and the cock's feathers stuck in their caps gave them an air of hauteur and self esteem that was not unpleasing [Ms. P. 63a] when viewed from a sufficient distance to hide and render their fittings unseen the management of their horses is truly surprising,and those that a foreigner or pale face would be unable to get off a walk they will mount and proceed with speed without the aid of spur or anything but a small switch. It is amusing to see their manner of whiping a tired nag to full speed when to us it had become all but lifeless. The horses appear to me to have a knowledge of an indian & his cruelties to them. the usual bridle is simply a piece of rope fastened to the under jaw which seems all sufficient for the management of the most refractory horses and so different from the Spanish bit that was ever looked upon as necessary in such cases that one is not a little surprised how they are enabled to overcome them. They practice great cruelty in using their animals & a horse is seldom found that has not a raw back.

The Indians of this country are so much with their horses that one ought in giving their character to separate the two. on his horse he is a man but dismount him, and all his qualities vanish & he becomes the lazy, lounging lout insensible to anything but his own low gambling habits.

In travelling in this country when it becomes necessary to use horses one must lay aside all his feelings relative to means of his conveyance whether on sore backs, jaded horses or those that are lamed and half starved, these will accompany him wherever

he goes my advice to all is to keep away from your horses until they are saddled. [Ms. P. 64.]

Our distance made today was 22 miles mostly in a south direction—at 9 miles passed the Nisqually River by descending a bank of 350 in height almost in some places perpendicular, and we were obliged to walk down it. This led us across a ravine and after having crossed the River 100 yds. wide running a N.N.W. course, with a strong rapid current about 3 feet deep at the ford we again ascended to the prairie level. The Nisqually overflows its banks in the spring and autumn together with all the Rivers which take their rise in the Cascade Mountains—Our route lay through most beautiful park scenery with the prairies here and there breaking through the magnificent pines. Over pr. covered with a carpet of flowers among which was to be found the Lupines camass, sun flowers [blank] & the scarlet [blank][46] together with the welcome buttercup of our own fields. about 7 miles of our route lay through the gigantic fine cedar forest and although they are called sapplings, were 6½ feet in diameter and upwards of 200 feet in height. I could not control my astonishment. We encamped at 6 P.M. on a prairie after having crossed the Shutes River which falls into Puget Sound. it is a small stream at this season and will be fordable though when at its height is considered dangerous. Our encamping ground was a beautiful spot and by the large fire we enjoyed our supper exceedingly when alarm was witnessed by us novices in discovering a snake in the tent after it was pitched but this is considered so common an occurrence that I mention it (because I consider it unworthy of notice) as a characteristic of the country our visitor being found only a small garter snake that we paid no attention to the usual visitor being a rattle snake which came but I soon learnt to be on the look out. they are here [Ms. P. 64a] however seldom seen below the mountains the soil there being too wet above the Cascades and at the Dalles they are found in great abundance.

In the morning we found we had been visited by the elk & deer the attracion of the light usually brings them near & oftentimes I am told the hunters are enabled to kill them.

20th May.

We had a good nights rest, and 7 o'clock took our departure exclaiming at the beauty of the Park scenery. It was almost im-

46 He left room to fill in these names but failed to do so.

possible to realize our being in a savage & wild country & it but wanted some building country seats to assure us that art not nature had perfected the landscape here. then a beautiful lake was passed with the sward growing luxuriantly to its water edge with deer feeding fearlessly on its margin, with every tint of wild flower growing in profusion.

The soil is shingle and light but would prove good for light and small grain crops, through these Prairies one finds very many *tumuli* some indeed are entirely covered with them, many of the same size, giving them this appearance [drawing] they are conical mounds about 30 feet in diameter & six to 7 in height above the level. being desirous of ascertaining if they contained any relics I visited this called the Grande Prairie with several of my men & had 3 opened but nothing was found in them but at the level of the outward surface a pavement of stones appears in all, they appear to have been formed by the scraping of the surface mould and forming it in heaps or mounds. they are evidently of old formation by a bygone race and no tradition is now extant of them. They are constructed with great regularity & over some [Ms. P. 65] extent of ground some miles whole prairies being occupied by them altho I could get at nothing direct respecting them I was one day told that the medicine man gathered his herbs from them to effect his cures & it struck me that the influence or rather custom of these Medicine Men may be still in vogue though all traditions have been lost, and taking into consideration the influence of the Medicine Men in their tribes it would be a satisfactory explanation to suppose they were used as places where the herbs for the concoction of their cures were grown.

They certainly are not places of burial and not provided by accidental causes they have the marks of savage labour and care and such a labour as a whole Nation had entered into.[47]

At 12 miles we reached the Chickeeles[48] river the main branch about 200 yds. wide. it empties itself into Grays Harbour on the N.W. coast 30 to 40 miles north of the Columbia River. its course here was S. W. this was just below the junction of two of its branches the Quinous[49] & [blank] rivers. There we found an

47 Geologists have since published many speculations as to the origin of those mounds. The favorite theory is that they resulted from the melting of glacial ice coverings of the area.

48 At present spelled Chehalis.

49 This name has not persisted. It may have been the Skookum Chuck. Warre and Vavasour in 1845 mentioned in that vicinity the Quinze and Sous rivers. See this *Quarterly*, Volume III, page 151. Wilkes left in his diary a blank space in which he intended to write the name of the next branch.

encampment of about 20 Indians and a more wretched set one scarcely ever laid eyes on—they were preparing for the fishing season, we found the lamprey eel here for the first time it is quite common in the lower rivers—these Indians were dirty squallid & sickly looking living upon a few fish & the Kamass roots a kind of sweet squills that is very abundant on the prairies particularly those that are low subject to overflow by the small creeks—

We remained here to rest our horses & to let them feed on the luxuriant grass for two hours when we again set off & our first feat of horsmanship was to descend a perpendicular bank some 15 or 20 feet high into a small creek 3 feet deep [Ms. P. 65a.] this looked rather alarming but our horses seemed to take it so easy by sliding down on all fours that our fears were soon overcome & we got over safely such novices as we thot were doing a great feat. The soil now changed to a rich unctious clay in a few rods, and the wood became so thick with underbrush it was with both difficulty to horse and rider that we got on. Whilst the former was extricating his legs from the mud holes the latter required all his care and presence of mind to avoid being strangled or torn from his horse this was not all, fallen trees of all sizes, in all directions were to be jumped or hobbled over as best could be done to the exhaustion of our patience and irritation of our tempers. Our kind friends told us the road was good, we found it passable. I trust however my experience may prepare the traveller on this route for meeting with a bad road, If he don't find one he may be thankful that he has escaped an irksome & fatiguing journey. About 12 miles farther we passed over the *Mountain* a hill of about 1500 feet in heighth which was climbed by steps the road having been worn in them by the continual track of the horses, the clay is so slippery that it would be impossible for them to mount this hill without these steps. We encamped at the entrance of the forest having one of the beautiful prairies before us. Our camp was visited by some Indians who after looking at our means of defense & seeing that we had a proper regard for them, sold us some [Ms. P. 66.] fresh salmon & took their departure after bring us a supply of wood for our fire for which we gave them a trifle. We found ourselves truly fatigued as well as our horses and although the night proved rainy we enjoyed our rest exceedingly. In this branch of the Chickeeles the Quinous salmon are caught in abundance and supply the na-

tives with much of their food. It is navigable for canoes though in places many obstructions exist.

At this encampment Mr. D[50] found several pieces of cornelian some of a large size of the red colour.

21st [May.]

We left our encampment at 9 o'clock, the weather having cleared off, and the mildness of the day & the freshness of everything around us from the last night's shower added additional beauties to the glowing scenery. Our route lay through alternate prairies & the magnificent forest of tall pines and cedar passing by fords several fine streams of water. The soil excellent the prairies were covered with strawberries inviting one to dismount occasionally. they are our fine field strawberry and certainly in great abundance. There are many plants that excite a feeling of interest in this country as well known friends at home among the number the red honeysuckle which was now in full bloom. After passing an extensive plain called the Kamass of several miles I reached the Company's farm on the Cowlitz occupying an extensive prairie,[51] and covered with luxuriant crops of wheat, and affording a pleasing prospect to the eye with its extensive granaries & shed and the litter of straw showing the product of the last year's crop and the industry of civilisation in the distance on some of the free settlers with their log huts & young orchards attached putting us in mind of our Western [Ms. P. 66a.] States with the exception however of the remains of the conquered forest, here the ground is ready for the plough and nature seems as it were to invite the husbandman to his labour.

(To be continued.)

50 One of his companions, Joseph Drayton listed on the muster-roll of the Expedition as Artist.

51 Usually referred to as Cowlitz Farm Prairie.

BOOK REVIEWS

History of the Oregon Country. By HARVEY W. SCOTT, Forty Years Editor of the *Morning Oregonian.* Compiled by Leslie M. Scott. (Cambridge Riverside Press, 1924. Six volumes. Pp. xvii, 2036. $25.00).

This is a project of constituting a history out of a classified and arranged compilation of representative editorials and public addresses—carefully annotated—of the long-time and renowned editor of the leading newspaper in the Pacific Northwest. These conditions make this a unique undertaking. Insuperable difficulties would seem to debar the possibility of approximating anything near an ideal history with such a plan and materials. History's function is to convey a sense of continuity and unity of the social process depicted. To be true to reality all events must be seen as interrelated and developing as an organic whole. Editorials and public addresses wholly distinct and appearing apropos to casual occurrences, without any thread of sequence, are thus quite unpromising elements for an integrated story of a people's life. And yet the revealing potencies of these constituent units of the text of this work, supplemented by the results of the assiduous research of the compiler that are with fine art used to articulate these elements and round out the story, do achieve an effect, different from that of a connected narrative, but probably equal to the highest.

The last volume is wholly taken up with an exhaustive index and bibliography. The contents of each of the first five include a main portion—averaging about two thirds of the volume—the output of the pen of the elder Scott, functioning as editor and publicist. This main body of each volume is followed by an "appendix" by the son in which we have a most effective exhibit of the historian's art of enabling the reader to get a complete mental picture of the course of events, with references to the sources of pretty much all extant records for the account given. There are thus two positive historical contributions fused in the work, first the nucleal or textual, that originated during the period from 1865 to 1910, excepting a gap of five years from 1872 to 1877; the second, designated as the "appendix" in each volume, applied to the bringing of additional light from other sources and the factual setting of each situation discussed by the editorial or address.

No assurance bearing on the character of this work need be offered to the great majority of those who were as adults living in the Pacific Northwest prior to 1910. Definite opinions of Harvey W. Scott's intellectual leadership are held by virtually all of these, either from a confirmed habit of reading the editorial page of the *Oregonian* or through an acquaintance with the ideas there set forth gained in their community center discussions. That editorial page through the thought and discussion it provoked constituted essentially a folk school, for by it the people of all of the "Old Oregon Country" communities, accessible from Portland, were stimulated and guided towards grappling with their community problems.

This institutionalizing of the editorial sanctum of the *Oregonian* with Harvey W. Scott in charge came about naturally. As a boy of fourteen he participated in the great and trying adventure in crossing the plains with the migration of 1852. Arriving here, his father's accumulations exhausted, he did his share towards supporting the Scott household, but was left to his own resources for earning the means to attend college. The beginning in this was made through the use of the ax to secure which he had to have a loan. Applying his powerful native intellect with indefatigable energy and with the unremitting study of the best books he rose gradually from the level of association with the day laborer to regular companionship in his reading with the best minds of all ages. Having thus shared the conditions of life from the humblest planes he retained a keen interest in the lot of every class through which he rose to become as managing editor of the metropolitan daily the counsellor and guide of the commonwealth.

Through his assiduous reading and thought on the most fundamental interests in human experience he saw in clear perspective the course of change down through the centuries. The meaning of the occupation by the white man of the Pacific coast in all its relations was clear to him. As he had grown up with the country he was doubly at home in the discussion of any phase of the history of the Pacific Northwest. The following is a list of the subjects under which the compiler grouped the selections used: Discovery, exploration and acquisition; pioneer settlement, especially around Champoeg and Puget Sound centers; Indian affairs—wars and treaties; nomenclature of the Pacific Northwest; varied matters in the earlier and later pioneer periods; Oregon colleges; Oregon and California, Northern Pacific and Union Pa-

cific railroads and railroad miscellany; political comment on the admission of Oregon, slavery, the Civil War and the party contests; climate, floods; biographies and obituaries of notable Oregonians.

The agency of change that probably had deepest appeal to him was the railroad. All of volume four is taken up with an account of the development of the railway mileage of this region. He hailed the advent of the transforming change inaugurated through rail transportation but his heart and admiration was with the heroic age then fading into the mist of the past. The trinity of principles most sacred in their relation to our national welfare were from his point of view the indestructible Union, sound money and representative government.

An Introduction, including a review of his career and an estimate of his work by Alfred Holman, an able associate trained by him, and a second paper by his son, the compiler, on his writings, give the publication something of the character of a memorial.

F. G. YOUNG.

Thomas Chandler Haliburton ("Sam Slick"): A Study in Provincial Toryism. By *V. L. O.* CHITTICK, Ph.D., Professor in the Division of Literature and Language at Reed College. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924. Pp. 695. $4.00).

This contribution to American literary history is remarkable for two high qualities—it shows tireless search for the truth, and it sets before us the man, Thomas Chandler Haliburton, in his political, economic and social environment. Let me say at the outset that it is hard to believe any legends about the famous literary man of Nova Scotia will survive the merciless attack of Professor Chittick. The chapter in which the relation of other humorists to Haliburton is traced is a model, and it would make the book worth while even if the rest of the volume did not set before us an account of a very unusual personality and give us important information on subjects of great interest to the student of history as well as the student of literature.

The Yankee origin of the Nova Scotians is brought out clearly. Besides a considerable number of earlier settlers, New England sent two streams—those who took up the lands of the expelled Acadians after 1755 and the Loyalist refugees of the American Revolution. "The net result of the successive arrivals of

New Englanders in Nova Scotia was that the province speedily became what it still remains—a new New England."

Readers will find many valuable notes on the economic development of the Maritime Provinces in the first half of the nineteenth century. Haliburton believed in the future of his country, and one purpose which he had in writing the *Clockmaker, First Series* (1836), was to satirize the backwardness of his neighbors in taking advantage of the natural resources of the province. "There's neither spirit, enterprise, nor patriotism here; but the whole country is as active as a bear in winter." By contrast Americans were pictured as possessing most of the economic virtues. The creator of Sam Slick lived to see a great improvement in the welfare of the people of Nova Scotia. Perhaps his timely lecturing may have done some good.

If Haliburton admired the material success of the Yankees, he cared nothing for their politics. With the exception of a brief attack of liberalism in young manhood as a member of the House of Assembly, he remained through life a Tory of the straitest sect. His contempt for the colonial politicians who were fighting for self-government was profound. It was even suspected that he held to the divine right of kings. But in spite of all this he had some good ideas about the Colonial office, and never tired of pointing out the sublime ignorance displayed by that institution.

Narrow in many ways to the point of absurdity, our old Tory was yet able to see some of the big things of British imperialism. He thought the United Kingdom and the colonies should be brought into closer political union, and even suggested that colonial representatives should sit in the Imperial Parliament, although they should vote only on questions of colonial interest. All titles and honors should be open to colonials. In the end he came to advocate the union of all Canada, altthough he had been a violent opponent of Lord Durham, whose famous report had done so much to clear the way for the creation of this new British nation. But in the field of economics Judge Haliburton's ideas were much more influential. He grasped the significance of the railway and steamship in their early days, and never ceased to point out the great part rapid communication must play in holding the Empire together. His program was the following: 1. Steamship lines to the colonies, subsidized by Great Britain. 2. Completion of the Quebec and Halifax railway. 3. Extension as soon as possible of this line to "Fraser's River" on the Pacific. The last of these

proposals is of great interest to the people of the Northwest. When one recalls that this was written in 1860, nine years before there was a transcontinental railway in the United States, the boldness of the idea is impressive. "Whoever owns Vancouver Island must command the trade of the Pacific and the East." This island, in his opinion, would become the great depot for the exchange of the products of the East and those of the West. It was fitting that Haliburton should have interested himself in renewing the tombstone of Vancouver and that his grave is close to that of the great explorer.

Students of American literature will find in this book much more than the destruction of a myth. They will find the biography of an important writer, accurate beyond all cavil, and yet written in such manner that a real human being can be followed through his whole career as college boy, lawyer, legislator, man of letters, judge, and member of the British Parliament. He will find a careful account of Haliburton's writings. The bibliography and the footnotes will delight the soul of the most exacting scholar. It is to be hoped that Professor Chittick's duties as a teacher will not prevent him from giving us more studies of this kind.

CLEMENT AKERMAN.

Indians of the Northwest Coast. By PLINY EARLE GODDARD. (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1924. Pp. 176. 1 map; illustrated.)

Although this book is written especially as a guide to the Northwest Coast hall at the American Museum of Natural History, it stands as one of the finest brief accounts of a North American Indian group. The author has made a thorough study of the literature and in the summer of 1922 visited the territory under the guidance of Dr. C. F. Newcombe, erstwhile curator of the Provincial Museum at Victoria and an "old timer" on the coast.

The book will be of interest to historians of the Pacific Northwest because we have here for the first time an adequate account, briefly given, of the aboriginal life of this entire area. The volume deals with the native life from the border of Washington to Alaska. In the first chapter the author surveys the aspects of the country and its early exploration. This is followed by a splendid section on the economic life of these tribes, pro-

fusely illustrated with cuts of specimens at the Museum. The unique wood work technique is dwelt on at length, together with the more customary industrial pursuits. The chapter on social and political organization represents the most discriminating work in the book. The social organization and ceremonial life of these tribes is among the most complex and elaborate developed by any Indians north of Mexico. From a mass of descriptive detail the author has chosen the most significant points and presented them in a clear, concise manner. These tribes have a rigid caste system based on hereditary privileges and the accumulation of wealth. The chief is the one who has inherited and acquired the largest amounts. In order to retain his prestige he has to display his wealth by giving potlatches. In the winter months a person's clan and village affiliations were dropped and he sat in the potlatch house with the members of his secret society and participated in their ritual. It has taken ethnologists many years to unravel this shifting system of associations.

The art of the North Pacific coast people falls into two classes, the geometric designs used by the women in basketry, clothing decoration and weaving, and the semi-realistic art used by the woodcarvers. The subjects for this last named art are taken from the mythology and family traditions of the people. One of the privileges of the chiefs and other people of high rank was that they could display their family crests in carvings and paintings on their houses, on grave posts and on personal belongings. The canons of this art have been studied in considerable detail of which Goddard gives an excellent resume.

This sketch should be of great help to all who seek information on the aboriginal culture of this area, but who have neither the opportunity nor the need of dealing with the original sources. For many tribes there is excellent and fairly extensive material at hand; the author availed himself of this to the best advantage. The book shows fine press work and has very ample illustrations.

ERNA GUNTHER.

History of the American Frontier. By FREDERIC L. PAXSON (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924. Pp. 598. $6.00.)

Theodore Roosevelt's "Winning of the West" is the story of the conquest of the frontier; Frederick Jackson Turner's book on "The Frontier in American History" is a brilliant interpretation of the frontier and its significance; Frederic L. Paxson's recent

work seems to complete the trilogy, for it gives a chronological account of the frontier from 1763 to 1893. Roosevelt was the pioneer himself in spirit, convinced of the rightness of the pioneer, and proccupied, like the pioneer, with Indian fighting and treaty-making. Turner was the first to interpret the frontier in its relation to general development. His thesis with its emphasis on the frontier as the important factor in the development of democracy and of composite nationality has become classic. However, that thesis needed enlargement and this it has found in the recent work. Not that Mr. Paxson depends entirely on the former work, but more in the sense that he has begun with it and from there has advanced to some reinterpretation of the material, casting the whole of it into more definitive form.

The only criticism that could be made of the contents as far as the period covered is that one might question the limitation of the American frontier implied by the beginning date, 1763. Mr. Paxson writes: "The Ameriacn frontier takes shape in the final years of the century of colonial wars, and upon the return of peace starts upon the conquest of the continent. Its British origins survive to mould its life, but its destiny and its spirit have become American." The question of the date for the beginning of American as contrasted with "British" in describing the frontier is debatable, of course. The greater part of the movement westward from 1680 to 1763, especially in New England, seems to have been pushed by settlers who had before settled in America. However, the whole question is largely a matter of definition, and Mr. Paxson's use of the terms has ample support if considered from the more official point of view. This criticism applies only to the work when considered from the chronological and definitive point of view. Within the era discussed, it is an accurate and readable account with many references to the material in the field. Critical comments on the books and articles referred to are especially valuable and in fact, furnish the student with a comprehensive, annotated bibliography.

In addition, Mr. Paxson reinterprets portions of the field such as his discussion of the Indian policy, and summarizes problems—such as the Burr conspiracy, in the light of recent research. It is refreshing to find a frank and unbiased treatment of the Indian problem. "The best virtues of the whites led to Indian undoing, by destroying their livelihood and occupying their land." Mr. Paxson writes: "The vices of the whites were as outstanding as

their virtues, and even more disastrous. In whiskey the frontier farmer or trader had a cheap commodity for which the savage would pay a high price. The furs that he had taken months to collect would be traded for a song in whiskey. And after the Indian was drunk, he would barter anything, or make his mark on any paper or treaty, and thus from the white standpoint dispossess himself of everything else he had." In many other cases, Mr. Paxson reveals a salutary regard for facts that are often neglected, as the statement: "the Battle of Tippecanoe, doubtful victory that it was * * * broke the rising tide of Indian consciousness", where others have considered it a real victory; he calls the war of 1812, the western war of 1812, where many neglect the tremendous importance of western causes for that war; he calls a good deal of the material on the Burr conspiracy "gossip" where most writers have named them facts. Not only that, Mr. Paxson makes some interesting departures. His treatment of the period from 1800 to 1828 is introduced by a chapter on political theory of the frontier which makes a good analysis of the effect of frontier life on political thought. He also discusses the effect of such environment on contemporary habits of thought. For example, he writes: "The American worship of the self-made man has been founded in this general knowledge that most Americans in the beginning were self-made."

The general spirit in which this history is written is at once appreciative of the importance of the frontier with its epic quality and yet remains critical, filled with analytical discussions of frontier attitudes. Because of this, Mr. Paxson's contribution fills a real need.

EBBA DAHLIN.

Tales of a Western Mountaineer. By C. E. RUSK. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1924, Pp. 309. $2.50.)

The reputation of the author is much esteemed by members of The Mountaineers. They have felt that he was especially fond of Glacier Peak and Mount Adams as he had been one of the early explorers of those peaks. Those who read this well written and superbly illustrated (forty-one beautiful pictures) book will find that he is partial to those fine mountains; but they will also find that he has abundant love for the other mountains.

At the outset he says: "Mount Adams first came to me through the medium of half-realized childhood impressions. It

is among the earliest of my memories. Dim and misty, in the beginning, its image appeared far down the corridors of the nearly forgotten past. Gradually it took form and entity as my understanding grew. The years added to its distinctness. As I came physically nearer to it, it became more of a reality—a splendid and unusual reality, it is true. And at last we became friends and companions. Friends and companions I hope we shall always remain."

From that confession of his first mountain love, it is a delight to trace his development into a true mountaineer, knowing and loving all the wonderful snow mountains of the Pacific Northwest.

Chapter X. is headed "Regal Glacier Peak, Ice-King of the Northern Cascades". Members of The Mountaineers will find Chapter XII. of peculiar help at the present moment. It is captioned "The Mountain of Thrills" and deals with Mount Stuart. He tells of his two ascents in 1920 and 1921. As The Mountaineers expect to climb the same mountain in 1925, they should by all means ascertain why Mr. Rush calls it "The Mountain of Thrills."

The book is quite sure to become a favorite and if a second edition should be issued the author would do well to provide an adequate index.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

The Early History of the Lumber Trade of Kansas City. By CHARLES P. DEATHERAGE. (Kansas City: Deatherage, 1924. Pp. 40. $0.50.)

Steamboating on the Missouri River in the Sixties. By CHARLES P. DEATHERAGE. (Kansas City: Deatherage, 1924, Pp. 40. $0.50.)

These two booklets are reprints of a series of articles that have appeared in Kansas City periodicals, the first in the *Retail Lumberman* of 1922-1923, the second in the *Kansas City News-Press* in June and July, 1924. They are based largely upon the author's own reminiscences and contain many interesting incidents of early days. These informal accounts of pioneer days on the Missouri River add something to a composite picture of the West which the formal histories do not give.

The Expansion Movement in Texas, 1836-1850. By WILLIAM CAMPBELL BINKLEY. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1925. Pp. 253. $3.50.)

The purpose and value of the work is pointedly suggested by this sentence in the Preface: "The fact that this story is here put together for the first time makes it possible to draw certain definite conclusions, not only concerning the activities of the Texans themselves, but also concerning some of the factors which were behind these activities."

This *Quarterly* has often praised the excellent works labeled "University of California Publications in History." This is Volume 13 in that series.

Eskimo Folk-Lore. By D. JENNESS. (Ottawa: Government, 1924. Parts A and B. Pp. 90 and 192.)

The two parts comprise Volume XIII. of the *Report* of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18. Part A contains "Myths and Traditions from Northern Alaska, the Mackenzie Delta and Coronation Gulf." Part B is devoted to "Eskimo String Figures." A subhead on the title page is 'Southern Party 1913-16." Mr. Jenness, the author is attached to Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa, Canada.

Part B has many textual illustrations.

Lights and Shades of Pioneer Life on Puget Sound. By GEORGE E. BLANKENSHIP. (Olympia: Privately printed, 1923. Pp. 90. $1.75.)

The author of this interesting collection of anecdotes modestly disclaims any pretentions to writing history. The work is nevertheless well worth buying and preserving for the light it throws on the pioneer history of Olympia and its environs. Some of the topics covered are, "The first mail route," "A historical steamboat", "The first railroad", "Governor Stevens' arrival in the Territory", "Women in pioneer life", "The first circus", "Early political campaigns", "The first Catholic mission", Early newspaper publications", and "Early musical organizations". The work is strictly a local product and can be had only by writing to the author.

Captain Sol. Tetherow, Wagon Train Master. By FRED LOCKLEY. (Published by Fred Lockley, 1243 East Stark Street, Portland, Oregon. 1924. Pp. 27.)

This little booklet contains the personal narrative of Sam. Tetherow, son of Sol. Tetherow, Captain of a wagon train that crossed the Plains to the Willamette valley in 1845. In addition to the narrative by the son, there is here reproduced the constitution, minutes, and proceedings of the Society, together with a census of the emigration, the list of cattle drivers, and the roll of armed men, and a part of the journal of Captain Tetherow.

In addition to the above, the pamphlet contains a personal narrative of Jack McNemee, who was born in Portland in 1848, and whose father built the fourth house in Portland.

Arts, Crafts and Customs of the Guiana Indians. By WALTER EDMUND ROTH. (Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1924. Pp. 745. $3.00.)

This is the thirty-eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the year 1916-1917. The delay in publications by the Bureau is much greater since the World War. In this case only 21 pages are given to the annual report and the rest of the large volume is devoted to the modestly termed "Introductory Study" of the subject mentioned. The book is a fine sample of work by the Government Printing Office. It is abundantly illustrated with textual drawings as well as half-tone and colored plates.

Other Books Received

BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Reports of the President and Secretary. . . . January 13, 1925.* (Buffalo: Printed for the Members, 1925. Pp. 96.)

COLORADO STATE HISTORSCAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY. *Biennial Report, 1922-1924.* (Denver: The Society, 1925. Pp. 68.)

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Collections, Volume Twenty-One.* (Hartford: The Society, 1924. Pp. 567.)

GATES, SUSA YOUNG. *Memorial to Elizabeth Claridge McCune.* (Salt Lake: Privately printed, 1924. Pp. 117.)

HERESFORD, JUSTIN. *A Bridgeman of the Crossways.* (Boston: Marshall Jones, 1925. Pp. 290.)

HISTORICAL COMMISSION OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII. *Report for 1923-1924.* (Honolulu: Star-Bulletin, 1925. Pp. 49.)

HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO. *Publications, 1924.* (Cincinnati: The Society, 1924. Pp. 86.)

HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF SOUTH CAROLINA. *Transactions, Number twenty-nine.* (Charleston: The Society, 1924. Pp. 49.)

IDAHO STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Ninth Biennial Report, 1923-1924.* (Boise: The Society, 1924. Pp. 62.)

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Twenty-Fourth Biennial Report, 1922-1924.* (Topeka: State Printer, 1924. Pp. 99.)

LANDRUM, CHARLES H. *Michigan in the World War.* (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1924. Pp. 247.)

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Twenty-Third Biennial Report, 1923-1924.* (St. Paul: The Society, 1925. Pp. 89.)

MONTANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Seventeenth Biennial Report, 1923-1924.* (Helena: Society, 1924. Pp. 11.)

NEVADA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Papers, 1923-1924.* (Reno: Society, 1924. Pp. 503.)

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Minutes of the Committee and First Commission for Detecting Conspiracies, 1776-1778.* (New York: The Society, 1924 and 1925. Two volumes. Pp. 548- + 97.)

RIDDELL, WILLIAM RENWICK. *The Life of William Dummer Powell.* (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1924. Pp. 305.)

PACIFIC NORTHWEST AMERICANA

Auction Sales

In the April, 1924, issue of this *Quarterly,* attention was called to Mr. F. M. Hopkins' statement regarding an evident halt in the prices of Western Americana. An examination of the auction prices of the last twelve months proves that his remarks were prophetic. The records for the period yield two very definite conclusions: (1) that the offerings have not been so slight for many years, and (2) that the prices realized have been on the down grade.

At the Anderson Galleries on January 12 and 13, duplicates from the Library of Henry E. Huntington were sold. A total of 434 lots of Americana brought a total of $6,469.25. The following are samples of items relating to the Pacific Northwest:

Smet, P. J. de. *Missions de l'Oregon.* (*Checklist* 3690)----$ 5.00

Oregon. *Statutes of the Fifth and Sixth Regular sessions.* (Bush, 1855) ---------- 4.00

Webster, Kimball. *Gold seekers of '49.* (*Checklist* 4336)---- 2.50

Wilkes, Charles. *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition.* 6 vols. (*Checklist* 4393)---------- 5.00

On January 19, 20 and 21, a sale of "unusual and important Americana" occurred at the Anderson Galleries, the sum of $11,-342.85 being realized from the 783 lots offered. The following are among the titles sold at this sale:

Jackson, Sheldon. *Alaska and Missions on the North Pacific Coast.* (*Checklist* 1911)----------$ 1.50

Applegate, Jesse. *Recollections of my Boyhood.* (*Checklist* 107) ---------- 12.00

Cox, Ross. *Adventures on the Columbia River.* (*Checklist* 823) ---------- 8.00

Coyner, D. H. *The Lost Trappers.* (*Checklist* 834)-------- 8.50

Idaho. *Laws of the Territory of Idaho, First Session.* (Lewiston, 1864) ---------- 19.00

Oregon. *Statutes of a General Nature passed by the Legislature at the Second Session.* (Oregon City, 1851)----- 15.00

At the American Art Association on February 12 and 13 some three pages of items on Oregon were sold. A number of these were of comparative rarity but the prices were low.

"Paul Bunyan" a Best Seller

Collectors of western books will be interested to know that *Paul Bunyan,* by Esther Shephard, (Seattle, McNeil Press) is having a record sale. The first edition, issued late in December of 1924, was promptly exhausted and a second large edition is being rapidly taken by buyers from all parts of the United States. The sale has proven unexpectedly large and of course proves particularly cheering to those who are most interested in the development of western literature. The success of this volume may be due in part to the epic qualities of its hero but much credit is due to the literary ability of the author. Its success is a matter for local pride, as Dr. Chittick pointed out in his review in the January issue of this *Quarterly* "not because the book is the work of a western woman, or a study of a western folk-hero, or a by-product of a course of training in a western university, or the offering of a western publishing firm, though it is all of these things, but because it is a piece of decidedly excellent craftsmanship."

Halcyon Days in Port Townsend

Collectors of local books relating to the Pacific Northwest should not overlook an announcement regarding Judge Hanford's forthcoming *Halcyon Days in Port Townsend.* This volume is to be a historical novel in which real and created characters mingle in a story intended to reproduce the atmosphere of pioneer days. The volume will be illustrated with Curtis pictures taken in the Olympic Peninsula. The price is tentatively placed at $2.50 and orders should be sent directly to Judge C. H. Hanford, Colman Building, Seattle.

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Meeting of Historians

The 1925 meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association will be held in Seattle during the Tranksgiving Day recess of the colleges and universities.

Guest Professors of History

During the coming summer session the University of Washington will have the following guest Professors of History: Albert K. Heckel, Dean of Men at the University of Missouri and formerly Professor of History at Lafayette College; A. A. Trever, Professor of History at Lawrence College; Nicholas S. Kaltchas, Assistant Professor of History at the University of Montana; and John P. Pritchett, Assistant Professor of History at the University of Minnesota and at Macalester College, St. Paul.

Correction

In the January issue of this *Quarterly* the article on "Port Gamble, Washington" by E. G. Ames was deprived of an explanatory footnote explaining that the article had been written thirty years ago. It was published as a valuable document as Mr. Ames had gleaned the information from Cyrus Walker and others who have since passed away.

McKenney and Hall's Indians

Mr. Frank P. Dow of Seattle has donated to the University of Washington Library the first two volumes of McKenney and Hall's *History of the Indian Tribes of North America.* Special interest attaches to the set because the volumes came from the Library of the donor's grandfather, Mr. John W. Fenno of Boston. Mr. Fenno was one of a group of New England men who backed the publication of the set and these volumes came to him as one of the financial supporters of the enterprise. The work as a whole is in three volumes in elephant folio. Besides the text it contains many colored plates reproducing with fidelity and spirit the features and costumes of the American Indian of one hundred years ago.

Principal Articles in the Washington Historical Quarterly

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 1839 ..... *Howard M. Ballou*

VOLUME XV

The Tercentenary of a Great Failure ..... *H. H. Gowen*
Journals of the Indian War of 1855-1856 ..... *J. Orin Oliphant*
Frederick Homer Balch ..... *Delia M. Coon*
Idaho Pioneer of 1864 ..... *Mrs. James D. Agnew*
Reminiscenses of Mrs. Delia B. Sheffield ..... *William S. Lewis*
The Grand Coulee ..... *Henry Landes*
The Grand Coulee in History ..... *Edmond S. Meany*
Atanum Valley Fifty-four Years Ago ..... *Albert J. Thompson*
The Benjamin P. Cheney Academy ..... *J. Orin Oliphant*
Robert Moore in Oregon History ..... *J. Orin Oliphant*
Chief Patkanim ..... *Edmond S. Meany*
North West and Hudson's Bay Companies ..... *Aaron Newell*
Secret Aid for Oregon Missions ..... *Edmond S. Meany*
Oregon's Provisional Post-Office ..... *Walter M. Underhill*
The Oregon Mint ..... *T. Elmer Strevey*
Reminiscences of Joseph H. Boyd ..... *William S. Lewis*

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

Announcements

¶ The centennial year of Fort Colville has brought forth much valuable historical material. Two additional articles are already in hand for the July issue of this *Quarterly*.

¶ Preparations are advancing for an elaborate celebration of Vancouver's centennial from July 4 to August 4 of this year. It is hoped that a number of historical documents may be procured to add a permanent value to the occasion.

¶ Present day officers of the Hudson's Bay Company in London, Winnepeg and British Columbia are showing a lively interest in the attention being given to the history of their organization in the early days of the Oregon Country.

¶ Judge F. W. Howay has kindly shared with readers of this *Quarterly* a paper he prepared for the Hawaiian Historical Society.

The Washington Historical Quarterly

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VOL. XVI. NO. 3 JULY, 1925

ISSUED QUARTERLY

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THE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
UNIVERSITY STATION
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

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University of Washington Press
Seattle

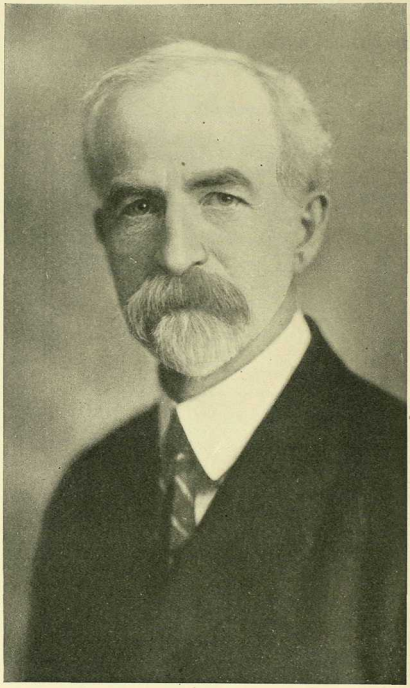
To the Class of Nineteen Hundred Twenty-five

Mrs Meany and I are of the Class of 1885 and now, forty years later, through love of Alma Mater, we offer congratulations on your joyous Commencement Day. Will you accept this token of esteem and with it the hope that each of you may know the happiness that comes from sustained devotion to the ideals of the University of Washington?

"May God be with you 'till we meet again"

EDMOND S. MEANY
CLASS OF 1885

15 JUNE, 1925



The Mountain Encircled

I

THE gulls from port and steamer track have fled
To build scant nests on wilder shore;
Young quail, mere flecks of striped down,
Are quick to every fancied danger's thrill,
And ptarmigans have donned their dusky brown
For work; no feathered kith or kin are still
When summer swings the golden-hinged door
And each by sheerest love of life is led
Out to the sun; so I feel drawn by beck'ning breeze
And go this joyous hour to neighbor with the trees.

II

There lies a friendly forest path I know
Where lofty needled boughs salute the sun
And mossy mounds lift jewelled flowers
To point anew the old and gladsome way,
The upward way, to heights where all the hours
Are morning and a world's new day
Reveals the Alpine heather lately won
From out the depths of slow receding snow.
I rise and all the aging years are backward flung
For soil up here and flower and even time are young.

III

Some trees are bent and winter-tempest scars
Proclaim the cruel stress of yesterday;
Yet lily-gardens, aster-strewn, and lupine pearls,
Between the snow and wind-scarped granite prongs,
Awake, as round the peak a signal whirls
And Dawn, victorious, throws her lavish songs
On winds that set the meadowed flowers at play
Beneath the rosy blush of hiding stars.
And now, O Mountain Dawn, I own thy magic art
That stirs anew the youth, the youth still in my heart!

IV

Above the flowers a thousand voices call,
The upward lure of wide eternal snows,
Where jagged cliffs look down on rivers swift
In brawling race, tumultuous to'rd the sea.
We climb o'er ice from rift to gleaming rift,
To crest where star and earth in kinship free
May touch the blue; transcendent glory glows
And clasps the soul of man, ecstatic thrall!
O, spare some strength of flesh and nerve, ye gnawing years,
To meet the surging call my willing spirit hears!

V

From park to park, the mountain splendor-chain,
These precious links, embossed above the clouds
With em'rald spire or cave of crystal ice
Or silver sheen of amethystine lake,
Give hints as of the gates of Paradise!
Ah, nevermore can earthly visions take
From me this wealth; though loud the jarring crowds
May claim lean hours among their strivings vain,
My inmost soul these mountain gems secure will hold
And eyes half closed will see the summer-frames of gold.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

Dedicated to the Class of 1925
University of Washington
Junior Day, 24 May, 1924

The
Washington Historical Quarterly

WHEN SHERIDAN WAS IN OREGON*

I have lived here nearly ever since Oregon became a member of the family of the United States. My father was one of the young huskies that called Uncle Sam's bet, that of land, but he did not risk my mother's life. He succeeded and went through the Indian war of 1856 without a scratch. His land was about three or four miles from the Lower Cascades at what is now called Warrendale. At the Cascades there were about eighteen or nineteen men, women and children massacred by the Indians—surprised at the break of day I think on April 2 [March 26], 1856.

There was a man who had just taken up a claim joining that of my father, by the name of Thomas Pierce, and he and my father had formed a kind of partnership; between them they had one gun and one small boat. Their claims were, of course, right on the bank of the Columbia River, no roads, not even a trail in most places, and the only way to travel was by boat and then they were informed by the Indian Agent who was fleeing in a canoe, that the Cascades was at the mercy of the Indians. They held a hasty consultation and proceeded to carry all their property that they could not take with them and hide it in the thick woods, expecting their cabins would be burned.

Pierce owned a gun and my father owned the small boat. There was a trail at that time from opposite there to the Lower Cascades. They lost some time in deciding what course to pursue. My father wanted to go down the river from the Cascades and meet help which he suspected would be forthcoming. Pierce thought it would not be the right thing to do for him to take his gun and go away from the poor creatures that were at the mercy of the Indians, not knowing but that they were all dead already. He insisted on taking his chances on going to the Cascades by the trail mentioned and argued that one man was just as good as two where they had only one gun and it an old fashioned muzzle load-

*This article was obtained for the *Washington Historical Quarterly* by Mrs. Lulu D. Crandall, of The Dalles, Oregon, a pioneer who remembers Turner Fenner Levens from childhood. She says that the father of the author, Dr. H. F. Levens, was a prominent man and, in addition to being sheriff of Skamania County, as here told by the son, was for a time Commissioner of Wasco County on the Oregon side of the Columbia. She is delighted that Turner Levens has put his recollections into permanent form.—EDITOR.

ing rifle, and said father could do just as good service by taking the boat and go after help, which course they finally took. Father conveyed Pierce across the river and they separated, not knowing but forever.

Pierce made the trip to the Cascades all safe but was wounded later when the surviving few were trying to escape in a bateau at the lower Cascades, but what is now known as Old Garrison, opposite Bonneville. Father made his get-away as fast as he could down the river until he met a small steam boat called the *Fashion Belle*, on which was General Sheridan with a few soldiers and some volunteers. He boarded the little steamer and went back to the Cascades. When they arrived, they could see no Indians; the buildings were all burned to the ground and seemed deserted, but when they attempted to make a landing they soon heard from the Indians by whistling messengers that they sent to the white man and as yet they were hardly visible as they were hidden in the thick timber and brush along the bank.

General Sheridan was then a young Lieutenant but, as proved later, was good material. My father said he was at that time. As they could not see any Indians to shoot at and getting one man shot dead, they decided that it was best to retire to their boat where they had a small, old-fashioned smooth bored cannon, I think, about two inch bore. I have seen it many times since but never measured it. When the Indians saw the enemy retreat, they began to appear but too far away for the guns we had then. Our young commander commenced to prepare the little old cannon and commenced to shoot in the direction of the most Indians he could see. As soon as the Indians became aware that they were being shot at by a cannon which they learned by having the top of a small tree cut off right among them, they became terror stricken and disappeared. While their little boat was still laying off shore, trying to see Indians to shoot at, they noticed a number o canoes crossing the river further up in the rapids where their little steamer could not go. Sheridan ordered the boat to make a trial but she failed and then the little party landed and proceeded on foot to what is now known as Bradford Island just above Bonneville. They did not go far until they found quite a bunch of Indians though apparently peaceful. They took charge of the party, however, having in mind safety first. They then proceeded to cross the river and make their way by land to what was then known as the Middle Block House, now known as Sheridan's Point, where there had been a block house

previously built for just such an occasion as this and where was supposed to be some people still fighting for life.

When they reached the block house there were no Indians in sight, but about this time a company of cavalry had come from the opposite direction blowing their bugle calls which made the Indians hard to catch or see. At the block house they found quite a few people still alive, some dead, some wounded. Farther up the rapids, at what was then known as Bradford's Store, at Upper Cascades, they found another group who had had even a worse time than the little party at the Middle Block house. They too, had some dead and wounded and at the saw mill about one-half mile from Bradford Store none had escaped; men, women and children—all were murdered; some in their beds it is thought, while the buildings were all burned. As near as I can remember, there was either eighteen or nineteen killed and perhaps about the same number wounded. Some of the settlers near Bradford's Store had escaped by the little steamer *Mary*, which at that time laid over at the store three nights in the week and the other three at The Dalles, which was the other end of her run and it is said that the poor little *Mary* received quite a few bullet holes in her cabin while she was making her getaway with her captain playing peek-a-boo with the Indians by keeping his head below the windows in the pilot house, only raising it often enough to keep his course. I could relate a great many other incidents in regard to the Indian massacre if space would permit and my memory was good, but there are parts of most of them that I am not positive about and another thing is that the different survivors do or did not exactly agree on some minor incidents, but in the main they agreed very well.

There were some that exhibited signs of great bravery while there were others who showed signs of cowardice. For instance, Pierce, when he was shot, did not make any outcry at all but said coolly: "Boys, somebody will have to take this oar—they fixed me—"; and just at that time a young man in the boat screamed and said he was killed and made such a noise that hardly anybody heard what Pierce had said. On a hasty examination it was found that the young fellow had only a slight crease wound which might have been as painful as Pierce's wound. Pierce was a small man but had a very large voice and when the young fellow refused to be quiet, Pierce shouted: "Throw that d—— fool overboard and hand me my gun; I can shoot yet if I can't row."

Another exhibition of bravery was enacted at another bateau near by where Pierce was and about the same time by S. M. Hamilton whom I believe to be one among if not the bravest man that I knew and I was personally acquainted with nearly all of them later. Hamilton was another one of the men that called Uncle Sam's bet. He successfully crossed the plains in 1852 and located a Donation land claim on what later became known as Hamilton's Island of six hundred and forty acres, and later took up a homestead joining the Donation, making in all something over seven hundred acres, all of which is still together as the S. M. Hamilton estate, not yet divided and is quite valuable at the present time. Hamilton, with his family, was hastily getting ready to skip at the same time the party at the Old Garrison was, one-half mile farther up the river, and when the party was just about ready which consisted of the Hamilton family with about five children and two or three single men, and maybe another small family (I am not sure about that) but they were gathered on the beach to embark in their bateau in sight of the other party at the Old Garrison. They by this time could hear the Indians' rifles popping like pop corn in a skillet with a tin lid on. They noticed a woman coming across the rocky bar between them and the old garrison where Sheridan landed later and lost one of his men. The woman was carrying a child and a large carpet bag and was hurrying with all her strength. All of Hamilton's party was by this time in the boat ready, but Hamilton said: "We must wait for that woman," and at once started to meet her, but he seemed to have had a hunch and turned to look back and saw some of the young men just starting to push the boat off. He ran back to the boat and grabbed up his gun; he was also known to be a good shot. "Now," said he, "the first man that attempts to push this boat off and leave that woman will surely be a dead man if this gun doesn't fool me." That settled it and the woman and child gained the boat and were saved. Her name was that time McNatt, but her husband died later and she remarried and her name is now Mrs. Wm. Wallis and if still alive she lives at Port Ludlow, Washington.

Hamilton was a common sized man, very pleasant, a good neighbor and good entertainer with a very even temper; he did not seem to try to get rich; he had many opportunities to do so but he always had plenty and tried to be happy and make others happy. He would never hurt anybody's feelings without just

cause and was generally cautious in all things which some newcomers sometimes mistook for cowardice but whenever they tried the right way to find out they invariably found their mistake. It has been said he was in the crowd that killed Joe Smith at Nauvoo, Ill., but that is not sure. I will say for my part that if Hamilton thought it was right he surely had the backbone to be there. Mr. Hamilton died I think in 1889 or 1890 and Pierce was drowned in the Chehalis River a few years earlier, accidentally. My memory interferes with my story considerably. I would like to tell just who was the captain of the little steamer *Mary* that I spoke of before. I think, however, that it was Captain Dan Baughman, brother of the old pioneer Captain Ephraim Baughman, who I think now lives at or near Lake Chelan. Captain Dan Baughman was drowned on the Lower Columbia. I never heard the details of his death.

And now back to the block house: As soon as all the living survivors were found and the wounded and dead taken care of, Colonel Wright, I think, who was in command of the U. S. Army of this district sought what Indians had really done the murdering at the Cascades by taking Indian evidence. He found that some of the Indians that Sheridan and his party had taken prisoners on Bradford's Island were really guilty and he speedily hanged everyone that he could find sufficient proof against, ten in all, I think. He hanged the best Indian that ever belonged to the Cascade tribe—Tumult was his name. In justice to Colonel Wright I will say that it was not his fault, for he convicted him on Indian evidence as he did the rest. Tumult was the real chief of the Cascade tribe and it transpired later that he flatly refused to join the mutiny that was probably planned by other tribes to exterminate the white race on this coast. The Cascades at that time was a very important point as all the supplies had to go through that point to reach Eastern Oregon and Washington, and if they could take and hold it they could easily exterminate all the whites east of the point. If they could not destroy them farther west they could at least hold them back from Eastern Oregon and Washington and as the Cascades seemed to be an ideal, easy place for the Indian to hold, the plan was to carry it out. They would have made a lot of trouble for Uncle Sam and the Mossbacks but when they got the Cascades, they found quite a quantity of whiskey which they quickly devoured and a great many of them became drunk and demoralized, which I suspect was one cause of their failure.

Pierce foresaw that very thing and argued with the rest of the party that abandoned the old garrison where the whiskey was stored. Pierce wanted to stick around close by and come back at the Indians when they became thoroughly mixed with the whiskey and do them right, but the party could not agree; some of them had cold feet; that was what made them late in getting away; they had plenty of time if they had not spent so much of it in arguing the point; they were still arguing when the Indians charged the place.

Now, I will go back to Tumult: Some of the Indians told in their testimony that Tumult had given guns and ammunition to the Indians to fight the whites; Tumult replied to that by saying that he did and if he had not he would have been killed himself, and by doing so, they promised not to molest him. But in the absence of other proof his story seemed fishy to the Colonel and his court martial so that they did not pay any attention to it, and hanged him. Now, I think that Tumult was so badly surprised that he got rattled, for he could have told perhaps who all the main Indians were who originated the plan. He knew so well that he had really been friendly to the whites that he could not believe they would hang him after what he had told them and what he had done for them. Tumult would surely have been cleared if the white settlers had attended the trial, but they were all busy attending to their own affairs in gathering up their worldly goods and getting organized again. It all came out later when it was too late to save Tumult, who had told all the whites that he could get to listen to him that the Indians were going to try to kill off the whites and take the Cascades. He said he did not know just when they would do so but he thought very soon. Tumult, on the morning of the outbreak, went to where Bonneville now is and got an old man that lived there alone (I don't know his name but we always called him "Chips." He was an old ship's carpenter). He took him in his canoe to safety and in many ways favored and befriended the whites. It was hard for Tumult to realize that they would hang him.

There were some very amusing incidents and still some very sad ones. One of the saddest I remember was an old German and his son, fourteen or fifteen years old. They ran desperately toward the Block House as everybody did when they found the Indians were upon them. The old gentleman was lucky enough to get there, but the boy was wounded and fell right in sight of

the Block House and the wound would probably not have been fatal if he could have had proper care and treatment, but it would have been certain death to the man that tried to rescue the boy as he lay at the base of a steep hill covered with timber. The Indians could overlook that road or trail over which people would go in reaching the block house from the west. The Indians could sneak down to within a few feet of the boy without being seen by the occupants of the Block House, which they did and the poor boy was thinking perhaps that his friends did not see him. He would raise on one side and motion to them for help and the Indians that were nearest to him would shoot an arrow into his body as often as he would try to signal. The poor father was almost distracted and tried his very best to go to his son's rescue, but was prevented by his friends inside the Block House.

The Block House was, as near as I am able to say, about twenty feet square on the ground, the first story, and about twenty-four feet square on the upper story, with a projection of about two feet all around the building, thereby making a protection against the Indians setting it on fire at the corners. It was provided with port holes about two inches by six or eight inches perpendicular on the outside but perhaps twelve inches square on the inside so as to allow the gun to be pointed in different directions. It was built of fir logs close together and I think the one at Sheridan's Point had a log floor with a ladder or stairs from the lower to the upper, which was not very high either; I have played in it when I was about nine years old and dug out some bullets from the wall, but lost them years ago.

I do not know how many deaths there were in the Block House, but I remember one who was a friend of my father by the name of Griswold, and it seems to me that there were others. There were several in there that were wounded on their way there. A boy, nearly grown, right near the Block House, heard the shooting and went out on the porch to see what was the matter and was shot and wounded. His mother picked him up and ran to the Block House safely; she had two other sons that came in later safely. She was a widow; her name was Sneck; she and her husband started to take Uncle Sam's bet but he died on the plains before he reached Oregon and the widow stayed a while with Dr. Whitman at his famous mission, but came on before the Whitman massacre, and later completed her part of the wager with Uncle Sam and won and finally obtained title to three hundred and twenty acres of land.

There was one incident I remember hearing told that seemed rather amusing to me, though I guess it was not amusing to the parties that enacted it. There was a tall, strong man by the name of Moffet, and a little short German (I have forgotten his last name, but they called him Peter) who were running to the Block house from the west. Moffet could excel Peter in sprinting and soon left Peter far in the rear, but before he got out of hearing he kept calling to Peter: "Run, Peter, run faster." But Peter was beginning to fag and he stopped and shouted to Moffet: "Run faster be d——, I can no faster run—my legs no so long like yours." When Moffet came along where the boy was later killed, the Indians that were stationed on the hillside all took a shot at him and one of them hit Moffet but did not kill him and he ran on and made the Block House. When Peter came along a few seconds later the Indians' guns were all empty and they had nothing but arrows to send after him and he went through without a scratch.

Another incident that always got on my nerves was a young fellow by the name of Galentine was running to the Block House from the east. He was unarmed and he noticed an old Indian partly lying upon a big stone with a long, single barrelled shot gun. The young fellow was on the alert and dodged into the brush as soon as he saw the Indian and sneaked along a few steps and watched the Indian; he soon made up his mind that the Indian could hear him but could not see him for he was winking and blinking like a toad in a thunder storm. Galentine wanted that gun pretty badly at that particular time so he sneaked around behind the old Indian and with a big stone laid him out and took the gun and ran on all right. Long afterwards I owned the gun and it was a good shooter. I killed many ducks and geese and other small game, but I always disliked the history of the gun and I traded it off for a rifle.

I will try to describe Colonel Wright's primitive but effective mode of executing the Indians of the Cascade massacre. He found a large cottonwood tree handy and fastened a rope to a limb. He then proceeded to place an empty barrel on end. He then placed the Indian on the barrel and adjusted the noose around the Indian's neck and when all was ready the barrel was kicked out from under the Indian and that was supposed to settle that particular case. However, he found one case that puzzled him some before he got through with it. He had con-

victed an Indian by the name of Chinowith who without doubt was a brave Indian and was said not to have been a bad Indian by some people that knew him at that time. I do not remember what the charge was against him or how he pled, but I remember he told the Colonel that the white man could not kill him by any means and surely meant it and it proved not to be all hot air either. When the barrel was kicked out from under him, he did not show any signs of death. They put him on the barrel again and changed the noose and gave him more drop, but the effect was the same. I am not sure how many times they tried that scheme, but they concluded to shoot him to death and I have heard that it took six shots from a large dragoon pistol to finally execute him.

Now, as I said before, the Indians were nearly all convicted by Indian evidence and in one case they had one Indian upon the barrel who had been convicted of burning a house. He pled not guilty but now he saw that it was of no avail he spoke out in Chinook: "Catah mika wake iscum Gabrel yaka mamook pish cope George Jonson house," which means in English, "Why don't you get Gabrel—he burned George Jonson's house." They noted his evidence and the next Indian executed was Gabrel who was already in attendance, being one of the party that Sheridan had taken prisoner on Bradford's Island.

There were perhaps many other incidents of equal interest that my faulty memory prevents me from relating. I was, however, not present to witness all I have been telling you for I was only five years old at that time and was with my mother in the state of Illinois on my father's little farm that he left to call Uncle Sam's bet in the year 1852. My father was a young man at that time, having been born in the year 1824 in the state of New York. My father, previous to his coming west, had been studying to become a doctor with an old time doctor and friend of his, but before he finished his course, his doctor friend died, leaving to my father all his books, etc. Medical schools in those days were very few and costly, so my father for the time being abandoned his studies and came west over the great plains to gamble with Uncle Sam. He came with a party of his friends by ox team and later was pressed into service as a doctor. He lacked, however, both confidence and medicine, which worried him greatly, but he gradually gained confidence and did exceedingly well, considering the circumstances and only lost one case, according to my memory—the wife of his particular friend,

Henry Burlingame, later an old resident of Vancouver and a son-in-law of the old pioneer, Short, whose land claim is now a great part of the City of Vancouver.

Although my father had succeeded in curing and nursing through quite a number of cases of mountain fever and the like, he was very much hurt and discouraged by losing the case of his particular friend and had made up his mind that when he got into civilization, he would quit the profession, but later he realized that he had decided to do something that was very difficult. When he arrived on this coast he found that his services as a doctor were even more sought after than on the plains, so he was obliged to continue against his wishes and also greatly handicapped by lack of drugs that he particularly needed. He worked away as best he could and his friends helped him to import drugs and herbs and he succeeded quite satisfactorily.

In one instance I remember, he wrote back east to some of his relatives for some burdock seed which has been a curse to the Oregon and Washington farmer ever since, but may have been some benefit to the country in general. I will not say as to that point. My father was not noted for his bravery but still was not noted in the opposite direction. Although his ancestors were somewhat of a fighting nature, he did not incline that way. His grandfather on his mother's side, Turner Fenner, was a captain under George Washington in the Revolutionary War of 1776 and came through alive. I still have his old fashioned pocketbook that his mother made for him when he went to war, which contains some of his old papers as well as some of the later generations.

My grandfather on my mother's side went through the war of 1812, not as a soldier, for he was too young, but as a teamster; he and his two older brothers were Frenchmen who had just emigrated to Canada. Their older brothers had taken up land claims in Canada but when the war broke out between the United States and Great Britain the three brothers came over and joined the United States army and went through alive, and later when the war was over, the older brothers went back to Canada and learned that their land, as well as everything else that they left there, had been confiscated by the Government, so they returned to the United States and remained there. My grandfather later married a Yankee woman of Vermont by the name of Hosmer. His name was James St. Ores. So my ancestors, if not I, have

done something for this great United States. As for me, I have always been more on the order of my father in the fighting line, with the quick temper of my mother. I never would fight anybody until I was crazy mad and then I would not have sense enough to use any judgment, so of course, I most always got the worst of it, but I think there is some excuse for me in the circumstances of my early life. I was born in June, 1851, and my father left his family temporarily, in 1852, before I was quite one year old. He returned home either in the last days of 1857 or the first ones of 1858, which made his absence from his family nearly six years. I was then nearly seven years old and of course could not remember ever seeing my father and did not know what he looked like. When he came home, he wore a long, black beard and a heavy, bushy black head of hair. He was a man six feet one inch in height. He did not look like the mind picture I had made of him. I was disappointed in him and positively refused to go to him when he asked me to do so and he, having been away from children so long, did not have the knack or desire to make up with me, so we never did work well together.

I left home at thirteen and have been my own boss ever since; but my younger sister, who was born soon after my father's departure for Oregon and is now Mrs. L. Reed of 349 Cook Avenue, seemed to like father better and made up with him soon and agreed better than he and I. I dearly loved my mother and she realized my predicament and sympathized with me, but I could not understand at that time what was the matter. It came to me later on plain enough.

Well, the locality where we lived in Illinois was practically a new country, and schools were rare things with only about three months in a year and hard to reach, and I did not reach many of them. The last school that I went to there, my sister and I walked about a mile across a lake on the ice. I do not remember how cold it was there, but the ice on the lake generally froze about three feet thick, and when we arrived in Oregon across the plains in November, 1859, we found the school proposition worse than where we had come from, so I have practically grown up ahead of schools, railroads, and telegraph and modernism.

Away back in the early sixties a man who was then known as General Palmer conceived the idea of building a road up the south bank of the Columbia River from Portland to The Dalles. He was aware that he did not have sufficient funds of his own

to do as he wished, so he tried to interest other parties who did. He was not a modern man but honest and upright. He could not interest capital in that direction, which would have been a great utility for Oregon and Washington at that time, as Eastern Oregon and Washington had just commence to settle up and the only means of transportation was by the O. S. N. Company's line of steamboats with good boats and a portage railroad both at the Cascades and The Dalles.

They had good men in their employ and paid them good wages. Fuel and all other expenses were high but to offset the expenses they charged a good high tariff and really had a good thing, like the negro's coon trap, that would "catch 'em goin' or comin'." But if General Palmer could have gotten his wagon road, it would not have been much benefit to the O.S.N. Company, but would have been a great saving to the settlers of Eastern Oregon and Washington, but it would not go. The O. S. N. had the cash, but they could not see the necessity for such a road, so Palmer, after becoming disgusted trying to raise fund, concluded to try to build a trail with what means he had which he did to a certain extent. He was shy on funds and a man of his class could not get funds then much more than he can now, so his trail was primitive and the first winter it became blocked the same as our noted Columbia Highway does and always will, and poor Palmer was hardly able to open it in the spring. He made an effort however, but only got curses for his efforts from the poor mossbacks or webfeet as they were then called, who would try to drive a band of cattle or sheep or horses over Palmer's trail. They wanted it level and paved like the present highway and perhaps would not have objected to the electric lights, but they, like the automobile, were not in sight yet but were waiting just around the corner for the modern man. Palmer was obliged to abandon his trail at quite a loss.

Later some member of the Oregon Legislature (a Wasco County man, I think) managed to get an appropriation of $50,000 to build a common wagon road over the same ground that General Palmer had tried to build a trail. Fifteen thousand dollars was set aside for the survey, which was started from The Dalles end of the proposed road. When the survey reached the Cascades the funds for that purpose were exhausted, so whoever was in command came to a wise conclusion by putting the whole affair into the hands of a practical man by the name of John Marden, with

instructions to build a good, practical road as cheaply and as far as the remaining thirty-five thousand would reach, and Marden succeeded by using good, common horse sense and economy, in making a fairly good road, bridges and all, as far as the Lower Cascades or Bonneville.

He paid no attention to the survey for which fifteen thousand dollars had been squandered. If he had followed the survey he would not have covered half the distance he did. Marden's equipment was not expensive nor his mode of operations. His outfit consisted of sufficient tools, a few tents, a small boat and perhaps a team and wagon, plenty of provisions and a few good men, not even a secretary or stenographer or clerk of any kind, but he got there just the same.

The first creek east of Warrendale was originally named Pierce Creek by the Government surveyor, who was father to Captain Pen Short, now in active service on the river. After that Pierce who lived nearest to that stream, whom I mentioned before as being a partner of my father, who was wounded by the Indians at Cascades in 1856, and I think in justice to the old pioneers, he should be entitled to the name still; and Crown Point, now in my nearly sixty years' residence along the banks of the Columbia River, the only name I ever heard for what is now called Crown Point was an Indian name Lamai Lemati, which means Old Woman Mountain, which was said to have derived its name from an old Indian woman who was partly blind who climbed up the mountain for some purpose that was never explained to me. It was said she slipped and slid down the hill and was killed, and therefore the name in her honor. Perhaps Hood River was formerly named Dog River by either Lewis and Clark or Astor's party, but of course they are all dead, as well as Pierce, and they are of no consequence to modern Oregon any more.

Had not the old Pioneers organized into a society, they too would have been completely covered up from sight and memory insofar as the majority of the people are concerned, but thanks be to George H. Himes and others who have been so active in preserving the honor and respect and memory of the old pioneers. Only for them we would be practically forgotten. I did not take any interest in the Association of the Oregon Pioneers until a few years ago when I saw such an effort to cover them up entirely. I used to have quite a few old pioneer relics; most of

them, however, have got away from me. I had the old leather game pouch or ammunition bag that my old time friend Pierce was wearing when he was shot by the Indians, with the bullet hole through it which probably saved his life, the bullet having passed through five or six thicknesses of the leather that it was made of.

Sometime in the seventies I loaned it to the Oregon Museum then located in Portland, with the solemn understanding that it belonged to me and that I could come and get it at any time I so chose and that it should not leave the Museum without my consent, but the Museum disappeared when I was not looking and with it my much prized pouch. I still have an old violin that has quite a history. It is said to have left some town in Canada, Montreal, I think, some time in the spring of 1813, in possession of a French trapper in the employ of the Northwest Fur Company, but just what year it reached Oregon my informant did not know, but thought perhaps two or three years later. When it finally settled down with its owner, whose name I have forgotten if I ever knew it, but who took up a land claim at or near Champoig, Oregon, and took to himself an Indian woman for his wife and reared a family. One of his sons became an expert fiddler of that day but later became addicted to the use of strong drink to such an extent that he could not be depended upon to play when he was most wanted. He had become owner of my violin at that time, of which he was said to have always taken great care, drunk or sober. When he would lay out in the rain and get soaked, the violin was always protected. When his profession was ruined, he got reckless one day and pawned it to a saloon keeper in Dayton, Oregon, for fifteen dollars and failed to redeem it, and in 1873, I think, I bought it from the man who got it from the saloon keeper for the amount loaned but I had to pay more than that amount. I have forgotten, but I gave him an old English Bulls' Eye watch and between twenty and thirty. I would not have been able to get it for that price but he thought he had ruined it.

I had never seen it at the time I bought it, but heard it many times as I was passing his house and I was satisfied it was a great instrument, but when I came to try it I was disappointed. I soon found the difficulty and remedied it, but the old finger board was worn so badly that it was very difficult to note it properly and the holes for the keys were worn so large that home made

keys had to be used to get them large enough to fit. I took it to several men who claimed to be violin repairers who always wanted it and the first one finally offered me sixty dollars, which I refused promptly, but the repairs he made were no good so I tried another man who did better, and later I was advised to try John G. Henrici, who did better and who I was well acquainted with. As soon as he looked at it, he said that it either was a very good counterfeit or a genuine Maggina violin, but he found it necessary to take it all apart as the glue which held it together had given out, and when he had it apart he quickly decided that it was genuine and before I got it home, he was offered three hundred dollars for it. He advised me not to take it which was unnecessary, however, for I was making some money at that time and was in demand, not that I was an expert but because I could make lots of noise and they could depend on me to stay sober and keep the noise going all night long if necessary, which they could not do with a great many fiddlers of that day.

I have been taken body, boots, fiddle and all, ten fifteen and even twenty miles to play for some country dance and sometimes when it was bitter cold and stormy, either in a small boat or canoe, sometimes on horseback, and even on foot at times, but modernism has knocked all that in the head years ago. I am too old, but the old fiddle is just as good as it was when it played for a dance at Champoeg the night after the great pow-wow that decided that Oregon was United States Territory many years ago, although it has probably been fixed up several times during its life. It is two or three times my age and still hale and hearty.

An Early Feud in Oregon

From my recollections, the feud of Bush and Bradford started in 1859 when the Donation Land Claims of that district were surveyed by the United States Government.

Isaac Bush and D. F. Bradford, about the same time in the early fifties, had marked off their land claims so that the two claims overlapped, and when the survey came the trouble commenced and a long law suit resulted, which was carried through the courts until Bush became short of funds. Bradford, however, had been prosperous in business and with the aid of a relative, by the name of Flint, had built a tramway or railroad from the Upper Cascades to what was then called Middle Block House,

but now known as Sheridan's Point, and by that means had become interested in a line of small steamboats plying between Portland and The Dalles, and used his little mule railroad to transport the freight around the rapids.

They had by this time improved on their little steamboat's power so they could run up the rapids in the low stage of the river as far as the Middle Block House, and in the high stage they had little schooners, built very much like the Columbia River fish-boats, only larger, with plenty of sail and when the wind was good they could very nearly sail over the whole rapids. Some times the wind would be from the east or down stream, as we called it, for several days, so they always had teams on hand to haul the freight and passengers as far as the Middle Block House, then the passengers were conveyed to the Upper Cascades with coaches.

P. F. Bradford was, I think, also interested with his brother, D. F., in the little railroad, and also had a store at the Upper Cascades at the upper end of the road and the boat landing, and he was also quite prosperous and so naturally helped his brother in the fight over the claim.

I remember that when I arrived at that place in the fall of 1859 there was trouble brewing between Bush and the Bradfords. I was only eight years old then and my father cared for the wharf boat at the Lower Cascades and took care of a team of eight mules for the Bradfords and the steamboat company. During the following winter or spring he was either appointed or elected Sheriff of Skamania county, which with all his other work, made him a very busy man.

There was a man at that time by the name of Edmond Sullivan, a master shipbuilder, in the employ of the steamboat company. I think he was then building the old steamer *Idaho,* at the Upper Cascades, on the Oregon side of the river. He was a noble and fearless man. I think the first time I remember seeing Mr. Sullivan was in the spring of 1860. He came to our house early in the morning before we were up with a prisoner who killed a man by the name of Andrews at Upper Cascades. The prisoner's name was Donovan. Sullivan had volunteered to arrest the man and had walked him from the Upper Cascades to the Lower Cascades, about five miles, and turned him over to my father, who was sheriff at that time. Nobody knows the facts about the killing. It was in the night and no one saw it but the two. It

was done on a bridge between Bradford's Store and the main land. The store was built on a little Island with the railroad bridge and also a foot bridge connecting it with the main land. Donovan claimed that Andrews was about to throw him off the bridge and that he shot in self defense. They were both drunk and it was generally believed that it was a friendly bout to start with. They were apparently friends and got drunk together and I think they were both working for Sullivan on the steamer *Idaho* on the Oregon side of the river.

Now this man Bush had quite a large family, four sons, I think, and three daughters. Before I came there Bush had built quite a large dwelling two stories high which would have been a fine building at that time if it was finished, as it was started but it was never finished. He used it for a hotel, however, which was his only income, and with a large family like his and another hotel in opposition to him it was not, by any means, a bonanza. Some of his sons were at that time grown men. All carried guns, everybody did at that time. I did myself until I was nearly a man, and I was a good shot.

The only gun then was the old Colt's muzzle loading revolver. Jay Bush, not the oldest son, if he was drinking and if he was crossed in that mood, was almost sure to cause trouble and perhaps do some shooting, as shooting was his strong suit. George and Ed Bush were a little cooler and more reasonable and did not take to drink much, if any. Hawk Bush, the youngest son, died in his boyhood. The father was blustery with a very bad temper and would fight at the drop of a hat. Of course that fanned the row after it was once started and then, to still more worry the Bushes, Bradford and the steamboat company consolidated and formed what was later known as the Oregon Steam Navigation Company. They also formed the Cascade Rail Road and got some kind of a charter from the Territorial Government. They started to build a real railroad, five foot gauge with iron or steel rails, to run from a little below the Lower Cascades on Hamilton's Island to the Upper Cascades.

But here I am ahead of my story. I forgot to mention a very noted character, Colonel Joseph R. Ruckel, who in the meantime had been building a wooden track road on the Oregon side of the river in opposition to the Bradfords. He was a wonderful man. It is said that he came here from California broke, without a dollar. He started to build the road which at that time was a huge undertaking even for a man with money. I do not know

just when he started to build it, but he was working on it when I first came there in 1859. It is said that he in some way got some Indians with a canoe and came up the river from Portland to where Bonneville now is and climbed around the edge of the river to where the Cascade Locks now are. It must have been a huge job for him, as he was at that time past middle age and not a sign of a road, not even a trail, only boulders and brush, but he made the trip up and back around the Cascades Falls and went back to Portland with his Indians and canoe and exploited his ideas thoroughly among the business men of that time. He made the statement that he would build a railroad around the Cascade Falls on the Oregon side if the people would stay by him, and he must have got some encouragement somewhere because he started in to build.

His first plan was to only build from the Middle Landing (or the Block House as it was called then) to the Upper Cascades and he would build a more powerful boat that would stem the rapids at all stages of the river as far as the Block House. He really had a tough time with the project, as he could not get enough money to do things as he wanted so he had to dicker and scheme in all kinds of ways to make ends meet. He finally got his steam boat completed, a very pretty modeled, staunch side-wheel boat. He had left the building of the boat to the best boatmen and builders that he could find and they had built on the style of the best eastern river boats then in use, but lacking in power. He named it *Mountain Buck,* but when he tried her out she would not stem the rapids to his Middle Landing even at a low stage of water and after seeing the current of the river at a high stage he concluded it was futile to try to build a boat that would make it in a high stage so he concluded to extend his road on down to where Bonneville is and build the extension stronger so he could use a small steam locomotive and a donkey engine to pull the cars up a short incline from the river to the main line.

Now this man Ruckel was really the cause of the formation of the O. S. N. Company. Prior to that formation the traffic on the river was handled by several private parties or maybe companies in some cases. R. R. Thompson had built a little steamer on the river above the Dalles Falls called the *Colonel Wright* and he, like Ruckel, had a tough time getting means to complete it. He tried to get W. S. Ladd to furnish him funds; Ladd refused. But Thompson got through in some manner. However, the Bradfords

owned the little portage road at the time and a little steamer between Cascades and The Dalles and I think the boat between Portland and Cascades was owned by Captain Ainsworth, W. S. Ladd and S. G. Reed, and perhaps others, I am not sure about that.

When Ruckle first started to build his transportation line the Bradfords and their partners in the river business laughed and scouted his confidence and said it would be short lived. But they soon found he was a rustler and a financier. His first move was to go after the United States Government freight that was going up the river, for the Indian Department, which was quite an item in those days. Had the Bradfords been wise enough, he would have failed in that for they already had control of the Government freight, which at that time was handled by the Indian Agent who was an old man and a cripple. About that time he was on his way down the river to Portland and the Bradfords had a little short incline at the Middle Block House and a car that they pulled up with a windlass and lowered with a brake.

The incline was quite steep so the old crippled Indian agent wanted to ride down on the empty car to the steamboat. Whoever was handling that part consented and let him down with a run and when the sudden stop came the old man could not hold to the car and he went into the river and was badly shaken up besides. They fished him out and thought it a good joke and one Laurance Coe, who was quite an artist, made a cartoon picture of the old man with a lot of additions which made it look quite comical. But the old man did not see the joke as they did so when Ruckel tackled him for the contract, he signed up with him. When the Bradfords learned that they began to stand up and look around and they soon made up their minds that it was their next move and their next move was to combine and fight Ruckel all together. Ruckel said nothing but kept on sawing wood.

After the combine was made it consisted of J. C. Ainsworth, president, and W. S. Ladd, R. R. Thompson, S. G. Reed, D. F. and P. F. Bradford, Jos Bailey, and possibly some other parties that I do not remember now.

The new company soon got fairly under way building and equipping two portage railroads one at The Dalles of twelve miles and at the Cascades six miles and buying and shipping all the equipment from the east including four locomotives and all material for their cars, spikes, rails and castings everything needed except lumber almost had to be shipped from the east at that time

around Cape Horn and mostly by sailing vessels which consumed a lot of time and money. Some of the new company soon began to realize that the man they wanted to strangle (Col. Ruckel) would be ready to operate his line long before they could. Ruckel was always on his job of trouble. Some of his best men were getting discouraged and were quitting him and selling their account for what they could get either from necessity or lack of confidence that worried Ruckel (and he never forgot a man that deserted him nor one that stayed with him but they received very different treatment later on). But with his bulldog tenacity he was gaining slowly all the time. His little locomotive was about ready in San Francisco, the first to turn a wheel in the state of Oregon; he called it "Pony."

The new company held a council and decided it would be best for them to make friends with Ruckel if possible and get him into their combine. That was all on the quiet, so I was told by one of the company, years afterwards.

The new company decided to send one of their ablest men to approach Ruckel quietly. There is no doubt in my mind that Ruckel was as anxious to join as they were to have him, but he was foxy and wanted the best end of the stick. Therefore he held back a little under the pretext that he wanted to consider the matter thoroughly before he decided. Finally when the deal was made Colonel Ruckel was to be president of the company. Now he was in the saddle where he could get even with the men that left him and favor the ones that stayed by him; which he surely did later on. Captain Harry McNulty was one that stayed by him from start to finish and, of course, there were others.

When the new company commenced to build their new rail road across the Bush Donation Land Claim, the title to which was still undecided in the courts, Bush objected to the building of the road and he and his three sons and quite a number of his friends formed a guard to keep the workmen back and some bad threats were made. I can't remember now just how the company got around the guard, but I think they had the leaders arrested and while their cases were being disposed of the company built the road. I don't think that there was any real clash at that time, anyway Edmond Sullivan was by that time sheriff of the county and was about the only person that did not really fear the Bushes and their friends. He would go and get them every time they were wanted for breaking the law. Of course, that made the Bushes

hate him as bad as they did the Bradfords. But they well knew that they could not bluff him and they were at a loss to know just how to get back at him.

It is almost a certainty that they plotted to kill him the first opportunity. Their chance came early in June, 1864, on the Territorial Election day. I do not remember the exact day of the month.

Jay Bush had been in several rackets and had been arrested several times between the completion of the road and this date, but his friends always got him clear in some way or other. The Election was held at the Ferguson Hotel right off the bank of what was called the Bradford slough, which was in high water a branch of the river through which flowed a strong current. Just opposite the Hotel on a little Island stood the Bradford Store with bridges connecting it to the mainland. The hotel at that time, I think, was conducted by a man by the name of Denison, at least the saloon belonging to it was his. He was a fearless, law-abiding man who had never been in any trouble there at least.

The election officials were counting the votes in a room next to the saloon when the trouble started. The Bushes had adopted an Indian boy and raised him with the family. He was known as Johnny Bush, according to the evidence later. He and the three Bush sons and a man known as "Five-fingered Baker" were the main plotters. Johnny Bush fired the first shot.

Sullivan, the sheriff, was in the room where votes were being counted. When he heard the shot he thought sure it was Jay Bush and went directly to him. Finding him sober and not excited he asked him who fired the shot. Jay said he did not know, that it was done outside. Sullivan went outside and met Ed Bush, who was asked the same question. Ed did not answer but drew a knife and struck Sullivan in the side of his neck. Sullivan answered back with a knife. About that time shooting commenced all around. Sullivan would have made short work of Ed Bush only that George Bush was standing nearby. Seeing that his brother, Ed, was getting the worst of it, he shot Sullivan, I think in the neck but missed his aim and did not kill him instantly. Denison, hearing the row outside, rushed out just as George Bush was ready to shoot the second time. He grappled with George and took his gun and fired it at him, shooting him through the hand. George fell over backward and went into the river. Being a good swimmer he went on down with the current to his father's house, about four hundred feet below. Jay Bush, who had up to this

time been standing watching the fight, now seeing George, as he supposed, killed, and Ed badly cut, shot Denison, mortally wounding him, and then turned his gun on Sullivan. By this time Ed Bush was on the run as fast as he was able, which was not very fast. Sullivan was also very weak from loss of blood but he did not pay any attention to Jay Bush's shooting but followed Ed Bush one hundred feet before he fell.

And here is the strangest part about the whole affair. Sullivan had a good navy revolver in a scabbard on him and well loaded and why he did not attempt to use it nobody knows. It was supposed that Jay Bush followed Sullivan and Ed Bush until he was sure Sullivan was done for and then hurried on to see how badly his brother Ed was hurt. When he got home he found his other brother George there, only shot through one hand, otherwise all right. Ed was pretty badly chopped up. Jay supposed until then that his brother, George, was dead, for he had seen him shot and seen him fall backward into the river.

Denison lived until the following day, but expired on the boat before he reached Portland. Each of the men, Sullivan and Denison, left a wife and children. Sullivan had one son and two daughters. Captain Edmond Sullivan, now a first class pilot on the Lower Columbia River, is the son, and Mrs. Sim Barton of Portland is the oldest daughter. The youngest daughter, I think, lives in Klickitat County, Washington, but I am not positive. Mrs. Sullivan later married J. L. Ferguson, who was later United States Inspector of hulls in Portland for a long time.

That was a wild night, there being a large crowd gathered there for election and waiting for the votes to be counted when the shooting started (which I think was intended to frighten the people as all the shooting except what George and Jay Bush did did not seem to be aimed at anybody in particular). The crowd scattered in all directions. One lot that belonged at the Lower Cascades lit out on foot without any light of any kind down the railroad and when they got about the center of the highest trestle there was on the road they heard a hand car coming. Afraid to make a try to cross the bridge they dropped through between the ties and hung on to the ties until the car passed over them. But they misjudged the distance that the car was from them and they had to hang on there so long that some of them were unable to raise themselves up again. One, however, was able to get up and by hard work managed to get the others up, but one large man by

the name of Peter Dulgerson was exhausted and came very near falling to the ground, which would have added one more death to the feud, as the bridge was over seventy feet high.

One man, S. M. Hamilton, who was one of the judges of election, had a stray bullet pass through his beard that burned his face. For several days after the shooting the Upper Cascades was topsy-turvy. There were over twenty men hunting for the Bush boys everywhere through the woods but for some reason none of them went to the Bush home for two or three days and it seems to me that they had cold feet. I don't remember that they had any trouble taking them into custody; I think that they gave themselves up peaceably.

It was established at the trial that "Five-fingered Baker" and the Indian boy, Johnny Bush, did all the shooting, that is, nearly all, but they did not hit anybody. Baker swore in court that he fired twenty-six shots. My memory is that the Bush brothers were all acquitted. I do not know their plea but I think it was self-defense. I did not hear the trial as they were tried in Vancouver. At that time Skamania County had no jail or courthouse.

After the land case was finally settled Isaac Bush, the father, was awarded his allotment of land nearly one mile west of where he had lived so long. I do not think that Bush ever went to see the land. He got ready and sarted for Mexico with his whole family; he would not even go down the river on the O.S.N. Company's boat. He procured a large open boat and loaded the whole family and his goods in it and went down the river.

TURNER F. LEVENS.

NARRATIVE OF BENJAMIN MacDONALD*

In the early 90's I received a letter from Donald MacDonald, a son of the cousin of Benjamin MacDonald, Angus MacDonald, in which letter he stated that my half brother Ranald MacDonald left a box containing documents, papers and manuscripts with a man[1] living about twelve miles from Spokane, Washington, but some time ago I lost this letter and cannot now recollect the name of the man with whom the box of papers, etc., was left by Ranald MacDonald.

Possibly by making inquiry of Donald MacDonald, whose address now is Dixon, a station on the Northern Pacific Railroad in Western Montana, you may be able to ascertain the name and location of the party who has the box in question and which was supposed to contain manuscripts of Ranald MacDonald's life, experiences, etc.

Mr. Donald MacDonald wrote me that he had made an effort to get possession of this box but was unable to do so, the man claiming that he had to show proper authority therefor before he would let him have the property in question, and thereupon Donald MacDonald wrote the aforesaid letter to me in regard thereto. I was at that time living in Denver, Colorado.

My father, Archibald MacDonald, was born in Glencoe, Argyllshire, Scotland, on the 12th day of September, 1790[2], and died at St. Andrews, Province Quebec, in the Dominion of Canada, on the 15th day of January, 1853.

On the 12th day of September, 1823, Archibald MacDonald was married to Princess Sunday, a daughter of Chief Cumcumly, at Astoria, Oregon, and as the fruits of this marriage there was born but one child, my half brother, Ranald MacDonald. Princess Sunday died a few months after Ranald was born, the time being given as the "salmon running time," which is usually in the months of May and June.

After the death of his mother, Ranald was taken by an aunt of his mother, Carcumcum, and Ranald and his mother's sister were kept at a lodge at the fort at Astoria by Archibald MacDonald until a year or two later when my father, Archibald MacDonald, went to Fort Garry (now Winnepeg, in the Province of Manitoba) and there married his second wife, Jane Klyne, on the 1st day of September, 1825, The Rev. Mr. Cochrane officiat-

*Recorded and edited by William S. Lewis, of Spokane.

1 Mr. A. D. Burnett of Spokane, was formerly connected with the *Spokesman-Review*.

2 An error; the correct date is 3rd February, 1790. The narrator has confused this with the date of his father's marriage hereafter given.

ing. He then returned to Astoria, Vancouver, and Oregon, where he was one of the Chief Traders of the Hudson's Bay Company more directly under Dr. McLoughlin.

The parents of Archibald MacDonald and Archibald had continued to reside in Argyllshire, Scotland, until Archibald graduated from college, thought to be the University of Edinburg, Scotland. After graduating from college, Archibald MacDonald had become private secretary to Lord Selkirk, and had come with Lord Selkirk to America about 1813, Lord Selkirk then being Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, going first to Lachine, about eight miles from Montreal, Canada, where headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company in America was located. Archibald MacDonald made several annual trips across the American continent in connection with the business of the Hudson's Bay Company inspecting different forts. In all, fourteen different trips were made across the continent between 1812 and 1845. And my father was at the Red River Settlement at the time of the contest with the North-West Company and returned to England after the coalition of 1821 by which he was retained as clerk.

The first Hudson's Bay Company fort on the west side managed by Archibald MacDonald was that of Langley on the Fraser River in British Columbia, about sixteen miles east of New Westminster. He was here about 1828 to 1831 and calling the Company's attention to the salmon fishery was the founder of the present salmon packing industry.

The next fort Archibald MacDonald was placed in charge of was Nisqually, some fifteen miles or so from the now city of Tacoma. The supervising and laying out of this fort was done by Archibald MacDonald, who had the general supervision or construction thereof, about 1831. The site of this old fort is now shown by a monument erected by the Historical Society of Washington.

The next fort conducted by Archibald MacDonald for the Hudson's Bay Company was that at Colville on the Columbia River at what is known as Kettle Falls, erected about 1835-37.

In addition to these principal forts, Archibald MacDonald also had charge of a number of minor stations at other points throughout the Northwest for trading purposes and to facilitate the intercourse between the different forts.

In addition to supervising and managing these forts and stations, Archibald MacDonald also had charge of the placing of the land in cultivation, the acquiring of horses, cattle, sheep, etc., and

generally completing, establishing and putting in running condition each one of these forts. At Fort Colville he also superintended the rebuilding of a grist mill and saw mill there, which grist mill and saw mill were probably the first erected on the Pacific Coast, north of California.

Archibald MacDonald remained at Fort Colville as Chief Trader in charge thereof until he was promoted to Chief Factor and retired from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1844. After leaving Fort Colville he moved his then wife and family overland to Montreal, Canada, where he took up his temporary residence for about two years and then moved to St. Andrews on the Ottawa River where he purchased a large tract of land and established a permanent home and built his residence which he called "Glencoe Cottage," as he was a descendant of the clan of the MacDonalds of Glencoe, Scotland. There he continued to live until his death on the 15th day of January, 1853.

I remember back to the time when I was about the age of five or six years when my father's family was living at St. Andrews, Canada, and I well remember Sir George Simpson, the then Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company; Mr. Finlayson, one of the Chief Factors of the Hudson's Bay Company, and a number of the other officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, visiting at my father's home in St. Andrews. I also remember when about the age of eight years a visit to father's home by Archibald McKinley, from Oregon City, Oregon, where he owned and operated extensive woolen mills, and the narrations of the said Archibald McKinley fired my mind with my first desire to go west to the Pacific Coast.

The next event that forcibly impressed me was the news of the gold discovery on the Fraser River about 1857, which fired my mind with still further desires to visit the extreme west and the Pacific Coast.

I also remember distinctly and well the time of my father's death at St. Andrews in 1853, and the funeral arrangements and services, I being at that time about nine years of age.

During my boyhood I heard numerous narrations and tales and stories from the officers and employees of the Hudson's Bay Company who visited my father's home, all of which had a tendency to instill in my mind a great desire to visit the scenes of those narrations and stories in the west.

In the year 1858, my brother Ranald MacDonald returning

from his great Japan adventure, visited the home at St. Andrews on his way from Australia to British Columbia, and I well remember his appearance at that time.

From my recollection the photograph of Ranald MacDonald taken July 5th, 1891, conforms to my recollection of Ranald as I saw him in 1858 and 1864, with the exception that Ranald at that time wore no beard.

My mother continued to live and occupy the family residence at St. Andrews until her death December 15th, 1879.

I continued to reside at home up to April, 1862, when I left St. Andrews for Fraser River, British Columbia, Canada, by way of Montreal and New York, and took steamer from New York on the *North Star* steamer on what was at that time known as the Vanderbilt Line, for Aspinwall, crossing the Isthmus of Panama on the narrow gauge railroad from Aspinwall to Panama, and thence by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company's steamer *Orizaba* to San Francisco, and from San Francisco to Victoria by the Hudson's Bay Company's steamer the *Golden Age*, landing at Victoria, British Columbia, in the fore part of June, 1862, stopping as a guest at the residence of Governor Douglas in Victoria for a few days; I had letters of introduction from my mother to the Governor and his wife, the Governor's wife being a distant relative of my mother's.

From Victoria I went by boat to New Westminster, and from New Westminster, by another boat to Douglas on Harrison Lake, thence over several portages to Lilloeet on the Fraser River, thence by trail to Bonaparte where my half brother Ranald and my brother Allen had a ranch on the Bonaparte River. There I met Ranald and Allen; at which time both Ranald and Allen were single men and engaged in conducting a ranch and establishing and running pack trains to the gold mines on the upper Fraser River in Cariboo. Shortly after my arrival at Bonaparte I was employed as a packer for my brother Allen in the mule train of pack animals, continuing at this occupation during the summer of 1862, passing the winter at Bonaparte.

During the summer of 1862, with my brother Allen, I acquired a one-eighth interest in what was known as the Cameron Claim[3] on Williams Creek in the Cariboo country, which afterwards proved to be one of the richest claims on the Pacific Coast at that time in gold. Allen went to the claim in the fall of 1862

3 See Bancroft's *History of British Columbia*, p. 498.

and I remained at Bonaparte. Allen, after having sunk shafts on the said claim to a depth of about forty feet, contending with immense quantities of water and missing the deposit of gold, became greatly discouraged and sold both his and my interests in the mine to a man by the name of McGinnis for a nominal sum. Allen then returned to Lillooet on his way to Montreal, Canada, where he afterwards took up his residence and resided until his death. About two weeks after Allen had left I received a letter from one of my former partners in the said mine, Bob Dexter, advising me not to sell my interest in the mine for any reasonable price as he, Bob Dexter, had been offered fifty thousand dollars for his interest therein, which was the same interest as that owned by my brother Allen and myself—a one-eighth interest.

In the spring of 1863, I bought a mule train and devoted my attention during the summer of 1863 to packing from Lillooet to the gold mines in the Cariboo country. In the fall of 1863 I sold a part of my pack train and took the remainder thereof overland to Walla Walla, Washington, where I passed the winter of 1863-64. At at time there was great excitement over mining prospects in the vicinity of Boise on the Wood River and Owyhee Districts, then in what was part of Washington Territory but since has been set off and become the State of Idaho.

I made but one trip to Boise in the spring of 1864, and then got word of the discovery of gold on the Kootenay, and went from Walla Walla to the Kootenay country, putting in the remainder of the summer of 1864 in running a restaurant and other new ventures in mining, and in the fall of 1864 I returned to Fort Colville on the Columbia River to winter where my cousin Angus MacDonald was then living at old Fort Colville,—my own birth pace, and the former home of my father, Archibald MacDonald, from 1835 to 1845.

I made my headquarters at Fort Colville for several years thereafter, making periodical trips across the surrounding mining country in the Big Bend, of the upper Columbia, and I also helped to build, and owned an interest in, the first steamer built on the Columbia River at Fort Colville above Kettle Falls, in 1864; this boat was called *The Forty-nine,* and navigated the Columbia River across the boundary line into British Columbia up to the Big Bend mines and a point on the river called French Creek.

The steamer, *The Forty-nine,*[4] made its last trip about the month of September, 1865, from French Creek down the Columbia

4 See mention in Bancroft's *History of British Columbia,* pp. 533-534.

River under the charge of Captain White, who was also the first man to run a steamer on the Willamette, and Alfred Ralles, chief mate. I was a passenger on the boat with some pack horses, and when about twenty miles below French Creek, the river being at too low a stage for safe navigation, the boat ran upon a reef of rocks and filled with water. The crew saved all they could of the freight and supplies, including the pack horses. The boat finally keeled over and sank in the Columbia River and remained there until about ten years ago when some enterprising individual wrecked the boat and salvaged the engine and some other parts thereof.

I had four of my pack horses landed from the boat but was obliged to leave them there to perish in the winter snow as there was no trail out of that country and the only way out was to float by bateaux down the Columbia River. The officers, crew and passengers of the steamer built such a bateaux and floated down the Columbia River some three hundred miles to Colville.

About the year 1860, Ranald MacDonald was associated with some capitalists of San Francisco who conceived the idea of finding a shorter way up to the gold mines on the upper Fraser River. They went from Victoria by boat up the coast to see if they might chance to find a bay or an inlet from the Pacific Ocean and then cut across and strike the Fraser River and the gold mines. Ranald did this exploring for a bay or inlet around Bentict Arm and was successful and finally got a permit from the Canadian Government to establish a toll trail there, but soon after the government was approached by some other people, and Ranald's grant was small, simply for a pack trail, and someone more influential persuaded the government into building a wagon road. Ranald finally built a trail but never got a line of steamer connection. He had a few things shipped in but the wagon took all the business.

After that Ranald MacDonald was interested in mining and had great faith in the Horsefly country, but the mines never proved of any great value.

During the time that Ranald MacDonald was promoting his trail, my brother, Allen, was running a supply store at Douglas on Harrison Lake. Ranald MacDonald also had a Government license and ran a ferry across the Fraser River at Lillooet in 1859 to 1861. Allen was not a partner or interested in a ferry or in promoting the trail with Ranald, but ran a supply store at Douglas on Harrison Lake.

About 1861 both of them became associated in the ranch and the ferry and Allen gave up the store at Douglas.

Allen MacDonald went out to what is now British Columbia in 1857 and was joined there at Douglas in 1858 by Ranald MacDonald, who came there after his visit to his father's home at St. Andrews, on his return from Australia.

During the time that Allen MacDonald was at Cameron mine on Williams Creek, in the Cariboo country, and I was running a pack train between there and the ranch at Bonaparte, Ranald was in the Horsefly country prospecting and developing his mining claims there.

Allen MacDonald left Bonaparte in the full of 1862 and went to Montreal, Canada, and I remained at Bonaparte and the next year continued packing. That winter Allen MacDonald sold most of his pack train that was used that year before and I continued to run the pack train with the balance of the animals, and that summer Ranald MacDonald returned to the Horsefly mining claims and returned for the winter of 1862-63 to the ranch at Bonaparte.

Ranald MacDonald must have left Bonaparte in the latter 70's, having remained there some eight or ten years after I had left. Ranald MacDonald still devoted his attention to prospecting in the Northwest Territory and finally disposed of his mining interests and came down to his cousin Angus MacDonald at old Fort Colville and preempted or took up land near old Fort Colville and improved it, where he remained engaged in farming and kindred pursuits for six or eight years and finally died at a place near Boundary Creek on Kettle River, about seventy-five miles west of Marcus, or old Fort Colville. Ranald MacDonald died on the 24th day of August, 1894, and was buried near Boundary Creek on Kettle River. My half brother Ranald MacDonald never married.

My father Archibald MacDonald in the early 40's, when in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's forts, had nearly five thousand acres of land in the vicinity of old Fort Colville under cultivation or in pasture at one time.

Mr. L. W. Meyers bought the old Hudson's Bay Company grist mill from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1865 and his heirs, I am informed, now own the old mill at Fort Colville, the mill now being known as Meyers Post Office.

I remember amongst the old settlers particularly Pat Moran, the blacksmith, Dan Drumheller, well known in the early days,

and then devoting his attention to cattle raising, and James Monahan, who then owned the ferry on the Spokane on what was known as Colville Road Crossing.

When I left the Colville country in 1864 there was no town or anything at what is now known as Spokane on the Spokane River, there being nothing there but Indians in their teepees. The Hudson's Bay Company had a station on the Spokane River at that time in charge of Antoine Plante, about eight miles from the falls of the Spokane.

About 1864, James Monahan and I were on our way to the Kootenay country from Walla Walla and camped at Antoine Plante's crossing on the Spokane River, and Mr. Monahan went in the morning for the horses that had strayed away during the night and he did not get back until about noon. On his return he gave no reason for his delay nor did he say where he had been, but in 1907, nearly fifty years afterwards, when I met him in Spokane he said, "Ben I want to show you where I found those horses." He then took me to the Spokane Hotel and pointing to the southwest to near where Dave Stuart's blacksmith shop was formerly located on or near Sprague Street, he said, "That is where I found the horses and the bell-mare was lying down."

I think that Pat Moran, associated with Walsh and others, put in the first bridge across the Spokane River in 1864, about twenty miles above the falls of Spokane. Charles Connor and Charles Kendall put in another bridge a few miles above the Moran bridge about 1864 or 1865.

I never saw my maternal grandfather, Michael Klyne, but I did meet my uncle George Klyne, a son of Michael Klyne, in 1870 or 1872. He was then a member of the Canadian Parliament at Winnipeg. I have no recollection or knowledge of the time or place of my grandfather's, Michael Klyne's death, but I do remember the death of my grandmother, the wife of Michael Klyne, for the reason that my mother went from St. Andrews, Canada, to Red River, Fort Garry, to see her in her last illness. This was then a very long journey in the absence of railroads and other means of rapid transportation. This was about 1855 when I was about ten or eleven years old.

There must have been several members of the Michael Klyne family, at least four or five, and possibly some member of the family may still be living at or near St. Boniface, an old settlement across the river from Winnipeg.

I have no particular recollection of any special incidents which I heard my father mention in connection with his life in Old Oregon.

I remember my mother mentioning Father Walker, one of the early missionaries, who came with Father Eells and established a mission at what was then known as Walker's Prairie. Father Walker and Father Eells were Presbyterians or Congregationalists, while my mother was an Episcopalian, and they often had arguments on the different orthodoxical views of their churches and my mother was about the only one at that time well enough informed in regard to her creed or religion to be able to hold her own with Father Eells or Father Walker in religious arguments.

My father, Archibald MacDonald, kept a very accurate journal during his many years in the Northwest. One of these was published by Malcolm McLeod. The fact that these journals described in detail the country from the Great Lakes west to the Pacific Coast through plains and over the mountains as regards to the topography, soil, timber, rivers, etc., was of great advantage to the Canadian Government when they contemplated building the Canadian Pacific Railway, and Mr. Duncan MacDonald (no relative) being one of the locating engineers of the Canadian Pacific and a friend of the family, knowing of these journals, acquired possession of them from Malcolm McLeod, the administrator of the estate of my father, the late Archibald MacDonald, and the information contained in these journals proved of great value to the officers in deciding on the location of the projected Canadian Pacific Railway.

In the conversations with my brother Ranald MacDonald, he told me he had been mining at Ballarat near Melbourne, Australia, where the gold was found in a formation resembling chalk, specimens of which Ranald MacDonald brought with him to Canada, and demonstrated and explained to the family how they washed the gold from this chalk formation by crushing it.

Ranald MacDonald also related an incident that occurred at Ballarat when there was some trouble with the miners over the working of the claims. Ranald was naturally of a very mild and non-combative disposition. In the course of the difficulty and the melee which occurred thereover, Ranald was attacked by a man who was a stranger to him and in defending himself Ranald knocked this man out and went on about his business and gave

the affair no further thought until the evening of that day he heard a rap on his cabin door and upon opening it he found some men who said they were a committee to interview him and they handed him a belt. On Ranald MacDonald inquiring what they meant they informed him that he was now entitled to the belt as champion of Australia, having knocked the previous champion out. However, Ranald not being interested in that branch of athletics declined the belt and shook hands with the committee and thanked them for the honor proffered him.

When Ranald MacDonald returned from Australia he must have sailed around the Cape of Good Hope as he told me of having visited Rome, Paris and London on his way home.

Ranald MacDonald must have returned to old Fort Colville in the late 70's when he took up his permanent residence on his preempted claim which he took up from part of the land which had been previously cultivated by our father as a part of the Hudson's Bay Company holdings at Fort Colville open for settlement, excepting one hundred and sixty acres, the immediate side of old Fort Colville. Ranald MacDonald built a residence on his preempted claim where he made his permanent residence up to the time of his death, dividing his time between improving his preempted claim and prospecting on the upper Kettle River in the vicinity of Boundary Creek.

When I went to Fort Colville in 1860, I met many old Indians who had known my father and mother personally during their residence at Fort Colville, and the high esteem and affection in which my parents were held caused these Indians to be very friendly with me, and many of the half-breeds who married and settled there in the valley also made themselves known to me as having been acquainted with my parents during their residence at old Fort Colville.

There were three grades of officers in the old Hudson's Bay Company. A Chief Factor who was next in office to the Governor, and entitled to two shares of the profits of the Hudson's Bay Company, a Chief Trader who was next in rank, was entitled to one share of the profits of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the next in rank was a Post Master or Post Trader, who was not eligible to promotion but received a stipulated salary per year and occupied a position about equal to a Chief Trader. The advancement in the Hudson's Bay Company was by promotion, much like the advancement in the army. A clerk would advance to Chief

Trader usually after about five to ten years of service and would then be eligible for Chief Factor, if he proved of the right mettle, after the expiration of ten years more.

The Chief Factors often realized on their shares as high as ten to twelve thousand dollars per year, and it was not unusual for them to occasionally retire after a service of about twenty-five years or more with a competency for life.

During the time that I was making my headquarters at Fort Colville in the early 60's, I also became interested in the Okanogan Country and located a ranch at the foot of the Osoyoos Lake, about three miles south of the boundary line, and obtained from Judge Haines, the gold commissioner, of British Columbia, and also from Mr. H. Young, who represented the Indians on the United States side, permission to erect a weir across the Okanogan River. This weir was the first one ever erected on the river which was a success, and at this weir, during the salmon running season, was caught from ten to twenty wagon loads of salmon a day. It soon became noised about among the Indians of the success of this weir and they came as far as a couple hundred miles to purchase salmon, which I was permitted to sell for five cents each the Chuine or small salmon, and ten cents each for the Tyee or large salmon (Chinook for large and small salmon); these prices were regulated by the commissioners.

During this time my partner was John Utz, to whom I sold my interest in the Okanogan country at the time I left Fort Colville for the Walla Walla country. Mr. Utz afterwards died and James Monahan was administrator of his estate.

During the time that I was interested in the Okanogan country the principal trail for driving cattle between the Walla Walla country and the British Columbia mining country was up the Okanogan valley and across the line into British Columbia. At the boundary line there was a duty imposed of six dollars a head on all cattle, besides an *ad valorem* duty on all cattle that passed over the line into British Columbia, and I and my partner carried on quite a cattle business in buying footsore calves and other animals that were unfit to stand the journey further north into the rougher British Columbia country. We were able to buy that class of cattle at a very low price and after resting and recuperating up on the ranch they were soon in good condition again and rapidly increased in value.

Among other old settlers I became acquainted with George B. Wonnicat.

From 1864 to 1868 I was a personal friend of Marcus Oppenheimer who at that time had a store about two miles up the Columbia River from Fort Colville where Major Runrill had established a garrison about 1858 and settled with the British sappers and miners, the expedition that established the boundary line through that country between the United States and Canada. I understand that this point is now a station on the railroad and known as Marcus in commemoration of Mr. Oppenheimer. Mr. Oppenheimer's brother was also well known to me and was in partnership with Mr. Ferguson who owned a large commercial business in Pinkney City and also a grist mill about six miles from there on Chewelah or Little Pend O'Reille Creek.

I was also well acquainted with A. Reeves Ayer, who for many years was clerk of the United States Court in the state of Washington, and who frequently visited Fort Colville and lived for a time with his uncle on Chewelah Creek.

I also knew Jack Bonner well, who ran the ferry known as Bonner's Ferry across the Kootenay, and gave his name to the Idaho town located there.[5]

BENJAMIN MACDONALD.

5 The remaining six pages of the narrative comprise a family genealogy the substance of which has appeared in a sketch of the narrator's father, Archibald MacDonald.

January 1st to 31st.[1]

On the entry of the year I gave a good fare and moderate libation to the Indians, I was frequently thanked by them. I gave our few engaged servants each their bottle[2] of Demarasa.

Again a ball is made and the tag and rag of the country with good women and bad flock to it at her Britanic Majesty's old commission house.[3] The night is cold and a few fitful gusts blown down under the eye of the northern star beats sharply through our beards whilst Charlie plays inside to a crowded and excited crowd the stirring notes of Roy's Wife of aid a Vallach. The simple and ancient notes of Scotland are reverted by the old smouldering trunks of Columbia and the granite hills of that stream. A fair haird quarteroon lady[4] of mild yet serious countenance presents another Charlie[5] with a white and neatly ironed shirt. This Charlie is a square shouldered, bull necked, hound eyed muscular gambler of about five feet eight and the same ponderous knife with which he struck at the cripple in December is sheathed on his side, Its handle is of brass and scaled with with mettle like the hide of a crocodile. A navy revolver is on his other hip as he thanks the fair one for the shirt. She looks in his eye but she sees nothing yet a sense as if she were in the presence of the Fiend thrilled her veins and marrow and she withdrew to dress. Whilst he did so too. The ball plays and dances well, and the murderer and thief and the honest thinker acts his part. But Charlie's friend Williams in a log hut by a mountain stream three leagues away from the ball is dressed otherwise. He too has his bowie of monstrous length and his tube of six charges—he is reclined grimly on his floor before his fire and as he stares vacantly at the flames of his fire a pale iron faced athletic longnosed blood shot eyed mate who had just taken supper with him after a game of cards steals and bends behind him and fires a round of another six charge navy into the back of his head. The ball passes out through the centre of the forehead

*This record of life at the old Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Colville and at the old United States Army Post at Fort Colville was transcribed by William S. Lewis from the papers of Angus MacDonald, late Chief Trader. The footnotes were prepared by Mr. Lewis and Jacob A. Meyers.—Editor.

1 1863.

2 The customary holiday "regales."

3 The British Boundary Barracks, at White's Landing, now Marcus, Wa.

4 Mrs. McRice, the community laundress.

5 Charlie Harper.

with the blood after it and the brains too yet the murdered springs up as if galvanized by omnipotence and stood appaling to look at even by his murderers. Thereupon the iron faced enemy seized a large cast steel axe and giving the staring dead who still stood on his feet a heavy blow on the temple he fell with an awful groan. Three other wretches helped the iron faced to wipe the blood of the planks and rob the dead of his notes and dollars, then threw him beneath the floor of his hut. They then took a draught of Rotgut[6] and smoked their pipes with the cold indifference of confirmed mischief and callousness of a life to guilt. The night waxed on and Charlie at the ball was morose, stealthy, blasphemous and overbearing. Twice he took the floor from an open faced herculean Irish miner and twice the Irish man evaded the taking up of an insult from a brute but resigned the floor to get clear. The night blew frequent and hollow gusts from the north, and the travelling stars stood far to the west as the rotgutted crowd stole off—sleighted off—rode off—and yelled off to worse or better homes. Charlie was yet left and Charlie of the violin still felt his instrument. The armed Charlie hereon entered the bedroom of the woman that gave him the shirt. She refusing his invitation to another dance—he stole out whispering "take care". He entered the log room of the fair who washed his shirt—and having few passes and threats with her husband[7] who slipped into another room to get his rifle, Charlie thereon levelled his navy with both his hands, fired and shot the woman dead through the throat. A scared fellow that stood by her merely remarked—you hurt her Charlie when he again walked up to her body and whilst he cocked his other tube the frightened man in the room stole out. Charlie in an instant was in haste to escape—ran for his blankets and horse leaving his pocket book full of forged and real notes and letters to fall into the hands of the sheriff. The sheriff[8] laid down to sleep while the murderer made off to the murdered Williams. On his way a fine vigorous mare was locked in a Frenchman's stable. After much time lost to steal her, his own steed being fagd, he was baffled by the strength of the humble stable—and he spurred on. On enquiring

6 American frontier whiskey, a vile compound of raw alcohol, water and flavoring extract, mixed on the ground, as distinguished from the H. B. Co's. "rum;" the latter was a rare drink and could not be sold in competition with the inferior "rotgut" article. In fact it was only sold by the company in small quantities and to reliable persons, never to Indians or to the vicious rifraff element of the frontier community.

7 McIlice was a teamster and freighter.

8 MacDonald's daughter, Christina, informs us that the then Sheriff was Bob Lamphere.

of the iron faced where Williams was he was told that Williams went down to the Columbia. Charlie here retraced his steps upon the second night escaping all the runners and sentinels out for him and made his way to an Indian camp six leagues down the river Columbia. He left his horse for a canoe—got a few dried salmon and floated down the current with his Saddle Cabress and blankets. Two miners not knowing him saw a man in the centre of his canoe paddling with a piece of driftwood and seemed to be entirely at the disposal of the stream as every playful whirl and ripple rowed and twisted his canoe at their will. They thought him drunk. The Indians said something of him, and death, and a woman, but the current passed on and Charlie in his canoe was borne by it to a miner's[9] hut some two or three leagues lower down.

That day a tall 6 feet savage with hair on end who did not apparently wash his face all his life stalked grimly into my room and told me of Charlie's track. During the evening a pursuing party led by a discharged British Sapper[10] called upon me requesting my using all my knowledge to discover Charlie. This Sapper was of a slant eyed open, and fine countenance. Supported by a huge swarthy and powerful French Canadian,[11] with another Sapper and an Okinagon half breed[12] of lunatic appearance yet very acute and determined. They thought Charlie would fight to the last as he was they said "A desperate desperado" I thought and told them that whatever his courage might be nothing but fear made him try to escape and that withal his resolution that his best parts might be harassed so that his defense might be of no force. Well said the Sapper I have a double barrel laden with ball and three slings[13] each for him anyhow off they started in the dark with all their hairs and beard covered with frozen By this time Charlie was brooding in his miner's hut as he stared grimly at the fire and rafters now and anon, and seemed to start at every sharp rap which the frost binding airs struck out of the neighboring trees. The Sapper and party with two sturdy Indain canoe men were by this time closely counting every moment of his life with every stroke of their paddles, and before he knew that they found his tracks at all they surrounded his hut. Now was

9 Harper forced this man to feed him, threatening to kill him if he told of his whereabouts; a threat that the miner ignored as soon as Harper had gone on.

10 One of the former British garrisons stationed at the British Boundary Barracks during the international boundary survey.

11 Joseph Martin.

12 Joseph LaPleur.

13 Buckshot.

his time as he had twelve rounds in his two revolvers and out of sight of theirs. His antecedents awed them, none chose to walk in on him, On being challenged to come out he refused. The jiant dark Frenchman said "we will smoke and burn you out if you do not disarm yourself and be delivered into our hands, tis your last chance and you will have a fair trial by court." Charlie still hesitated, nor would he fire upon them nor would he come out. At last they began to pile pitch timbers round his house to burn him and he finally threw out his arms and came out with his hands up like a helpless and blockheaded fiend, who was so cruel in taking life yet so fond of keeping it. They then made a grim breakfast on the roof of the hut as it was level with the face of the bank in which it was dug, and he sipped his coffee with them. On asking if the woman was dead and being told "yes" he said "Oh Lord! Oh my God", They then paddled up the stream till they met the sheriff with a second party after him. As the tall and well formed official claimed him one of his own party cocked his revolver on him and said "hold back there Master Sheriff or I'll pierce you through. Your labor is no more responsible as it ends here!" Charlie shall be lynched here and he shall hang by the neck. Mercy he refused and he shall be refused mercy. As the desperate and far famed Charlie heard his doom from this sturdy miner who swore with a calm vehemence "By God boys string him up!" He, the former desperado became pale—shivered and was pitiful to look at. He was entirely unnerved and he could scarcely stand as he staggered in the snows gnashing and moaning like a dying wolf. The rope was soon on his neck and he said "Well let me pray. I hope I will go to heaven". The husband a dark haird and skinned American said 'No Charlie There is no praying for you. Think not of heaven now. We came to send you straight to hell"! and with that he soon swung from and off the plate beam of a miner's log house[14] by which they stood.

Williams body was lifted up in a few days in the presence of none with the sly and pale faced moon and his shadowy murderers. Broken bits of cloud veiled the cold celestial orb on her course as the iron faced with his party at three hours after midnight stood out and in a mule park dug a hole wherein they tumbled him hat boots, spur and coat on. Then having closed up the dismal and last resting place of Williams with great caution finishing it with a sod and a heavy swig of Rot Gut was again

14 Leo's, now Rickey's Bar, below Rickey's Rapids on the Columbia.

swallowed and they stalked into their huts, charged their pipes with plug of three dollars per pound and thought it was "all right" with them and the dead.

In these days the Major[15] in command was losing his beeves weekly, and the iron faced with his party fared well on the on the fat of the "damned North", broiled steakes, roasted fleeced ribs, broiled loins and Rot Gut and Monte and Poker had their turns whilst the stout and well set major swore daily for his stolen steers. Just as he was weary of reflections on his lost cattle a broad flat chested, grey haired, big eyed savage with a mouth reaching from side to side of his face and over hung in its span with two ponderous lips an inch thick stepped quietly to his side and said "I saw a steer's head". "The devil you did, where" was the Major's reply. "It is in the place of a man of the color of iron in the face. It was killed in the snows by his house and he feeds well"! A search being made by a tall black haired intelligent Lieutenant of the U.S. army who was designedly in full uniform a mink faced old soldier of the republican army[16] was collared whilst denying any share in the death of the beef and he swore lustely that there was none in the vicinity and says he "I'll be damned upon my honor if you can find any here. The Lieutenant eyed him inch by inch. The iron faced was in the shadow of the forest hearing the denial and thought it was sufficiently clear to put a ball in the uniformed boy of the "damned abolitionists" but the distance was too much and the chances of escape more so. The mink faced turned more dun as the subtle reasoning Lieutenant hauled the beef out of his hen house. "There you see how you lie" said the officer walking away to the barracks with his prisoner. On being questioned by the Major the mink face swore it was taken there by two men who escaped on the finding of the beef in his hen house. The iron face was musing on his chances of not being criminated when his door was suddenly opened and he was told at the point of three fixed bayonets to "walk to the major's" When brought into the Major's parlor he did not even deign to take off his hat, but stood as cold apparently as a piece of Oregon quartz and certainly more impenetrable. His eye was of a green yellow hazel with long, dense and beautiful lashes, his forehead vast, upright but very broad in its lower re-

15 In the fall of '62 the regular troops were called east to take part in the War of the Rebellion. To take their place two companies of volunteers were recruited in San Francisco and came to the post at Fort Colville. These companies were in the command of Major Curtis.

16 These two volunteer companies were largely composed of bums, vagrants and petty thieves recruited along the Barbary Coast at San Francisco.

gion, his nose long, bold and energetic in finish, his mouth thin upperlipped and close set, his jaws heavy and advanced. Just the face to storm the cannon's mouth in the excitement of battle, yet the gleam of the eye was shuffling and indirect and when centre to centre before the Major's it glanced another proof of mean resolution. He threw all blame on the two who escaped and by his absolute coolness gulled the Major to let him go. Giving his honor as a miner and blacksmith living by honest fare that he would be found at his hut any day further evidence might be required. And he stalked heavily out of the room. The Major thereon said to me with a kind yet rather baffled expression of goodness in his face. "I believe the damned fellow is in earnest". "I believe so too" said I "as he never caught or kept sight of you". The mink face was now held to the chain alone and The Iron faced thought it were better to clear out so in a few hours he and his associates save one young trout faced youth of 19 were on their mules. It was cold and the hollow moon clear and clean looked sharp as the axe with which he struck Williams as they waded heavily through three feet of firm compact snow which laid on their track as far as the Spokans.[17] The southern bred mule plunged, rolled and often refused the way. The heavy Spanish spur of an inch prong was ceaselessly kicked into her side by the ponderous boot and limb of the Iron faced murderer and they were wading warily south imagining crimes to come and oblivion by escape for those past.

Vague rumors were out that the California criminal Welles who killed the driver of his car and the two police men who hand cuffed him and who sleeping too soundly by his side in that car were by their own weapons shot dead by him, looked like a certain fellow hereabouts this winter. The description fell to the share of Williams. Six thousand dollars reward tickled the major's fancy, and the mink faced being out on bail was requested by the sanguine major to enquire about Williams. He went forth at the Major's call like a thing intent on that labor. It was dark the mountain brooks were strangled by ice, each bough and branch hung heavily down with a new fall of snow hung heavily down! yes, as if bending with heaven's offering to man's inheritance of something more clean and spotless than he was in the habit of seeing below. The mountain owl was about his inheritance when the mink faced stole on the top of his boots into the

17 Customarily spelled by the fur traders without the final "e."

trout faced's hut. Where is Williams, glorious news for him. "Six thousand dollars for him"! Mind 'tis damned good pay! and no foul play! Six thousand What! Why Yes six thousand the Major says so! All offered! Six thousand dollars for his head! Three thousand to the Major, fifteen hundred to you and as many to me. Where is he if its him. Of course it is him. Well if it is not him he will have to die once anyhow and he may as well die at once! Where is he " During this time the trout faced youth of 19 was swallowing this speech with a most stealthy murderous gusto. The lights of his hog like eye would mock the fiend within it when he rawly replied 'Well if that's all tis all right for I have killed him already" "You" "Yes me" "Well that is just in our hands" and they whipped off to the Major's exultingly.

The trout faced youth told his tale and swore that he alone "did it"—as he knew the reward for Williams and that he was sure of his being the man who shot the police and driver in California. The Major ordered a party to go and uncover the dead for proof and the trout faced youth with Stygian indifference began hastily to disenter the body of the murdered Williams. There he was his boots and spurs and coat on. With his hat too, a piece of a gunny sack veiled his face from the dust. But on a coroners judgment being pronounced it was said he was not the man, The trout faced youth was now chained up for murder and when he found his feet locked instead of his purse filled he deposed to the crime as orginally committed by the iron faced, himself only being cognizant of the fact as he only "helped to wipe the blood from the planks".

Again the night is cold and the firmament comes down around our heads compact with frozen airs and flakes and gloom. A sigh as if nature were to sever some of her deeds passd through the forests whilst seven stalwart horse men on hard and shaggy Indian steeds presd to the south on the track of the iron faced and party. The pursuing men were armed with double barrels and rifles, revolvers and bowies.

The iron faced and party, in two parties, of two each, were wading afoot through the snowy waste of the Spokan plain, 80 miles away from the hole into which they tumbled the dead Williams. They were poring and sweating with a heavy walk without arms or horses, as they left the former in their hut whilst out to see their horses at grass! Although "The Son of Man comes like a thief in the night" they did not watch so that the iron faced

with his grim companions among whom is the trout faced youth are now heavily chained to await the July Circuit[18] Judgment?. The Citizens to the number of eighteen were with cords in hand to lynch them were awed and plausibly convince by some dark satirical reasoning that it were better to let them alone. They were then locked up in the "Skookym House" but a few visits of the moon saw them steal away from that "damned place".

WILLIAM S. LEWIS.
JACOB A. MEYERS.

18 The Territorial Circuit Court.

DOCUMENTS

Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest

[*Continued from Volume XVI., Page 145*]

[May, 1841.]

I was kindly received by the Superintendent Mr. Forrest on my arrival, who quickly made arrangements for our canoes to navigate the Cowlitz & Columbia as far as Fort George. The rest of the party came up much fatigued as well as their horses all did justice to the welcome chow set before us, and some would have gladly waited till morning for our departure but intending to return by this route again, I put off the further examination of the Farm until then. The Company have here a large dairy, and are about erecting a grist & saw mill. The Superintendent's house is a large well hewed log house, makes a respectable show with its many lodges about it. numbers of cattle are seen feeding and seem to thrive altho I was told by Mr. Forrest that it became necessary to send them a distance for food in dry seasons, and at times they cut fodder for them on the opposite side of the River which is brought over by the Indians. this is done to prevent the loss of cattle & the destruction of the young by wolves. The Farm at the Cowlitz has no sort of defense about it showing conclusively as far as the Indians are concerned they are not molested. indeed their numbers here are too small to attempt anything and their dependence on the Company too great for their necessary articles of clothing & food they belong to the Klackatack tribe though their general name is that of the Cowlitz Indians. In a very [Ms. P. 67.] few years they will all have passed away. The number of acres under cultivation is about 600 the yield of wheat the 1st year was 10 bushels but the present one I was told would be double under the same culture (Since the harvest I have been told that this farm produced 7,000 bushels this season)[52] attached to the Superintendent's home is also a vegetable garden in which all the usual horticultural plants of the U.S. were growing and the climate was thought to be well adapted to them particularly potatoes—There is a Catholic priest belonging to the

52 This parenthetical clause is not interlined, which indicates that the diary must have been written later, on ship-board perhaps, from notes accumulated in the field.

Columbia Missionary establish among the small community here which consists of half a dozen Canadians who have married Indians & half breeds. The visit I made to their habitations on my return fully satisfied me that they were well and comfortably off. The Banks of the Cowlitz here are about 150 feet above the river—the soil of a clayey loam and surface rolling—

The weather is not actually cold nor is the winter long, snow seldom lays but a day or two, fires are necessary most months in the year—the housing of cattle is resorted to partially but little or no provision is made for their sustenance the grass being sufficient the year round, except in season of drought which seldom occurs.

Its Geographical Position is Lat. 46.30. Long. W. of Vancr. [blank] At an hour before sunset, we embarked in two canoes under the charge of Simon Plumondon (one of the Cowlitz settlers) and an old voyageur and trapper for the Company who had with him 9 Indians of the Cowlitz tribe all quite young full of merriment & fun laughing the live long day. I felt at last wearied by this incessant gaiety. At sunset [Ms. P. 67a.] we landed and pitched our tents on one of the small Islands covered with driftwood which gave us the means of getting up large fires a great comfort in camp and after travelling chilled through. I was engaged in getting Stars for time & Latitude the result of which gave our position [blank]

Here our supper was prepared and after it another boiling for the Indians who had come along we found perfectly destitute of either eatables or things to cook in choosing rather to depend upon the generosity of the whites. I would recommend all who travel to see that their guides are amply provided with food & that they take proper care of it. All the natives we have yet met with require attention and this remark applies equally as well to the Sandwich Islanders as it does to the Indians on the N. W. coast neither will do your work without something to eat and they are always loathe to carry it if it can be avoided.

The Cowlitz is about 180 yds wide where we embarked. I tried the current and found it 3 miles an hour in some places it was more rapid. The soil along the Cowlitz appears good really of a good quality. The prevalent timber is poplar, soft maple, ash, fir, pine & cedar with some laurel. The soil is clayey loam with vegetable mould over trap & sandstone. These were discoverable in the banks where they had been and in, The river has

many short turns & in the spring overflows its banks in places to a considerable depth. The current there is so strong that the only way a canoe can ascend it is to be pushed [Ms. P. 68.] along by the branches it is however the season which is used for its navigation and the supplies from Vancouver to the dam and sent from there are passed upon it just above the junction of the North fork *lignite* has been found in horizontal beds. I endeavored to get up to it in the month of Sept. but the Cowlitz was not navigable for a canoe. It is in horizontal beds and appears to me quite pure. I brought several specimens of it which are in the expedition

The north branch is rather the smallest of the two streams it takes its course about N. E. by E. to the snowy range of Mt. Rainier where its source lies—it is not navigable its falls and rapids rendering it impassible during any portion of the year before reaching it the current moderated considerable or was through banks in the Cowlitz. This much swelled the fork is 18 miles from the Columbia—this whole river is very crooked until you reach within 5 or 6 miles of Columbia. When the river is high it can be navigated by boats drawing 5 or 6 feet of water, the entrance from the river (Col^{a}.) is barred and would admit of but a small draft of water for sea going vessel it may be said to be unnavigable 9 months in the year & small steamers might be enabled to do it a month or two longer. I prefer representing it however as unnavigable for anything but canoes & the flat bottom barges of the H. B. Co.'s service.

The route by the Cowlitz will always be the general one by which the communication with the Northern Section of the country will be kept up at any rate until the country becomes settled—by it all the mountain ranges are avoided & the highways provided by nature (the rivers) point [Ms. P. 68a.] out the best course—to avoid & pass them. On our route down the Cowlitz we met several canoes going up well filled with salmon & trout obtained at the Willamette Falls as they told us and were going to trade with those of Cowlitz for the Kamass root.

It seems somewhat singular that no salmon should be found in the Cowlitz until Oct or the 2nd run of them and quite a difft. species from those of the Col^{a}. in the month of June.

The beaches towards the Col^{a}. become low and form extensive prairies skirted with wood on their borders—at its junction with the Col^{a}. it forms 3 small Islands and its breadth is about 200

yards—there is only one channel by which it can be entered if the water is not high, much drift-wood is brought down it in the Spring of the year; when the Col[a] is high the water in the Cowlitz is then backed several miles, and its beaches are in like manner overflowed therefore it may be set down without doubt, that the low lands in the river are unfit for cultivation but well adapted for pasturage.

22nd. [May.]

We took our canoes before 5 o'clock in hopes of being able to reach Fort George at an early hour. The Cowlitz is uninteresting the banks grow really low, the only exception is a moderately hilly part near its forks about forty miles in extent— The length of the river from the Company's farm to the Columbia is 24 miles although one is generally told it over 40. it is sometimes passed in 2½ hours, We made it in 5 hours.

The entering arm to the Columbia in striking this broad rapid stream carrying its course through the [Ms. P. 69.] barrier of trap rocks covered with the majestic forest fit barrier for such a river causes much excitement as well as pleasure. its waters are pure and clear little or no deposits being borne by its floods. This is perhaps owing to its passing through the long line of volcanic rocks in the upper territory, unlike our great River of the Eastern side it bears no fertilizing earth for the planters, but acts by its flood, upon his exertion to prevent his crops coming to maturity, this *renders the cultivation*—always will of the prairies on the Colu. very precarious altho the river dont actually overflow its banks yet the prairies are for the most part covered, supposed to be owing to the waters rising through quicksand in some places half a mile from the bank, if only a few inches it is enough to destroy the coming crop the Icy water chilling and preventing the grain from ripening but as grazing grounds few places can be equal to this affording the cattle abundance of fresh pasturage all the year round.

We descended the river at a rapid rate—admiring its scenery and the novelty of the sun—many fine views break upon one the high volcanic banks on either side & the distant conical snowy peak (Mt. St. Helens) form fine objects for the landscape. On the lower prairies & Island the timber consist of oak, ash, poplar &C. On the high-lands of the fir pine & cedar. The most part of the high lands on the river are too broken and precipitous for cultivation. They afford abundance of fine material for building, and which is

easily detached in large masses or blocks requiring but little use of the stone bars to dress off the trap rock is very abundant & some [Ms. P. 69a.] descriptions of sandstone.

In St. Helens' reach[53] we met the Brig Wave that had brought our stores from Oaho having landed them at Fort George (Astoria) and was proceeding up the river to Vancouver in order to take a cargo of lumber from the Comp. to Oaho. I was greatly disappointed in learning from Capt. Moore that the Peacock had not yet arrived or been heard from and we proceeded after a few minutes detention on our route—by sunset we had reached Termination Island the lowest in the river and had the Pillar rock in sight, the distance to Tongue Pt. also in sight appeared so small that we determined but a short time would be necessary to reach it with the strong ebb and current, but a constant paddling only brought us near Fort George by midnight.

Our arrival at the Fort as it very much resembles all such incidents in the country—We continued (as I remarked above, paddling weary and fatigued with sitting in a canoe that those only who have tried it can fully appreciate), groping our way along the shores in the darkness, until we judged ourselves near the fort, where we made frequent discharge of our guns to notify of our approach but like all persons similarly situated our wishes, and anticipations, had outrun our speed. No wished for answer tock place had I am ever inclined to believe scarcely changed our situation—but we were passing the spot unobserved A musket was fired & a yelping of some dogs then told us the fort was near, delighted were we to make our escape (particularly Mr. W.) from our canoe and the cold dampness of the River.[54] Mr. Birnie [Ms. P. 70] who has charge of the fort was soon at the Landing with lanterns and gave us a most hearty welcome altho he as well as ourselves were much incommoded with the incessant yelping scarcely allowing one to speak or be heard. We soon found ourselves by a merry fire and the whole home put in motion to afford us comfortable quarters and all done in such a kind and willing way or to express it more forcibly with that well known countryman's of his hospitality that it made it much more delight-

53 In the published *Narrative*, Volume IV., page 319, the record reads: "In this part of the river, which I named St. Helen's Reach."

54 This greatly scratched and confused entry in the Diary is thus smoothed out in the *Narrative*, Volume IV., page 320: "kept skirting the shore for so long a time that I began to have misgivings that we should pass Astoria, and began firing muskets, the usual signal of an arrival. They were immediately answered by others just behind us, and the loud clamour of about forty yelping dogs."

ful to partake of. Mr. Birnie came early to the N.W. and has been here ever since. He was born in Aberdeen and left at 16 years of age. He is married and has a family now of nine children some of whom are grown up and are married. His hearth and board soon made us comfortable and we soon forget our long day's journey in a cramped up canoe in this log cabin on sloping ground with the aid of tables chairs & blankets our rest made amends for all.

Classic Astoria is everything but what I would wish to describe it, the few buildings (log houses) appear to be going rapidly to decay the Company appearing to pay little regard to them, they do not appear to have done anything since the establishment was removed to Vancouver, the opportunity of farming being very limited, and the clearing expensive now has endeavored to be established and perhaps as it is avowedly on the American side of the River it is thought unnecessary to continue operations that could not be permanent.

The beauty of its location is worthy of the Pen[55] that has named it classic ground. I will here give the mode of preparing the buckskin which may be termed the cloth of this country. 1st. Immediately after the deer is killed the skin is taken & stretched tightly over a frame after having all the hair scraped off, it is left until it becomes [Ms. P. 70a.] as dry as Parchment, it is then rubbed over with the brains of the animal which imparts the oil to it then it is steeped in warm water, after which it is dried over a fire two women stretching it all the time it is drying and smoking, it is then again wet and stretched by winding tightly round a tree, from which it again drawn & dried over the fire by women pulling it as before, when dry or nearly so, it is rubbed with the hands as in washing, until is is soft and pliable and is then ready for use.

Mr. Forrest stated to me that he had put a suit on twenty four hours after the animal had been running in the forest. I am well satisfied no kind of apparel can be so suitable for the life an Indian or trapper leads as this and particularly adapted to the wants of all those who have to travel in this wild country.

23rd. [May.]

Being Sunday we had a day of repose, and lounged about on

55 Evidently a reference to Washington Irving, whose two volume edition of *Astoria* had appeared in Philadelphia in 1836 while the Exploring Expedition was in process of preparation.

the white clover sward which was as luxuriant as any I have ever seen, it has been brought here and is not indigenous to the soil. The day was one of those balmy days so frequent with us in May.

Astoria is situated on a Point of Land projecting into the River (an extensive arm or beach passes to the South and forms the Youngs Bay on the shores of which Lewis & Clarke wintered. The locality of their hut is pointed out but it has long since gone to decay) from it one has a beautiful view the high promontory of Cape Disappointment and the Ocean bounding [Ms. P. 71.] it on the west, that of the Chinook Hills, Ellice Point and its rugged face topped with the virgin forest on the North & the knob of Tongue Pt. and distant Kalamet range of hills on the South through which this broad expanse of water has wound its way now passing at our feet in a broad magnificent sheet 4 miles in width winding its course silently to the ocean where is seen and heard the lashing and roars of their tides at meeting seeming as it were to bid defiance to and eternal war with each other producing at times an impassable barrier to the fearless and undaunted sailor—beset as he here is by every danger he nevertheless proves adequate to overcome them.

Plumondon,[56] my Guide and Interpreter who is an old experienced voyageur and trapper is well acquainted with the country informs me that that portion lying to the north of the Columbia River is generally rough and rugged, much good soil in places, and is well timbered, the bottom lands along the rivers are good. These are those that bound the small streams falling into the Cola. and are made rich by the wash from the tides.

Mr. Birnie took us to see Ross Cox's tree[57] (Pinus Lambertiana) and altho a disbeliever in its dimensions, I can vouch for its existence as still near by is the canoe in which the great chief Kumkumly[58] was buried being a *flathead* his remains have not been suffered to rest, it is generally believed here that by the hands of Dr. Gardner it was removed to the institution in Glasgow or

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56 Descendants of Simon Plomondon still live in the State of Washington. He was a real character among the oldest pioneers. Wilkes says of him in the *Narrative*, Volume IV., pages 316-317: "He proved to have been the cockswain of General Cass's canoe, when on his trip to the lakes in the Northwest Territory; and a more useful person I have seldom met with, or one that could be so well depended upon. He had been for several years in this territory, having left the Company's service, married an Indian wife, and was now living on a farm of about fifty acres, at the Cowlitz, independent and contented. I have seldom seen so pretty a woman as his wife, or a more cheerful and good housewife; before her marriage she was the belle of the country, and celebrated for her feats of horsemanship."

57 One of the Astorians whose books on the Columbia are among the classics in Northwest Americana.

58 The famous one-eyed Chief of the Chinooks.

Edingh. the rest of his remains are all missing said to removed by the natives to prevent farther depredations on them. [Ms. P. 71a]

24th. [May]

Mr. Birnie proposed a trip to Clatsop & Pt. Adams the Southern cape of the Columbia I was desirous of reconoitering the Bay's Bar as far as I could and also to see the Missionaries who are established at Ft. Clatsop. We there found Mr. Frost & his wife Our jaunt was a pleasant one in a large canoe we crossed Young's Bay and thence walked about 1½ miles. Mr. Frost received us kindly at his new residence built as I understood him with his own hands, his wife was engaged in washing appeared cheerful and happy altho' deprived of all society and little if any field for their labours here among the natives. The location of their residence seems to me unfortunate on the Sandy beach unsusceptible of any improvement. I am told he has in company with Mr. Koen also attached to the Mission a large tract of land about 4 miles from his residence where he is to be engaged raising a crop and superintending cattle.

Mr. Frost was a shoemaker by trade & his wife is what his class in life require an active smart body but I find there is little desire in either to bring about the conversion of the natives or in other words that they possess little of the missionary spirit.[59]

Mr. Frost Mr. Birnie & myself visited the Clatsop village at Point Adams. Here we looked out anxiously for the Peacock as we understood that guns had been heard last evng & this morning, but we saw nothing.

We returned to dinner at Mrs. Frost which she had prepared herself, there was an attempt at showing off that made all her endeavors [Ms. P. 72] failures and only proved how she had been brought up which she was desirous of proving had been that of a lady but with ill success. Mr. Birnie and myself were greatly amused on the fright Mr. Frost was thrown into by embarking in a crazy canoe in order to avoid the long walk and which was half filled with water before we reached our destination and we all were well drenched the kind gentleman in particular who declared

59 It is a pleasure to note that this slighting remark and others like it which followin the Diary when referring to Mr. and Mrs. Frost were not carried over into the published *Narrative*. Captain Wilkes evidently felt that he had listened to idle gossip. In the *Washington Historical Quarterly* for October, 1907, may be found an article entitled "Last Survivor of the Oregon Mission of 1840," in which the present editor records an interview with Mrs. Frost (then Mrs. Beggs). Though more than ninety years of age, she remembered much of her experiences at the Fort Clatsop Mission.

we had been in imminent danger of our lives this served only to whet our laughing which continued in hearty strains throughout the day.[60]

There are 2 other American settlers here Tibbits & Smith both decent men, mechanics I believe.

The Clatsop Village consists of a few rough indian lodges which are protected by a pallisade made of the Plank some fifteen feet in height placed on their ends in the ground sufficient protection against their enemies from other tribes who formerly made war upon each on the most trivial occasion. These are fast passing away & all their warlike habits is now generally shown in individual revenge. The H. B. Coy. have and do exert upon all occasions a most salutary influence on them preserving peace at all hazards and in case of the murder of a white in any section of the country they immediately fit out a war party and obtain the murderer, the peace & security in which a white man may now traverse those parts of this country I believe to be owing to the energy and perseverance with which the offenders are hunted up. About a year ago an Indian was executed at Fort George for the murder of a white man while asleep & taking his property he was tried found guilty & executed in the presence of most all of the settlers [Ms. P. 72a] in the Territory and I make no doubt it has had a very salutary effect.

On my way to Mr. Frosts I obtained a Planaria species of Helix saw great numbers of snakes & great quantities of dead fish a kind of [blank] on the beach. Mr. Birnie said they were thrown up in great abundance during the Autumn they are supposed to be killed by a kind of worm generated in the stomach. to this I suppose the naturalist will have paid attention. Mr. Frost has the credit of being a close & stingy man and idle withal.

We returned at 6 P. M. and found Mr. Drayton had been successful in getting some fossil shells in a clay bank about ¼ of a mile above Fort George they will prove extremely interesting as they are none of them now to be found alive.

25th [May.]

Wrote home by the Ship Cowlitz going to the Sd. Ids.[61] a

60 Captain Wilkes also changed this record of laughter at the expense of Mr. Frost. In the *Narrative*, Volume IV., page 323, the entry reads: "As the tide had risen so much as to render it difficult to walk along the beach, we returned to Mr. Frost's in a crazy canoe, and were very near being upset. Had this accident happened, it must have proved fatal to some of us in the strong tide that was running; we therefore felt much relieved to get again to the beach. After partaking of Mrs. Frost's good cheer, we returned to Astoria, much pleased with our day's jaunt."

61 Sandwich Islands.

short letter to the Secretary, to Dr. Judd & Mr. Bruis Meade. At noon with a strong N. W. Wind & the flood we took our Departure Mr. Drayton and self for Vancouver Mr. Waldron being left for a few days to await the Peacock. Mr. Birnie with true Scotch attention & politeness accompanied us to the Columbia Barque there in sight, but getting out into the midstr. we found more swell than we anticipated and we were obliged to make for the shore at Tongue Pt. here we landed and encamped for the night. We ascended to the top of Tongue Pt. 400 feet to a small hut erected by Mr. Birnie & which was for a year or two inhabited by a Sandwich Islander & his wife being employed there to raise potatoes. The soil is good based on trap rock it is covered with high trees on its banks [Ms. P. 73] This had been supposed I understand one of the best points to fortify on the River, but I see little use in making it such, as far as its being an isolated hill it might be made impregnable.—it could command the channel on that side of the River but the river here is three miles wide and the channel equally good to pass up it and therefore it would be useless—(For the defenses necessary to secure the mouth of the river & to protect the [illegible] see my remarks at Cape Disappointment in the sequel of this Journal).[62]

Late in the afternoon we got rid[63] of Mr. Birnie by signaling for one of the Company's vessels that was passing and Mr. Drayton & myself betook ourselves to our tent where we passed a comfortable night notwithstanding it rained.

26th [May.]

The morning proved fine and we made an early start for Fort Vancouver and by sunset we had reached about 4 miles above Oak Pt. where we again encamped. In the afternoon we stopped at one of the villages at Oak Pt. for the purpose of obtaining salmon. Here we found the Medicine Man employed and we heard his incantation.

One of our Indians a young chief landed for the purpose of making inquiries relative to the purchase of salmon but he was

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62 The "sequel" is not located as yet. In the *Narrative*, Volume IV., page 324, he speaks of defense and hints that the British were probably looking toward an insurance of title by occupancy. He says: "Tongue Point is a high bluff of trap rock, covered with trees of large dimensions: the top has been cleared and taken possession of by Mr. Birnie, who has erected a log hut and planted a patch of potatoes. The hut was inhabited for a year, by a Sandwich Islander and his wife. It is rather a rough spot for cultivation, but the end of occupancy was answered by it." In the monograph on *Hydrography*, pages 330-336, the Captain gives great details about the mouth of the Columbia and the safest channels. In 1849, for the California gold seekers, he published his *Western America*, in which, pages 72-76 are the same or similar details for entering the Columbia. In neither of these sources does he discuss proposed fortifications.

63 An unfortunate reference to one who had been so constant in his helpfulness.

met in great wrath & with direful looks from all the men who seemed to desire to wreak vengeance upon him for his intrusion his retreat was accordingly precipitate—the consequence to the Indians is generally for this interruption the last of life the medicine man taking the advantage by imputing his failure of a cure to the intrusion during the ceremony and this invariably is followed by [Ms. P. 73a] the death of the Intruder by the relations of the deceased. *Plumondon* on my inquiring as to the cause of the young chiefs apparent fright & quick retreat told me he was afraid. That he had been placed in similar circumstances a short time before that his father died and the Medicine man had imputed it to a chief of the Klakatacks—whom this young chief shortly afterward shot dead—this has often created wars among the tribes and the only way in which it is overcome is by paying a fair valuation for the deceased—from 5 to 20 blankets according to the estimation in which the deceased was held.

27th [May]

We were awakened this morning at sunrise by the songs of the birds that added no little enchantment to the beauty of the scene around us; the day was beautiful and we advanced with alacrity—the Indians as merry as the birds at night we had reached the Warriors Pt. one of the Points of the Willamette River and we found a place with some difficulty to encamp on the opposite (or North side of the Col$_{a.}$) in an inlet called the Caliputa. The Columbia has considerably changed in width being not over a ½ mile wide. The Willamette with lower mouth was about 500 yds. Today we passed the Mount Coffin just below the Cowlitz and also the Coffin Rock so named from these being the principal burying places the canoes in which they are buried are in great numbers they are generally secured between 2 trees about 6 feet above the ground or on stakes & being covered with a great variety of ornaments, gifts brought [Ms. P. 74] by their relatives and friends to hang thereon. I was told that this is frequently done for several months after burial they are as fast going to decay as the living.[64]

The Columbia was thought to be some 15 feet above its lowest mark, it gives one a good idea of its magnitude when it is thus swelled (but subsequent observations at its lowest state in Sept.) proved to me that to give one a *true* idea of it, it must be seen both high & low.

64 In the *Narrative* he says the sepulchers were going to decay.

Our Indians cunningly kept close to the shore & thus took advantage of all the eddies. On our way today we met a canoe that gave us the Intelligence that one of our Indians had lost his child, on our first stopping place (shortly after) he began to scarify himself on the leg in several places until he bled profusely which being done he lighted his pipe and seemed to smoke for consolation, this was all done apart from the rest, who still continued to make merry. As far as the countenance could be an indication of grief he felt it, but the next day he was as merry as the rest, they are lively and gay at their work all have a pleasing expression of countenance, feminine in their looks and lives which they very much partake of in their manners.

Mr. Drayton shot a golden crested pigeon which gave us a supper & after toasting our [illegible] over a large fire we pitched our tent & passed a comfortable night.

28th [May.]

Entered the Calipooya a chain of inland lakes which when the waters of the Columbia are high are connected and afford a passage near the river on the left bank of slack water and thus the strong current of the river is avoided Thro' these we continued our route within a mile of Vancouver passing the dairy and some fine meadow land with herds of fine cattle grazing [Ms. P. 74a] flocks of sheep of the best English & Spanish breed that yield some extraordinary fleeces.

As it was necessary to make a small portage with the canoe Mr. D. & myself determined to walk to the Fort by the dairy road—this was shortly reached through a fine wood of large pines entering the village of Vancouver in its rear. The woods were filled with various flowers the Honeysuckle, lupine, &c. The village consists of some 50 comfortable log houses placed in some order or rows and inhabited by the Company's servants, swarming with fine looking children half breeds and pure Indians. The Fort consists of several good buildings including dwelling homes & magazines surrounded by a high palisade. Dr. McLoughlin was not within we were politely invited in and after remaining a few minutes he came galloping up and gave us a most warm reception ordered dinner for us & made us welcome. He is a fine looking person of robust frame, with a frank open countenance about 50 years of florid complexion his hair white is a Canadian by birth of Scotch parentage enthusiastic in disposition and I should think of

great energy of character and well suited for the situation he occupies which requires no small talent and industry to fill.

The fort is situated upon an extensive prairie which is now under crops of wheat potatoes peas &c. It is the intention I understood to convert it into meadow for grass as the wheat crop is uncertain on account of the overflow by the river & to plant wheat on the upland prairie which is a light soil but I think capable of raising good crops with attention to them. [Ms. P. 75] There are generally three steps or prairie levels bordering the river of this country, the first about 10 feet above the river at low water, 2nd 200 & 3rd or high prairie 300 the general level of the country where it is not hilly or mountainous—the lower and 2nd is the best soil. The upper for the most part shingly.

It is of about 3000 acres including all that is claimed or thereabouts and is as far as I am able to judge admirably adapted for agriculture grazing &c.

The harvest this year it was understood to yield about 8000 bushels of wheat. The numbers of workmen that are employed here is great many of different mechanical trades and all the materials employed seem of the very best that can be procured. The company's economy seems to be to have things of the very best kind. Their present stock consists of [blank] horses milch cows [blank] cattle [blank] sheep [blank] hogs. The land does not appear to me to be at all superior to that one meets elsewhere. it is extremely well situated and the money & labour expended upon it very considerable. it is probably now beginning to yield some returns. It is a new company called the Puget Sound Company[65] that owns and carries on the farming or agricultural operation. The stockholders are the gentlemen belonging to the H. B. Co's establishment. They have the contract to supply the Russian Co.[66] with their provisions which gives them a good market for all their produce above what is consumed at the diff'. forts in supplying the H. B. Co. proper although it is not supposed that the low price of contract can yield them any profit yet it is obtained in the Furs obtained by the H. B. Co. on the Territory leased by the Russians and hereafter their flocks & herds will increase [Ms. P. 75a] so much as to make it a very profitable business. The sundry hides & tallow borne by the annual vessels which now go to England with it is thus a valuable cargo but ¾th of the ships empty—I feel well

65 The Puget Sound Agricultural Company.

66 A brisk trade was enjoyed with the Russian American Fur Company in what is now known as Alaska.

satisfied that this country is better adapted to the raising of cattle than even California and not so subject to drought, the cattle in consequence of the climate are better able to bear the weather, are larger & stronger. Beef can be packed and butter made. There are few finer Dairy farms than those attached to the Fort at Vancouver and the cattle are in remarkable fine condition. The Company deserves much credit for the introduction of the best breeds from England.

The Establishment at the Fort is on an extensive scale. They have a table for the Chief Factor and clerks one for their wives-- another for the American Missionaries the sick & the Catholic Priest are again furnished separate meals. All is done in order & I should think with some economy. In the establishment is an extensive bakery, coopers Blacksmith trade office for Indian purchases, shops for retail where any articles may be purchased at as low a price if not cheaper than in the U.S. a profit of 80 per cent on the London wholesale price is all to cover expenses. This is increased to 100 per cent at any of the other posts to defray the necessary charges of extra carriage, the articles are all good and principally those suitable to the wants of the settlers. In the office also all the accounts of the Columbia Department including that of New Caledonia are here made up and the furs received & accounts settled which [Ms. P. 76] occasions a large mass of business to pass through the Establishment. Mr. Douglass the associate of Dr. McLaughlin assists in this Department & takes charge of the whole during his absence.

I was introduced here to several of the Missionaries who for the most part make this their home & are extremely kindly and well entertained by the Company at no expense whatever there are usually some ½ dozen staying with their wives and there have been as many as a dozen At present there are Mr. & Mrs. Smith of the Board of Missions Mr. & Mrs. Griffith, Mr. & Mrs. Clarke of the Self-Supporting Mission, Mr. Waller of the Col[a] Mission and two others—Mr. and Mrs. Smith have been in the country some 2 years are disgusted with their prospects and will leave for the Sandwich Islands the first opportunity. he declared to me there was no duty for a missionary few Indians and what there are nomadic in their natures and he felt it was but a waste of time to stay in this country his avowed object in leaving however is the health of his wife. All the above with the exception of Mr. Waller came across the mountains they represent the passes through

the mountains as by no means difficult and no apprehension of hostile attacks, a deplorable account is given of the dissipation and morals of the fur companies. Mr. Griffith & Clarke are entirely disappointed in their hopes of self support and are now moneyless and were it not for the kindness of the Company would be houseless. I should think them illy adapted for anything—The description of the Tollity valley[67] was so favorable that I advised these missionaries to take farms there and exert themselves. it lies next to the Willamette Valley West of it & is separated by the Yam Hills from it subsequently to this at my last visit Mr. Griffith informed me he had taken my advise [Ms. P. 76a] and was much pleased with his prospects. I shall have occasion to speak more fully about the Missionaries when I come to the Willamette Valley settlement.

The view from this Fort is extensive and beautiful a large farm under fine cultivation meets the eye with its extensive granaries and buildings—this fine view winding its way among the untouched forest backed by the distant blue hills and the striking snowy peak of Mt. Hood an object which one seldom tires in viewing. all give one the impression that at no distant day it must become thriving with a busy population.[68]

Dr. McLaughlin showed us the rooms appropriated for us, and told us the bell was the summons to tea or meals.

At tea I was introduced to the gentlemen, some 6 or 7. attached to the establishment—a profusion of good fare served in an ample hall[69] Dr. McL. at the head of the table myself on his right & Mr. Douglass on his left and the others according to their rank I mention this as every one assumes the place to which he is entitled to or given him with almost military etiquette.

All their wants here are now supplied with the exception of groceries. Canadian French is spoken here entirely the servants of the Company being generally of that class & those who come out from England use it.

The house I am quartered in is a log building scaled of one story with French windows & exceedingly comfortable except the bunks instead of bed—that is made of pine boards. This—however one gets used to in a short time—

The routine of a day it is perhaps well to [Ms. P. 77] describe—At early dawn the bell is rung for the working parties and

67 Tualatin Plains, sometimes spelled Twallity.
68 Present day citizens and tourists can appreciate his prophetic vision.
69 That ample hall has been mentioned by all early writers.

soon after all are at work. The sound of the hammer clink of the anvil and rumbling of cart wheels was a great novelty to us and not an unpleasing one after so long an absence of it and so unlike the notes of the morning in the forests—at 8. the bell is again rung & all go to breakfast at nine they are again at work which continues till one an hour for dinner all dine and again at 6 when the labours of the day close. This is the round of employment and every one is busy indeed. Vancouver is no place for an idle person destitute of amusements except reading.

29th [May]

We found ourselves comfortably located at Vancouver Several of the Missionaries called upon me found them possessed of little information respecting the country having kept no notes or made any observations relative to the soil temperature climate what observations they did make unsatisfactory explanations about the country and certainly not to be relied on, therefore I have put little or no confidence in what I gathered from them to Mr. Drayton I gave the task of obtaining missionary information being much better adapted to such duties than myself (see his report)[70] The Walla Walla Grand Ronde and Koocooskees[71] now distinct seemed to be more familiar with those gentlemen than other parts They all agree that it is a fine grazing country but that few spots of it are susceptible of farming to advantage; the country is greatly in want of timber. Dr. [Mr.] Douglass & Capt. Varney returned today from the Willamette Mr. Douglass is as I have before said a chief factor he appears a shrewd & intelligent gentleman about 40 years of age tall & good looking with a florid complexion & black hair. I was glad to meet with him, he has had from merit one of the most [Ms. P. 77a] rapid promotions in the company's service that has taken place having been only [blank] years [blank][72] He has not long since returned from California where he has been making purchases of wheat & cattle also preparing the way to extend this operation into that country by the introduction of merchandise & securing the furs in this district of Territory. Few can compete with them in the introduction of goods little or no expenses being incurred besides what it would be necessary to go to in furtherance of their present duties.

The water of the Columbia rose 18 inches in 12 hours last

70 Captain Wilkes incorporated the substance of Drayton's report in the published *Narrative*.

71 Indian name for the Clearwater, a branch of Snake River at Lewiston.

72 Another case of leaving spaces for facts which he failed to fill in. Sir James Douglas later became Governor of Vancouver's Island.

night and great fears are entertained that the crops on the lower prairies will be destroyed. The usual time for the highest point of the river is in June middle but the heat of the present Summer & Spring is supposed to have brought it to its highest sooner. One can scarcely have an idea of its flow how swollen it is, and to see the huge trunks of thick gigantic forests borne like chips on its bosom astonishes one, they frequently are lodged in some shallow places where they remain for years proving of great detriment to the channel & not unfrequently changing its course entirely and at times of serious inconvenience to its navigation. The Thomas Perkins Brig (Am.) whilst lying near the bank was very much annoyed by them occasionally getting athwart his hawse.

The waters of the Columbia are quite clear & bring no sediment to fertilize the soil and when they come in contact with the crops from their coldness they destroy everything. The temperature of the water whilse the Porpoise was at Van^{r}. in Sept. was [blank] [Ms. P. 78] Mr. Douglass mentioned as well authenticated facts that the produce of wheat in California was 175. for one & the 2nd years produce without tillage nearly of the same amount (but I shall speak more of this under California).

Company's store is well supplied with all necessary articles which I had an opportunity of seeing in fitting myself out with camp equipage.

Everything is conducted with great system. The Servants of the Company receive their weekly allowance every Saturday afternoon for this purpose work is stopped at 5 o'clock. One hears great complaints about the allowance of food not only as to its quantity but quality without having any disposition to pry into that [illegible] I could not help perceiving that their complaints were well founded. That is if I take account we in the U. S. judge the rations for a laboring man & I am very well satisfied that no one would put up with its quality . I do trust to hear that their causes of complaints & hardships of their servants will meet one of these days with attention for I am very well satisfied that few or none would be found to complain if it was not for their scanty messes of food and its quality in many cases can say them to use a great part of the money (wages) only £17 a year to obtain things to eat. There are undoubtedly situations in which it is unavoidable in carrying on this business for instance on the outposts, but where plenty is surrounding them on all sides it appears strange that it should be denied them. This is an old custom and probably

the council have no desire to change the ration it certainly ought to have been done long since. The Servants of the Company are engaged for 5 years and after that time has expired the Company are under bonds to return them to England or the Canadas in case of cruises. [Ms. P. 78a] They received as I said about 17£ each & are fed when their time expires almost all are in debt consequently they are obliged to serve an extra time on the expiration of which they all as formerly have long since married an Indian or have had children & find themselves unable to leave & whilst they so continue they are as it were still bound to the Company and still under their *surveillance.*

James Bridger: A Historical Narrative. By J. CECIL ALTER. (Salt Lake City: Shepard Book Company, 1925. Pp. 546. $10.00.)

The purpose of this book, as stated by its author in the preface, is to bring out of "comparative obscurity in widely scattered and unrelated references" one of the most interesting characters in the annals of the Rocky Mountain country. In order to do this Mr. Alter has taken the biographical sketch of James Bridger by General Grenville M. Dodge and has sought to "support and surround it with a superstructure of facts gathered from every known source." "Thus," he continues, "it may be that the future renown of this modest but most capable of early western characters will be a little more nearly commensurate with his importance in the history of the old West.

"He has already dwelt too long in the frontier cabins of books-out-of-print; in the tepees of tangled traditions; and in the open air of the fading memories of friends; and his character and activities have thus been exposed to the hoodlumism of disergard and misrepresentation. In this present work it is hoped that the old scout may find a certain sanctuary from the unjust designations of braggart, drunkard, polygamist or prevaricator; though it is further hoped that he will not be shielded from any just and proper characterization howsoever base."

To write a biography of James Bridger is a difficult task. He left behind him no letters; no written "thoughts" on this thing or the other. For he could neither read nor write. His life was lived in the open, principally on the backbone of the continent of North America. His young manhood was spent in trapping the beaver, in traversing the remote fastnesses of the Rocky Mountains for that commodity which spelt wealth to a few and destruction to many. His life from 1822 to at least 1839 was intimately wrapped up in the Rocky Mountain fur trade. In his activities as a trapper and Indian fighter, and later as guide and scout for the government, he came into contact with many persons of note. Several of these have left written records. To these and to the recollections of a few persons who in their younger days knew in a more or less intimate way the old trapper and scout, Mr. Alter has gone for his material with which to write a biography of James Bridger. He has produced an interesting and undoubtedly an accurate story.

To tell the life story of Bridger one must tell in brief the history of the Rocky Mountain fur trade. Bridger first went into the Rockies as an employe of Major Andrew Henry and General William H. Ashley. He continued under the partnership of Smith, Jackson and Sublette; then as a member of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, and finally under the supervision of the American Fur Company. He saw every side of this wealth-getting activity; hardships he endured in plenty; he participated in numerous encounters with the savages, and he did not always escape unscathed; he witnessed the rivalry, often fierce, between trappers in these regions; he was present on more than one occasion at the summer rendezvous in the mountains where great quantities of "furry" wealth passed out of the hands of the trappers—where also these denizens of the forest gave themselves up for a little while to bacchanalian excesses. But beyond telling the interesting history of the fur trade his biographer can say little more than this: James Bridger was a part of all this.

With the passing of the fur trade James Bridger crossed over into another phase of his life. The first economic approach to the Pacific Northwest had ended by 1840. The fur trade had ceased to be profitable. Now the emigrants were coming across the plains. Fort Bridger was erected in 1843 and gave to this seasoned trapper an opportunity to earn a livelihood in a different way. He was now in a fair way to carry on a trade with the emigrants to Oregon and to California. Then after the emigrants came government activities. There were contacts with the Mormons and the Indians. A reliable scout was needed. Bridger with his intimate knowledge of Indians and of the West now proved to be of great service.

"Bridger's service as scout and adviser for numerous United States Army officers was well nigh indispensable," says Mr. Aiter. "When guiding a peaceful party across a river-hemmed or mountain-blocked country his word of advice became the law of the expedition, and very often its salvation; and his decisions, and often his mere opinions, when accompanying troops into a region infested with hostile Indians, were virtually the orders of a commanding officer, because of his unerring knowledge of the country, and of its wily inhabitants.

"But when the industrial wheel of fortune spread its spokes of heavy steel along the principal western thoroughfares, Bridger was carried forward and downward in its unresistible revolution.

Passing the apex of his usefulness and efficiency due to advancing years, to the permanency of the increasing white population needing no frontiersman's service, and to the need for younger men as army guides and scouts, his career seems to have rolled up suddenly like a scroll."

During his lifetime (1804-1881) James Bridger saw many transformations take place in the West. He entered the Rocky Mountains early in life and viewed them in their pristine grandeur; he probably first of all white men saw the waters of Great Salt Lake; probably also he was with the first party that went through the South Pass. He was in close contact with the great migrations which passed across the plains during the decade of the forties, the decade in which the ownership of Oregon was finally determined; he witnessed and participated in the subjugation of the Indians in the West, and even lived long years after the West had been united to the East with rails of steel. Before death overtook him the Northwest had been organized into its present-day political units and these were making rapid strides toward the goal of statehood. Truly these were wonderful changes for one man to view at close range.

As a part of this book there is included General Dodge's *Biographical Sketch of James Bridger,* which has for some years been out of print. This reprint, with annotations, is in itself a useful contribution to the historical literature of the Northwest; but the work is made still more valuable by the addition of a bibliography of one hundred titles and an analytical index. The bibliography is a list of the references which the author has cited. The edition consists of one thousand numbered copies, each of which has been autographed by the author.

In bringing together in one volume a great deal of useful material that has been buried in rare publications Mr. Alter has performed a distinct service to students of Northwest history. He has done his work carefuly and thoroughly, and his publishers have turned out for him a very attractive volume.

J. ORIN OLIPHANT.

Paul Bunyan. By JAMES STEVENS. Woodcuts by Allen Lewis. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925. Pp. 245. $2.50).

When Dr. V. L. O. Chittick, in his review of Esther Shephard's *Paul Bunyan* for *The Washington Historical Quarterly,* stated his opinion that Paul Bunyan "is much too coarse and

earthy a creation to be transferred to poetry" and further that whoever shall attempt to draw a picture of him will find that "every vestige of the marvelous vanishes from him instantly" he would seem to have discovered some of the challenges of the subject that Mr. Stevens and Mr. Lewis had already made up their minds to accept. And evidences of the difficulty of their task are manifest in their book.

In surmounting this difficulty both Mr. Stevens and Mr. Lewis have sought the aid of an art more sophisticated than would probably be understood by any Shanty Boy who has contributed to the building of the epic. In his introduction Mr. Stevens indeed confesses to being under the aegis of Mr. H. L. Mencken, and Mr. Lewis's woodcuts are indubitably right for a "Borzoi Book." At their happiest both have shown that the methods of contemporary art are ingenious with however difficult a problem; but neither has disproved Dr. Chittick's contention that the essential Paul Bunyan of the logging camps is intractable to their purposes. Neither the Gulliverian Paul Bunyan of the frontispeiece nor the descending Jove of the tailpiece is quite the heroically vulgar and inconsequential figure that Mrs. Shephard has revealed so authentically in her version of the character. Nor is there much of the accent of a Paul Bunyan known to any skidway in him who "solemnly and warningly spoke"—to his loggers—"of the shadowy workings of fate, and in somber utterance.....portrayed the pathos of yearnings, the frailties of blessings and the ultimate vanity of all endeavor."

Mr. Stevens has nevertheless written an alluring book. In the fact that he has dealt freely with his materials lies no proof that he dealt ill with them. Some of the conditions imposed upon him by his subject are, it is true, impossible. Not even Mr. Stevens can persuade us to accept wholly a Gulliver who is at the same time a Lilliputian, a giant who is not a giant but simply a biggest logger. For Mrs. Shephard there was no such problem—she was frankly telling us a tall tale which attempted no effects subtle enough to require a poetic verisimilitude. But the Paul Bunyan of Mr. Stevens is no mere grotesque—he is a poet and a philosopher, a pathetic as well as an heroic figure. It is because he finally wins us to this conception despite our partial or temporary refusals that Mr. Stevens may be credited with having made poetry out of this raw stuff from the logging camps. He has preserved enough of the unique atmosphere of the camps and accepted

enough from the invention of the bards of the woods to give his book some historical significance; but chiefly he has used these materials as his box of toys and has made from them a story that is intriguing indeed, but probably much more intriguing to book-buyers and patrons of circulating libraries than it would be to the bunkhouse cranks if it were recited to them at the camp on Onion River.

JOSEPH B. HARRISON.

The Trail Blazers. By MARY H. WADE. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1924. Pp. 276. $1.65).

Canada's Great Highway. By J. H. E. SECRETAN. (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head Ltd., 1924. Pp. 252. $2.50).

Trail Life in the Canadian Rockies. By B. W. MITCHELL. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1924. $3.00).

White Indian. By EDWIN L. SABIN. (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Company, 1925. $2.00).

An increasing interest in the annals of the Great American West has led to the publication of a variety of books. Among recent volumes are two that deal with the Oregon Trail, one a novel, "White Indian," and the other, "The Trail Blazers" a new rendering of the Lewis and Clark expedition for boys and girls from ten to fifteen. The background for the novel is found in the far west mountain country around 1835 and its theme is the regeneration of an Englishman through the help of his squaw and a white girl he had loved before he west West. The story is filled with Indian life and lore and with the romance of the mountain country.

In the second book, Miss Wade has succeeded in telling the more picturesque portions of the Lewis and Clark story with accuracy and enthusiasm. In employing a somewhat conversational style, she gives her account the flavor of deeds actually performed and dreams that once filled the hearts of adventurous men. The story of the Bird Woman is emphasized but on the whole it reads very much as if Miss Wade had made good use of the original material. The book deserves to be recommended for young readers.

From the canoe and the pack, we turn to the railroad. In Mr. Secretan's account of Canada's Great Highway, we have an informal narrative of the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway from 1871 to 1885 by an engineer who helped to build the road.

There is romance here, too, and adventure, when one thinks of all the work that was required to make possible the present methods of comfortable travel. The reader will meet some delightful folks—like the guide whom they called Robinson Crusoe and the cockney, Bill Noble—but best of all, he will meet the writer himself, who loved the mountain and the stream and the crackling campfire.

In the "White Indian", the writer asks, "Where is it now, the glory and the dream?" The answer is to be found in books like these, stories of explorers, engineers, and trail blazers of today and yesterday. The answer may also be found in the panorama that awaits the climber when he reaches his peak in the Rocky Mountains. First-hand accounts are always valuable in that they re-create for one the actual enterprise and the events connected with it.

It is in somewhat similar spirit of adventure and good anecdotes that Mr. Mitchell describes "Trail Life in the Canadian Rockies." This book would be tremendously useful to any group that intends to tramp in the Rocky Mountains near Field and Banff, because the writer gives detailed information about nine summers in this region. If the reader doesn't plan such mountaineering he will find the accounts of the trips thoroughly interesting. There is good humor in the book and sunset or dawn, with the world's edge in the distance, he can find both the glory and the dream.

EBBA DAHLIN.

Our Constitutions, National and State. By A. J. CLOUD, Chief Deputy Superintendent of Schools, San Francisco, California, and EDMOND S. MEANY, Professor of History in the State University of Washington. (Chicago, Atlanta, New York: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1925. Pp. 350. $1.00).

This interesting little volume—an Elementary Text in Government and Citizenship, for use in the State of Washington—is designed to meet the requirements of schools that feel the need of inculcating in their pupils a truer appreciation of our system of government and an understanding of the duties of active citizenship. In some states the legislatures have required courses in citizenship and in the principles and provisions of the Federal and State Constitutions and this book will meet that need if such a law is passed in Washington. It may be questioned whether a study

of the constitution—one of the most difficult fields of law—can be so simplified as to be of very great value to students in the elementary schools, but assuming that some adequate understanding is attainable by young pupils this book should abundantly meet their needs.

There are three divisions of the field. Part one contains a simple explanation of government in general and our government in particular. Part two takes up the Constitution of the United States and explains it section by section in the simplest possible language. Necessarily all the complicated and debatable clauses and phrases that have exercised the reasoning powers of the greatest lawyers and jurists are passed over without clarification. In part three Professor Meany has given a clear and concise exposition of the constitution and government of Washington. It is up-to-date, informing and pleasingly presented.

An appendix reprints the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States and that of the State of Washington. At the end of each chapter are found references for further reading, suggestive questions, and subjects for discussion in class, and throughout the book are well chosen and well executed illustrations. Mechanically and typographically the book is beyond criticism. A glossary of difficult terms and an index make the contents readily accessible. Both authors are to be congratulated on their successful command of easy clear-cut English, which will without question grip the attention of their readers.

EDWARD MCMAHON.

Condensed Popular History of the United States of America. By GUST. S. STALEY. (Yakima, Washington, 1924. Pp. 75).

This little volume is an attempt on the part of an intelligent citizen interested in the study of the history of his country to awaken a deeper interest in that history. It is designed to meet the needs of a hurrying world that has little time for serious prolonged study of anything. It is both an outline and a summary. From the college point of view it is therefore unorthodox, but it may supply a real need that the college course does not. Most people still conceive of history as facts. History is no more facts than bricks are a house. Something more is needed. The bricks must be arranged according to the plan in the builder's mind; the facts so as to show how the present has unfolded itself from the past. This is extremely hard to do briefly. The briefer the summary the

greater the difficulty. To condense a book or a chapter into a sentence invites inevitable error. Still this little volume may make an appeal that a more elaborate account would not awaken at all, and it was this appeal that the author had in mind.

EDWARD MCMAHON.

The Inside Passage to Alaska, 1792-1920. By WILLIAM WATSON WOOLLEN. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1924. Two volumes. Pp. 342; 318. $12.50).

The title of this work indicates that it is well within the purvue of the *Washington Historical Quarterly,* but the memory of the author is much more fondly cherished in his native State of Indiana than it is in Alaska or the Pacific Northwest. At the time of his death, on March 26, 1921, he was the senior member of the bar of Indianapolis both in age and in continuous practice. On account of his long and successful career as a lawyer and on account of well known law-books he had written, his demise inspired impressive ceremonies on the part of the Indianapolis Bar Association. That would have been deemed a sufficient crowning glory for his sixty years of activity as a lawyer. Not so in his case. In a few years it will all be forgotten. William Watson Woollen was a very unusual character. His avocation will surely eclipse his vocaion. He was a nature lover of the highest type like John Muir and John Burroughs.

He was a member of a number of scientific organizations and was the guiding spirit of the Nature Study Club of Indiana. On a wild tract of land at Buzzard's Roost, outside of Indianapolis, he established a refuge for birds and other wild creatures. There he studied for years by himself and with the Nature Club. Since his death a tablet has been placed there to his memory and the place has been renamed "Woollen's Garden of Birds and Botany."

In 1912, he made a trip to the Pacific Coast, and, while approaching Sitka from Skagway, he resolved to write a book on "The Inside Passage to Alaska." His lawyer instinct prompted him to get all the facts. That proved laborious. He consulted available books and ultimately made five personal trips to Alaska gathering materials. As he saw the end of life approaching he worked feverishly on his manuscript. He was not able to give it the final revision. This was done by Paul L. Haworth, author of *Trailmakers of the Northwest* and other works. The editor has done his work capably and with a sincere sympathy.

The author begins his work by tracing Vancouver's approach to the shores of the Pacific Northwest in 1792. His last chapter in Volume II., "The Explorers Complete Their Work," still deals with the Vancouver expedition. Between that beginning and ending, Mr. Woollen has woven the story of his own observations, of recent developments, and of records found in many other books. His love of nature crops out again and again as he discusses fishes, trees and flowers, streams, mountains and arms of the sea. The books will prove to be valuable for those who live in or near Alaska; they will also prove interesting to the more serious tourists who contemplate visits to that region. The books are much more than hand-books or guides. They are packed with information gathered by one who was anxious to render a real service.

Gray, Kamm and Allied Families. By MRS. CAROLINE A. KAMM. (Portland, Oregon, for the Author, 1925. Pp. 706.)

This elaborate and handsomely bound volume, privately printed for Mrs. Jacob Kamm, daughter of William H. Gray, by the American Historical Society, Inc., will be highly prized by those libraries and individuals fortunate enough to receive the gift from Mrs. Kamm. The book is a beautiful monument to William H. Gray, a member of the famous Whitman Mission to the Oregon Indians.

The main portion of the book, the first 624 pages, contains a faithful reproduction of Gray's well known *History of Oregon,* which first appeared in 1870. This is followed by a reproduction of Gray's "Journal" reprinted from the *Whitman College Quarterly* for June, 1913. This Journal covers the time from December 28, 1836 to October 15, 1837, giving his observations among the Nez Perces, Flat Heads and other Indians while on a journey returning from Oregon to the States.

Beginning at page 681, the last portion of the book is devoted to biographical sketches of William Henry Gray, Author, Missionary, Humanitarian; Jacob Kamm, Public Benefactor; and other members of the two families. This part of the volume is illuminated with reproductions in colors of family arms and crests.

Among the illustrations is one facing page 702 or the Jacob Kamm residence, the first large residence in Portland, built in 1871. Another, facing page 684, shows the graves at Waiilatpu, near Walla Walla. The title says: "The shaft marks the grave of Mr.

and Mrs. W. H. Gray; the slab that of Dr. and Mrs. Marcus Whitman and other victims of the Whitman Massacre."

The copy of the book presented to the University of Washington Library is stamped in gold: "Presented in Memory of W. H. Gray, by his daughter, Mrs. Caroline A. Kamm."

Boys' Games among the North American Indians. By EDITH STOW. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1924. Pp. 126. $1.50.)

With admirable clearness Miss Stow has described in a picturesque book some thirty of the games common to Indian boys. The snow games of northern tribes are represented but the Indian tribes still surviving in the Southwest seem to have furnished a large part of the material for this book. Many of the games described, as Shinny, Football and Stick races are the ancestors of our own favorite sports. This book is not intended for the student of anthropology but would be of interest to children and to those who have to do with the supervision of their games.

Boys' Own Book of Frontiersmen. By ALBERT BRITT. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1924. Pp. 224. $1.75.)

Every year sees several additions to the list of good books for the young, based on the more romantic periods and incidents in our history. The Book of Frontiersmen should class among the better type of books offering an interesting route to history by way of biography. The author has not written down unnecessarily for his readers nor has he divested himself of a quiet humor and a pithy manner of expression generally reserved for an older public. An effort has been made to separate truth from tradition, or at least, by the saving doubt, to avoid sending the young imagination scouting on unprofitable trails.

The period covered extends from the time of Sir William Johnson and Alexander Henry to that of Joe Meek and the settlement of Oregon. A chronological arrangement of the chapters would have added much to the effectiveness of the book.

The Territory of Washington, 1879 By FRANCIS H. COOK. Edited by J. Orin Oliphant. (Cheney, Washington: State Normal School, 1925. Pp. 39. $0.60.)

This interesting pamphlet is a reprint of an article by Francis H. Cook which first appeared in the *Spokan Times* of July 4,

1879. It gives a description of various parts of the Territory with an estimate of its resources and possibilities. Mr. Cook was quite as familiar with the Western as with the Eastern part of the Territory, having been engaged in newspaper work on Puget Sound from 1871 to 1879. He will be remembered as the man who started the first newspaper in Tacoma, *The Tacoma Herald,* of which he published daily and weekly editions until he went to Spokane in 1879 to found *The Spokan Times.*

Not the least important feature of this reprint is the illuminating introduction wherein Mr. Oliphant tells something of the period and circumstances which inspired the writing of the article. A genuine service has been rendered in rescuing and making accessible an important document of local history. The edition however is limited to 100 copies.

Jesuit Missions among the American Tribes of the Rocky Mountain Indians. By A. M. JUNG. (Spokane: Gonzaga University, 1925. Pp. 30.)

This is a popular account of Jesuit Missions among the Indians of the Rocky Mountains. Many illustrations add much to the interest of the text. The item is well worth securing and preserving.

Letters of Long Ago. By AGNES JUST REID. Illustrated by Mabel Bennett. (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1923. Pp. 118. $1.25.)

This little volume is a story taking the form of a diary written by a daughter in Idaho to a father in England. The letters date from 1870 to 1891 and aim to reproduce the local color of the place and time. The work is rather well done and the volume not without interest. One can hardly claim for it, however, any distinct contribution to the subject of Western history.

Sacajawea and The Lewis and Clark Expedition, An Epic. By ELMER HARPER SIMS. (Coeur d'Alene, Idaho: The Press Publishing Company, 1925. Pp. 68.)

This poetical version of the story of Sacajawea is noted as another trbute to the memory of the Indian bird woman who guided Lewis and Clark. The verse resembles in meter that of Longfellow's "Hiawatha" but the technique is indifferent and the

poem fails to add to bare narrative any illuminating touch of interpretation.

Dictionary of the Intertribal Indian Language Commonly Called Chinook. By LAURA B. DOWNEY-BARTLETT. (Tacoma, Washington: Smith-Digby Company, 1924. Pp. 91. $0.75.)

This little volume will not replace the standard Chinook dictionaries by Gill, Long or Shaw. Its chief merit, if it be considered such, lies in a classified arrangement of words instead of the usual arrangement of all words in one alphabet.

Other Books Received

BAENSCH, EMIL. *A Boston Boy; The First Martyr to American Liberty.* (Manitowoc, Wisconsin: The Author, 1924. Pp. 44.)

British Columbia. Department of Lands. Water Powers, British Columbia, Canada. (Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer, 1924. Pp. 155.)

COLLINS, LOUIS L. *History of the 151st Field Artillery, Rainbow Division.* (Saint Paul: Minnesota War Records Commission, 1924. Pp. 427.)

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Transactions for the year 1924.* (Springfield: State Printer, 1924. Pp. 203.)

SMITH, ADDISON T. *The Old Oregon Trail—The World's Most Historical Highway.* (Washington, D.C.: Government, 1925. Pp. 23.)

WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Proceedings of the Society at its Seventy-second Annual Meeting.* (Madison: The Society, 1925. Pp. 85.)

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Old Indian Report

Mr. T. C. Van Epps, now of Los Angeles, California, while a citizen of Olympia some thirty years ago purchased an old cabinet and in it found the manuscript report by W. B. Gaswell, Indian Agent in the year 1856. The report is dated at Olympia, Washington Territory, December 31, 1856, and is directed to Hon. Isaac I. Stevens, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs. The first two paragraphs are as follows:

"Having received an appointment from you on the 1st inst., of Special Indian Agent to take charge of the Indians parties to the Treaty of Medicine Creek, negotiated Dec. 26, 1854, I deem it proper at this time to submit the following report of the action I have taken in pursuance of my instructions to carry into effect the stipulations of said Treaty, the condition of the Indians, and the state of affairs generally in my special agency.

"The Indians under my charge are those belonging to the head of Puget Sound, and are collected upon the Squoxain, Puyallup and Nisqually reservations. The number of Indians belonging to each may be set down as follows: Squoxain 375, Puyallup 550, and Nisqually 240."

Indian Block Houses

Rev. William J. Rule, of Coupeville, Island County, writes an earnest letter asking if there is not some society or agency within the State able and willing to preserve from ruin the Indian block house forts remaining from the time of the Indian war of 1856. He was grieved to find one of them being used as a pig stye. For the sake of history and for the sake of sentiment attached to the struggles of the pioneers so rapidly passing away, some agency should be found to save those evidences of a crisis in the beginning of this Commonwealth.

Sixty-two Years on Puget Sound

The Bremerton *News-Searchlight* for June 19, 1925, records the death of Joseph Cavanaugh who had sixty-two years of active life on Puget Sound. He is best remembered from long association with road making in Kitsap County.

Biographical Congressional Directory

Mr. C. M. Perkins, Postmaster at Seattle, has received a request from the Joint Committee on Printing of the United States Congress, asking for additional information about the biographies of those who have represented in Congress the Territory and State of Washington. The information is being compiled.

Upper Missouri Historical Expedition

Mr. L. C. Gilman, Vice-President of the Great Northern Railway Company, has sent invitations to a number of citizens in the State of Washington to attend a series of memorial celebrations at Verendrye and Fort Union in North Dakota and at Meriwether in Montana on July 17, 18 and 20, 1925. Much will be learned about the earliest explorations in that section. The invitations are works of art on heavy paper representing birch bark, beautifully illuminated with pictures of Indians, explorers and fur traders. They are signed by the Governors of North Dakota and Montana and by the superintendents of the Departments of History in North Dakota, Montana, Minnesota, and South Dakota. Mr. Gilman's signature is attached to the copies distributed in this State.

The Washington Elm

On the campus of the University of Washington there is an elm which was obtained by Arthur J. Collins of the Class of 1896, while doing graduate work at Harvard. He got permission to place a box of soil in the limbs of the old elm at Cambridge under which Washington took command of the Continental Army on July 3, 1775. Mr. Collins sent the safely rooted slip to his Alma Mater where its growth has been fondly watched.

On July 3, 1925, President Coolidge will participate in a celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of that great event in American history at the spot where the old tree stood. The event will also be commemorated on the campus of the University of Washington. Mr. Henry J. Gorin, President of the Seattle Society, and Mr. Percy Hunting, President of the Washington State Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, have arranged a ceremony around the local son of the old tree. A bronze tablet will be placed on a granite boulder as a permanent marker. The scene of Washington taking command will be reenacted by Eagle Scouts dressed as Continental soldiers. Charles

W. Saunders, a native of Cambridge, will present the Society a gavel made of the wood of the famous old elm. The occasion will be graced by the presence of Judge Harvey G. Remington, of Rochester, N.Y., and Dr. Frank Smith, of Elizabeth, N.J., who are respectively President General and Chaplain General of the Sons of The American Revolution.

The inscription on the tablet is as follows:

"Scion of the Washington Elm, Cambridge, Mass. The tree under which General Washington first took command of the American Army, July 3rd, 1775, in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of this event. The Washington State Society, Sons of the American Revolution, erected this tablet July 3rd, 1925. This tree planted by Arthur J. Collins, an alumnus of the University of Washington."

President Penrose

On completing his thirty-first year as President of Whitman College, Walla Walla, Dr. Stephen B. L. Penrose tendered his resignation on account of the loss of eyesight. He would easily have passed into a very favorable place in the history of the Pacific Northwest for his excellent work in building up that sturdy institution of higher education. But he is by no means through with his beloved task. The Board of Overseers refused to accept his resignation. They voted to retain him as President for work within the College and to give him an assistant for the important activities in outside fields. Thousands of friends will rejoice over the courageous decision of President Penrose to continue his splendid career of intellectual endeavor.

Doctor Penrose was born in Philadelphia on December 20, 1864. He received the Bachelor of Arts degree from Williams College in 1885 and Bachelor of Divinity degree from Yale University in 1890. In that year he was ordained a Minister in the Congregational Church and for four years served as a home missionary Minister at Dayton, Washington. In 1894, he became President and Professor of Philosophy and Education in Whitman College. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Ripon College in 1902 and also from Williams College in 1905. Williams College also conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1919. He is a member of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions. He earned the high honor of

Phi Beta Kappa in his collegiate days and is a member of the Delta Kappa Epsilon fraternity.

Norse American Centennial

In common with Norse descendants throughout America, those in the Pacific Northwest commemorated the one hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the Norse immigration to America at the University of Washington Stadium, Seattle, on Sunday, June 28, 1925. There was abundant music and much of the history involved was portrayed in colorful pageantry. By a happy coincidence the event was preceded by the visit of a large group of singers, students and professors, from the University of Christiania. Although the name of Norway's Capital has gone back to the ancient Oslo, there was no evidence that the name of the great University has followed in common usage.

Mr. T. C. Elliott

Readers of this publication and of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* are familiar with the writings of Mr. T. C. Elliott, of Walla Walla. He is accepted as one of the best experts living on the history of the great Columbia River region and the areas adjacent thereto. Such readers and a host of personal friends will be grieved to learn that he has lately suffered an infliction which threatened to deprive him of eyesight. Specialists throughout the country have been consulted and have succeeded in saving partial use of one eye. He is withdrawing from active business and will devote his remaining years to his loved work of historical research and writing.

Hstorical Materials at Washington

Prof. J. F. Jameson, Director of the Bureau of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution of Washington, and Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review,* writes that the Governors of all the States are expetced to request the Secretary of State, Washington, D. C., to make available the documents and historical materials relating to the several States now in storage at the National Capital. If a sufficient number of States, through their Governors, manifest an interest in the matter the important work will be done at the expense of the Federal Government. Governor Roland H. Hartley has been requested to express Washington's interest in having the work undertaken.

Taking the Student to the World

Dr. Albert K. Heckel, Dean of Men at the University of Missouri and former Professor of History at Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., is a visiting Professor of History at the University of Washington for the summer of 1925. He has been chosen to serve as Executive Dean and Professor of History for an experimental "college afloat." A large transport, *President Arthur,* is being refitted with suitable classrooms, laboratories and living quarters. The faculty will comprise experts in such fields as History, Anthropology, Astronomy, Geography, Mathematics, Geology, Sociology, Languages, Literature and kindred subjects. The cruise around the world will require a year of time. The grades earned by the students are to be recorded at the University of New York and may be transferred from that institution to any others elected by the individual students. The tuition fee for each student, covering all expenses, is $2200.

Dean Heckel, in commenting on the enterprise said: "Heretofore we have been bringing the world to the student. On this occasion we will be taking the student to the world."

President Harding's Pastor in the West

On July 27, 1923, President Warren G. Harding, while in Seattle, gave the oath of allegiance to thousands of boys assembled in Woodland Park. Through the leadership of the Seattle Lodge of Elks a permanent memorial stand has been erected on the exact spot of that ceremony. It is to be used for the first time in a big celebration on July Fourth, 1925. The Committee of Rainier-Noble Post of the American Legion, having in charge Seattle's celebration of the Nation's Birthday, have been fortunate in securing, as orator of the day, Rev. William Abernathy, who is Pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, Washington, D. C. In that church Mr. Harding worshipped while President of the United States.

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CHARLES W. SMITH, Business Manager,
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Announcements

¶ Turner F. Levens, an interesting pioneer of the Columbia River country has written some valuable reminiscenses of the pioneer days. The manuscript was obtained from his boyhood friend Mrs. Lulu D. Crandall, of The Dalles, Oregon.

¶ Rather weird experiences are related in the article "Life at Old Fort Colville" supplied by William S. Lewis of Spokane and edited by him and Jacob A. Meyers of Meyers Falls.

¶ Further evidence of interest in the centennial of Fort Colville is seen in the article "Narrative of Benjamin MacDonald."

¶ The proposed elaborate celebration of the centennial of Fort Vancouver has been abandoned. Some recognition of that event will surely be given and documents of historical value ought to be forthcoming.

¶ In the News Department is an announcement of efforts being made to provide means for using materials pertaining to the history of the several States now in storage at Washington, D. C. It is certainly to be hoped that this undertaking will encounter no drawbacks or delays.

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THE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
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UNIVERSITY STATION
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The
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THE OLYMPIA NARROW GAUGE RAILROAD

For a period of five years, from 1869 to 1874, the most exciting public question in every town on the Eastern shore of Puget Sound was the location of the terminus and branch lines of the Northern Pacific Railroad which was then nearing completion.

Rivalry was intense for these favors as the town that first secured the terminus was assured of a commercial future. Olympia, as the capital of the state and the oldest town of importance on Puget Sound, was at first considered to have the best claim to the Northern Pacific terminus. Negotiations were almost completed when the death of the agent in whose name the terminal lands had been secured and the legal difficulties following his death halted all plans. Meanwhile the Northern Pacific officials, following their not too scrupulous plan of playing one town off against the others, had secured from Tacoma the promise of a larger grant of land than Olympia could possibly give. As a result, it was reasonably certain by the Fall of 1872 that Tacoma would become the terminus, and in July, 1873, the formal announcement was made.

With the announcement vanished the last vestiges of any hope that Olympia would be the commercial center of Western Washington. The Northern Pacific made no move to extend to Olympia their branch line which ran through Tenino. Without any rail connections Olympia was faced with commercial annihilation. The Sound commerce which it had held as the head of navigation was diverted to Tacoma. The crops of Lewis county, the richest country tributary to Olympia, were being routed to Portland on the Northern Pacific. Within a year the situation had become so serious that General Hazard Stevens declared in a circular letter that even the capital might be moved to a more accessible place. Popular feeling in Thurston County

was aggravated by resentment against the unfair dealings of the Northern Pacific and also because while the railroad running through Tenino was only fifteen miles away it was useless to Olympia. It was apparent that a railroad must be built to connect with this line at its nearest point, Tenino.

In 1870 a company headed by Governor Ferry and Marshall Blinn was organized. It was capitalized at $400,000.00 and its purpose was to build the Tenino-Olympia line for the Northern Pacific. Congress was memorialized to open the Des Chutes Channel and to grant 1337 acres of land at Budd Inlet which were to be offered to the railroad. Congress failed to act on the petition and the subsequent failure of the Northern Pacific to carry out their promises automatically terminated the usefulness of the company.

In 1873 another company, the Olympia Railway and Mining Company, was organized largely through the efforts of Governor Solomon and Colonel Bee. As its name implies, its object was twofold: first, to build a railroad to Coal Bank near Tenino which would connect with the Northern Pacific, and, second, to develop the coal deposits of that district. The company was forced to seek public aid, and after a preliminary meeting and negotiations with prominent citizens a large public meeting was held on August 25th at Olympia. Every effort was made to have the meeting as representative as possible. Judge O. B. McFadden, the territorial delegate, was chairman and Elwood Evans secretary. This meeting represents the commencement of Olympia's effort to build rail communication for itself; a project which had important influence on the history of all Western Washington, as it, together with the Seattle and Walla Walla Railroad, was the first step to combat the control of the transcontinental railway. Conditions had reached a point where the Northern Pacific by extending or denying railway privileges could determine the fate of a community.

The proposition of the company was practically that the county should finance the road and provide terminal and settlement lands in return for which the company agreed to construct the road and to maintain passenger and freight depots at Olympia and Tumwater. This proposal was accepted almost unanimously and a bond issue of $150,000.00, the amount requested by the company, was proposed. The lands asked for by the company were the same pieces that had been pledged to the

Northern Pacific several years previously. A committee of thirteen men was appointed to cooperate with the company. These men, all prominent in public affairs, were later the leaders of the Olympia Railroad Union.

Under the laws of the territory it was impossible for Thurston county to issue the bonds without a Congressional act amending the organic act. The result was that months passed by and the Railway and Mining Company was still held up because of the failure of Congress to act. Furthermore, a number of the men who had agreed to sell or donate their lands to the Northern Pacific refused to do so for the new company. By December, 1873, it became apparent that no early action by Congress could be expected. Hazard Stevens issued a call on December 23rd for money to make the preliminary survey in order to be ready for actual construction as soon as Congress took action. General Stevens summarized the situation. "When that company * * * * comes to build the road all the preliminary work will have been done. And should the company decline to build the road we will be prepared to make other arrangements."

The last sentence of his statement was the first announcement of the Narrow Gauge Railroad. By December 31st $660.00 had been raised and on that day the organization known as the Olympia Railroad Union was organized, consisting of seventeen of the subscribers to the fund with Hazard Stevens as President, S. D. Howe, Vice President, and F. A. Hoffman, Secretary. On January 8th, 1879, the articles of incorporation were drawn up and a capitalization of $200,000.00 announced. While there was still hope that the Olympia Railway and Mining Company would be able to construct its road, the Union was prepared to take its place. $200,000.00 was an ambitious sum for a town of less than two thousand people to raise locally. It was the intention of the Union not to seek outside aid. It was provided, however, that the stock, in $100.00 shares, could be bought with land, goods, articles of value, or even labor on the roadbed—an interesting insight into the pioneer financial condition of the territory. In the prospectus it was announced that the purpose of the Union was "to construct and operate a railroad from Olympia to intersect the Northern Pacific near Tenino". Public interest was soon aroused and in only a few weeks 1500 acres of land had been subscribed.

By the end of January it was evident that the company

would never build the road and Olympia was left to use its own resources if it wished the road. No company could undertake the construction of the railroad without a subsidy from the county which could not be issued except by an Act of Congress. The situation of Olympia in the farthest corner of an undeveloped territory with little or no surplus capital would have ended the project except for the determination of the citizens to carry it through. It is safe to assume that a town of equal size today, even with modern financial aids, could not survey and build a railroad. Olympia accepted the plan as entirely feasible and the Union began to consider actual construction work.

An engineer, T. B. Morris, had already prepared the surveys and estimates for grading with the money provided by the committee. An office was opened where these documents, together with railroad pamphlets and plans, were shown to the public.

Within a week the Railroad Union had launched a campaign to interest everyone in Thurston County in the railroad. It became the leading subject for discussion in Olympia. Lands and some money were pledged. Those who had neither lands nor money promised to work on the roadbed for a specified time. Several merchants subscribed to stock by giving provisions for the workmen and material for construction work. One man donated the use of his piledriver as his share. At a meeting held on March 7th the ladies agreed to send their Chinese servants to work on the road. It was announced on March 7th that 6200 acres of land, 100 town lots and $7,000.00 in cash or provisions had been subscribed, a not inconsiderable amount for a campaign of a few weeks.

As soon as the first burst of enthusiasm had spent itself, the united sentiment of the town was divided by a somewhat pointless argument as to the width of the gauge. It was evident that Olympia could not afford with so little money to construct a standard roadbed. By a vote of the subscribers a three foot gauge was decided on. Another cause for disagreement was whether or not the County should aid the railroad. It was to serve all the County and because of the lack of private capital it seemed as if some public money would be needed. This was disagreeable to some prominent men who had little faith in the railroad as a financial matter.

Active work began on April 7th and the first few miles of grading were done by the business men of Olympia and farmers

from the county. Miss Mary O'Neil, an early resident of Olympia, describes in the following paragraphs the opening of the work:

"The road from Olympia across Bush Prairie was graded by citizens of the county turning out in a body and working on the right of way. On these field days all business was suspended. The people assembled early in the morning on Main Street and, headed by the band and Charley Granger's big mule with a cannon strapped on his back, marched out to the right of way, every man armed with a pick and shovel. Governor Ferry and other officials marched and worked with the others. The ladies always prepared a bountiful dinner at noon. Somedays there were perhaps 700 or 800 men at work and as much as a half mile of right of way was graded. Farmers with their teams, plows and scrapers came from all parts of the county and lent a hand." This is a scene from pioneer life that deserves to be remembered for its picturesqueness.

The beginning of construction gave an added impetus to the raising of funds. By April 11th $45,000.00 worth of land had been exchanged for stock, in addition to $2,400.00 in labor and $6,850.00 in cash and materials. The total of $54,250.00 assured a good beginning of the work.

After the grading had reached the point where the people of Olympia could not conveniently work, men were hired to continue the construction and they were paid largely in provisions. Their cash pay was provided by the fund from the sale of stock and contributions made by individual men. On May 1st it was announced that two months' work by fifty men would complete the important part of the grading and a renewed call for funds was issued. Almost every citizen had subscribed to the first fund and there was little free wealth in Olympia, so this time there was trouble in raising funds. The financial condition of the Union was shaky due to the lack of ready money to continue construction or to equip the road.

The pressing question was whether Congress would pass the bill to allow Thurston County to issue bonds for the completion of the road. Judge McFadden, the territorial delegate, managed by May 18th to secure the passage of the bill. The arrival of the telegram announcing the fact was a signal for a procession in honor of the occasion in which all the town took part. The bill set a maximum of $200,000.00 for the bond issue. The company

was to bond itself for $100,000.00 to maintain transportation for twenty-five years and the county was not to be responsible for the company's obligations. The bonds were not to be issued until the roadbed was completed and the company showed itself capable of constructing the road. The passage of this bill made possible the construction of local roadbeds in other parts. Hitherto Congress had refused to allow public funds to be used to aid private enterprise. Two previous Olympia bills had been rejected and the Seattle-Walla Walla Railroad had been denied the same privilege.

A large number of citizens who had taken no part in the work or financing of the road now began a campaign on the issue of public economy since the bond issue would eventually raise taxes unless the railroad was a financial success. The issuing of the bonds never was in real doubt as the people of Thurston County had gone too far to turn back. The authorization to issue the bonds was voted two to one on August 8th. In all 742 votes were cast giving some idea of the sparsity of population in Thurston County.

The most important part of the grading was completed in the season of 1874 before the funds of the Union were exhausted. After December, 1874, the newspapers make no mention of the road. The people of Olympia had reached their financial limit and nothing more could be expected from them. The roadbed stayed unfinished and while the Union still existed in name, its usefulness was ended. From time to time the County Commissioners went through the form of legalizing an extension of time for the issuing of the bonds. Eastern capital had been badly crippled in the panic of two years previously and there was little chance of finding a man in the territory wealthy enough to complete the project.

In June, 1877, through the efforts of the Union a Seattle man, Amos Bowman, was interested. Although he was unable to carry out his proposals, his appearance was the occasion for a new effort. The unfinished road had been a sore point in Olympia's pride. From a more practical standpoint, Olympia's population and trade were remaining stationary while Seattle and Tacoma had forged far ahead.

Mr. E. N. Ouimette, a member of the original company, after canvassing the business men of Olympia, considered it the opportune time to revive the Railroad Union. Through his efforts

a meeting was called on June 1st to form a new organization. The Thurston County Railroad Construction Company was organized, capitalized at $250,000.00 in $1.00 shares. $5,150.00 in cash was subscribed the first day.

Negotiations were opened with the Railroad Union to transfer its assets to the new company in order that the bonds might be issued for the new company. After some discussion it was agreed that when $15,000.00 in stock had been subscribed for the new company and $2,500.00 actually in the treasurer's hands, the Union would transfer its rights. By July 6th $15,810.00 had been subscribed and on July 20th the transfer had been made.

Volunteer labor was again called for and 150 men worked on the grading at Tumwater. From this date on the paragraphs in the papers of that period contain continual references to the steady progress of the grading and trestle work. By May 10th the bonds were ready for issue and on this date a steamer brought the spikes for the trestlework and ties. The locomotive and rails came in a week's time. The locomotive, of course, was shipped from the East while the rails were rerolled from the original Central Pacific rails at San Francisco. The cars were built by Ward and Mitchell at Tumwater. The instant the rails arrived they were hurried to the roadbed and sixty feet of track laid on which a small flat car was placed. The tracklaying was pushed so that on July 25th the date for completion was set on August 1st. Two trains a day were scheduled to leave Olympia. Appended to the announcement were the passenger and freight rates for the road. From Olympia to Tumwater the fare was 12½ cents; to Bush Station 50c; to Spurlock 75c; to Tenino $1.00. Ordinary freight was $1.00 a ton, bulky things such as hay $2.00.

On August 1st the road was formally opened. The entire rolling stock of the road; the locomotive, one passenger car, one box car and three flat cars carried 350 Olympia people to Tenino, the running time being an hour and a half for fifteen miles. A prominent citizen opposed to the railroad rode in front of the train on his cayuse* to demonstrate the uselessness of modern transportation. The road that Olympia had waited for so long was at last completed.

The later history of the road is of little interest. In August, 1881, the name of the company was changed to the Olympia and

*An unconscious imitation of the man who walked his horse in front of Stephenson's "Rocket."

Chehalis Valley Railroad. In 1887 it again changed hands and became a subsidiary of the Oregon Improvement Co. under the name of the Port Townsend Southern Railroad. In 1891 the road was widened to standard gauge and extended to deep water on the west side of Budd Inlet. In 1898 the Oregon Improvement Co. was reorganized under the name of the Pacific Coast Co. and the little road passed into the hands of the Northern Pacific—a curious cycle that the road built to combat the Northern Pacific should at last have been bought by that company.

The Northern Pacific discontinued the road from Plumb Station to Tumwater and later tore up the track. The roadbed is still visible along the Chehalis-Olympia highway.

The Olympia-Tenino Railroad, while it did not bring great commercial prosperity to Olympia, did save the city from sinking into decay. Also it gave Thurston County and the surrounding territory the desired railroad communication with the rest of the territory. Most important, however, it placed a period at the end of the paragraph of pioneer railroad building which included the Baker road and the Seattle and Walla Walla Railroad, and which was one of the greatest achievements of pioneer Washington. The Olympia and Tenino Railroad, while not the most important of these roads, deserves to be remembered as the most typical example of the pioneer initiative and self-reliance which made their construction possible.

WINLOCK MILLER, JR.

PIONEER EXPERIENCES*

George Lawrence of Ohio was my father and Lucretia Montgomery my mother. Both were of Revolutionary stock, although I have the record of my father's side only, being descended from John Lawrence of Capt. Jack's Company, Pennsylvania Militia. His son John was the father of my grandfather, Charles Lawrence. My father is buried at Selma, Illinois; my mother in a country graveyard in Linn County, Oregon. Recently, when visiting her grave, I found near it the grave of Joaquin Miller's father. Near this locality was the home of the "Oregon Poet," as he was then known. I knew both father and mother, having harvested at their home. His mother is buried in California, where she made her home in later years. I never saw Joaquin—"Hiner," as he was called at home. He was then in London, having just made himself famous there. The Oregon papers, particularly the *Oregonian*, had always poked fun at him. I knew many of his school mates, as he was only a boy on coming to Oregon. His mother thought he inherited the poetic talent from her, and to prove it tried to write poetry herself after his success. The father had been a teacher. I taught my first term of school in 1877, in the district where the elder Miller had taught.

I came from a family of pioneers, the first John Lawrence of record settling in Western Pennsylvania at the close of the Revolutionary war. My grandfather, Charles Lawrence, moved to Ohio over a hundred years ago, when that country was new. My father set his face to the west, and as a child I remember the covered wagon in which we moved from Ohio through Indiana to Illinois, and then on to Missouri across level prairies covered with grass and not a building in sight. After his death we moved to Oregon, when travel by train across the plains was new. I went from The Dalles by team to Pendleton when only a few houses were seen in all that distance, and they were on the creeks, with a day's travel by team between. There were a few settlers

* This article comprises two letters written to me by John C. Lawrence, of Winlock, Wash., under dates of May 26 and June 27, 1925. In consolidating these letters I have necessarily made some slight re-arrangements and have omitted from the second letter one or two short paragraphs, which merely repeated what Mr. Lawrence had said in the first letter. I have, however, preserved the exact language of the writer, and herewith offer the article for publication in the belief that it will prove to be as interesting to others as it has been to me. The footnotes are mine.—J. ORIN OLIPHANT.

between Pendleton and Walla Walla. The whole country north of Snake River had but few inhabitants.

Mother, with the family, reached the Willamette Valley, Oregon, April 10, 1876, where she died August 17th of the same year. I reached Colfax, Washington Territory, November 11, 1878, at the age of 17, having been born near Mt. Gilead, Ohio, January 22, 1861. I belong to the W.O.W., K. of P., and F. & A. M., and , while a Presbyterian by faith, am at present a member of the Methodist Episcopal church at Winlock.

I selected Garfield as my home from the time it was laid out as a town, made it my home for nearly forty years, and there two of my children were born: Zola L., born January 22, 1884, who married H. P. Fisher, now postmaster at Garfield, and Bessie A., born February 19, 1886, who married John F. Camp of Napavine. Hugh M. was born on April 13, 1891, at Waterville, and Perry W., September 21, 1892, at Waterville.

The time of one's arrival in a new country does not make a deep impression on the country itself, however deep is the impression made on the new arrival. Mine was made in 1878, and Colfax was the place reached, when the stage from Walla Walla, after an all-night ride, reached the top of the hill toward evening [?], and I saw the hamlet strung out along the bottom of what seemed a canyon a few hundred feet below along the South Palouse River, the impression made was not favorable. But I grew to like Colfax and the splendid people who made up its pioneers.

I suppose as many people reached the Palouse country in 1878 as there were inhabitants prior to that year, and that this was a duplication of the previous year, making a doubling of population for each of the two years.[1] The oldest resident commonly met in 1878 came in 1873. There were very few people in the Palouse country prior to that year, and it seems to me now, from the remembrance of the oldest settlers, nearly all of whom I knew personally, that there were only a few score dating back to

1 The population of Whitman County, according to the Territorial census of 1878, was 3,769, and in the following year it was 5,390. The Federal census of 1880 gave the County a population of 7,014. Whitman County had not been created when the Federal census of 1870 was taken. According to the *Palouse Gazette* (Colfax, Wash.) of September 29, 1877, "Whitman County was organized in 1871, and now has a population of 2,247; assessable property, $460,000; increase in population in two years, 742; increase in valuation, $102,000. The County is out of debt." For some account of the early settlers in Whitman County see Frank T. Gilbert, *Historic Sketches of Walla Walla, Whitman, Columbia and Garfield Counties, W. T.* (Portland, 1882), pp. 432 *et seq.*

1873.[2] I knew a few who came in 1871. Prior to that date, there were fewer than a half-dozen I knew. Five years then seemed a very long time for anyone to have lived in that new country of a seeming million hills.

The old Territorial road ran from Walla Walla through Colfax and on to Fort Couer d'Alene, and along the timber line skirting the northern boundary of the Palouse country was the Mullan road, running to Spokane Falls and on east to Montana.[3] Beside these were the Indian trails over which I later saw many thousand Indians travel on their annual journeys to the Coeur d'Alene Mission, east of the present town of Farmington.

Indian trails led from Lewiston northerly through Palouse City and north to Pine creek, thence down to the present site of Rosalia and north to Spokane Falls. Other trails led from the Coeur d'Alene Mission down Hangman Creek and on to the Falls. The locations of these trails are now almost forgotten. The trails from Colfax led northerly over the hills, then turned eastwardly to Dry Creek, past what was the well known Dutch Henry place,

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2 In 1872 there was a considerable migration from the Willamette Valley into the country north of Snake River. With respect to this movement the *Walla Walla Union* of April 6, 1872, says: "Almost every day we see from one to half a dozen wagons loaded with farming implements, household goods, and women and children, bound for either Stevens or Whitman County. On last Tuesday one train of five wagons, with about 150 head of cattle, passed here on their way to this new country. They had come all the way from the Willamette Valley and the cattle look a little the worse for their journey, but seem to be doing well now. Most of those that are going there have more or less stock, and are attracted thither by the well merited reputation of the country for stock raising. But it is not a stock range only; it is one of the finest agricultural countries in the Territory. A few years will find Stevens and Whitman among the most populous as well as the most wealthy of our Counties."

Through the summer and the autumn of 1872 the *Walla Walla Union* was impressed by the numbers of people moving into the "upper country." In the *Union* of July 13, 1872, appears the following: "The number of immigrants going through this place on their way to the Palouse country is not at all diminished. Every day we see from one to half a dozen wagons filled with women, children and 'other household furniture,' headed in the direction of the Palouse. There is also large numbers of horses and cattle being driven through, and it would seem that the new country would soon be fully peopled and stocked." On November 9 of that year the *Union* stated that the "immigration from the Willamette Valley has not yet ceased, but on the contrary, there seems to be more stock coming in, in our valley now than at any time since the early part of summer. They are anxious to get their stock on bunch grass pasture before winter sets in." In the spring of 1873, according to the *Union* of March 29, this migration into the northeastern part of Washington was resumed, and it was noted that the immigrants were "almost exclusively from the Willamette Valley. They say that there will be a heavier emigration from that section this year than ever before. 'Webfoot' is becoming too old a country for them."

3 The Celebrated Mullan Military Road, which was built for the government by Captain John Mullan, United States Army, between 1858 and 1862, ran in a northeasterly direction through Eastern Washington and connected old Fort Walla Walla, on the Columbia River, with Fort Benton, on the Missouri. This road was six hundred and twenty-four miles long and was constructed at a cost of $230,000. "That it will subserve the many purposes claimed for it by its friends I can only sincerely hope that time may eventually prove," wrote Captain Mullan in 1863. *Report of Captain John Mullan* (Washington, 1863), p. 36. The importance of this road to the early settlers in Washington is indicated by the memorial passed by the Legislative Assembly in December, 1866, asking the Congress to appropriate the sum of $100,000 for its repair. *Statutes of the Territory of Washington*, 1866-1867 (Olympia, 1867), pp. 233-239. In December, 1860, Acting Governor McGill of Washington Territory informed the Legislative Assembly that a military detachment had arrived over this road from Fort Benton, making the trip in fifty-seven days. *Washington Standard*, December 15, 1860. On the 14th of the following January the Legislative Assembly, by resolution, thanked Captain Mullan (then a lieutenant) for "his industry, energy and ability in constructing the military road from Walla Walla to Fort Benton." *Laws of Washington*, 1860-61, p. 168. The Mullan Road has, in recent years, been marked by small monuments at several places in Washington and in Idaho.

up on Dry Creek past Seven-Mile Spring near the old Joe Hill place, long the home of Tommy Dobbins; then on *via* Farmington to the mission. These trails were several parallel paths and were deepened by the wind blowing out the dust cut by the feet of thousands of ponies, or cayuses, as they were called. In some places the trails would be a foot or more deep.

The settlers in the early days followed the Indian trails until the wagon tracks deepened into roads. Later railroads in many cases followed what had been the Indian trails in their general course across the country.

Spokane Falls was laid out as a town in the spring of 1878 and was generally referred to as the Falls. Palouse City and Farmington were laid out the same year. Moscow and Colfax had been laid out a few years before.[4]

Many towns have come into existence in the Palouse country since then. I watched their birth and was a kind of midwife to Garfield, having written up the first account of its existence, and was afterward a wet nurse for many years.

I have seen many people come and go, into and out of the Palouse country. While the Walla Walla Valley is the oldest in point of settlement, Colfax was the principal gateway in the early days of the Palouse and Big Bend countries. The early settlers came *via* Portland, Oregon, up the Columbia and Snake Rivers by boat to Almota, then by stage across to Colfax.[5] The larger number came by team, many from the Willamette Valley, and others by team across the continent *via* Walla Walla. Later they traveled north from the Palouse country in search of land, on out into the Big Bend Country,[6] and then, on the completion of the Great Northern, in the early nineties, across the mountains into Western Washington. Nearly every town in Western Washington has one or more former residents of the Palouse or Big Bend

4 The populations of these towns in 1880, according to the Federal census of that year, were as follows: Colfax, 444; Farmington, 76; Palouse City, 148; Spokane Falls, 350. For contemporaneous accounts of the growth of thees towns see the correspondence therefrom in the *Palouse Gazette*, volumes one and two *passim*. Also, see Gilbert, *op. cit.*

5 In *The Spokan Times* of June 5, 1879, immigrants were given the following instructions to reach Washington: "There are three routes which Eastern people may take in coming hither. If a person wants to save time, and desires to bring stock, wagons, etc., the quickest and most direct route would be to come from Omaha to Ogden; thence by wagon road to this new country; traversing the distance from Ogden in two or three weeks, when roads are good—say in the months of June, July or August. Those having neither wagons nor teams can come by rail to Kelton, at a cost of about $50 in emigrant car, thence by stage to Walla Walla, at an expense of $75, exclusive of meals, and on to Colfax or Spokan Falls, at an additional expense of ten and seven dollars, respectively. The remaining route is via San Francisco, by rail, thence to Portland, Oregon, by ocean steamer, thence to Almota, by boat."

6 On May 23, 1884, *The North-West Tribune* (Cheney, Wash.) stated that "emigrants are flocking into the Big Bend Country at the rate of one hundred a week." Following the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1883, travel into the Pacific Northwest was made relatively easy, and during the decade of the eighties the population of the Territory increased tremendously. Compare the Federal census reports for 1880 and 1890.

countries, and in the larger towns several of them. In the cities there are scores, and no place I have found on the west side without at least one former resident of the Palouse or Big Bend countries.

The early inhabitants of the Palouse came from all over the United States. The first settlers, as a rule, came from the Willamette Valley. Many of the very first were stockmen from the Walla Walla country, seeking new grazing lands for their growing herds. I came from the Willamette Valley, where I had spent two years.

Recently I read L. E. Kellogg's story of pioneer days in the Palouse country.[7] My name was not mentioned, as I was only a boy, but it was all a part of my life. I was a printer's devil in the office of the *North-West Tribune,* which he established there in 1880.[8] In the fall of that year I listened to a conversation between Mr. Kellogg and D. C. [D. F.] Percival,[9] which took place at the end of the case where I was setting type. Percival owned land at what was called Depot Springs,[10] west of Spokane Falls, and proposed to lay out a town, as it was on the line of survey of the Northern Pacific Railroad, then under construction from Ainsworth, near the mouth of Snake River, toward an eastern connection.[11] Percival hoped to interest the railroad officials to make it a division point and then put up a fight against Spokane

7 L. E. Keellogg and C. B. Hopkins started in Colfax, on September 29, 1877, the *Palouse Gazette,* the first newspaper published in Eastern Washington north of Snake River. Mr. Kellogg withdrew from this partnership in 1879, and in the following June started in Colfax *The North-West Tribune.* This newspaper was moved to Cheney, Washington, in October, 1880, to further the candidacy of Cheney for the seat of government of Spokane County. In 1884 *The Tribune* was sold by Mr. Keellogg to George F. Schorr, and in 1886 Mr. Schorr moved the plant to Spokane Falls, where *The Tribune* was published for several years. For some account of the life of Mr. Kellogg see my *History of the State Normal School at Cheney, Wash.,* chapter I; also see *Washington Historical Quarterly,* XVI, 132 *et seq.,* for an account of *The North-West Tribune.*

8 Vol. I, No. 1, of *The North-West Tribune* is dated June 16, 1880.

9 D. F. Percival was one of the early settlers in what is now Spokane County. He served as County Commissioner in Stevens County in the seventies and, in 1879, as a member of the House of Representatives, introduced into the Territorial Assembly the bill which provided for the organization of Spokane County. He came to Cheney in the infancy of that town and was for some two decades one of its leading citizens. He was five times mayor of the town. For a more extended life sketch see my *History of the State Normal School at Cheney, Wash.,* p. 9.

10 Depot Springs was an early name of the present town of Cheney, Washington. For a short while in 1880 the towns was called Billings, in honor of Frederick Billings, then president of the Northern Pacific; but in the late summer or the early autumn of that year the name was changed to Cheney, honoring Benjamin P. Cheney, of Boston, a director of the Northern Pacific. Mr. Cheney gave the community the sum of $10,000 to be used in founding an academy. The Benjamin P. Cheney Academy was opened to students on April 10, 1882. On the admission of Washington into the Union this institution was donated to the state on condition that it be made a State Normal School. This academy thus proved to be the forerunner of the present State Normal School at Cheney. See *Washington Historical Quarterly,* XV, No. 2, "The Benjamin P. Cheney Academy." The files of *The Spokan Times* and *The North-West Tribune* contain much of interest in relation to the county-seat contest in 1880 between Cheney and Spokane Falls. The State Normal School at Cheney has the publisher's file of *The Spokan Times* and the publisher's file of *The North-West Tribune* is preserved in the Spokane Public Library.

11 The construction of the Pend Oreille division of the Northern Pacific was begun at Ainsworth, "the new town at the mouth of the Snake River," on October 2, 1879. See *The Spokan Times,* October 16, 1879; also, E. V. Smalley, *History of the Northern Pacific,* for a history of the entire road up to 1883.

Falls for a county seat. It was a glowing picture he painted, and, as there was no apparent prospect of a railroad ever coming to Colfax, Mr. Kellogg agreed to go to Cheney, and Percival agreed to give a lot, furnish a suitable building and move the plant.[12] Mr. Kellogg asked me to go with him, but I had made up my mind to stay with the Palouse country, which I did for forty years, except for intervals while holding official positions. Ten years later, when I went to Waterville as Register of the United States Land Office at that point, I found my old friend Kellogg had preceded me and had founded the *Big Bend Empire*, the pioneer newspaper of that great region.[13]

For a time in 1882, in an interval between terms of school I was teaching, I acted as clerk at the Baldwin House,[14] then the leading hotel north of Snake River, and the headquarters for stages running in many directions. One line came in from Texas Ferry on Snake River, the upper landing of steamers at low water. Another from Penawawa,[15] the ferry crossing from Walla Walla. Another from Lewiston, one to Spokane, one to Palouse and one to Farmington. The Lewiston stage covered Pullman and Moscow. Colfax was the hub of transportation, and getting passengers off on the stages and meeting them as they came in from a long stage ride was one of the interesting duties of a clerk.[16]

One evening two slender young men got off the stage from Penawawa. When I looked over the register I saw the auto-

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12 The first number of *The North-West Tribune* issued in Cheney was Vol. 1, No. 18, dated October 13, 1880.

13 *The Big Bend Empire* was established in Waterville by Lucien E. Kelolgg. The first number appeared on February 16, 1888. For an account of the difficulties connected with the establishing of this newspaper see *History of the Big Bend Country* (1904), pp. 989-990; for some account of Mr. Kellogg's activities as a pioneer journalist see *Ibid.*, p. 698. A discrepancy respecting the length of time Mr. Kellogg continued as the publisher of this newspaper will be observed in the accounts cited herein.

14 The initial number of the *Palouse Gazette*, September 29, 1877, stated that the foundation of the Baldwin House had been laid. "It is to be 40x64 feet, two stories high, and well furnished." On February 2, 1878, the *Gazette* announced: "This hotel is now opened and ready to accommodate the traveling public." E. Baldwin was at this time proprietor. In the spring of 1881 the Baldwin House was advertised in *The Spokane Times* as an establishment having "good accommodations and prices to suit the times." E. N. Beach was then proprietor. At the same time A. A. Newberry, proprietor of the Ewart House, in Colfax, advertised his hotel as "the largest and best kept north of Walla Walla."

15 In 1880 Penawawa had a population of 43 and Texas City had also a population of 43. For brief historical sketches of these "ferry" towns see Gilbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 445-446.

16 "In 1871 an extensive stage line began to operate throughout this region. This was the Northwestern Stage Company. It connected the Central Pacific Railroad at Kelton, Utah, with The Dalles, Pendleton, Walla Walla, Colfax, Dayton, Lewiston, Pomeroy, and all points north and west.' To illustrate the extent of its operations it may be said that it used three hundred horses, twenty-two stages, one hundred and fifty employes, and annually fed three hundred and sixty-five tons of grain and four hundred and twelve tons of hay. Local stage lines also operated in all directions, connecting with each other all the principal points of the county and transporting passengers and freight to Snake River landings, to be there loaded on the boats." *History of Whitman County* (W. H. Lever, 1901), p. 170. For an interesting account of the experiences of a pioneer stage driver in Eastern Washington see William S. Lewis's interview with Louis J. Yale, in Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, May 24, 1925.

graphs of Jno. L. Wilson[17] and Chas. S. Voorhees[18] for the first time. They asked for a room with a stove. I told them we had none, at which they expressed great surprise. I felt a disgust for grown men who wanted a stove in a bed room, something I had never at that time seen and doubt if there was one in the country, unless in a sick room. However, neither of these talented men needed a fire to warm them up politically. Wilson then came to relieve Judge E. N. Sweet as Receiver of the United States Land Office.[19] At statehood, seven years later, he was elected to Congress and later to the United States Senate, and his name became a household word. Voorhees, son of the "Tall Sycamore of the Wabash," was first elected prosecuting attorney of Whitman County and at the next election representative in Congress, where he served in the same Congress with his father.

I have seen many people come and go in both the Palouse and the Big Bend countries. It is not in harmony with the present article to give a list of them. I cannot, however, help mentioning two who made the largest impression on my life. Father Eells, the missionary and co-laborer with Dr. Whitman, in whose honor he founded Whitman College. I was his protege when he was superintendent of schools of Whitman County. Miss L. L. West was a pioneer teacher who came to Colfax from Iowa in 1877 and established the Colfax Seminary, where I attended school. She is still teaching, and, in her 75th year, seems as hale and hearty as at fifty. She will retire from active teaching with the present year, after fifty-nine years' experience.[20]

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17 John L. Wilson was United States Senator from Washington from 1895 to 1899. His term was limited to four years owing to the fact that the State Legislature, on the expiration of the four-year term of John B. Allen, failed in 1893 to choose a successor. The State was deprived of one senator for a period of two years. See the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* for January, February, and March, 1893; also, see Barton's *Legislative Manual* for that session of the State Legislature.

18 Charles S. Voorhees, a Democrat, represented Washington Territory in Congress from 1885 to 1889. He was first chosen in 1884 and was re-elected in 1886. He succeeded in getting passed, in 1887, a measure providing for the annexation to Washington of the panhandle of Idaho. This bill was killed by President Cleveland's pocket veto. There was much disappointment in the Northwest at the failure of this measure, for an agitation for the annexation of Northern Idsho to Washington Territory had been under way for fully twenty years.

19 The bill to create the Colfax Land Office, introduced by Delegate Orange Jacobs, was approved on August 15, 1876. *Cong. Record*, 44 Cong., 1st Sess., p. 5693. The office was not opened, however, until April 5, 1878. The first Register of this office was William James, a former governor of Nebraska, and E. N. Sweet, also of Nebraska, was the first Receiver. See *Palouse Gazette*, October 27, December 15, December 22, 1877; March 30 and April 6, 1878.

20 Miss Leoti L. West, who is said to be the oldest active public school teacher in the State of Washington, was born in Iowa on March 18, 1852. She was educated in the Iowa schools and in Mount Carroll Seminary, Illinois. On August 20, 1878, she arrived at Colfax, Washington, and began her long teaching career in the Pacific Northwest. In 1922 she prepared for me a statement wherein she declared that she had taught for forty years, thirty years in Washington; that she had for twenty-five years been a teachers' examiner; that she wrote the first graded school course in Eastern Washington. For two years she was Deputy County Superintendent of Schools in Whitman County, serving under the Reverend Cushing Eells. She was at one time a member of the Territorial Board of Education.

In 1878 the schools of Washington Territory were just coming under a general system. A recent law[21] provided for a Board of Education for the Territory[22] and the adoption of a uniform series of text books. This adoption was made with the promise that there should be a free exchange of the new series for the books then in use.

I taught that winter where the town of Garfield was afterward located, and when the day came to exchange text books I was prepared with all the books in use in the school room and about all the school books to be found in the homes. There were five families and fourteen boys and girls. The books were put into a seamless sack. I was given a saddle mare to ride the eighteen miles to Colfax to make the exchange. The books made a pretty good pack back of the saddle. I had some difficulty in grading the books, as some pupils with a second reader brought advanced arithmetics from home.

Baxter Renshaw,[23] a pioneer merchant in Colfax, was the exchange agent. He smiled at the array of illy-graded books, but made the exchange. With the sack filled with books, I made the return trip in pleased anticipation of giving out the new books in place of the old ones. On Silver Creek,[24] just below Garfield, the mare threw up her head with a snort, and there stood a deer, ears forward, looking us over. For a moment we stood so close together I could have hit it with a stone, then it quietly leaped aside and disappeared among the trees.

A short time later a drove of five deer came down from the mountains and the scholars watched them running over the present townsite of Garfield. The next day we heard that all were killed on the Palouse River near the old Chase mill pond.

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21 Reference is here made to the law of 1877, a brief synopsis of which may be read in the *Report*, United States Commissioner of Education, 1880, p. 388. According to this same authority, the various school laws of Washington Territory had been enacted in the following years: 1854, 1871, 1872 and 1877.

22 The Territorial Board of Education, created by the act of 1877, met for the first time in Olympia on April 1, 1878. For a brief historical sketch of this board, as well as for a brief history of the office of Territorial Superintendent of Public Instruction, see *Twenty-Fourth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction* (Olympia, 1919), pp. 7-8, 27-28.

23 W. B. Renshaw, who died in Kamiah, Idaho, December 1, 1924, was a pioneer of Whitman County. He went to that region in 1871, while it was still a part of Stevens County. He was born in Cave Spring, Missouri, February 11, 1847, went to Oregon in 1851, to Walla Walla in 1867, and four years later went into the "upper country." He was a pioneer mail carrier for some time, his route being from Union Flat, in Whitman County, to Spokane via Colfax, Cottonwood, Rosalia, Wells Station, and Spangle, a distance of seventy-five miles. He served as postmaster in Colfax for eight years and for six years he was Treasurer of Whitman County. Mr. Renshaw, notwithstanding he declared his education to be limited, taught school for one year near the present site of Spangle. In order to get a teacher's certificate, it was necessary for him to travel to Colville. For Mr. Renshaw's amusing account of the manner in which he obtained a certificate see the Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, July 2, 1922. This account was given to me by Mr. Renshaw and was by me prepared for publication in the above-mentioned newspaper.

24 Silver Creek is a small stream which empties into the North Palouse River at Elberton.

The school house was a crude affair, and was succeeded by a new building the next year. This second building is still standing and is used as a dwelling, having later been moved to the Main street of the town. The next school building was a much more pretentious affair and was built on a hill in the western part of the town, where it later burned. It was followed by the brick building in the center of town, used as a grade school. Some years later the present high school was built on the hill north of town.

The first teachers' institute[25] in Whitman County was held

25 The official announcement of this institute, which was scheduled for May 29 and 30, 1879, was made by Superintendent Cushing Eells in the *Palouse Gazette* of May 16, 1879. In an editorial note in the same issue the following "gentle suggestion" was offered: "In two weeks the first teachers' institute ever held in Whitman County will convene at Colfax. The object of these institutes is for teachers to meet together for mutual instruction and improvement in their noble profession. School directors also attend these conventions to engage teachers. It is generally known that school teachers, like printers, are rich in everything but that which is said to be the 'root of all evil'—money. It is generally the custom for private families to entertain teachers during the institute, free of charge. The people of Colfax and vicinity should make arrangement to receive and entertain these teachers and make their visit with us as pleasant as possible." The secretary's report of this institute is printed in the *Palouse Gazette* of June 6, 1879. For a copy of the program and a brief history of the early public schools of Whitman County see *History of Whitman County*, pp. 110, 161 *et seq.*

Facilities for the training of teachers in Washington Territory at this time were indeed meager. There was, according to the *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for* 1880, p. 389. In the University of Washington a normal course of two years, which included "the higher English branches, methods of instruction, and pedagogics. There were twenty-one students attending in 1879-80 and three were graduated." The principal method employed in the Territory for the training of teachers was the teachers' institute. According to the *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for* 1879, p. 288: "Institutes have been organized in most of the counties of the Territory; and, as a result of the new law establishing uniformity in the examinations of teachers, the sessions were generally well attended, teachers seeing the necessity of embracing every opportunity for improvement. Still, many of the younger teachers held aloof, fearing that they might be required to take a part in the proceedings, for which they were not prepared, such as delivering addresses or reading essays. Partly from this cause the work at the institutes held was confined to the interchange of opinions as to the best methods of imparting instruction, maintaining order, and securing regularity of attendance."

The proceedings of a teachers' institute, held in Cheney, Washington, on June 7, 8, 9 and 10, 1881, may be read in *The North-West Tribune* of June 10 and 17 of that year. In a letter from J. S. Houghton, Superintendent of Public Instruction for Washington Territory, dated at Goldendale on May 31, 1881, to A. J. Stevens, superintendent for Spokane County, Mr. Houghton expressed pleasure that the institute was to be held and urged that it "confine itself mostly to genuine Institute work: that is, to class work adapted to the wants of the common school district. Lectures are all very fine in their way, but they furnish the inexperienced teacher with very little indeed that can be carried to the school room." The program indicates that the wishes of the Territorial Superintendent were complied with. In resolutions adopted the teachers in attendance at this institute indorsed the teachers' institute "as a valuable mode of awakening the public mind to a just appreciation of good schools and qualified teachers" and further urged "the teachers of each county in Eastern Washington to organize and promote institutes."

The first teachers' institute in Spokane County, according to contemporaneous newspaper accounts, was held in Spokane Falls in November, 1880. The editor of *The Spokan Times* (October 23, 1880) was "pleased to learn" that this meeting was to be held and expressed the opinion that there were "now enough teachers and scholarly friends of education in Spokane County to make the institute a success." A rival editor in Cheney wrote of this institute in *The North-West Tribune* of November 12, 1880, as follows: "The institute, though not so well attended as it should have been, was an entire success. Teachers should attend these institutes and lend their assistance to make them useful and valuable aids in the advancement and improvement of our common schools." Five teachers, four women and one man, attended this institute.

In the *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for* 1880, p. 389, it is said with respect to Washington Territory: "According to law, institutes must be held annually in all counties containing ten or more organized school districts and must remain in session from one to five days. It is made the duty of all teachers employed in the county to attend and to take part in the proceedings, and all having charge of schools must adjourn them for the purpose."

At the time Mr. Lawrence was serving as Territorial Superintendent the plan for the training of teachers in Washington was summarized as follows: "The professional prepa-

in Colfax during May, 1879, with Rev. Cushing Eells,[26] superintendent, and Miss Leoti L. West, who was conducting the Colfax Academy, assistant.[27] There was a report of a previous institute but no record was kept, and I think it no more than a teachers' meeting of a day's duration. This institute was preceded by an examination of teachers, the first under a uniform series of questions propounded by the Board of Education. There were thirty-four applicants present at this examiantion, and three first-grade certificates granted, of which one was to me.[28]

As this is measureably a personal narrative, I will recite an incident of this examination: Miss West came into the room during the afternoon and after looking around, as she told me

ration of teachers in this Territory is provided for by teachers' institutes, which are established by law, and attendance made compulsory, with a penalty for absence. An annual Territorial institute is held by the Territorial Superintendent of Public Instruction; and county superintendents are required to hold yearly institutes in counties whenever the number of school children is five hundred or more. The county commissioners are empowered to make appropriations for this purpose. The institutes of the past year are reported to have excited more than usual interest among the teachers. Teachers' certificates, valid for five years, and diplomas for life, are issued upon examination by the Territorial Board of Education. The board of county examiners issues county certificates of three grades." *Report*, United States Commissioner of Education, 1886-87, p. 449.

For an account of the meeting of the eastern division of the Washington Territorial Teachers' Institute in 1882, together with editorial comment thereon, see the *Medical Lake Press* of August 26, 1882.

26 The Reverend Cushing Eells was one of the early Protestant missionaries sent into the Pacific Northwest. In 1838, after crossing the continent, he, with Elkanah Walker as associate, laid out at Tshimakain, in the Spokane country, the site of a mission. For ten years this mission was maintained. It was abandoned in the spring of 1848, following the outbreak of the Cayuse War, which was caused by the Whitman massacre of the preceding November. Cushing Eells led an active life in the Northwest almost to the day of his death. He founded many Congregational churches in the Inland Empire and did much for education. He was the founder of Whitman College. He was one of the early Superintendents of Schools in Whitman County. His death occurred on February 16, 1893. A complete account of his life was written by his son Myron and published in 1894.

27 The Colfax Academy and Business Institute, with Miss Leoti L. West as principal and Miss Flora Stough as assistant, was opened on September 11, 1878. *Palouse Gazette*, May 4, June 8, August 2, August 23, August 30, September 13, 1878.

28 This examination was held on May 7, 1879, with results as follows: "Three teachers received a first grade certificate; three a second grade and seven a third grade." *Palouse Gazette*, May 16, 1879. An examination of teachers was held in Colfax on May 1, 1878, but the *Palouse Gazette* of May 4, 1878, makes no mention of the institute.

A set of teachers' examination questions used in Spokane County in the spring of 1880 was printed in *The Spokan Times* of May 15, 1880. The questions covered the following subjects: Spelling, arithmetic, reading, grammar, history, theory and practice of teaching, constitution and school law, physiology, and geography. Four persons, as a result of this examination, were awarded second grade certificates and three persons third grade certificates. According to a ruling of the Territorial Board of Education, herein quoted, the requirements to obtain the various certificates were as follows:

"For first grade certificates, applicants must receive 900 credits . . . and not fall below 90 per cent in arithmetic and grammar. For second grade certificates, the applicants must receive 750 credits and not fall below 75 per cent in arithmetic and grammar. For third grade certificates, the applicants must receive 600 credits, and not fall below 60 per cent in arithmetic and grammar."

Before this time it would appear that the practice of issuing "permits" to teachers without certificates had been common in Spokane County. On this subject the editor of *The Spokan Times* wrote on May 15, 1880, as follows:

"It will be an interesting matter when absentees apply to Miss Windsor [County Superintendent] for 'permits' to continue their schools; for she will undoubtedly inform them that it was their duty to be present at the examinations. Teachers who will claim that they did not know when and where the superintendent was to meet them will learn that it was their business to find out. The notice was duly published. Those who claim the right to positions as public instructors should read the county paper thoroughly enough to become acquainted with published notices pertaining to their profession. If they do not, we have no hesitancy whatever in saying that they have mistaken their calling, and are not entitled to 'permits' which will entitle them to fill positions for which they certainly are not qualified. Sickness should be the only excuse allowed. No one should blame the superintendent if she follows this lawful and just rule in the discharge of her official duties."

afterward, asked Father Eells, as the superintendent was called, the name of the green-looking boy who was trying the examination. The applicants were numbered, so Father Eells concealed his identity. When the papers were being passed on the next day the most foolish of all the answers Miss West attributed to the green country boy. Some papers were running high, and one particularly high. Miss West was trying to identify not only the papers of the green boy, but of the one running so high. Finally all were done. "Now, who is No.—, the one with the high grade?" "The green country boy," was Father Eells's smiling reply.

Miss West and Father Eells told this story over and over. The result was to make me County Superintendent of Schools at twenty-one. Two years later I was made a membeer of the Territorial Board of Education and then later Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Territory of Washington.[29]

While the school houses were crude and the seats generally home-made and equipment lacking, the pioneer conditions produced an intensity of work that gave nearly as much advancement in the few months of school during the year as the present year's work. It was a customary sight to see several cayuses staked about a country school house. Those ponies had been ridden several miles in the sparsely settled districts. Now you see autos instead of cayuses. The schools were not graded. I made an effort along that line when County Superintendent and used the first written examinations. When Superintendent of Public Instruction I held the first Normal Institute in the Territory at Colfax, of two weeks' duration. At that time there was no high school in the state [Territory] and few graded schools.[30]

Looking over a copy of my report[31] as Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1885 to 1887, I find there were only six members of the faculty of the University of Washington and some

29 Mr. Lawrence was Territorial Superintendent from 1885 to 1887. When he was appointed to the Territorial Board, in 1883, the *Palouse Gazette* of November 30, 1883, remarked: "Among the appointments of the members of the Territorial Board of Education we are gratified to notice the name of J. C. Lawrence, of this county. Johnnie has always taken a deep interest in matters educational and a short time ago was appointed school superintendent of this county. The new honor just received is fittingly bestowed upon a worthy gentleman."

30 High schools had no legal status in Washington before 1895. *Twenty-Sixth Biennial Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction*, p. 294. In 1879 Cushing Eells reported that there were no graded schools in Whitman County, and in 1881 the County Superintendent was "ashamed to admit" that there were no graded schools in Walla Walla County.

31 A fragment of a special report made by Mr. Lawrecne to the Governor of Washington was printed in the *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for* 1886-87, pp. 168-169. It contains much interesting information in relation to eudcational conditions in Washington forty years ago.

sixty-five students enrolled.[32] The frame building stood on about the present location of the Post Office at Seattle. There were only a half-dozen graded schools in the state [Territory]. The average length of school in all the country districts was a little over three months out of the year. Teachers' wages, not salary, ran from $30 to $40 per month.[33]

In 1889, on admission to Statehood, I was elected a member of the State Senate[34] which, under the Constitution adopted, had no limit to its session, being the first and having the responsibility of reorganizing the laws of the Territory to fit the new State of Washington. It was in session five months instead of the sixty days allowed all subsequent sessions.[35] I was Chairman of the Committee on Education and drafted the first school law of the State of Washington.[36]

In 1890, I was appointed Register of the new Land Office to be established at Waterville,[37] with Frank M. Dallam, founder of the *Spokane Review*,[38] as Receiver. I held the position nearly four years, being removed by Grover Cleveland before the expiration of my term to make room for a Democrat.

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32 An official report on the University of Washington for 1880 gives the following: "The University of Washington Territory, Seattle, is a part of the public school system and receives an annual legislative appropriation of $1,500. This affords free tuition to thirty pupils, who are appointed by members of the legislature. The courses of study are classical, scientific, normal, and commercial, the first and second covering four years and the others two. There were one hundred and sixty students attending during 1879-80, of whom eighty-three were in preparatory studies, nineteen in a commercial course, twenty-one in normal, twenty-five in scientific, and twelve in classical. Women are admitted on equal terms with men and are also members of the faculty." *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for* 1880, p. 389.

33 In 1876-77 there were in Washington Territory one hundred and twenty-six male and one hundred and forty-three female teachers. The average monthly pay for male teachers was $40 and for female teachers $30. In the following year the number of male teachers had increased to two hundred and thirty-six and the number of female teachers to three hundred and twenty-four. The average monthly pay for men had increased to $41.14 and for women $33.34. *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for* 1880, p. 387.

34 John C. Lawrence represented the Fifth Senatorial District in the first State Legislature. He was chairman of the Senate Committee on Education. The other two members of the Committee were W. J. Parkinson of Whatcom County and Henry Drumm of Pierce County. See *Senate Journal*, 1889-90, p. 5, and Barton's *Legislative Manual of Washington*, 1889-90, *passim*.

35 The first State Legislature of Washington was in session for one hundred and forty-three days. It convened on November 6, 1889, and adjourned *sine die* on March 28, 1890.

36 This measure was Senate Bill No. 222: "To establish a uniform system of public schools in the State of Washington." It was introduced by the Senate Committee on Education. The bill was passed by the Senate on March 14, 1890, with two dissenting votes. On March 19 it was passed by the House with certain amendments. These differences were compromised in conference, and on March 27, 1890, the bill was approved by the Governor. For the text of this law see *Session Laws*, 1889-90, chapter xii, pp. 348 *et seq.*

37 The United States Land Office in Waterville was permanently closed on May 1, 1925. A dispatch from Waterville to the Spokane *Spokesman-Review* of May 4, 1925, reads as follows: "This office was established in November, 1890. The first registrar was John C. Lawrence of Winlock, since prominent in political and business circles of the State. The receiver was Frank W. Dallow [Dallam], pioneer newspaper man of the State. He founded the *Spokane Review* and is now a newspaper publisher at Kelso. The books and records were sent to Washington, D. C., and Spokane. Much of the office furniture also was sent to Spokane. The last homestead application received was that of Ebba E. Doyle of Wauconda, April 29. The last final proof was made by Henry Baker of Omak. When the office closed more than 260,000 acres were open to settlement."

38 In a letter to me, dated at Kelso on September 12, 1924, Mr. Dallam gave the following account of the founding of the *Review*: "I shipped the *Review* plant from San Francisco in April, 1883, expecting to issue the first number of the *Review* early in May,

On my return to Garfield I was appointed United States Court Commissioner by Judge Hanford of the United States District Court, a position I held until appointed a member of the Railroad Commission upon its establishment in 1905.[39] I resigned, effective January 1, 1912, which terminated my public service after nearly thirty years in various positions.

I have given incidents of personal experiences as a pioneer. To tell all that throng to memory would fill a volume. Only a score of years later than the Steptoe Battle I talked with many Indians who participated.[40] They were very talkative about the Steptoe Battle, but when I would ask them about Col. Wright the conversation ended. He corraled and killed thousands of Indian ponies on the river above Spokane, where the bones were then bleaching, and hanged six of the chiefs held responsible for the war. This painful subject the Indians would not discuss.[41]

I knew Saltice,[42] chief of the Coeur d'Alenes, and saw Chief

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but those were the days of slow freight, and what was more aggravating was uncertainty of delivery. By some means part of the press was lost in transit and I was in a deuce of a fix. The type for the first issue was all up and no press to print the paper. It was the days of the old Washington hand press. I was rather ambitious at the start. Most papers in those days were seven-column, but I introduced the eight-column paper. Presses made to accommodate only seven columns could not take on an eight-column form. Such was the Spokane *Chronicle* press and so I had to try out the Cheney papers, each of which had kindly offered assistance in the dilemma. There were two papers at Cheney, the *Tribune* and the *Sentinel*. Loading the forms on a spring wagon, I started for Cheney. Being a tenderfoot in the country, not knowing the roads and driving in the dark, I missed the way and about daylight found myself near Spangle. Backtracking I eventually found Cheney. Neither the *Tribune* nor *Sentinel* press would take on the forms. However, necessity is the mother of ideas. We removed the iron side pieces on the *Sentinel* press, and by using caution to prevent the forms slipping, managed to print the first issue of the *Spokane Falls Review*. Before time for the second issue the lost piece of machinery came to light."

39 The Railroad Commission of Washington was established by Chapter 81, Washington Laws of 1905. This law was amended in 1907. The members of the first commission were H. A. Fairchild, chairman; John S. McMillin, and J. C. Lawrence. Mr. Lawrence's term expired on June 23, 1907, and he was re-appointed. *The First Annual Report of the Railroad Commission of Washington* was published by the State in 1907. This is a valuable historical document. Appendix V. is a brief history of the first railroad projects in Washington, and Appendix VI is a brief history of railroads in Washington.

40 Steptoe's fight with the Indians occurred near the present site of Rosalia. On June 15, 1908, the site of a Steptoe memorial park in Rosalia was dedicated.

41 Two books which treat satisfactorily of the Steptoe and the Wright campaigns are Lawrence Kip's *Army Life on the Pacific* and B. F. Manring's *Conquest of the Spokane, Coeur d'Alenes and Palouses*. Lieutenant Kip was with Colonel Wright in his campaign against the northern Indians in 1858, and, consequently, his book must be regarded as a source. Mr. Manring's book was published in 1912. It is especially valuable because of the large number of documents reproduced therein. Both books are now out of print.

42 This Chief, whose name is spelled in a variety of ways, was Head Chief of the Coeur dAlenes. During the Nez Perce war of 1877 he sent to the settlers in Whitman County the following expression of good will: "St. Mary's Church, Hangman Creek, June 19, 1877: The bearer of this is sent by Chief Seltis to let all the whites around know that he and all his tribe of Indians, viz: the Cour dAlene [sic] are always friendly disposed towards all the whites, and will help them as much as they can, if any help will be necessary. In testimony thereof he signed this paper.

his
Andrew X Seltis
mark
Head Chief of the Coeur d'Alenes.

"I testify that the above is truly from Andrew Seltis, Cour d'Alene Chief, and I believe that they are truly friendly towards the whites.

J. M. Cataldo, Catholic Priest."

This letter was published in the *Walla Walla Union* of June 23, 1877.

The Coeur d'Alene Chief was evidently a public-spirited man, for the *Palouse Gazette* of September 29, 1877, states that he contributed five dollars to the building of a bridge across the Palouse River at Colfax.

A station on the O.-W. R. & N., near Tekoa, has been fittingly named Seltice as a memorial to the Head Chief of the Coeur d'Alenes.

Moses of the Colvilles, who led an outbreak of that tribe. For many years I regretted that I had never seen the celebrated Chief Joseph, who is credited with being the greatest Indian warrior in the history of the United States.[43] However, I later found that he was the big Indian who, with the agent of the Colville Indian reservation, took dinner at Courtright, near the present town of Mondovi, April 2, 1883, when my wife, Jessie M. Rogers, and I ate our first dinner together on our wedding trip. We were on our way to Garfield from her father's home near Davenport, where we had been married just after breakfast that morning.

I sat on a hill overlooking Colfax when first a resident there and tried to draw a mental vision of the future of the Palouse country as it would be fifty years later if I lived that length of time, which has nearly expired. I glimpsed a promising picture of grain fiields, fenced roads and farm houses, instead of hills and bunch grass.

We did not expect to grow fruit, as the frost came all months of the summer. It was a novelty when the lanes first appeared making a fenced road. Suddenly, it seemed, the bunch grass disappeared. Then fruit trees came, the frosts lessened as settlers located the air drainage and knew where to plant fruit trees. No one could foresee the development of the telephone, then a new invention. By the way, the sixth telephone in use in the State was put in my office at Garfield when C. B. Hopkins started the first long-distance service in the State, in 1884, as I remember.

The Palouse country and Eastern Washington, as well as the entire State, developed beyond my dream of the future in every way. This development, of course, kept pace with the advance in all lines everywhere in modern improvements, due to the inventive geniuses of the age.

Altogether it has been a happy life and, if given a choice to live a pioneer or take up existence in the haunts of men, I would choose the former for its happiness and richness of experience.

JOHN C. LAWRENCE.

43 The flight of Chief Joseph through the LO-LO trail in his effort to escape to Canada was praised by his pursuer, General O. O. Howard, as a great military exploit. Joseph was forced to surrender at the Bear Paw Mountain on October 5, 1877. After a few years of exile in Indian Territory he was brought back to the Pacific Northwest and died on the Colville reservation in 1904.

LINCOLN-TIME LETTERS

Alexander Howard Meneely, a graduate of the University of Washington, is now completing his work for the Doctor of Philosophy degree at Columbia University, New York. The preparation of his thesis has required much searching among the manuscript materials in the Library of Congress. Coming upon some letters pertaining to a stormy chapter of Puget Sound history, he copied three of them for the *Washington Historical Quarterly.* These letters were written by Victor Smith to Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury Department in Lincoln's Cabinet.

As the frequently disturbed relations between the Secretary and the Preesident were of national import, their causes have been studied by many who have written upon the period of the Civil War. One of the causes of ill feeling was the removal by President Lincoln of Victor Smith from the collectorship of Customs in the Puget Sound District. However, this case was so remote from the centers of interest and excitement that the general works do little more than mention it. The members of pioneer families in the Northwest will quickly recall the incidents on seeing these letters brought to light more than sixty years after they were written.

Hubert Howe Bancroft published his *History of Washington, Idaho and Montana* in 1890. Many were then living who remembered Victor Smith and his dramatic career on the Pacific Coast. Mr. Bancroft gleaned from them and from the newspapers of that time. He contends that Smith was unpopular from the first for three reasons,—he was a sort of treasury spy, he was an abolitionist and he plotted to remove the custom-house from Port Townsend to Port Angeles. He was accused of speculating in town lots at Port Angeles and before long an outcry was raised over the discovery of an apparent shortage in the collector's accounts. The letters show that Smith did not try to screen his dealing in land and Bancroft shows that he cleared up the defalcation charge by showing that it was simply a case of transferring $15,000.00 from one fund to another. After writing the letters here reproduced, Smith went to Washington City to explain matters in person. Soon after he left Puget Sound. Captain J. S. S.

Chaddock of the revenue-cutter *Joe Lane*, arrived and installed Lieutenant J. H. Merryman as collector of customs. That was in June, 1862, and in August Smith returned in the revenue cutter *Shubrick*. Secretary Chase had acted on the suggestions in these letters and Congress had enacted a law removing the custom-house to Port Angeles. Smith's recommendation that the Government go into the townsite business was also carried out by a law. That law was applied alone to Port Angeles. When Smith returned in the *Shubrick* and was refused possession of the custom-house he prepared to attack Port Townsend. In that way he got possession of the papers, money and government property which he placed on the *Shubrick* until the custom-house was moved to Port Angeles. There he built a structure and rented it to the government. Nearby he built his residence. Both were suddenly crushed. Smith had again gone to Washington in an endeavor to straighten out his affairs. The stream near which his buildings stood was temporarily dammed by a landslide and in the evening of December 16, 1863, a wall of water fifteen feet high came crashing to the stream's mouth. Deputy Collector J. M. Anderson and Inspector William B. Goodell lost their lives. Mrs. Smith heroically rescued her four young children. The Smith home and fortune were lost. Two years later the element of tragedy was heightened when Victor Smith perished in the wreck of the steamship *Brother Jonathan*.

This record by Bancroft was, of course, familiar to Chase's latest biographer, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, whose Chapter XII. deals with "Chase and Lincoln." The essentials of the Victor Smith case are there set forth including a renewal of the Secretary's offer to resign. Professor Hart says Lincoln went to Chase's house and afterwards told a friend: "I went directly up to him with the resignation in my hand, and, putting my arm around his neck, said to him, 'Chase, here is a paper with which I wish to have nothing to do; take it back and be reasonable.' I told him that I couldn't replace the person whom I had removed—that was impossible—but that I would appoint any one else whom he should select for the place. It was difficult to bring him to terms; I had to plead with him a long time, but I finally succeeded, and heard nothing more of that resignation."

Previous to that personal interview, Lincoln had sent Chase a letter. It is found in Nicolay and Hay's *Complete Works of Lincoln*, Volume VIII., page 270. The letter is dated May 8, 1863, and says: "I address this to you personally rather than

officially, because of the nature of the case. My mind is made up to remove Victor Smith as collector of the customs at the Puget Sound district. Yet in doing this I do not decide that the charges against him are true. I only decide that the degree of dissatisfaction with him there is too great for him to be retained. But I believe he is your personal acquaintance and friend, and if you desire it I will try to find some other place for him."

That other place seems to have developed from the Special Agency mentioned in these letters from Smith to Chase.

In the summer of 1908, nine years after his biography of Chase had been published, Professor Hart was a guest professor at the University of Washington. He was accompanied by his wife and his twin sons, then little lads of eleven. He and the boys accompanied a party to the San Juan Islands and spent the night on the summit of Mount Constitution. When the rest of the party returned, Mrs. Hart, who had remained at Seattle, carried on this conversation over the telephone:

"Where is my husband?"

"On the summit of Mount Constitution."

"Can he get back?"

"I hope so. He would not come with us."

The truth is that Professor Hart was simply fascinated by a view of historic ground around him—all the islands under dispute with Great Britain from the treaty of 1846 to the arbitration by William I. of Germany in 1872, but more especially the waterways in which Smith the friend of Chase had wrought a troubled chapter of history in the time of Lincoln.

One concluding item should be mentioned. In 1865, Arthur A. Denny, Washington Territory's new Delegate to Congress, took a bill to Elihu B. Washburne's desk appealing for help. Representative Washburne had been the friend of Mr. Denny's father and of Lincoln in the older Illinois hustings. Mr. Washburne looked up from his own papers—"Why, you don't expect to pass this bill in such a crowded session, do you?" and then, seeing the appeal in Mr. Denny's eyes he added, "Strike but hear!" He did hear, gave his help, the bill was passed. By it the custom-house was moved back from Port Angeles to Port Townsend.

These letters were found by Mr. Meneely in the Salmon P. Chase papers in the Library of Congress, Volumes 51, 252, and 53.

Private

Port Townsend, Oct. 5, 1861.

My Dear Governor

By this mail the Department will receive my final report as Special Agent, my resignation taking effect September 31st.

I have abandoned all thought of continuing to act as Special Agent unless you will allow me to do so *without* Salary so that I may retain the Office of Collector of this District in which I find unexpected opportunities for usefulness. The Com'r of Customs will inform you that I have reduced the Hospital Expenses in this District Three thousand per annum, Rent four hundred and twenty dollars, rations for Cape Flattery Light Five hundred dollars and if the Light Ho. Board will adopt my recommendations as to supply of oil in this District a minimum of Two thousand yer annum will be saved in that item.

If, by any possibility you have been induced by the Delegate from this Territory or from my own previous communications, to contemplate my transfer from the Collectorship to a Special Agency I beg, so far as it is proper for me to express a desire that I may continue to serve as Collector of the Puget Sound Distirct. The Mr. Wilson who is named by Col Wallace for Collector is a person whom you would on no account entrust with the office if you were fully advised. Col. Wallace, our Delegate, is moving in this matter not out of opposition to myself but under the mistaken impression that I would prefer the Special Agency. I would like however, if desired by you, to do the special work of the Departments without Salary except the regular mileage and minimum per diem expenses—leaving a competent Deputy here during absence.

In the possible event of Mr. Wilson having been appointed I shall "hold on" until there has been time to hear from this letter.

If it is within your knowledge that my note falling due Oct 1st inst and payable at Bank of Ohio Valley Cinti [Cincinnati] was not promptly met by my Agent please arrange with the Com'r of Customs so that my official compensation can be drawn by my Cin'ti Agent, Mr. Nicholson, for payment of said notes—he has my power of Attorney. If proper and desirable please Authorize Valentine Nicholson to have possession of the House on Broadway.

In my final report as Special Agent under date of October 4th inst I have for reasons fully set forth therein, asked for permission to remove the Port of Entry for this District from Port

Townsend to Port Angeles a removal in itself fit and proper and one that should, for the convenience of shipping and every interest of the Revenue Service, have been made three years since. It is due to the great Confidence with which you have honored me to inform you that I have purchased in open market and at the full market price, for cash, twenty five acres of land at Port Angeles. I have engaged parties to set out fruit trees there and intend to make it, in any event, my permanent home. Slight as this interest is I tell you of it that it may have its proper effect in connection with my Official recommendation to fix that point as the Port of Entry. Port Angeles is wholly owned by five Proprietors who have legally and publicly bound themselves to limit their possible profits, at any time, to an aggregate of Fifty thousand or Ten thousand dollars each any excess over that sum (arising from the sale of lots) being secured to the town for roads, schools, churches, etc.

My greatest *personal* interest in the removal of the Custom House is to have a home during my term of Office, where there is fresh water and a school.

Everything connected with this proposition for a removal of the Port of Entry is clean and worthy of your approval. It is not fixed here by act of Congress but simply by a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury.

Second Lieut J. W. White, now commanding the Revenue Cutter "Davis" in this District is a loyal man of rare attainments as a Seaman, a Coast Surveyor and a Revenue Officer—if you knew him personally you would promote him to the Captaincy of the Cutter and Continue him permanently on this station. With his aid I am so bold as to believe we can make this the Model Revenue Collection District of the Coast.

My wife and myself are very much delighted with this country—its climate is most delightful.

You will say that "to a Shoemaker there's nothing like leather" when it is confessed that I have already contracted for a controlling interest and sole Editorial Conduct of the only newspaper in the northern part of this Territory—to be called the "Port Angeles Herald", devoted, of course, to the national recognition of Salmon P. Chase. Laugh at me as you will I must have the luxury of newspaper work—we shall be a state prior to 1864.

As Government is entitled to four pounds of mail matter by each "Pony" you would greatly expedite a letter to this remote

region by marking it for transmission by Pony. My Post Office Address is now "Port Townsend".

Very respectfully,
Victor Smith

Hon. S. P. Chase

Port Townsend Oct 29 1861

Sir:

I beg your notice of the following abstract of matters in previous letters lost in Overland Mail.

I. If my note at Valley Bank, Cin'ti. [Cincinnati] was not promptly paid, draw on me at Sight through Wells Fargo & Co.

II. If first of above notes was not paid please instruct your Assistant to advise me how to subscribe five thousand dollars, for myself and friends, to the "National loan" in quartelry payments *here*.

III. The Port of Entry was temporarily placed here, pending examination for a harbor nearer the Ocean and closer to the "throat" of Straits De Fuca, by letter of Secretary Guthrie.

IV. The fit place for the Port of Entry for this District, as demonstrated in my Report, as Special Agent, of Oct 3d inst. is at Port Angeles, and I ask the authority of a letter from yourself to locate it at Port Angeles—at least temporarily.

I stake my reputation upon the wisdom of this Change. There are no interests, worthy of attention at Port Townsend to be injured by the removal. There are here only a few temporary unplastered, (for the most part), tenements without a School-house, a church, a Black-Smith shop or an Industry of any kind.

I have an inchoate interest equal to one fifth the unimproved part of the Port Angeles town site—if this is objectionable command me to sell it peremptorily and place proceeds, with the U. S. Marshals certificate, to credit of the U.S.

V. The Revenue Cutter "Davis", on this Station, is rotton. She cruises, in good weather, at a monthly expense of sixteen hundred dollars, and upwards.

Will you trust my judgment in favor of the following plan to get a small steam Revenue Cutter here?

Allow me to lay up the "Davis", discharge all but two of the Crew which, with the two competent and working Officers—White and Selden—will perform all the useful Service now done by the Condemned Schooner; this would reduce expenses to $213.34 per month at present rates of Compensation. Direct Comptroller or Com'r of Customs to allow my quarterly requisi-

tions for Revenue Cutter Service, as heretofore, to be accounted for. Out of the difference between $214.34, and present Expense, amounting to, say, $1386.66*. entrust Lieut White and myself with the building of a Small, plainly furnished steam Propeller of 200 tons burthen which we can accomplish in two years with jealous regard for efficiency of the Revenue Service in the meantime.

Or, give me the U. S. Rev. Cutter "Joe Lane," now worse than useless at San Francisco, and we will in one year, out of the Saving as above, convert her into a serviceable Propellor.

We should need the bulk of the "Jeff Davis" here to assist in the above practical undertaking.

Honor us with this mark of your confidence and we cannot fail to reflect honor upon your Administration in so far.

We like the Country exceedingly and find ways to be useful to the War even here. Caroline assures you of her grateful remembrance and of her pride in your sustained position. Tommy insists on sending word to Governor Chase that he remembers your direction, at Linwood, to "stand up straight".

Yours truly,

Victor Smith.

Hon. S. P. Chase,
Secy of the Treasury.

* 1386.66 per month.

Port Townsend Dec. 4, 61.

My dear Governor:

Major Goldsborough, brother of the Commodore, hands you this and will, *in marvellously few words,* state why our Port of Entry should be at Port Angeles, situated in the narrowest part of the Straits of Fuca opposite Victoria and in the track of every vessel coming into this District.

The Custom House (rented) temporarily at Port Townsend by virtue of a letter from Secretary Guthrie under an act of Congress authorizing the President to designate a location.

If, for want of time to examine the subject, you are not pleased to pass upon the question of location, will you authorize me to enter and clear at Port Angeles under date of Port Townsend I being responsible that no confusion shall occur thereby? The bi-monthly steamers from San Francisco to Victoria never touch American soil in this Territory because of the awkward location of our Port of Entry—they would always touch at Port Angelos to the great advantage of the American side.

All the varied interests of New Dungenness, Port Discovery, Bellingham Bay and all the Country in and East of Whidbey Island suffer seriously from the wretched location of our Port of Entry.

All interests now accomdated at Port Townsend would be *better* accomodated at Port Angelos.

The opposition of the Puget Mill Company at Port Gamble (Teckalet) is personal to myself the Manager of that Company being angry that I was appointed Collector in place of Henry S. Hilson, his son in law whom you would not appoint if you knew him.

The Commander of the Revenue Cutter on this station joins me in stating that the only proper cruising ground of the Revenue Cutter is that which has the line from Port Angelos to San Juan Island for the base of review and inspection.

I hope to hear that you are pleased with the reduction in Hospital and other expenses in this District. If the amount of our requisitions could be forwarded within the quarter for which made I could reduce expenses much lower and could remit a volunttary contribution to the war fund, from this District, of one hundred dollars per month. The Light Ho. Keepers have had no pay for ten months—the Hospital none for six months.

I would like authority to remove the Hospital to Port Angelos should I be allowed to reside there pending a fuller examination of the claims of that place as a Port of Entry.

Respectfully

Victor Smith

Hon. S. P. Chase.

YAKIMA INDIAN WAR DIARY

Isaac I. Stevens, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Washington Territory, after concluding three Indian treaties at the Great Council in the Walla Walla Valley in June, 1855, continued eastward to treat with the Blackfeet. Washington Territory then extended from the Pacific Ocean to the Rocky Mountains. Before the Blackfeet signed their treaty Kamiakin of the Yakimas and Piupiumoxmox of the Walla Wallas had beegun hostilities in violation of the treaties so recently signed. Governor Stevens and his small party of treaty-makers would meet danger on their return trip.

Major General John E. Wool, in command of the Department of the Pacific, in the midst of the trouble took a surprising position of antagonism and ordered the regular troops withdrawn. This threw responsibilities on the volunteers. Governor George L. Curry of Oregon Territory responded promptly and cordially as did Secretary Charles H. Mason, who was Acting Governor of Washington Territory during Governor Stevens's absence from Olympia. Governor Curry sent four companies of Oregon Volunteers under Colonel James W. Nesmith into the hostile Yakima country. One of those companies, known as the Yamhill County Company was commanded by Captain A. J. Hembree, whose nephew Waman C. Hembree was a soldier in the same company.

Waman C. Hembree kept a diary in a small, leaher-bound pocketbook. The pages, 2¾ by 4¾ inches, were each divided into three portions carrying dates for the year 1855. Part of the entries are in ink, the others in pencil. The little book has been cherished as a precious heirloom. Walter L. Hembree, of McMinnville, Oregon, son of the diarist has loaned the original for reproduction in the *Washington Historical Quarterly.*

For those who may seek further particulars of the actions referred to in the diary citations are made to Hubert Howe Bancroft's *History of Washington, Idaho and Montana,* Chapter IV., beginning at page 108; Hazard Stevens, *Life of General Isaac I. Stevens,* Volume II., Chapters XXXIV. to XXXVII.; Isaac I. Stevens, *Message and Correspondence,* published in Olympia 1857; Theodore N. Haller, "Life and Public Services of Colonel Gran-

ville O. Haller, Soldier, Citizen and Pioneeer," in *The Washingon Historian,* Volume I., beginning at page 102; Clinton A. Snowden, *History of Washington,* Volumes III. and IV., embracing Chapters XLIV. to XLIX.; Meany's *History of Washington,* Chapters XIX-XX.

Although the records in the diary are painfully meager, it is valuable as one of the rare human interest documents written in the field during that unfortunate epoch in Northwestern history. A few essential footnotes are added.—EDITOR.

The Hembree Diary

Tuesday, October 16, 1855.

Met at the Town of Lafayette and organized by electing our Lawful officers. A. J. Hembree[1] Capt. John Hibler First Lieut Wm Wright second Lieutenant Joseph Griffin third Lieut. &c. This day marched to Twalatin River and encamped for the night.

Wednesday, October 17.

Marched and encamped on the east bank of the Wallamette River oposite Portland.

Thursday, October 18.

Remained at the same encampment in the evening was mustord in to service.

Friday, October 19.

Remained at the same encampment.

Saturday, October 20.

Remained at the same encampment The 19th & 20th was spent in getting our horses shod.

Sunday, October 21

Marched on Board the Gazelle & was towed by the Fashion and Multinoma some 12 miles above Fort Vancover & the fog got so dense that we were obliged to cast anker untill Daylight.

1 Captain A. J. Hembree was a substantial and highly respected character in Oregon pioneer history. He was elected in 1846 as a member of the Legislature, from Yamhill County, in the Provisional Government of Oregon. The same County elected him again in 1848 although the session was suspended on account of the gold rush to California. He was one of the eighteen members of the last Provisional Legislature which was convened at Oregon City on February 5, 1849. The first Territorial Legislature, under the Act of Congress August 14, 1848, consisting of nine Councilmen and eighteen Representatives, met at Oregon City on July 16, 1849. A. J. Hembree was a Representative and continued in that office to the time of his death. In the session of 1851-1852 the Oregon Academy was incorporated at Lafayette. Among the nine prominent citizens named as Trustees was A. J. Hembree.

Monday, October 22.

Towed within five miles of the Cascades and landed & encamped for the night.

Tuesday, October 23.

The Capt and half of the company marched to the ferry 15 miles above the Cascades & about midnight crossed over the River The other half of the company remained at the same camp.

Wednesday, October 24.

The Remainder of the company marched to the ferry and about one o'clock at night crossed the River & encamped all of the company together.

Thursday, October 25.

Marched and encamped 12 miles below the Dalls on the Columbia River Saw a great many Indians All claimed to be friendly.

Friday, October 26.

Marched and encamped 2 miles south of the Dalls. Two Indian spies of the Yacamaw tribe was caught by N. Olney[2] & his Indians while crossing the Columbia River said Indians are now Prisners at the Dalls.

Saturday, October 27.

Remained at the same encampment.

Sunday, October 28.

Remained at the same encampment 75 Regulars[3] arrived at the Dalls this morning from California for the purpose of engaging in the war now pending.

Monday, October 29.

Remaining at the same encampment.

Tuesday, October 30.

Remaining at the same encampment.

Wednesday, October 31.

Crossed The Columbia river at the Dalls & marched 5 miles N. of the Dalls and encamped on a small spring branch.

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2 Nathan Olney, Indian Agent at The Dalles.

3 Among the Regulars in that campaign was Lieutenant Philip H. Sheridan, the great cavalry leader of later days. In his *Personal Memoirs*, Volume I., pages 94-95, speaking of dragoons he commanded in the Yakima war he says: "They little thought, when we were in the mountains of California and Oregon,—nor did I myself then dream,—that but a few years were to elapse before it would be my lot to command dragoons, this time in numbers so vast as of themselves to compose almost an army."

Thursday, November 1, 1855.
Remaining at the same encampment.

Friday, November 2.
Remaining at the same encampment.

Saturday, November 3.
Remained at the same encampment.

Sunday, November 4.
Rose at 3 oclock at night & drove our horses to grass so as to get an early start at sunrise 15 miles to where the Regulars were encamped & encamped with them.

Monday, November 5.
Marched 16 miles and encamped with the Regulars.

Tuesday, November 6.
March 10 miles and encamped 1 mile behind the Regulars. Went out in the eavening and killed 5 birds.

Wednesday, November 7.
Marched 20 miles & encamped in the Yacama Valley captured 1 cow & calf drove into camp 80 head of horses caught one and lost two.

Thursday, November 8.
Marched 8 miles and encamped on account of Bish Bagley being sick 75 scouts were sent out a slight battle with the Indians.

Friday, November 9.
Marched 10 miles to the mouth of the canyon had a short action not known how many Indians killed no whites killed two soldiers drowned.[4]

Saturday, November 10.
Marched 25 miles taken 50 horses 15 cattle.

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4 G. J. Raines, Major, United States Army, and Brigadier General of Washington Territory Volunteers, reported from the field to Acting Governor C. H. Mason concerning this action and the days that followed. His letter was dated "Roman Catholic Mission, Yakima, Camp No. 11, Monday, Nov. 12, 1855." The opening paragraph reads: "Here we are without a battle, except a skirmish four days since, with some forty Indians, who defied us as we approached the Yakima river. We thought at first it was the prelude to the big battle with the whole of their force, and forded the stream to an island with our mounted troops, eighteen dragoons and eight pioneers. Here we commenced the action, firing on the enemy, and ordered up our artillery and infantry to ford the stream. Our troops made a rush into the water, but being on foot, tried again and again to cross the river but failed, the rapid current sweeping away two of our best men, who were thus drowned; whereupon, I sent back to Col. Nesmith for two companies of volunteers, which, with our dragoons, drove headlong into the foaming torrent, and reaching the opposite shore, charged the enemy, who fled away over the hills, one of their balls striking, but fortunately not wounding, Col. Nesmith's horse."—Stevens, *Message and Correspondence*, page 163.

Sunday, November 11.

Marched 20 miles on to the Yacama river and encamped S[n]owed on us all day and about two hours after night.

Monday, November 12.

Marched 5 miles taken two cows & calves 5 head of horses & found two potatoe cashes commenced snowing 1 hour by sun and continued untill 10 oclock.

Tuesday, November 13.

Marched to the Yacama Mission[5] found 5 potatoe cashes 1 keg of powder 5 head of cattle 5 horses wheat oats peas and ct.

Wednesday, November 14.

Remained at the same encampment 6 Indians seen close to the mission.

Thursday, November 15.

Marched 7 miles South to a small stream on the south side of the Yacama Valley 12 Yacama horses taken.

Friday November 16

Marched 6 miles to the foot of the mountains. The remains of Maj Haller's men 2 of them were buried today in the honors of war a short prayr offered by Major Rains[6]

Saturday November 17.

Marched 12 miles into the mountains and encamped in a small prairie flat 12 head of horses gave out and shot. French prairie is [illegible] Companys came to camp.

Sunday, November 18.

Marched 20 miles towards the Dalls and encamped in the Valley on Hamilton's land claim about 20 horses gave out today 70[7] horses shot Snow on the mountains 2 ft deep.

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5 The Roman Catholic Mission, often referred to as the Ahtanahm Mission. Much sharp criticism was voiced at the finding of a keg of powder there.

6 Gold miners were rushing into the Colville country in 1855. The Indians did not relish this, became dissatisfied with their treaties and began hostilities by cutting down prospectors as they passed through the Yakima country. Agent A. J. Bolon, to show his confidence in his Yakimas returned to the reservation alone. He was murdered by the Indians. Agent Nathan Olney sent from The Dalles a Des Chutes Chief to find the facts. This spy brought the news of war. Major Raines ordered 84 men under Major G. O. Haller to move from The Dalles into the Yakima country and there to cooperate with a force to be sent from Fort Steilacoom. Haller's command moved out on October 3, 1855. He was surprised by a superior force of Indians, defeated and forced to retreat to The Dalles. The two men whose burial is here recorded were a portion of the losses sustained by Haller's command. Lieutenant W. A. Slaughter in command of the company sent from Fort Steilacoom through Naches Pass had turned back on hearing of Haller's defeat.—Bancroft, *History of Washington, Idaho and Montana*, pages 111-113.

7 The pencil entry is indistinct. The mention of 20 horses giving out and of 70 being shot may possibly be reconciled by the thought of many captured Indian ponies being among those shot.

Monday, November 19.

Marched 3 miles & encamped on a small creek a tributary of Cash Creek.

Tuesday, November 20.

Remained at the same encampment.

Wednesday, November 21.

Remained at the same encampment.

Thursday, November 22.

Remained at the same encampment.

Friday, November 23.

Remained at the same encampment.

Saturday, November 24.

Marched 12 miles and encamped 10 miles above the Dalls.

Sunday, November 25.

At 4 oclock P. M. Received the order of march & marched across the river at the Dalls and encamped 3 miles S. E. of the Dalls.

Monday, November 26.

Remained at the same encampment Capt A. J. Hembree & about 20 of his volunteers left for home on Furlow.

Tuesday, November 27.

Remained at the same encampment.

Wednesday, November 28.

Remained at the same encampment Raining a little at night.

Thursday, November 29.

Marched 10 miles & encamped on Willer Creek marching for Walla Walla Yam Hill & Washing[ton] companys marching together rain at night.

Friday, November 30.

Marched and encamped 4 miles beyond Desutys[8] Pretty heavy rain through the day some rain at night

Saturday December 1, 1855.

Marched and encamped on Jon Days River Commenced snowing at daylight Snowed for 2 hours and cleared up.

8 Des Chutes.

Sunday December 2.

Marched 5 miles and camped on Rock Creek Snowed a little in the morning pleasant after noon.

Monday December 3

Marched 15 miles to Willer Creek Lovely weather

Tuesday, December 4

Marched to the Sink Spring 20 miles blustry eavning.

Wednesday, December 5

Marched 20 miles to the Agency Snow and rain. W. Andrew burried today killed by the Indians yesterday.

Thursday, December 6.

Remained at the Agency until Dusk and 48 of us marched on a scout up the Umatilla to Wm McCoys house and at night tied our horses up until morning.

Friday, December 7.

Drove in about 60 head of horses drove about 15 down to Fort Henry Etta.[9] the horses belonged to the hostile Indians.

Saturday, December 8.

Returned to Fort Hery Etta on the Umatilla River with the horses captured.

Sunday, December 9.

This morning recd a message from Colonel Kelly[10] To march for him immediately at Walla Walla.

Monday, December 10.

Reached the Battle ground[11] just before sun down but few Indians to be seen on the battle ground in Walla Walla.

Tuesday, December 11.

This morning no Indians to be seen A Party this morning starts in pursuit of them.

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9 The new fort was named Henrietta in honor of Major G. O. Haller's wife, who, before marriage, was Miss Henrietta M. Cox, of Baltimore.—Bancroft's *Hisory of Washington, Idaho and Montana*, pages 141 and 156.

10 Lieutenant-Colonel James K. Kelly.

11 It was Major M. A. Chinn who had built and named Fort Henrietta after the Indians had burned the Umatilla Agency buildings. When Lt. Col. Kelly arrived at the new Fort he had 475 men. On the night of Dec. 2 he started for Walla Walla with 339 men. On the way he met Chief Piupiumoxmox with a band of warriors. The Chief rode at the head of his band displaying a white flag. After a conference the Indians were held as prisoners. As they approached Whitman's old station Waillatpui, Indians attacked and the prisoners were put to death. Fighting continued and for a time it was feared that the Indians would get the upper hand. The arrival of the additional forces from Fort Henrietta on December 10th as mentioned in the diary turned the tide. The Indians fled. It is sad to add that after the death of the Indian prisoners the white troops mutilated the body of Chief Piupiumoxmox.

Wednesday, December 12
The Indians all are making their way for Snake River.

Thursday, December 13
The principal command still remain on the Battle field.

Friday, December 14
The party returned today no Indians seen except 2 scouts.

Saturday, December 15
Remained at same camp.

Sunday, December 16.
Remained at same camp.

Monday, December 17
Remained at same camp.

Tuesday, December 18
Remained at same camp.

Wednesday, December 19
Put on half rations.

Thursday, December 20
Commenced snowing late in the eavning and snowed all night.

Friday, December 21
This morning the snow 8 inches deep.

Saturday, December 22
At night the Thermometer stood 19 Dg below zero.

Sunday, December 23
20 Dg

Monday, December 24.
This morning 21 Dg Below zero last night at 2 oclock 27 D. G. below zero.

Tuesday, December 25.
16 D. G. Ice on the streams 8 inch Walla Walla River frozen over.

Wednesday, December 26
Removed camp 4 miles above Whitmans old station Raised a small potatoe cash.

Thursday, December 27

Wind from the South. Some snow falling Wether moderated some Governor Stevens and 75 Nez Percies[12] encamped 4 miles above us on the River

Friday, December 28

This morning commenced using red willer for tobacco. Snow still remained 8 inches and freezing weather

Saturday, December 29

Remaining at the same camp.

Sunday, December 30

Remaining at the same camp.

Monday, December 31

Remaining at the same camp Still cold but a little moderated wind shifting first from one point to another

[The diarist had arrived at the end of the printed and dated portions of his book. Instead of turning for January 1st to the front of the book and changing the year to 1856, he contented himself with making occasional entries on pages headed "Memorandum." Not all these added entries are dated. They are given here as found in the book.]

Feby 10th A. D. 1856

Camped in Walla Walla Valley. Pleasant day.

Feby 26th

Snow fell 6 in deep

Feby 29th

fine weather

Mch 1st 1856

Walla Walla Camped on Mill Creek I went alone on a scout 8 miles from Camp at the foot of the Blue Mountains found an Indian Pony with its tail in the middle of a snowball as tall as the animals back Cut its tail off and liberated the animal. The ball of snow had increased in size untill the animal was unable to move it

Captured two Indian spies in the Walla Walla Valley. They were tried by Court martial and one was Hung. The other his

12 This was the Governor's return from the treaty ground of the Blackfeet. He expressed warm gratitude for the work of the volunteers and the loyalty of his Nez Perce guard.

head was shaven close & turned loose The one haveing his hair Shorn off appeared to be more affected than the one hung.

Whipsawed the Lumber & built the skifts to cross Snake river after the Indians

Crossed Snake River after the Indians about the 1st of April was in the Palouse country after the Indians about one week. Then crossed the Columbia

April 1st, 1856

fine weather

[Folded into the little diary is a letter from A. J. Hembree to his brother Joel J. Hembree. A. J. Hembree was Captain of the Company E., known as the Yamhill County Company. Eight days after writing the letter the Captain was killed by the Yakima Indians. His body was taken home and buried on his Donation Land Claim near McMinnville, Oregon. For the sake of the chronological sequence it is best to interpolate the letter here before giving the last brief entry of the diary. The letter is reproduced with all its quaint spelling.]

Camp Yackamaw April 2nd. 1856

Dear Brother

I take this oppertunity to let you no what we are dooding in this God forcaken Country. We have bin living for the last 15 days on Horse Beef. Our Horses all very weak and maney of them given out and left we are laying by at presant to recrute our Horses and to git provissions. We have bin cross Snake River and all threw the Peluce country the Indians fled we have run them all out of their country we struck across from the Peluce to Collumbia following a large Boddy of Indians a distance of 80 miles they took good care to keep out of our way we followed till our horses got so much wore down that we had to give up the chase we then came came down Collumbia to the mouth of Yackamaw River 5 companies swam our Horses cross the Collumbia in order to go down the Yackamaw Country we will start as soon as we git supplyes and when we have gone threw that country we will have done all the we can taking every thing into consideration we have drove the Indians from their country Waman & Lafayette are both well and are

with me your step sone is also well give my love to famley in Hast I remain Yours

A. J. Hembree.

[Without date the diarist made his final entry as follows:]

Into the Yacama country where Capt. A. J. Hembree was killed by the Indians on the 10th day of April 1856 From this place we marched to the Dalls & then to Portland & was Discharged

WAMAN C. HEMBREE.

HISTORY OF FORT TOWNSEND

Fort Townsend was established in 1856 and served as a United States Army Post until 1894 when it was destroyed by fire. It was located three miles from the city of Port Townsend at the eastern end of the Straits of Juan de Fuca.

It was established at a time when there were numerous Indian difficulties on Puget Sound, and when Port Townsend was Port of Entry for the whole Puget Sound region. After the establishment of the post there were no great disturbances among the Indians for the garrison to quell, but it took part in several minor events connected with Indian affairs.

There were several periods in its history when it was unoccupied and after the Civil War many of the commanders of the Department of the Columbia recommended that it be abandoned, but for twenty years it was destined to be the only fort on Puget Sound.

The first mention of troops on Puget Sound in government documents is found in the report of the Adjutant General dated November 28, 1849, which says that the two companies of the First Artillery which sailed from New York for Oregon in November, 1848, arrived at the mouth of the Columbia River May 13, 1849. One company was stationed near Nisqually on Puget Sound.

The troops that were sent to Puget Sound occupied the buildings of the Hudson's Bay Company trading post at Steilacoom on August 23, 1849, and from that time the post which was retained till 1870 was known as Fort Steilacoom. The site of the post is now occupied by the Washington Hospital for the Insane.

A memorial was sent to Congress by the Oregon Legislature February 19, 1852, asking, "that troops be sent to Oregon to protect the territory, especially the Puget Sound region," because of the rapid expansion of the territory.[1] This was the first of many requests that were sent east asking that military protection be given Puget Sound. Most of the requests were sent by the generals who were in command of the Divsiion of the Pacific or the Department of the Columbia.

An example of this is found in the request of General Harney

1 32 Cong. 1st Sess. H. M. Doc. 14.

who was commander of the Division of the Pacific when he asked that troops be made available for stations on Puget Sound to protect the citizens of that region from the Indians. He made this request in 1854.[2]

General Harney's request must have had some effect for on August 26, 1856, Fort Bellingham was established, and on October 26 Fort Townsend was established. The garrison of Fort Townsend consisted of 82 officers and men, including a company of the Fourth Infantry and a detachment of Artillery commanded by Captain G. O. Haller.[3]

In the next two years $17,535 was spent on construction work at Fort Townsend. In 1857, $4,281 was spent and in 1858, $13,554 was spent.[4]

Congress passed a resolution December 23, 1858, asking J. B. Floyd, Secretary of War, for detailed plans for the defense of Puget Sound. He replied January 21, 1859, that there were none and that none could be made until a survey of the region had been made. He asked for an appropriation of $10,000 for the purpose of making the survey. The matter was tabled by Congress.[5]

As a result of the boundary dispute with England over the San Juan Islands the troops from Fort Townsend and Fort Bellingham were ordered to San Juan Island July 9, 1859. Other troops soon occupied the two posts.[6]

All regular troops were withdrawn from Fort Townsend in 1861, and volunteers garrisoned the post, when it was garrisoned, for the next few years.[7]

In his annual report of 1866, General Halleck, who was in command of the Department of the Columbia, recommended that Fort Townsend, which was unoccupied, be abandoned and the buildings be disposeed of.[8]

The following year General Babcock who had succeeded General Halleck in command of the Department of the Columbia suggested that the buildings of Fort Townsend be torn down and moved to another location of more strategic value.[9]

The post was occupied for a short time by Company F of the Twenty-third Infantry commanded by First Lieutenant J. T.

2 Rep. Secy. War 1854 (Rep. Com. Div. of Pac.)
3 Rep. Secy. War 1856 (Div. of Pac.)
4 Rep. Secy. War 1859 (Q. M. Gen.)
5 35 Cong. 2nd Sess. H. E. Doc. 65.
6 Rep. Secy. War 1859 (Div. of Pac.)
7 Rep. Secy. War 1866 (Dept. of Col.)
8 Rep. Secy. War 1866 (Dept. of Col.)
9 Rep. Secy. War 1867 (Dept. of Col.)

Haskell. The company was soon transferred to Camp San Juan, and the post remained unoccupied for another period of years.[10]

General Thomas in his annual report for 1869 recommended that the land and buildings of the post be disposed of because they were not in proper place for defense purposes.[11] The next year General E. R. S. Canby took the opposite view of the situation. He recommended that the post be retained although there was no immediate need for troops there. He gave as his reasons for desiring the post retained that it was near the frontier, on a very good harbor, and troops stationed there would be in easy reach of the whole Puget Sound region. He said that the buildings in their present condition were worthless due to the state of decay.[12]

The post was soon to be the only one on Puget Sound as Fort Bellingham had been disposed of, and Fort Steilacoom was sold in 1870. As soon as the boundary dispute was settled there would no longer be any use for Camp San Juan. A detachment of troops were sent to Fort Townsend with the idea in view of preparing it for the garrison stationed at Camp San Juan.[13]

In 1874 Company C of the Twenty-first Infantry commanded by Captain George H. Burton which had been stationed at Camp San Juan was transferred to Fort Townsend where it remained till 1876.[14] That year Captain E. A. Bancroft took command.[15]

General O. O. Howard, in his report of 1876, says of Fort Townsend, "The buildings have been repaired and the grounds cleared of the brushwood that covered part of them at my last visit. I think Captain George H. Burton who is in charge has reason to be gratified at the order and beauty of his post."[16]

Indian wars took all the available troops to the field in 1877 and the post was garrisoned by detachments of the Twenty-first Infantry and the Fourth Artillery consisting of four commissioned officers and eleven enlisted men commanded by First Lieutenant E. W. Stone.[17]

The next year G. O. Haller, this time Colonel Haller, was again in command of the post. The garrison consisted of one company of the Twenty-first Infantry and one of the Fourth Artillery consisting in all of six officers and 59 men.[18] He was

10 Rep. Secy. War 1868 (Dept. of Col.)
11 Rep. Secy. War 1869 (Dept. of Col.)
12 Rep. Secy. War 1870 (Dept. of Col.)
13 Rep. Secy. War 1872 (Dept. of Col.)
14 Rep. Secy. War 1874-5-6 (Adj. Gen.)
15 Rep. Secy. War 1876 (Adj. Gen.)
16 Rep. Secy. War 1876 (Dept. of Col.)
17 Rep. Secy. War 1877 (Asst. Dept. Adj. of Dept. of Col.)
18 Rep. Secy. War 1878 (Dept. of Col.)

transferred in 1879, and Companies B and E of the Twenty-first Infantry in command of Captain Robert Pollock were stationed at Fort Townsend.[19]

1880, a new guardhouse and a new storehouse were built at the post.[20] Company E was transferred to Fort Vancouver, which was headquarters for the Department of the Columbia, and it was replaced by Company D. The barracks were reported as being in a very poor state of repair and too small for the number of men stationed there.[21]

Captain Pollock was transferred to Fort Klamath, Oregon, and Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Chambers from headquarters at Vancouver Barracks was placed in command in 1882.[22]

From this time until it passed out of existence Fort Townsend was mentioned each year in the annual report of the General in command of the Department of the Columbia as being of no value for the defense of Puget Sound, and it was usually added that it should be abandoned and some new fortifications be built in proper places so that the region would not be without means of defense.

In 1884 the Twenty-first Infantry was transferred to the Department of the Platte and replaced by the Fourteenth Infantry in the Department of the Columbia. After the transfer was effected Lieutenant Colonel Henry Douglass in command of a company of that regiment was stationed at Fort Townsend.[23] The barracks were repaired that year.[24]

General N. A. Miles called the attention of the Secretary of War to the fact that the Puget Sound region was for all practical purposes defenseless. He recommended that Fort Townsend be abandoned and that some of the military reservations, which had been set aside for the purpose, be fortified. He appointed a board of artillery officers to make a survey of locations on Puget Sound that would be suitable for coast defense fortifications.[25]

In 1885 the Fourteenth Infantrty was concentrated at Vancouver Barracks, and one company of the Second Infantry was stationed at Fort Townsend. Lieutenant L. S. Ames was in command of the post.[26]

The Fortification Board, sometimes known as the Endicott

19 Rep. Secy. War 1879 (Dept. of Col.)
20 Rep. Secy. War 1880 (Q. M. Gen.)
21 Rep. Secy. War 1880 (Dept. of Col.)
22 Rep. Secy. War 1882 (Adj. Gen.)
23 Rep. Secy War 1884 (Dept. of Col.)
24 Rep. Secy. War 1884 (Q. M. Gen.)
25 Rep. Secy. War 1884 (Dept. of Col.)
26 Rep. Secy. War 1885 (Adj. Gen.)

Board, met in 1886 and drew up plans for the defense of the coast of the whole United States, but they omitted any plans for the defense of Puget Sound.[27]

From 1886 till 1892 Captain A. H. Bainbridge, in command of one company of the Fourteenth Infantry, was stationed at Fort Townsend.[28] In 1892 he was relieved by Captain John Murphey who remained in command of the post until it was abandoned in 1894.[29]

General John Gibbon recommended in 1888 that Fort Townsend be abandoned because of its small size and poor location. He also suggested that a new fort of large proportions be constructed at one of the places recommended by the board of artillery officers appointed by General Miles.[30]

Brigadier General A. V. Kautz in his report of 1891 urged that attention be paid to the lack of proper defense for Puget Sound which was becoming a very important region due to its rapid growth, its large foreign trade, and because it was the terminus of several transcontinental railroads.[31]

General W. P. Carlin, when he took command of the Department of the Columbia, reported that Fort Townsend could be of no service in protecting cities and harbors of Puget Sound. He said that the troops there could be more usefully employed in garrisoning some important point in those waters.[32]

"Since 1866 the government has done very little looking to the protection of Puget Sound. As regards protection given to the inhabitants of that section through garrisoned posts, it has been in the nature of police and of benefit only in seasons of Indian hostilities. Fort Townsend still remains and is garrisoned by a single company of infantry. The only advantage to be derived from its retention consists in the fact that it furnishes shelter for troops. It might almost as well not exist."[33]

The above is the opinion General Otis expressed of the conditions of defense of Puget Sound when he took command of the Department of the Columbia in 1894. That year the Fortification Board met and selected eleven points on Puget Sound suitable for construction of coast defense fortifications.[34]

Shortly after General Otis made his report the barracks at

27 Rep. Secy. War 1886 (Fort. Bd.)
28 Rep. Secy. War 1886-7-8-9-90-91 (Adj. Gen.)
29 Rep. Secy. War 1892-3-4 (Adj. Gen.)
30 Rep. Secy. War 1888 (Dept. of Col.)
31 Rep. Secy. War 1891 (Dept. of Col.)
32 Rep. Secy. War 1892 (Dept. of Col.)
33 Rep. Secy. War 1894 (Dept. of Col.)
34 Rep. Secy. War 1894 (Dept. of Col. and Fort. Bd.)

Fort Townsend were destroyed by fire. The troops abandoned the post and arrived at Vancouver Barracks March 6.[35] The reservation consisting of 640 acres was turned over to the Department of the Interior June 28, 1895.[36]

RAY THEODORE COWELL.

35 Rep. Secy. War 1895 (Dept. of Col.)
36 Rep. Secy War 1895 (Abandoned Res.)

DOCUMENTS

Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest

[*Continued from Volume XVI., Page 223*]

[May, 1841.]

This is also the case with those who desire to remain in this country and settle after the expiration of their terms they take a portion selected by themselves though doubtless by the Company's counsel & incur debt to them by advances, still holding them under their subjection, for without the Company's aid and advances they must be ruined all their supplies and whereat to sell their crops is at the Fort, from this results much good for the welfare & condition of the settlement viz those men only who are industrious get along well, they are not allowed to be intemperate no grog is sold them and a watchful eye is kept over them & circumspection maintained of their habits and moral conduct.

Too much cannot be said in praise of the Company in their having done away with the trade in spirits. It is now entirely stopt, and they have very large quantities of it in store at Vancouver sustaining a great loss upon it. Nothing could have been done so well calculated to maintain their ascendancy over their People the Natives and the other settlers as this; and I have been informed since its disuse the settlers have been prosperous and the Natives less quarrelsome.

Dr. McLaughlin gave me the Thermometrical observation for heighths throughout the route to Canada crossing the rocky Mountains. They also stated that [Ms. P. 79] little dependence was to be placed in the veracity of David Douglass the botanist.[73] Mr. Douglass the Chief factor stated to me that he believes the observations of Mr. Thompson quoted by Irving in the appendix to *Astoria* in relation to the heights of the Rocky Mountains may be relied on.

I have passed a pleasant day and had agreeable conversation at the mess table after meals it is the custom to introduce pipes & tobacco it is said the practice is getting [illegible] but I should have concluded it was at its heighth.

30th [May]

73 This entry is disconcerting as the memory of David Douglas is most cordially cherished, especially by those who know about his remarkable work in the field of botany. The context of the Diary may indicate that reference was made to rather exaggerated estimates made by the botanist as to the heights of mountains.

This day was beautiful being Sunday I attended divine Service in the Dining Hall Mr. Douglass read prayers and Mr. Griffith one of the Missionaries gave us a Sermon—stupid man & bad preacher.[74]

The orphans and ½ breed boys who attended the school under [blank] chanted & sang. They have a chapel in which the Catholic Priest officiates. Dr. McL. and most of the servants of the Company attend it quite a large congregation there does not appear to be any jarring among the different creeds, and the utmost liberality of Spirit exists.

Casenove the Indian chief of the tribe who formerly possessed this portion of the country Calipooyas is still living he is a dependent of the fort's and has his meals at a side table whenever he chooses to partake of them his usual business is to provide Indians & canoes to dispatch passengers & letters up and down the river. He is represented as a well disposed person, seems to possess little or no influence with his tribe & it is said with what truth I know not—that the Company have purchased all his lands from him for what consideration I am not informed. [Ms. P. 79a]

Mr. Douglass gave me information relative to the Geological formation of the country in a N.E. line as far as Hudson Bay & promised me specimens, viz.,—

Trap formation in the lower or western section to the Cascades, then Bulsallic [basalt?] then Sandstone, quartz, lime stone, granite here & there cropping out of which the central range or Peaks of the Rocky Mountains are composed—thence in a reversed order to Hudson's Bay.

From all the information he has been able to gather no copper is found south of 59° N. in this territory where the pure copper is found in abundance and which the natives beat in large sheets that are articles of trade on the coast & are there sometimes met with by the traders.

Coal is said to be found near the foot of the Rocky Mountains, on the Cowlitz and at Vancouver Island specimens of the two latter I have seen and obtained that of the Cowlitz Lignite, but from Vancouver Island it is a good quality of bituminous coal.[75]

The tumuli found on the prairies are ascribed by the Indians

74 In most cases, the frank judgments in the Diary were omitted or toned down in the published *Narrative*.

75 One of the early references to coal in the Pacific Northwest.

to the effects of water there is no tradition of them measures of one taken by Mr. Douglass was 30 ft. in diameter and 10 feet high one has been opened by the company but nothing found in it, subsequetly as I have elsewhere written I opened 3 others and dug deep in the one mentioned above but was not more successful in making discovries.[76] [Ms. P. 80]

The smaller tributaries of the Col^a^. below the Cascade range of Mountains rise in early spring but the Col^a^. itself rises in the beginning of Summer caused by the melting of the snows on the Rocky Mountains.

The salmon fishing is now in its most active operations at the Cascades & Willamette falls and this draws the Indian population far and near to it. the tribe in whose territory or limits they are exact a tribute to all who fish, the general average price of a salmon is 10 cents tho' this will depend very much upon the wants of the Indians. They refuse to sell any Salmon until after the first run and then always without the heart they have many superstitions in relation to them some of which I will give from the best authority I could derive them, but I am nevertheless well satisfied that there are very few who can understand these languages sufficiently to obtain them & I further believe that very few of the Indians now living are aware of or have any knowledge of their traditional stories. [Ms. P. 80]

Mr. Drayton & myself making a copy of a manuscript chart of this section of the country.

31st May.

Mr. Douglass was kind enough to carry me over the whole establishment Great system evident in all the departments & I felt well satisfied that without it little or no profits would be realized in the Fur or Indian trade at least on this side of the Mountains the supplies and incident expenses to the service & duties to be performed, the waste &c. &c. must render it now a very precarious business, the Fur trade, as far as I was enabled to gather from the happiest, those engaged in it having fallen off 50 per *ct* indeed so as to make scarcely worth while to follow it.

The granary to which we passed contains wheat flour, barley, buckwheat it is said wheat averages 63 lbs. the bushel. Barley gives 20 bushels to the acre Buckwheat yields a good crop some seasons it is by no means certain owing to early frosts oats do

76 Geologists have mentioned eighteen possible explanations of those tumuli, the most plausible referring to glacial origin. The region now known as Mound Prairie was by Wilkes called Butte Prairies. See the *Narrative*, Volume IV., page 313, or Meany's *Origin of Washington Geographic Names*, page 173.

not thrive well Peas, Beans, Potatoes yield generally abundantly. Little or no hay is made the cattle being enabled to feed all the winter nor do they require shelter thus 2/3rds of a farmer's time is saved and the difference of labour may be fairly estimated in the wasted hours there, by this fact.

Rode with Mr. Douglass to see the Fort Dairy. the ride was a beautiful one through fine prairies with large trees (oaks, & ash) grouped over them and the quantities of cattle feeding & at repose gave a civilisation to the scene that this country along [alone] wants to add to its natural beauties. the chain of Lakes before spoken of gave an extensive water view to the scene.[77] The Dairy is removed every year, thus the manure & wear of meadows is equally divided, this is likewise the case with [Ms. P. 81] the feeding of sheep. I was told they have now about 300 brood mares, about 2500 sheep 3000 cattle, there were 70 milch cows at the dairy it seems well conducted by a Canadian his wife & 3 men They supply the milk & cream to the establishment and a large part of the butter for the Russian Company[78] is put up here, *some cheese—, the cattle all look well, (the churning is* by a barrel machine—) not killing any they rapidly increase.

To give some idea of the system of the Company and to accts. for their seeming great profits I will state here that they have all their articles classed—viz in articles of gratuity, those of trade and purchase—the first consists of knives & tobacco—2nd of blankets, gun powder & shot—clothes &c. 3rd. of sheets, handkerchiefs, beads, ribbons &c. &c. from this many persons who are told of the vast profits &c of the Company imagine that they get their valuable furs for a mere trifle—but this is seldom or never the case The Indians & settlers understand well the worth of each article and are not inclined to give it for less than its real value and a present to boot. Those who trade in this country are obliged to give or make allowances to trappers to obtain their services and to such a wreckless[79] set as they are little opportunity of getting returns is practicable unless the persons are driven by necessity to follow the same trail of life. The Company in order to avoid losses by the desertion of their men generally send them

77 Since Preston's Map of 1856 the large lake has been charted Vancouver Lake and its connecting waterway Lake River. See Meany's *Origin of Washington Geographic Names*, pages 139 and 325.

78 On August 11, 1799, the United American Company was reorganized under the name of Russian American Company and that name was retained under the new charter of 1802. See Bancroft's *History of Alaska*, pages 379 and 416.

79 The spelling is corrected in the *Narrative*, Volume IV., page 333.

in large parties from 30 to 40. When they take their wives & families with them and trap during the season on some favorable ground where they remain for the season, they leave in October & return again by May or June. They usually trap on shares & this is according to the skill of the trappers.

All the packages for transportation in this country are made up of 90 lbs. weight for the convenience of transportation across portages &c. & it is inconceivable the ease with which a voyageur will run off with several of them. [Ms. P. 81a]

Mr. Douglass having traveled extensively in this country being observing and having improved his opportunities of making enquiries related some customs of the northern Indians Truly remarkable among them are relating to the Telloles[80] or Carrier Indians as respects their dead. On the death of a Husband the body is laid on the funeral pile burnt and their ashes preserved by the wife if she survives the experience she is subjected to—They are not burnt with their husbands, but are required to attend his body until it is consumed and to keep constant by patting his breast until the whole is consumed which severely burns them always, and are suffered to fall into the flames if his relatives do not withdraw her in time, they remain until the body is entirely consumed gather up the ashes and are obliged to carry them about for the period of 3 years during all which time they serve as slaves to the husband's relatives.

And what appears to render this practice more remarkable is the fact that all the nations, or tribes around these bury their dead about 3 feet below the ground covering the body carefully with boards to prevent its being hurt.

The above tribe dwell in the Interior East of Fort Simpson in about Lat. 56 North.

The Calipooyas tribe residing south of the Col[a]. and along the Willamette Valley bury their dead ornamenting the grave with poles, or with an affixed calabash, pots, pans &c. &c. whilst those North of and on the river place theirs in canoes above ground. [Ms. P. 82]

In connection with this river are its prairies along it in some places they are of large extent with arms of the river flowing through them in various directions which are sufficiently deep for boat navigation They are admirably adapted to grazing purposes, but for agriculture the farmer would be in continual ap-

80 The Bureau of American Ethnology in *Handbook of American Indians*, Part 2, pages 675-676, described this tribe under the name of Takulli.

prehension of losing his crop and always will sow in uncertainy on account of the rise of the river, in the proportion to which the water rises on the wheat it perishes so that unless the Wheat should be actually overtopt a small harvest might be expected (seed wheat). It cannot but appear remarkable that a river of so great an extent should have no sediment, but the contrary. I understand as far as experience has gone it rather proves to exhaust or deteriorate the soil.

In many places in the lower prairies quicksand exists which causes occasional slips of soil carrying with them trees of huge dimensions which are finally carried to the ocean to be in time lodged on some remote or Savage Island supplying his wants for the necessary means to construct his canoe. That part of the soil which is not rock on the river is a light sandy one through which the water on its rise in the Col[a]. percolates through, and overflows the low parts of the meadows adjoining. [Ms. P. 82a] June 1st, 1841.

Had today a long conversation with two of the Missionaries Messrs. Clark and Griffin, (self supporting system) They stated that they were very much disappointed with the country and the only fit place they said for settlement in the Upper Country was the Grande Rounde prairie situated between the Headwaters of the Grande Rounde and Powder Rivers. Some 20 miles in extent this is about 60 miles to the Eastward of Walla Walla. The information they gave relative to the Population was about 10,000 West of Mountains.

Dr. McLaughlin & Mr. Douglass rate it about the same south of 50° some however rate it as high as 25,000. The following I believe the most correct data, and is obtained from a variety of sources & in some cases counted from my own information estimated upon the ability of the country to afford support and its offering the necessary facility for subsistence in their mode of life.

Population.

Vancouver Island 5000	
between 50° & 54°.40· N.....2000	
	7000
Clapest, & intermediate coast.....	1250
Clalams— (Port Dis.) 150 (N. Dung. ? 200 Port Tow ? 70).....	425
Birch Bay	300

Frazer's River	500
Penn's Cove & Whidby's Isl.	650
Hood's Canal	500
Nisqually	200
Port Orchard & Admiralty Inlet	150
Chekilis & Puget Sound	700
	11,675

[Ms. P. 83]

brought forward	11675
Cowlitz—including the head waters of Chekalis & also the Head waters of Cowlitz. (Klakatuck tribe)	350
Chinooks	209
Clatsops including [blank]	220
Pillar rock oak Pt. & Col^a. River	300
Canadn.	150
Dalles Mr. Lee's letter	250
Shutes river	125
Walla Walla including the Nez Perces [illegible] &c to the south and west of it	1100
Yakima River	100
Col^a. River between Walla Walla & Okanogan	350
At and about Okanogan	200
The tribes about Spokane Colville & adjoining tribes. Towards the mountains—Flat Heads	650
Willamette throughout the valley	275
Muqua	400
Rogues	500
Clamets	300
Shasty	500
Kalapuyas	600
Killamouch, this side the Muqua river	400
Black feet tribes that make excursions West of Mountains and who occupy the Buffalo Country	1000
Total west of Mountains & in territory[81]	19,644

There is a tribe called the Knikla; on the Sacramento River and adjoining the Shasty Indians supposed to be about 1500 souls.

The whole Oregon territory may therefore be set down as containing not over 20,000 inhabitants.

The whites in the country including the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company & officers 350. [Ms. P. 83a]

Mr. Smith (Miss'y.) has been 3 years in the country resided part of the time at Sopkane & with Dr. Whitman has known the temperature 30° below zero in winter and at 100 above in Summer. The country remarkably healthy grass green in Feby—& the pasturage for cattle good requires no housing they feed upon the tufts of grass that by the heat of the sun are converted if I may so express it into natural hay.[82]

Dr. Whitman of same mission has had difficulty with the Indians as respects his water power or rights for the irrigating the soil.[83] The Indians after granting him the privilege and becoming aware of the use he made of it diverted it from him to their own use they are intelligent and when they see an improvement readily adopt it.

In the afternoon rode with Mr. Douglass to the Flour and Saw Mills[84] the first is about 5 miles from the Fort but has one run of stones, is well built of timber but in consequence of the heighth of the River causing back water it was not in action. it is amply sufficient for the wants of the country at present— The Saw Mill is 2 miles farther and likewise on the Banks of the Col[a]. and owing to the same circumstance of being placed too low part of the season it is out of use it has several runs of Saws and is as fine a pile as I have seen anywhere, and in few countries could such material be procured for the framing of any building all of its frame timber is [blank] feet in height squaring [blank] feet. The description of timber used for cutting into boards is far inferior to what we should deem merchantable in the United States being of the quality or little better than our hemlock. [Ms. P. 84]

All the hardwood plank or boards that may be required is

81 The statistics are valuable, comprising one of the most complete compilations up to that time. A slight revision was made in the published *Narrative*, Volume V., pages 140-141, the total there being 19,354. Some of the names are spelled differently in the published table.

82 Those familiar with the later cattle days will smile over this early reference to bunch grass.

83 Undoubtedly the first irrigation in the Pacific Northwest. See Meany's *History of the State of Washington*, pages 302-303.

84 Here reference is made to the beginning of two great industries of the Pacific Northwest.

yet cut by hand. Brig Wave was here taking on lumber for Sandwich Islands. The boards sell at Oahu for 80$ the thousand could not ascertain their costs about 20 men are employed at this moment at the Mill some Sandwich Islanders & Canadians. They have a large blacksmith shop here whereat all the axes or hatchets for the trappers are made. the Iron & steel being imported. They are manufactured at a much less price and such as they can depend upon. it may appear somewhat surprising to some that a trapper's axe is his support and in it his success depends, for on its loss or breaking the trapper relinquishes his labours & returns without furs. One man can manufacture 50 of these daily 25 is said to be his labour. They are eagerly sought after by the Indians who are extremely particular that it should be of a particular shape.[85]

From the mills we passed through the forest to the High Prairie and rode over it to one of the sheep walks—the soil is rather light but with manure will yield a good crop. These prairies are indeed beautiful covered with fine pines of gigantic heights, some whose branches are nearly touching the green sward, with oaks, maples, fir, & cedar, with intervening spaces of prairie covered with Columbines.

Lupines & Kamass flowers all seeming in the utmost order as if man had been ever watchful of its beauty and cultivation. We returned to the Fort by the High lands through the woods, saw the herds which had been driven from the low prairie or meadows on account of the rise of the water they add much to the interest & beauty of the scene. A certain number of broodmares are assigned to each horse who is ever mindful of his flock keeping them from straying and ever jealous of them, most of the mares with young colts or with fold [foal]. We returned to the fort just at [Ms. P. 84a] sunset, and it was such a sunset as reminded one of home the air mild and a pleasant breeze from the West Mount Hood showed in all its glory overtopping the purple haze of the coming night. A long ride of some 20 miles good horses and little fatigue. Had some pleasant conversation with the Dr. & Mr. D.[86] at their hospitable board.

A small manual labour school is kept here for the education of the orphans & ½ breeds of the Company's servants and will

85 In the *Narrative*, Volume IV., page 336, Wilkes says about the particular shape, "somewhat like a tomahawk."

86 The diarist frequently uses such abbreviations. In this case he refers to Dr. John McLoughlin and James Douglas.

be of much service to the rising flock. There are at present 23 boys. An examination of them was had altho they did not prove very expert at their exercises in reading & writing yet it gave sufficient evidence of their improvement to show that they were in a fair way to acquire the rudiments & some allowance was to be made as they had been for some weeks constantly employed in the field under their teachers. Dr. McL. estimated the work of 4 boys equal to that of a man. it was an interesting sight to see these little fellows side by side of all shades of color from the pure Indian to that of the white they all speak English and french, they are duly interested in the religious exercises in which I thought they were more proficient than in the other branches. These they are instructed in on Sundays and attend divine service in the Hall twice.

It was pleasing to see the interest that Dr. McL. & Mr. Douglass took in them and much credit is due to them for their snatching as it were these castaway boys from the vices & idleness of the savage life. much has been said about the disregard to morals & vices of this Company and I feel myself in justice to them to say that as far as my observation went to bear testimony to this and many other acts that will prove to the contrary—I must first [Ms. P. 85] bear testimony that the officers of the Hon. Compy. service have not only quieted the country but their operations have been so admirably conducted that they have opened the country to safe and secure emigration, and provided it with the means necessary to the success of emigrants, and rendered the task an easy one to its peaceful possession and at a very moderate expense. a small force at any central point would in my opinion be sufficient to insure its tranquility and due protection to its settlers in any part of it.

2 & 3rd June.

I had a visit from one of a party of 8 young Americans who after a years stay in the territory are discontented and intend to leave for California. They are building a boat on the Willamette but find themselves without nails canvass rigging &c. I advised them to take passage to the Islands but this not suiting their views they declined to take. I promised however to visit their place on may way up the Willamette.

We intended to have left today (3d) but it proved stormy and we deferred our departure. The storm was from S. E. and quite violent and went around by South to N.W. when it cleared

this storm was felt at the Ship at Nisqually[87] it was rather unusual this time of year.

Dr. McL. related to me the curious manner in which the wreck of a Japanese Junk was discovered a year since on the coast near cape Flattery. a small piece of rice paper was brought by an Indian on which was sketched a Junk crushed on the land and three figures standing near enquiry was set on foot, the fact proved true and subsequently an expedition was sent out the three Japanese removed who had been held in slavery by the Indians and to whom a ransom was paid, they were sent to England and thence to Canton & Japan but were refused permission to land & are now in Canton under the Missionaries.[88] [Ms. P. 85a]

The following table was furnished me by Dr. McL. of Thermometrical Observations on a journey across the Rocky Mountains to ascertain the comparative heights of the different points or encampments in August Sep. & Oct. 1839—viz.

		Water Boils	Height
Aug. 29	Edmonton	207	2556
Sept. 22	Jaspers House	204.5	3867
Sept. 29	Campt. D'Origal	203.5	4391
Sept. 30	Campt. De Fusil	201	5716
Sept. 30	Punch Bowl	198	7324
Sept. 30	Head of Grande Cote	202	5185
Oct. 1	Bottom of Grande Cote	204	4131
Oct. 3	Boat Encampment	205	3607
Oct. 8	Colville	208	2049
Oct. 14	Walla Walla	209.5	1286

In the Upper Country no wood is found except along the streams and in the Mountains No birch or Maple (Hard) is to be found on the West side of the Mountains.

Dr. McLaughlin stated to me that the N. West Company had offered to retransfer their trade to John J. Astor or for him to assume an interest in the trade on N. W. coast which he declined This fact I believe is not mentioned by the author of Astoria.[89] [Ms. P. 86]

4th June

87 This entry is additional evidence that Wilkes wrote his Diary from field notes.

88 Two years after the Diary was written, or in 1843, Washingotn Irving placed a record of the wreck of this Japanese junk in the appendix to his *Adventures of Captain Bonneville* in the form of a letter from Nathaniel J. Wyeth. The letter is also reproduced in Meany's *History of the State of Washington*, page 70.

89 This significant statement may in time become more definitely documented. It holds a temptation to speculate on what changes in hitsory might have evolved if the offer was genuine and if Astor had accepted it.

This morning the weather was fine and we had during the day only an occasional shower—At noon Mr. D. & myself took our departure for the Willamette Settlement. Dr. McL. having furnished me with a boat and 9 men with everything that could render our traveling agreeable and supply our wants. I had thought myself well supplied with camp Equipage & things necessary from their stores but his kindness suggested many things that we were ignorant of & proved of great service & convenience to us & obviating all the delays vexations we should have otherwise have met with. Our boat or batteaux was the ordinary one of the flat-bottom kind and for boating on the river capable of containing about 300 bushels of wheat and admirably adapted for the purpose being flat bottom & of little draft of water. On the present occasion it was lined with mats and secured us against the showers as well as giving us space to move about in & with so strong a crew we felt satisfied we could contend with rapids falls & Portages.

About 15 miles below the Falls we stopped at the Encampment of Rev[d]. Mr. Lee the head of the Oregon Mission with his wife & mother Maj. G. W. Whitwell & wife. Mr. Lee is an ordinary looking man and from what I have subsequently seen unfit for his situation. He did well enough when he had the management of a small Set. but his mind is not sufficiently comprehensive neither has he the ability to manage as large mission as it is at present. The conversation we had was not of much import. We were going one way, they the opposite, we told all the news we had on both sides & separated[90] Mr. L. giving me a warm invitation [Ms. P. 86a] to visit the Willamette Settlement. They were encamped on the river banks annoyed with musquitoes & sandflies—being Methodists however they were used to such accommodations before they left the U. States.

90 It has always been understood that Rev. Jason Lee and the other missionaries were not very cordial toward Wilkes. He had been enjoying the hospitality of the Hudson's Bay Company officers at the very time that the missionaries and other Americans were attempting to form the Provisional Government fo Oregon. Mr. Lee certainly did not go out of his way to meet Wilkes.

BOOK REVIEWS

Captain Cook's Voyages, with an Account of his Life During the Previous and Intervening Periods. By ANDREW KIPPIS. (New York: Knopf, 1925. Pp. 410. $3.00)

The Far West Coast. By V. L. DENTON. (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1924. Pp. 297. $1.50.)

The Sea, the Ship, and the Sailor. With an Introduction by CAPTAIN ELLIOT SNOW. (Salem: Marine Research Society, 1925. Pp. 353. $5.00.)

One of the outstanding features of the current book trade is the revival of the sea story. This may have resulted from the recent war or it may be due to the genius of Joseph Conrad or the discovery of Herman Melville. But from whatever cause the demand is here and it is cheering to find that it is being met by substantial works in history and geography as well as by numerous creations in imaginative literature.

As an indication of this new interest in the sea, one notes the appearance of a new edition of *Captain Cook's Voyages* by Andrew Kippis. Of all the lives of Captain Cook this has been the most popular. It first appeared in 1788 under the title of *Life of James Cook* and more than a dozen editions have since been published. All editions regardless of title have contained the essential parts of the three voyages told in the language of the original journals pieced together with the main facts of the Captain's life. The chief value of the work lies in the fact that it gives a convenient outline of the voyages following the official journals. The biographical data is interwoven with a lofty style after the manner of Addison. The accuracy of some of the statements of fact has been called in question, notably by Arthur Kitson in his *Captain James Cook* (N. Y. Dutton, 1907).

As a discriminating biography Kitson has superseded Kippis, but the work of the latter bids fair to retain its popularity for many years. The present edition appears without editorial notes, map, or index. It contains twelve illustrations, however, and from a mechanical point of view is an unusually satisfactory book.

The Far West Coast by V. L. Denton is a new work devoted to the maritime explorations and discoveries that brought to the world a knowledge of the Northwest Coast of America. The volume is devoted largely to a consideration of the voyages of Bering,

Cook, Meares and Vancouver. No claim is made to a presentation of new material but the new arrangement makes available in convenient and inexpensive form a connected account of events in the early history of the North Pacific Coast. The book is well illustrated and contains seven maps. It is particularly well adapted to school use but is worthy of a place in libraries, public or private.

Five tales of maritime adventure from log books and orginal narratives compose the volume entitled *The Sea, The Ship, and the Sailor.* Two are of special interest to students of the Pacific Northwest. One of these is a reprint of *The Life and Adventures of John Nicol* (Edinburgh, Blackwoods, 1822) a rare volume growing out of the voyage of Portlock and Dixon. The other is the first printing of a manuscript entitled: *Narrative of Events in the Life of John Bartlett of Boston, Massachusetts, in the years 1790-1793, During Voyages to Canton and the Northwest Coast of North America.* The narrative gives new information and its value is enhanced by notes supplied by his honour, Judge F. W. Howay.

CHARLES W. SMITH.

Fort Union and Its Neighbors on the Upper Missouri. By FRANK B. HARPER. (Saint Paul: The Great Northern Railway Company, 1925. Pp. 36.)

A Glance at the Lewis and Clark Expedition. By GRACE FLANDRAU. (Saint Paul: The Great Northern Railway Company, 1925. Pp.29.)

An Important Visit, Zebulon Montgomery Pike, 1805. (Saint Paul: The Great Northern Railway Company, 1925. Pp. 11.)

The Discovery of Marias Pass. By GRACE FLANDRAU. (Saint Paul: The Great Northern Railway Company, 1925. Pp. 23.)

Chief Joseph's Own Story. Reprinted from the *North American Review* of April 1879. (Saint Paul: The Great Northern Railway Company, 1925. Pp. 31.)

Program of Events, Upper Missouri Historical Expedition. (Saint Paul: The Great Northern Railway Company, 1925. Pp. 11.)

Library List, Upper Missouri Historical Expedition. (Saint Paul: The Great Northern Railway Company, 1925. Pp. 8.)

John Fritz Medal Presentation to John Frank Stevens, 1925. (New York: The John Fritz Medal Board of Award, 1925. Pp. 61.)

Here is a sheaf of important pamphlets giving evidence of

unusual interest in history by a great railroad corporation. Librarians and other collectors will be keen to save these pamphlets and those fortunate enough to see them will join in the hope that the Great Northern Railway Company will continue the work so beautifully begun. As indicated by the titles, these pamphlets relate to subjects and events connected with the Upper Missouri Historical Expedition, July 16-21, 1925. The elaborate programs were intensely interesting. These publications help to make the record of them permanent.

Some idea of the historical value of the pamphlets may be had from the opening sentences of the first one here listed, as follows: "In 1829 the imposing Fort Union, chief establishment of the American Fur Company on the upper Missouri, stood upon a grassy plain on the north bank of the Missouri, three miles above the mouth of the Yellowstone. Its predecessor was Fort Floyd, said to have been erected in the vicinity by Kenneth McKenzie, Joseph Renville, Daniel Lamont and William Laidlaw, who withdrew from the Northwest Company of Montreal in 1821 and established themselves on the Missouri near the mouth of the Yellowstone, and were thereby instrumental in founding the Columbia Company. In the year 1827, through the purchase of the Columbia interests by the American Fur Company, the establishment known as Fort Floyd seems to have passed away, leaving no trace of its exact location. But four years of building saw lifted in its place the most formidable fur-trading establishment (with the probable exception of Fort Garry) ever erected in the Northwest."

When the Upper Missouri Historical Expedition reached Fort Union there was a series of programs including participation by many notable Indians. As to numbers engaged in the ceremonies, this was probably the central feature of the Expedition.

The start had been made from Saint Paul on July 16. The first significant stop of the special train was at Verendrye. There on behalf of the Great Northern Railway Company, President Ralph Budd presented to the State of North Dakota the Thompson monument and its site. This was an honor to Verendrye and David Thompson. The dedicatory address, "David Thompson, Astronomer and Geographer," by T. C. Elliott of Walla Walla, was published in the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for June, 1925. That issue is called "Verendrye Number." It is packed with Verendrye materials including an "Introduction to the Verendrye Journals" by Ralph Budd and trans-

lations of the journals themselves. That issue of the Oregon publication must be considered in any collection of materials of the Upper Missouri Historical Expedition. Verendrye should no longer be a vague figure in the history of the West.

At Meriwether there was presented to the State of Montana the monument to Captain Meriwether Lewis. A picture of the monument is given in the Lewis and Clark pamphlet. In fact the illustrations and maps add greatly to the value of these pamphlets.

The pamphlet entitled *The Discovery of Marias Pass* carries a picture of the fine statue of John Frank Stevens at the summit of Marias Pass. It is a worthy tribute to a great engineer while he is still living. It is appropriate also that the pamphlet recording the award to him of the John Fritz Medal should be included in this list. His discovery of Marias Pass is mentioned there among his other achievements.

The appropriateness of including *Chief Joseph's Own Story* is seen in the Program, where on Sunday, July 19, there was scheduled an automobile trip from Havre to the last battle ground of the great Nez Perce leader.

The ceremonies, music, and addresses were enjoyable and, in their own way, important but the monuments and these publications will endure and render valuable service for indefinite time.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

Our Greatest Mountain, a Handbook for Mount Rainier National Park. By F. W. SCHMOE. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925. Pp. 366. $3.00.)

The volume contains thirteen chapters grouped into four "books" under these headings: "The Mountain," "The National Park," "Flora and Fauna," "Winter on the Mountain." There are sixty-four beautiful illustrations and an adequate index. A brief introduction is written by Stephen T. Mather, Director of the National Park Service.

Readers in the Pacific Northwest, and especially those living near Mount Rainier, will be delighted with the publisher's announcement on the flap of the paper wrap of the well bound volume. The announcement identifies the author, breathes the spirit of his work, and describes beautifully the field covered by the volume. It is here reproduced in full:

"Mount Rainier, around which this book is written, is a study in contrasts. Many ages ago a roaring volcano that

belched forth fire and molten lava, it is now silent, and ice covered; and on its summit, pouring down its sides in mighty rivers of ice, is the most complicated, largest and most beautiful single peak glacier system in the United States. Mr. Schmoe, who is the Park Naturalist at Mount Rainier, has spent much time and effort in studying the hoary old mountain and its surrounding wild life. The study of this book will unquestionably add much to one's knowledge of Mount Rainier National Park and to the enjoyment of a visit to this vast playground which is literally a gigantic out-door museum."

Seattle, Her Faults, Her Virtues. By ALMIRA BAILEY. (Seattle: The Chamber of Commerce, 1925. Pp. 38).

The intimate sketches in this attractive pamphlet are given under these heads: "The Tenderfoot Arrives," "Just at First," "According to the Census," "Blue Smoke from Red Chimneys," "The Madison Street Lady Bug," "Port of Seattle," "Out Here They Call It Cheap Juice," 'Shrubs and Architecture," "In the Life of a Man," "Such a Marketplace!" "Mother Goose to Ph.D.", "The City Beautiful," "& Seattle Has Her Faults," "The Rain!' and the Truth About It," "Panoramic." On the last page appears: "These little intimate 'close-ups' of Seattle were written by Almira Bailey, who came for a fleeting visit—but remained to live! The Chamber of Commerce is publishing this series in the hope that the booklet will convey a true impression of what citizens are proud to call 'One of the World's Remarkable Cities'."

Handbook of Alaska. By MAJOR-GENERAL A. W. GREELY. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1925. Pp. 330. $3.50.)

Hunting on Kenai Peninsula. By J. W. EDDY. (Seattle: Lowman & Hanford Co., 1924. Pp. 90. $1.50.)

White Sox, The Story of the Reindeer in Alaska. By WILLIAM T. LOPP. (Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company, 1924. Pp. 76.)

Alaska, Its Past, Present, Future. By SCOTT C. BONE. (Seattle: The Author, 1925. Pp. 46.)

The first of this group of books on Alaska is by far the most important. In fact, for a score of years, it has been depended upon as one of the most comprehensive works on that great region. It is now practically rewritten and newly added chapters treat such subjects as fur-farming, fur seals, reindeer, forests, vol-

canoes and reorganized transportation. General Greely, the authoritative writer, closes his preface to this new edition with these words: "It is believed that no subject of importance in Alaska has been neglected."

Mr. Eddy's little book tells about his hunting experiences in intimate language. It comprises letters to his sister, Lucretia Eddy Cotchett, Paris, France, to which is added a chapter, "Observations on the Increase of Big Game in North America." There are twenty-four photographs reproduced devoted mostly to big game and trophies. In closing his "Observations," Mr. Eddy says: "Thus my observations as a 'dude' hunter, and, I may say also as a lumberman, lead me to believe that the preservation of our game animals is not in jeopardy; that game laws, and commercial foods insure good hunting in remote places to future generations."

White Sox is a story of the reindeer written for boys and girls. It is given a place in the World Book Company's "Animal Life Series," in which there has also appeared the classic story of the fur seal called *Matko* by David Starr Jordan. William T. Lopp has devoted most of his life to work in Alaska. His wife and children have lived most of the time in Seattle. The little book will have a local interest. Mr. Lopp is Superintendent of Education of Natives of Alaska. He was formerly Chief of the Alaska Division of the United States Bureau of Education and Superintendent of Reindeer in Alaska. The former Commissioner of Education, United States Department of the Interior, Elmer Ellsworth Brown, now Chancellor of New York University, writes an introduction to this volume, praising the author and his work. Mr. Brown says that he found Mr. Lopp to be one of those rare men who think more than they talk; that he learned to appreciate Mr. Lopp's devotion to duty and his knowledge of the use of reindeer to improve the life of natives in Alaska; that his friendship for Mr. Lopp has endured through the years. He adds: "I have welcomed this story of his most warmly, and I am sure it will be welcomed by a wide circle of readers."

Scott C. Bone, author of the last mentioned book in this group, was appointed Governor of Alaska by President Harding early in 1921. Governor Bone served in that office until the summer of 1925. His little book is a collection of addresses, articles and telegrams about Alaska. The last one is entitled "President Harding's Visit and Passing." This was a special dispatch to

the Boston *Herald*, August 7, 1923, followed by two brief but tender tributes to the first and only President who visited Alaska.

Sierra Club Bulletin. Edited by JAMES S. HUTCHINSON and the Editorial Board. (San Francisco: The Club, 1925. Pp. 111 to 212. Seventy-five cents.)

The annual publication of the Sierra Club is given space here on account of its history values. This *Bulletin* is Number 2 of Volume XII. or Number 60 in the entire series of Sierra Club publications. The contents include records of mountaineering in Glacier National and Yosemite National Parks with a number of wonderful illustrations.

Francis P. Farquhar gives the third and concluding installment of "Place Names of the High Sierra." With it are some rare historic portraits. One group of eight members of the California State Geological Survey, about 1863, includes State Geologist Josiah Dwight Whitney, for whom Mount Whitney was named, and Clarence King, Assistant Geologist, well known author. Another portrait is that of Professor Israel Cook Russell, whose name is given to a mountain of 14,190 feet elevation in the Sierra and it is also placed on one of the crests of Mount Rainier.

Memorial articles with illustrations are published of Helen Marion Gompertz Le Conte, 1865-1924; Charles Howard Shinn, 1852-1924; Colonel Harry Coupland Benson, 1857-1924; and George Robert Davis, 1877-1922.

The list of officers of the Club is headed by the tribute line: "John Muir, President 1892 to 1914."

Hankbook of the Indians of California. By A. L. KROEBER. (Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1925. Pp. 995.)

This is a monumental work. The title is misleading. It is much more than a handbook. The opening of the author's preface is as follows: "This book is the outcome of 17 years of acquaintance and occupation with the Indians of California; intermittent, it is true, but with these people remaining throughout the first subject of the writer's study. Although it may seem otherwise, it attempts to be a history."

The work is divided into 60 chapters; there are 17 tables of statistics and studies, 78 illustrations, an appendix giving the pro-

nunciation of native words, a classification of titles by subject, a classified subject index, and a general index.

There is evidence throughout of skilled and painstaking workmanship.

The Commission for Relief in Belgium, Statistical Review of Relief Operations. By GEORGE I. GAY. (Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1925. Pp. 439.)

Herbert Hoover, Chairman of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, has brought such work as this to the Pacific Coast by endowing at Stanford University the Hoover War Collection, one of the greatest collections in existence of records and documents pertaining to the World War. The present compilation of statistics by Professor George I. Gay covers the work of the Commission from November 1, 1914, to August 31, 1919, and to final liquidation.

Report of the Long Island State Park Commission. (New York: The Commission, 1925. Pp. 73.)

The report opens with a map of Long Island showing eight park areas already acquired, four proposed park areas and three possible park areas. In 1924 the people of New York at a referendum voted a bond issue of $15,000,000 for this work. The officers of the Commission include Robert Moses, President; Townsend Scudder, Vice President; Clifford L. Jackson, Treasurer; Aurelia K. Clanton, Secretary; Henry L. Bowlby, Chief Engineer. The last named was formerly a member of the University of Washington faculty and has since been engaged in a number of important engineering enterprises.

Zatthu, a Tale of Ancient Galilee. By EDMUND HAMILTON SEARS. (Boston: The Cornhill Publishing Company, 1925. Pp. 467. $2.00.)

From the beginning the *Washington Historical Quarterly* has been almost wholly restricted to the history of the Pacific Northwest. This book is here mentioned by title, with names of author and publisher and number of pages and price, largely because it is an added evidence of a revival of interest in the historical novel. Furthermore many readers in the Pacific Northwest will rejoice over the appearance of another well written work in which the Christ is the dominating character.

Ethnographische Notizen über die Indianerstämme des Puget Sundes. By HERMANN HAEBERLIN und ERNA GUNTHER. (Reprinted from Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Volume for 1924, Pages 1-74.)

The data for this paper were collected by Dr. Haeberlin during the years 1916 and 1917. The work was interrupted by illness followed by the author's death in 1918. The field notes were turned over to Mrs. Erna Gunther Spier who arranged the matter for printing. The material relates primarily to the Snohomish, Snoqualmie and Nisqually though some observations upon the Skykomish and Skagit tribes are interwoven. The paper contains more than one hundred fifty footnotes, furnishes a bibliography, and employs the Boas system of phonetics.

Other Books Received

ALDEN, C. S. and EARLE, RALPH. *Makers of Naval Tradition.* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1925. Pp. 332.)

BEAUCHAMP, WILLIAM M. *The Life of Conrad Weiser.* (Syracuse: Onondaga Historical Association, 1925. Pp. 125.)

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Annual Report,* 1925. (Hartford, The Society, 1925. Pp. 59.)

HART, JAMES. *The Ordinance Making Powers of the President of the United States.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1925. Pp. 339.)

NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Manual, 1925, with Reports for the year 1924.* (Concord: The Society, 1925. Pp. 82.)

NORTH DAKOTA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Collections, Volume 7.* (Grand Forks: The Society, 1925. Pp. 352.)

ROBINSON, JAMES HARVEY. *An Introduction to the History of Modern Europe.* Boston: Ginn, 1925. Pp. 854. $2.96.)

WAGSTAFF, H. M. *The Papers of John Steele.* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1924. Two volumes.)

PACIFIC NORTHWEST AMERICANA

The Two Beggs

This note is to call attention to the fact that two authors of books on the Pacific Northwest have had the name of Alexander Begg. The first with dates of 1825-1905 is the author of *The Great Canadian Northwest* (Montreal, Lovell, 1881) and *Review of the Alaskan Boundary Question* (Victoria, B.C., Cusack, n.d.). The second and more prolific writer of this name is the author of *"Dot It Down," History of British Columbia, History of the North-West,* and many other volumes. He was born in 1840 and died in 1898.

Cataldo versus Morvillo

Another correction to be noted by users of the Checklist of *Pacific Northwest Americana* relates to the authorship of item No. 621, *A Numipu or Nez-Perce Grammar.* The authorship is there assigned to Father Joseph M. Cataldo, who as a matter of fact secured the copyright. Through the kindness of Rev. John Post in charge of the Indian mission at De Smet, Idaho, it is learned that this volume was prepared by Anthony Morvillo, S. J. The information was secured from Father Cataldo himself.

Kippis' Life of Cook

The new edition of the *Life of Cook* by Andrew Kippis calls attention to the remarkable vogue of this biographical work. The first edition was published in London by J. Nicol in 1788, quarto in size. The same year a one volume octavo edition appeared in Dublin and a two volume octavo edition in Basil, also a French translation in Paris in quarto. The following year the French translation was issued in both quarto and octavo editions and the work was published in Hamburg in German translation. A Spanish translation is reported to have been published in 1795 but the present writer has been unable to verify the correctness of this information. American editions have been issued in Boston (1830), Hartford (1855), Philadelphia (1863), and New York (1873). Harpers of New York also brought out an undated edi-

tion in the forties. The standard English edition for many years has been that of London, 1878. Interesting accounts of the Reverend Andrew Kippis are to be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and in the *Annual Register* for 1795, the year of his death.

Portland Acquisitions

Among recent acquisitions reported by the Portland Library Association are copies of Origen Thomson's *Crossing the Plains* (*Checklist*, No. 3979) and the "Gray" volume mentioned in this *Quarterly*, Volume 16, page 232. Of the latter but six copies were distributed to libraries and but three of these to libraries on the Pacific Coast.

Books on Western Life for Young People

As the result of a statement made by an eastern librarian that there were not good books on Western life to recommend to young people, President Walter E. Clark of the University of Nevada became interested in compiling a list of such books. With a tentative list of desirable books furnished by Mr. Abel of the United States Bureau of Education as a basis, Mr. Clark appealed to fourteen Western librarians for additional titles. From the suggestions thus obtained he has compiled a composite list of "Books on Western Life for Young People."

Chittenden Manuscripts

The University of Washington Library has recently received as a gift from Mrs. Nettie M. Chittenden a collection of material from the library of her late husband, General Hiram M. Chittenden. The collection includes books, magazine articles, manuscripts and typescripts, representing published and unpublished work of General Chittenden. Biographical material including pamphlets, newspaper clippings, letters and portrait adds to the value of the collection.

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Cowlitz Pioneers

On August 5, 1925, the Cowlitz County Pioneer and Historical Society was organized at Longview. Residence prior to the year of Statehood, 1889, was fixed upon as qualification for membership and it is reported that 250 men and women were present at the meeting as eligibles. Benjamin Franklin Huntington, of Castlerock was elected President. He is 76 years of age and crossed the plains as a baby with his father's family in 1852. Howard Huntington was elected Vice President and Mrs. Winnie Huntington Quick, Secretary. Both are also of Castlerock. J. E. Jones of Kelso was the oldest pioneer present. He is 96 years of age and is commonly called "Dad." John Plamondon was the oldest native son present. He is still living on Cowlitz Prairie where he was born in 1841.

The pioneers were honor guests at the first unveiling of forty-two historical paintings entitled "Conquerors of the Trail," in the new Hotel Monticello, Longview.

Okanogan Pioneers

The pioneers of Okanogan County celebrate Labor Day each year by a picnic in the grove at Conconully. This year there was an unusual attendance, some coming from a distance of 125 miles. One of the pioneers who attracted much attention was Mrs. Mary F. Malott, of Malott. She was the first white woman to settle there when that part of the Indian Reservation was thrown open for settlement in 1886. Jimmy Dorian first saw "Okanogan" Smith's ranch at Osoyoos in 1884, and has lived in that region since. He was counted the oldest resident at the picnic. One of the many interesting men and women present was A. J. Tugaw who has preserved on his Johnson Creek ranch the log cabin where the first meeting of the County Commissioners of Okanogan County was held. O. L. Woody's paper, the *Okanogan Independent,* in recording the reunion included this entry: "Mrs. R. L. Nash of the Chilliwhist did not come to Okanogan County with the first settlers, but remarked that she came to Idaho when cowboys tied the trains to telephone poles. John East, who was present at the driving of the golden spike on the Northern Pacific in Montana, and also an early settler here, told Mr. Oliphant that Henry Villard and General U. S. Grant each took hold of

the handle but that it was a laborer who actually drove the spike."

At the conclusion of the picnic lunch, Judge William C. Brown, of Okanogan, called the meeting to order and presided over it in the absence of the President of the Okanogan Pioneer Association. The annual address was given by Professor Edmond S. Meany, of the University of Washington. Following the address officers of the Association were elected for the ensuing year as follows: President, Judge C. H. Neal; Charles H. Lovejoy, Secretary; and David Gubser,Treasurer. The Executive Committee consists of the above officers and Tom Roberts and Jimmy Dorian, of Conconully, and D. S. Gamble of Brewster.

Old Documents

T. C. Van Epps, of Los Angeles, California, was for many years a citizen of Olympia. He has found among his papers two old documents relating to the early history of Washington Territory. He has contributed them to the archives at the University of Washington. They will probably be reproduced in an early number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly.*

Colville Centennial

H. H. McCulloch, of Colville, sends a brief outline of events by which the people of Colville sought to recognize the centennial of the Hudson's Bay Company' old Fort Colville. On September 16 a parade of eleven floats portrayed the span of history as follows:

First—Colville Valley in 1825, the forest primeval. Eighty boys and girls arranged on a truck, each dressed in gunny-sack clothes and all arranged to represent a mountain. The result was surprisingly attractive.

The floats that followed were: Second—Indians making camp; Third—Explorers, canoe on a beach, two voyageurs in costume; Fourth—Adventurers, miners; Fifth—Hunters and trappers; Sixth—Traders, MacDonald of Hudson's Bay Company in costume and trading; Seventh—Missionaries, Father Eells and wife preaching to Indians in the woods; Eighth—Settlers, covered wagon with plenty of kids in it, old timer and wife driving and behind the wagon a cow is led; Ninth—Soldiers and representation of a blockhouse fort; Tenth—Home; Eleventh—Colville Valley 1925, the Colville-Spokane stage filled with school children.

In addition to the parade they have a local play, "Annette of Old Fort Colville," which has proved a success.

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Announcements

¶ The railroad history articles in former issues are continued in this number by Winlock Miller, Junior's sketch "The Olympia Narrow Gauge Railroad."

¶ J. Orin Oliphant is continuing his researches with special attention to Eastern Washington history. In this number he has supplied "Pioneer Experiences," by John C. Lawrence, dealing mostly with the Palouse country. Mr. Oliphant has other articles in preparation.

¶ A. Howard Meneely, while doing research work at Columbia University, New York, has uncovered materials of interest to the Pacific Northwest. The first installment appears in this number, "Lincoln-Time Letters," by Victor Smith.

¶ Mrs. Lulu D. Crandall, of The Dalles, Oregon, continues her interest in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*. Through her efforts Mr. Walter L. Hembree, of McMinnville, was persuaded to loan the original of his father's diary kept during the Yakima Indian War. She is searching for other pioneer documents.

¶ Librarians and others who bind this publication will find in this number the index of Volume XVI., followed by the binder's title-page for the completed volume.